

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

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EASTERTIDE

1970

FEASIBILITY - RIGHT ON!

The ad hoc committee to examine the Episcopal Church's investments in companies operating in and doing business with Southern Africa has at last been constituted and will begin work in April.

This new committee - latest of many to wrestle with the issue - was voted for by Executive Council last September after the Committee on Trust Funds pled that it was inhibited in the best management of the Church's \$44 million portfolio: the criteria for judging 815's investments relating to Southern Africa were felt to be too restrictive.

These criteria, pertaining to the life and livelihood of black Africans under apartheid, were set up by Council in December, 1968, to apply to investments in "companies and banks doing business in southern Africa". They were used in the May 23, 1969, decision to withdraw from banks in a consortium loan to South Africa.

But by September, 1969, "it was the consensus of the Council that this action was not really relevant to the matter of investments in business operations in southern Africa".

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VOICE FROM THE WILDERNESS

The Right Rev. Colin O'Brien Winter, Bishop of Damaraland (South West Africa), is on tour in the USA till June.

The 41-year-old native of England (with a good belt of Irish in him: the "O'Brien" is no chance name) is the successor to American citizen Bishop Robert H. Mize who was forced to leave South West Africa in July, 1968, because the South African government refused to renew his visa. Bishop Winter is the 7th Bishop of Damaraland, but he is the first to be elected by local clergy and laity.



Prior to his selection, Damaraland had been a missionary diocese and its bishops were chosen by the bench of bishops of the Anglican Church of South Africa.

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(BISHOP WINTER - continued)

Bishop Winter works out of a garage pressed into service as the diocesan office. He and his wife, Mary, and their five children live in the nearby rambling deanery of St. George's Cathedral in Windhoek, the small capital city of South West Africa. He was dean there for four years until his elevation to the episcopate in the middle of November, 1968.

1970 finds the Diocese of Damaraland severely curtailed in its income, at a time of heightened tension and unparalleled demands upon the Church in that controversial land. The diocese depends heavily on American support. With the departure of Bishop Mize that support fell off drastically.

The Church needs money for many things, usual and extraordinary: its pastoral work; its schools which it maintains despite a government hostile to the Anglican Church; its training of black Africans for leadership in their Church; its efforts to help black people being uprooted from their homes and dumped into "reserves" in the desert wastes.

South West Africa - a territory the size of California, Oregon and Washington State - has a population of over 600,000, preponderantly black Africans. The 41,000 Anglican communicants reflect the racial composition of the country.

Now also called Namibia, South West Africa is legally under the administration of the United Nations which in 1966 assumed the League of Nations mandate formerly held by South Africa.

But South Africa remains in defiant control and has all but annexed South West Africa. South African paramilitary police units and Namibian freedom fighters wage a running war in the northeastern sectors of the vast territory.

Bishop Winter is a pacifist. He is a signatory to the recent 12 Statements addressed to the voters (whites only) in the April 22 parliamentary elections in South and South West Africa.

Bishop Winter has said: "The Church is the only place left in South Africa and South West Africa now where all races can still meet together in brotherhood. It may often have failed to have given a clear lead there, but it is still the only point of contact where a person of one race can learn to know and love a person of another race.

"Further, in a country where any contact between races often produces fear and panic, the Church must keep her arms wide open so that men of all races can learn through worship the dignity and worth of every single human being in the sight of God. We must not be afraid. We must back our beliefs that this is God's message for our age by making every opportunity serve to bring men closer and closer to each other under God."

The bishop speaks out of a situation largely hidden from the world. He pleads for help for people suffering in the midst of a tragedy to which no end is in sight. Americans have a duty to give Bishop Winter their wholehearted support.

FEASIBILITY - RIGHT ON! (continued)

Late in November, 1969, there was this development. The South African government blandly announced that it would not renew the consortium loan "because it was no longer necessary". One could hear the sighs of relief from officialdom and the world of high finance, in New York and Johannesburg, Washington and Pretoria. The banks were saved from making a moral decision, and the Church abandoned its withdrawal plans.

