The WITNESS

NOVEMBER 10, 1955

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RARE OPPORTUNITIES

O^{FFERED} by the Church in Liberia contrasted with the Feature Article on page eight in this issue

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLOR BAR

SERVICES In Leading Churches

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For Christ and His Church

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The WITNESS

NOVEMBER 10, 1955

FOR CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH

Editorial and Publication Office, Eaton Road, Tunkhannock, Pa.

_____Story of the Week ___

Educational Opportunities Offered in Liberia

EPISCOPAL CHURCH DOES REMARKABLE JOB UNDER LEAD OF BISHOP HARRIS

 \star In contrast to the story of South Africa which is our feature article this week, here is a brief account of opportunities offered by the Episcopal Church in Liberia.

The youth of that country today is being granted the opportunity to develop those qualities of leadership which are necessary for any country to exist politically, economically, and spiritually in the modern world, through the medium of Cuttington College and Divinity School in Suacoco. Originally the Cuttington Collegiate and Divinity School, established in 1881 as a high school of theology, served Liberia and the West Coast of Africa until it closed in 1929. Reopened in 1949 under the leadership of Bishop Bravid W. Harris it enjoys the endorsement and support of its program by the Liberian government.

The campus of Cuttington is made up of 19 buildings of a concrete structure, equipped with lights and water provided by its own power plant; including six bungalows for faculty, three converted army units for faculty, administration building with six classrooms, boys' dormitory housing 48 students, girls' dormitory housing 32 students, agriculture building and science-library building. Its 1500 acres of land have been planted in cocoa, coffee, Nigeria oil palms, and citrus trees, crops which are expected to contribute greatly to the support of this institution in later years.

The curriculum of the College includes not only courses



BISHOP HARRIS

contributing to a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree such as English, mathematics, psychology, foreign languages, physics, art appreciation etc., but such practical courses as home nursing, home economics and agriculture.

The library numbers more than 5000 bound volumes, and 70 periodicals are currently being received. A full athletic program is made possible, with physical education classes for men, emphasizing track and football, and facilities for volleyball, basketball, and badminton, as well as a new swimming pool. Medical attention is made available to students by the C. B. Durban Memorial Clinic at Gbarnga.

The Cuttington School of Theology is the only school of theology in all of Liberia. It is open for the Bachelor of Divinity degree only to college graduates, who must then complete three years of advanced study in Church history, liturgics, the Bible, practical theology, Christian ethics etc. before receiving their degree. In addition to this, each student is placed from year to year and during the three months vacation in a different field work situation, such as in a hospital, barracks, prison or camp, where practical experience will help prepare him for the social problems and needs of his ministry. Study in the field of theology in the Divinity School may be undertaken by those who have completed two years of the college, who then receive a degree of Bachelor of Arts in Theology. A Bible study course is, in addition, made available to all students studying for a B. A. or a B. S. in the College.

Indeed, the emphasis upon religion and, in particular, the Christian ideal, is to be found throughout the campus. Both students and faculty of the College and School worship together twice daily in services led by either a faculty member of the clergy or one of the students. The Student Christian Association meets once a week for a program presented by one of its four committees: worship, study, service, and fellowship. And to further increase the students' sense of Christian responsibility to one another, the Student Association has been formed, with officers elected by the students, for the purpose of supervising the student work problem and taking care of student disciplinary problems.

Thus Cuttington students, whether training for the ministry or acquiring a simple bachelor's degree, are being equipped to carry the Christian spirit into their vocations, their country, and even the world beyond.

The cost of an entire year's tuition and board at Cuttington is \$120. And students who have substantiated a need may be admitted under a scholarship which covers onehalf of this amount. aries, church maintenance and repairs, fuel, lighting, and similar expenses, and capital improvements.

BISHOP OXNAM URGES RECONCILIATION

★ Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist, urged reconciliation of Protestants and Roman Catholics in order to take a united stand against Communism, in an address before 5,000 who attended a Reformation Day rally in Oakland, California.

His appearance at the rally had been opposed by a group

Contributions to Churches Reach Record High

★ Contributions for all purposes to 47 Protestant and two Eastern Orthodox communions in the U. S. reached a record total of \$1,687,921,729 in the past year, the Rev. Thomas K. Thompson, executive director of the National Council of Churches department of stewardship and benevolence, reported.

The figure represents an increase of nearly \$151,000,000 over the previous year.

Thompson also released new figures for Canada where, he said, six major Protestant religious bodies reported a record of \$68,810,562 in annual contributions, with the average contribution per member being \$39.21.

Highest per member giving in the United States was recorded by the Wesleyan Methodist Church whose per capital total contributions amounted to \$176.91. Seventh-day Adventists were second with \$173.94, the Brethren in Christ third with \$127.51, and the Church of the Nazarene fourth with \$124.71.

Next in order were the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America \$124.15, the Orthodox Presbyterian Church \$106.56, the Conference of the Evangelical Mennonite Church \$104.02, and the Church of God \$102.58.

The largest total giving was reported by the Methodist Church whose 9,202,728 members gave \$345,416,448—or an a ver age of \$37.53 — up \$30,900,000 from last year's previous all-time high.

Second highest total giving among denominations was reported by the Southern Baptists with a new all-time high of \$305,573,654 or an average per member of \$42.17 as compared to \$39.84 the previous year.

Third was the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. with \$158,110,613 or \$61.47 per capita.

The great bulk of contributions was earmarked for local congregational expenses, the stewardship leader said. The new annual figure for this category is \$1,353,553,358 for 48 church bodies reporting as opposed to \$1,233,766,530 reported by 47 last year. These funds went for ministers' sal-



BISHOP OXNAM

of fundamentalists who declared that he did not "hold to the supernatural doctrine of the Christian Church." He was however strongly defended by the clergy in the area.

The fundamentalist group staged their own rally to observe the day but it attracted only 300 persons.

VAN KIRK DENIES BEING RED

★ Walter Van Kirk, director of international affairs of the National Council of Churches, denied a charge by Roman Catholic women of Dallas, Texas, that he was "subversive". He challenged the group to produce documentary evidence.

