



PRO VERITATE

THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE

Archbishop Helder Camara

VERSLAG OOR MY SUID-AFRIKAANSE BESOEK — II

Prof. J. Verkuyl

PRAYER AND SECULARISM

Clare Adam

SOCIETY AND THE NEW FEMINISTS

Sytze de Roos

Registered at the Post Office as a Newspaper
By die Hoofposkantoor as Nuisblad geregistreer


**PRO
VERITATE**

EDITORIAL

EDITOR:

Dr. W. B. de Villiers (Acting).

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

Bishop B. B. Burnett; the Rev. J. de Gruchy; the Rev. A. W. Habelgaarn; the Rev. E. E. Mahabane; Mr. J. E. Moulder; the Rev. C. F. B. Naudé (Chairman); Prof. Dr. A. van Selms.

ADMINISTRATION/ CORRESPONDENCE

CIRCULATION MANAGER:

Dr. W. B. de Villiers.

All letters to the editor and administration to: P.O. Box 31135, Braamfontein, Transvaal.

SUBSCRIPTION

Subscription payable in advance.

Land and sea mail:

S.A.—R1 (10/- or \$1.40).

Africa — R1.50 (15/- or \$2.10).

Overseas — 17/6 (United Kingdom).

Airmail:

S.A.—R2 (£1 or \$2.80).

Africa — R3.50 (£1.17.6 or \$5).

Overseas—£2 (United Kingdom).

Cheques and postal orders to be made payable to Pro Veritate (Pty.) Ltd., P.O. Box 31135, Braamfontein, Transvaal.

PLEASE NOTE

The Editorial staff of Pro Veritate are not responsible for opinions and standpoints which appear in any article of this monthly other than those in the editorial and editorial statements.

PRO VERITATE appears on the 15th of every month.

(Price per single copy 10c).

PRO VERITATE

- Map for Ecumenists
Finbar Synnott 3
- Verslag oor My Suid-Afrikaanse Besoek
J. Verkuyl 5
- The Medium is the Message
Rosemary Elliott 8
- The Christian Response to Violence
Helder Camara 9
- Prayer and Secularism
Clare Adam 12
- Society and the New Feminists
Sytze de Roos 13
- Letters: Gabriel Setiloane 16

Redaksioneel:

Editorial:

IS U KOMS VREDE?

(1 SAMUEL 16:4)

„Die Kerkbode“ het op 1 Julie sy hoofartikel gewy aan 'n artikel deur prof. J. Verkuyl wat in die Nederlandse Kerkblad „Hervormd Nederland“ verskyn het. Op daardie dag en daaropvolgende dae het die Transvaalse Afrikaanstalige pers 'n veldtog geloods teen die Christelike Instituut en ander Christelike organisasies. In 'n proses van „skuldigdeur-assosiasie“ is daar gepoog om die liggame met mekaar te verbind en ook subtiel aan ondermyningsmagte buite Suid-Afrika te koppel.

In hierdie verband wonder mens of die Pous nou as 'n vryheidsvegter gebrandmerk sal word omdat hy van hul leiers ontmoet het en of die Eerste Minister nou beskou word as 'n katoliek-in-die-geheim omdat hy by 'n mis tydens sy besoek aan Portugal opgemerk is? Hoe dit ookal sy: die aanklagte en insinuasies teen die Christelike Instituut is in die sekulêre pers weerlê, maar soos gewoonlik lê die skade wat deur sulke aanvalle gedoen word in die proses self opgesluit.

Ons wil hier liever kortliks stilstaan by sommige van die meer belangrike punte wat na vore kom:

- Eerstens: woorde is 'n manier van kommunikasie. Betekenis word baie keer afgelei van die verband waarin hulle gebruik word. Hulle kan verskillende betekenis op verskillende tye en op verskillende plekke vir verskillende mense hê. Omdat hulle arbitrêr is kan hulle baie keer gevoelsbetekenis hê wat saamhang met wat iemand wil verdedig. As woorde gebruik word om te verwar in plaas van te verhelder, om 'n klimaat te skep en nie 'n betekenis oor te dra, dan is woorde nie van hulp in 'n diskussie nie. By die dubbelslagtige woordeskat van woorde soos „liberaal“ en „radikaal“ moet ons nou 'n woord soos „revolusie“ voeg. En tog is dit van uiterste belang dat hierdie woorde omskryf word wanneer hulle gebruik word. Want dit is heeltemal duidelik dat sulke uitdagende woorde op baie verskillende maniere gebruik word en baie uiteenlopende betekenis inhou. Ons sien dit as 'n plig om in volgende uitgawes van **Pro Veritate** hierdie proses van opheldering te onderneem.

