

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

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

EPIPHANY

1968

LENT



JOOST DE BLANK

1908 - 1968

"Had the Church never compromised on slavery; had the Church never compromised on racial discrimination, our people would never have been conditioned to accept and adopt the pattern of a discriminatory society. It is because our trumpet gave forth an uncertain sound -"

The prophetic voice is stilled. Joost de Blank, from 1957 to 1963 the Archbishop of Cape Town, died on January 1, 1968, in London. During his tenure in South Africa he often stood virtually alone to proclaim the Gospel. Now more than ever his vision is needed. We will miss this good friend. May he rest in peace.

"The Group Areas Act is a law of our land. However much we may dislike or disagree with it, we must abide by it and for the present accept the policy of separate residential areas for different races. But what we cannot accept are the injustices which are perpetrated under cover of this Act" - the Most Rev. R. Selby Taylor, Archbishop of Cape Town, in his charge to diocesan synod, October, 1967.

As oppressive legislation rolls from Parliament to be relentlessly enforced and as the separation and fear amongst the races grows, the more the voices of conscience inside South Africa tend to focus on amelioration rather than to attack the source of the disease. The days of protest, one bishop observed, are over. And all the while the day of collision comes closer, the spectre looms larger.

South African journalist Stanley Uys writes in The New Republic of "the northward thrust of South Africa's diplomatic and military expansionism and the southward thrust of the African guerrilla liberation movements".

He calls attention to the change of South Africa's former policy of neutralism to one of outreach - in association with Rhodesia and Portuguese authorities in Angola and Mozambique - to ward off growing attempts by African nationalist groups to penetrate the white-controlled bastion. Last August South African police (military?) forces teamed up with Rhodesians to battle South African and Rhodesian guerrillas south of the black-white border, the Zambezi River.

Prime Minister Vorster's government has made efforts to give the outside world an appearance of reasonableness and amicable cooperation while continuing the ruthless march of apartheid inside its borders. Vorster has urged Afrikaner youth to offer themselves to black Africa as builders and healers. His diplomatic ties with Malawi, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho as well as with the enclosed semi-state of the Transkei were publicized with an air of responsibility and glamour as much as South Africa's recent heart transplants have been.

But it couldn't last. The apartheid state hasn't really changed: it has only got more inveterate. Black Africa knows this and is only firmed in its determination to seek the only solution it sees open to it: overthrow of the racially-dominated governments.

Mr. Uys in his article points out the recurring incidents along the Zambia-Rhodesia border and the growing enmity and concentration by white Southern Africa on Zambia, the natural staging area for most guerrilla incursions into the white bastion. Vorster warned Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda: "If you want to try violence, we will hit you so hard you will never forget it." The stage is set for a punitive expedition into Zambia and the temper of South Africans fit such an enterprise. This would hasten the collision, but it is certain that black Africa will not cease its attempts.

Mr. Uys quotes a London correspondent as saying that President Kaunda has written President Johnson asking for arms aid. And as the black-white conflict intensifies, black Africa will turn to the East for help and the whites to the West. The question is: "If race war comes, which side will the United States be on?"

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RISE UP, O MEN OF GOD

A group of young people of St. Mary's Parish, Woodstock, Cape Town, protested against the racial policies of the South African government and the Church's acceptance of those policies on October 31, 1967. On that 450th anniversary of Martin Luther's historic act at Wittenberg Cathedral, the Rev. Gray Featherstone, curate of St. Mary's, nailed 95 Theses, 1967 to the door of St. George's Anglican Cathedral, a hundred yards from Parliament buildings in the center of the city of Cape Town.

This act was prompted by the rejection, largely by white lay representatives, of three anti-apartheid resolutions at the Cape Town diocesan synod in mid-October. The Anglican laymen were publicly thanked by Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster.

One motion had asked that apartheid be called morally evil, that the Archbishop proclaim this, and that parents and Sunday school teachers impart this to children and confirmation candidates as an indispensable part of Christian upbringing. One priest's reaction was that he knew a parishioner who sincerely believed in apartheid. "Am I to teach his children that their father is talking nonsense?"

Another motion asked there be no racial discrimination in any aspect of diocesan life and that churches display notices to that effect. The third motion stated: "That in view of the so-called Mixed Marriage Act being contrary to Christ's teaching, all clergy of the Church of the Province of South Africa resign as marriage officers of the State". One lay delegate said he could not support the motion because in South Africa mixed marriages produced only "God's step-children".

"Out of love and truth", 95 Theses, 1967 speaks out on the doctrine of man, authority and prophecy and Christian witness. A hard-hitting section focuses on the Anglican Church and enumerates segregation practices existing in Church life. "There can be no peace with a synod which is shackled by the weight of establishment and respectability." Thesis 24 states: "It is right that we should obey the laws of the State for God has ordained the State to care for the welfare of all His children". Thesis 25 declares: "But let Anglicans know that a law of the State which is at variance with the will of God is not morally binding on Christians".

These young people issue a prophetic call. "If Christians, without let or hindrance, tolerate exploitation, injustice, direct and indirect alienation of man, especially when it is done under the blasphemous invocation of the Christian faith (such as the slogan 'Western, National and Christian'), they cut themselves off from the Word of judgment and the Word of grace, and they shall answer for it before the Living God."

HELEN JOSEPH BANNED FOR FIVE MORE YEARS



Helen Joseph, the first South African placed under house arrest, was served with renewed banning and house arrest orders for a further five years on October 27. Mrs. Joseph had to cancel a planned at home at midnight on October 31 which was to have celebrated her expected freedom.

The 62 year old Mrs. Joseph has been brought to trial only once, as a defendant in the 1956-1961 Treason Trial. She and 155 others were found not guilty. Her bannings and house arrests came by decree of the South African Minister of Justice.

Dean G. A. French-Beytagh of Johannesburg's St. Mary's Cathedral introduced a resolution in October's Johannesburg diocesan synod conveying sympathy to Mrs. Joseph, asking the government to allow her to take part in worship, and condemning the renewal of her house arrest. The motion passed. A deputation from the Cathedral parish to Minister of Justice Pelser succeeded in obtaining a relaxation of her restrictions. Mrs. Joseph is allowed to attend all Sunday high masses at the Cathedral (she may leave home at 9 am and must return by 11:30 am), midnight mass at Christmas and Easter and on Ascension Day and the three-hour Good Friday service. A request for unlimited visits by a priest was denied. Mrs.

Joseph has reported daily during the work week to Marshall Square police station, totaling 1500 times over the years. She is confined to home from 6:30 pm until 6:30 am and all day and night on weekends and holidays.