He was in the city to address an institute sponsored by the local association for the UN.

Van Kirk admitted that he had belonged to an organization that had opposed militarism in education, but said he has "never heard" of the American Youth Congress, Emergency Peace Mobilization, War Resisters League.

THANKSGIVING DAY IN SINGAPORE

★ Sheets and bales of raw rubber, ingots of tin, and bags of palm oil nuts and rice were piled high in St. Andrew's (Anglican) Cathedral, Singapore, as parishioners observed its first "strictly Malayan" annual harvest festival.

Previous harvest festivals at the cathedral had preserved the flavor of "Old England."

The Ven. Robin Woods, Archdeacon of Singapore, pointed out that the products donated were a particularly appropriate offering because "after all the festival is a thanksgiving for what Malaya produces."

He said funds realized from sale of the offerings would be used to maintain St. Andrews Mission Hospital.

Several hundred tons of rubber and tin and hundreds of pounds of palm oil nuts, rice and other non-perishable goods were received, the clergyman said. Raw rubber brings 40 cents a pound and ingot tin \$1 a pound.

CHURCH-THEATRE COOPERATION

★ Closer cooperation between Churches and theatres will be sought by the commission on drama of the National Council of Churches. The group said it will strive to "establish communications between members of the theatre community and Christian thinkers in order to discover grounds of common concern."

It also will seek to "assist members of the theatre community in recognizing the religious dimensions of the theatre and in perceiving the theatre in its potentiality as a vocation in the Christian sense of the word."

A campaign was launched at the meeting for \$44,700 to finance the program.

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REARMED GERMANY A THREAT

★ Leaders of America Reform Judaism urged caution by the United States government in making a remilitarized Germany "the keystone of America's foreign policy in Europe."

The executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, holding a four d a y meeting and retreat, warning in a resolution:

"Much evidence indicates that Germany has not been cleansed of Nazi influence and that, therefore, there is no certainty that its growing military strength will be utilized for democracy until the process of ethical rehabilitation has been completed."

The board urged the U.S. to continue as a member of the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and "deplored recent unfavorable action taken by the American Legion" at its Miami, Fla., national convention, against UNESCO.

It also called for the U. S. to "attempt to restore the imbalance in the Middle East and help check the armaments race which might lead to devastating war."

The Reform leaders said the U. S. should give Israel "guarantees to assure its security" to bring about Middle East peace.

Condemning Soviet intervention in Middle East affairs as "a blow to the spirit of Geneva," the board urged Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to "press for the exerting of influence leading to honest negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis for the settlement of differences."

Another resolution called for "remedial steps" in the Emmett Till murder case.

The group said it was "distressed and disturbed" over the "travestry of justice in the Till case and its aftermath." It praised "public and religious periodicals who have spoken out with such prophetic accents" about the Mississippi murder.

COADJUTOR ELECTED IN OREGON

★ Dean James Carmen of Trinity Cathedral, Phoenix Arizona, was elected bishop coadjutor of Oregon on October 18th. He was elected on the sixth ballot.

Christmas giving for Christian living from Seabury

THE OFFICIAL PUBLISHING HOUSE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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THE founder and rector of one of New York's largest Negro parishes tells of life behind the color barrier in Harlem. Letters, the story of two extraordinary parish projects, sermons in which the rector sets forth his distinctive views, make this one of the important books of the year. \$2.25

# EDITORIALS

### South Africa Color Bar

**R** ARELY do we give so much space to an article as we are giving this week to the one that begins on the next page. It was delivered originally as an address before the women's evening guild of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, and is edited from a tape recording and printed with the author's permission. The tremendous punch of the article would be somewhat lost if we printed it in installments.

The Witness, over a long period of time, has tried to keep readers informed about the situation in South Africa, particularly about the notable and heroic stand being taken there by the Anglican Church. We have featured articles by Alan Paton, Father Trevor Huddleston of the Community of the Resurrection, Bishop Reeves, the Rev. Michael Scott, Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in addition to many news stories.

As a young woman Miss Whately took part in the militant suffrage movement with Mrs. Pankhurst; assisted Lady Baden - Powell in organizing the Girl Guides; did famine relief work in Austria, Hungary and Poland at the close of World War I; investigated the mining areas of England in the "great lockout"; made visits to Spain at the time of the Civil War; with Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., went to India, studied the Ordinances used to suppress Indian resistance to British imperialism, and met Gandhi; visited Germany in the time of Hitler to check on women in Nazi prisons; was on the Status of Women Commission of the old International Labor Office at Geneva; served nine years as representative of the East End of Limehouse on the London County Council; was Woman-Power Officer for Middlesex under the Ministry of Labor in World War II; has served as chairman of the "Six Point Group," a non-partisan organization working to establish occupational, economic, political, social, moral and legal equality.

Most recently she has presented a 63,000 word report on the color bar in the Union of South Africa to members of the Commission on Human Rights at the United Nations—the mission that brought her to this country. She is a practicing Roman Catholic. She returned to England this summer. She has filed an application for permission to visit Kenya and Tanganyika with a view to making a study of conditions underlying the interracial unrest in both areas.

Readers may properly ask, "Terrible, but what can I do about a situation in South Africa?" The only answer we have to that question is that you can support the work being done by our fellow Churchmen with your cash.

Christian Action is an inter-Church, nonpolitical organization in England. Its chairman is Canon John Collins. Any checks made payable to The Witness and marked "African Fund" will be sent to him and he in turn will see that the money gets to the proper people in South Africa. Donations should be sent to The Witness, Tunkhannock, Pa.

# THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLOR BAR

THE thing in the United States as in England that people have got to know more about is what racial intolerance means, if they are going to fight it with that force which is absolutely necessary if our own freedom is to survive.

I went out to South Africa because I was deeply concerned from what I had heard about the deterioration in the political situation. When I got to that country, the first thing that struck me was that in South Africa there was not any real democracy. If by democracy you believe in the words of your great Abraham Lincoln, "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people," there is no such government as that in South Africa at all! You have got government of the white people -two and a half millions of them-who have got complete control over the lives and destinies of over nine millions of non-Europeans who have no rights, no privileges, and who are, in fact, outside the law.

