



Persecution of Churchmen and Other Religious Workers Oppressed to Apartheid

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Alternative title	Notes and Documents - United Nations Centre Against ApartheidNo. 28/74
Author/Creator	United Nations Centre against Apartheid; Carstens, Kenneth N.
Publisher	Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
Date	1974-09-00
Resource type	Reports
Language	English
Subject	
Coverage (spatial)	South Africa
Coverage (temporal)	1955 - 1972, 1974
Source	Northwestern University Libraries
Description	This paper was prepared for the Unit on Apartheid by the Reverend K.N. Carstens, a South African Methodist Minister. Mr. Carstens left South Africa in 1963 and is now Executive Director of the North American Committee of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. The paper points to the origin of the ideology of apartheid, in South Africa's Dutch Reformed Churches and gives a chronological account of action taken by the South African Government, from 1955 to 1972, against churchmen and other religious workers opposed to apartheid.
Format extent (length/size)	16 page(s)



UNITED NATIONS

UNIT ON APARTHEID

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

No. 28/74

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS*

September 1974

Northwestern University
 Library
 OCT 22 1974
 PERSECUTION OF CHURCHMEN AND OTHER RELIGIOUS
 WORKERS OPPOSED TO APARTHEID
 Africana
 The Reverend Kenneth N. Carstens

Note: This paper was prepared for the Unit on Apartheid by the Reverend K.N. Carstens, a South African Methodist Minister. Mr. Carstens left South Africa in 1963 and is now Executive Director of the North American Committee of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

The paper points to the origin of the ideology of apartheid in South Africa's Dutch Reformed Churches and gives a chronological account of action taken by the South African Government, from 1955 to 1972, against churchmen and other religious workers opposed to apartheid.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author.]

74-23413

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At a press conference on 30 January 1971, the Prime Minister of South Africa denied that conflict was developing between Church and State. There were about 1,440 religious workers in South Africa, said Prime Minister Vorster; during the past decade, action had been taken against "only" 25 of them.^{1/}

The following year, the Minister of the Interior stated that no similar records had been kept for 1971. If this was an oversight, it is not inconceivable that the oversight was deliberate. Unofficial and no doubt incomplete records show, however, that actions were taken against some 60 religious workers that year. This amount nearly equalled the total action taken during the previous 22 years of the apartheid régime. The actions taken in 1971 ranged from the detention without trial for at least three months of an elderly Anglican priest, the Reverend Hamington Ganga, to the mere refusal of passports and visas to persons known to be opponents of apartheid.

Since 1971, the number of actions against workers in mosques, temples and churches has fallen to an average of two to three dozen a year. It is impossible to know, however, to what extent the diminution is due to the effectiveness of the Government's policy of harassment and intimidation.

Religious origin of apartheid

Ironically, apartheid was conceived and implemented in South Africa's Dutch Reformed Churches, and especially in the largest of them, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK). In the NGK, apartheid is taken to its absurd conclusion of separating, not only African, white, Coloured and Asian South Africans into racially-defined synods, but also separating the Africans into ethnically-defined synods. The two white "tribes", (i.e. English and Afrikaners) however, remain integrated - perhaps in the interests of common political and economic considerations - despite greater linguistic differences than exist between them and some of the African groups they have insisted on separating.

Possibly in view of the fact that religion and morality are often considered to be almost identical, the religious origin of apartheid may have led to the expectation that the glaring injustice of white domination would somehow become less revolting to everyone. Because of the capacity for self-deception in the service of self-interest, this new mirage appeared to have satisfied those who wanted the benefits of white supremacy to be protected by the cloak of morality as well.

However, partly because Blacks would not be silenced, partly because of the relentless honesty of a few white South Africans like the Reverend Beyers Naudé, and partly because of contact and debate with church persons and organizations abroad, the immorality of the whole scheme, including even its false presuppositions

^{1/} According to our records, that figure includes foreign church officials trying to get visas to South Africa, as well as those already there who were restricted or deported; but it excludes actions taken against religious workers who were South African nationals and actions taken against religious workers in the international territory of Namibia.

came under attack - not only from the victims and from the English-speaking churches, but also from a few very courageous voices at the very heart of Afrikanerdom, namely, the Dutch Reformed Churches.