- Ons tweede punt raak die kwessie van veran-

DO YOU COME PEACEABLY?

(1 SAMUEL 16:4)

The Kerkbode devoted its editorial on 1st July to an article by Prof. J. Verkuyl which appeared in the Dutch Church paper Hervormd Nederland. That same day and on subsequent days, Transvaal Afrikaans-speaking newspapers launched a campaign against the Christian Institute and other Christian organisations. In a process of guilt by association they attempted to link the bodies one to the other and also to link them subtly to forces of subversion outside South Africa.

One wonders in this regard whether the Pope will now be dubbed a freedom fighter for having met some of their leaders and whether the Prime Minister will now be viewed as a crypto-Catholic for having been seen at a Mass while visiting Portugal. Be that as it may: the charges and insinuations against the Christian Institute have been refuted through the secular press, but as usual the damage done by such attacks is in the process itself.

We wish here rather to dwell briefly on some of the more important points that emerge:

- First, words are a means of communication. They often derive their meaning from the context in which they are used. They can have different meanings at different times and in different places for different people. Being arbitrary, they often carry emotional overtones depending upon what one is defending. When words are used to confuse and not to clarify, to create a climate and not convey meaning, then words are unhelpful in discussion. To the ambiguous vocabulary of words like "liberal" and "radical" we must now add words like "revolution". Yet it is of the utmost importance that these words be defined when used. For it is quite clear that such provocative words are being used in very different ways and embody very different meanings. We see it as our duty in subsequent issues of **Pro Veritate** to initiate this process of clarification.
- Our second point concerns change. That the last decade was one of rapid social change nobody will deny. That the decade we have entered will be one of even greater rapid social change, few will challenge. But what it will bring, hardly anybody would dare prophesy.

dering. Niemand sal ontken dat die laaste dekade een van snelle maatskaplike verandering was nie. Min sal die stelling weerspreek dat die dekade wat ons binnegegaan het een is van selfs groter snelle maatskaplike verandering. Maar wat dit gaan oplewer sal byna geen persoon wil waag om te voorspel nie. Afhangend van 'n mens se hoop vir die toekoms en sy vertrouwe in God en mens kan ons sê dat ons huidige geslag al soekende beweeg na 'n nuwe toekoms of dat ons in 'n spiraal van krisisse beweeg wat ons vasgevang het. Nietemin: soeke is kenmerkend van ons eeu; daarom juis word die mees verreikende vrae gestel oor God, oor die mens, oor sisteme waarin ons lewe en die manier waarop ons ons lewe saam inrig.

Verandering moet as 'n feit vir ons wêreld aanvaar word. Nog altyd vanaf Heraklitus se beroemde uitspraak dat, „alles is in 'n staat van vloeibaarheid“ was die mens bewus van verandering. Geskiedkundig was sommige veranderinge tot voordeel van die mens en ander nie. Daarom noem ons sommige veranderinge goed en ander sleg, afhangende van 'n mens se teologiese uitgangspunte. Dit is waar ook van verandering wat vandag plaasvind. Die vraag is nie of verandering geskep moet word of nie, maar **wie** bestaande veranderinge gaan hanteer, **hoe** hulle hanteer gaan word en **waarom**. Om dus (slegs om 'n voorbeeld te noem) te argumenteer vir die handhawing van die status quo is om te argumenteer dat die magte van verandering so gehanteer word deur die wat sodanige mag besit dat die huidige verdeling van mag daardeur gehandhaaf moet word.

- Derdens moet ons kortliks die kwessie van wet en order en geweld aanraak. Ons Christelike erfenis, gegrond soos dit is op die Skrif, het 'n begrip vir die waardigheid en die waarde van die mens. Ons sê dus dat sekere regte as gevolg daarvan die mens toekom. Die mens het, byvoorbeeld, 'n reg op sy godgegewe waardigheid. Die wet is die mens se konstruksie wat as bedoeling het om hierdie regte te beskerm en te bewaar — en die wetsprosesse is in werking gestel om hulle te verdedig. Om die mens sy regte te ontnem is om hom geweld aan te doen. In hierdie sin is onreg, uitbuiting en diskriminasie almal vorme van geweld. As sodanige onreg, uitbuiting of diskriminasie deel word van enige wets-, politieke- of ekonomiese sisteem, dan word die situasie een van ge-institueerde onreg en dus van gewettigde geweld.