The white people in South Africa attempt to justify this, "You couldn't possibly give any sort of citizenship to the non-European because they are, in the main, uneducated and illiterate." Immediately I asked myself why it was that in a country like South Africa less than 5% of the African people are able to read or to write? It is peculiarly strange because the white South Africans not only profess to believe in democracy but they did volunteer to go out and fight with the other democratic forces in order that the Nazi way of life should be exterminated and that a democratic way of life should prevail in the world. Many of them gave their lives then, and yet, when they came back to their own country, they were prepared to accept, tolerate and even support a government that is as like the Nazi government as two peas in a pod.

When you ask yourself why it is that the vast mass of the people in South Africa are without education, you are forced to the conclusion that there is only one answer, namely, that the white people are not prepared to tax themselves in order that the necessary money shall be available to supply the schools, the equipment and the teachers for the non-

#### By Monica Whately

Europeans. No non-European, remember, is allowed to go to a white school. The thing of which the white people in South Africa are proudest is the fact that they have perhaps the lowest income tax in the world. They are far keener on keeping their income tax down to a very low level-far lower than it would be. as far as the English are concerned, if they had remained in their own country - than supplying to their people those things which are the right of all human beings. Such non-European schools as do exist are vastly overcrowded. For such schools there is a waiting list running into hundreds and thousands of children who know that they are never going to have the chance of any education at all. I don't think I have ever been in a country where there is a greater hunger for education than there is among the non-European people in South Africa.

The Bantu Education Act — note it — not education but Bantu education! - which was passed by the Nationalist government, sees to it that for those Africans who get an education it is never again to be on the lines of white education. It is to be a sub-standard education, the type of education that will fit the African to serve the white man. They are to have three hours of education a day for three years of their lives. The unfortunate teachers-for they are teachers in sub-standard schools - are to be regarded as substandard teachers and paid accordingly. They will have a shift of three hours with one lot of children and then as those children go out, they have to take in a shift of another lot of children for a second period of three hours. The children who are not working are expected to clean the schools and keep the playgrounds tidy. In other words, these children are not going to school in order to be educated but in order that they may be a sort of domestic drudges. They are to learn just enough English and Afrikaans to be able to understand the orders of their white superiors. They are never to have the sort of education which might one day enable them to have a secondary school education or to go to a university or compete in any way with those white children who have got all the advantages.

#### **Mission Schools**

NOT only is this a shameful thing but it has another aspect. It is going to close down the Mission Schools that in the past have brought some hope to those unhappy non-European people. The fact that the missioners of the different Churches have regarded their vocational work as something to bring not only spiritual help to those people but a school and a church as well, a hospital, a welfare center, and, more than anything, a recognition of the universal fatherhood of God, has meant something more to those people than you could The missioners are about ever understand. the only people who do recognize the universal fatherhood of God in South Africa. They are the one people who have given some hope to the non-Europeans. Now the government has declared that there are to be no subsidies for the schools, which means that a great number of such schools will have to close down. The government has the right to take over the land on which such schools at present exist. Through their strict interpretation of apartheid or separation they are going to prevent those white missionaries who in the past have lived with their people from doing so. Areas are going to be separated into white and black, and no white person will be allowed to reside in a black area and no black person to reside in a white area. Any hope that might be given to those people is going to be taken from them.

Persons who talk to me about the fear of communism spreading in South Africa I ask if they don't realize that they have opened the door wide? If the communists are the only people who are going to offer hope to those unhappy people, if the only political party that says, if they had power, they would break the color bar, is the communist, do you think, if you were an unhappy native, you'd care very much about the label on a man's coat? Don't you think you would ask yourself whether you wouldn't rather put the whole of your hope in the party that promises you something than in the party that promises you nothing? I don't blame the communists for offering people hope. I blame the so-called Christian democrats for offering them none.

#### **Divide and Rule**

THE Nationalist government has done everything that they can do to divide the non-European peoples. They believe in "divide and rule" and in the past have been very successful. You have got nearly 8 million of the Bantu race-the African. You have got very nearly 1 million of the "colored" people who represent the mixed race, and that mixed race does not in any sort of way signify the lust of the African woman for the white man but rather the reverse. When the white man came to Africa without women of his own, he took African women. Today I often think that those people commonly called "coloreds" are the most unhappy group in South Africa. Where you find in a family of dark-skinned children one child as fair as any child born in this country, because it is fair, that child may pass as a European. Knowing that it may pass as a European, its mother must give it up. In most cases she is willing never to see it again. By so doing, she knows it will go to a European school and have all of the advantages which go only to Europeans. I have known of cases where a person's own brothers and sisters will pass him unnoticed in the streets rather than lower his status by recognizing him as a member of a family. There is something infamously cruel in that, isn't there?

In addition to the millions of colored, you have about 250,000 Indians. These did not come to South Africa as gate-crashers. To hear the Nationalist government talk about them today you would imagine that was the case. They were invited to South Africa to help her out of her very difficult labor problem. The great sugar plantations in Natal, which are largely owned not by the Afrikaans but by the British, were short of labor. The Indians were asked to send over indentured laborers to work on those plantations. The Indians were told that at the end of their indentured labor they would have opportunity either to go back to their own country, or, if they preferred, to make their home permanently in South Africa. A number of them decided to do the latter and now, after three generations, they are to be forced out of the country by fair means or foul-and don't think that foul means have not and will not be used. I was personally in the Parliament when the late General Smuts moved a vote of no-confidence in the government because he said that this was a gross betrayal of the promises which we had given to those Indian people when we invited them to come over into the country.

Some people said to me, "If you were an Indian, would you want to remain in a country where you were not wanted?" Where are the Indians to go? Can they go back to India which is facing enormous problems, with the terrific responsibilities of self-government, and with poverty, unemployment and difficulties of every sort? Do you think that the Prime Minister of India is able to take a further 250,000 people into his country and find them homes and jobs? Why should he? Those Indians have not built up the wealth of India. They have built up the wealth of South Africa and South Africa alone is responsible for the welfare of those people. It is, in truth, a gross betrayal of the promises that were given them when they were invited to come over from India at a time when South Africa needed their labor.

