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GELOOF OM DIE TOEKOMS TE VERANDER

Regeringsoptrede teen die Christelike Instituut duur voort met die inperking van Oshadi Phakathi, die Transvaalse Streeksdirektrise wat na vier maande in aanhouding nou tot Maart 1982 beperk word tot Pretoria.

Gedurende November 1976 is Pro Veritate gekonfiskeer en die redakteur vir 16 dae vir ondervraging aangehou. Verspreiding van die uitgawes van Desember 1976 en Februarie 1977 is verbied.

Niemand by sy sinne glo dat hierdie optrede plaasvind omdat die Christelike Instituut ateïsme, Marxisme, Leninisme, Moscow of Peking ondersteun. Die regering, veiligheidspolisie en geïndoktrineerde ondersteuners tree sinloos op in hierdie saak. Om die Christelike Instituut aan te kla van verspreiding van wêreldwye kommunisme is 'n skynheilige spel wat ontwerp is om die eise van die evangelie te ontduik.

Die Christelike Instituut hou vol dat die ideologie van apartheid of afsonderlike ontwikkeling teenstrydig is met die Woord van God. Dit beteken dat hulle wat apartheid ondersteun, sondig al mag hulle ook op watter opregte, goedbedoelde en godsdienstige motiewe aanspraak maak. Hulle is direk verantwoordelik vir die euwel en vrees, lyding en dood wat deur die sisteem veroorsaak word en hulle wat die sisteem nie daadwerklik teenstaan nie is indirek verantwoordelik.

Daar is ander wat fundamentele radikale veranderinge in Suid-Afrika soek deur die ontdekking van 'n lewenswyse in gehoorsaamheid aan God eerder as aan mense.

1. Dit is 'n persoonlike verandering in gesindhede teenoor onself en ons medemens: 'n bekeringservaring van „berou en geloof“. Selfs in Suid-Afrika, in 1977, moet 'n persoon weergebore word om die koninklike heerskappy van God waar te neem, en Swartbewussyn en Witbewussyn kan instrumente in dié verband wees.

2. Dit is 'n verandering teenoor mense — en dit beteken 'n politieke verandering waardeur ander veranderinge in die samelewing tot stand gebring kan word. Die wit regering moet met aanvaarbare leiers van die swartmense praat: Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko en hulle kollegas. Uit sulke gesprekke kan 'n beleid vir verandering ontwerp word om vrede en voorspoed, harmonie en geluk, wat aanvaarbaar is vir al ons mense, te bring.

Dit is die enigste weg tot politieke verandering. Om met tuislandleiers, stedelike Bantoe-amptenare en ander goedgekeurde regerings-segsmense te praat, sal nie werk nie omdat apartheid verwerp word. Vergrote tuislande en swart stadstate in 'n toekomstige federasie is geen antwoord nie want die meeste swartmense soos die meeste witmense wil een verenigde land hê. Die verslapping van klein-apartheid en reklame maak vir swart werklone is geen verandering nie. Die enigste weg vir die kinders van God om Sy toekoms te ontdek, is om te gaan sit en die eerste stappe saam te beplan. Of die pad tot so 'n bespreking kort en vreedsaam of lank en belaa met doodsreiging sal wees, sal alleenlik afhang van wit nasionaliste.

3. Dit is 'n verandering teenoor God. Geloof is 'n ervaring van geloofsoortuiging en die inhoud daarvan; 'n oorfloedige lewende geloof kan slegs gevind word in 'n lewende God. Godsdienstige ervaringe in die weste het 'n laagtepunt bereik omdat dit ingestel is op die eertydse waarhede van wat God gedoen het deur Augustinus, Aquinas, Luther, Calvyn, Wesley

of in die 19e eeu. Dit mag interessant en leersaam wees maar dit is nie inspirerend nie. Dit wat God besig is om nou in ons te laat plaasvind, is wat ons lewe en die wêreld omkeer.

Geloof word 'n positiewe opwindende ervaring wanneer dit in 'n God is wat werksaam is in ons geskiedenis¹, op die maniere wat Jesus aan ons bekend gemaak het om te verwag² eerder as om beperk te wees tot godsdienstige oefeninge, persoonlike piëteit, patriotiese ywer en kerkfinansies.

So 'n geloof ontstaan deur na die lewe te kyk op die wyse wat Jesus van Nasareth daarna gekyk het. Hierdie geloof:

- leer mense hoe om transformerende samelewings i.p.v. konformerende kerke te bestuur³
- voorsien hulle van 'n teologie wat die weë van Jesus in die tekens van die tye herken en verwelkom in plaas van te vlug vir die spoke van kommunisme.⁴
- stel soldate van Christus in staat om 'n positiewe waarde-bepaling van die voorstanders van geweld in die oorlog te maak: SAP, SAVM, guerillaleërs en stedelike saboteurs.⁵
- open nuwe vergesigte van aanvaarding dat Jesus se weg van armoede die weg na voorspoed is.⁶
- bevry mense tot nuwe teologiese, politieke en sosiale perspektiewe.⁷
- plaas die behoeftes van werk-honger mense voor dié van wins-honger onderdrukkers.⁸
- leer dat rykdom vir gemeenskappe is, nie vir individue nie.⁹
- ontdek dat om ander te dien meer lonend is as om gedien te word.¹⁰
- openbaar dat die meerderwaardige mens die meewarige mens is.¹¹
- lei mense na die genieting van ander eerder as veroordeling van hulle.¹²
- bied die belewenis van vrede, moed en 'n onweerspreeklike getuigenis onder vervolging.¹³
- wys dat terwyl afsonderlike ontwikkeling stryd en dood beteken, getrouheid aan God se heerskappy in Jesus die weg tot lewe en vrede is.¹⁴
- en laat 'n blymoedige, vertrouensvolle moreel ontbrand met 'n innerlike vrede en erbarming, wat nóg leeus in die arena „hippos“ in die swartwoonbuurtes, nóg koeëls in die ingewande kan vernietig.¹⁵

Dit is die geloof wat worstel om gebore te word in die debat tussen „swart“ teologie en „ryk wit westerse“ teologie. Vanuit hierdie geloof en voortvloeiende uit die verskillende ervaring van saamlewe wat „Bantoe“, Boer en Brit in ons wêrelddeel geken het, is 'n nuwe antwoord vir die organisasie van menslike samelewing besig om na vore te kom.

In die soeke na sulke verandering sal die Christelike Instituut (en miljoene ander) voortgaan tenspyte van vervolgers. Arme blinde leidsliede met die politieke stelling wat hulle inneem, hulle hoflike meerderwaardigheid, hulle godsdienstige houding, hulle marteling, ondervraging, skrikaanjaende metodes wat soek om die waarheid te verban. „As jy vandag tog wou insien wat vir jou vrede nodig is! Maar nou is jy blind daarvoor.“

Weet hulle dan nie dat selfs al sou jy God kruisig Hy weer sal opstaan?

A FAITH TO CHANGE THE FUTURE

Government action against the Christian Institute has continued with the banning of Oshadi Jane Phakathi, Transvaal Regional Director, who, after four months in detention, is now confined to Pretoria until March 1982.

During November 1976 Pro Veritate was confiscated and the Editor detained for interrogation for 16 days. December 1976 and February 1977 issues have been banned from distribution.

No one in their senses believes these actions were taken because the Christian Institute supports atheism, Marxism, Leninism, Moscow, or Peking. The Government, Special Branch and indoctrinated supporters are *nonsensical* on the matter. To accuse the Christian Institute of spreading world wide Communism is a hypocritical ploy designed to dodge the demands of the Gospel.

The Christian Institute maintains that the ideology of apartheid or separate development is contrary to the Word of God. This implies that those who support apartheid commit sin, whatever sincere, kind, and religious motives they may claim. They are directly responsible for the evil and fear, suffering and death caused by the system, and those who do not actively oppose the system are indirectly responsible.

There are others who seek **fundamental radical changes** in South Africa to discover a way of life in obedience to God rather than man.

1. **It is a personal change** in attitudes towards ourselves and our fellows; a 'repentance and faith' conversion experience. Even in South Africa in 1977 a person must be born again to see the kingly rule of God, and Black Consciousness and White Consciousness can be tools to this end.

2. **It is a change towards people — and this means a political change through which other changes in society can be brought about.** The white Government must talk to the accepted leaders of the black people: Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, and their colleagues. Out of such conversations a policy of change can be designed to bring peace and prosperity, harmony and happiness which is acceptable to our people.

This is the **only way** to political change. Talking to Homeland leaders, Urban Bantu officials, and other Government approved spokesmen will not work because apartheid is rejected. Enlarged homelands and black city states in a federated future are no answer because most blacks, like most whites, want one united country. Relaxing petty apartheid and boosting black paypackets is no change. The only way for the children of God to find their future is to sit down and talk out the first steps together. Whether the path to that discussion is short and peaceful, or long and laden with death, depends solely on white nationalists.

