REPORT on SOUTH AFRICA

by representatives of

The Anglican Church of Canada
L'Église anglicane du Canada

"We feel our Church and its members must speak out by word and deed as strongly as possible, at every level of our life and through every individual act to continue to oppose the racist regimes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa."

REPRODUCED BY:

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA

14 West 11 Street
New York City 10011

1975
REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

In response to the action of General Synod in 1971 and more recent action and events, five representatives of the Order of Bishops, the Program Committee and its World Mission Subcommittee, the Unit on Public Social Responsibility, the Primate's World Relief and Development Committee and the Director of National and World Program visited Southern Africa during most of the month of May, 1975. The visits focussed chiefly on the Church of the Province of South Africa comprised of South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia (Southwest Africa), Lesotho, Swaziland, but also included Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Botswana in the Province of Central Africa. The purposes were:

1. To establish direct and personal contact with fellow Christians living within the fast-changing, politically and deeply explosive racial context of contemporary Southern Africa so as to better understand the situation and the role of the Church both within and without;

2. To evaluate the work of various organizations and programs which have been supported by the Canadian Church over the past decade through the World Program and the Primate's Fund.

3. To ascertain the effects of Canadian trade and investments in Southern Africa both with regard to Canadian governmental policies and to multinational corporations with Canadian participation.

Fuller and more detailed reports of the experiences of the six representatives who travelled separately to widely different areas must occur in other settings. This report will simply summarize the consensus of views and propose actions appropriate for consideration by General Synod. In the fullest sense of the word this report is deliberately political - it aims to suggest major policy directions for our Church particularly as it speaks to the world. Other policy matters relating to our Church's programs and projects will be considered by the Program Committee, its World Mission Sub-Committee,
the Unit on Public Social Responsibility and the Primate's World Relief and Development Committees.

Each member of the group travelled extensively throughout the various regions visiting urban and rural areas in 15 dioceses. We met a wide variety of church and community leaders and had opportunity to discuss conditions with humble rural blacks, urban blacks, Indians, Coloureds, Afrikaners, English South Africans; industrial and mine workers and top management leaders; students and their leaders; politicians and political prisoners and detainees; academicians from a variety of disciplines including theology; journalists and artists and those who have been in the forefront of efforts for positive change in South Africa.

We prayed together with black and white and celebrated the Eucharist our fellowship in Christ, despite the very human situation of tragedy in which we met. We have discussed at length our past Canadian Church actions, programs and projects related to Southern Africa and received comments and criticism from a wide variety of perspectives. We were very warmly received by most and particularly assisted by the Church of the Province of South Africa's leaders. On behalf particularly of the non-white majority members of our Church and of Southern Africa, we bring the Church in Canada greetings of love and solidarity in the Body of Christ. In this report as we attempt to speak the truth in love, South Africa is cited as the chief example of conditions which can similarly be found in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The Situation in Southern Africa

Deeply shocked and moved spiritually by our experience, we are of one mind and must decry the white racism of Southern Africa in the strongest possible terms. Apartheid, its most vicious and insidious expression, is a cancer on the face of humanity, God's ultimate form of creation. The human degradation, the massive and systematic oppression and exploitation of millions of people simply because their skin is not white, under the guise of a technology and theocracy called Christian is blasphemous. As one member put it, "The racial situation overwhelmed me. The experience of a totally racist society has an impact that can hardly be imagined." To do anything less than condemn the status quo of racist oppression in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe is totally inadequate to the demands of the Gospel for justice and brotherhood under God. To do less is to become a party to the oppression. South Africa lies at the heart of the situation and will serve as the focus of our report and recommendations.
South African society is dominated by a small, white political minority within the white minority population and is a society based on fear and alienation. Race dominates every facet of life in so total a way that even after a short time, a visitor begins to become, almost unconsciously, colour programmed. All of life has been so carefully regulated to the exclusive advantages of the whites and the exclusion and dehumanization of non-whites that their problems become realities too terrifying to face.

For these reasons, the recent detente propaganda of the Vorster regime regarding South Africa's foreign policy stance in Southern Africa has no internal counterpart and is an example of South African double-think and double-talk. It is already clear that it is no more than a gesture to buy time while continuing to consolidate and strengthen South Africa's police and military positions. South Africa's defence budget has been further increased by almost 50% in the last year. The very few superficial and token removals of petty apartheid in South Africa and Namibia are no symbol of changes to come under the Nationalist regime.

