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“WHERE ARE YOU?”

Eating the apple simply confirmed Adam and Eve's decision to depart from God's instructions and go their own way, and when God could not find them in the garden he called: "Where are you?" They found themselves to be concealing their real humanity behind fig leaves, hiding among the trees. And afraid.

Throughout history man has run on until God has stopped him in his tracks with the question: "Where are you?" Often, he has found himself to be less than fully human, in hiding, and afraid.

"What a wretched state I am in! I am lost, for I am a man of unclean lips and I live among a people of unclean lips."

Isa. 6.5

"Men have shown they prefer darkness to the light because their deeds are evil."

John 3.19.

"Why are you so agitated, and why are these doubts arising in your hearts?"

Luke. 24.38.

"What a wretched man I am! Who will rescue me from this body doomed to death?"

Romans 7.24.

Blacks heard the question "Where are you?" at the start of this decade and, surprisingly, discovered that their problem was **not** that they were oppressed by the white man. It was in their own attitude of mind in accepting their oppression, and looking upon themselves as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Their problem was their own attitude of subservience.

Not the lack of recognition, opportunity, land and wealth, but the lack of resolve to obtain them was their difficulty. They had acquiesced in their lot, agreed to their subjugation, connived at their own sub-human state, and come to believe it was right to conceal their humanity behind their rags, and hide in the forests of ignorance and lesser-ness.

Black consciousness was born of this realisation, and has resulted in the black man rediscovering his humanity. He holds his head high in his chains; he plans for the future of mankind whilst in prison; he has found a moral might which he knows will overcome the brute physical strength which tries to hold him back.

For some years now, the theological, political, philosophical, sociological and emotional leadership in South Africa has come from black men who have rediscovered their humanity. White leadership is in the realms of money, munitions, and the inhumanities of apartheid. Black consciousness has brought the black man out into the light of the whole human experience — and looking back, he sees the white man still hiding in the forest of selfdeception.

Now whites are beginning to hear the call: "Where are you?" All their lives they have believed that they were God's gift to Africa, the bringers and sustainers of the gospel, the securers of peace, the providers of prosperity, the leaders, the

civilisers. But some whites are beginning to come to themselves and realise the appalling truths that the rest of the world, and 80% of our own population, have seen for so long.

Staunch nationalists — editors, academics, businessmen — are hearing the question rustling through the tree tops; churchmen hear it when one speaks of stipends, ministers, congregations, schools and chaplaincies which obey racist criteria. Where are the white controlled historic churches in the struggle to liberate God's people in Africa?

Liberal whites become restless behind their fig leaf pleas: "We cannot do anything". "It's not our fault — we voted against them".

Some are becoming aware of the unbearable fact that the apartheid they claim to oppose depends upon them; that they have rationalised their own position until they are content to grow rich on apartheid and do nothing to oppose it; that they ask God's blessing on soldiers sent to exterminate His children who seek the rights and responsibilities of being men; that their claim to 'want to help the blacks' is a monstrous paternalistic insult to men who can stand on their own feet; who claim to be 'non-racist' yet pin their hopes for change and confine their involvement for change to a 'white' opposition; who say they support a 'fair deal for blacks' yet refuse to relinquish their positions of privilege; who enjoy an unjust income because they support a society which manipulates wages to their benefit, yet make no effort to live a simpler life style; who decry the Government, yet never seek to make a convert to another point of view, submit to indoctrination, and offer no regular assistance to those who are seeking a new society for all.

Whatever revolting massacres black terrorists may indulge in, whatever black students and 'agitators' may be blamed for, nothing can possibly compare with the appalling deprivation, suffering and death that has been inflicted by whites on blacks for generations. And it was all done by good christian people 'who know not what they do'. (Luke 23.34).

The dreadful realisation dawns that the problem in Southern Africa is not the black man, but the white. He is not a superior creature at all. Behind the pseudo respectability of the fig leaves, hiding in the trees, is one who has often been a curse upon God's plans for Africa, a disturber of the peace, a breaker of God's laws, a destroyer of Christianity, a preventer of prosperity, designer of a 'civilisation' which has perpetuated ignorance and suffering and poverty, and killed hundreds of citizens who only sought by peaceful means to obtain the rights of God's children throughout the world.

That is the birth of white consciousness.

Upon it can grow the new white African, able to learn from the particular experience of the black African, liberated from his prison of racism, able to use fully and freely the enormous power and experience God has given him to be a human being.

Unafraid.

„WAAR IS JY?“

Deur die eet van die appel het Adam en Eva eenvoudig hulle besluit bevestig om van God se opdrag af te wyk en hulle eie pad te volg, en toe God hulle nie in die tuin kon vind nie, het Hy geroep: „Waar is jy?“ Hulle het gevind dat hulle besig was om hulle ware menswees te verberg agter vyeblare terwyl hulle tussen die bome geskuil het — in vrees.

Dwarsdeur die geskiedenis het die mens aangehou om te hardloop totdat God hom tot halt geroep het met die vraag: „Waar is jy?“ Dikwels het hy gevind dat hy nie waarlik mens is nie, maar in skuiling en bang.

„Wee my, ek is verlore! Want ek is 'n man onrein van lippe en woon onder 'n volk wat onrein van lippe is.“

Jes. 6.5.

„Die mense het die duisternis liewer gehad as die lig, want hulle werke was boos.“

Joh. 3.19.

„Waarom is julle ontsteld en waarom kom daar twyfel in julle hart op?“

Luk. 24.38.

„Ek ellendige mens! Wie sal my verlos van die liggaam van hierdie dood?“

Rom. 7.24.

Swartmense het die vraag „Waar is jy?“ aan die begin van hierdie dekade gehoor en, verrassend, gevind dat hulle probleem nie was dat hulle deur die witman onderdruk is nie. Dit was in hulle eie denke dat hulle hul onderdrukking aanvaar het en hulleself gesien het as houthakkers en waterdraers. Hulle probleem was hulle eie houding van onderhorigheid.

Nie die gebrek aan erkenning, geleentheid, grondbesit en rykdom, maar die gebrek aan voorneme om dit te verkry, was hulle probleem. Hulle het berus in hulle lot, toegestem tot hulle onderwerping, hulle eie sub-menslike toestand oogluikend toegelaat en het aanvaar dat dit reg is om hulle menswees agter hulle vodde te verberg en in die bosse van onkunde en minderwaardigheid te skuil.

Swart-bewussyn is uit hierdie ontdekking gebore met die gevolg dat die swartman sy menslikheid herontdek het. Hy hou sy hoof omhoog terwyl in kettings; hy beplan vir die toekoms van die mensdom terwyl in gevangenskap; hy het 'n morele mag ontdek waardeur hy bewustelik die brute fisiese mag wat hom probeer terughou, sal oormeester.

Gedurende die afgelope jare het die teologiese, politieke, filosofiese, sosiologiese en emosionele leierskap in Suid-Afrika van die swartman wat sy menslikheid herontdek het, gekom. Wit leierskap word beoefen op die gebied van geld, wapens en die onmenslikheid van apartheid. Swart-bewussyn het die swartman uitbring in die lig van die volle menslike ervaring — en terwyl hy terugkyk, sien hy die witman steeds besig om in die bos van selfbedrog te skuil.

Nou begin die witman die geroep te hoor: „Waar is jy?“ Hulle hele lewe lank het hulle geglo dat hulle God se gawe vir Afrika is, die draers en onderhouers van die evangelie, die verkrygers van vrede, die voorsieners van voorspoed, die leiers, die beskawers. Maar sommige witmense begin om tot hulleself te kom en om die ontstellende waarhede te ontdek wat die res van die wêreld en 80% van ons eie bevolking reeds

so lank besef.

Stoere Nasionaliste — redakteurs, akademici, sakemanne — hoor die vraag in die boomtoppe ruis; kerkmanne hoor dit wanneer 'n mens praat van traktamente, predikante, gemeentes, skole en kapelaanskappe wat aan die rassitiese maatstawwe voldoen. Waar is die wit-beheerde historiese kerke in die stryd om die volk van God in Afrika te bevry?

Liberale witmense word rusteloos agter hulle vyeblaarpleidooie: „Ons kan niks doen nie.“ „Dit is nie ons fout nie — ons het teen hulle gestem.“

Sommige word bewus van die onuithoubare feit dat die apartheid wat hulle voorgee om teë te staan van hulle afhanklik is; dat hulle hul eie posisie gerasionaliseer het totdat hulle tevrede is om deur apartheid ryk te word en doen niks om dit teë te staan nie; dat hulle God se seën vra vir soldate wat gestuur word om sy kinders om te bring wat die regte en verantwoordelikhede van mens te wees soek; dat hulle aanspraak van „die swartes te wil help“ 'n afskuwelike, paternalistiese belediging is vir mense wat op hulle eie voete kan staan; wat aanspraak maak om „nie-rassities“ te wees maar tog hulle hoop op verandering vestig en hulle betrokkenheid vir verandering beperk tot 'n „wit“ opposisie; wat beweer dat hulle 'n regverdige bedeling vir swartes ondersteun maar weier om afstand te doen van hulle bevoorregte posisies; wat 'n onregverdige inkomste geniet omdat hulle 'n samelewing ondersteun wat die salarisse manipuleer tot hulle eie voordeel maar geen poging aanwend om 'n eenvoudiger lewenstyl in toepassing te bring nie; wat die regering aftakel maar nooit soek om iemand tot ander insigte te bekeer nie; wat hulle aan indoktrinering onderwerp en geen gereelde hulp aanbied aan diegene wat 'n nuwe samelewing vir almal soek nie.