Helen Joseph's book, TOMORROW'S SUN, the story of her efforts on behalf of South Africa's political exiles within the country - the banished - efforts which contributed largely to her own banning and house arrest, has been published in the USA - TOMORROW'S SUN, John Day Company, \$5.50



Photo: CAPE TIMES, Cape Town

"You and I are living at this moment in a very dangerous world. We are going to have to take many risks. And that does not mean we learn to take these risks responsibly."

It is ten years ago since I first came to a gathering of the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa. I shall never forget that dinner in a downtown area on the East Side of New York held in the open air with the food spotted with smut and dust. It was a strange experience, yet not so strange, for in a queer way it was somewhat reminiscent of my many visits to African townships in the eight years that I had been in South Africa.

As I talked with the leadership of ECSA I was aware that they were not very clear about their objectives beyond the fact that they had a deep and passionate concern to help the Church in South Africa. That was real enough and it moved me and inspired me in the struggle to which I was already committed in South Africa. My one fear at that time was that ECSA might become an agency of the Overseas Department of the Episcopal Church. This I feared because there was not any real need for just one more missionary endeavor added to all the various missionary societies and departments of churches already busy with all the traditional activities of the missionary movement of the West to the countries of the African continent, valuable as undoubtedly their contributions have been and still are in the life of the Church in Africa. What was needed was a group of committed churchmen in the United States who would by their prayers, their understanding and their efforts support those of their brethren in South Africa who were actively engaged in the struggle against apartheid.

With varying success, I believe that ECSA has done just this. But I presume we are not concerned with the past but with the present. And once we come to the present you will understand that I am at somewhat of a disadvantage because it is now exactly seven years since I was arrested and deported from the diocese of Johannesburg.

The Right Rev. Ambrose Reeves was deported from South Africa in 1960. He was then the Bishop of Johannesburg and a prime mover amongst those in South Africa who fought against the encroachments of apartheid and the police state.

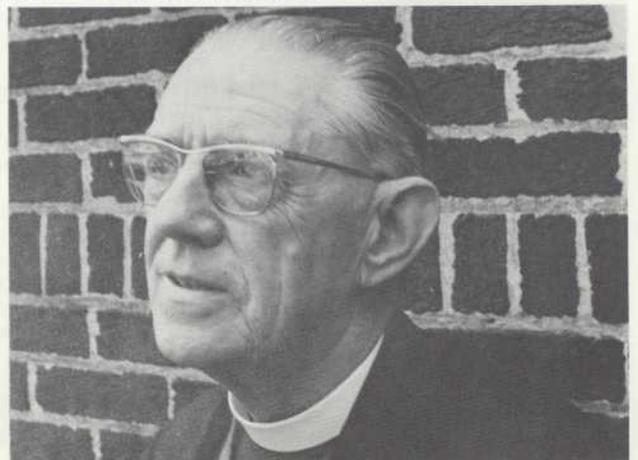
Bishop Reeves, now assistant bishop of Chichester in England, took part in a fact-finding mission to Hanoi early in 1967.

ECSA has had an affectionate and honored relationship with Bishop Reeves since he addressed our first public meeting in 1957. On his last trip to America in November, 1967, accompanied by Mrs. Reeves, we asked him to speak to us.

As you know I am at the moment deeply concerned with events in Southeast Asia since I spent some time in Hanoi earlier this year. When I told a friend that I was going to North Vietnam his face fell. And he said that he hoped this did not mean that my activity on behalf of South Africa and my part in the struggle against apartheid would be lessened by my visit to the Far East. He need not have been so anxious because it would not be easy for me to forget the years in which I was engaged in opposing the racist ideology in South Africa. Though I am no longer able to share in the opposition from within South Africa, I am not only as opposed as ever to apartheid and I spend a great deal of my time in Britain trying to help both students and church groups to understand the real issues in South Africa at the present time.

In any case, though it may surprise you, it was my deep concern for South Africa that in part took me to Hanoi, because I suspected, though I never read it anywhere, that there was a racial factor in the present conflict in Vietnam, a factor which is usually entirely overlooked in this country, or if it is by chance mentioned, is at once brushed on one side as having no importance. But I believe after visiting Hanoi that this racial dimension in the war in Vietnam has a certain importance for many Vietnamese.

More than once in Hanoi I was told by peasants in the villages and by workers in the city that the Americans would not behave as they are doing if the Vietnamese had white skins. And when I replied that they would and did, for example in the Second World War, it made very little if any impression on them. This is not surprising if you had seen as I have seen the victims of the barbaric weapons that the United States is now using and testing against the people of Vietnam, such as the napalm and even more seriously in the North, the anti-personnel fragmentation bombs.



gerous world in which Christians n't frighten me at all, providing we



And so it is that, rightly or wrongly, many people in North Vietnam remain convinced that color differences are a factor of some importance in the war in which they are now engaged. And for this reason they believe that the struggle in which they are caught up is all of a piece with the struggle both of the Negroes in the United States and of the non-whites in Southern Africa for liberation from an oppressive white minority. They are convinced they are fighting for their non-white brothers across the world, those in the United States and those in Africa. Many of them are ill educated and by western standards the great majority are extremely poor. But at least they have learnt one basic truth, namely, that freedom is indivisible. I dwell on this because in my extensive travels since I left South Africa, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, in Europe, in Latin America, in China, in Vietnam and here in the United States, I have become increasingly convinced that there is a growing solidarity among the non-white peoples across the world which is already raising extremely crucial issues for the white race, even though the white race by and large is entirely oblivious that such issues are being raised. But I believe that on the answer that the white race gives to these issues may depend the continued influence of the white race in world affairs.

This also I believe has to be taken into account very seriously by any group such as ECSA which takes to do with South Africa. Certainly it is quite impossible for me to attempt to deal at all realistically with events in the Republic of South Africa in isolation from events in the whole of the African continent and for that matter from events in the whole of the world.

Obviously a group such as ECSA ought not to allow these events to distract them from their main task. My only plea is that in your thinking and your planning you should take these events into account, for isolated as South Africa is, both geographically and ideologically, from the rest of the world, it is not an island. It also must inevitably be affected by what is happening in the racial struggle here in the United States and in Africa and to an increasing extent to events in the United Kingdom. And for that matter by events in the Far East.