Once this dissent was brought into the open, the Prime Minister himself began to threaten the dissenters. Threats, of course, did not suffice but they did help to create the climate in which the Government could begin to act against dissident Afrikaner churchmen. When the Government did eventually begin to act it always did so with more restraint than when it acted against non-Afrikaner church people. This reflects both the veneration the Afrikaners still have towards the Dutch Reformed Church and its ministers, and the extent to which Blacks, English-speaking South Africans and other individuals and their churches are still regarded as the traditional opponents of the Afrikaner people.

Myth of resistance by churches

The Government moved cautiously in its campaign to eliminate so-called subversives, who dared to practise morality rather than merely preach it. It would be misleading, however, to believe that the English-speaking and, for the most part, white-dominated churches, are playing a truly decisive role in resistance to apartheid. Indeed, unfortunately, it would be false even to portray these churches as institutional agitators for social justice.

In fact, most Government actions have been directed at individuals within religious institutions, rather than the institutions themselves, which, more often than not, have tended to be more concerned with their own survival than the moral issues involved. One rare exception to the churches' generally self-serving rationalizations has been the University Christian Movement (UCM) which set moral integrity above its own survival. For its stand, it has paid a heavy price.

There are very few radical opponents of apartheid within the country. Most of them have been imprisoned, subjected to banning orders or driven into exile, or have died during detention by the Security Police. Those who still enjoy the illusion of freedom within apartheid South Africa are, on the whole, under constant surveillance, politically ineffectual or safely reformist.

Within the facade of democracy which prevails in South Africa - a "democracy" that eliminates any genuine opposition as soon as it becomes effective - a political vacuum has been created in which a squeak has often been mistaken for a roar, especially by those who wish to perpetuate the myth of real opposition. With the enthusiastic help of the English South African press, the churches' "opposition" has been quite deliberately exaggerated, as has the "power" and "independence" of Bantustan leaders.

The harsh facts, however, need not spell defeat; they should simply remind one of the reality of the South African situation. South Africa at present stands as a reproach to the "international community" but it should also be seen as a reminder that the human spirit is indomitable. In religious institutions, the principle of non-racialism can still be found, however hidden. Dissent and debate

still survive. And the continued persecution of religious persons - like all others who have learned the wrath of the apartheid régime - serves as proof that the issues have not been obliterated and that the quest for justice and dignity for all men continues.

APPENDIX

ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME
AGAINST PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGIOUS
INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1955

Father Trevor Huddleston

Anglican, (Now Bishop of Stepney). Was Head of the Community of the Resurrection in South Africa. Was well known for his opposition to the removal of Africans from Sophiatown, the only suburb in Johannesburg where blacks held freehold property rights, to a deserted area 22 miles away. Recalled to the United Kingdom by his religious order when Government criticisms of Bishop Huddleston became menacing.

1957

Dr. G.W. Carpenter

Baptist Missionary. Refused visa.

The Reverend Michael Scott

British. Anglican priest who ministered to Africans in South Africa and Namibia (then known as South West Africa) from the 1940's until he was ousted by the Government in 1957. Well known for indefatigable championing of the rights of Africans in both Namibia and South Africa and before the United Nations from 1947 until the present. Declared a prohibited immigrant in 1957.

Rabbi Dr. André Ungar

United States. Jewish Reform. Deported.

1958

On 7 March, three Coloured church-wardens (no names were given) of the Calvinist Protestant Church of South Africa were found guilty in Springbok, Namaqualand, of holding a gathering of more than five persons without permission. The gathering was a religious service, but only the Dutch Reformed Church was recognized by the (the) Division of Coloured Affairs in the Namaqualand reserves of Komagag and Concordia. The three church-wardens were given suspended sentences.

For a time, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, also, were debarred from holding services in the reserves mentioned.

1960

The Reverend S. M. Mokitumi

Methodist. Refused a Passport. Subsequently granted.

The Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves

British. Anglican, Johannesburg. Deported. Bishop Reeves was well-known for his unwavering opposition to apartheid. His abrupt deportation appeared to have been a direct consequence of his having gathered evidence against the Government in connexion with the police massacre of African men, women and children at Sharpeville.