Aan watter afstootlike massamoorde swart terroriste hulle ook al vryelik skuldig gemaak het, vir wat swart studente en „agitators“ ook al blameer mag word, niks kan werklik vergelyk word met die ontsettende berowing, lyding en dood wat witmense aan swartmense vir geslagte aangedoen het. En dit alles is deur goeie christenmense gedoen wat nie „weet wat hulle doen nie“ (Luk. 23.34).

Die verskriklike besef breek deur dat die probleem in Suider-Afrika nie die swartman is nie maar die witman. Hy is geensins 'n meerderwaardig wese nie. Agter die pseudo-fatsoenlikheid van die vyeblare wat tussen die bome skuil, bevind hom iemand wat dikwels 'n vloek was op God se plan vir Afrika, 'n versteurder van die vrede, 'n verbreker van God se wette, 'n vernietiger van die Christendom, 'n verhinderaar van voorspoed, ontwerper van 'n „beskawing“ wat onkunde en lyding en armoede bestendig het en honderde burgers gedood het wat alleenlik gesoek het om op vreedsame wyse die regte van God se kinders in die hele wêreld te verkry.

Dit is die geboorte van wit-bewussyn.

Hieruit kan die nuwe wit Afrikaan ontwikkel, in staat om te leer van die besondere ondervinding van die swart Afrikaan, bevry van sy gevangenskap van rassisme, in staat om tenvolle en vryelik gebruik te maak van die enorme mag en ondervinding wat God hom gegee het om mens te wees.

Onbevrees.

A CALL FOR WHITE CONSCIOUSNESS

Oshadi Jane Phakathi

Oshadi Phakathi is Regional Director of the Christian Institute in the Transvaal, and was detained from August to December 1976 under the Internal Security Act. She was asked to speak 'from her heart' at the Regional Meeting in Johannesburg on January 29th 1977.

I did not participate in drawing up today's programme. I was invited to address you, but the organisers of this meeting gave me no subject.

There could be so many things to talk about. It could be a New Year message but I am a depressed person from the oppression suffered by many of us in this country. It could be on matters related to our organisation. I know that some of you have come with great curiosity and anxiety, hoping to see some scars on my body and hear me talk about them!

I would rather talk in perspectives which will be relevant to planning our work for 1977.

Johannesburg Fort

At the Johannesburg Fort where I was kept with eleven other colleagues under the Internal Security Act, we sought to understand various issues related to our detention. We discussed several questions together, and even formulated answers to some of them.

The first question we raised was: **why were we there anyway?** In terms of the South African Government's analysis of events and of our role in society, we had endangered, or intended to endanger, the maintenance of law and public order. (Our orders said this in writing.) This implies that as far as the Government is concerned law and order can be maintained in South Africa in our absence.

I totally disagree! Technically speaking, there is law in this country, for by the nature of our political structures, legislation after legislation, good or evil, goes through the South African Legislative Assembly. But the Government turns a blind eye to the fact that **the very laws promote public disorder.** There is no social order in this country!

It was these laws that led the country into unrest. The black people could not take it any longer. These laws prompted so much oppression that June 16th happened, and that led to our detention.

The second question we asked was: **why such laws?** I am sure we all know the answer, but I shall be failing in my duty if I do not stress this answer. **The laws seek to entrench the white society in this country, to perpetuate white supremacy and white domination at the expense of the black people.** They seek to bring apartheid to its logical conclusion — an impossible task which the white political leaders have taken upon themselves. It cannot succeed! June 16th was the beginning of a confrontation between black and white in this country which will continue, heaven knows to what extent and with what consequences. In the words of the Prime Minister himself 'the thought of it is too ghastly to contemplate'.

There can be no public order as long as there is no drastic fundamental structural change in the country.

The last question, that faces us all, is this: **What can we do then?**

If we here today love peace for Christ's sake, if we want to see order one day, then we have to recognise and accept responsibility for the causes of disorder. It is no use acknowledging them, and doing nothing about them. So often we have heard of people looking to the Government for change, even when Government spokesmen assert that there will be no change in their lifetime!

Have you ever asked yourself who the Government is? It is, after all, not B.J. Vorster; not Jimmy Kruger who detained me; not M.C. Botha who is said to be responsible for my affairs through the Department of Bantu Administration. **The Government of South Africa is the white community of South Africa. You give the mandate. I am not part of it.** Hence the confrontation.

Whites awake

This is why, in showing my scars, I ask you kindly, I repeat, kindly, to allow me to address myself particularly to the white members of the Christian Institute. I wish to appeal to the white members of the Christian Institute to go to the white communities of South Africa, and use every effort to enable them to promote peace and order in our country. As long as you give the mandate, as long as you allow it, the Government is obliged to you.

The black people have done their work. It has been demonstrated that black consciousness is a state of mind. Every black man in this country has awakened to the fact that he is oppressed. There is just no question of whether or not black consciousness, in terms of awakening the black man to a consciousness of his own experience, has achieved this objective. There is also no question that the black people will intensify their struggle for liberation. It is a great pity that there is also no question that the white community is oblivious of this level of the black man's state of mind.

The white community, whatever they think, as we see them, are fast asleep. They still do not realise what is happening. They will believe what they want to believe — what appeases them. If only they had travelled along side by side with the black people on the road to re-awakening, if only we could talk of white consciousness having achieved the objective of enabling whites to evaluate themselves, to understand who they are, and what they are doing in this country! Then we would not have reached this confrontation.

Please do not think I fail to recognise that white people knew all the time that they wanted to build a heaven on Earth for themselves, and promise us one only after death. This, they were conscious of doing.

Rude question

Hence, I must ask this rude question of the white membership of the Christian Institute: Are you sincerely committed to the ultimate goal of the C.I.? Do you know the goal? Do you understand the end of the goal? Do you know what the black C.I. members want, and understand as the goal of C.I.? Are we striving for the same thing?

If yes — why do we lose each other on our way? If no — why and how do we hope to work together for the ways of Christ?

Make conversions

Being a member of the Christian Institute presupposes acceptance of all people, irrespective of colour and creed, as human beings with a legitimate right to God's purpose for man in this world. In the C.I. membership, the majority is white; in the white community as a

whole they are but a handful, yet they are enough yeast to leaven the dough.

But it is a **crusade to others** — simply meeting ourselves will change nothing. Rallying round one another in fellowship groups as C.I. members, however often you do it, will never raise the dough into bread. **You will remain converted disciples but convertors of none.** If you do not go out to convert others, have you yourself truly accepted the gospel? As long as you accept the status quo, or appear to accept the status quo, I shall go to gaol!

A relevant white programme is one which will enable me to live a normal full human life — and stay out of gaol. It is a programme which will awaken the white man to the fact that he is an oppressor; to the fact that oppression is inhuman; to the fact that being an oppressor is also being enslaved; and to the fact that the white oppressor needs liberating as much as I need it.

This objective can only be accomplished if you have accepted the reality of your own oppression, and have taken a commitment to liberate yourself.

Do you know what you are?

Do you know what you want to be?

Are you committed to what you want to be?

Last year we asked our members in the Transvaal to spell out answers to the question: 'What sort of South Africa do you want?'. Did you reply? Do you know? Could I live in your South African dream as a whole free person? Or would I, as a free person, be forced to gaol again?

Have you asked yourself and your friends what you are doing about it?

Or are you so oppressed that you will do nothing in case they send you to gaol?

In my christian conscience, and as a black human being, I can never accept the South African apartheid policy which was designed by white citizens without consulting me, and imposed on me without my consent. To eradicate this sick policy you need one of two forces.

1. Blacks can knock it out. This means a confrontation, which obviously implies a violence which I am sure that none of us want.

But because Black consciousness has reached its primary objective some confrontation is essential. When I accept myself as a full human being, I shall refuse to subject myself to the attitude often met, for example, in a white saleslady at a supermarket. I shall not accept the normal form of address towards blacks; I shall not accept being left to one side because a white customer has come in after me while my money is the same! But when I express my humanity by demanding my rights as a customer, to an unconscious inhuman white saleslady, she will be outraged and object as they always do and we shall end up in confrontation. Even physical confrontation! This happens inevitably when a conscious self-accepting human person has to deal with an unconscious unaware inhuman being.

2. Whites can change and live beyond colour consciousness. They can leave the consciousness of being *white*, and journey into the consciousness of being *human*, and travel on to know the fullness of being in *Christ* consciousness.

It is your task as white people to go out and awaken the entire white community to discover themselves, and to accept black people as people created in the image of God. This white majority can only be won by you: blacks can only be assistants in this battle. Black consciousness was evolved and propagated by blacks, but white consciousness cannot be evolved by blacks. We can only confront you with the necessity — as I have just done!

WHAT DO YOU MEAN — WHITE CONSCIOUSNESS?

Paul Goller

Paul Goller, aware that "black consciousness" has given a new lease of life to some of his black friends, sets out some of the questions a white person asks.