The situation in Southern Africa is entirely different from that which faced ECSA at the time it was founded. Then the opposition to apartheid was centered in the Congress Alliance which was committed to a policy of passive resistance. Sharpeville changed all this. While it is true today that the South African government has an

iron control on the situation; that all organized opposition has been smashed; and that to some extent the general prosperity of the country is being realized by the non-whites in a way that could not have been dreamed of even a few years ago, those who are now in the leadership of the opposition to apartheid, whether in exile or in South Africa, have renounced their former policy of passive resistance and for the most part, like the white minority itself, are now committed to a policy of violence. I would recommend if you have not read them the words used by Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, at his trial in 1964, because I believe these words are already true.

In his speech in the court he commented that violence by the government would breed violence among the opponents of the government. This has already begun. The day when there will be an open clash between those determined to preserve the status quo in South Africa by force and those who are determined to change it by force may for the moment be deferred. But even if it is deferred for some years, yet none of us ought to imagine that if things are maintained as they are, the conflict will be indefinitely avoided unless the policies in South Africa are changed radically. The moment, I believe, will come as surely as night follows day when the racial tensions of the present will be resolved by the use of force.

Therefore I believe that it is not too early for a group such as ECSA to ponder seriously this frightening possibility, and to determine its own attitude to what I believe in the contemporary world is becoming a major question that all Christians will have to face, namely, the use of force to overthrow injustice, suffering and racial discrimination.

But what of the situation in the Anglican Church of South Africa? Here I am at a very great disadvantage, because like yourselves I have to rely for information on what I am told and what I happen to read. But I have the impression that as time goes on the white section of the Church of the Province of South Africa, both clerical and lay, is adapting itself increasingly to the prevailing climate of apartheid in South

(continued on next page)

Africa. I am well aware that the leaders of our Church in the Republic live in a constant dilemma. Either they openly oppose the working out of this racist ideology at specific and particular points with the risk that in one way or another they will be silenced. Or they limit themselves to the occasional verbal statement, contenting themselves otherwise with the internal affairs of the Church, so making quite sure that no action is taken against them.

This is no new dilemma. This is a dilemma that has faced the Church leadership in South Africa ever since the Nationalists came into power in 1948. And it is not for me to attempt to pass judgment on those who conclude at the present time that discretion is the better part of valor. But I do take the gravest exception when it is maintained, as it is being maintained increasingly, both within and outside the Church in South Africa, that the kind of opposition which was once given vigorously by people like Trevor Huddleston, Michael Scott, Alan Paton and many others in the Anglican Church in South Africa has now become completely obsolete. I can imagine the reply that would have been given to such assertions as these by one of the Hebrew prophets of old, even one of the minor prophets.

While such assertions may bring comfort and great relief to the white adherents of the Church in South Africa, I tremble to think of the effect these statements are having already and will increasingly have on the majority of the Church, namely on the non-white membership of the Church of the Province of South Africa. I know from conversations I have from time to time with some of the clergy and laity in South Africa who I meet on my travels that they are perplexed and deeply troubled by the increasing failure of the Church to exercise a prophetic ministry in the present situation in South Africa. And I fear that this will long be remembered by Africans when the day of reckoning comes.

All through my ministry, and in these recent days as I have travelled in the cities of the United States, I have always shrunk from attempting to tell other people what they ought to do, especially in situations in which I am not personally involved. And I have not the slightest intention of departing from that position on this present occasion. I am only deeply troubled by the thought of the ultimate consequences for the Church in South Africa if that Church becomes an absentee from history.

Because I am convinced, and my experience in the Church of England in these last few years has deepened my conviction, that churches like individuals can lose their lives by trying to save them. The cost of this is always too great both for churches and for individuals. But I recognize that

all that is now happening in South Africa and particularly in the Church of South Africa places ECSA in an extraordinarily difficult if not dangerous situation. I can appreciate that all of you and all those who support you will have a very great deal of hard thinking to do in the coming days as to the role that you now have to fulfill in relation to South African church life. But of one thing I am convinced. I cannot believe that ECSA should go out of business.

There are still some priests, if a diminishing number of white clergy; there are still some white laity, if a diminishing number, who are valiantly continuing the struggle if in ways unlike those which were formerly possible.

And we must never forget our African brethren, who I need hardly remind you make up the majority of the active membership of the Church. This small and perhaps diminishing group of white clergy and laity and this large mass of voiceless African Christians need all the support that you can give them. And whatever may or may not be the attitude of the Church of the Province of South Africa in the coming days, the great thing to which you must hang on is that ECSA has long since recognized apartheid for what it is. And I am convinced that in season and out season you have a continuing responsibility to bring home the evils of apartheid to Episcopalians in this country. Indeed I have a suspicion that in doing this you have an excellent method of attacking obliquely the very serious racial problems in the United States itself.

But to do this you may well have to change your tactics considerably in the coming days. You may find yourselves, as I have found myself, having to work more closely with those who are outside the Christian Church, but who are struggling with you against apartheid, whether they are Christians or not. This will bring its own dangers to ECSA. But you and I are living at this moment in a very dangerous world in which Christians are going to have to take many risks. And that doesn't frighten me at all, providing we learn to take these risks responsibly.

At least, we cannot go on as if both in South Africa and in the Church in South Africa the situation is the same today as it was 12 years ago when ECSA was founded. No situations in life are ever static. I am personally encouraged greatly to know that you have already begun to examine the whole situation and I am confident that if you do this earnestly and seriously under the Gospel you will discover fresh ways in which you can continue to serve the best interests of the Church in South Africa, whatever those at present in power in that Church may think of your attitude, your words and your actions.

Mozambique is the Portuguese colony, somewhat larger than Texas, which stretches along the southeast coast of Africa, forming one flank of white-controlled Southern Africa. Its population of over seven million is almost completely African and is subject to strict Portuguese rule - except for those people in the northern provinces adjacent to Tanzania which have been wrested from Portuguese troops by the 8,000 man guerrilla army of Frelimo - the Mozambique Liberation Front.

The harsh facts of the Portuguese colonial system were driven home to Mozambique-born American-educated Dr. Eduardo Mondlane on a visit to his homeland in 1961.

Education
for the
Future



THE MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE



Dr. Mondlane gave up his position on the staff of the United Nations, joined the African resistance and in 1962 was elected president of Frelimo with headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. One element of the drive for freedom was the preparation of a guerrilla army which has met with extraordinary success in the field. Frelimo today claims control of one fifth of Mozambique. And laying the groundwork for the future of the country is the Mozambique Institute.

Under the Portuguese colonial system virtually none of the young Africans get into the few secondary schools in Mozambique. In fact, most African children never get to school. The illiteracy rate in Mozambique is 97 per cent.