3. **It is a change towards God.** Faith is an *experience* of belief, and the *content* of belief, and an exuberant living faith can only be found in a living God. Religious experience in the west is at a low ebb because it is focussed on the ancient truths of what God did in Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Wesley,

or the 19th century. This may be interesting and informative but it is not inspiring. It is what God is doing in us now that turns your life and the worlds upside down.

Faith becomes a positive exciting experience when it is in a God who is acting in our history¹, in the ways that Jesus told us to expect², rather than being restricted to religious exercises, personal piety, patriotic fervour, or church finances.

Such a faith comes from looking at life in the way that Jesus of Nazareth looks at it. This faith

- teaches people how to run transforming societies instead of conforming churches³.
- provides them with a theology which recognises and welcomes the ways of Jesus in the signs of the times, instead of fleeing the spooks of communism.⁴
- enables soldiers of Christ to make a positive assessment of the advocates of violence in the war: SAP, SADF, guerilla armies, and urban saboteurs.⁵
- opens up new vistas by accepting that Jesus' way of poverty is the way to prosperity.⁶
- liberates men into new theological, political and social perspectives.⁷
- puts the needs of work-hungry people before those of profit-hungry oppressors.⁸
- teaches that wealth is for communities not individuals.⁹
- discovers that serving others is more rewarding than being served.¹⁰
- reveals that the superior man is the compassionate man.¹¹
- leads men to the enjoyment of others rather than the judgement of them.¹²
- gives the experience of peace, courage, and an undeniable witness under persecution.¹³
- shows that whilst separate development means fighting and death, loyalty to God's rule in Jesus is the way to life and peace.¹⁴
- and fires a joyful confident morale, with an inner peace and compassion, which neither lions in the arena, "hippos" in the townships, nor bullets in the guts can destroy.¹⁵

This is the faith which is struggling to be born in the debate between 'black' theology and 'wealthy white western' theology. Out of the different experiences of communal living that Black 'Boer' and Briton have known in our sub-continent, a new answer to the organisation of human society is emerging, from this faith.

In search of such change, the Christian Institute (and millions of others) will proceed despite persecutors. Poor blind guides, with their political posturing, their urbane superiority, their religious stance, their torturing, interrogating, terrifying methods that seek to ban the truth! "If only today you knew what is needed for peace! But now you cannot see it!"

Do they not know that even if you crucify God he rises again?

FOOTNOTES

1. Acts 2:11.
2. J. 1:14,18; J. 14:6.
3. Acts 2:40-47; L. 10:25-37; L. 15:11-32; Mt. 15:7-9.
4. Mt. 16:1-4; 23:23-24; 24:4-14.
5. J. 6:63; Mk. 8:32-33.
6. L. 18:22-25; L. 12:15.
7. L. 4:18-19; Gal. 3:28-29.

8. Mt. 20:1-15.
9. L. 12:22-31.
10. J. 13:15-17; L. 22:24-27.
11. Mk. 10:41-45.
12. L. 6:37-38.
13. L. 21:12ff.
14. L. 11:17; Mt. 28:19-20; Acts 2:44-47.
15. Mt. 5:10; J. 16:33; R. 8:33-39.

CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN A TIME OF CRISIS

— Dr. C. F. Beyers Naude

In this important address to graduates of the Federal Theological Seminary at Edendale, Pietermaritzburg on March 16th, 1977, the Director of the Christian Institute examines some of the vital challenges to everyone who dares to believe in Christ in South Africa today.



In two very important respects your ministry will differ from that of any other group of Black ministers in South Africa who have offered themselves for the service of the ministry in their respective churches:

1. FUTURE EVENTS

1.1 You are entering the ministry in a **time of serious crisis** in the history of our country. It is a period of great upheaval, of increasing tension between Black and White (and also Black and Black), of ever-growing oppression against all who the government believes are threatening the security of the state and the identity of the White man, especially the Afrikaner.

The church as an institution will be deeply involved in and affected by these events. The majority of the Whites at present seem to believe that peace and calm have returned to this land. You and I know that, as far as the Black community is concerned, the upheavals of the past months are but the outward sign of a movement of deep stirrings towards freedom which can no longer be suppressed by force.

1.2 During your life-time, I believe, you are going to participate in the most important process of political and social change which this country has ever experienced. Despite denials by the powers-that-be, the present system of racial oppression is like a patient entering its dying period. This patient is desperately clinging to life and will fight to stave off the dying day — but it is of no avail: he will not survive. No political or police expertise, frantically administering emergency medicines at the bedside is going to save his life. He is destined to disappear, and with his death we will view the end of an oppressive rule and the transition towards political liberation which millions of Blacks have been looking forward to for decades. I believe this transition is going to be a turbulent, painful one — like that of the birth of a child, too long delayed, but you are going to witness this birth: **the appearance of a new independent and liberated state called Azania.**

2. YOUR REACTION TO THESE EVENTS

As theological tutors and students, and as future ministers of the-Gospel, you should ask how you are preparing yourselves for the crisis situation of this pre-liberation period which is part of your present life, as well as for the immediate post-liberation period which could come sooner than many realise. There are four possible ways in which clergy, present and future, could react to this situation:

2.1 You could continue with a **traditional form of ministry** as if nothing of great portent is happening: (a) The preaching of one sermon after the other with little, if any, relevance to the crucial social or political issues of the day: in other words a sermon which Radio Bantu or the S.A.B.C. would be very happy to broadcast; (b) consecrating marriages, hopefully in accordance with Christ's demand for the sanctity of marriage, but always in obedience to the dictates of the racial laws of the state; (c) faithfully confirming new believers, ministering to the sick, burying the dead and comforting the

bereaved.

I do not wish to suggest that this form of ministry is not valid, but what image of the Gospel of Christ and of His Kingdom is being conveyed to the world by such a ministry if no other dimension is added? Such a form of priestly service could be seen to be so timeless, so generalised and so un-specific as to be largely meaningless.

2.2 The tensions of the time and the demands for relevant leadership might create such uncertainty and conflict in your own mind and heart that you might be tempted to seek refuge from your feelings of insecurity in a **spiritualised ministry**, a persistent call to individual pietism or evangelism largely devoid of social concern, or a flight into blissful charismatic experiences.

I do not wish to suggest that such piety, prayer, or charismatic experiences should not form a valid part of the Christian life — but what image of the Gospel of Christ and of His Kingdom is created through a ministry which over-emphasises the abovementioned traits to the serious neglect of other important qualities of Christian life?

2.3 In the rising tide of Black Consciousness which millions of Blacks have experienced during recent years there is reflected very clearly the growing expectation of liberation from the system of racial oppression. This new force of Black Consciousness creates a serious dilemma, but also a tremendous opportunity for every minister: to decide the nature and extent of his identification with his people in their struggle for total liberation. The strength of your own convictions and the depth of your own feelings as a Black, could easily lead you into the temptation of so identifying yourself with the cry of your people that a political role will take precedence over the proclamation of the Gospel. It is not impossible to visualise a situation arising in your own life where **Christian values are forced into such subservient positions that the voice of Christ could be silenced** as the cry of Amandla! rises to a crescendo when political liberation is realised. And who could blame you if you uncritically identify such political freedom with Christian liberation: didn't the Afrikaners do the same when the yoke of British imperialist oppression became too heavy to bear? But do not forget, when this hour of political liberation dawns, that Christ and His message of transformation of human life and of liberation of mankind stands above all political policy, all social systems, all economic structures. He stands as Lord over all human systems, all historic events, none of which can ever contain the fullness of the life which only the Kingdom of God offers to all men.

2.4 I wish to mention a fourth reaction which to me seems to be the nearest to the demands of the Gospel for a valid Christian ministry. You could consciously look at the course of present events and future developments and prepare yourself spiritually, theologically, intellectually and emotionally for these events in the realisation that God is wanting you to **make some positive contribution, to the furtherance of His Kingdom among all the people of South Africa.** This pre-

paration would require that you inform yourself first of all, of the most crucial issues that your people in particular, but also the country as a whole, will have to face within the next decade. Therefore it is vitally important that you should ask yourself this question: **Which are the most pressing problems that I as a man of God will have to assist in solving?**

Furthermore, I believe it to be of vital importance that you should ask yourself what Christ will demand of you as a human being, as a Christian, as a theologian or pastor, as a leader in your community in the role that you will have to play in determining the outcome of these problems.