Through sheer unhappiness and despair, the separation of the non-European peoples today is disappearing. You see the hopeful sign of a chairman of the African National Congress taking the chair at an Indian Congress meeting and the president of the Indian Congress taking the chair at an African Congress meeting. Unhappiness, misery, despair are bringing together those people whom the Nationalist government has done its best to divide.

All sorts of ways it has of dividing people. One of them is the school feeding scheme in which the government gave a grant of sixpence a head toward the feeding of a white child, although the white children would not have suffered hunger if nothing at all was given them, for most of them come from comfortable and many from luxurious homes. Sixpence a head for the white child, fourpence a head for the colored child (because of the few drops of white blood in its veins), thruppence a head for the Indian child (because it is this much better than the African), and tuppence a head for the poorest of them all, the African child! And that is being reduced to a penny three farthings-a little over a cent for a school meal which is to include the cook's wages. Those children don't come from the homes where they can bring a thermos flask and sandwiches. They come from homes where, if they are lucky, they have had a meal of mealie-meal porridge before they start in the morning. They may have a meal of mealie-

meal porridge when they go back home at There is no school transport for those night. children. Many of them have had to walk five miles to and five miles from school.

Remember, it is a physiological fact that all children, irrespective of color, need the same sort and the same amount of food. How do those Indian mothers feel when they see the "colored" child getting a little more than their child? How do the African mothers feel when they see the "colored" and the Indian child getting more than theirs? They may accept that the white child should have more, because they must always accept that the white should have more, but don't you see the insidious way in which that sort of thing breaks the unity of the non-European peoples? The suffering caused to the children is going to be like a sword in the hearts of the mothers.

#### Question of Poverty

You have already seen how the non-Europeans are denied political rights and any proper facilities for education. You have got the third terrible discrimination-that is the question of poverty.

When I talk of poverty and starvation, I am talking about a subject of which I have a good deal of knowledge because I did famine work after both world wars. I visited in Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, France, Belgium and Germany. What was my astonishment when I went out to wealthy, rich South Africa to see adjacent to all the big cities children comparable to those that I had fed in the famine areas, victims of the devastation of war. In a country that has not had war, in a country that has not been devastated, and yet has produced babies with swollen bellies because they had not had enough to eat and were starving and poisoned, babies with little arms and legs like sticks, babies with great mournful eyes, seeming to be asking you by what right you had brought them into a world where for them there was no hope and no future.

So blind are the white people that they subscribe generously to the appeal that was issued by Unesco and to the appeal of the United Nations to feed the children made hungry strictly as the result of the second world war. They subscribed to feed the children of Germany, France, Poland, and so on, but they allow their own children to die of starvation on their doorstep because those children are black and not white.

I don't want you to think I am exaggerating. The department of health and government pronouncements in South Africa declare that while it may appear startling to say that the majority of natives die of starvation, it is nevertheless literally true. Those are their words-not mine-in a country where they have a standard of living such as we haven't enjoyed in England since 1914, where the white people have large homes, beautiful grounds and out-sized cars, and where most of them eat too much and drink too much, because it makes them blind to those who haven't the bare necessities of life. Within such a country as that with the luxury of its white people, the majority of the natives die an agonizing death of starvation. Make no mis-Starvation is an agonizing take about it. death. For the greater number of non-Europeans in South Africa there is hunger from the day they are born until the day they die.

#### Housing

SIDE by side with that question of starvation you have got the question of lack of housing. I've seen slum conditions over a very large part of the world but I don't think I've ever seen anything comparable to the slum conditions in South Africa, the accepted conditions as to how the majority of the people should live.

I want you to think of Africa before the white man came. This is true not only of South Africa, it's true of East Africa, it's true of a great part of the entire continent. There the African people were able to roam at will, their wealth consisting of their herds of cattle, always able to move on as the pastures were exhausted to fresh land held in common by all the people. One of the hardest things for the African to accept is the idea that people should have a vested interest in land, that it should belong to an individual, that some one should have a right to buy and sell land. It is something that is quite foreign to them. To them the land has always belonged to the people. It has belonged to the tribe. All of them have been allowed to graze their cattle on the land.

When the white man came and cast eyes of envy on those lands, what happened? In order to obtain the land, he forced the native peoples into what are called "reserves," certain areas, many of them very large but not large

enough, that were placed at their disposal and outside the boundaries of which they were forbidden to go. Now the whole of the wealth of those Africans was bound up in their cattle. They had no other means or wealth, no post office savings, no war loans, no stocks or shares. A man was rich according to the number of cattle he owned. When they were restricted to these reserves, what happened? They were unable to feed their cattle. They could not move on to fresh pastures and the cattle died of hunger or had to be killed. Then, with the whole of their capital wealth gone, leaving their wives and families in the reserves, they had to come trekking down to the cities of the white man in order to offer their services, sometimes laboring on the very land that they used to think was their's.

While the white man was very willing to use their labor, he never felt any responsibility for providing housing or amenities for those tens of thousands of non-European workers. They were not allowed to come and pollute his cities and so, adjacent to those great cities of South Africa, you find what are called "native townships" or "locations." I wish I could give you an adequate picture of what those native townships are like. Some of you have read Alan Paton's book, "Cry The Beloved Country," and may have some impression. Those of you who saw the film may have a slight idea but it can't give you anything of the awfulnessthe sheer terribleness-that those townships produced in me when I saw them.