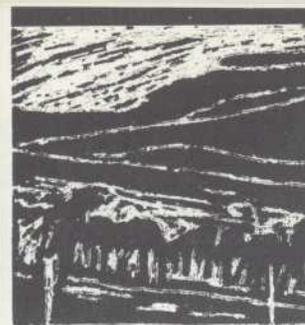
Dr. Mondlane and his American wife, Janet, raised funds from the Ford Foundation in the United States to build a hostel in Dar es Salaam for young Mozambican refugees. In September, 1964, the first students moved in and the Mozambique Institute commenced.

Today the Institute's 180 students fill the growing campus a few miles outside Dar es Salaam. A full teaching program covers the first three years of Mozambican secondary education. A nurses training course is under the direction of a Mozambican doctor of Portuguese extraction. The subjects taught are history, geography, civics, mathematics, science, Portuguese, English, art and a course on "How to Study". Classes are held in the Portuguese language. Music lessons, lectures, films, exhibitions are held on a regular basis. As important as any academic subject is training and experience in the responsibilities of self-government and a student council elected from the classes works with the staff. It is usually necessary for the staff to write the Institute's own textbooks and to translate works into Portuguese.

The Institute directs a system of primary feeder schools amongst Mozambican refugees in Tanzania. But the staff of the Institute is drawn more and more to the liberated areas of Mozambique itself. Thousands of children remain there, where opportunities for schooling have always been minimal and where now many schools have been stopped altogether. Primary schools are being developed in the liberated areas and the Institute is setting up a teacher training course to prepare a Mozambican cadre to man these schools. Although the children may take their lessons under a tree, the Mozambique Institute is determined to give them a far better education than has ever been available under colonial rule. They will learn responsible self-government along with reading, writing and arithmetic.

Mrs. Mondlane, director of the Mozambique Institute, works with a staff of nine Mozambicans, a Czech, an East German, a Swede, an Indian and two Americans. She stated her purpose succinctly in an interview with The New York Times: "My job as director is to train refugees who will return to the liberated areas as administrators, teachers and nurses. We are also trying to devise a whole new educational system for the country."

The Mozambique Institute is a decisive element in the struggle for freedom in Mozambique, indeed for Southern Africa. Its founding and its few years of existence have been a story of clear thinking, dedication and faith. The Institute is one expression of the desire of the people of Mozambique to be free. It is an assurance that they will carry well the responsibilities and burdens that freedom requires.



NON EUROPEANS
NOT ADMITTED
NO DOGS ALLOWED

IN SOUTH AFRICA -

An **A**frican person -

May not vote for representatives in Parliament, or in provincial or municipal elections.

- cannot vote for the central government that passes legislation affecting African lives.
- must accept that 13 per cent of all South Africa's land is to become the home for all African peoples, who constitute 70 per cent of the total population. (The remaining 87 per cent of the land has been allocated to whites; within this are included small "group areas" for the Coloured and Indian people.)
- is not entitled by law to have wife and children living with him outside the African "homelands!"
- C**an be sentenced to death at the age of 15 years for political offenses.
- may be sent to prison for failure to pay his rent.
- may not in most cities be out in the street after curfew hour at night.
- may not in certain circumstances attend a church service in a white area.
- cannot perform skilled building work in white areas.
- may not strike.
- must allow labor disputes to be settled by a governmental all-white body.
- must accept that white persons only can represent his trade union in labor negotiations.

BLANKES

NIE BLANKES

- is to use strictly those public amenities reserved for him (trains, platforms, entrances, busses, counters, elevators, stairs, taxicabs, telephone booths, theatres, cinemas, parks, libraries, benches, hotels, swimming pools, restaurants, cafes, beaches, toilets, sports grounds, ambulances, banking facilities, etc.)

EUROPEAN
LADIES -

NON-EUROPEAN
FEMALES -

EUROPEANS

BANTU -

ASIATICS -

SLEGS
BLANKES

- must always carry his Passbook (reference book) with him or he can be arrested.

Has in his own "homeland" Bantustans no real right of free assembly or political organization.

Whose wife wishes to visit him or his home in an urban location may stay with him for 72 hours under a visitor's permit. If she wishes to maximize the likelihood of conceiving a child, she may apply for an extended permit which may be granted "for biological reasons".

A **C**oloured or Indian person -

- may own land in only an infinitesimal part of South Africa.
- may not occupy premises outside his own special "group area", unless as a servant.
- may not vote in general elections.
- may take only those jobs reserved for him.
- is classified as a "non-white" and accordingly barred from all amenities reserved for whites.

Any person -

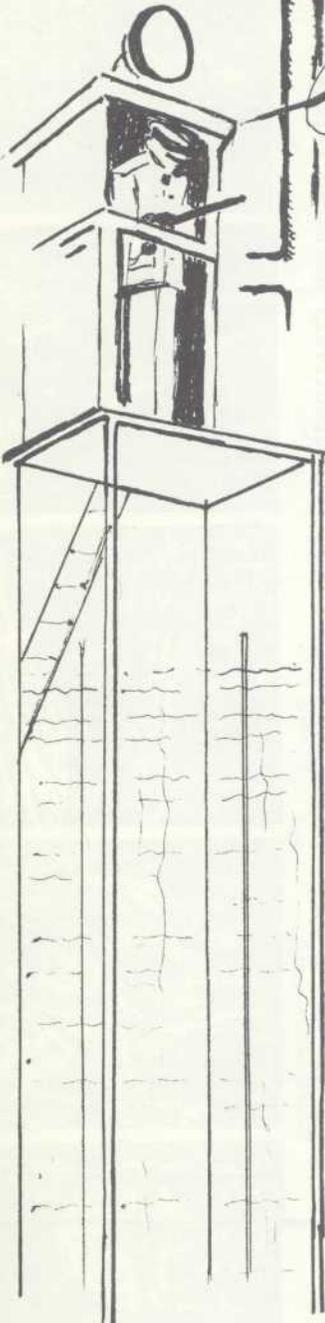
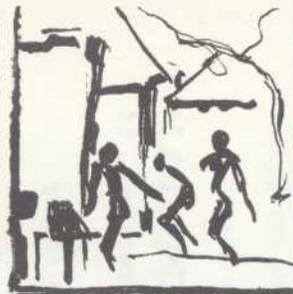
- may not marry someone of another racial group.
- may be arrested without warrant if a political suspect.
- is, under certain laws, guilty until he has proven his own innocence, e.g., the Terrorism Act.
- must allow his house to be searched at any time without a search warrant being required, if he is a political suspect.
- may be banished or put under house-arrest even when the courts have cleared him of any charges brought against him.

Can be jailed until "this side of eternity" without trial in solitary confinement if the State maintains that he may be able to give evidence or information.

