

IDENTIFICATION NO. XII-III-VII

SPQR

INRI

NAME Jesus of Nazareth

OCCUPATION Carpenter

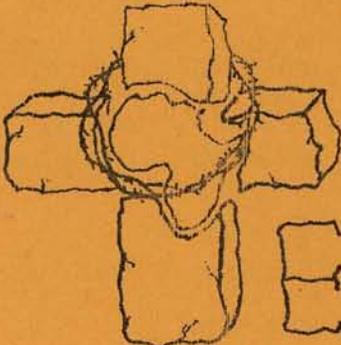
PLACE OF BIRTH Bethlehem in Judea

MOTHER'S NAME Mary

Herod TETRARCH

Pontius Pilate PROCURATOR

And upon my vesture did they cast lots.



ECSA

April 1971

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

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

-FOR A FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA-

South African security police Brigadier P.J. (Tiny) Venter, in a rare mid-April press interview, disclosed the scope of the apartheid regime's campaign against dissenting elements remaining in the country. He said all future state security trials would be centered in the small provincial city of Pietermaritzburg (equivalent to the USA's Harrisburg), that trained terrorists were entering South Africa on forged passports, that pamphlets were being distributed urging youth to resist the police.

Venter spoke of a "sensitivity training programme - or terrorism of the mind" intended to brainwash students and youth. Sensitivity training was introduced into South Africa some 3 years ago from the USA, and has brought together several thousand people of all races, backgrounds, ages and religious affiliations within the stultified apartheid society.

The top cop surmised that the trial of Anglican Dean Gonville A. French-Beytagh might be as much as a year away because the police had such a mass of documents seized in February's raids to go through. South African reporter Stanley Uys writes in the Manchester GUARDIAN: "The police are trying to prove that the Dean received funds from Britain and elsewhere for the dependants of political prisoners in South Africa, and that in disbursing these funds he promoted the aims of a banned organization, the Defence and Aid Fund." The very pastoral ministry of the Christian Church is considered criminal by the South African government.

This is the type of regime we support by our economic presence there. Pretoria is at war against Third World people, freedom of thought, the witnessing elements of the churches, against civilization itself - and it gets a good measure of its prestige and lasting power from our American complicity. Weigh this - you who are shareholders in General Motors or any other USA corporation engaged in South Africa.

14 No. 2950

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, 18 DECEMBER 1970

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

No. 2227

11 December 1970

CUSTOMS ACT, 1964.—INDECENT, OBSCENE AND OBJECTIONABLE GOODS—LIST C95

The Publications Control Board has, by virtue of the powers vested in it by subsection (3) (b) of section one hundred and thirteen of the Customs Act, 1964 (Act 91 of 1964), decided that the undermentioned goods are objectionable:

1. *Guardian*, Vol. 27, No. 44, 20 August 1970. Published by/Gepubliseer deur Weekly Guardian Associates Inc., U.S., and all ensuing editions/en alle daaropvolgende uitgawes.
2. Pamphlet/Pamflet:
Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa—Eastertide, 1970, and all ensuing editions/en alle daaropvolgende uitgawes.

J. J. KRUGER, Chairman, Publications Control Board.

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

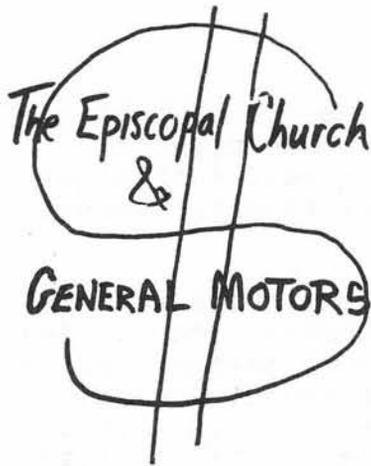
No. 2227

11 Desember 1970

DOEANEWET, 1964.—ONBETAAMLIKE, ONWELVOEGLIKE EN AANSTOOTLIKE GOEDERE—LYS C95

Die Raad van Beheer oor Publikasies het kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen by subartikel (3) (b) van artikel honderd-en-dertien van die Doeanewet, 1964 (Wet 91 van 1964), beslis dat onderstaande goedere aanstootlik is:

J. J. KRUGER, Voorsitter, Raad van Beheer oor Publikasies. 11-18



DAVID AND GOLIATH - 1971

- by the REV. EDGAR LOCKWOOD -

member of the Social Criteria Committee of the Episcopal Church; Virginia Theological Seminary, 1960; voluntary priest, Church of St. Stephen & the Incarnation, Washington, D.C.; LLB, University of Virginia; member of the Connecticut and New York Bars.