THE MAIN ISSUES

I believe that there are four important basic issues which will have to be faced in the first years of your ministry:

3.1 The issue of growing unemployment, poverty and want: South Africa is paying dearly for the expensive costs of the unrealisable policies of separate development. With the cost of living spiralling, ever-increasing taxes, a rising rate of inflation, lesser investments, and other inhibiting economic factors, *unemployment will increase in leaps and bounds* with millions being forced to live in dire poverty with all the social unrest resulting therefrom. History has proved that the lower income groups are always the first to be adversely affected and the last to be meaningfully liberated. How is this situation going to affect the nature of your ministry? Are you going to set a priority on the erection of expensive places of worship? Are you passively going to accept the economic deprivation thus created, or are you willing to involve yourself and your local community in programmes of self-liberation, self-reliance and self-development?

3.2 The struggle for political liberation: The events of Soweto, June 16, 1976 and what has been happening since by way of raids, detentions, arrests, trials, convictions, acquittals, with hundreds of young Blacks fleeing the country, are the outward sign of a deep inward struggle for political liberation which your people are waging. We are currently witnessing the display of a monster of power of a dictatorial regime which is intent upon crushing all its opponents but which in the long run will inevitably destroy itself — with millions of innocent people, both Black and White, being the victims of ideological madness. Internal Security Act, the Terrorism Act and the newly introduced Newspaper Bill are part of an ever-increasing number of oppressive legal measures.

The inevitable opposition to such measures will include demonstrations, strikes, sabotage and urban guerilla warfare with all the conflicts and clashes resulting therefrom.

Every Black congregation is going to be affected by this struggle and many individuals will be involved, directly or indirectly, in attempts to achieve political liberation for their people. Your whole ministry will be deeply affected by these events and I believe it to be of vital importance that you should already seriously consider what Christ is demanding of you in your witness and contribution to this struggle.

3.3 Growing estrangement and resultant polarisation: *Every priest is already facing this growing estrangement and resultant polarisation between Black and White in our community.* Only a totally insensitive humanbeing could be unaware of the fast growing frustration and bitterness amongst your own people with the racial policies of our country and the attitudes of many members of the White community, and the challenge which this tension is presenting to the unity of believers in a multi-racial church. Many of us are aware of the insistent question being raised by many young Blacks, when they ask this penetrating question: **Is there still a place for the White man in the Christian church? If so, is there still a place for me as a Black?** Equally we are aware of the hardening of attitudes on the part of many Whites and the

tragedy of their lack of understanding of the message which the Black community has been trying to convey to South Africa. You are being forced into a very invidious position where, on the one hand, there will be the insistent militant demands of Black youth for full solidarity and identification with their ideal for Black liberation, whilst at the same time the hardening attitudes of White church membership is creating a nearly intolerable situation. The basic theological question which you will have to face, together with all ministers of the Christian faith in our country, both Black and White, will be this: **Will the power of the reconciling love of Christ be strong enough to unite these strongly opposing forces? Or will it be swept away in the forces of political revolution?**

3.4 The claim of ideologies versus the power of the Gospel: Another issue which I believe already forms the basis of lively discussion is the ideology of Marxism, not necessarily out of the sincere belief that such an ideology will be the final answer to the needs of the Black community, but out of exasperation that the present racial policies of our country, cannot longer be endured. Knowing very little about the oppressive nature and practice of Communist regimes, especially those of Russian origin, some tend to visualise a falsely optimistic picture of life under Communist rule. Others are willing as a form of strategy to accept the assistance offered by Communist countries to achieve their goal of liberation, in the hope that after independence they will be strong enough to assert their political autonomy and economic independence.

This discussion includes the debate on an economic system which could more clearly express a concept of justice for the community than the present capitalist system which South Africa practises. Anybody knowing the feelings of Blacks in South Africa is aware of the serious dissatisfaction with our present day economic system of free enterprise. Strong interest is expressed in gathering all relevant information regarding the possible alternatives of forms of socialism such as those practised by China or certain countries on the continent of Africa.

In this struggle to find a more acceptable system the Christian church, including every minister, should inform himself of the true nature of such systems with a view to evaluate them in the light of the Gospel and of the Christian faith. This is an issue which can no longer be ignored by Christians, both Black and White, in South Africa. When I read the slogan on stickers on motor cars reading: 'Jesus is the answer', I have been tempted to ask the inmates of such a car: Do you know what His answer is when listening to the claims which are being made by capitalism on the one hand, and Marxism on the other? Do you sincerely believe (as I do) that the true answer is not to be found in either of these systems, but that only as the truth of the Kingdom of God and its realisation on earth is being enacted more fully and joyously by all Christians, the true answer will be found?

4. THE DEMAND OF CHRIST

In this struggle for a new society which will be more in accordance with God's demand for justice and human dignity, Christ is calling you as His disciple, His message-bearer, His delegated representative. He, the Christ who has laid hold of your life at some time in the past, and called you to His service, is laying claim to your total life and loyalty:

4.1 Upon your personal life: A life of Christian simplicity, true piety, moral rectitude and spiritual vitality where your personal example will play a decisive role in your ministry. Your preaching, your pastoral care, your Christian leadership will to a very large measure be determined by such personal examples. Equally you will very soon discover the demand of Christ for offering strong leadership, displaying unflinching courage and facing the willingness of voluntary

suffering and sacrifice in the face of ever-increasing political surveillance and persecution.

4.2.1 Upon your ministry: The situation of growing tension and emerging conflict will also be used by Christ to lay a special claim upon your ministry as a **messenger of His Gospel**. It will be a claim by Christ upon your theological proclamation, upon your political involvement and upon your Christian identification.

4.2.2 Your theological proclamation: What is the nature of your preaching going to be? Paul in writing to the Corinthians regarding the nature of his proclamation, states clearly: "*For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified.*" A beautiful phrase: *Jesus Christ and him crucified* — but what does this mean in the South African context of 1977, after June 16, 1976? What is the real message, the open invitation, the divine judgment of this Christ, crucified, for each of us, for His Church, for South African society today? Will we preach a theology of liberation and hope, not devoid of social and political content, but filled with the real meaning of the Gospel as it becomes more relevant to the struggle in which we are involved?

Let your message be so authentic, so relevant, so meaningful in its portrayal of the living Christ that people will know: *This man has struggled to make the Christ of the New Testament the living Christ of today for those of us living in Umlazi, in Sibasa, in Langa — yes even in the remotest corner of a rural homeland.* Preach in such a way that at the end of your life and its ministry you may be able to say: "I too, have proclaimed the full counsel of God to the flock which He has entrusted to me."

4.2.3 Your political involvement: I believe it to be of vital importance at the outset of your ministry, to make out what the nature of your political involvement is going to be. You will have to decide whether you believe, on the basis of the Gospel, that any relevant proclamation and practising of the Christian faith is possible without becoming involved in politics. I do not believe this to be possible: no religion — least of all the Christian faith — can be kept out of politics. On the other hand, it is important to recognise that the Christian faith should never be identified with any specific political policy, social structure or economic system. No such policy ever fulfils the demands of the Kingdom of God. Christ as Lord stands above all systems and structures and therefore the Christian should always adopt a positive critical attitude towards them.

The minister as man of God should at all times proclaim the Biblical demands of justice and freedom to all, regardless of station or power. Applying the criteria of the Gospel, his proclamation of God's salvation and judgement should, without favour or prejudice, apply equally to the policies and practises of Idi Amin, Samora Machel, John Vorster or Kaiser Matanzima. Give praise where praise is due in accordance with the spirit and the mind of Christ; but equally *pronounce judgement where this is demanded in the Name of the Lord.*

This approach in our ministry is of special relevance to the emerging struggle for political power in South Africa. The transition from White minority rule to majority rule is not going to be an easy one: Man's longing (and lust) for power, stimulated by the many false positions created by the government through its policy of racial and ethnical division, will involve South Africa in a bitter struggle between White and Black, and between Black and Black (as we are witnessing in other parts of Africa). What is Christ's demand to you under these circumstances? **Which is your role going to be: a partisan political role in open support of a specific group or a Christian leadership role which recognises both the good and the bad in each party, policy or person?**

4.2.4 Your Christian identification: In the crisis you will

probably be confronted in your congregation or your denomination by growing numbers of politically conscious youth, crying out for liberation; by parents and adults in distress on behalf of their children; by overwhelming social needs including economic deprivation, hunger and want of your community — and many other problems. Many evenings as you come home your heart and soul will cry out:

Oh God, give me the wisdom to discover your will for myself in this time of crisis, give me the courage to continue in your service, give me the love to forgive those who oppress my people, give me the strength to fight against the evil system of those who deny us our human dignity and our basic human rights, give me the fortitude to protest against those who exploit the labour of our people for selfish gain and who use every means to maintain their selfish control of power.