- may be kept under detention upon expiry of the original prison sentence.

If subject to banning orders, may be prevented from consulting with his lawyers or from being visited by his priest or minister.

- has no right to a preparatory trial, even when indicted on capital offenses.
- may be arrested and sentenced for offenses committed at a time when these "offenses" were not yet illegal, but which since have been retrospectively declared illegal.



Contaminated Unationa

"Only one who is not white and has suffered the way we have suffered can say whether our grievances are real or 'so-called.'" — *Toivo Herman ja Toivo*

The trial of 35 South West Africans in Pretoria Supreme Court, Republic of South Africa, has ended with 30 of the men receiving prison terms.

On February 8, Justice Joseph F. Ludorf sentenced 19 of the accused to life imprisonment, 9 to twenty-year terms, and 2 to five-year terms under provisions of the Terrorism Act of the Republic of South Africa.

Three others were found guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act and given 5 years in prison. Their terms were suspended and the three are now eligible for immediate release, The New York Times reports.

Of the original 37 men charged in August, 1967, one died during the trial, another is ill and will be sentenced later, and two were acquitted.

The judge handed down his findings on January 26. At that time he stated he would not impose the death sentence. The New York Times quotes from his 79-page verdict: "It also weighs with me that all crimes whereof the accused have been convicted on the main count were committed before the act passed by Parliament and that this is the first trial in which persons are charged with contravention of the act because of the retrospective effects thereof. For these reasons, we have decided not to impose the death penalty in the case of any one of the accused."

Mr. Justice Ludorf added: "Our courts will not necessarily decline to impose the death sentence in the future."

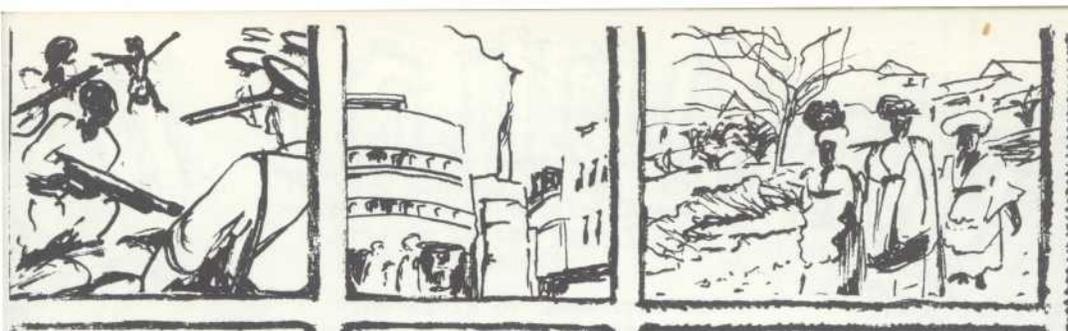
The Terrorism Act, 1967, includes an ex post facto determination reaching back to June, 1962. The Act is in the opinion of Morris B. Abram, United States representative on the U.N. Human Rights Commission, "so vague as to furnish no possibility of effective defense or fair trial."

Toivo Herman ja Toivo, Ovamboland regional secretary of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization and an Anglican layman - who received a 20-year prison term - on February 1 pled in mitigation before the court. The Times of London carried an Agence France Presse dispatch from Pretoria, reporting Mr. Toivo to have said:

"It suits the Government of South Africa to say that it is ruling South West Africa with the consent of its people. This is not true. We have felt from the very time of our arrest that we were not being tried by our equals but by our masters. Had we been tried by our equals, it would not have been necessary to have any discussion about our grievances. We find ourselves here in a foreign country, convicted under laws made by people whom we have always considered as foreigners. We found ourselves tried by a judge who is not our countryman and who has not shared our background. It is the deep feeling of all of us that we should not be tried here in Pretoria."

The SWAPO leader continued: "Your Lordship emphasized in his judgment the fact that our arms came from communist countries and also that the words commonly used by communists were to be found in our documents. But in the documents produced by the state there is another type of language. It is the wish of the South African Government that we should be discredited in the western world.

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



His Rights

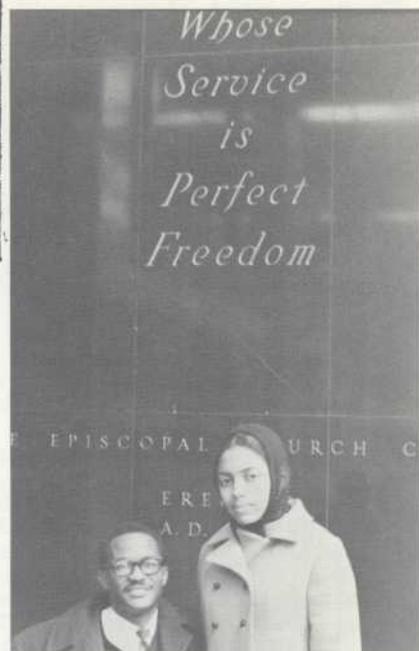
The General Assembly of the United Nations on October 27, 1966, by a vote of 114 to 2 (South Africa and Portugal only voting 'no') terminated South Africa's 46-year-old mandate over the territory of South West Africa. The U.N. itself assumed the mandate and set up an 11-nation council to administer South West and prepare it for independence in June, 1968. The U.N. has run into great reluctance, particularly on the part of the western countries which have investments in both South and South West Africa, to enforce the world organization's authority. South African Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster has warned the outside world repeatedly that South Africa would fight to maintain its position in South West Africa.

The General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to demand that South Africa drop the Pretoria trial. The Association of the Bar of New York protested the trial. American churches, including the Episcopal, raised funds for defense of the men and aid for their families. ECSA friends contributed generously to this cause. The New York Times editorialized that the United States government should "condemn the whole rotten procedure, not in a private visit by a cautious ambassador to the South African foreign office but publicly in the strongest terms." U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg at the U.N. said, according to The New York Times, it was "important to divest the Government of South Africa of its cloak of legality" given by the Terrorism Act and suggested the matter be brought to the World Court.

The Holy Eucharist with special intentions for the men and their families was celebrated on November 28 in the Chapel of Christ the Lord at the Episcopal Church Center in New York City. Jacob Kuhangua, secretary-general of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization and an Anglican layman, who was in New York to testify before the U.N., led the intercessions.

Jacob Kuhangua was born at St. Mary's, the Anglican mission station a few miles below the Angola-South West Africa border, the colonial boundary cutting the Ovambo nation in two. He was a herd boy, entered the mission school, was confirmed by the pioneer priest of Ovamboland, Bishop Tobias, and served as an altar boy. At the age of 17 he taught in the primary school. Along with traditional education came an awareness of the world beyond the pastoral setting of Ovamboland, a faculty encouraged by the teacher-priest, Father Dymond.