1962

Reverend Douglas Thompson

Methodist. Banned and listed as a "communist".

1963

The Reverend Canon James Calata

Anglican. Banned

The Late Reverend Arthur W. Blaxall

After 40 years in South Africa, at the age of 72, was arrested and sentenced under the Suppression of Communism Act. Released and deported.

1965

The Right Reverend C. Edward Crowther

U.S.A. Anglican. Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman. Deported, with sixteen days' notice, after statement at a Facem en Terris Conference.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa

Professor A. Geysler and the Reverend Beyers Naudé complained to Brigadier H.J. van den Berg, Head of the Security Police, that the police had interrogated "non-white" members of the Christian Institute in various centres following their attendance at discussions about aid to be given to the African Independent Churches. The Brigadier denied knowledge of this. A short while later, Mr. Naudé's office was searched by Security Police for a banned book, but nothing illegal was found. In May the offices were again searched, by eight policemen, their warrant authorizing them to look for anything concerning communism and the African National Congress. Nothing was found. The police then searched Mr. Naudé's home and Mr. Naudé's person.

Mrs. Diana Collins

British. Wife of The Reverend Canon L. John Collins. Anglican. Deported.

John Aitcheson

Anglican divinity student. Banned. (On expiry of the first banning order, another was served in 1970.)

1966

The Reverend L.W. Ritchie

Canadian clergyman serving Coloured Anglicans in Bloemfontein. Residence permit not renewed after he wrote a letter to Time Magazine.

Father A.M. Garrison

American Anglican priest working in Ovamboland, Namibia. Forced to leave at the end of 1966 after residence permit was withdrawn.

Father Pierre Dil

Dutch Anglican priest who had been in South Africa since 1957 and held a permanent residence visa. Departed in November 1966.

The Reverend Martin Luther King

U.S.A. Baptist. Refused entry.

The Reverend T.S.M. Gqubule

Methodist. Refused a passport to take up a scholarship at Edinburgh University. (Subsequently granted).

Father Clive McBride

Anglican. Refused a passport.

The Right Reverend Alpheus Zulu

Anglican Bishop of Zululand. Refused passport to attend World Council of Churches Conference.

The Reverend A.H. van den Heuvel

World Council of Churches Youth Secretary. Refused visa.

The Reverend Theo Kotze

Methodist. Permit to be Chaplain of Robben Island (prison where most black political prisoners are held) withdrawn.

Mr. Abdul Kays

Moslem. (editor of "muslin News"). Banned.

The Reverend Kenneth N. Carstens

Methodist. Renewal of passport refused within 24 hours of his appearance before the first hearings on apartheid held by the United States House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa.

1967

Father Theodor Hunnink

Dutch Roman Catholic priest in Windhoek, Namibia. Visa renewal rejected.

The Reverend Ian Thomson

Presbyterian. Industrial Mission, Johannesburg. Passport confiscated. Officially warned to stop "furthering the aims of communism".

Sheik Abubakar Najaar and Members of El Jihad and Darod Jelm

Moslem. Interrogated by Security Police.

1968

Miss Sally Camp

U.S.A. Anglican missionary worker in Ovamboland. Residence permit withdrawn.

Bishop Robert Mize

U.S.A. Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, Namibia, from 1960. Residence permit withdrawn.

Father Robert van der Hart

Dutch Catholic priest working at Hammanskraal Seminary from 1964. Residence permit withdrawn when church authorities refused Government request that he be transferred.

The Reverend Hans Haselbarth

German. Lutheran Pastor holding permanent residence permit. Had worked in South Africa since 1963. Residence permit withdrawn. He had criticized apartheid in a lecture on Lutheran doctrine earlier in the same year.

The Reverend Dr. Basil Moore

Methodist. A founder and the first president of the University Christian Movement. Passport withdrawn in August. (See 1972 for further action).

Dr. Harrison Bryant

African Methodist Episcopal Church. Forced to leave the country. Visa not extended.

Pastor C. Fobbe

German. Lutheran Minister in Northern Transvaal. Refused permission to return to South Africa.