Much more symbolic are the Vorster regime's efforts to impose a "final delineation" of the unworkable so-called "homeland areas" or "bantustans". These least fertile and resource-barren disjointed areas comprise 13% of South Africa's incredibly beautiful, fertile and resource-rich land mass. They are supposed to support the 70% of the population (18,745,000 in 1974) which is African and black, while the richest 87% of the land is restricted almost exclusively for the use of the 17% of the population (4,160,000) which is white. Up to June, 1974 more than a quarter of a million black Africans are estimated to have been forcibly and arbitrarily removed to a "homeland", often from lands to which they held legal, economic title. Over 100,000 Coloured, Indian and Chinese people have been similarly forcibly removed to segregated urban areas without adequate compensation.

These and other segregation laws such as the Pass Laws, from the backbone of the apartheid system result in the cheap, migrant black labour patterns of modern slavery upon which South Africa has built her industrial development. From them result, also, the incredible human suffering and degradation of all non-whites in South Africa and Namibia, the illegally held U. N. trusteeship, and in Zimbabwe, which is simply less explicit in its racist policies.

Some statistics from South Africa give a glimpse of the realities for non-whites in South Africa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of voters electing legislative representatives to National Assembly</td>
<td>90-100%</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Average Monthly Earnings per Employee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing (1973)</td>
<td>$512</td>
<td>$93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining (1974)</td>
<td>$531</td>
<td>$38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (1974)</td>
<td>$631</td>
<td>$17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(labour includes payment in kind)

Education

Secondary School Enrolment as % of population (1972) 68% 1%
% over 15 years with no schooling (1970) 9% 51.8%

Annual per capita expense Education (1974) ("White" areas only) $677 $40

Teacher pupil ratio n/a 58.1

University Enrolment (1973) 90,201 7,348

Health

Number of Doctors (1972) 1 for every 400 1 for every 44,400
Number of Nurses (1970) 1 for every 256 1 for every 1,581
New T.B. cases notified (1974) 769 49,813

Pensions (Monthly Maximum) $138 $25

The Police State which is South Africa is revealed in the following figures (Year to June 1974):

- Jailed 624,410 persons
- A record 98,851 prison population
- Pass Laws Arrests - 399,332 of the total arrests or 2.25% of African population, an increase of 12,000 from previous years. Nearly 4,000 breast-fed babies were jailed.
- In September 1974, 41 persons were detained and held without charges, some for as long as six months in solitary confinement under the Terrorism Act for participating in a public celebration of the impending independence of Mozambique. Several have been tortured.
- 29 persons are still being detained without charges and 13 of these are currently in pre-trial motions attempting to ascertain charges.

- At the end of 1973, 312 African persons were serving sentences under "security" laws.

- As of April 1974, some 459 persons were "listed" as having been members of unlawful organizations, (mainly student, church or workers' groups) of whom 132 were also restricted by "banning" orders during the year.

- The total number of banned persons from 1954 to date is 1,240; currently 206 persons are restricted by a 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. house curfew and may not speak or write publicly nor meet more than one person at a time.

(Sources - Institute of Race Relations, 1974)

- The latest example of the Police State's action is to declare the Christian Institute an Affected Organization. Under this latest law repressing opposition, the government authority to confiscate any funds from foreign sources and punish by heavy fines and imprisonment any person related to such an organization. Both the Primate's Fund and the United Church of Canada have supported the brave and outstanding efforts of the Christian Institute to oppose the apartheid regime, through its various educational programs and the life and witness of its 1,500 members led by the Rev. Dr. Beyers Naude, a Dutch Reformed Afrikaaner whose integrity and moral courage in opposition to apartheid are deeply respected both within South Africa and throughout the world.

South Africa has lost touch with the accepted norms of human rights and fundamental freedom of speech. It is a country where wartime and crisis regulations have become part of the everyday way of life. This indictment is made by Professor van der Vyver, of the Afrikans Potchefstroom University in his just published book "The Protection of Human Rights in South Africa". The English language press and liberal business and churchmen are equally critical of the regime, which is so obviously economically inefficient and psychologically unhealthy for South Africans.

Unfortunately, and frighteningly, we found few, very few amongst the whites actively working for change, opposing the system, speaking the truth against the thesis of separate development. Even concerned white churchmen and women seem immunized to the situation or morally terrified or paralysed by the prospect of actively seeking change for fear of white backlash. The whole of white society seems inexorably, in all its affluence and high standard of living, bent on self-destruction. Even young white adults seem convinced that the only "realistic" attitude is to
continue the status quo, go-slow approach and many are prepared to violently resist any attempt to alter the very, very slow rhythm of change for non-whites which, essentially, is leaving the majority out of any significant personal or economic development.

The marginal increases in wages and job opportunities for black workers in recent years, largely as a result of external pressures, have left unchanged the continued deprivation of personal and political liberties for the vast majority of the population.