The Episcopal Church has taken one more small step toward confronting its role as a silent partner in the profitable exploitation of the black people of Africa.

On January 29th, Presiding Bishop Hines sent a letter to James Roche, Chairman of the Board of General Motors Corporation, expressing fear for the church's investments if Apartheid should lead to "turmoil" and therefore submitting a resolution for the annual stockholders' meeting which requests the Board of Directors to adopt resolutions to initiate the process of amending the corporate charter to forbid operations in the Republic of South Africa (no kidding, that's the way the resolution really does read).

The resolution, prepared by Robert Potter, a partner in Patterson, Belknap and Webb, One Wall Street, New York City, who spends much of his time advising clients like Dow Jones, and by Paul Neuhauser, professor of corporate law at the University of Iowa, purports to carry out the vote of the Social Criteria Committee on Investments that the church should insist that General Motors live up to the principles on human rights adopted by the United Nations and elementary justice (impossible under Apartheid) in the Republic of South Africa; and if it could not do so, GM should wind up its affairs there without transferring its assets to another company which would then carry on (say - Toyota).

The Episcopal Church, the Committee found, was invested in some 31 companies which carry on business in one way or another in the Republic of South Africa. Of these, seven were found to be "essential to the development of South Africa as an industrial state" by the Ad Hoc Committee on Investments in Companies Doing Business in South Africa in its final report to Executive Council before turning over its tasks to the Social Criteria Committee last October:

- Standard Oil Company of California
- Standard Oil Company of New Jersey
- Texaco
- Firestone Tire and Rubber Company
- General Motors Corporation (and GM Acceptance Corporation)
- North American Rockwell
- Caltex

The Ad Hoc Committee also found that Chase Manhattan Bank had a "significant presence" in South Africa.

Why did the Social Criteria Committee choose General Motors?

It seemed quite clear that since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, GM had willingly co-operated in the South African government's program of making itself industrially and militarily self-sufficient in the face of mounting threats from African revolutionary forces and world-wide demand for sanctions.

Second, it was clear that GM's racial policy in South Africa was far from one of reluctant compliance with odious governmental regulations. It was, on the contrary, colonialist, racist and exploitative. Unlike Ford, General Motors is a contributor to the Africa Foundation which seeks to promote the industrial and economic growth of South Africa, foster favorable trade relations and in general promote the stability of the political regime. In the event of full scale war between the South African regime and revolutionary forces, General Motor's facilities would be a source of trucks, jeeps, armored vehicles and similar kinds of militarily supportive equipment.

Finally, Project GM, entering its second year of activity on the US domestic scene, might furnish a means of amplifying and of strengthening our attack on General Motors. At the same time, allies might be forthcoming once American workers realize that the South African Ranger is a low-labor-cost competitor with American-made labor-union-wage-scale cars.

When members of the Executive Council found out that the Presiding Bishop and the Social Criteria Committee (acting through its chairman, Robert Potter) had actually written and submitted a resolution to General Motors, a wave of anxiety and dread swept through the breasts of those committed to institutional maintenance. One prominent rector of a wealthy uptown Manhattan parish felt compelled to protest to the Presiding Bishop that such precipitate behaviour (after Heaven knows how many years of foot-dragging) might mean a church with headquarters in Texas and not Second Avenue.

The Presiding Bishop then wrote a mollifying letter stating that the main reason for the Committee's action was that it was unable to obtain "appropriate assurances" from GM "as to its continuing activities in South Africa because the laws of South Africa prohibit such assurances; this was confirmed by the Treasurer of General Motors in a letter. Because of this and to try another process, the Committee decided that "hearings would not add to the information we have, but they are considering holding information meetings in different parts of the country".

On February 17, the Executive Council, meeting at Seabury House, the former stately home of J.P. Morgan's lawyer, debated at length the advisability of authorizing the Social Criteria Committee to vote on its own resolution. Mr. Potter argued that the process was a good one; others argued that General Motors had not been given a day in court. The Rev. George Houser, executive director of the American Committee on Africa and probably the most all-around knowledgeable man available on all aspects of the question of the economic involvement of US corporations, was there by invitation to speak to the issues, but nobody asked him to speak.