The Reverend Ian Atkinson

British. Anglican priest in Pretoria. Temporary residence permit not renewed. Refused re-entry.

The Reverend MacDonald Sibanda

Deported.

The Reverend Theo Kotze

Methodist. Questioned by Security Police.

1969

Miss Mary King

U.S.A. Missionary of the United Church of Christ working in Natal. Residence permit withdrawn.

Father Isaac Guirguis

Coptic Orthodox priest. Arrested for illegal entry in March and deported.

The Reverend de Fruyt

Belgian. Catholic missionary working in Natal. Left South Africa in January 1969, after residence permit was withdrawn.

Father Albert Danker

Catholic. Passport confiscated. Worked in Durban with Young Christian Workers.

Father Rodney Nelson

Catholic. Interrogated by Security Police and threatened.

The Reverend Canon Cyprian Thorpe

Anglican. Passport restricted.

Imam Abdullah Haroun

Moslem. Detained; died in detention after 4 months of solitary confinement. Inquest Court found certain injuries not accounted for in evidence.

The Reverend Daniel Moses Wessels

Moravian Church. Banned.

1970

Father David Shanahan

Irish. Catholic priest working in Sharpeville and Evaton from 1969. Residence permit withdrawn after criticizing unjust laws in sermons.

Father Robert Mercer

South African holding dual Rhodesian citizenship. Deported in August.

The Reverend Dale White

Anglican priest and Director of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort. Passport withdrawn in August.

Miss Sally Timsel

U.S.A. Lutheran, connected with The Grail. Applied for Temporary Residence Visa in April 1970. Refused July 1970.

Lawrence Weeks

U.S.A. Anglican student. Temporary Residence Permit declared invalid. He was investigating conditions in African locations in Windhoek.

Father Dick Cadigan

U.S.A. Anglican priest working in Natal from 1965. Residence permit withdrawn.

The Reverend E.M. Tema

Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Security Police wrote down his sermon (regarding need for better train service to Soweto, African location of Johannesburg) on the Day of the Covenant.

Father John Davies

British. Anglican Chaplain, Witwatersrand University. Left South Africa on holiday with family. Refused re-entry unless children applied for South African passports. Remained in Britain.

Professor J.A. Lombard

Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Leading theologian at the University of South Africa. Questioned by Security Police in connexion with the visit of Professor J. Verkuyl from the Free University of Amsterdam.

Professor Ben Marais

Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Leading theologian and Professor of History of Christianity, Pretoria. Questioned by Security Police in connexion with the visit of Professor J. Verkuyl from the Free University of Amsterdam.

Methodist Congress Delegates

Soweto. Followed and questioned about political views by Security Police.

Miss Marian Schwab

The Grail. Roman Catholic. Offered teaching post at Holy Cross Convent, Victory Park. Application for Temporary Residence Permit not granted.

The Reverend Robert Mercer and The Reverend Bernard Chamberlain

British. Monks from the Community of the Resurrection in Yorkshire, of the Anglican Church, Stellenbosch. Ordered to leave the country for distributing to parishioners a pamphlet in which the decision of the World Council of Churches to give money to African Liberation Movements was explained.

The Reverend Beyers Naudé

Director of the Christian Institute. Condemned in Parliament by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, for allegedly advocating violence at a meeting of church leaders in the Netherlands. Reverend Naudé later denied this.

(The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Matanzima, ordered the Transkei Council of Churches to end an adult literary campaign it started in conjunction with the University Christian Movement and the South African Students' Organization.)

1971

The Reverend Dr. Marcus Braun

German Lutheran pastor working in Welkom and Johannesburg from 1967. Deportation order served, requiring departure by the end of March, following a visit with an African to a "Whites only" Dutch Reformed Church.

Mr. Gus Kious

U.S.A. Methodist Mission worker and deputy director of a Durban drug rehabilitation centre for teenagers. Given one month's notice of deportation on 16 February.

The Reverend Colin Davidson

Anglican priest on the staff of Christian Institute. Deported at end of February.