At its next regular meeting in December, 1969, the Executive & Finance Committee of Executive Council sanctified the event by expressing "its appreciation to all in the business, financial and religious sectors of this nation who joined in discouraging the continuation of the aforementioned financial arrangements between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and American banking institutions".

The dissolution of the consortium was a victory for anti-apartheid forces in the USA. It has, however, only eradicated the tip of the iceberg. America's place in South Africa's muscular and profitable economy, by means of private loans, trade and an \$800 million business and industrial investment, remains to be grappled with - a huge, submerged, slippery mass. This is the task for the ad hoc committee.

The significance to South Africa of the consortium loan is revealed by persistent and well-founded reports that the South

African government is quietly approaching Wall Street banking houses for direct loans. One former consortium member has refused; at least one other is considering. The apartheid regime craves reassurance of high-level American support.

The new ad hoc committee begins work from way behind the starting line. It has been charged "to make recommendations concerning the feasibility of applying the criteria". Council, in another panicky resolution, called on the committee "to determine if it is possible to come up with criteria and standards for such investments that can reasonably be followed by the Committee on Trust Funds".

The composition of the ad hoc committee is hardly in keeping with Executive Council's much-touted new look. There are no youth and no women. There is one black member, a cardinal rector. There is no black African, no one from South Africa, no academician, though the 1968 Marmion select commission was so represented.

The new 8-man body should come up with some formula for the Executive Council meeting in May. It is crucial that you who have a concern for Southern Africa and the Church's role there express yourselves.

Wire or write the members of the ad hoc committee at once:

(continued on next page)

"I am afraid we are increasingly reaching the situation in which Britain and the West must in their interests choose between South Africa on the one hand and the rest of Africa on the other, in terms of investment now and in the future and in terms of what they consider to be their specific interests in the continent of Africa now and in the future."

- President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, December, 1969.

Ad Hoc Committee:

Mr. Robert S. Potter, Chairman
Patterson, Belknap & Webb
One Wall Street
New York, N.Y. 10005
Mr. William H. Beatty, Jr.
Chase Manhattan Bank
One Chase Manhattan Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10015
Rev. Edgar Lockwood
1930 Upshur Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20011
Mr. Waldemar A. Nielsen
African-American Institute
866 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

Mr. Prime F. Osborn, III
Seaboard Coast Line Railroad
500 Water Street
Jacksonville, Fla. 32202
Rev. Dr. John W. Turnbull
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
Hon. Cyrus Vance
2 East 93rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10028
Rev. Dr. M. Moran Weston
St. Philip's Church
215 West 133rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10030



Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corporation, the giant American firm with world-wide assets of six and a half billion dollars in 1967, occupies a leading role in the frantic search for oil in petroleum-starved Southern Africa.

Cabinda Gulf has been granted rich concessions in and off-shore of Cabinda, the tiny Portuguese-controlled enclave near the mouth of the Congo River. During 1970, it is estimated that Cabinda Gulf will raise its production to 150,000 barrels per day, providing \$15,000 a day in royalties for Portugal's hard-pressed government, half the budget of which goes into its African wars. The Cabinda operation will supply all of Portugal's needs and shortly be able to stoke the Republic of South Africa's war machine too.

- Cabinda's oil will strengthen Portugal in its wars in Africa.
- Cabinda Gulf means that the USA - through a major private enterprise - is put solidly on the side of its NATO ally's colonialist wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

- Protest to: Gulf Oil Corporation
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10019
- Contact: Mr. Tim Smith
United Church of Christ - PHONE: MU 2-3950
777 U.N. Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
- If you are a Gulf stockholder, attend the annual meeting in Pittsburgh on Tuesday, April 28, 1970, and demand that Gulf Oil withdraw from any involvement with Portuguese colonialism.
(Or make over your proxy to someone who will present this view).

