



and the Light shineth in darkness and the darkness

comprehended it not

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the WORLD COUNCIL of CHURCHES on September 3 allotted \$200,000 to 19 organizations struggling for racial justice throughout the world.

This follows the WCC Central Committee's 1969 decision to set up a Program to Combat Racism.

Three of those funded are British-based anti-apartheid groups. Eight are Southern African liberation movements, and one is the independence party in Guinea-Bissau. Grants ranging from \$2500 to \$20,000 were made without strings attached and the recipients assured the WCC the money would not be used for military purposes.

The WCC action places major Christian bodies on the line in mankind's ever-continuing endeavor to break down the barriers which separate man from man and shatter the Body of Christ. The WCC has faced squarely the issue that the liberation movements are the genuine forces for change in racist-ruled parts of Africa and are the cutting edge to rid us all of the barbarity of apartheid.



This man can testify to what it's like in South Africa. See page 7.

It is significant that the WCC's chief financial support comes from Western nations which persist - by international trade, investments and military assistance - in their complicity with the present regimes of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau; Rhodesia; and the Republic of South Africa and its occupied territory of Namibia. We must pursue the matter complementary to the WCC's action - the Church's holdings in those complicit entities of our society.



SACCSA

MAS 1970

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN
for
SOUTH AFRICA

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The Episcopal Church has made an advance in defining its role in the thicket of finances and moral issues.

Executive Council, at a December 9 meeting at Seabury House, gave the Standing Committee on Social Criteria for Investments the power to take action which is the fruit of the Church's years of examining its responsibilities with its holdings in U.S. firms operating in Southern Africa.

Council approved by an overwhelming majority vote the request of the Social Criteria Committee that it be authorized to -

- hold public hearings to determine the legitimacy of issues.
- prepare and file stockholder resolutions for the annual meetings of selected corporations the Church is invested in.

A further request presented by SCC chairman Robert S. Potter - that the Treasurer of Executive Council be instructed to designate a member or members of SCC to act as proxy at annual meetings, to speak on behalf of issues, and to vote the proxies - was deferred until Council's February 1971 meeting.

The Social Criteria Committee was set up by Council last May and the Presiding Bishop authorized to appoint members. But Council held off on granting SCC powers until detailed proposals were submitted. SCC has worked continuously throughout the summer and fall, in the process assuming the responsibilities of its immediate predecessor, the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa Investments. SCC thus is the latest, and hopefully the final and definitive, body to lead the Church to the exercise of its prophetic role in matters of the purse and social issues needing drastic decision.

At the December 9 meeting, Council first granted the above powers to SCC in relation to looming mining exploitation in Puerto Rico by Kennecott Copper Company and American Metal Climax, Inc., an issue raised by the Bishop of Puerto Rico as affecting the ecology, economy and culture of the Island and its people. Close to half a million dollars of Executive Council's \$39 million of trust funds are in Kennecott shares, while the far more wealthy Church Pension Fund holds \$1,800,000 in Kennecott and notes of \$630,000 in American Metal Climax (AMAX, incidentally, is a major fixture in the prodigious copper mining industry in Namibia (South West Africa).

Hearings on both the Puerto Rican and the Southern Africa issues should come early in the new year. SCC has singled out 7 companies in which the Church is invested and which are essential to South Africa's industrial development:

(continued from page 2)

- Standard Oil of California
- Standard Oil of New Jersey
- Texaco, Inc.
- Firestone Tire and Rubber Company
- General Motors Corporation (including General Motors)
(Acceptance Corporation, a wholly-owned South
(African subsidiary)
- North American Rockwell Corporation
- Caltex Petroleum Corporation (a subsidiary of Texaco)
(and Standard Oil of California)

Also selected is a bank, Chase Manhattan, with which the Episcopal Church maintains working accounts; the Church holds \$170,000 of bonds of Chase as well.

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SCC's predecessor - the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa Investments - in its final report to Council had the benefit of professional assistance by the Council on Economic Priorities, a Washington-based, non-profit research organization. CEP's survey on 31 major U.S. corporations in South Africa in which the Episcopal Church is invested has not been released to the public. However, THE NEW YORK POST quotes CEP as stating:

".....It is clear that U.S. corporate activity in Southern Africa supports apartheid and other forms of minority domination by definition. Certainly, these companies would not remain in operation in South Africa for very long if they did not abide by the established social and political order.