Ms. Tami Hultman and her husband Mr. Reed Kramer

U.S.A. Methodist Mission workers in Natal. Given one month's notice of deportation on 16 February.

The Reverend and Mrs. Tad Mitsui

Canadian. Anglican. Had been the University Christian Movement's director in Lesotho. Refused further entry into South Africa.

Miss Pauline Webb

British. Methodist. Vice-President of the World Council of Churches. Refused entry into South Africa on 30 January and required to leave within 24 hours.

The Reverend Francis E. Horner

Minister at St. Michael's Presbyterian Church at Springs and joint editor of the Christian Leader. Served with deportation orders in February requiring him to leave by 28 March. (According to a press report, Mr. Horner was subsequently permitted to remain.)

Dr. Marie-Louise Martin

Paris Evangelical Church. Refused entry.

Father Albert Danker

Catholic priest working in Durban with Young Christian Workers. Passport seized.

Father Richard Llewellyn

Anglican priest at St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, from 1968. Ordered to leave by 24 March after he had chaired a protest meeting against the detention of Dean Ffrench-Beytagh.

Mr. Howard Trumbull

U.S.A. Treasurer and Director of Natal Regional Council of the United Congregational Church of South Africa. In South Africa from 1961. Ordered to leave by 28 May. Office raided by Security Police.

The Reverend James L.C. Paulsen

U.S.A. Catholic priest in Margate and Port Shepstone. In South Africa from 1966. Ordered to leave by end of March.

Father Cosmas Desmond

Franciscan missionary priest. Arrived in South Africa from Britain in 1958 and became a South Africa citizen in 1968. On the staff of the Christian Institute and author of The Discarded People. Passport application rejected on 7 January 1971. Placed under five-year banning and house arrest orders in June 1971.

Father Mark Collier

Catholic. Research worker at the Christian Institute. Passport seized in February 1971. (Subsequently returned).

The Reverend Ian Thomson

Presbyterian. Passport withdrawn.

Father Dale White

Anglican. Worked at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre. Passport withdrawn.

The Most Reverend G.A. Ffrench-Beytagh

British. Anglican Dean of Johannesburg Cathedral. Detained under Terrorism Act on 20 January 1971. Released on bail after being charged, *inter alia*, with possessing or distributing banned pamphlets and distributing Defence and Aid Fund money to needy people. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment under the Terrorism Act, but acquitted on appeal.

The Right Reverend Alpheus H. Zulu

Anglican. Bishop of Zululand. Arrested under the "pass laws" on 11 March 1971, at dawn, at a church conference on the charge of not possessing his reference book. Later released.

Father Wilfred Jackson

British. Roman Catholic priest. Was told in September 1971 to leave South Africa by the end of the year. A parish priest of Ladysmith and close friend of Father Cosmos Desmond, had been involved in relief work in the Lisehill "re-settlement camp".

Mr. David Walker

Anglican. Warden of the Bishop's Hostel, Kimberley. Was ordered on 2 October 1971 to leave South Africa by the end of December. Had lived in South Africa for three years.

Dr. Carl H. Mau, U.S.A. and Dr. Ulrich Duchrow, German

Executive officers of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva. Denied entry into South Africa to participate in a church leaders' seminar organized by the South African Lutheran Churches at Roodepoort on 26 October 1971. (Dr. Mau was denied a visa and Dr. Duchrow received no acknowledgement at all.)

The Reverend Don Morton

Methodist. Had been publications director of the University Christian Movement. Left South Africa because of continuous harassment by Security Police and fear of imminent detention.

Pastor Hans-Ludwig Althaus

German. Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. Refused renewal of his temporary residence permit beyond the end of the year. Had arrived in Namibia in mid-1970 and worked particularly among high school students and teachers.

Sister Irene Noh

Evangelical Lutheran. Was refused a re-entry visa in early 1971. (Subsequently granted.)

The Reverend Dr. Ulrich Lochmann

Lutheran. A lecturer at the Lutheran Theological College at Mapumalo, Namibia. Raided by the Security Police. Later deported.

The Reverend Hannington Gcanga

Anglican. An elderly priest, detained for at least three months under the Transkei Emergency Regulations.