4.3 Upon your denomination: As I read the situation it seems that every church in South Africa should be challenged to declare its stand in word and deed on the following urgent issues:

4.3.2 Reconciliation: I am aware that many Blacks, including Black Christians, have become increasingly suspicious when Whites approach them with a plea for reconciliation. They state unequivocally: You Whites want reconciliation while we Blacks seek liberation, and only when you are prepared to identify yourselves with our goal for liberation can there be true reconciliation. Without that any such plea could never be realised.

If we have a clear and common understanding of what true liberation implies, I would fully agree with the above viewpoint. As somebody who belongs to an organisation where for many years we have stated clearly the demand for reconciliation based on justice, I am fully aware of the challenge which this situation presents to you and to your denominations. On the one hand there is the growing demand for action towards liberation emanating from the young militant Blacks; on the other hand there is the increased hardening of attitudes and rejection of Black aspirations and demands by a substantial section of the White Christian community — and both these belong to the same church and, in a few instances, to the same parish or congregation. *What will be Christ's demand of you under these circumstances? How is your church, facing up to the issue of army chaplains, of conscientious objection, of marriage officers bound to implement unjust racial laws of the state, of the support for victims of political oppression?*

4.3.3 Relevance: Today, as never before, the church in South Africa is being tested regarding the relevance, credibility and liberating power of the message which it proclaims. An increasing number of laity, both White and Black, have a growing conviction of the irrelevance of the church as an institution, and the loss of its influence on many people. Claims which the church has made regarding our true brotherhood in Christ, our unity despite all differences, our sharing of spiritual gifts as well as material privileges — these and many others have been exposed as largely unsubstantiated. **As the crisis deepens and as the day of liberation dawns, the church will be challenged as never before to substantiate the claims of its Master that He is the Way, the Truth and the Life. I believe that Christ has the power and the urgent longing to lead us as a Christian community into a new understanding of what Christian commitment and Christian relevance mean at this time in the history of His Church in our country. I do not know what the answers will be that He will give to us, nor do I know where this will lead us to, but this I know: In Him is all the fulfilment of all the aspirations and the hopes of all the oppressed, the imprisoned, the blind, the millions who are shackled by the forces of evil. He stands at the entry of a new time, a new period in the history of our country and He beckons us to follow Him as He leads us into true and full liberation.**

OSHADI PHAKATHI BANNED

Mrs Jane Oshadi Phakathi, the Regional Director of the Christian Institute in the Transvaal has just been banned by the Minister of Justice until 31st March 1982. For the sake of the uninitiated we reproduce excerpts from the orders served on her and an Editorial which appeared in The World.



TO: MAPHEFO JANE PHAKATHI
(I.N. 2438634 V/F)
Q5957
MAMELODI
PRETORIA

NOTICE IN TERMS OF SECTION 10(1)(a) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950 (ACT 44 OF 1950)

WHEREAS I, JAMES THOMAS KRUGER, Minister of Justice, am satisfied that you engage in activities which endanger or are calculated to endanger the maintenance of public order, I hereby, in terms of section 10(1)(a) of the Internal Security Act, 1950, prohibit you for a period commencing on the date on which this notice is delivered or tendered to you and expiring on 31 March 1982, from —

- (1) absenting yourself from the magisterial district of Pretoria;
- (2) being within —
 - (a) any Bantu area, that is to say —
 - (i) any Scheduled Bantu Area;
 - (ii) any land of which the South African Bantu Trust is the registered owner or any land held in trust for a Bantu Tribal Community;
 - (iii) any location, Bantu hostel or Bantu village;
 - (iv) any area approved for the residence of Bantu;
 - (v) any Bantu Township, except Mamelodi;
 - (b) any Bantu compound;
 - (c) any area set apart under any law for the occupation of Coloured or Asiatic persons;
 - (d) the premises of any factory;
 - (e) any place which constitutes the premises on which any publication as defined in the Internal Security Act, 1950, is prepared, compiled, printed or published;
 - (f) any place which constitutes the premises of any of the following organizations,
 - (i) Any organization contemplated in Government Notice R2130 of 28 December 1962, as amended by Government Notice R1947 of 27 November 1964;
 - (ii) the Christian Institute of Southern Africa;
 - (iii) the South African Students' Organisation (SASO);
 - (iv) the Black People's Convention (BPC);
 - (v) the South African Students Movement (SASM);
 - (vi) the Black Parents' Association;
 - (g) any place or area which constitutes the premises on which any public or private university, university college, college, school or other educational institution is situate;
 - (h) any place or area which constitutes the premises of any superior or inferior court except for the purpose of:
 - (i) applying to a magistrate for an exception to any prohibition in force against you under the Internal Security Act, 1950;

- (ii) attending any criminal proceedings in which you are required to appear as an accused or a witness;
 - (iii) attending any civil proceedings in which you are a plaintiff, petitioner, applicant, defendant, respondent or other party or in which you are required to appear as a witness;
- (3) performing any of the following acts:
 - (a) preparing, compiling, printing, publishing, disseminating or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any publication as defined in the Internal Security Act, 1950;
 - (b) participating or assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation, printing, publication, dissemination or transmission of any publication as so defined;
 - (c) contributing, preparing, compiling or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any matter for publication in any publication as so defined;
 - (d) assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation or transmission of any matter for publication in any publication as so defined;
 - (e)
 - (i) preparing, compiling, printing, publishing, disseminating or transmitting in any manner whatsoever any document (which shall include any book, pamphlet, record, list, placard, poster, drawing, photograph or picture which is not a publication within the meaning of paragraph (3)(a) above); or
 - (ii) participating or assisting in any manner whatsoever in the preparation, compilation, printing, publication, dissemination or transmission of any such document, in which, *inter alia*:
 - (aa) any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, discussed or referred to;
 - (bb) any matter is contained concerning any body, organization, group or association of persons, institution, society or movement which has been declared an unlawful organization; or
 - (cc) any matter is contained which is likely to engender feelings of hostility between the White and the non-White inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa;
 - (f) giving any educational instruction in any manner or form to any person other than a person of whom you are a parent;
 - (g) taking part in any manner whatsoever in the activities or affairs of:
 - (i) any organization contemplated in Government Notice R2130 of 28 December 1962, as amended by Government Notice R1947 of 27 November 1964;
 - (ii) the Christian Institute of Southern Africa;
 - (iii) the South African Students' Organisation (SASO);
 - (iv) the Black People's Convention (BPC);

- (v) the South African Students Movement (SASM);
- (vi) the Black Parents' Association;

(4) communicating in any manner whatsoever with any person whose name appears on any list in the custody of the officer referred to in section 8 of the Internal Security Act, 1950, or in respect of whom any prohibition under the Internal Security Act, 1950, or the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956 (Act 17 of 1956), is in force.

Given under my hand at CAPE TOWN this 16th day of MARCH, 1977.

MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Oshadi is also prohibited from attending within the Republic of South Africa or the territory of South West Africa:

- (1) any gathering contemplated in paragraph (a) of the said section 9(1); or
- (2) any gathering contemplated in paragraph (b) of the said section 9(1), of the nature, class or kind set out below:
 - (a) Any social gathering, that is to say, any gathering at which the persons present also have social intercourse with one another;
 - (b) any political gathering, that is to say, any gathering at which any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed;
 - (c) any gathering of pupils or students assembled for the purpose of being instructed, trained or addressed by you.

Lastly, she has to report to the Officer in charge of the Mamelodi Police Station Every Saturday between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. until 31st March 1982.

PRESS RELEASE

A banning order in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Internal Security Act, 1950 dated March 16, 1977, signed by Mr. Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice and which expires on March 31, 1982 was served on Mrs. Oshadi Phakathi, our Regional Director of Transvaal, at 5 a.m. this morning. The order restricts her to the magisterial district of Pretoria and Mamelodi Township, and forbids her to enter the premises of or participate in any manner whatsoever in the activities of the following bodies:

- The Christian Institute of S.A. (C.I.)
- The S.A. Students' Organisation (SASO)
- The Black People's Convention (BPC)
- The S.A. Students' Movement (SASM)
- The Black Parents Association (BPA)

This is another act of desperation on the part of a Government which has no other answer to the demands of justice than intimidation and force. The Government may ban our staff, it may ban our publications, but it cannot ban the truth of the liberating Gospel of the living Christ which Oshadi Phakathi has proclaimed, is proclaiming and will continue to proclaim.

C.F.B. Naudé

"THE WORLD" EDITORIAL COMMENTS

BANNING ORDER ONLY INCREASES RACIAL DIVISION

Are we really expected to believe that the present Government is gearing itself for major changes in South Africa and that they are intent on improving race relations in South Africa?