The battle raged for over two hours. Defenders of the corporation stance staged a real filibuster. "Does the Episcopal Church want to promote revolution in South Africa?" "We are in a business situation!" "A self-righteous, ludicrous stunt." "We are heading down a road without knowing where we are going." "General Motors and the bishops in Detroit are embarrassed." And the clincher: "If we do this to General Motors, we open the doors to examination of all companies in the United States."

Then, at 10:05 pm, Bishop John Burgess of Massachusetts, got the floor. "We lack one thing in this debate - talk about people. We've talked about corporations, profits, the health of corporations, even the embarrassment of the bishops of Michigan. What we really should be talking about is the health of people, black people living under oppression." The bishop quoted a two-year-old statement of Senator Edward Brooke: "I believe that the time has come to wrench ourselves from this pattern of implied complicity with southern African regimes."

Bishop Burgess's exhortation cleared the air in the crowded former parlor of the mansion. But there were complex considerations. The liberal side feared to upset the delicate balance of political power in the Council. A subcommittee was named to work out a preamble to the resolution which would satisfy a majority. The result was the attachment of a preamble to the resolution which explained its significance for the church.

Innocuous as preambles seem, this one illustrates the dependence of the Episcopal Church on the corporate structure, for it reassures the corporations that the church does not mean to threaten any change in existing power relations nor to do anything more than rouse corporations to listen to the voices of its most liberal elements.

Thus the preamble states that the church is grateful for "several voices" calling the church to new sensitivity "to what we are doing to our physical environment and to each other by our patterns of relationship". The only specific voices named, however, are the voices "of enlightened corporate management".

Reciting that the use of stock proxies to raise social and ecological issues is new and "promising", fear is expressed that the Churchman in the Pew may regard it as having the validity of Holy Writ. It is not the "only way"; "we are not sure that we will continue to use this vehicle in the future". We are then told that the corporations "singled out" are not so selected because "they are better or worse than scores of others which could have been selected". (One wonders at this point if an indictment of corporations at large is intended or whether we wish to hold nobody at all responsible for economic exploitation of black people. Happily, no such logical clarity is intended.)

Then we are told that the number of votes cast will not matter (a forecast of defeat is implicit, of course, in any sensible person's projections, but does losing not matter?) "More important than the percentage of the vote cast won in any proxy solicitation is the raising of these questions to the level of public debate. We do this in the belief that many on the corporate management team are responsive to these concerns." The preamble argues that "educational forums" should be held to explore "other ways". It then excuses those who take "strong exceptions" to the approach while acknowledging the validity of the concerns already expressed.

There were other signs that talk rather than power was at work. The Social Criteria Committee was told it could not have the budget it proposed to spend but that it must secure advance approval for expenses from the Executive or Finance Committees of the Council.

It was argued that all committees of the Council together do not spend more than \$75,000, and to spend so much for one of twelve such committees would be inequitable. No one, it seemed, thought that the country might be facing a crisis precisely because of corporate involvement in imperialism or that church commitment and concern for these issues might be more significant than institution-keeping. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that after a precipitous cut of staff at 815, which other denominational staffs viewed as a sign of panic and disarray, national leadership of the Episcopal Church on this issue is going to be confined to getting out letters. It was felt that the alternative was a proxy fight which would cost \$100,000 and no one was about to authorize that.

Furthermore, it seems quite probable that the Social Criteria Committee itself will be "integrated" into the Executive Council to ensure that the Presiding Bishop and the Committee don't do anything rash. Three members of the Council are to be added to the Committee in addition to George Guernsey, the Council member added last autumn.

What is one to make of all this? First of all, it seems to be a triumph of sorts that the resolution got through at all. Its passage may be due to the method employed consistently by Bishop Hines: to appoint committees headed by Establishment people with representation of the factions in a dispute. Thus the preamble was worked out by a subcommittee that included not only Potter, but Bishop Burgess and Dupuy Bateman, one of the chief administrative officers of North American Rockwell, one of the seven companies identified as "essential" to the industrial development of South Africa.

Practical people will hail this as a triumph of sorts: all that could have been achieved given the present makeup of Council, now more oriented toward conservative and de-centralized positions of power. At the same time, it must be recognized that the substance of the Council's position is really in the preamble which leans over backward toward a benign apologetic. Little can be expected in the way of moral argument by keeping inside the rules of the System's game. In short, we are faced with a co-optation process in which leadership of the moral struggle is surrendered into the hands of Establishment business people in return for a promise of change if appropriate procedures and language is employed. Little is likely to change as a result of this approach.