Fifty, sixty, seventy thousand people in each of them on land dirty, filthy, dusty, without paved roads, without street lighting, without sanitation, a mass of mosquitoes, flies, bugs, the people sheltered in shacks made of beaten paraffin tins or old sheets of rusty corrugated No attempt at planning-wherever metal! there was a space, a shack went up, like mushrooms overnight, close together, leaning drunkenly against each other! No sanitation! Occasionally you'd find what might be called a communal lavatory consisting of some old sheets of rusty metal erected over a paraffin tin which might be used by forty families! When the torrential rains come as they come in South Africa, the filth from these lavatories comes down into the shacks of the people, even polluting the water tanks from which they have to draw their drinking water. Frequently they have to pay for every pail of water and carry it considerable distance. Are you surprized that there is disease and every sort of lice?

Outside the city of Port Elizabeth, which is one of the few municipalities that has tried to provide some housing for non-European people, I remember being shown some oneroom homes, and little blocks of two-room bungalows with a family to each room. An African woman showed them to me with the greatest pride. For the first time in her life she had a door which she could shut and a window which she could open, and a little bit of land on which she could grow vegetables and make a change in that ever-lasting mealiemeal diet. I found these homes spotlessly clean and meticulously tidy. When I saw such homes, I felt it was a sin crying to heaven for vengeance that tens of thousands of people should be condemned to live in the filth and the squalor that come to people in those native townships.

Outside Port Elizabeth Ford has set up a big works. In those works a number of Africans are used as unskilled labor. I'd like you to make a note of that word "unskilled" because there is absolutely no reason why an African should not do as skilled a job as any white man. They are not allowed! An African must not be taught a skilled trade. Africans, who are desperately in need of homes, may not build them because building is a skilled trade. So they must wait for such homes until such time as they have got the money to buy or rent a home built by white labor at the wages that white laborers get. So they don't obtain homes.

I stopped at a petrol station once to have petrol put into the car. The owner said to me, "That boy who is putting petrol into the car would make a first-class mechanic. It is as much as my life is worth to train him." Can you imagine what that must mean to the young people of South Africa—the boys and girls who are ambitious and feel they could do something with their lives, who could make a contribution but who know that, because of the color of their skin and nothing else, they are never to be allowed to be anything but hewers of wood and drawers of water?

#### **Ford Homes**

THOSE unskilled African workers in the Ford factory, in their despair to obtain a shelter of any kind, are sometimes able to get hold of

a crate that Ford uses to export his cars. Those crates are dragged down to the native township and some corner is found where it can be erected. I've seen as many as fifteen human beings living in a crate meant for the export of one car, old men and young men, old women and young women, mothers and their children and little babies. I bent almost double to go inside. The place, of course, is pitch dark. There is no window, no throughdraft; it stinks to the high heavens. On one side you will probably find an old rusty iron bedside upon which as many as can take their rest. The others lie on the mud floor. In the corner you see the paraffin tin containing the mealie-meal later to be made into porridge. It will be black with flies and the eyes of the babies are filled with flies.

Colored midwives have told me how they have been called in to assist in bringing the new life into the world. The place will be packed with people, adults and children. There are no means of sterilizing their instruments, no room to boil water. When their task is completed, they have had to go back to their own little home, divest themselves of their clothing and take a bath in order to rid themselves of the vermin with which they are covered. Those are the conditions under which fifty, sixty, seventy thousand people live on each of the native locations or townships. Of course there is disease—dysentery, malaria, small pox, plague and, worst of all tuberculosis.

#### **Death Rate**

T IS the proud boast of the white people that owing to South Africa's wide open spaces and beautiful sunshine they have the lowest death rate for tuberculosis in the whole world. It is also a fact that in spite of South Africa's wide open spaces and sunshine, the non-white people have the highest death rate for tuberculosis in the whole world. The sun that brings health and vigor to those born with a white skin brings disease and death to those born with a black, because of the conditions under which those with a black skin are forced to live. Fifty thousand non-Europeans die of tuberculosis every year. Forty thousand are walking the streets, trying to get shelter, trying to get help of any sort, but hospitals for the native sick are about as rare as schools for the native children.

I have been in some of these hospitals. The patients are in the beds, under the beds and between the beds. You can't walk down a ward without treading on patients. The majority of these non-European people know perfectly well that there is never going to be any chance of their getting anything to relieve their sufferings or to make them better. Like a sick animal, they will go back into their shack and die. And, quite frankly, nobody cares. In this country, and in my country, we register the birth of our children and the death of our people. We don't register the birth or death of animals. In South Africa they don't register the birth or the death of their native peoples so that no one can truly say the number that die-like our animals. That is why I say, nobody really cares. The poverty, the destitution, the despair of those people is something too horrible to contemplate.

#### **Mental Suffering**

SIDE by side with that physical suffering, about which I could go on speaking for about which I could go on speaking for hours, there is another kind of suffering forced on those people-the mental suffering-the humiliation. Buses may go by empty except for the six seats on the upper deck that non-Europeans may use and a long queue of tired and weary people stands waiting to get into a bus yet are not allowed to occupy those empty seats because they are black and not white! In the city of Durban alone the loss to the municipality on their transport was about \$300,000. They were so concerned that they asked the British to send over an official to tell them how they could transport at a profit. The reply that they had was, "You will never run your transport at a profit until you cater to the majority of your people. The majority of your people are not white; they are black. Moreover, the white people have their own transport; they don't use the public transport." Yet so crazed are these white rulers of South Africa that they would rather face this financial loss than provide the necessary transport for the majority of the people.

Near bus stops you will see a seat, and written over it, "Strictly reserved for those of European descent." I hardly ever saw a European seated on those seats because they don't use the public buses. I saw standing near those seats an African mother with her baby tied African-fashion to her back looking so tired that she could hardly hold herself up. I have seen an Indian cripple. I have seen colored people standing near those seats.

Would they dare sit down? To do so would be to court physical violence. White people coming along and seeing them sitting on those seats reserved strictly for those of European descent would use a word which is so common in South Africa, "How dare you be so cheeky as to think you have the right to sit on seats reserved for your betters?"

A former Prime Minister of South Africa recently declared that no African should enter a railroad station in their own country by the front entrance. They must go in by the side entrance with the luggage. Every decent restaurant has written over it, "Europeans only." You will see some low dive and over that written, "Non-Europeans." Many non-Europeans have told me that they rather go hungry and thirsty than go into the sort of places regarded as good enough for them.