Die wêreldwye debat wat vandag rondom geweld plaasvind moet in hierdie lig gesien word. Wet en order kan nie as geheilig verklaar of bo kritiek verhef word as dit nie aan al sy onderdane hulle regte waarborg nie. Die punt waarvoor die huidige debat gaan is tweeledig: **eerstens** wat is die Christen se houding teenoor ge-institueerde geweld en **tweedens** watter alternatiewe sisteem kan die mens daarstel wat

Dependent upon one's hope for the future and one's trust in God and man, we can say that our generation is either questioning towards a new future or that we live in a spiral of crises which has become a trap for us. However, searching is characteristic of our age: for this reason the most far-reaching questions are being asked about God, man, the systems in which we live and the manner in which we organise our life together.

Change must be accepted as a given in our world. Ever since Heraclitus' famous dictum that "all is flux", men have been conscious of change. Historically some changes have been to man's advantage, some to his disadvantage. Hence, dependent upon one's theological presuppositions, we call some changes good and some bad. This is true of the change that is happening today. The question therefore is not whether to create change or not, but **who** is going to handle existing change, **how** are they going to handle it and **why** are they going to handle it. Thus, for example, to argue for the maintenance of the status quo, is to argue that the forces of change should be so handled by those in power as to maintain the present distribution of power.

- Thirdly, we must briefly touch upon law and order and violence. Our Christian heritage, based as it is on Scripture, has an understanding of man's dignity and worth. We argue that certain rights accrue to man as a result. Man has, for example, a right to his God-given dignity. Law is man's construction designed to enshrine and preserve these rights and the processes of law operate to defend them.

To deprive a man of his rights is to do violence to him. In this sense, injustice, exploitation and discrimination are all forms of violence. If this injustice, exploitation or discrimination is written into any legal, political, or economic system, then the situation is one of institutionalised injustice and hence legalised violence.

The worldwide debate around violence today must be viewed in this light. Law and order cannot be sacralised nor be above criticism if it does not guarantee all its citizens their rights. The question being debated today then is twofold: first, what is the Christian's response to institutionalised violence and secondly, what alternative system can man evolve which will avoid built-in injustice and exploitation — or put in another way how can one distribute power justly?

- Finally, the Christian Institute's response to the first question is and always has been one of non-violence. We believe that the one who lives by the sword, will die by the sword, for violence only begets more violence. Nothing lasting can be built on such a foundation. We believe violence to be abhorrent to the Christian who like his Master should rather be hurt than give hurt. Our only weapons are the sword of truth

onreg en uitbuiting, wat deel is van die struktuur, kan verhinder. Of om dit anders te stel: hoe kan 'n mens mag regverdiglik versprei?

- Laastens — die Christelike Instituut se antwoord op die eerste vraag is en was nog altyd een van nie-geweld. Ons glo dat die persoon wat lewe deur die swaard, sal sterwe deur die swaard want geweld kweek op sy beurt meer geweld. Niks blywends kan op so 'n grondslag gebou word nie. Ons glo dat geweld iets verfoeiliks is vir die Christen wat, soos sy Meester, liewer seergemaak word as om self seer te maak. Ons enigste wapens is die swaard van die waarheid wat die Woord van God en die liefde van God en mens is wat ons in werking wil sien. Soos geregtigheid liefde in werking is sal ons aanhou om te werk, volgens ons lig, dat geregtigheid gedoen sal word 'en tot uitdrukking kom. Want ons hoor nog altyd die woorde van die Here weerklink deur die eeue: „Ek haat, Ek versmaad julle feeste en het geen welgevalle aan julle feestye nie.

Want al bring julle vir My brandoffers saam met julle spysoffers, Ek het daar geen welbehag in nie, en julle dankoffers van vetgemaakte kalwers sien Ek nie met welgevalle aan nie. Verwyder van My die geraas van jou liederel

which is the Word of God and the love of God and man which we simply wish to see operative. As justice is love in operation we will continue working, according to our lights, for justice to be done and seen to be done. For we still hear the words of the Lord rolling down time:

“I hate and despise your feasts, I take no delight in your solemn festivals. When you offer me holocausts, I reject your oblations, And refuse to look at your sacrifices of fattened cattle. Let me have no more of the din of your chanting. No more of your strumming on harps. But let justice flow like water and integrity like an unfailing stream.”

(Amos 5:21-24)

M.C.

En na die geluid van jou harpe wil Ek nie luister nie. Maar laat die reg aanrol soos watergolwe, en geregtigheid soos 'n standhoudende stroom.

(Amos 5:21-24)

M.C.