"However, no company producing goods or services in Southern Africa today is decreasing its activities in the area. U.S. corporate activity is of increasing importance to Southern African economy; the pattern is established."

American corporations account for 15 percent of all foreign investments in the Republic of South Africa, to the tune of an estimated one billion dollars. The U.S. stake there is only 1.2 percent of American overseas capital, but the return amounts to 2 percent of American foreign earnings. Most companies in South Africa receive 15 to 20 percent per year on their investments.

American corporations occupy a crucial position in South Africa. They are heavily concentrated - with resident plants and by trade - in those areas essential to the country's basic strengths: petroleum, automobiles, heavy machinery for mining, manufacturing and construction, and in mineral exploitation. U.S. firms supply South Africa with commercial jet aircraft and technological advice, training and construction in aeronautics, and atomic development, and in the all-important 20th-century electronic systemization field. There is a flourishing U.S.-South Africa trade, the former importing \$150 million in 1968 of such things as gold, diamonds, various minerals, karakul pelts, rock lobster. The U.S. sent South Africa in that same year \$500 million of mainly manufactured goods and industrial parts.

(continued from page 3)

One-third of the Episcopal Church's trust fund portfolio of \$39 million is invested in companies operating in South Africa. The Church, for instance, holds almost three-quarters of a million dollars in stocks and bonds of Texaco and Standard Oil of California, the parents of Caltex, which firm, along with Mobil Oil, refines over 50% of South Africa's all important petroleum imports. The Episcopal Church holds \$1,181,302 in General Motors and GMAC stocks and bonds. GM, Ford and Chrysler together produce 60 percent of South Africa's automobiles. A pro-government South African newspaper comments: ".in times of emergency, or war, each automotive plant could be turned over rapidly to the production of weapons and other strategic requirements for the defence of South Africa".

"People outside are bluffing themselves if they think they have any effect on this country." - Helen Suzman, Progressive Party member, South African Parliament.

"Those who want to influence us from abroad will have to send in a few army corps to do it." - Piet Cillie, editor, DIE BURGER, Nationalist Party newspaper.

"Any effect American companies are having is negligible, and seemingly incidental to their money-making interests."

- Fred van Wyk, director, South African Institute of Race Relations.

"There is no way you can point to something concrete and say that our presence is having a positive effect on the racial problem."

- Stephen Pryke, vice president and chief representative in South Africa of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Apologists for continued and greater American business investment in South Africa have traditionally hewn to the line that the U.S. presence will, as David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan, said of his bank's South African affiliate, "exert a constructive influence on racial conditions in South Africa".

Mr. Jim Hoagland, WASHINGTON POST foreign service correspondent, in whose excellent series of articles last summer appear the above quotations, and other seasoned observers can find no evidence for this extraordinarily fanciful dictum. Not only is apartheid more firmly entrenched, but most white South African opponents of the present government accept racial stratification, inevitably with themselves on top. And the U.S. presence, despite official abhorrence of apartheid, is going great guns.

THE STAR of Johannesburg reports that American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs David Newsom told a group of Chicago businessmen "that executive jet aircraft would be available to the South African Defence Force and that a R2,000,000 (\$2,800,000) chrome ore deal with Rhodesia would be allowed". (emphasis ours).

Scant if any notice was given in the American press to this singular shift in U.S. policy. THE STAR considers the Secretary's statement notice that sanction pressure on Southern Africa "is approaching the outer limits of what the United States can support".

Earlier this year there had been deceptive signs of a firmer stance by the U.S. government toward the regimes of Southern Africa. In February, Secretary of State William Rogers made an official goodwill tour of 10 black African nations. The President in his State of the World message referred to working "to bring about a change of direction in parts of Africa where racial oppression and residual colonialism still prevail". In May, U.N. Ambassador Charles Yost announced this country would discourage American investments in Namibia. Secretary Newsom himself reiterated adherence to the arms embargo against South Africa, saying: "We do not intend to strengthen either its military capacity nor its capacity to enforce its own racial policies internally".