"Black Consciousness" is a sufficiently difficult concept and reality to come to terms with: why confuse me by suggesting there is something called "white consciousness" that demands my attention? And yet this is what blacks of my acquaintance (and some whites) seem to be saying insistently.

I can see that black consciousness is a positive, liberating force among blacks: that it is rooted in a situation of material and spiritual oppression, and that it has the power ultimately to destroy that twofold oppression. I think I can see, too, how this involves much more than merely wresting power from the white establishment in order to exercise that power in the same way as it is now used by whites.

A liberating force?

If white consciousness is also to be a positive liberating force among whites, then surely we can have little to fear from an analysis and movement which is analgous to the development of black consciousness? And yet, quite clearly, any material and spiritual oppression which we may suffer as whites is not the same as, or even comparable with, that inflicted upon blacks. Also, black conscious-

ness draws upon deep sources of vitality within the black community: if white consciousness is to be a positive liberating force, it must also uncover and renew sources of vitality and growth in white culture?

Or am I pressing the analogy too far? Perhaps white consciousness is not intended to be anything so positive and constructive. Perhaps it is the name for another analysis of white guilt for the gross injustices characteristic of Southern African society and, as such, has limited — but nevertheless real value. I doubt that this can be the intention.

Who am I?

I am a middle-aged, male, white, english-speaking, middle-class, married, South African Catholic. (I am immediately conscious that such an order of listing says various things about me and my priorities! So be it — for the moment!) Focussing as it does on one of those aspects which I cannot change, white consciousness presumably asks me to look at the other terms in this descriptive litany in the light of the fact that I am white.

Some of them I can change, others I cannot. The fact that I am

white seems more relevant to some than to others. Middle-age, for example, is surely independent of colour? Yet, even as I write that statement I wonder whether that aspect is so easily disposed of?

Certainly males and females have different roles, in different cultures, in different classes. Nationality and language clearly have some effect upon the way one lives one's religion. So we can go, recognising links between the different aspect of one's make-up.

A determining factor?

"White consciousness" appears, however, to consider that our whiteness, rather than our religious beliefs or our class status, is the major determining factor in our behaviour. On the face of it, it seems to me that some kind of class analysis is a prior necessity before we can safely generalise about white experience, and begin to describe a "white consciousness" which is something more than a critique of middle-class values, institutions, and pretensions.

I am too little a philosopher to be able to assert or deny the validity of the contention that the ills of our personal and com-

munal lives are traceable to one source within the white western tradition. But I am chauvinistic enough to want to resist the suggestion that all of the western tradition is decadent and impossible to revitalise.

Western man has certainly caused great suffering and destruction in other cultures because of his belief in his own superiority, his insistent imposition of his rationalism, his technology, his organisation of the state, his exploitation of natural resources, and pollution of the environment. And yet . . .

Perhaps I should stop before I expose myself completely as a perfect laboratory specimen for the use of "white consciousness" experts!

What is it that "white consciousness" offers which could not be discovered within an explicitly "Christian" frame of reference? **Or is "white consciousness" really a way of discovering how a white person can now live as a Christian — despite the white experience of the last few hundred years?**

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WHITE FREEDOM

Horst Kleinschmidt

Five years ago SPROCAS published "White Liberation", to which Horst Kleinschmidt contributed this introduction. Recent events make the article and the book very topical. Horst is now representing the Christian Institute in Europe.

"IF THE WHITE MAN wants to help, he can go home and free his own people": Stokely Carmichael.

For the first time in South Africa, black people are withdrawing from the so-called "multi-racial" or integrated organisations, and white people are trying to hear the assertive voice of black consciousness. In some places, like church bodies, an increasingly furious debate is being pursued challenging the white-controlled structures.

White people, especially white liberals, are in a quandary about the meaning of black consciousness or black power. They want to know if this development means a tacit acceptance of apartheid or separate development. They find such a development incompatible with the Christian principle of reconciliation and are confused about the seemingly different theories being put forward by the exponents of this new blackness.

Blacks have gone home to organise in the black community and now rely on their own resources; they no longer recognise the validity of integration as a means towards change as this means "change on the white man's terms". Blacks are saying that racism and oppression are constituent parts of **all** white society and not only of the government and its supporters. White chauvinism, white paternalism, white decisions and white control are the pattern repeated by white liberals in the organisations and functions they are concerned with. Because of this, separate action has become a necessary reality. It has become an inescapable fact for those who are oppressed, as they have come to learn that all white actions serve the interest of whites, be it through political power or economic control.

Blacks do not see it as their task to change the white man. The need is to teach and lead the oppressed; to free the individual of all dependency relationships upon the white man, who is seen as perpetuating the state of his incarceration.

Whites who support a programme of white consciousness, no longer see their task as developing programmes for black people. Their search is to find out who they are as white South Africans, what they stand for, and what kind of new action is required of them. Those who are developing a new white consciousness are seeking awareness of their whiteness and its role in race problems. In being aware, whites cannot be colour blind, because to deny one's whiteness eliminates neither the fact nor the problem of white privilege. As our entire society is colour conscious, the liberal assertion that colour consciousness only serves to perpetuate division, is simply not valid. Secondly, in being aware, whites cannot be assimilated into black society. Some whites have rejected white values so completely and have so identified with blacks that they now wish to deny their own whiteness, and in order to do this they try desperately to get personal recognition from blacks for being "almost black".

New whiteness challenges whites who attempt to live off black consciousness and black power. New whites question the radical hate many have for their whiteness. Whiteness cannot be denied through efforts to be black.

Positive Whiteness

As part of the concept of white consciousness we want to point to new possibilities, and a new appreciation of what it means to be white in this country. That we are white, and aware of it, is a constant reminder that we cannot be racially neutral as by the very fact of our whiteness we participate in racist institutions. At the same time we want to accept the positive aspects of white society and be affirmative of these. We do not seek to live in guilt, nor do we want to apologise for our being. We are white and are aware of it and that is a given and cannot be changed and we need not be ashamed of it. For some of us whites, however, ways are developing

to cope with racism from a position of strength, not weakness, and from a sense of ourselves which is positive, not negative.

Separatism is a reality created by whites, for example through racism in the church, in government and also in our liberal institutions. Through this separatism whites have placed the black man in bondage, in a prison of race. Unknown to himself the white man has also placed himself in a racial jail — his own racial jail. This jail has become so much part of him that he is no longer aware of it, or aware of the need to free himself of it. As long as we are in prisons of racism, we cannot expect oppressed people to become one with us. Our own structures do not allow us to free ourselves. If there is any hope in the future of black and white coming together,

then this will depend on our being able to deal separately with our racial prisons. **We can only meet in freedom, not by invitation to enter each other's jails. This leaves us with the obligation of setting our own people free.**

Our most important concern is to bring home to white people that each time we inflict a racist practice we are putting not only our victim into a prison but we are putting ourselves into a prison too. We see it as our task to work with whites and we are aware of the importance of this task, as white people have all the control and power in their hands; all white people be they in the church, in business or in politics.

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BLACKS' 'NEW LEADERS' REJECT WHITE TALK

—Star 2/2/77

The present "post-apartheid generation" of black youth, dissatisfied with living in a world of poverty side by side with white wealth, is the generation with which whites will have to negotiate the future. And it is a generation that has lost faith in dialogue.

This was but part of the forbidding picture painted by lecturer after lecturer at the University of Cape Town summer school course on "The Urban Black Situation," which ended at the weekend.

It was in stark contrast with the Prime Minister's well-known "there is no crisis" statement last year, and with his entry in the no confidence debate in Parliament on Friday when Mr. Vorster referred to the urban unrest once only.

At the summer school, the message was that there must be "massive and dramatic" change or the unrest would continue. And the message came from black, white and coloured speakers.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the centre for applied social science at University of Natal, noted an almost universal black distrust of the existing system.

He referred to a study in Durban which showed that more than 60 percent of blacks were actively hostile to whites. While previously white power was seen as immutable, black consciousness had now arisen, with an increase in black morale and an undermining of past apathy.

Black youth wanted nothing less than an end to the present political structure and the institution of a common society in its place, Professor Schlemmer said.

Mr. Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, answered the question of how and why black students had assumed a leadership role. He called this "the first post-apartheid generation."

Apartheid had been implemented during the active life of the preceding generation. Because of the powerless position of blacks, a leadership void had been created. Now the students were filling this void.

It was this present-generation of black youth with which white South Africa would have to negotiate the future of the country. "But this generation does not have much faith in dialogue," he added.

Dr. Alan Boesak, leading black theologian of the Ned. Geref. Sendingkerk and its chaplain at the University of the Western Cape, said this new phenomenon of black power did not exist alone. "It exists because we have a white power structure. It is an answer to white power."

He said power was given by God to be shared by all men — a view

not supported by the white South African authorities.

"But apartheid has no mythological power of its own to sustain it. It can be changed by people committed to change."

It was the Evangelical Lutheran Bishop and chairman of the Black Parents' Association, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, who analysed the current urban crisis in black terms.

"There is a continuing crisis in our cities.

"Cities promised black people wealth, and gave them poverty. Selling one's labour to the white buyers promised a new economic dispensation and a new form of human liberation.

"I need not belabour the point that the gold dust of Johannesburg has failed to cover the streets of Soweto.

Dr. Buthelezi said wealth and poverty were never meant to be good and congenial neighbours, and where they met a crisis was generated. In Johannesburg, people commuted from Soweto to make Johannesburg even richer.