MAP FOR ECUMENISTS

Finbar Synnott

When one has to lecture regularly on the history of Christianity, and its divisions past and present, one factor in all such schisms comes to weigh more and more upon the mind: the repeated pattern of division according to language and cultural background.

To note this is not to deny the existence of theological differences between the churches, but to suggest that in discussing them, to remember how they came about, may be as important as close theological analysis. Maps may be more important than Documents. They may tell us more of why we disagree now. They show us how the divisions in Christianity followed lines of cultural barriers, especially in its two chief cleavages.

GREEK AND LATIN DIVIDE

The first division in Christianity that has lasted up to our time followed almost exactly the line of demarcation between the western Latin culture, and eastern Greek culture, in the Roman-Greek world into which Christianity first came.

Whatever their local languages the peoples not only of Greece and Crete, but of what is now Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Turkey and Bulgaria, had a Greek official language and culture. In the “Schisms” at the time of Photius and Cerularius, carrying through to now, there was a mutual animosity and rivalry between the

Greeks who had given culture to the Romans and the Romans who had given laws to the Greeks — a mutual superiority complex. The two halves of the former Roman-Greek world no longer understood each other's languages and could not “communicate”. The Greeks bitterly resented the new “barbarian” Empire of the West.

Within this larger division there are still more ancient ones: ancient churches of the near east which are still referred to as Monophysite or Nestorian within the Greek half. It is very doubtful if they differ much from Catholic and Orthodox on the humanity and divinity of Christ. But it is quite certain that they were moved to prefer different formulas

because of local autonomy movements, cultural and political, in the fifth century.

LATIN AND GERMAN DIVIDE

When Protestantism came in Europe, its boundary line followed almost exactly that of the original Roman conquests in Europe. Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, speaking languages derived from Latin, remained Catholic. North Germany, Holland and Scandinavia, with Germanic languages, turned to Protestantism. Germany had been struggling for seven centuries for a separate cultural identity, and Luther appealed to the German Princes in its name, while Popes revived Roman classicism.

Even the exceptions are interesting. The southern part of Germany, which had been part Romanised, remained more Catholic. The north, which had resisted all intrusion from the west until the eighth century became Protestant. Two countries behind the Protestant line were in sharp conflict with their Protestant neighbours Poland with Germany of the Teutonic Knights, and Ireland with England of the Plantations, and both emerged Catholic. Anabaptists, rejected in Luther's Protestantism, found recruits in Bohemia where Hussism had been connected with Slav nationalism.

PROTESTANTISM DIVIDES

The divisions within Protestantism make an interesting socio-cultural study. Luther, in Germany of the Feudal Princes, and with background in Eckhart and the mystical tradition of the Friends of God and the "Theologia Germanica", created an almost entirely personal belief, and much of decision about ritual and organisation was left to Princes. Calvin, French-trained in logic and law, and in the quasi-democratic Federation of Swiss City States, pushed every principle he saw to a structural conclusion, and organised his church under a democratic Presbytery. The poor

of town or country, left out of everybody's calculations, turned to Anabaptism, as later to Methodism and the innumerable sects that have developed since the industrial revolution in England.

England, where a Norman-Latin culture had been integrated into a German-Saxon culture, reached a middle way in Anglicanism; and Scotland, always in struggle for existence with England, became Calvinist.

It cannot all be coincidence.

There is no quicker road to error in history than picking upon one factor in complex situations and saying it explains all, and there are a host of other factors to be taken into account in each of the situations referred to here. There are moreover cases such as Switzerland itself or Holland which make exceptions in the Reformation period pattern, and which are far too complex for so short a study. But the overall pattern is so compelling it must be noted.

A PLACE FOR PLURALISM

I used to draw a single conclusion from such studies as those summarised above: that nothing is more dangerous to the unity of Christianity than allowing national and cultural feelings to twist its single message. Perhaps we should add another: the equal danger of not allowing a proper place for them in a pluralism of forms in unessentials.

But whichever way one looks at it, the Culture Map is equally important, and in any discussion between churches we should begin with an examination of ancestral conscience. Is there a real fundamental theological difference here, or do I see one because of the coloured spectacles of my culture?

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

We should also frankly ask such questions about our Masters of the past, whom we revere, but who were also men. How much was Cajetan

moved by Romanism of cultural tradition, and Luther by Germanism? How much was the Pope moved by Roman concepts of universalism of law applied to Christianity, and how much Photius by a sense of the superior antiquity of Greek custom? How much was Calvin moved by republicanism and Cranmer by seeing Church structures in relation to monarchy? How much is a European South African moved by his concepts of calm good behaviour in Church, and how much are African churches moved by a different sense of community expression?