Basic change will happen in the Republic of South Africa only through violent or non-violent revolutionary resistance, by African people themselves, assisted by outsiders to whatever extent they can. But what about the challenge to General Motors and to Gulf Oil? Can we do anything? Pressure can be brought to bear on the Presiding Bishop and on Social Criteria Committee chairman Bob Potter and on your local bishop, diocesan council and parish to do the following:

1. Hold public hearings on the local and diocesan level under the sponsorship of the bishop or of a prominent parish or of a local college or university. See to it that plenty of literature is available. Invite exiled South Africans, returned missionaries who worked in Southern Africa, people deported from Southern Africa (contact ECSA for names), and General Motors representatives to come and speak. Be well prepared by reading up.
2. Buy one share of General Motors stock and plan to attend or send a delegation to GM's annual meeting at:

Cobo Hall
Detroit - May 21, 1971

Do NOT sign the General Motors Corporation proxy.

3. DO sign the Episcopal Church proxy.
You can obtain one from: Mr. Robert S. Potter, chairman,
Social Criteria Committee
Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

PHONE: (212) TN 7-8400

OR - you can WRITE IN on the General Motors proxy the name of your designee to vote your stock:

JOHN E. HINES

AND - WRITE IN on the General Motors proxy your support of the Episcopal Church's resolution.

4. Write: Presiding Bishop John E. Hines
815 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017 PHONE: (212) TN 7-8400

URGE him to appoint Bishop John Burgess to speak on behalf of the Episcopal Church at the General Motors annual meeting.

AND to appoint a South African - who has been close to and can speak authoritatively about the life and livelihood of black Africans under apartheid - to speak on behalf of the Church.

5. Write: Bishop John M. Burgess
The Bishop of Massachusetts
1 Joy Street
Boston, Mass. 02108 PHONE: (617) 742-4720

URGE him to speak on behalf of the Church Pension Fund, of which he is a trustee.

6. Get a commitment from Mr. Potter of the Social Criteria Committee of the Church and from your local parish or diocese that if the GM annual meeting turns down the resolution (it will, obviously), to sell the stock of General Motors in as public a way as possible - with a press conference or statement to accompany the action, plus a special letter to the management of GM.

Retain one share so that you can still speak at GM annual meetings.

7. Give the proceeds of your GM stock sales (if this is legally possible) to black liberation forces here or in Africa.
8. Press the Presiding Bishop to appoint additional members to the Social Criteria Committee from the black community, from other minority groups, from women, and from students and youth.

Be sure you name specific names of people you would like to see serve so that we get people with social vision, drive, doggedness and a degree of expertise.

If anything fruitful is going to happen, it will happen because we press for it, either in the church or out of the church.

We cannot rely on the Establishment in the church or outside of the church to have the kind of drive and vision to comprehend the issues and to do something effective.

Finally, if one may be permitted an overall comment, it seems very strange that the church has sold its strongest possession - its moral and theological tradition - in order to speak to the corporations in the language of business costs alone and to narrow its vision to fit the slit hole of economic advantage.

If it be argued that the Work and Word of God cannot be spoken to corporations because they cannot receive it, then it must follow that a new and terrifying secularization has hardened the hearts of all within the corporate structure. At no point in Bishop Hines' letter to the Chairman of the Board of General Motors does he refer to God or to moral judgment or to the evil of Apartheid.

He rather argues that Apartheid will lead to turmoil and the turmoil will destroy the foreign capital and that would be bad for the church which can ill afford to lose its endowment income. Does that sound very convincing to you when you realize that General Motors' business in South Africa was selling only 31,701 vehicles (versus how many millions in the US and worldwide?). And the Episcopal Church will lose its endowments if GM goes broke through turmoil in South Africa and that is likely? Even given the ostensible reason for it, namely that the Securities and Exchange Commission won't let you bring up social and political questions when you solicit proxies, its a silly argument.

Even if you could show that turmoil will be coming (you can), it would equally well be argued that the better thing to do is to get the United States to beef up its support of the armed forces of the Republic of South Africa. That way GM wouldn't have to spend a cent, and we could all blame it on the Communists.