All those people who have been preaching that type of sermon to us must take note of the unbelievable stupidity of the Government in banning a person of the standing of Mrs Oshadi Phakathi. Mrs Phakathi is a Very Important Person in the Black community.

She is president of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), an important organisation in South Africa with international links. She is also the Transvaal regional director of the Christian Institute, an organisation much maligned by the Government, but which is highly respected worldwide. She was also an executive member of the Black Parents' Association.

Last year she was detained for weeks by the Security Police and no charges were preferred against her at the end of her detention. We do not for one moment believe that she can be charged with anything before a court of law now. She is a woman with undoubted credibility and she is also a concerned Christian — who has the courage to speak out if and when she feels human dignity is being assaulted.

What has happened to her is a matter of shame for South Africa. The Government has been utterly ruthless in silencing a voice that is both sane and Christian. It is people like Oshadi they should be talking to instead of condemning her without trial.

The bitterness and sense of frustration this type of action leaves in the Black community should be something that fills every sane and concerned South African with fear for the future of this country. We know that Oshadi is not a communist. We also know that she believes in orderly change and is against violence in any form.

We also know she has never been involved in any acts of subversion since she has not been brought to court for these. We know she is not a racist. We know she has never preached hatred against anybody.

So could the Security Police please tell us what information they passed on to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, that made him decide to ban this respected leader in the Black community?

Failure to do this will only help increase polarisation among the country's races.

YOU DID ALL THE TALKING

- The Christian Centre. Namibia/SWA.

The system whereby whites have been appointed to run "Bantu Affairs" has produced the strong conflicts revealed in this typical black comment. Officials can be first class but harmony in race relations demands a new system and a revolution in attitudes.

This document was compiled by a group of black people in Namibia after the visit of a Bantu Affairs official to their community. A meeting was held, but only the views of this official were aired. It therefore seems only fair that this response to his speech should be published.

What we learnt from the Speech and Attitude of the Bantu Affairs Official.

On this day we saw the Official behaving 'like a boss in front of a bunch of kaffirs.' He ignored our leader (who had come there as his guest) and humiliated him by not offering him a chair. With our leader still on his feet the Superintendent opened the 'meeting' and introduced the Bantu Affairs Official without further ado.

Here is a report on what we heard the Official say, interposed with what we would have liked to say to him: as soon as the Official had finished his speech the Superintendent closed the 'meeting', giving us no time to respond or ask questions.

Bantu Affairs Official:

I don't know everybody's problems yet, also not the problems of this place. But when I know the problems we can get together to discuss them. So today I am not going to talk about local problems. I know in general that there are many problems, there are problems of water, and there are human problems; at the same time I know from what I have heard from the Superintendent, and also from what I have read about this place, that these problems are being attended to. Attempts are being made to iron these problems out where possible.

But I must say — and I think you are also aware of this — that money is one of the big problems; the government's money resources are not inexhaustible. So, the things that the government would like to do cost money, and if you just consider the size of South West you will appreciate that this place is just a tiny little bit of South West. It is a grain of sand in the mountain. And provision must be made for the whole mountain and not just for this grain of sand. So your problems cannot be solved all that quickly, because of the shortage of money.

Community: *Your first sentence gave us the impression that you had come to listen to our problems and get to grips with them. But instead of listening to us you did all the talking. You need not have wasted your breath telling us about the solution to the black man's problems, because we know that for as long as the South African government is here our problems will be 'receiving attention', eternally.*

Furthermore, there is no need for you to talk of a shortage of money, because this country is rich enough to be able to see to all its needs. We who do the heaviest work are paid almost nothing, while those who just sit and give the 'orders' get high salaries. Even a white man who knows nothing will have a special post created for him.

You speak of this place and its problems as a grain of sand in comparison with the whole country. As if there is something being done about the problems of the black man in the whole country! Even in a large place like Windhoek, living conditions are unbearable. For instance the people of Katutura and Khomasdal are choking on the dust from the untarred streets. Those four-roomed houses are so small that one cannot move in them, while

you and your brothers are living in palaces. If there is a shortage of money then where do all those millions of Rands come from that are spent on defence and luxuries (swimming pools, tennis courts, Rugby fields, etc) for whites?

Bantu Affairs Official: Seeing that I have not prepared a speech I thought that I would talk to you about some things that people don't seem to think about much . . .

Community: *Here you are making the age-old mistake of your forefathers: you suppose that you are the white man who knows everything, who must give information to the 'savage'. Let us remind you that such a time has passed for ever. The time is now ripe for the black man to give you information. And if you don't listen now you will regret it.*

Bantu Affairs Official: I am just an ordinary person. I am where I am today only because of hard work. I wasn't taken from my mother's lap and placed in this post. I've come a long way, and this is because my eyes and ears have been open. That which the Lord gave me I have used to my own advantage. I didn't just sit in my mother's kitchen and wait for her to bring me up and feed me; I didn't expect her to clothe me once I had grown up . . .

Community: *Is this the way in which a responsible official speaks to a leader (his guest) even in these days? Or is this the official language of South African government? What do you mean by saying that you are just an ordinary person, when you are a colonial ruler and oppressor living in luxury and seated upon a high throne?*

Furthermore, we must remind you that the honour belongs to God alone, and if you still believe in God you ought to know that. You say that what the Lord has given you, you have used to your own advantage. But exactly this is your gravest sin — you should be using your gifts to the advantage of your fellow men (irrespective of race or colour) and to the glory of God. You say you have walked a long road to get to where you are today. What does that road look like? Have you walked it at the expense of the black man?

Bantu Affairs Official: And we don't consider our place in the world, that we will have to provide for ourselves. You know its great, we are brought up by our moms and dads, we go to school, the teacher teaches us, we are given food at the hostel, and . . .

Community: *It would seem that you are not really informed of this country's cause. For years we have been struggling to get the South African government out of our fatherland: so that we can take up our rightful role in the world.*

In Southern Africa, when a white man speaks to a black man then he speaks of father and child. This implies that the white man is the father (the head), and the black man the child (dependent). It is precisely this conceit of the white man which has brought Southern Africa to the brink of a bloody war, and we warn you and your brothers against this.

Bantu Affairs Official: A week ago I was in one of the Northern homelands. There I said to them, just look across the border into Angola, there the same cry was heard as we are hearing here today. They eventually got one-man-one-vote, they got their independence from Portugal. They are meant to be part of the free world. But are they free? There is no joy in Angola. Those people who fought for their freedom and got it — thousands of them are sitting in Owambo and Kavango and Zambia . . . They did not

realise that with freedom comes responsibility.

Community: *We feel that you as an official of your government ought to know about the involvement of the South African military forces in Angola. So if Angola is today disrupted, and there are refugees from Angola, then you and your government have contributed to it.*

Are you perhaps a bit far-sighted? Why is it that you see what is happening in Angola, but cannot see the things that are happening around you? You seem to imply that — in comparison with Angola — there is peace in this country and in South Africa. Have you not heard of Soweto, Guguletu and Nyanga? And what about the estimated 30 000 refugees who find themselves on a farm called Thornhill near Queenstown? These people fled from the Transkei. You know that last year the Transkei received a puppet independence from Vorster — the same kind of independence that the Turnhalle is now working on.

Bantu Affairs Official: Certain people who are a bit educated — and who are unfortunately the biggest 'Hururu' shouters — fear that the child who is now at school is going to learn too much, get too clever for them, and so they don't want to see that child in school. Now we get people who say: 'Don't go to school, that's Bantu Education, drop it.' I tell you, the people who are saying this want your children to sit here, ignorant; they want to keep your children's eyes closed, because they can do as they please with the blind. The child will be too stupid to know: that man is exploiting me, that man is leading me into darkness. Don't let yourselves be caught! The Lord has given each one of us a mind to think with. Think for yourselves.

I would be the last one to say Bantu Education is the right way. No educational system can be better than that of the mother and father. But I do want to say that there are some Bantu — or at least Natives as they are known here — who have obtained qualifications through Bantu Education. With all its shortcomings Bantu Education has opened people's eyes. If you are hungry then you eat half a piece of bread if you can get it, and you are satisfied. It is not that it takes your hunger away — you will still be hungry — but it keeps you alive. The same applies to Bantu Education with all its faults: it keeps the child alive, it opens his eyes. So let that child study. He will learn what is right, then he will return and say, 'People I have studied, it is good. Then things can go on from there. But don't take him away from school and say, 'Hey, you are not going to learn any more, because that's Bantu Education.' The one who takes children out of school does so because he does not want them there; he is scared the children are going to get cleverer than himself.

Community: *It is tragic that people who are not just 'a bit educated' apparently do not know how to pronounce a well-known word like 'Uhuru'.*

Your approach to the 'Bantu Education' issue seems terribly naive. Are you putting on an act? In any case we are grateful for your own words about education.