The post offices are the great features of South Africa. They are magnificent buildings. If you or I go in, because we have got a white skin, though we represent only 2<sup>1/2</sup>-million people, we can be served at the long counter with our stamps, and send off our parcels, and so on; but if we happened to belong to the races that represent 9-million of the people, we would see one little cubby-hole at the end, at which non-Europeans may perhaps queue for hours before they have a chance of being able to buy their stamps, or send off their parcels.

It is just the same if they want to get a ticket at the railway station. The most ridiculous thing happened while I was out there. My friends knew that I was going on a rather long journey from Johannesburg to Durban and they asked a young Indian to go down and get my ticket for me beforehand. He came back without the ticket. He said, "I did not know what to do. I said I was getting a ticket for a European lady and when I got to the box office in the European queue, I was ordered off, 'How dare you come and stand in the European queue!' Then I went and stood in the other queue and said I wanted a ticket for a European lady and I was told, 'How dare you come to the colored box office to get a ticket for a European lady !" " He had to come back without the ticket.

Every sort of amenity is provided on the trains for the white people. For the nonwhites you have a certain number of coaches at the very beginning and the very end of the train, the danger places, should there be an accident. Conditions are tough. There is no restaurant attached for a long journey. It means they have to take their food with them and eat it in their railway carriage. The lavatory arrangements are very inadequate. For the white people they have comfortable seats. If traveling by night, you have some one who comes in and makes up a bed. You have a good restaurant, adequate lavatory arrangements, and when you come to a station, you can get out and walk up and down on the platform, stretch your legs, buy some fruit, a paper, and so on.

At these stations you will generally see a group of non-Europeans waiting. Their carriages are not anywhere near the platform. They will be standing between the lines, usually guarded by a policeman. At a given signal, you will see them rush wildly across the line to scramble with their children into those carriages at the ends of the train, already crowded to the suffocation point, and yet they pay exactly the same amount for their ticket as I pay for mine.

#### **Non-violent Resistance**

THIS sort of thing has been causing for a long time a feeling of the gravest dissatisfaction. Professors at the University have said to me that a blood bath was imminent, that it was bound to come, and they believed within five years. If the Africans were not a very tolerant people, they could never have stood what they have stood with patience.

Then an almost miraculous thing happened. Those people decided to try to break the bonds of slavery by accepting the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. He started his work of civil disobedience and non-violence in South Africa, so that it is well-known to the people. They decided that they would try to win their freedom in the same way that India had won hers. Nine thousand Africans, Indians and coloreds, and, yes, thank God, a few Europeans, decided to break unjust laws and to accept whatever would be the consequences, without retaliation. It was one of the most magnificent demonstrations of human self-control, something that very few of us would be able to do. Nine thousand people went to jail for six months for the terrible crime of having entered a railway station in their own country by the front entrance instead of the side, for sitting on benches reserved strictly for those of European descent, and in other similar ways for breaking laws that they considered unjust.

Because the prisons became so full, boys under twenty-one taking part in the demonstrations, received a flogging instead of going to jail. The very success of this civil disobedience and non-violence frightened the Nationalist government of South Africa. They decided that in the future such civil disobedience should be punished not with six months but with six years' imprisonment, with heavy fines where possible, and, at the discretion of the magistrate, with flogging for women as well as for men.

For the second offense, flogging would no longer be at the discretion of the magistrate but mandatory for both women and men, with six years' imprisonment. It brought the civil disobedience movement to an end. Not that there weren't large numbers of non-Europeans who were prepared to face six years, or life imprisonment if necessary-because these people are the sort of which martyrs are made -but remember, if they accepted six years in prison, they condemned their families to death! Their families could not possibly live and feed themselves during six years when the breadwinner was away. So the movement collapsed. And we have got to ask ourselves, what is going to happen now? Are we going to let those 9-million non-Europeans go on suffering under those brutal and unjust laws? Are we

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going to allow the Nationalist government to impose a sub-standard education on African children? Are we going to tolerate the mass removals that are now beginning to take place?

#### **Moving Day**

IN ORDER to remove the eye-sores outside the great cities of South Africa, the people in the locations are to be moved, whether they The first removal attempted like it or not. was to a place called Meadowlands-a beautiful name but the only beautiful thing about the place was its name-where up to the present there has been no adequate housing or shelter put up to receive people, and no work. Those who are moved there must queue up at midnight, many people think, in order to get on the crowded buses and into the city in time to work for the white man. A few of the Africans moved had actually owned the little bit of land on which their shacks were built. For an African to own land is anathema. This is something the white man cannot tolerate; the African must go. In most cases, he is given no compensation, and wherever he is, it is completely inadequate. Whenever he moves, never, never again will he be allowed to own land.

The press, the missions, everyone was deeply concerned when it was learned that the order for the first 150 families to be moved was to be carried out. The notices were served on the families, the houses were being marked, the lorries were to come on a certain date to move the people. To remove them from these filthy slums, remember, was to remove them from the only homes they knew, from their friends, from the missions that had been their one source of hope, to remove their children from the native school where some of them had been able to go, and to take them sometimes a hundred miles away to a place about which they knew nothing.

Everyone thought there would be an uprising. The government did something that it considered very clever. Having told the occupants of the 150 houses, the shacks, that they were to be moved on a certain day, they arrived a day sooner with 2,000 police and military and Sten guns. They were able forcibly to eject the 150 totally unprepared and unprotected families, without the press present. They put their few miserable belongings into lorries and took them off, immediately bringing in bulldozers and razing their shacks to the ground. This is going to be the regular procedure—a hundred and fifty families at a time until these areas are cleared.

We can ask ourselves what is the next step? Civil disobedience and non-violence, which perhaps, are the only civilized forms of warfare, certainly the only warfare that we as Christians should recognize, have been tried and failed. These people have either got to accept conditions as they are at the present time and so likely to get steadily worse or they are going to adopt something such as has been adopted in East Africa in the nature of Mau Mau, something which in the end is going to drive the white man off the face of Africa. That is going to be a tragedy for black as well as for white, because black as well as white are needed on that great continent in order to exploit its wealth in the interests of mankind. It can be successfully exploited only in partnership, not as master and slave.