While wage increases for the few industrially employed blacks have improved only minimally in comparison to the cost of living and previous levels, the gap between white and black wages has not closed at all as the 1974 Institute of Race Relations Survey (p. 237) reveals:

| Claimed Monthly Household Income Increase per month |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                 | 1962 | 1973 | Increase | Increase |
| White           | $361 | $727 | 101     | $365     |
| African         | $ 35 | $ 77 | 120     | $ 42     |

Furthermore, recent studies show that minimum household subsistence level for urban centres at $150 per month is almost twice average income. Blacks struggle to survive on 10 times less income than whites.

It is true that one has to see Southern Africa to believe it. The South African Government has spent millions in creating a sunny, progressive false image abroad. Even in "model" urban areas, Africans live in massive planned slums with families of six to ten crowded into two room duplex or quadruplex cement-block huts 10 ft. x 25 ft., no electricity, no toilets, usually one water tap for 10 or more houses. No telephones, poorly developed dirt streets, 10 or 15 miles outside "the city", usually accessible only by an expensive and time-consuming bus trip. There are no significant signs of change. On May 21, 1975, Dr. Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated clearly that a Rhodesian solution of power-sharing with the black majority would never occur in South Africa. "We refuse point blank to share our sovereignty, our self-rule with any other population group. We strive to allow the non-white nations and groups to, as far as possible, control their own affairs."

Vorster had given the lie to the last remark of Muller one day earlier in a major policy speech in Namibia, ending a six-month moratorium on criticism from the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. He refused to give up effective military and economic control of Namibia, while in the same breath disclaiming any South African interest the vast mineral and other wealth of the country. He made it clear that Pretoria would not allow the non-white majority
to control their own affairs. Only the Nationalist regime can determine who are the appropriate representatives of the people of Namibia and determine their legitimate interests. Equally, Vorster denied the U.N. Council for Namibia the right to assume responsibility despite International Court and U.N. findings and repeated international condemnations. Detente in short, in Namibia and elsewhere, simply means stop change if you can. If not, delay it as long as possible and in the end, if necessary, violently resist or repress it.

The Role of the Church

We found our Church and others deeply enmeshed in the racist complexities of Southern Africa. An overriding vote of white paternalism strongly reminiscent of traditional Canadian attitudes to our native peoples debilitates many in the Christian community. Others, more sensitive and calculating, are unprepared to move or stand out for fear of alienating their fellow whites. A few contemporaries quietly followed the example of the Huddlestons, the de Blanks, the ffrench-Beytaghs and the Reeves in their finest moments. Only in Namibia through the leadership of Bishop in Exile Colin Winter and of Bishop Richard Wood, Assistant, did we find the moral will and courage to stand up and be counted and to clearly identify themselves with the black majority of Namibia.

There is not the slightest doubt as to where the sentiments of the vast majority of the population and of Anglicans, who are non-white, lie - they want change. Their levels of frustration and impatience are very high. At times the question arises - "God, on whose side are you?"

Nevertheless, what is most beautifully and so deeply impressive about the oppressed peoples of South Africa is their strong, steady faith and openness in love. They have suffered incredibly and the scars on their lives are deep. In the clear gaze of their eyes and their steady, direct voices, we encountered no racism in our non-white brothers and sisters. But having suffered unjust violence for so long, they do not shrink from just responses which are also violent and which seek to bring an end to more than a century of injustice.

Non-whites are aware that both from within and without, South Africa pressures for change are building strongly and justice must soon prevail.

We return convinced that the programs which we have supported through the World Council of Churches including the Program to Combat Racism, the South African Council of Churches, the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Christian Institute and others are critically important in visibly supporting those who seek to break down the barriers of racial prejudice. We believe that our contacts between the life and work of our Church and the Church in Southern Africa should be deepened and broadened in the near future. The July 1976
Partners in Mission Consultation in the Province of South Africa will provide a unique opportunity in this regard.

No Churchman advised to take the pressure for change off South Africa. Some advised different tactics, some whites felt judged by our mere presence, but none denied our right and responsibility to act by our own rights. This was affirmed by Archbishop Bill Burnett himself, who simply added, we may not always agree nor be able to respond or advise you openly and truthfully under the conditions.

We feel our Church and its members must speak out by word and deed as strongly as possible, at every level of our life and through every individual act to continue to oppose the racist regimes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The following preamble and resolutions are intended to provide bases from which to carry out our diverse witness. We commend them to you in the hope that through this report and by the action Synod takes on them, we may declare anew our commitment to make no peace with oppression and our commitment to the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God made known to us in Jesus who died that all men might live in love.