They indicate that through Bantu Education the South African government wants to keep our children's eyes closed. Then it can do as it pleases with the blind. Then our children will be too stupid to know that the South African Government is busy exploiting them and wants to keep them in perpetual slavery. Yes, we thank the Lord that he has given us minds with which we can identify the deceit with which the white man is busy. We support our children in the rejection of Bantu Education, because it destroys the upbringing which we have given, and teaches them to hold themselves in contempt and be dependent on the white man for ever.

Many of our children have become like educated robots through Bantu Education. They have qualifications, but they stand passively in the midst of a community which lives in pain and misery — and it is this pain and misery (not Bantu Education) — which has opened our eyes.

It is very interesting to hear you, of all people, describing Bantu Education as half a piece of bread; it is just a pity that you did not admit that the poison of indoctrination has been spread on this half a piece of bread by your government.

Bantu Affairs Official: I can assure you that if things do not work out successfully here, if each one of us doesn't do his duty to bring about a peaceful independence, then not only the white man will suffer, but three-quarters — if not more — of those of you who are sitting here will suffer just as much, if not more.

Community: *'Things' would already have come to a peaceful conclusion if you had listened to the cry of our young people, if you had listened to the decision of the World Court at the Hague during 1971. Instead our children have been banned to Robben Island, they have been put in prison and sentenced to death. Instead of withdrawing from our country you are busy with the Turnhall Conference which has been rejected by the people of this country. You are the one who opposes a peaceful solution!*

You talk about 'suffering'. What do you actually know about this? For centuries we have suffered under minority government in this subcontinent. So be quiet for a moment and we will inform you about suffering.

Bantu Affairs Official: The Lord said that you should forgive your brother seventy times seven. Now, why don't you forgive your brother and your friend and your neighbour?

Community: *We are eager to forgive you and the 'whites' of Southern Africa, and we want to live with all of you as people. But you must also have read in the Bible that forgiveness and reconciliation are preceded by conversion and confession of sin.*

GOD AND THIS WORLD

*extracts from
Jesus and the Kingdom of God, Harold Roberts.*

Corporateness is a distinctive feature of the Christian hope and is plainly set forth in the teaching of Jesus. The Kingdom of God implies a society, and everything which He taught about the Rule of God suggests that He envisaged a society in which the common relationship of men to God would be reflected and validated in their personal relationships.

* * * * *

The corporate element in the Christian hope, which is central in the teaching of the New Testament, soon suffered eclipse, although it was still retained as part of the Christian creed and represented in the liturgies of the Church. Interest was transferred to the fate of the individual after death, and the vision of a transfigured universe which would be the scene of a fellowship reflecting the eternal purpose of God was sadly obscured. Though there was some understanding of the solidarity of evil, there seemed to be little appreciation of the solidarity of those who are, in Christ, destined

to find their fulfilment at the final coming of the Kingdom of God. Preoccupation with the moment of death as it affected the future of the individual induced a blindness to the activity of God in history, and to the cosmic as well as the social aspects of redemption.

* * * * *

Unless this world is the expression of a purpose which has its roots in that which is unchanging, men will not indefinitely regard justice and right and truth as sacred. These values suffer deterioration and change their meaning when they are dissociated from religious faith. Justice comes to mean insisting upon our rights, equality a way of thinking that other people are no better than we are, and truth a relative standard that can be manipulated in our own interests. Secular humanism in its various forms ignores the realities of a human situation that is vitiated by self-interest as well as by ignorance, and within that situation there is no power which can change the direction of the lives of men.

RACISM, MATERIALISM AND THE CHURCH

—Reinier Holst

Reinier Holst examines the thinking behind the Youth Department report presented to the recent SA Catholic Bishops Conference, in an article which suggests that church protestations on black/white issues may be an excuse for avoiding the deeper rich/poor issues.



For long the Church in South Africa has stared short-sightedly at the evil of racism, pouring in energy to condemn and eradicate racist policies from society and the church itself. While racism and its legally entrenched partner, the policy of apartheid, cause untold suffering, violence and alienation between the peoples of South Africa, they are but a manifestation of the real sin: **materialism**. This materialism exalts the selfish struggle for wealth and power over other human beings, the exploitation of labour (people) resources, and private ownership of the resources of the community, and has resulted, in the words of Saul Alinsky, in the division of the human community into the 'haves' the 'have-a-little', 'want mores' and the 'have nots', or, in other words, the Rich, the Middle Class and the Workers.

Exploitation and the class struggle, although perhaps not formulated as such, stretch back as far as secular history itself and are not peculiar to the history of Western Civilisation. It can be fairly stated however that the post Reformation period, the era of colonialism and the Industrial Revolution entrenched the exploitation of people and society's resources for selfish ends as a value in Western society.

Exploitation of people is always easier if one regards people as sub-human or as 'its' instead of 'thous', to use Martin Buber's expression. Chauvinistic pride in the achievements of western society, disdain and misunderstanding of the different values of African societies, turned into racism. This was a convenient rationale for oppressing the black people who were a barbaric (according to our standards of 'civilisation'), pagan (a different concept of religion) and inferior people (lacking our scientific and technological background), who could not be trusted to uphold our values and as such had to be enslaved in a direct or indirect sense to enable the western world to fulfill its 'God-given' task and purpose.

This idea of racial, tribal or group superiority (nationalism) as a rationale for the oppression of a less powerful group is not a South African, or even a western invention. Where South Africa does seem unique is that here the myth of racial and cultural superiority has been 'perfected' to the extent where it is entrenched in the constitution and in a maze of laws, ordinances and proclamations which leave the oppressed with no legal possibilities of changing their political and economic powerlessness. They are sitting ducks for economic exploitation.

Apartheid doomed

This situation cannot last. Blacks reject apartheid (and so would you, if you were on the receiver's end!); the events of 1976 have born this out beyond any doubt. Today, racism is rejected virtually all over the world; there are a great number of organised movements attempting to pressurise South Africa into relinquishing its apartheid policy. It is costing thousands of millions to implement the policy — a price which is fast becoming too high for the economy to carry.

A report presented to the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference by its Youth Department, in analysing the South African situation, comes to the conclusion that, **due to unabating internal unrest and increasing international pressure coming from anti-apartheid organisations, churches, and the business world, apartheid as a policy is doomed.**

It is especially the international companies, experiencing the cost of apartheid and having analysed the political trend, that will now co-operate in moves away from apartheid, states the report, because "(the) economic system requires stability in the country and continued possibility of cheap labour."

"Consequently there will be a new division. The division of rich and poor will replace the present race division. The new criterion will be 'merit' instead of 'colour'. For instance, a white and black doctor will receive equal pay while the unqualified labourer will still receive starvation wages. In this way a small number of blacks will be given a share in the privileges and powers of the whites. The ruling class will in fact be strengthened by this addition."

So, whereas racialism helped to build a South Africa that is materialistic and class-orientated, with the bulk of the country's resources and power over people in the hands of a few, **the policy of apartheid now endangers precisely that which it helped to create.** It is therefore no coincidence that the same national and international business companies which profited for so many decades from apartheid, now see their profits threatened by a recession largely due to the political instability in Southern Africa and the cost of apartheid, and are increasingly agitating for 'change'. The crude, blatant racism of "seperate development" is a threat to economic stability and thus needs to be replaced by a more sophisticated method of oppression. The only way in which this can be done is by creating a black middle class with western-type material values which would have a stake in the political and economic power in the country. Such a black middle class would have a 'stabilising' effect on the economic and political situation in South Africa.

In the words of the Transvaal Chamber of Commerce, "We need to ensure a stable, contented, urbanised black middle class in our metropolitan and industrial areas . . . this emergence of a 'middle class' with western-type materialistic needs and ambitions has already occurred in these areas. The mature family-orientated urban black already places the stability of his household uppermost, and is more interested in his pay-packet than in politics. Our prime point of departure should be that this 'middle class' is not weakened by frustration and indignity. Only by having this most responsible section of the urban black (population) on our side can the whites of South Africa be assured of containing on a long term basis the irresponsible economic and political ambitions of those blacks who are influenced against their own real interests from within and without our borders".

The creation of a black middle class will simply be another form of oppression, a power game involving a majority of whites and a minority of blacks — a change of masters. "Some of the thorns may have been broken away, but the bush itself will still be there to produce more and more new thorns". This can be shown by examples such as the collaboration of a significant section of the more 'affluent' blacks who eagerly accept every hand-out that is conceded by the Government at times of pressure e.g. limited home-ownership and the desegregation of expensive hotels and restaurants. More significantly, the Youth Report points out the moves toward co-operation between the PRP and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement as an example of the close alliance that is being formed between white and black capitalism.