At best, what we may have gained is the right to solicit proxies. We will, however, be moving with the corporate restructuring drive of Project GM, and that is a very much more serious and hopeful effort. We are told that Potter has conferred with the Rev. Leon Sullivan, the black minister from Philadelphia, GM's first black member of its Board, who now serves on the public relations device GM invented to prevent real public representation - a community relations board of advisors. Mr. Sullivan may be more than GM counted on for he has gone on record as saying GM should move its South African plants - unless Apartheid disappears right soon - "somewhere else on the African continent where people are treated like human beings rather than like dogs".

Back in the college textbooks I read in the thirties, respected authors like Ferguson and Bruun recounted how surplus capital in the capitalist countries was exported to colonies in Africa for high profits. Let's not delude ourselves as a church into thinking that if only GM just had fair employment practices the way it does in the USA, there would be no turmoil or that the turmoil is the only reason that we should look at our involvement.

Suggested Reading

CHRYSLER, FORD AND GENERAL MOTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA
Economic Priorities Report, Vol. 1, no. 5, Oct/Nov 1970,
published by the Council on Economic Priorities, 1028
Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

- Contains valuable interviews with management
in South Africa. Good bibliography. \$1.00

ALLIES IN EMPIRE, The U.S. and Portugal In Africa
Africa Today, Vol. 17, no. 4, July/Aug 1970. 50¢

APARTHEID AND IMPERIALISM, A Study of U.S. Corporate Involvement
in South Africa. Vol.17,no.5. 50¢

{ Both the above available from: American Committee on Africa }
164 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10016 }

Southern Africa. Monthly survey of news and opinion, published by
the Southern Africa Committee, 637 West 125th St.,
New York, N.Y. 10027. \$3.00 donation requested.

THE AMERICAN CORPORATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS. by Timothy Smith.
United Church of Christ, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017
(Council for Christian Social Action). 50¢ each.

THE U.S. IN SOUTH AFRICA:

A Proposal for Some Corporate Surgery

- by RICHARD ROCK, an American citizen, born and raised in New York. At the age of 13 he went to Rhodesia where he lived for 3 years. In 1963, he went to South Africa and was a student and lecturer in psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for 6 years. He was abruptly deported at the end of March, 1971 - with no explanation from the South African government.

* * * * *

The distinction between the 'political' and the 'personal' is a false one, and the general realization of this unity has been the backbone of those groups actively working for social change. And if the primary task of those groups is an educational one, than it will probably only succeed by encouraging people to learn by making choices, by putting themselves on the line, rather than by teaching them a new set of abstract principles to espouse.

This idea of bringing it all down to individual choices applies also to those hoping to see change in South Africa, whether they actually live in that country or not. I would like to give two actual examples of those kinds of choices, one example drawn from recent events within South Africa, the other from the struggle against American corporate involvement in South Africa. First the South African one:

In early 1969, at least thirty blacks were taken into detention in a series of nationwide police raids - as usual, no reasons were given, no charges were laid, and nothing more was said. But the people remained in prison. Nearly a year later, 22 of those detained were finally charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. But for some unknown reason of its own, the government decided to abandon the trial and after two days the prosecution gave up, and the 22 were found not guilty, only, however, to be immediately rearrested. It was at this point that the traditional machinery of white liberal protest began to be unlimbered - small numbers of middle class whites began to picket or make speeches at the university protesting the unjust and protracted detention of the 22 blacks, already now in prison for over a year. Student leaders at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg applied to the government for permission to stage a protest march through the streets of Johannesburg. Permission was initially granted, but then, the day before the march was to be held, it was revoked.

It was at this point that the 'political' and the 'personal' fused. The essence of protest is that one only protests - no risks are taken, no commitments are made: nothing is learned or achieved (at least not in South Africa, where liberal protests have been uniformly unsuccessful, except perhaps as guilt-appeasers). But for some of the students on that particular day a moment of truth had arrived. They were confronted with a clear choice, either to accept the order not to march and with it acknowledge their own hypocrisy, or else to defy the order and march anyway, risking possible arrest.

Four hundred and fifty people chose to defy the government, and to march. I was lucky enough to be on that march, and it was perhaps the single most liberating experience of my life: we had chosen to act, to defy, and we had for that one day made ourselves free. We had chosen, and so we had nothing to fear, and for that one day were sisters and brothers, and the love and the joy between us was intense and beautiful. But it went further than that - for once white middle class students had put themselves on the line, had chosen to be arrested (we were all held in custody for several hours before being fingerprinted and released), and for once we were successful.