So I feel that we who enjoy certain rights and privileges that are denied to these people, we who still have a measure of democratic freedom, have got to use that freedom, have got to use our votes, have got to use the political power that we have, to try and save these people who cannot save themselves. They can do nothing. They depend on you and on me to do something for them, something that will enable them to bring up their children as we like to bring up our children, to give our hope to them, and to show that in truth and in fact we do believe in the universal fatherhood of God, which means that we are all one family, with the same rights and responsibilities towards God and our fellow men.

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#### THE WITNESS

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#### **CHURCHES TO DEFEND** FREE SPEECH

★ Leonard W. Mayo, social worker, called upon Churches to defend free speech and the right to hold unpopular views, in an address to the national conference on the Churches and social welfare, meeting November 1-4 in Cleveland.

"The files of at least one security agency of the federal government," he said, "contains the names of some ministers of the Gospel, whose only deviation in long careers of loyal Christian citizenship has been to express vigorously, in their own words, the right to dissent."

Most pressing social needs cited by Mayo were: adequate shelter for the American people; defense of cultural and racial groups; safeguarding 



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the health of communities; aid to older people; juvenile delinquency; proper conduct of prisons and correctional institutions for youth; care for displaced persons and itinerant workers: further study into the causes and treatment of mental illness; and promotion better international of relations.

Protestant Churches in the U. S. spend more than a billion dollars annually to provide health and welfare services for 11-million people, it was reported by W. J. Villaume, director of social welfare of the National Council of Churches under whose auspices the conference was held.

Walter Van Kirk, head of international affairs of the Council, said that neither the U. S. or the U.S.S.R. should send arms to the Middle East. He also said that Christians should "exercise their influence in the halls of government" and that "if the world is to have peace and justice Christians will have to roll up their sleeves and go to work."

#### **URGES UNITED ACTION** AGAINST SECULARISM

★ People of different religious faiths and denominations must speak out unitedly against the widespread "secular mood" that leaves out God and the human soul. Prof. Paul E. Scherer of Union Theological Seminary, New York, declared at the annual Ref-

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ormation service in Buffalo.

"With such a formidableenemy as Godless secularism, controversies between Protestantism and Catholicism are not likely to prove very useful or very impressive," Scherer said.

"We made that mistake once in the years that followed immediately on the Reformation and all of us lost. Do we have to make it again? The only way to say what we have to say and get it to stick is to say it together."

In his address, Scherer charged that "the gospel is reduced in a thousand pulpits over the land to the level of sound advice."

He deplored the tendency in America to make the church "a club, which you may join or not join as you see fit, attend or stay at home, tinker with its ritual, abandon its creed."

The theologian said the Reformation "struck the shackles from humanity" but it resulted in some people feeling they had to be bound by nothing.

"From believing too much that never did have to be believed, they came to believe so little that human existence and the world itself no longer seemed to make any sense," Scherer declared.

He asserted that the Reformation was not revolt against the authority of Christ, but "against the kind of authority that wanted to handcuff a man with moral and intellectual slavery, telling him what he could think and telling him what he could do."



#### PROTEST MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG

★ Religious and political leaders joined in a meeting in South Africa to warn that the governments repressive measures to implement its segregation policies now are being directed a gainst the civil rights of white as well as nonwhite people.

It was the first time in the country that Europeans and non-Europeans ever sat on the same platform to speak on a political matter.

Bishop Ambrose Reeves presided and Father Trevor Huddleston was one of the speakers. Also speaking was an officer of the African National Congress and the chairman of the South Africa Indian Congress.

Police took down numbers of all autos parked near the meeting hall; also the tires of ten cars were slashed.

"We have arrived at a stage in this country where, without the trappings of Nazis, we have a state in which the man who is prepared to take any stand on principle is regarded by the government as a traitor to his country", said Bishop Reeves.

Father Huddleston told about a police raid upon his residence, when they stripped it of books and documents which "any intelligent person might be expected to have in his home."

Father Huddleston, incidentially, was ordered back to England on November 1 by his religious superiors for another assignment. After the recall became known he preached at the cathedral in Johannesburg in which he said that "Apartheid is the basic denial that a man can have a neighbor at all. It is the refusal of God's plan and purpose. It is blasphemy."

The sermon was broadcast,

with the priest warned before it was delivered that "all political topics must be avoided." It is believed that some radio official is in for trouble for having permitted the sermon to go on the air.

#### FOUST TAKES UP NEW WORK

★ The Rev. Roscoe T. Foust, formerly rector of the Ascension, New York, former chairman of the Witness board of editors, has opened an office a Two Fifth Avenue, New York, for the practice of counseling and psychotherapy. He is associated with Dr. Francis D. de Bilio.

#### INDIANA PARISH CELEBRATES

★ Christ Church, Indiana, Pa., celebrated its 100th anniversary on October 21st. Bishop Pardue preached at the morning service, and the Rev. Frank A. Lawrence, Presbyterian minister, was the speaker at a union service in the evening in which most of the local ministers took part.

#### SEEK CONTACT WITH CHINESE

★ The British Council of Churches, meeting at Manchester, asked its executive committee to watch for opportunities of reestablishing contact with Christian Churches in China.

In the debate Bishop Bell of Chichester said that a delegation from a so-called "imperialist" country might be embarassing to Chinese Christians and cause them to be penalized.

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#### FELLOWSHIP MISSION TO TURKEY

★ Five American and European churchmen left here Nov. 6 on a mission of fellowship to the Christian Churches of Turkey on behalf of the World Council of Churches.

They will visit Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras of Istanbul, chief prelate of Eastern Orthodoxy, and other Church leaders to express the concern of the World Council and Christians everywhere for the sufferings borne by Christians in Turkey, and the damage done their churches, during the anti-Greek riots of Sept. 6.

American members of the mission are Prof. Edward R. Hardy of Berkeley Divinity School and Prof. Robert Tobias of Butler University.