Church trapped

The Churches in South Africa have spoken out time and again against the sinfulness of apartheid. For this as well as for the courageous action on the part of a small number of leaders and clergymen one should be thankful — and hope that white Christians will begin to take these teachings seriously. However, by **attacking racism without at the same time attacking the more fundamental and underlying exploitation of human beings for selfish, materialistic ends, the churches not only negate the witness they have given but unwittingly support this division of people into rich and poor.**

It is in this aspect that the church in Mozambique failed and thus lost its credibility with the oppressed who then rejected it as irrelevant (see "Mozambique: a lesson to the church" by Ted Smith, in the January 1976 edition of P.V.).

Church changes

Consequently there should be recognition on the part of the churches of the economic, political and ideological conflicts which lie hidden beneath racism, for without that recognition their actions will *in fact* undergird oppression.

The Youth Department's Report offers some thoughts that are relevant not only to the Catholic Church, but to other denominations as well:

- (1) **Statements made by church leaders** should not only be directed against Messrs Vorster and company, but much more so to the Oppenheimers and Tshabalalas in our society.
- (2) **The funds of the churches should be used to assist in the struggle against oppression.** Again and again one is struck by the huge sums of money that are being spent on costly, affluent church buildings. While not doubting the sincerity of those Christians who want a place worthy of God's presence and a place that will serve as a gathering place, a place of reconciliation, this attitude seems to indicate a totally misplaced conception of both the presence of God and of reconciliation. God is present among the people, He is with and in people. If the people, therefore, live in a slum, let Him be worshipped in a shanty hut!

At the present we have the unreal situation where the more affluent buildings in the townships usually belong to the Government or to the Churches. Is it morally right to spend thousands of rands on new church buildings in affluent areas when grass-roots community development organisations such as ASH and Diakonia in Durban and Black Community Programmes in King Williamstown struggle to find financial support and often depend on overseas funds for their work?

- (3) **The Church of Christ should never be identified with the South African Defence Force.** As the Report states, "*How can the Church take sides in violent oppression of the majority of its members? We blacks, totally reject the participation of any Catholic (Christian) in the SADF*". This does not mean that the church should withdraw membership or pastoral care from those who participate in the SADF: Jesus never withdrew from people: but that does not mean that he approved of and identified with their wrongs. Thus the churches should be involved in pastoral care and in dialogue with Christians serving in the SADF, without identifying with the SADF by means of their military chaplaincies. In just the same way the churches should also be involved in the pastoral care of those boys fighting on the other side of the border — the guerilla movements.

- (4) **The church must be for the oppressed and must be a poor church.** This means that the decision-making process in our churches should strongly reflect the voice of the oppressed, who are in the majority in most denominations. Secondly, this means that the churches should be open to reviewing its financial stake in the present society. How can the church in South Africa move with real change if it itself has so much wealth tied-up in the present system? Any real change (as regards the re-distribution of wealth) would surely be resisted. As the report states, "*We ourselves should start the revolution of making everything belong to all the people. Then the church would not fear, but would welcome a people's Government...*"

Revolution of Love.

A thorough analysis of the situation in Southern Africa seen in its historical perspective and of the Church's response is not possible within the scope of one article or Report. Much more analysis is needed, not only within the hierarchies of the churches, but by each Christian in our society. Unless our analysis of the past and the present situation is done in depth and with urgency, our values, life-style and faith — that is, our actions — will remain in conflict with what we preach and profess to be.

We must all make the choice, either to **join the revolution that was started by Jesus which is an active revolution of love through example and confrontation**, or to join the status quo and kill the revolution. For as Ernesto Cardenal, the poet-priest from South America said, "*Men cannot be sons of God if they are not fully men. Holiness cannot flourish in sub-human conditions. Therefore the first duty of the Christian now is to make the revolution. The revolutionary struggle is a Christian and priestly struggle.*"

*I am because we are
and because we are
I am - John Mbiti*

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

- the South African Bishops Conference.

The Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church met in Pretoria in February and during their comprehensive discussion of Christian living in our situation examined the question of those who refuse to support killing.

In the armed struggle that is developing on our borders and could easily spread internally a grievous situation arises for all who are concerned about the use of violence. On the one side the conviction grows in a significant sector of the oppressed majority that only violence will bring liberation. On the other, the minority in power sees itself threatened by indiscriminate violence supported by international Communism.

In these agonising circumstances we can only promise with God's help to give leadership in an ongoing Christian examination of this tragic situation. We intend to publish reflections from time to time as incentives to Christian prayer, thought and commitment and we hope to be able to do this with the representatives of other Christian churches and organisations. In the meantime we have resolved to say something about conscientious objection.

According to the teaching of the second Vatican Council, "it seems just that laws should make humane provision for the case of conscientious objectors who refuse to carry arms, provided they accept some other form of community service". (Constitution: "The Church in the modern world" No. 79.)

In order to understand the issue of conscientious objection, a careful distinction should be made between universal conscientious objection (the pacifist) and selective conscientious objection (e.g. on the grounds that a particular war is unjust); between combatant military service (carrying arms) and non-combatant military service (e.g. in the medical corps) and between military service (combatant or non-combatant) and national service (which could include service to the community, like social welfare, education, housing).

In South Africa the Defence Force Act (section 67 (3)):

- (a) makes no provision for any conscientious objector (universal or selective) to do non-military national service;
- (b) provides for universal conscientious objectors (those who belong to pacifist denominations) to do non-combatant military service;
- (c) makes no provision for selective conscientious objectors even to do non-combatant military service.

Such provisions are made in some way or another by almost every other non-communist country in the world which has conscription.

It should also be noted that objectors are sometimes accommodated, despite the lack of legal provision for it, by being given non-combatant tasks but never by being given non-military national service.

Consequently in South Africa the selective objector and the universal objector refusing to do non-combatant military service are liable to a fine and/or imprisonment (Section 126, 127 (c)).

In this matter of conscientious objection we defend the right of every individual to follow his own conscience, the right therefore to conscientious objection both on the grounds of universal pacifism and on the grounds that he seriously believes the war to be unjust. In this, as in every other matter, the individual is obliged to make a moral judgement in terms of the facts at his disposal after trying to ascertain these facts to the best of his ability. While we recognise that the conscientious objector will have to suffer the consequences of his own decision and the penalties imposed by the State, we uphold his right to do this and we urge the State to make provision for alternative forms of non-military national service as is done in other countries in the world.

"CITIZEN" ATTACKS C.I.

The 'Citizen' newspaper has been offered for sale to white South Africans since 1976, and delivered a broadside against the Christian Institute in its last editorial of the year. Someone drew our attention to it a couple of months later. *PRO VERITATE* reproduces it below.

If it seems quite incredible that the ordinary, intelligent, respectable people who publish the *CITIZEN* could write such nonsense, draw such conclusions, make such imputation, or exhibit such blatant

brain-washing, our readers should remember that this, after all, is what indoctrination is all about.

When men are free to think for themselves again, perhaps the *CITIZEN* will blush to remember — and wish they had had the courage to print our reply.

But what do you do to counteract this type of white "thinking"?

Readers might like to make some serious comments on how to conscientise the white population.

STICK TO RELIGION

Editorial in the Citizen, a newspaper in South Africa, 31.12.76.

We cannot say that we are overmuch impressed with the Christian Institute.

For a religious body, it has been far too radical in its attitudes for our liking.

And for the liking of others too.

But if it stuck to matters religious, one might at least find it a bearable cross to carry.

Unfortunately, it has impinged more and more, over the years, on purely political issues.

It will, of course, argue that it is the Government which, by its policies, has created a situation which requires every Christian to declare himself.

This argument may be acceptable when it is a matter of individual conscience.

But when a religious body takes up the cudgels against political policies, when it campaigns for this or that dispensation, or against this or that dispensation, in the political life of the country, it oversteps the mark.

SEES NOTHING RIGHT

Unfortunately, the Christian Institute is like the World Council of Churches — it sees nothing right in this country, especially its administration, and everything wrong.

Sad to say, not even an atrocity like the killing by terrorists of a former bishop, a priest and a nun, as happened in Rhodesia recently, will convince political clergymen that they are backing the wrong cause.

Nor will the slaying of 27 plantation workers in a massacre that revolted the rest of the world make them change their views.

To them, the system of White minority rule is brutal; therefore, brutality in the name of liberation is nothing to get overwrought about.

Sorry, we can't go along with this selective style of Christianity.

We would rather they cried for all God's children than only for those whom they believe to be oppressed.

We wonder also whether, if bodies like the Christian Institute saw a Marxist, non-religious heaven established on earth, they would be satisfied with the outcome of their own political meddling.