June 12, 1975

The Rt. Rev. Harold Nutter (Diocese of Fredericton)
The Ven. Ken Clarke (Chairperson, Program Committee)
Canon Lorenzo Harrison (World Mission Sub-Committee)
Mrs. Sheila Connell (Primate's World Relief and Development Committees)
The Rev. Laurence Scyner (Unit on Public Social Responsibility)
The Rev. Thomas Anthony (Director, National and World Program)

* The recent declaration of the Christian Institute as an "Affected Organization" in South Africa and the expulsion order to Anglican Bishop Richard Wood in Namibia are further proofs of the Vorster regime's repression since the time of the drafting of this report.
Racism

Resolved: That this General Synod condemns apartheid and the political, economic, and social systems currently maintained in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and South Africa as being white, racist, and therefore, contrary to God's will and the Christian Faith. We therefore call upon all Anglicans and other Christians in this country and throughout the world to renew every effort to increase the pressure on the governments in South Africa and Zimbabwe to change radically their policies so as to eliminate racism. We call upon all Christians everywhere to support by prayer and actions, the faithful witness of those within Southern Africa who seek to eliminate racism.

Trade and Investment in Southern Africa

Resolved: That this General Synod re-affirms the 1971 resolutions of General Synod urging the Government of Canada to make credible its professed policies ... (abhorrence of apartheid); to refrain from encouraging business, trade, and investment in South Africa; to foster the goal of social justice for black peoples as the major theme for negotiations with the Republic of South Africa; to end preferential tariffs with the Republic of South Africa; and calling for individual economic boycott of all South African products.

Consultation - Cabinet

Resolved: That this General Synod requests the Primate and the National Executive Council to seek an ecumenical consultation with the Cabinet to request that Canada:

(a) Withdraw immediately its preferential sugar agreements with South Africa and cease to purchase its sugar;
(b) Withdraw immediately government trade commissioners in South Africa;
(c) Prohibit by law any direct loan to the government of the Republic of South Africa or to any corporations wholly or partially owned or controlled by the Government of South Africa by any Canadian institution, public or private, or any tax deduction in Canada by any corporation doing business or holding investments in South Africa, Namibia or Zimbabwe.
G.S. 75 resolutions re Southern Africa

(d) Immediately recognize the legal jurisdiction of the United Nations Council for Namibia and prohibit any Canadian corporation from continuing operations there without recognizing the authority and jurisdiction of the United Nations Council;

(e) To levy a special tax equal to the amount of net profits accruing from any Canadian investment in Namibia and Zimbabwe to any Canadian company of its affiliates such tax revenue to be held in escrow for the development of the non-white majority upon attaining their independence;

(f) Obtain the Canadian government's clear commitment to oppose any NATO agreements or treaties with South Africa or military agreements by the United States with South Africa.

Programs - South Africa

Resolved: That this General Synod request through the National Executive Council that the Program Committee, the Unit on Public Social Responsibility and the Primate's World Relief and Development Fund within current budgets deepen and broaden our commitment to programs which support the development of the non-white peoples of Southern Africa and which oppose apartheid.

Use of Investments

Resolved: That this General Synod request of its committees and of diocesan and parish committees, in consultation with the Unit on Public Social Responsibility to determine if any of their investments are banks or corporations that trade with or have investments in South Africa, and request the committees to make available their proxies to the Unit on Public Social Responsibility and to receive recommendation from it about further possible actions.

Message - Church in Southern Africa

Resolved: That this General Synod through the Primate, express to the Church of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe its deep sense of love and concern for the peoples of Southern Africa and assurance of our continuing prayerful support and encouragement for all Christians to be faithful in their witness there.

*******************

All the above motions were carried by large majorities in both the Order of Bishops and by the Order of Delegates (Clergy and Laity).
The temptation for many churchpeople is to avoid coming to grips with so 'insoluble' a situation as Southern Africa. The six representatives of the Anglican Church of Canada did no such thing. They went right in, eyes open, minds clear, hearts full. They listened, gathered facts and figures, recorded what they saw and heard, commented not in judgment but with candour. This report from the Canadian Church is exemplary for its perceptions and unvarnished clarity about a condition and a region of direct and vital concern to the Christian Church.

The Canadians went at a time when the South African and Rhodesian regimes were attempting frantically to put off the inevitable radical changes now underway. The six person delegation saw through Pretoria's and Salisbury's devices and they punctured the false image of 'detente' Vorster and Smith have conjured up. Fast-moving events since the Canadian visit lay bare even further this nightmare world: large-scale detentions under the Terrorism Act in Namibia and South Africa, with opposition political, church and academic leaders disappearing into the maw of the security police apparatus; Ian Smith's stalling on talks with majority officials; the white minority rulers' promotion of black tribal puppets, propping up painted corpses to try to con the world into believing them to be real.

The resolutions on Southern Africa by the Canadian Church serve as models for all of us. We in the United States owe our continental comrades a salute - and a pledge to resolve as they have done and to put into effect those resolutions at once.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA
14 West 11th Street
New York, N. Y. 10011

Address Correction Requested

—For A Free Southern Africa—