Jacob Kuhangua, in a wheelchair since an assassination attempt, with his wife, Margarita, at the Episcopal Church Center in New York City.



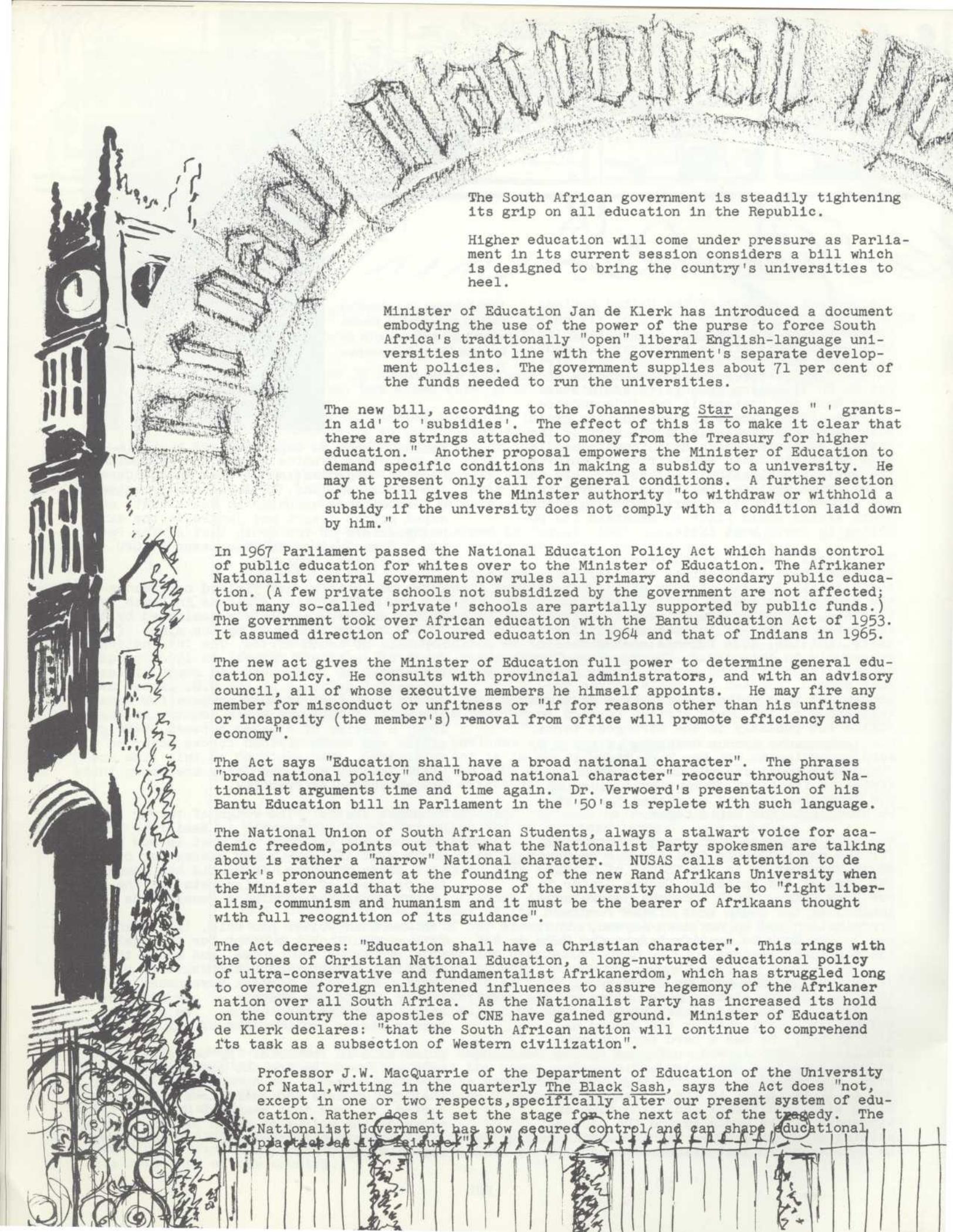
Kuhangua went to Cape Town and there in 1959 he and other Ovambos formed the Ovamboland Peoples' Organization to seek independence for their homeland. Kuhangua was arrested in a disobedience campaign in South West, escaped across desert and jungle to the exile headquarters of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization, the successor to OPO, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Years of petition had yielded no freedom for the half-million Africans in South West Africa who were completely dominated by the 70,000 whites backed up by the might of the Republic of South Africa. The International Court of Justice's refusal in 1966 to judge the status of South West and South Africa's successful defiance of the U.N. caused SWAPO to conclude that it must prepare for armed struggle to liberate their country. In August, 1966, a series of clashes between SWAPO guerrillas and South African forces occurred in Ovamboland. Men captured at this time and SWAPO leaders arrested later are among those now sentenced at Pretoria.

Kuhangua states: "The reign of terror by the South African government in Namibia - the name we have selected for what is now called South West Africa - today places our people in a state of agony. Apartheid has hampered the progress of our nation, retarded the minds of our young and promising generations.

"An American writer has said, 'Americanism is a revolutionary concept for the unalienable rights of the people, and among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness'. The South African government is trying to dilute the essence of our struggle and distort our revolution. We are not terrorists; we are patriots of our own land."

Toivo said in Pretoria: "My co-accused and I have suffered. We are not looking forward to our imprisonment. We do not feel, however, that our efforts and sacrifices have been wasted. We hope that what has happened will persuade the whites of South Africa that we and the world may be right, and that they may be wrong."



The South African government is steadily tightening its grip on all education in the Republic.

Higher education will come under pressure as Parliament in its current session considers a bill which is designed to bring the country's universities to heel.

Minister of Education Jan de Klerk has introduced a document embodying the use of the power of the purse to force South Africa's traditionally "open" liberal English-language universities into line with the government's separate development policies. The government supplies about 71 per cent of the funds needed to run the universities.

The new bill, according to the Johannesburg Star changes " ' grants-in aid' to 'subsidies'. The effect of this is to make it clear that there are strings attached to money from the Treasury for higher education." Another proposal empowers the Minister of Education to demand specific conditions in making a subsidy to a university. He may at present only call for general conditions. A further section of the bill gives the Minister authority "to withdraw or withhold a subsidy if the university does not comply with a condition laid down by him."