"The average annual family income in South Africa is \$5829.60 for whites, \$2352 for Asians, \$1411.20 for mulattos and \$537.60 for blacks, a market research survey indicated."

- Associated Press dispatch, February, 1970

"We are creating our own solution in our own condition"

Amilcar Cabral, leader of the independence movement in Guinea-Bissau, visited the USA in February. We all need to know such chiefs of revolution: our future is inextricably bound up with theirs throughout the world.

Guinea-Bissau is the theatre of Africa's most successful anti-colonial war. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) - Mr. Cabral is its Secretary-General and a founder - has over the past seven years wrested two-thirds of the country from Portugal in a struggle less well known than those between the European metropolitan power and African freedom forces in Angola and Mozambique in the south.

Guinea-Bissau is slightly larger than Maryland and Delaware, a wedge on the western hump of the African continent with an extensive and inlet-riven Atlantic Ocean coastline. It is also known as Portuguese Guinea; it is distinct from its southern neighbor, the Republic of Guinea (Conakry).

Mr. Cabral, a 45-year-old man of scholarly and commanding presence, who has mastered English as the latest of many languages, was one of a handful of his fellow countrymen allowed a university education in Portugal. He and a half-dozen comrades formed PAIGC in 1956, and in 1959, after the massacre of striking dock workers in the capital city, Bissau, called for active struggle against Portugal "by all possible means, including war". PAIGC initiated combat in 1963.

Guinea-Bissau was a collection of many tribal groups with differing languages and social orders brought together in typical 19th century colonialist fashion.



PAIGC is developing a national consciousness among the country's 800,000 people, mostly peasants in the forests, savannahs and along the streams. The freedom movement conceives of itself not just as an instrument of war but as the centrifugal force for expressing the peoples' culture and in the creation of a new society. The people themselves make their own decisions as they go along. The off-shore Cape Verde Islands are inherent to the new nation.

Portugal uses American-made napalm, planes and arms in its African wars despite an official US embargo on such use by its NATO ally.

Mr. Cabral stated to THE NEW YORK TIMES: "We understand very well that the same interests link the United States with Portugal in the North Atlantic alliance. But we think that there is no reason not to support us in our fight. The United States accepts the principles on which we base our fight."

Twelve Statements 66

Every Christian has an inescapable political responsibility.....
Politics concerns itself with the arrangement of society and therefore the lives of people created in the image of God.

It is the Christian's duty to contribute by his vote towards..... the welfare of the whole community.

Any arrangement of a people's life which is not in accordance with the commandments of truth, justice and love..... conflicts with the will of God.....

In His acts of creation and of salvation, God reveals that He is deeply concerned about human society.....

The Christian..... in his political witness and action..... should be obedient to the revealed will of God and reject anything which conflicts with it.

Every Christian must, therefore, give account to God concerning his giving or withholding of support for any political party and its policy. He should test his own participation by the following basic standards.

RECONCILIATION...... No Christian can support a political policy based on unjust discrimination, on arbitrary grounds of colour, race, religion, or sex, between people who live and work in the same country..... Man's sinful urge towards discrimination and separation stands in direct conflict with the Bible's message of reconciliation.

TRUTH. In obedience to God, no Christian can support a political policy which, being demonstrably impracticable, bases its appeal to the electorate on false claims and promises. Such an essentially dishonest policy cannot be reconciled with the Christian's commitment to the truth.

JUSTICE. In obedience to God, no Christian can support a political policy which, for its practical implementation, unavoidably necessitates open or concealed injustice towards any individual or population group. A policy which essentially diminishes, offends or injures the human dignity of any citizen, must be totally rejected by the Christian.

LOVE. In obedience to God, no Christian can support a political policy which is essentially based on group selfishness and the furtherance of sectional interests only.....

It is the Christian's grave duty and responsibility thoroughly to examine the policy of every political party in South Africa and to acquaint himself with its implications. He must weigh all political utterances and policies against the truth of God. In so doing, he may find that no available political policy represents complete obedience to this truth; he will nevertheless be obliged, in making his judgment, to approach as closely as possible to a complete obedience.