Other members are Bishop Ivor Stanley Watkins of Malmesbury, Eng.; the Rev. Westphal, vice-pre-Charles sident of the Protestant Federation of France; and the Rev. Raymond Maxwell of the World Council staff in Geneva.

#### LAMBETH PALACE CHAPEL

★ Dean Sturgis Riddle of the Pro-Cathedral, Paris, represented the Presiding Bishop and Bishop Keeler, in charge of the American Churches in Europe, at the rededication of the chapel of Lambeth Palace, London.

The chapel of the residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury since the fourteenth century was severely damaged in the last World War. It has been completely restored to its original early Gothic beauty.

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### BOOKS. Edited by George MacMurray

#### The Hope of the Gospel by James S. Thomson. Seabury Press. \$3.25

The Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at McGill University Montreal recently gave these lectures at They deal with the need Glasgow. of the Christian Hope in these dangerous and threatening days, with the nature and history of the Hope, and with its promise. The point of view is largely that of systematic theology and the New Testament exegesis is forced into an apologetic framework - as often happens! — but the lectures are well informed and stimulating. The influence of Paul Tillich is quite noticeable.

-FREDERICK C. GRANT

#### One Body in Christ by Ernest Best. London: S. P. C. K.

This is a very careful analysis of the relationship of the Church to Christ in the Pauline epistles. The author deals first with the phrase "in Christ" and equivalent expressions, later with "into Christ" and "with Christ." Other chapters deal with Adam and Christ, and the ideas of the Church as the bride of Christ and the building in Christ. Three chapters are devoted to the conception of the Body of Christ-in the earlier epistles in Colossians and Ephesians. In a note as brief as

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this must be there is no opportunity to set forth the views of the author. But let it be said that he has brought together with admirable inclusiveness and clarity the evidence bearing on his theme, that he examines it with exemplary care and thoroughness, and that he draws his conclusions both with deference to others and with independence and honesty. This book is necessary reading for all students of the New Testament doctrine of the Church.

-IOHN KNOX

#### The Book of Acts in History by Henry J. Cadbury. Harpers. \$2.75

The most important work on the Book of Acts during the past fifty years is The Beginnings of Christianity, edited by the late Professors F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. In the last two volumes, the commentary on Acts and the added notes, Professor Lake had the assistance of Dr. Cadbury, whose handwriting his friends can trace all

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THE Episcopal League For Social Action is not as widely known in the Church as officers and members wish it were, but it does stand firmly for certain principles and programs in social and economic life which it believes are an integral part of the Christian Gospel and it has tried consistently to apply those principles to the contemporary problems which are vexing the whole world today. The League considers that it is an important part of its work to make known, as widely as its resources permit, some of the important facts in the struggle for world peace and for the maintenance of civil liberties in America which are not readily available to the average citizen in the popular press or in books of large circulation.

At the present time one can be moderately optimistic about the prospects of world peace or at least the fact that a shooting war is now less menacing than it was. The relief of tension accomplished by the Geneva Conference of the heads of states was brought about very largely by the militant pressures of public opinion on the policy-makers of all nations. The continued pressure of such opinion is essential if progress toward peace is to continue in the important conference of foreign ministers. Christian individuals and organizations should let their political representatives hear from them.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES

IN THE field of civil liberties—which have been under vicious attack for the past eight years—a number of important victories have been won, beginning with the deflation of Senator McCarthy and continuing with a series of significant court decisions upholding the rights of American citizens to their opinions expressed in speech and writings. There are also happy signs that Congressional committees are beginning to turn from the job of invading the democratic rights of citizens to the longneeded task of examining those rights and considering how best they may be protected.

A Senate Committee of which Senator Fulbright is Chairman has begun to hold public hearings on the thirty-odd bills amending the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act which is responsible for outrageous injustices to foreign-born citizens and non-citizens through deportation and denaturalization proceedings and which sets up an immigration policy based on discrimnation against racial and national origin groups contrary to long- established American tradition. There is wide-spread popular opposition to this law and a demand for its drastic revision. An official Presidential Commission, after a thorough study and a holding of country-wide public hearings, has recommended a complete overhauling of the Act. The current Senate hearing should result in reporting a bill to remedy the gross injustices of the McCarran-Walter Act.

#### HENNINGS COMMITTEE

NOTHER Senate committee, under the Chairmanship of Senator Hennings, has begun public hearings on the American Bill of Rights with the intention of bringing to light the extent to which this bulwark of democratic freedoms is being adhered to in this present era. The first stage of these hearings is concerned with the First Amendment, which declares: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." This stage of the hearings therefore intimately concerns religious people of every faith and the religious press, as well as citizens and journals in general. If these hearings are fairly and courageously conducted, it will be shown that, in this era of the 'cold war', the first part of our Bill of Rights has been repeatedly violated. There is, and will continue to be, very heavy pressure upon the committee to keep certain kinds of evidence of violations of the First Amendment out of the hearings.

It therefore behoves all defenders of our civil rights, especially religious folks, to make known to this committee their determination that all the facts offered shall be listened to and given due weight in the conclusions and recommendations later to be made public. The Episcopal League For Social Action urges every reader of this message to write or telegraph Senator Hennings to this effect. Every such letter counts. The Religious Freedom Committee in New York City is keeping in close touch with these hearings through their attorney and will be glad to give information on progress to anyone who writes them. Their address is 118 East 28th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

ELSA has repeatedly emphasized to its members the impossibility of getting adequate, objective information on controversial issues like world peace and civil rights by reading the popular press and magazines. It is of the utmost importance to have at hand a publication devoted to digging out and publishing all the pertinent facts in these fields. ELSA knows of nothing which fills this bill so well as a little weekly called "I. F. Stone's Weekly." It can be secured for \$5.00 a year from I. F. Stone's Weekly, 301 East Capitol St., S.E. Room 205, Washington 3, D. C.

Communications to the League should be sent to EPISCOPAL LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL ACTION Tunkhannock Pennsylvania This Message is a paid advertisement