Mr. John More Witlerow

British, born in South Africa. Anglican. Refused permission to teach at St. Mary's High School in Odibo, Ovamboland, Namibia.

The Reverend Z.I. Malukazi

Organizer, African Youth Christian Movement. Visited by Security Police regarding his connexions with the University Christian Movement, the National Union of South African Students and the Christian Institute.

The Reverend George MacArthur

Church of Scotland. Refused permit to enter African areas in Transkei.

Father Colin Collins

Catholic. University Christian Movement General Secretary. Said that he had been followed by South African agents on world tour. Was later raided by Security Police. Now in exile.

Mr. Stanley Ntwasa

University Christian Movement. Subjected to police interrogation, allegedly for not having a pass. (Later banned; see under 1972.)

Mr. Justice Moloto

Former President, National Federation of Catholic Students; later, Secretary-General, University Christian Movement. Banned and restricted to Mafeking.

The Reverend Canon Burgess Carr

Anglican. General Secretary of the All-African Conference of Churches. Visa application refused.

Antoinette Halbestadt

Anglican. Principal of a mission school in Namibia. Ordered to leave Ovamboland. Later (March 1972) ordered to leave Namibia.

Mr. Stephen Singleton

British. Anglican. Refused permit to visit Ovamboland, Namibia.

The Right Reverend Colin O'Brien Winter

Anglican. Bishop of Damaraland. Refused permit to visit parishoners in Kackoveld, Namibia. (See also under 1972.)

The Reverend M.J. Dell

Anglican. Refused permit to visit Ovamboland, Namibia

Mr. Neil Harrison

Anglican. Johannesburg Diocesan Secretary. Raided by Security Police.

Mr. John Turnbull

Anglican. Assistant to Mr. Harrison (above). Raided by Security Police.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa

Cape Town. Raided by Security Police. Papers, documents, etc. removed, including papers of The Reverend Theo Kotzé.

1972

Mr. David de Beer

Anglican. Treasurer Anglican Diocese Windhoek. (Had been ordered in 1969 to leave Ovamboland. Refused permit to visit Ovamboland in 1971.) Deported from Namibia.

Mr. Reinholdt Neuhaus

German. Youth Worker for Evangelical Church of Hessen and Nassau, Frankfurt. Refused visa for Namibia.

The Reverend Dr. Juul Nordby

U.S.A. Head of the Board of World Missions, United Methodist Church. Refused visa.

Professor Mikko Juva

Lutheran. President of Lutheran World Federation. Refused visa for Namibia, according to statement made at Lutheran Synod. Statement denied by Government.

The Reverend Dr. A. Appel

Secretary-General of Lutheran World Federation. Refused visa for Namibia according to statement made at Lutheran Synod. Statement denied by Government. Visa granted, 2 March.

Pastor Gustav Mensel

Director of United Evangelical Mission of West Germany. Refused visa for Namibia.

Dr. J.P. Feddema

Gereformeerde Kerk, Holland. Refused visa to present petition concerning Father Cosmas Desmond to South African Churches.

Pastor W. Oelschner

Minister of Evangelical Church of Hessen and Nassau, Frankfurt. Refused visa for Namibia.

Mr. Stanley Ntwass

University Christian Movement. Arrested at Town of Alice; then banned and confined to Kimberley for five years.

Miss Barbara Hascher

St. Francis Mission Hospital. Temporary Residence Permit expired April 1972, and renewal refused.

The Right Reverend Colin O'Brien Winter

British. Anglican Bishop of Damaraland (Namibia). Deported from Namibia for speaking out against apartheid after being forbidden access to parts of his own diocese. Continues to act as Bishop in exile.

The Reverend Dr. Basil Moore

Methodist. Leader of University Christian Movement and Director of theological studies for the African Independent Churches. Banned for speaking out against apartheid. Now in exile.

The Reverend Stephen Hayes

Anglican. Deported from Namibia after giving a sermon in which he condemned the authorities' vendetta against the Anglican Church. His passport had been seized in 1969 and he had been refused a permit to visit the Herero reserve.

(The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, ordered a Parliamentary Select Committee investigation into four organizations, including the Christian Institute, and the University Christian Movement.)