Yet "executive jet aircraft" have other uses than assuring magnates of split-second countrywide appointments or covering vast cattle ranches. They are precisely the instruments for wide-range surveillance of the veldt and deserts of Rhodesia, Namibia and of South Africa itself, to spot and interdict African liberatory guerrilla forces and oversee the African population generally.

Another indication of change in our government's Southern African policy: the Nixon administration has disbanded a State Department expert panel composed chiefly of anti-apartheid advisors, including former Assistant Secretary for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams, Professors Gwendolen Carter, C.W. de Kiewiet and Vernon McKay, and the Rev. George Houser, executive director of the American Committee on Africa. They have been replaced by a smaller, more business-oriented committee, one member being the chairman of a Nixon-Agnew Citizens Committee.

During the summer the Senate confirmed the nomination of John G. Hurd - an oil and cattle businessman and Nixon's 1968 Texas campaign manager - as the new ambassador to Pretoria. Mr. Hurd had early in 1969 been put up as envoy to Venezuela but because of his oil interests and the consequent furor his name was withdrawn. The Senate, feeling perhaps it had expended its independent stance with the Haynesworth and Carswell Supreme Court rejections, okayed Mr. Hurd who is now ensconced in Pretoria. (Rep. George Bush, also a Texas oil millionaire, has just been nominated to replace Mr. Yost as ambassador to the United Nations). Does our new man in South Africa possess the capabilities to represent this country in the midst of gathering war there, when international pressure continues to mount over South Africa's occupation of Namibia, as oil companies from many nations - including our own - are assisting South Africa in its desperate search for petroleum?

Government and the financial-industrial-trading sectors of our society are set on their courses to hang in with Southern Africa as it is. What about the religious sector? Will it trot along blindly? Churchpeople can affect the course of history. Turn to PAGE 9 and follow the suggestions there.

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* The Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church *
* of Christ has asked that denominations two million members *
* to boycott Gulf Oil Company products and to return their Gulf *
* credit cards because of Gulf's economic policies in Portugal's *
* African colonies which provide support for the suppression of *
* the African national liberation movements. *
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THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA - The Punitive Record

The South African Department of Prisons has released its report for 1968-1969. It reveals:

- a half million South Africans - out of a total population of 19 million - were sent to jail during that period.
- 88,079 people were in prison on an average day, the highest percentage of any country in the world.
(the daily average for 1954-1955 was 36,113 prisoners; the latest figure therefore shows an increase of nearly 150%.)
- 95% of the prisoners were black Africans.
- Figures for 1967-1968 indicate 44.6% of imprisonments were for technical violations by Africans of pass and tax laws.
- More than 2,000 Africans were convicted each day under the pass and influx control laws.
- 92% received sentences of 6 months or less.
- Over 50% received sentences of one month or less.
- 84 people were hanged.
- 340 'other deaths' occurred in South African prisons.

NO ROOM AT THE INN

The Black Sash, the white South African women's organization, points out that -

- 4,700 breast-fed infants were 'admitted' to prison.
- 187 babies were born in prison during their mother's detention.

THE BANNED AND BANISHED - August 1970

Persistent questioning by Mrs. Helen Suzman, sole Progressive Party member of Parliament, elicited from the government that:

- 974 people are subject to some form of punishment without trial.
- They suffer degrees of restriction and exclusion from society, as 'listed', 'banned', or 'banished' persons.
- Their punishment is the result of administrative decree; the courts are powerless to intercede for them.
- 99 people have been 'banned' in the last year alone.
- 35 Africans are 'banished', forced to live far from their homes in isolated places under conditions of extreme poverty. Two are in their 19th year of banishment; one in his 16th year.
- These 974 people are in addition to an unspecified number detained under the 180-day law and the Terrorism Act.

INSIDE A SOUTH AFRICAN PRISON

Kuaima Riruako is a Namibian. He went to St. Barnabas Anglican school in Windhoek, was associated with the great Chief Hosea Kutako and with Bishop Robert Mize. In 1964, Riruako left his homeland, seeking further education which was denied him in South Africa-occupied Namibia. After two years in Ghana, he and other foreign students were made to leave following the overthrow of President Kwame Nkrumah. Returning to Namibia, he was arrested as a suspected guerrilla in the Caprivi Strip and flown to Pretoria, South Africa, and subjected to interrogation. Eleven months later the South African police dumped him on an island in the Zambezi River, from which he was rescued by Zambian fishermen. Mr. Riruako later made his way to this country, and now lives and goes to college in New York City.