He saw another major factor in the rise of black discontent: All urban people, regardless of race, were exposed to the same communication media — the Press, radio and now television. Everybody knew that justice, freedom and democracy were good. So were voting rights.

The crisis arose when blacks were prohibited from participating.

Turning to the future Dr. Buthelezi echoed Professor Schlemmer's call for "massive and dramatic change." The only solution to the urban crisis was not just to give more powers to existing urban councils, but to seek solutions beyond apartheid.

The Roman Catholics' initiative in desegregating their schools was a healthy pointer to the education system of the future. Similarly, university education had to be opened so that young intellectuals of all groups could meet.

"The security laws that have compounded racial bitterness and hatred should be repealed," Dr. Buthelezi added. "The best investment for a powerful but fearful minority is to make the majority feel secure."

The lesson, he said, was simple: "The few can no longer enjoy their wealth in peace and quiet — unless they decide to share it with the many."

—Brian Stuart in the Johannesburg Star
February 2nd 1977.

A SOUTH AFRICAN AL CHET

(For use on the evening and morning of the Day of Atonement)

For the sin we have committed:

BY FORGETTING WE WERE STRANGERS IN THE LAND OF EGYPT.

For the sin we have committed:

BY FORGETTING WE WERE OPRESSED.

For the sin we have committed:

BY IGNORING HUMAN CRIES FOR HELP.

For the sin we have committed:

BY RESISTING SOCIAL CHANGE.

For the sin we have committed:

BY EMPHASISING THE STRANGENESS THAT DIVIDES, ABOVE THE HUMANITY THAT UNITES.

For the sin we have committed:

BY CHOOSING TO SPEND MONEY FOR GUNS RATHER THAN FOR HELPING THE DEPRIVED AND THE POOR.

For all these sins, O God of forgiveness, forgive us, pardon us, grant us atonement.

For the sin we have committed:

BY FAILING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMAGE OF THE DIVINE IN EVERY SINGLE PERSON.

For the sin we have committed:

BY DISRUPTING FAMILY LIVES FOR OUR PERSONAL CONVENIENCE.

For the sin we have committed:

BY FAILING TO SEE THAT EMPLOYEES ARE MORE THAN LABOUR UNITS.

For the sin we have committed:

BY FAILING TO SEE THAT EVERY WORKER IS A PERSON.

For the sin we have committed:

BY KEEPING SILENT IN THE FACE OF INJUSTICE.

For the sin we have committed:

BY PREFERRING THE FANTASY OF ESCAPE TO THE REALITY OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

For all these sins, O God of forgiveness, forgive us, pardon us, grant us atonement.

With grateful acknowledgements to Rabbi Richard Lampert of Temple Emmanuel, Oxford Road, Johannesburg.

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE NEWS ITEMS

Natal Region

Reinier Holst has been appointed a Field Worker in Natal, and is based in Durban. His early education was at Silverton Laerskool, St. Paulus Kloister, and Clapham High School in Pretoria. He worked in factories before taking the National Youth Leadership Training Course, and working for the Catholic Students Society. He will be sending a circular to Natal members about his address in due course, and will be working in close conjunction with the Natal Committee whose Chairman is Professor Colin Gardner.

Cape Region

The **Ecumencial Centre** in Cape Town became an emergency refugee centre for up to 200 people who arrived seeking succour during the disturbances in the African townships after Christmas Day. The offices were piled high with people, provisions, utensils, blankets, clothing -- and three TV sets lent by a local merchant for the duration. **Dr Alan Boesak** is now Chairman of the Cape Regional Committee.

Transvaal Region

Rory Short has been appointed Chairman of the Transvaal Committee which has been brought up to strength with several cooptions and the return of Regional Director **Oshadi Phakathi** from the Fort. Main event in the Transvaal in the immediate future is the **Reconciliation Course** to be run by **Theo Kotze** at Hammanskraal from March 18 to 20. Application Forms can be obtained from the Office.

Head Office

Brian Brown is back as Administrative Director for 1977, after which he plans to return to a church appointment. The **National Council** will be meeting late in February and we expect to carry a full report on its deliberations in our next issue.

THE CALL FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION

"Do we not have to begin by listening to those Blacks who emphatically insist 'It makes no sense for you Whites to exhort Christians, including Blacks, to pursue a policy of non-violence for political change while you in fact uphold the political status quo with the violence of your police force and army?'" - *Rev. D. Bax*

The Editor,
"Pro Veritate".

Rev. Perkins' letter of resignation from the Institute makes very sad reading, particularly at this time when the forces working for good are under such pressure. But his, surely, is the dilemma of so many Nonconformist Christian leaders and their flocks - to define clearly the respective spheres of God and Caesar, with the odds tending to favour the latter. Is this not particularly applicable to his denomination (and mine), so deeply rooted in the Calvinist tradition of loyalty to secular authority?

In these days of increasing challenge to the conscience of the concerned one looks rather wistfully at the brave stand taken by both Catholics and Anglicans in facing up to the need for reform. As a group we seem determined to "keep our noses clean" and avoid rocking the boat.

Perhaps this cautious approach stems from our structure of government. Our spiritual leaders meet for a week, not oftner than once a year - an aeon in the present tempo of developments. On these occasions such matters of concern as migrant labour are of course discussed, but in a welter of routine business. Thereafter the implementation of all decisions taken is left to a smaller group of seniors.

It is here that the seeds of weakness may lie. A strong and persuasive voice, fearful of a Church-State confrontation, could do much to water down any pertinent and vigorous plea to Authority. In such circumstances would it be surprising if the Institute, as a body of crusading Christians, had "lost patience with the churches"? But to my mind this is most unlikely.

It would have been helpful if Rev. Perkins had spelled out his problem clearly, but your penetrating analysis is doubtless correct. Certainly it is a matter for great regret that he has cut himself off from further dialogue, but as he is not alone among those who minister to our plush northern suburbs there will doubtless be others elsewhere willing to take up the cudgels. In an atmosphere of sympathetic understanding of one another's frailties it could only lead to much good.

R. Taylor

SWART BEWUSSYN, SWART MAG EN „KLEURLING POLITIEK“

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, BLACK POWER AND “COLOURED POLITICS”

Dr. Alan Boesak

An address to the Labour Party in South Africa. Dr. Boesak is a member of the Christian Institute National Council

By all accounts, this is a dangerous subject to discuss in this country. Your theme for this congress suggests that we live in times no different to that of the prophet Amos, who amidst the oppression of his day wrote: “They hate the man dispensing justice at the city gate and detest those who speak with honesty. They trample on the poor man, extorting levies (taxes) on his wheat ... your crimes are many and your sins enormous: persecutors of the virtuous, blackmailers, turning away the needy at the city gate. Therefore the wise keeps silent in these evil times”. But this last part may also be read as a question: “And should the wise keep silent in evil times like these?”

Indeed, it is a fundamental question. But if the wise, those who have the ability to see and understand what our time is all about, those who are truly concerned, keep silent, who then, will speak for those who cannot speak, and for those who will not speak? Who will then testify to the truth?

The past few years have proven our subject important. **Black Consciousness and Black Power have come to stay** — at least for the foreseeable future, and I am convinced that history will reveal their decisive influence on South African politics.

Another reason for talking about Black Consciousness and Black Power is the incredible and deliberate misunderstanding of what they are, and represent, by so many people, including some in high office. A last reason for taking this subject is the Labour Party itself. Although I am not a member I recognise that the Labour Party is the only party that can claim to represent, to a large extent, our community. But be that as it may, politics in South Africa have reached a decisive moment.

The country and its politicians are forced to face a new reality in which the old slogans and old policies are unmasked as impotent and inadequate, and new policies, if they do not take cognizance of black aspirations, are rejected as fraudulent and irrelevant.

The old things we used to fight about: “verligtes” and “verkrampes”, intergrationists and segregationists, labourites and federalists — all these are fast becoming meaningless as black people move in a new assertive way. The times of playing political games are over and the true nature of our South African way of life is coming glaringly to light. In all of this, so-called “Coloured politics”, and therefore the Labour Party cannot remain unmoved. If we say that after 1976 South Africa will never be the same again, it had better be true about the Labour Party.

Wat is Swart Bewustheid?

Swart Bewustheid is die besef van swart mense dat hul menslikheid juis deur hul swartheid gekonstitueer word. En „swart” geld hier almal wat die positiewe beskrywing „swart” aanvaar deur die verwerping van die negatiewe beskrywing „nie-blank”.

Dit beteken dat die skaamte om swart te wees, die skroom om te erken dat daar ’n swart belewenis, ’n swart ervaring, ook in die geskiedenis, ’n swart erfgoed is, duidelik onderskeie van dié van blankes. wegval. Dit is ’n vasbeslotenheid om nie meer voorge-

skrywe en begrens te word deur blanke waardes en definisies nie. Swart Bewustheid is in die eerste plek dus *nie* ’n beweging, ’n vereniging nie, maar ’n houding, ’n beslissing, ’n manier van lewe.