In 1967 Parliament passed the National Education Policy Act which hands control of public education for whites over to the Minister of Education. The Afrikaner Nationalist central government now rules all primary and secondary public education. (A few private schools not subsidized by the government are not affected; (but many so-called 'private' schools are partially supported by public funds.) The government took over African education with the Bantu Education Act of 1953. It assumed direction of Coloured education in 1964 and that of Indians in 1965.

The new act gives the Minister of Education full power to determine general education policy. He consults with provincial administrators, and with an advisory council, all of whose executive members he himself appoints. He may fire any member for misconduct or unfitness or "if for reasons other than his unfitness or incapacity (the member's) removal from office will promote efficiency and economy".

The Act says "Education shall have a broad national character". The phrases "broad national policy" and "broad national character" reoccur throughout Nationalist arguments time and time again. Dr. Verwoerd's presentation of his Bantu Education bill in Parliament in the '50's is replete with such language.

The National Union of South African Students, always a stalwart voice for academic freedom, points out that what the Nationalist Party spokesmen are talking about is rather a "narrow" National character. NUSAS calls attention to de Klerk's pronouncement at the founding of the new Rand Afrikaners University when the Minister said that the purpose of the university should be to "fight liberalism, communism and humanism and it must be the bearer of Afrikaans thought with full recognition of its guidance".

The Act decrees: "Education shall have a Christian character". This rings with the tones of Christian National Education, a long-nurtured educational policy of ultra-conservative and fundamentalist Afrikanerdom, which has struggled long to overcome foreign enlightened influences to assure hegemony of the Afrikaner nation over all South Africa. As the Nationalist Party has increased its hold on the country the apostles of CNE have gained ground. Minister of Education de Klerk declares: "that the South African nation will continue to comprehend its task as a subsection of Western civilization".

Professor J.W. MacQuarrie of the Department of Education of the University of Natal, writing in the quarterly The Black Sash, says the Act does "not, except in one or two respects, specifically alter our present system of education. Rather does it set the stage for the next act of the tragedy. The Nationalist Government has now secured control and can shape educational practice at its leisure."



The principal ideas behind Christian National Education in secondary and primary schools are set forth by Denis Herbstein in an article in the Cape Times: Some of them are:

"The basis of this type of education is that all white children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents. This means Afrikaans-speaking children should have a Christian National education, for the Christian and

National spirit of the Afrikaner nation must be preserved.

"By Christian, in this context, is meant according to the creeds of the three Afrikaner churches. By National is meant imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture. Nationalism must be rooted in Christianity.

"The spirit of all teaching must be Christian-National; in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-National or non-National propaganda be made.

"Mother tongue should be the most important secular subject and the only medium of instruction, except in teaching other modern languages.....

"God has enjoined on each nation its individual task in the fulfillment of His purpose. Young people can only understand the national task fruitfully if they acquire a true vision of the origin of the nation and of the direction of the national heritage. Next to mother tongue, the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own, which is nationalism."

The former head of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies (FAK), the organization which sponsored CNE, stated: "Our Afrikaans schools... must be places where our children will be saturated with the Christian and National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation. We want no mixing of language, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races."

Professor MacQuarrie warns: "Increasing vigilance and immediate and vigorous reaction by protest and resistance to any encroachment of the healthy mental development of our children are now more than ever the duty of every responsible parent and citizen."

A gloomy assessment was made in early February by Dr. E.G. Malherbe, formerly the principal of the University of Natal, speaking at the annual meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations at the University of Cape Town: "We are, as a people, increasingly showing signs of docile acceptance of an incipient political and cultural totalitarianism similar to that which sent Germany to her doom and which is the chief characteristic of the dreaded communistic state."

"We stand for Christian socialism, which is an ally of national socialism. You can call it the anti-democratic principle if you wish. In Italy it is called fascism, in Germany, German national socialism and in South Africa, Christian socialism."

— Balthazar Johannes Vorster

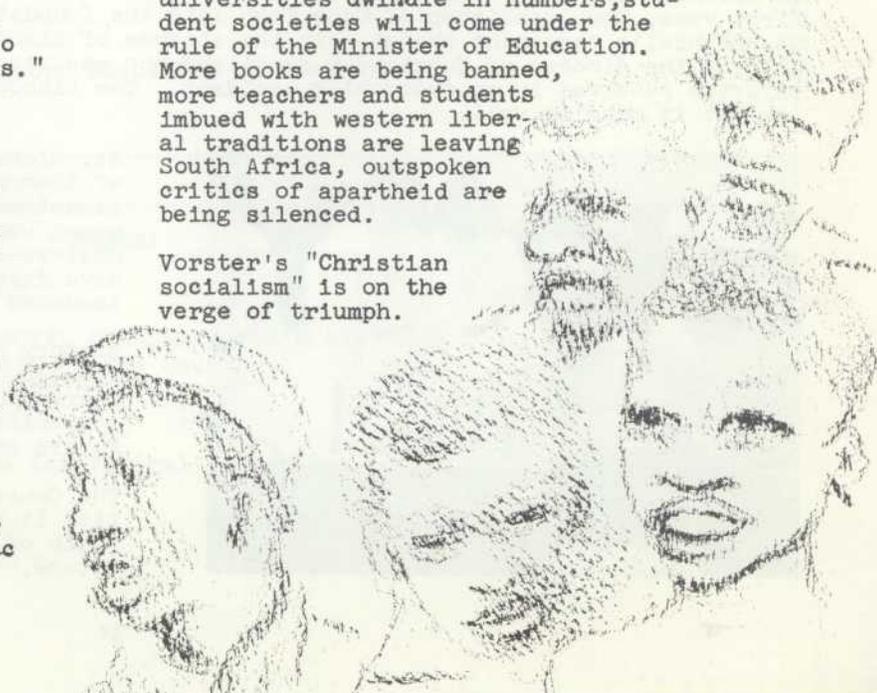
Vorster made this statement during World War II, shortly before his arrest for subversive activities. Now that he is Prime Minister, nothing indicates a softening of his determination to mold South Africa to his views. One of the few obstacles in his way is the academic community, primarily the National Union of South African Students.

The government's campaign against NUSAS has been relentless. NUSAS's president was banned on the eve of the visit of their guest, Senator Robert Kennedy, in 1966. Doctor Raymond Hoffenberg, lecturer in medicine at the University of Cape Town, active in Defense and Aid before that organization which helped political prisoners was banned, and a friend of students was himself banned. (Dr. Hoffenberg, world renowned for research in radioactive isotopes and a gland specialist, was called in to examine Clive Haupt, donor in South Africa's second heart transplant.)