His experience affords Americans a searing look inside South Africa's prisons. Here is an excerpt from his story:

* * * * *

Riruako and two other Namibians were taken to a large room, strapped into chairs. Sacks were placed over their heads and they were beaten by Special Branch men using their hands. Then electric shock treatment was given. Electrodes were applied to parts of the body and strong currents shot through their bodies. "Who were your leaders?" "Where were you trained?" Answers not sufficient. The electrodes were shifted, from chest, to ears, fingers, testicles. Questions - shocks - questions - shocks - more questions - more shocks.

His tormentors worked in two shifts - one by day, the other by night. Each team numbered a dozen plainclothesmen, under the direction of a lieutenant who asked most of the questions. Several members of each team took turns performing the interrogation, the others resting on cots along the walls, chatting, listening to the radio. They ate on the job, occasionally giving some of their food to the prisoners or allowing them to use the adjacent toilet.

Each team was composed half of white Afrikaners, half of black Namibians - Riruako's own countrymen. On duty in the interrogation room they shared food, talk, the radio, the cots, the toilet. They drank the same brandy and beer, did the same work. In the very citadel of apartheid, racial separation was broken down as nowhere else in South Africa - the camaraderie of the torture chamber.

Each morning the overseeing high rank interrogations officer entered. 'Goei more, Hereros! Goei more, Ovambos! Goei more, Damaras!' The officer's cheery greetings reflected South Africa's incessant stress on tribal identities - divide and weaken. The bulky senior officer sat to one side throughout part of the day, sometimes putting in a question, largely watching the proceedings, "like enjoying a movie," Riruako recalls.

Three days and three nights. The police tire of Riruako and his fellow prisoners, who cannot provide relevant information. Riruako is taken back to his cell in New Look prison. The lieutenant's final exasperated words to him are: 'You are a Herero! You speak only one word - shit! That's what you are going to get - shit!'

INVASION OF GUINEA

"An insult, an affront and above all, a challenge to Africa."

- Major General Yakubu Gowon, head
of the government of Nigeria.

Portugal's five-century-old clutch on the African continent reached a new arrogance when beginning on November 22 a series of invasions were launched against the Republic of Guinea and its capital, Conakry.

President Sekou Toure of that small West African state appealed to the United Nations for immediate military help. The U.N. adopted a resolution calling for the attacks to end and sent a fact-finding team to Conakry. This mission reported the invasion force was composed mainly of black African troops from neighboring Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau) led by white Portuguese officers, landing at Conakry from Portuguese war vessels. The forays were staged in Portuguese Guinea.

The real aim of the mercenary invasion appeared to be to scotch the liberation movement for Guinea-Bissau, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the headquarters of which is in Conakry. Attacks on the homes of Amilcar Cabral, PAIGC leader, and President Toure failed to seize either man. Some political prisoners were freed.

The UN Security Council condemned Portugal - which pled innocence, demanded that Lisbon pay compensation for life and property loss and urged all nations to deny military and material assistance to Portugal in its repressive actions in Africa. The USA, Britain, France and Spain abstained.

This colonialist attack in 20th century camouflage deceives no one, least of all the independent African states. The Organization of African Unity accused Portugal of waging "genocidal war" against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and charged the NATO powers of complicity with the Portuguese. The OAU voted increased funds for PAIGC and called for the elimination of the use of mercenary forces in Africa.

THE NEW YORK TIMES said editorially. "The United States cannot avoid taking sides in the great struggle now gradually escalating in southern Africa. It will not suffice to deliver occasional rebukes to our Portuguese ally while standing aloof from any meaningful action by the United Nations Security Council".

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YOU SHOULD READ

The July/August 1970 issue of AFRICA TODAY, entitled "Allies In Empire: The U.S. & Portugal in Africa". American economic, military and diplomatic ties with the Portuguese African Empire.

Obtain from: American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016
(50¢ per copy, plus 15¢ postage)

LUTA STRUGGLE: VOICES OF AFRICAN LIBERATION.

Obtain from: Committee of Returned Volunteers
65 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003
(35¢ each; 20¢ each for orders 10 copies or more)