So gesien is Swart Bewustheid ’n integrale deel van Swart Mag, maar Swart Mag is ook ’n duidelike kritiek op die maatskappy en ’n program van aksie tot fundamentele verandering van sisteme en patrone wat verdruk, of aanleiding gee tot die verdrukking van swart mense. Swart Bewustheid is die positiewe korreksie op, en opstand teen die negatiewe bestaan van swart mense in Suid Afrika. Dit is ’n duidelike en onmiskenbare „nee!” teen die betekenis van swart-wees in hierdie land.

Want swart-wees in Suid-Afrika beteken om ’n lewe te lei vol teenstrydighede. Dit beteken om die bestaan te lei van ’n „nie-blanke” terwyl die wette van die land ons leer dat egte menslikheid alleen aan blankheid gekoppel word.

Pastor Zephania Kameeta het die gevoel van miljoene swart mense opgesom in ’n brief wat hy geskrywe het ná hy uit die gevangenis ontslaan is. Hy skryf: “In this country you can be a Christian ten thousand times over, but if you are not white you are treated like a dog”. ’n Harde woord, maar wie sal die waarheid van sy ervaring wil ontken? Want jy word nie in Suid-Afrika onderdruk nie omdat jy nie ’n Christen is nie; ook nie omdat jy Muslim of Methodis of Anglikaan of ’n afvallige NG is nie, maar omdat jy nie *blank* is nie. Dit is hierdie realiteit wat Swart Bewustheid wil verander, beginnende by die gees, die denke, die hart van die swart mens self. Want niks is meer waar as dit nie: „Die sterkste bondgenoot van die verdrukker is die gees van die verdrukte”.

Vir swart mense is egte menslikheid swart menslikheid. Ons weet dat versoening tussen die rasse nooit ’n werklikheid sal word tensy blankes leer om swart mense as *swart mense* te aanvaar nie. Wanneer gepraat word van die bevestiging van swartheid, is dit nie ’n skamper neerlê by ’n onveranderlike lot nie. Dit is inderdaad ’n bevestiging: **Black is Beautiful!**

Natuurlik het swartheid ook te doen met velkleur. Maar dit is nie alles nie. Vir enige persoon wat deur die jare heen geleer het om sy nie-blankheid as sy belangrikste atribuu te beskou, is om swart te wees ’n beslissing wat diep sny. **Outentieke swartheid, in ’n situasie waar jy deur al wat wet is „nie-blank”, of „kleurling” genoem word, beteken ’n ervaring wat ’n totale ommekeer van waardes inhou. Dit is die deelname aan ’n nuwe skepping — ’n skepping van menslike waardigheid.** Al is dit dus ook ’n kwessie van velkleur, dit is ook meer. Want nie almal wat swart is, is werklik *swart* nie. En nogmaals, hier is nie sprake van ’n beweging nie, dit is ’n lewenshouding wat kom deur die vasberadenheid om my menslikheid te handhaaf. Dit is wat die Engelsman noem “a state of mind”.

Dit is ’n ernstige en moedige beslistheid om mens te wees in jou eie reg, sonder die grense wat aan jou menslikheid gelê word deur mense wat in hul magswaan vir hulleself afgoddelike status aanneem. **Swart bewustheid wys verby velkleur na die egte solidariteit wat ontstaan in die stryd en lyding om menswaardigheid.**

Ten einde egte versoening te bewerk, sal swartmense eers hiervan

vir hulleself moet rekenskap gee. Want versoening vind plaas tussen *mense* — nie tussen base en knegte nie, nie tussen koning en onderdane nie, nie tussen „blankes” en „nie blankes” nie. Swartmense sal eers met hulself versoen moet word, moet eers hul menswees herwin, moet eers weet dat hulle op die wêreld hoort, dat hul menswaardigheid ’n Godgegewe werklikheid is. Hulle sal hul nie-blanke mentaliteit eers grondig moet verwerp sodat hulle blankes as mense tegemoet kan tree en sodat opregte versoening *tussen mense* kan plaasvind. Want blankes in Suid-Afrika moet weet dat al die gepraat oor versoening leeg is en hierdie heerlike word steeds meer van sy betekenis beroof as hulle dit nie besef nie. Ek bedoel dit: solank die blanke ’n verdrukker is, hoe kan hy ’n broeder wees? Dit is twee dinge wat mekaar onherroeplik uitsluit. Swartes en blankes sal moet leer om met hulself versoen te raak en deur outentieke swart menslikheid heen mekaar te aanvaar.

Black Power

The word power is a contaminated word in our society. Lord Acton's dictum: "All power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely" is still largely determinative for the understanding of power in Western society. "Power" is acknowledged by the seriousness of the threat, the amount of money or the destructiveness of the violence it constitutes or represents. While not disclaiming the element of truth in this, we must not succumb to the temptation of denouncing power as such and thereby, probably, leaving it to the devil.

Power can never exist on its own. It has to do with people, with concrete relations in the world. It has to do with persons who can, and ought to respond, to one another.

Many people see power as the ability to force one's will on others, or the ability to confine others to a certain pattern of behaviour. These definitions take as point of departure a concept of **power-over-others**, which is essentially an estranged power. Over against that is **power shared with others**, which means that power is not alienated force, but a service to others. To me, this is genuine power.

Power-over-others manifests itself in three areas: first there is *ideological power*, which is the power to impose one's ideas on others. That is the kind of power we see in the SABC, for instance. Then there is *remunerative power* — the power of the economy, being able to manipulate others because they are financially dependent on you. Then there is *punitive power*: the power to destroy, force, violence, the "power" of the gun.

For me, power is the concentration of ability. The ability to be, to control, to participate in control, to create. But we must remember that to lead (i.e. to rule) is another kind of service than to follow, but the difference is not in domination or force, for both are service, both are under reciprocal control and authority.

Power must be understood as an inward and outward reality. For power as power-over-others to work, some kind of basic submissiveness to the power-wielder is necessary. In other words, one must, in some way or another, accept that this person, or group, has the right to be submitted to. Whenever this submissiveness is present, it means that there is a certain alienation with regard to oneself.

When this self-alienation is substituted with identification with oneself, with self-respect, it is no longer taken for granted that the ideas of others are superior to one's own, or that the disparity between the "is" and the "ought" in one's life is natural or satisfactory. This means, for instance, that one does not have to accept everything the radio or newspapers tell you simply because they are able to pump things into your ear every minute of every day.

Another example: the basis of this power-over-others relation is **dependency**. But note: it is still a **relation**. If one substituted the element of dependency with the ability to create one's own resources, or with the creative use of the resources one has, the power-over pattern is broken. If you can think for yourself, half the battle

is won. This means that the one "in power" is as much dependent on you as you are on him. If you can make creative use of *this* situation you can break the power-over pattern.

Likewise, if one is able, i.e. has the power to substitute the fear for the violence of the power-wielder with courage and determination rooted in self-determination and self-respect, this power-over relation no longer exists.

This self-identification I spoke about, is the inner reality of power. It is there that real power begins. It is the courage to be human, the courage and determination to affirm one's human dignity, which is essential for every normal human being. But **this courage to be must inevitably lead to the rejection of structures that make human life impossible**. It seeks to transform these structures to accommodate its search for human fulfilment and wholeness. These two sides cannot be divorced. Although self-identification is the indispensable precondition for human freedom, it cannot survive without the other: the practical, action-oriented manifestation of this realization.

As a theologian I must say something else about power. **Power belongs to the very essence of humanity**. It is in the very centre of man's creaturely relatedness to God. Man was made in God's image, which does not allude to any kind of physical likeness but describes man's unique relation to God. The whole story of Genesis gives expression to this truth. God has given man "dominion over creation". This places him in relation to the Creator, but also in relation to that over which he has been given dominion: the created world; and to those with whom he has been given this dominion: his fellow created beings.

Because the power of man is grounded in the power of God, it must reflect the divine power in order to be genuine. God's power is always a liberating, creative power and it is with this power that He has endowed humanity.

To share power and to share in power is to be fully human. It means to be able to *be*, to live in accordance with one's God-given purpose. To be denied this means to be degraded to the level of sub-humanity.

Sharing in power enables human beings to become the subject of their own humanity, to assume responsibility, to act and in acting to realize their own humanity and that of others. Now when you've said all this, and you believe it, and you act accordingly, and you are black, then you've got Black Power.

Power is service to others, and in serving justice power is at its very best. It is the ability to realize one's humanity as much as God has affirmed it in liberating people to be truly human, in making the world not a chaos, but a place to live in. Realizing this in our South African context is the exacting, but sublime task of Black Power.

Swart Mag en Wit mag

Ons het al gesê dat mag te doen het met mense, en dit beteken dat mag onderhewig is aan gebruik en misbruik. Dit kan aangewend word tot onheil van mense. Wanneer mag misbruik word, word dit losgemaak van alle verantwoordelikheid teenoor God en die mense. Dan is daar nie meer plek vir die *mense* nie, vir sy waardigheid en verantwoordelikheid nie. Die mag word dan 'n onpersoonlike struktuur, geïsoleer binne die anonimiteit van wat dan genoem word „die organisasie”, „die party”, „die politiek” of selfs „die ideaal” waarna dan gestreef sou word.

Omdat hierdie proses altyd begin met die ontkenning van mag as 'n innerlike, menslike realiteit, loop dit onvermydelik uit op die onderdrukking van mag as 'n uiterlike teken en aksie. Met dieselfde onvermydelikheid verword dit alles tot onverdraagsaamheid, onderdrukking, intimidasie en alle vorme van geweld. Só word mag, in plaas van diens aan die geregtigheid, 'n sisteem wat uiteindelik 'n eie lewe gaan lei, hard en ongenaakbaar, volkome gespeen van alle menslikheid alhoewel mense daarvoor verantwoordelik is en dit ook onderhou.