Last October a deportation order was served on John Sprack, elected to succeed Margaret Marshall as president of NUSAS. South African born, Sprack had used a British passport to travel and the South African government revoked his citizenship. The Rand Daily Mail reported Vorster's comments at the time: "There are too many foreigners who have the audacity to take it upon themselves to decide the fate of South Africa." The Prime Minister went on to say "the government would continue to watch the activities of NUSAS very carefully and to take action against people promoting the aims of communism".

Students, faculty and others protested both Sprack's deportation and Hoffenberg's banning. But the mailed fist is closing on NUSAS. It cannot operate on the campuses of non-white "tribal colleges", the few hundred Africans, Coloureds and Indians still at the "open" universities dwindle in numbers, student societies will come under the rule of the Minister of Education. More books are being banned, more teachers and students imbued with western liberal traditions are leaving South Africa, outspoken critics of apartheid are being silenced.

Vorster's "Christian socialism" is on the verge of triumph.



Changing of the Guard

On April 25, 1967, the Kingdom of Swaziland was inaugurated as a state protected by the British crown. King Sobhuza II took the oath as Head of State and the Swazi flag flew for the first time.

Swaziland had been a British protectorate since 1881. The Rhode Island size African nation is surrounded on three sides by the Republic of South Africa and on the fourth by Portuguese-controlled Mozambique. Swaziland is scheduled for complete independence in September, 1968.

In Swaziland the artificial barriers between the races have been swept away. In 1962 the government announced a policy of non-racial education and schools, public and private, are engaged in the process of integration.

St. Michael's School at Manzini belongs to the Anglican diocese of Zululand & Swaziland and has been directed by the Sisters of the Order of the Holy Paraclete since 1958. St. Michael's today has over 200 girls, all boarders, in the High School which has courses leading to college entrance. Five graduates are at university in Lesotho, the nearby African country completely surrounded by South Africa. Two girls are college students in the United States. There is a primary school at St. Michael's, with 240 girls and boys.



The Order of the Holy Paraclete was established in December, 1914, at Whitby on the northeast coast of England, under threat of shelling from German warships and across the River Esk from the site where 1300 years ago St. Hilda had set up her religious order. The OHP maintains numerous branch houses and schools throughout England, in Ghana, Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, and at Manzini. There on November 11, 1967, the first three Zulu novices of OHP took their first vows. The Archbishop of Cape Town laid the foundation stone of St. Michael's permanent chapel - in the absence of Bishop Alphaeus H. Zulu of the diocese of Zululand & Swaziland who was recovering from injuries received in an automobile accident. The bishop had a broken jaw but is mending well.



Sister Prudence, OHP, headmistress of St. Michael's since 1962, is visiting the United States to tell about education in this crucial free country and to get support for St. Michael's program of updating old buildings, construction of new classrooms and hostels, and for scholarships to enable more of the hundreds of applicants to enter school.



St. Michael's wants to educate Christian women of tomorrow up to college entrance. The school cannot now meet the ever-growing demand from young women who want higher education. The Sisters of the Holy Paraclete and the diocese have faced the challenge squarely and have launched a \$123,000 expansion program.

History moves swiftly. Swaziland, strategically located in Southern Africa, where South African apartheid and Rhodesian and Portuguese racial domination do not rule, is a showcase for the future of that part of the world.

The Church will not have tomorrow the opportunities it has today to contribute in training the youth of Southern Africa for their role in the future.

Think Ahead
to the Southern Africa
of the Future -



Beneath the monumental and violent events in Southern Africa there is a constant element - the effort to maintain and increase educational opportunities for the next generations of Southern Africans.

Because of political conditions, there are fewer and fewer places within racist-dominated Southern Africa where real education, particularly for Africans and others subject to the strictures of racialism, can be offered.

In Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and a few other scattered spots there are schools able to provide some unshackled training for all people.

Adjacent to Southern Africa - in countries like Zambia and Tanzania - exiles and their friends strive to build up cadres to carry into being a society which includes all people.

Whatever may be said of the Church's compromise with oppressive governments, the Church is deeply committed in many places to providing sound primary and secondary schools and is making heroic efforts to help the youth of Southern Africa prepare for their future.

Americans, by the force of circumstances, are and will increasingly be involved with and affected by this future.

Will you take your part in it now?

I enclose \$ _____ to support Education in Southern Africa.

NAME: _____

STREET: _____

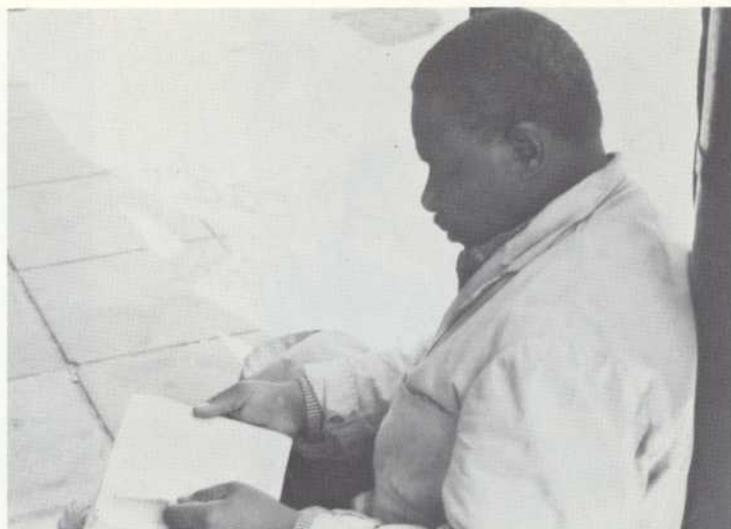
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NEW BOOKS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA



HOUSE OF BONDAGE, by Ernest Cole. Random House. \$10.00

- apartheid from the eyes of a 27-year-old black South African photographer who is now in exile in the United States. His pictures show the sordidness of South Africa as no words can describe, as only one who has suffered can frame.

INSTRUMENT OF THY PEACE, by Alan Paton. Seabury Press. \$3.50

- meditations by South African author and seeker-after-freedom Alan Paton, prompted by the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, "Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace".

TOMORROW'S SUN, by Helen Joseph. John Day Company. \$5.50

- a smuggled journal from South Africa by the gallant woman who served the cause of banned and banished black South Africans until she herself was banned.

SOUTH AFRICAN WRITING TODAY, edited by Nadine Gordimer and Lionel Abrahams. Penguin Books.

- a collection of the best recent South African poetry, prose and drama which shows the talents and strength and creative ability of South Africans of all races.

Also, read the three-part series on South and South West Africa by E. J. Kahn, Jr., appearing in the January 27, February 3, and February 10 issues of The New Yorker.

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