The illegal march received wide, and shocked, coverage in the press, and a week later it was announced that the 22 would be brought to court under new charges, but the new charges were too similar to the earlier ones, and so the 22 were once again acquitted, and this time freed. As for those in the march, it certainly changed the life of each of us. We had learned by acting, and the struggle for liberation in South Africa took on a new and more personal meaning for us all.

What has this to do with Americans who wish to fight the racist oppression in South Africa? I gave that example because I believe that the possibility for actively fighting American corporate involvement in South Africa presents Americans with a similar choice, and a similar opportunity for both 'political' effectiveness and for 'personal' change.

It is clear to me, after living in Southern Africa for 10 years, 7 of them in the Republic, that if police activities such as arrests, massacres, and deportations provide the spectacular aspect to oppression, it is South Africa's solid economic strength that really makes that oppression possible. Policemen can only fight a holding battle at best, but South Africa's white rulers are growing stronger not weaker. Why? Because of the country's steady economic growth. By now there is ample documentation that the presence of hundreds of American corporations in South Africa, whether in the flesh or only financially, plays a vital role in the strength and growth of the South African economy. The corporations and their dependents argue that their presence in South Africa is promoting change, that growth of the economy must lead to the breakdown of racism. This is manifestly untrue: racism is getting worse, not better in South Africa.

The white resistance to apartheid is being finally and brutally crushed, and barely a death rattle remains. Black resistance is of course stamped out even more brutally. There can be no doubt that resistance today is weaker than it was ten years ago, that the laws today are tighter than they were ten years ago. So I am not impressed with the argument that the corporations are working for change in South Africa. American corporations there are getting high returns from their investments, and those returns are earned by the sweat and blood of those same blacks who earn the profits for all the other white racists in South Africa. And for me, and many others, General Motors is not really that different from General van den Bergh, the head of political police in South Africa.

Given that American corporate involvement is an integral part of the oppression in South Africa (and it is only recently that this has clearly emerged, due to the efforts of American and British research groups), the choice confronting every American is clear. One either does nothing and acquiesces in apartheid, or else one does everything possible to get the corporations out. Let the people regain control of their corporations. I said that this would be both 'politically' effective and a 'personal' experience.

1. I do not claim that if American economic presence is ended in South Africa that apartheid will automatically collapse. But I do know that such a pullout would have a very powerful effect on the South African economy, and that it might well give South Africa's whites pause for some very serious thoughts about where they are going. At the moment business is booming and the business community is perfectly content with the political situation. When the business community starts worrying, you can be sure so will the political leaders. We have the opportunity to make this happen - there is, in fact, probably nothing more that Americans can do about South Africa, except to let those fighting for liberation know that we are with them, and that also is best accomplished by actively fighting America's very real role in building apartheid. All the rest is just words.
2. If we make the choice to take control of the corporations in their South African activities, it may well help us to make other choices to take more control of our own lives here in America. If the corporations are oppressors in South Africa, perhaps they are not so benign as they claim to be here in America either. In the long run, everyone must fight her or his own fights for control of her or his own life. That is the responsibility and the joy of each of us, in America and in South Africa. Physician, heal thyself.