That is, if they were allowed to continue to preach opposition to the existing order and way of life.

It is not that we doubt the depth of their religious convictions.

It is that we doubt their right actively to engage in a campaign either against the Government or the country.

Particularly the country.

BOYCOTT CALL

Look at the latest call of the Christian Institute.

It is that a boycott of investment in South African industry should include local as well as overseas investment.

"Money invested in South Africa is money invested in apartheid and thus immoral, unjust and exploitive," says the Christian Institute's official journal.

Can you imagine that?

A Christian body calls for a boycott which it admits will cause hardship and unemployment.

Unemployment, it must know, will cause unrest.

Unrest will cause more violence.

More violence will not only cause the deaths of innocent men, women and children, but may tear apart the fabric of our society.

IF ONLY . . .

Ah, if the institute only preached goodwill, brotherly love, the brotherhood of man.

If only it did not advocate radical ideas which can harm all concerned.

If only it did not conduct itself in a way in which a Church-State confrontation begins to look more and more likely.

If only it appreciated that whatever hurts people of colour suffer now, and these hurts are many, they will be nothing like the terrible state in which the people of this country would find themselves if, heaven forbid, the Black terrorists or their Communist backers took over.

There is nothing in Marxism that will make anyone happier. Angola and Mozambique have demonstrated this.

All the terrorists will bring is death and destruction and a hopeless future to everyone.

Or does the Christian Institute believe that so long as the White regimes of the South are toppled, a heaven on earth — with Marxism as the new religion — will be created here?

THE C.I. REPLIES

Dear Sir,

An editorial dated 31.12.1976, being a bitter attack on the Christian Institute, has only recently been drawn to our attention.

Your criticism of the C.I. as being radical is one we readily accept if by radical is meant seeking to deal with the root and fundamental problems of our society. The non-radical approach to issues, whereby the symptoms and not the causes of social ailments are treated, is a major contributor to the steady deterioration in Black/White relationships in our land.

The failure of the C.I. to confine itself to "matters religious" is an obvious source of your indignation. Many who seek to confine the activity of God to a limited and so-called spiritual sphere would agree with you. But the revelation of Scripture is of a God who calls us to embrace His Lordship in all of life, social and political, legal and church, economic and educational; we can neither compartmentalise God nor reject His demands for allegiance to justice and truth in all spheres. We concede that our involvement in situational ethics can lead us to wrong decisions, but then the criticism ought surely to be of our decisions and not our involvement as Christians in the fullness of life.

Your condemning association of the C.I. with the oppressed we gratefully rejoice in as a mark of Christian authenticity, for it is so much part of the Biblical tradition. Hopefully we do not simply speak on behalf of the oppressed but in relationship and empathy with those who suffer the manifold injustices of our society. Only

then can one articulate a real situation which many, distanced by political structures, economic advantage, race and indifference, find difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend.

Anti-South Africa we are not, and the measure of our concern could be the measure of our love for all its peoples. We will reject no one. We will reject policies which are evil, and the nature of prophetic ministry (which is our calling) demands that we do not cry "peace, peace, where there is no peace."

In common with Government media, you seek to associate us with commending violence and "brutality in the name of liberation," as well as with Marxism. You do not quote chapter and verse to substantiate these allegations, and disregard our oft-repeated rejection of the ways of violence (institutionalised and overt) and Communism. Charity requires that we attribute this distortion of our beliefs to ignorance, and for your editorial team's edification we submit C.I. statements of opposition to both violence and Communism.

Your editorial concluded by asking the C.I. whether we believe that should Marxism topple our White regime, a new heaven on earth would be created? We abhor the possibility of a despotic Communist regime establishing its own peculiar hell, and we see the racist policies of our land contributing inexorably to its enthronement.

—Christian Institute of Southern Africa.

INTERNATIONAL STUDY DAYS FOR A SOCIETY OVERCOMING DOMINATION

The proposal to hold International Study Days "for a society overcoming domination" has been launched under the aegis of the Brazilian National Bishops Conference (C.N.B.B.), with the patronage of the institutions listed at the end of this text. This initiative is a result of the proposals approved by the General Assembly of the Brazilian Bishops in 1973, commemorating the twenty fifth anniversary of the U.N.'s *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the tenth anniversary of John XXIII's encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, with a view to more effective action in defence of human rights.

This project is aimed at deepening the concern and activity of churches and cultural and educational institutions throughout the world regarding the various types of domination to which people today are subjected, to the violations of human rights consequent on those systems of oppression, and to the possibilities of educating people to understand, overcome and transform the structures of domination and the mechanisms of oppression.

The project envisages an international conference in October 1977, venue to be decided. The Conference will examine existing information on situations of domination and on the educational

campaigns trying to overcome oppression and will examine the prospects of a society without domination.

The preparatory work for the Study Days will be both to collate information on situations of domination (both in an academic way, and through the pooling of ideas by the groups and institutions involved in relevant educational campaigns) and to send out *resulting reports to all participants, and to publicise the reports as widely as possible.*

Contacts will be made with interested institutions and groups directly by the C.N.B.B., assisted by a Secretariat based in Paris and by a group of regional correspondents throughout the world. The Secretariat of Paris will handle the circulation of the documents.

Participation in this preparatory work is open to any institution or organized group who wishes to take part and accepts the "Basis for the project" adopted by the C.N.B.B., the criteria determined by this Conference for the formulation of documents, the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

BASIS FOR THE PROJECT

The current world crisis of human rights cannot be seen simply in terms of deviations in human behaviour, either individually or institutionally. The problem goes far deeper than merely wrong behaviour and disregard of social standards. It is intrinsic to the very structures of our societies, most of which are antiquated. In addition to an analysis of institutions, we need a global vision of society in terms of the fulfilment of the values and aspirations of each human being and of all mankind.

It must be recognized that looking at the problem in this way is not restricted to a particular ideology. The marginalization of the vast majority of the people is a phenomenon perceived in both East and West. The problem therefore goes beyond that of social systems (be they capitalist, neo-capitalist, social-ownership, communist or socialist). Indeed the structures of oppression and domination exist in a great many countries, and under all types of regimes. Nor is it simply a matter of occasional violations of human rights that can be explained as momentary lapses of conduct on the part of individual citizens or governments. Violations of human rights are inherent in the economic and political structures themselves. In many cases, they are imposed on the majority by certain power groups which hide behind the formal apparatus of an electoral system. There is international outcry against such oppressions and violations; all human beings have the same basic aspirations.

If the outcry against oppression is to be effective, it must develop into a common consciousness. The transformation of social structures demands popular awareness. Indeed patterns of domination will remain as long as they are regarded as normal by the oppressed. Only some supremely liberating action, affecting the minds of the oppressed can make them masters of their own destiny. Little will be achieved merely by the enforcement of legal

norms; still less by police supervision.

If we are to move towards a more just society, there must be a genuine change of minds and hearts. What is needed is a prolonged and coherent effort, based on analysis of the social situation and the formulation of new values, to draw the different sectors of society to an understanding that is both truly humanist and closer to Communion with God. This task should be undertaken by the Churches and cultural and educational institutions, since they are responsible for developing people's awareness.

It is with these aims in mind that we propose to set up an international enterprise with the twofold objectives of:

1. Fostering studies of the structural nature of the various types of oppressive systems and exploring alternatives for achieving a more just social order.
2. Denouncing violations of human rights and the structures that make them possible.

The collaboration which develops during the preparatory work will help those who take part in the first International Study Days to define more precisely the form this enterprise will take. The Study Days will be organised by the C.N.B.B. with the assistance of institutions supporting the project. They will be held with the participation of a group of relevant experts and individuals involved in popular education projects sponsored by the Churches or cultural bodies.

Underlying the Study Days will be the explicit and implicit principles contained in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. In this way we shall hope to preserve a sufficiently universal approach, without the restrictions imposed by particular groups.

Further information on this exciting project can be obtained from PRO VERITATE in Johannesburg.

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CONTENTS ● INHOUD

Redaksioneel			
GELOOF OM DIE TOEKOMS TE VERANDER	2	RACISM, MATERIALISM AND THE CHURCH	11
Editorial		CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION	13
A FAITH TO CHANGE THE FUTURE	3	"CITIZEN" ATTACKS C.I.	13
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN A TIME OF CRISIS	4	STICK TO RELIGION	13
OSHADI PHAKATHI BANNED	7	THE C.I. REPLIES	14
"THE WORLD" EDITORIAL COMMENTS	8	INTERNATIONAL STUDY DAYS FOR A SOCIETY OVERCOMING DOMINATION	15
YOU DID ALL THE TALKING	9	BASIS FOR THE PROJECT	15
GOD AND THIS WORLD	10		