Dwarsdeur ons geskiedenis het die onvermoë van baie mense om dit te besef, ons lelik parte gespeel. As iets onaangenaams met ons

gebeur het — toe hulle ons stemreg afgevat het, groepsgebiede, of toe hulle ons minderwaardige onderwys gegee het — elke keer was ons reaksie onder die maat.

Baie van ons het die fout gesoek in 'n soort van spesiale, morele defek in blankes. „Hulle hou nie hulle beloftes nie”, of: „Hulle is maar so sleg gebore”, ens. In Amerika sê die Black Muslims dat blankes die duiwel self is. Swart Mag leer ons vandag dat dit alles onsin is. Blankes is nie van nature beter, of slegter as swartmense nie. Hulle is gewone mense wat hulle mag misbruik.

Die mag wat hulle moes deel met ander, ook om hul eie Godgewe menslikheid, sowel as dié van die ander te verwerklik, het hulle vir hulself toegeëien, en terwille van hulleself aangewend, ten koste van die menslikheid van ander. Maar misbruik van mag lei uiteindelik tot magteloosheid omdat mense uitgelewer word aan hulle eie magswaan. **Hierdie magswaan is die magteloosheid van die magtige.** Aan hierdie teenstrydigheid wil ek vashou omdat dit duidelik maak dat die verdruktes, wat 'n teenstrydige lewe lei onder verdrukking die verslaafde toestand van die verdrukker ontmasker. **Die verdrukker self moet 'n weg vind om die teenstrydigheid in sy eie lewe te oorwin: hy het die verdrukte nodig, sterker nog, hy het die bevryding van die verdrukte nodig om self bevry te word.** Want die menslike bestaan is interafhanklik en inmekaar gewef. Mense het mekaar nodig, ons is met mekaar verbonde. Die toestand van my lewe sê altyd iets oor dié van die lewe van my naaste. Die vermoë om dit aan blankes duidelik te maak is Swart Mag.

Black Power is the answer to the white power structure, the answer to racism, degradation, humiliation, exploitation and alienation. It is the discovery that there is no innocent way of going through life. It is learning to discern who really matters.

Black Power realizes that the race problem is essentially a white problem. But at the same time it is also a black problem: the strongest ally of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.

White power is not extraordinary or unusual and it has nothing of the mythological divinity or sacred sanction some whites claim for it, most whites believe in and all whites enjoy the fruits of. We must remember: “Whenever a number of persons within a society have enjoyed for a considerable period of time certain opportunities for getting wealth, for exercising power and authority, and for successfully claiming prestige and social deference, there is a strong tendency for these people to feel that these benefits are theirs *by right*.”

Now if this happens within a society where a special significance is attached to the colour of one's skin and where colour of skin also generally designates the rich and the poor, the privileged and the under-privileged, racism becomes a reality. It is vis-a-vis this reality that we should understand the concept of Black Power.

A few minutes ago I spoke of “The white power structure”. This power structure represents the economic, political, cultural, religious and psychological forces which confine the realities of black existence.

For black South Africans, the white power structure is manifested in apartheid. Whatever grandiloquent ideal this ideology may represent for some white people, for blacks it means bad housing, being underpaid, pass laws, influx control, migrant labour, group areas, resettlement, inequality before the law, fear, intimidation, white bosses and black informers, condescension and paternalism; in a word, black powerlessness.

White violence

The white power structure represents full control by whites over the instruments of power and over the major resources of the country. It represents an unending spiral of violence inherent to the apartheid system. We must realize that, although apartheid has developed into a most formidable system, it has no mythical power of its own. It was designed, carefully planned and is being executed ruthlessly by people — white people. Therefore it can be changed by people committed to gaining freedom for all who live in this country.

In this regard the issue of violence comes up. Although the last word is not spoken about this subject, I want to say this: one must be careful not to romanticize violence, and those in power must remember that it cannot be the “solution” to every problem that arises as a result of the policies they themselves so blindly pursue. I do not believe that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. It would be wise to remember that violence, once unleashed, acquires an autonomy of its own of which the inseparable twin is escalation.

Whereas I do not deny that a situation may arise where retaliatory violence is forced upon people and no other avenue is left open to them, I do so with a clear hesitancy, knowing full well that it will probably prove a poor solution and that violence as such is never justified. While saying this, we must recognize that **South Africa is a violent society, with violent laws defended by violence. As long as we have apartheid, we will have violence.**

Die implikasies hiervan is vergaand. U begryp teen hierdie tyd dat „kleurling politiek” onbestaanbaar is. Die woord *kleurling*, wat op sig niks beteken nie, behoort in Suid-Afrika tot 'n verdrukkers-terminologie waarvan so gou moontlik weggekrom moet word. Swart Bewustheid bring 'n nuwe politieke realiteit, 'n nuwe solidariteit tussen alle verdruktes en die blanke kan nie meer vanselfsprekend aanvaar „dat die kleurling aan sy kant is nie”.

Wat kan die Arbeidersparty daaromtrent doen? Veral gesien die etiese dilemma waarin u uself bevind? Ek bedoel dit: u werk binne 'n sisteem wat u, volgens uself, totaal verwerp. Jaar na jaar praat u van direkte verteenwoordiging en jaar na jaar keer u na Bellville terug. U vertel die regering keer op keer hoe korrup apartheid is en tog kan u dit doen juis vanweë u samewerking binne hierdie sisteem. U dilemma is: verwerp ek alles deur vas te hou aan my beginsels, of werk ek teen my sin saam om te red wat daar nog te red is? Want daar is intussen politieke werklikheid waarin werklike mense met werklike nood gehelp moet word. Bowendien, as u nou uitstap, wie stap in?

Omdat die saak so ernstig is, is ek nie een van die mense wat blindelings sal veroordeel nie. Maar u moet natuurlik wel bedink dat die regering u verleentheid ten volle uitbuit en hulle moet dit doen, want dis politiek en u wil opposisie wees. **Hou daarmee rekening, en ook met die feit dat uself deur die sisteem aangetas word waarbinne u moet werk, en dit beïnvloed u toekoms. Die geskiedenis leer dat daar hard geoordeel word oor sulke mense.**

Wat dan? Ek wil 'n paar dinge noem en u sal self moet sien hoe uitvoerbaar dit is.

1. Besef u dilemma en maak u keuse steeds weer helder en duidelik. Sorg dat daar geen twyfel is oor waarvoor u staan nie. Laat u hierin lei, nie deur frustrasie of verleentheid nie, maar deur die behoeftes van die mense wat u verteenwoordigen en wat hul vertrouwe stel in u party, en deur u eie beginsel-vastheid. Doen dit, nie met persoonlike ambisie met die oog op môre nie, maar met 'n sensitiwiteit vir die nood van mense en vir geregtigheid.
2. Let your protest be effective. Be truthful when you speak for those who voted for you. Work ceaselessly for fundamental and meaningful change in South Africa. Be on your guard for tokenism and empty promises.
3. Bepaal u verhouding tot blanke politiek en moet uself nie verloën of u mense verkoop nie. Sê vir die regering wat u mense voel en moenie oneerlik wees nie. Sê vir die regering dat stokkielekkers vir kinders bedoel is en dat dit bowendien sleg is vir mens se tande. Voer dialoog met bekennis — nie omdat u op die belastingbetaler se koste verniet Pretoria toe kan vlieg nie. Be worthy of the cause. Don't allow yourselves to be caught with something like “salaries for charity” or other stupid things which are typical of “coloured politics”. Be worthy of the ideals of the people you represent.
4. Listen to our young people. He who thinks that he can speak without listening to our young people is a fool. It would be better if such a man did not speak at all.

I want to say to you what seventeen Dutch Reformed ministers

have said in a statement in August and which the Labour Party would do well to ponder:

"We call upon the so-called coloured people not to be misled by the hullabaloo around the Erika Theron Commission Report. In all earnestness we call upon them to accept that the black community is one, inseparable entity, that as one community they are deprived of all fundamental rights. As one community they are called to struggle for the recognition of their Godgiven humanity. We refuse to accept privileges that are not given to the rest of the black community and we refuse to be used by the divide and rule politics of the white government. We declare ourselves to be in solidarity with the suffering of all oppressed people in this country. . . . We pledge to devote ourselves to the cause of working towards a just and free South Africa wherein the human dignity of all shall be recognized. We also pledge to pray faithfully and work without ceasing for true and authentic reconciliation for the people of this country we love so dearly."

* * * * *

TIME HAS RUN OUT — a message for 1977

From the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu, and Nyanga, Cape Town

At the beginning of this new year we, the Ministers of various denominations in Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga, feel called to address ourselves to those in authority and to White South Africans generally. We do so in the name of Christ, who came to save mankind and set us free. (Gal. 5.1)

"And when Jesus saw the city he wept over it saying: 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace.'"

(Lk. 19.41 f.)

It is tragically apparent that the Government presently in power still refuses to heed the things that make for peace. Too many of our people have been killed. We will continue to remember them and their families. Too many innocent people have been detained, and we have heard too many reports of young people being beaten up.