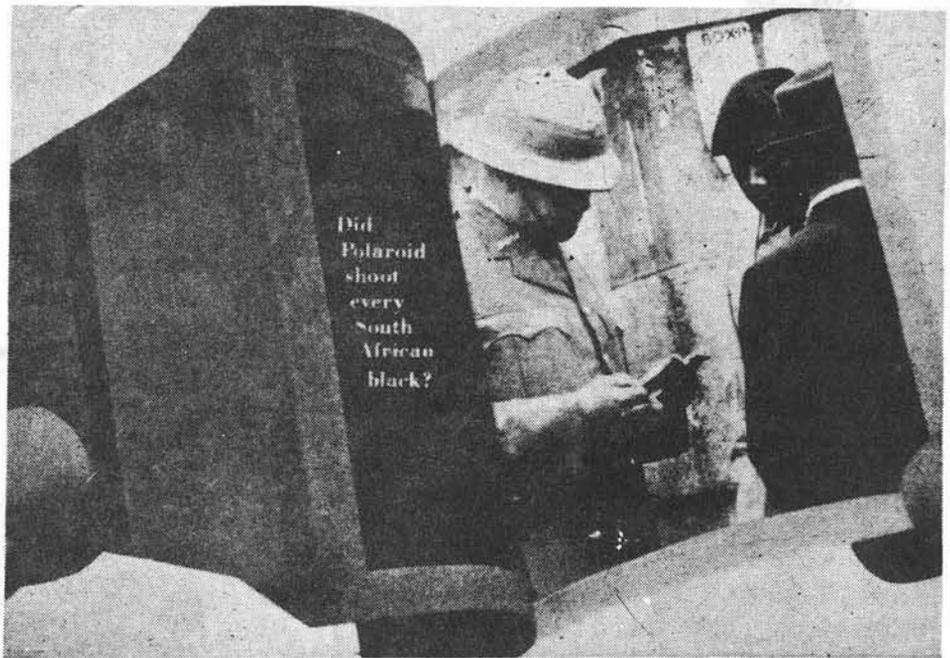
AN INDUSTRIAL HELOTRY

Neil Wates, managing director of Wates, Ltd., one of Britain's largest building companies, visited South Africa in June, 1970, before granting a franchise on his system of industrialized building. He decided not to do so. Here is why:

"I must report that the idea of doing business in South Africa is totally unacceptable. We could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose our integrity in the process. We should have to operate within a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute and where there is virtually no communication between the races; we should be locked into this system. We should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralize and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance.

"We should have to operate within a legal climate where the rule of law has been abolished in favour of rule by decree, which bids fair to become a reign of terror."

Polaroid and APARTHEID



THE POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT was formed last fall by black workers in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to protest the presence of Polaroid Corporation in the Republic of South Africa.

PRWM announced that part of Polaroid's sales in South Africa was to the military for identification cards and of film for photographs incorporated in black Africans' passbooks, which they must carry at all times and which are basic tools of control by the white racist regime.

Polaroid prides itself on good community and employee relations in the USA. It denied that its ID-2 identity system was so used in South Africa. It went further and claimed confidently that there was equal advancement for black and white employees in its South African franchise firm, Frank & Hirsch, Ltd. But that company's director himself blew the whistle: "We are governed by the laws of the country. Would they allow the existence of such a policy? It is not possible."

Polaroid hurriedly sent a two black-two white man team to South Africa, and in January widely announced a program of education and training for blacks and that it would examine the results after a year. Conveniently overlooked is the harsh fact of South African life that any espousal there of economic withdrawal can be termed treasonable under several laws, notably the Terrorism Act, and you know what treason incurs. To argue that more training and education for black and brown people in South Africa will magically do away with racism and entrenched exploitation (after two and a half decades of rampantly growing totalitarianism) can no longer be termed fanciful or the urging of optimism. It is a lie.

Polaroid has about \$1.5 million in sales per year in South Africa? But it is a highly visible corporation, perhaps more ubiquitous than General Motors or Gulf Oil. It's experimental scheme is being seized upon by other US corporations as a formula for delay and obstruction.

PRWM demands that Polaroid completely and publicly disengage from South Africa and that profits earned there go to recognized African liberation movements. FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement
c/o Miss Caroline Hunter
46 Longwood Avenue
Brookline, Mass. 02146

JOEL CARLSON IS IN AMERICA

The latest victim of South African terrorism is the man who has done more than anyone to defend those accused of 'terrorism' in that country: lawyer Joel Carlson.

For 17 years he has been a solicitor exposing the sordid underbelly of South Africa and defending black people against some of the brutalities in their daily lives, notably their being 'sold' to white farmers after their being charged with violations of 'pass laws'.

Carlson was the lawyer for Namibian patriots at the first Terrorism Trial of 1967/68. He successfully defended 22 Africans - including Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of the ANC leader imprisoned for life on Robben Island - accused under the Suppression of Communism Act (they were twice arrested, twice acquitted). Carlson uncovered numerous instances of police torture and became the man most marked by the Special Branch. He received phone threats, and a bomb by mail; his car was smashed; his home shot at and fire bombed; his office attacked; his passport taken away. He left South Africa early in April with a British passport.

Joel Carlson is now in the United States. We can give thanks for his safety and the safety of his family. Moreover, we now have here in America one who can testify intimately and authoritatively to the true nature of South Africa, the latest member of a growing colony of exiles we must heed.



EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

14 West 11th Street
New York, N. Y. 10011

Address Correction Requested