The Christian..... responsibility becomes even greater in a society where a small minority of citizens elect the members of the central parliament.....

66

Seventy churchmen and other South Africans in January issued a strong Christian Election Manifesto to the whites-only voters in the April 22 general elections.

The Twelve Statements are direct challenges to apartheid and to any party espousing discrimination.

Among the signers were the Archbishop of Cape Town, the bishops of Damaraland and Pretoria, and leaders of most Christian bodies.

A flurry of USA diplomatic activity on the Africa scene has marked the past two months. In February, an American Secretary of State's first official Africa tour took place, with Secretary William Rogers visiting 10 countries. He was pressed on Southern Africa, most strongly by the Organization of African Unity and by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, where Mr. Rogers got closest to the white bastion.

The Secretary stated, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, that the USA "would identify itself with the 'unfinished business' of winning political freedom for black populations living under white minority rule". At the same time, he rejected violence as the answer.

The USA closed its consulate in the newly-declared Republic of Rhodesia, yet in mid-March our government for the first time exercised its veto in the U.N. Security Council over the use of force against the rebel regime in Salisbury.

In mid-February, President Nixon put out his State of the World message. A policy statement on Africa followed. Despite a reference to working "to bring about a change of direction in parts of Africa where racial oppression and residual colonialism still prevail", South Africa's interpretation was that the USA would follow a hands-off policy. "Resort to force and violence is in no one's interest" is the threnody amidst apartheid's violence and the state of active warfare in Southern Africa.

America's policy, so committed to peaceful progress, merely "warmly welcomes" black Africa's desperate plea - contained in last year's Lusaka Manifesto - for help in solving peacefully the immense human and political problem of Southern Africa.

Sharpeville, the African township where 69 black Africans were shot dead and 180 wounded by South African police on March 21, 1960, is to be erased from the map and replaced by a white settlement.

THE GREAT POWERS & AFRICA

- by WALDEMAR A. NIELSEN

- published for the Council on Foreign Relations by
Praeger Publishers. New York. 1969. \$11.95.

Waldemar A. Nielsen, president of the African-American Institute, long concerned with Africa, in his latest book, **THE GREAT POWERS AND AFRICA**, deals extensively and thoughtfully with Southern Africa. He makes an initial point that the outside has misjudged the potential for change by negotiation through a combination of inside and outside pressures, including economic development and industrialization. "Whether such assumptions were ever an accurate or adequate conception of the problem, they are now neither accurate nor adequate".

Mr. Nielsen calls for a thorough-going review of US relations with Portugal and South Africa. He rules out the exercise of US military power in Southern Africa. But he argues cogently for US financial aid to the liberation movements, through free African countries or the OAU, to support refugees and "to enable the nationalist movements to develop their contact and communication with the black populations within the Redoubt". He doesn't think boycotts would be very effective but "would give some substance and credibility to the American posture of moral disapproval" of the regimes there.

In a prophetic paragraph, Mr. Nielsen says: "The issues of Southern Africa, once the Viet Nam agony is finished, are going to be the next foreign policy focus of the moral indignation of youth, the Negroes, and the American left. A policy of passivity and compromise now - though it may seem to some a prudent course for the moment - can only reap another terrible harvest of bitter division in the United States in the future."

Mr. Nielsen recommends a presidential commission composed of government, business, church, black and other interests to take up our involvements in Southern Africa. It is wild beyond imagining that the present administration in Washington, or any body created by it, would come anywhere near meeting the demands of the revolutionary situation there. But Mr. Nielsen is a member of the Episcopal Church's new ad hoc committee. He has the opportunity to press his arguments in this pro-forma commission.

ON THE HOMEFRONT:

ECOSA's office is in the building in the immediate foreground, just two doors from the March 6th bomb explosion and fire on West 11th Street in New York City.

We had to set up temporarily in the hall of our host parish, the Church of the Ascension.





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