"They crush thy people O Lord and afflict thy heritage . . . and they say The Lord does not see! . . ." (Ps. 94)

Instead of hearing the cry for justice — a cry which God has spoken since his Prophets of old — instead of listening and heeding and obeying God's demands voiced in the Bible and in his people today — this Government has responded with Pharaoh-like hardness of heart. In spite of all the upheavals, no significant changes have been made. The following are some of the issues requiring immediate attention and action:

1. **Students and Bantu Education: Scrap differentiated education.**

Except for a few concessions, e.g. on the use of Afrikaans, the supply of free books to some forms, and provision for a greater number of elected members on school boards, the detested Bantu Education system continues with inadequate adaptations.

We wish to reaffirm our support of those students who have called for the scrapping of differentiated education. How can the students and the Black community in general, be expected to rest content until this is done? In demanding a free and equal

I believed this then, I believe this now. I believe that black solidarity and black humanity are the creative preconditions for a genuine future for all of us. Black divisiveness only perpetuates the system and the obvious inability of whites to bring meaningful change. It is through black determination and the willingness to suffer that blacks have shown whites just how iniquitous the South African way of life is. This does not mean that we will have no relationship at all. It does mean, however, that for the first time we will be able to have a meaningful relationship.

For we live in this country, black and white, and ultimately we belong together. And we must learn, as Martin Luther King has said, to live together as brothers, or we shall perish together as fools.

And does the Labour Party have a future? That is not important and frankly, I don't really care: as long as the Labour Party has honestly worked for a genuine, free and just future for this country and all its people.

education, the students are voicing the just and reasonable demands of the whole Black community.

2. **Workers should be allowed to live with families.**

The right of any person to live with their family near their place of work is absolutely basic. It is central to Christian teaching concerning family life. At present thousands of Africans in Cape Town are denied this right. This is not only a blatant example of racial discrimination, it is appallingly destructive to our community, and constitutes an ongoing cause of unrest and instability.

3. **Pass Laws and endless arrests.**

No government can claim to be upholding civilised and christian standards when they allow, for example, thousands of women to be arrested for visiting their husbands. It is no answer to say that they should get the necessary permission. It is shocking that a wife should require government permission to visit her husband. Furthermore, in practice women find it wellnigh impossible to get permission to stay with their husbands where they work. The system of pass laws therefore remains one of the root causes of the unrest, and perpetuates a deep feeling of bitterness in the Black community.

4. **Liquor Outlets undermine our Community.**

The Black community as a whole never wanted the liquor outlets — they were forced upon us. They have had the effect of undermining our family life and social structure.

The re-opening of fortress-like beerhalls in the Port Elizabeth townships has not gone unnoticed. This only serves to confirm the widespread conviction in the Black community that the Government is determined to finance the administration of urban Africans as cheaply as possible, to the extent of undermining our whole social structure. The only way the Government can show its good intentions in this respect is by making immediate promises not to open liquor outlets in the

townships and by closing the one presently in operation in Langa.

5. **Total Re-structure of Urban African administration required.** In the light of previous paragraphs it is clear that the present policy of financing the administration of urban Africans through, inter alia, profits from the sale of liquor, and fines for infringing pass laws, only serves to aggravate the spiral of instability in the African community.

As one of the necessary changes towards having a full say in running our country, we Blacks should run our own townships. They should not be run by the all-White Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. We should also sit as equals on public bodies administering the Metropolitan area.

6. **Home Ownership and Social Stability.**

Home ownership rights have recently been extended to Africans in urban areas like Soweto, but we Africans in Cape Town have thus far been excluded. We regard this as a grave injustice. It is also very shortsighted and unwise. Home ownership and security of tenure are an essential foundation to longterm social stability. These elementary rights should be extended to the African community in Cape Town immediately.

Concerning the houses recently destroyed in Nyanga, if the Government is not prepared to pay for the repairs, then we are hopeful that commerce and industry will donate generously and help people at this time of crisis to restore the damage.

7. **Wages and Trade Unions.**

Far too many of our people are receiving wages below the Poverty Datum Line let alone the Effective Minimum Level. There is a manifest need for a fairer distribution of the wealth of our country. The present huge gap between rich and poor is totally unjust and a major source of deep dissatisfaction.

Workers should not only be allowed, but should be encouraged to organise themselves into Trade Unions. This is one of the essential ways to achieve a more just distribution of the wealth of our country by peaceful and legal means.

8. **The Cause of Unrest is the sin of Racial Discrimination.**

The cause of all the upheavals in our land and in our cities

in particular, is not "the students", or "the tsotsis", or "Black consciousness" or "Communists" or "Christian agitators". The primary cause of unrest and of all the violence in our land is the sin of racial discrimination. *It is this sinful White racialism which is the source of worsening relations between Black and White in our country.* There can be no lasting peace, no meaningful reconciliation, until the issues listed in the above paragraphs are speedily put right.

White people claim a Christian allegiance, but they are guilty of gross failure to practise their faith and "do unto others as you would have them do to you". We do not claim to be righteous ourselves, but we feel bound to say that White people would not stand being treated as they treat us. When will they heed the Word of God? They affront our humanity and in this they sin against our one Maker. (1 John 4.20) **Time has run out. Unless the structures of discrimination are rapidly dismantled, and unless Blacks are allowed to have a full and equal say in the running of this country, our future, White and Black, will be one of escalating violence and conflict — a tragic and appalling race war.**

CONCLUSION

Prayer and Doing the Word of God.

We call upon all Christians who sincerely seek to obey God's word, to be ready to make greater sacrifices than before. It is clear that too many laws of our land are contrary to the Spirit of the Gospel; we are guilty for doing far too little to witness to this truth. The time has come to ponder more deeply the words of Peter: "*We must obey God rather than men.*" (Acts 5.29). We invite fellow Christians to work and pray with us, that we may all be truer disciples of Christ — our one Lord — that his will be done on earth as in heaven.

In the service of our Lord,
Members of the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu
and Nyanga, Cape Town.

January, 1977.

* * * * *

POWER AND INNOCENCE

—Rollo May

This Fontana Publication is reviewed in the current issue of the Southern Africa Quaker Newsletter. The following resumé of the first two chapters of the book is particularly apt in the South African situation.

Chapter 1: Power and Powerlessness

Power is essential for all living things. The word power is derived from Latin, meaning 'to be able'. Man asserts power in creativity and one product of this is civilisation. Our appreciation of the earth and the support of our fellows is not gained by the abdication of our powers, but by co-operative use of them. We need to have self-esteem and a sense of significance. I must be able to say 'I am'. I affirm myself and create meaning by asserting myself. Nietzsche's 'Will to Power' is self-realisation and self-actualisation. Power is then a fundamental aspect of the life process. In relationships it is achieving a sense of the significance of one's self, of influencing others.

Powerlessness is helplessness and weakness and that we count for little; this is painful to confront in ourselves. When we think we are insignificant to other people we also think we are not worth much to ourselves and enter a state of despair.

Powerlessness leads to impotence and apathy which are the breeding grounds for violence. Violent deeds are largely performed by those trying to establish their self-esteem, to defend their self-image and to demonstrate that they too are significant. Friedenberg says, 'All weakness tends to corrupt and impotence corrupts absolutely'.

Police and Blacks in America

Policemen feel they need to uphold 'Law and Order' and they identify this with their own individual self-esteem and masculinity. The policeman is frequently fighting an impotency-potency battle within himself. He insists that 'suspects' respect his authority and power. Black kids and the white cops — their pride, their fear, their isolation, their need to prove themselves, above all their demand for respect, are strangely alike — both are prisoners of an escalating

conflict they did not make and cannot control. Each is engaged in protecting his own self-image, his sense of being a 'man'. Violent men in the police force are experts in escalating interpersonal encounters into explosive situations. Violence feeds on low self-esteem and self-doubt.

Report from a revolt at New York prison — 'We don't want to be treated as numbers, we must be treated as human beings. If we cannot live as people we will try to die as men'. Twenty eight of them died.

Powerlessness and drugs

Powerlessness is especially profound with young people. Their addiction is a form of violence in that the individual violates his own mind. The basis of addiction is weakness and blocked anger — 'I can't meet the demands of my family — I can't get a job — I am sexually impotent — I am a no person'. The anger takes the form of revenge on the family and the world for forcing them into this painful position of powerlessness. The drug wipes away all the discomfort of feeling weak and oppressive feelings evaporate.

Heroin addiction gives a way of life to the addict. Having suffered under perpetual purposelessness his structure now consists of escaping the cops and getting money. This gives him a new web of energy in place of his structureless world. (Note: alcoholism in SA among certain social groups.)

The cry for significance

Power and the sense of significance are intertwined. While power is typically extrovert, significance may not be, but may be shown by meditation or other introvert subjective methods, which nevertheless are experienced as a sense of power which helps to integrate the individual and subsequently makes him more effective in his relationships with others. The feeling of power in the sense of having influence in interpersonal relations with significant others is crucial for the maintenance of self-esteem and the progress of maturity. It is the lack of a sense of significance and the struggle for it that underlies much violence.

In the Utopian aim of removing all power and aggression from human behaviour, we run the risk of removing self-assertion, self-affirmation and even the power to be. If this were achieved, it would breed a docile and passive race and lay the ground work for an explosion in violence. Power is to be neither good nor evil, but it is not neutral. It must be lived out or neurosis, psychosis or violence will result.

With human beings, mere physical survival is now no longer the issue, but survival with some esteem. The cry for recognition is the central cry in the need for self-affirmation, and if this is blocked it becomes a compulsive need which drives the person all his life.

Self-assertion is a potentiality in all of us, in that we react to attack.

There are 5 levels, the power to be, self-affirmation, self-assertion, aggression, violence, and when the individual's ability to express himself is blocked on a level he has the potential of moving onto the next one.

Oppression of a race — America

It is tragic when whole peoples are placed in a situation where significance becomes almost impossible to achieve. The Blacks are of course the most ready illustration. The central crime of the white man was that he placed the Blacks, during several centuries of slavery and one century of physical freedom but psychological oppression, in situations where self-affirmation was impossible. Each of the non-violent phases was difficult or impossible. That this should lead to widespread apathy and later on to radical explosions should not surprise anybody. Quotation from a Black — 'Everything will explode because people they live under tension'.

Violence may be the only way individuals or groups can get release from unbearable tension and achieve a sense of significance.

Social and psychological problems can no longer be isolated

from each other.

Chapter 2: Innocence

We live at the end of an era which emphasised rationalism and individualism and is now suffering an inner and outer transition. There is only a dim consciousness of what the new age will be.

Those who have occupied the numbing position of subordinate groups — the Blacks, Women, Students, Mental Patients, Convicts, are springing to life, announcing their existence and presenting their demands.

Powerlessness, alienation and helplessness become painful. One way of confronting this is by making it seem a virtue. This is the conscious divesting on the part of an individual of his power, it is then a virtue not to have it.

I call this innocence, derived from the Latin, meaning 'not harmful, free from guilt or sin, guileless, pure.'

There are two kinds of innocence. One is as a quality of the imagination, the innocence of the poet or artist. It is the preservation of childlike clarity in adulthood. Everything has a freshness, a purity, newness and colour. It leads to awe, wonder and spirituality. It does not sacrifice the realism of one's perception of evil.

The other — pseudo-innocence, capitalises on naiveté; it consists of a childhood that is never outgrown. It is childishness rather than childlikeness. We can shrink into it when we face questions too big or too horrendous to contemplate. It leads to Utopianism when we do not need to see the real dangers and can persuade ourselves that we have escaped them. It does not make things clear, it seems to make them simple and easy. This parallels the innocence in neurosis.

Pseudo-innocence in America

A 'chosen people' set sail from England which for it stood for sin, injustice, aristocratic exploitation and religious persecution, and in America they sought to establish the opposite. America began with a 'Belief in Perfection' and then became devoted to progress. But how do you progress beyond perfection? A struggle developed between ideals and reality which lead to confusion and hypocrisy. Benjamin Franklin, 'If it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages (Indians) in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means.' The hallmark of pseudo-innocence is to always identify your self-interest with the design of Providence.

Law and order

'Law and order' as a shibboleth becomes justification for maintaining the status quo. The only way to live out a transitional period is with flexibility to adapt to change. Most people, in their anxiety at the speed of change, feel that they don't have this.

Emphasis on 'law and order' can be destructive to a person's self-esteem and self respect. Its emphasis can contribute to violence and can be one of the things that makes an ultimate revolution more bloody. Human pride and esteem are offended by a show of force. It offends both sides, for it makes them all 'faceless others'. An increase of policemen beyond a certain point can only add to people's conviction that something must explode.

The bitterness that goes into the phrase 'law and order' often has as one of its sources a reaction to guilt, as frequently position or possessions are being defended which have been acquired by quasi-legal means.

Conclusion

Innocence is real and loveable in the child, but as we grow we are required by the fact of growth not to close ourselves off, either in awareness or experience, to the realities that confront us, otherwise it is an innocence without responsibility. Innocence as a shield from responsibility is also a shield from growth. It protects us from identifying with the suffering of mankind as well as with its joys.

A THEOLOGY FOR THE PEOPLE

I. D. Tshenkeng

From childhood I have known only one theology. It is the theology brought to South Africa by the missionaries. A feeling of unease was born in me by the realization that this theology did not meet my need or the need of my people. It was the White man's theology, written by the White man for the benefit of the White man. It did little or nothing to change the system. It did not lead to the liberation of the Black man.

It was the era of colonization. The West was busy dividing up Africa as if they were sharing a birthday cake. The Black people suspected nothing. To them it seemed that what was going on was part of the extension of Christianity. So the Black man remained passive, obedient. One might therefore conclude that the missionaries had a share in the oppression of the Black people. Also many of our Black ministers, it has to be said, hold the same sort of theology. This "pie in the sky when you die" preaching, of course, is safe and comfortable, but it is doing very little to change life for their people.

Relevant theology

South Africa needs a theology which will help people who stagger half-drunk to work on Monday morning because of no other cause than frustration. A theology which will help people who spend the weekend in a cell for no reason whatsoever. A theology which has something to say to people who have to travel to work every day as if they were sardines packed tight in a tin. A theology for the fast life of Soweto, Athlone, and Clairwood, as well as the slow pace of the donkey cart of rural life. A theology for people who can afford to offer not an ox, but a dove, in the temple of God. A theology for the blind beggar, who receives his sight so that he can stop begging and find work.

When one studies the Bible one finds that it is the story of a people who are being challenged to aspire to the great destiny which God intends for them. Amos and his message of judgement, and Second Isaiah and his message of hope, aimed to make the nation aware of what it could be. Israel found this difficult. She was ruled and oppressed by many foreign powers. It was tempting for the people of the Lord to adopt their conqueror's religion and way of life, rather than work out their own destiny. Sometimes they rejected the prophets' protest, but always there was a lonely, protesting voice challenging the nation to follow the true way.

In a shack

Jesus Christ came to fulfil the law, and put the nation right. Through the incarnation God judged the world, for the world was sick. Jesus Christ identified himself with his people. He was born in poverty, in a shack like you find in a location. He came from poor parents, from the lower classes, so that when they went to the temple at the time of his birth all they could offer was a pair of pigeons. Yet this was God incarnate. As John the Baptist, regarded by men as a lunatic and a political joke, a prey for the hangman, declared, "Behold, the Lamb of God." This was God in the flesh, God with men, working for the liberation of the disinherited. The promised time had come. In Jesus Christ the eschaton was realized.

Jesus carried on the work of the prophets. He said, "The time is fulfilled; the Kingdom of God is at hand. Repent and believe in the Gospel." Jesus challenged his people to be the people of God. The long-expected age of deliverance had come, and they must assume the role that God had in mind for them. In his temptation Jesus himself had refused to copy Caesar, and he challenged his people to do the same. Pharisee and Sadducee, Essene and Zealot must end their petty strife, and submit to the rule of God. They should repent, i.e. change, and become the people God intended them to be.

Thus Jesus offers new possibilities. When mutual rivalry and mistrust end, love will be possible. This is the new commandment. Since all are to repent (change) friend and foe will see each other in a new way.

Application

This has an important application for us today in our situation. Just as Israel was challenged to be the people of God and live without fear, so the Black people are being challenged today to fulfill their destiny. Every nation has its values and customs, and every nation is judged by the Kingdom of God which is in their midst. Black people have to realize that the Kingdom is here, and not in some distant apocalyptic age. They have to "prepare the way of the Lord" by affirming their dignity and work with God for their liberation. They are called to find God's will and destiny for them. This they will have to discover for themselves. White liberals cannot help them: these should help their own people.

For too long we have believed that the command to love meant remaining passive. But how can one love another if he despises himself? Jesus taught us that we are to love others as we love ourselves. Love confronts a person when it makes him aware of his dignity. In order to begin to love I have to get rid of all that degrades and dehumanizes myself and my neighbour. Love may sometimes mean forcing the other person to stop using me as a machine or a toy. Only in this way is liberation possible not only for me but also for him.

Liberation

This is the challenge facing Black people today. God did not make a mistake in making them Black. Ideas of inferiority are an insult to the Creator and a denial of the rule of God. God did not intend us to become a nation of drunkards and criminals through frustration and boredom with our lot. "The Kingdom of God is at hand." We are to repent; we are to change. Black people do not need to become Whites or quasi-Whites. Just as the apostle Paul declared that the Gentiles did not have to become Jews and adopt Jewish ways in order to become acceptable to God, so today God accepts men as he has made them. It is Christ who is our norm; and we need no other.

Some of our learned theologians declare that the gospel speaks to all irrespective of race. I agree, but the gospel has to meet each race at the point of its greatest need. Today the people of South Africa cry out for liberation. **The gospel offers liberation for both Black and White.** It offers the Black people liberation from mental and physical oppression, and it offers the White people liberation from fear and self-destruction. In other words, the victory of the gospel is a double one. It does not bless one at the expense of the other. It brings both into the Kingdom of God.

Zeal for thy house has consumed me,
and the insults of those who insult thee
have fallen on me.

When I humbled my soul with fasting,
it became my reproach,

When I made sackcloth my clothing,
I became a byword to them,

I am the talk of those who sit in the gate,
and the drunkards make songs about me.

But hear the good news of the gospel. "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe the gospel." This is a theology for the people.

Agapé. The Federal Seminary Magazine.

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