Only when we have asked such questions can we really come to see essentials in Christianity, and where there must be unity and where there should be legitimate pluriformity, within a single Communion such as Our Lord clearly intended.

Finbar Synnott lectures at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal.

Discarded People . . .
Displaced People . . .
Disregarded People . . .

the tragic story of removals in South Africa today, told by Cosmas Desmond. Its title is Discarded People but it could have been either of the other two.

A limited number of this Christian Institute publication are available:

For copies write to

The Christian Institute
Box 31134
Braamfontein, Transvaal

Price R2.50

VERSLAG OOR MY SUID-AFRIKAANSE BESOEK – 11 en 111

Prof. J. Verkuyl

Hierdie artikel bevat beide die vervolg van die „Konteks” waarin sy reis plaasgevind het sowel as indrukke en afleidings wat hy gemaak het.

II. DIE PERIODE EN „KONTEKS” WAARIN HIERDIE REIS PLAAS- GEVIND HET

(b) *Die Druk van die Wêreld- opinie*

Gedurende hierdie weke (van my besoek) is Suider-Afrika onder toenemende internasionale druk geplaas. Rondom Rhodesië het 'n storm opgesteek toe die Verenigde Volke besluit het om in beginsel geweld toe te pas teen die proklamasie van die Republiek deur 'n regering waarin 'n klein minderheid eensydig sy eie wil afdwing op die oorgrote meerderheid. Die toepassing van hierdie besluit kon slegs deur 'n veto van die Verenigde State afgeweer word.

Suid-Afrika steun Rhodesië op allerlei maniere en ondervind steeds grotere weerstande. Die Verenigde State handhaaf die wapenverbod ten aansien van Suid-Afrika en vermaan hom om die regte van die mens tot praktiese uitlewing te laat kom.

Deur allerlei losse dreigemente het naamloses probeer om die funksionering van die internasionale verbindings vir Suid-Afrika te laat stagneer, ens., ens.

Hoewel die pers en die radio (die „uitsaaidiens”) min deurgee van die druk van die wêreldopinie en daar 'n neiging bestaan om hulleself te isoleer en om die aandag af te lei na onbenullighede, voel baie tog onrustig oor die feit dat die rassepolitiek van Suid-Afrika nie alleen in die

spervuur van die kritiek van die Afrikaanse state staan nie, maar ook van dié volkere waarmee die blanke boelaag met duisende bande verbind is.

Daar is 'n aantal lande waarmee Suid-Afrika baie nou verbonde is omdat hul grondgebied of geheel omsluit word deur die Republiek of vir 'n groot gedeelte daaraan grens: Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana. Suid-Afrika probeer om met dié lande, soos ook met Malawi en Zambië, op goeie voet te lewe. Maar die verhouding is baie ambivalent en dra tot 'n groot mate die karakter van 'n „mariage de raison”.

In Malawi is teenkragte werksaam. In Lesotho eweneens, en Botswana wek in Suid-Afrika wantroue op deur 'n buitelandse politiek wat onafhankliker is dan die Republiek verdra.

Suid-Afrika gaan in sy verhouding tot die buitewêreld 'n baie stormagtige periode tegemoet. By baie is daar die neiging om „stoer” en „fier” te reageer. By andere leef die gedagte dat dit wel sal meeval nou dat, na die sluiting van die Suezkanaal, die hawens van Durban en Kaapstad van sulke lewensbelang is vir alle volkere.

Daar moet egter gehoop word dat die stemme sterker sal word van dié figure, ook uit die Nasionale Party, wat onder vier oë ten volle toegee dat die reaksie op die wêreldopinie nie uit trotse isolement mag bestaan nie, maar in die wysiging van die binne-landse politiek en in die doen van geregtigheid.

(c) *Die Deurwerking van die Besluite van die Gereformeerde Sinode in Lunteren, begin-Maart 1970*

By die beskrywing van die konteks waarin hierdie reis plaasgevind het, moet ook genoem word die deurwerking van die besprekinge wat begin-Maart 1970 in Lunteren plaasgevind het met die verteenwoordigers van die N.G. Kerk, dr. Vorster, dr. Gericke, prof. Potgieter, ds. Ntoane en van die Gereformeerde Kerk, prof. Snijman, besprekinge wat uitgeloop het op 'n besluit om 'n brief van vermaning te rig aan hierdie kerke in Suid-Afrika. Die beriggewing oor „Lunteren” in die pers was besonder onduidelik en verwarrend. Veral het dit nog nie tot die publiek van beide kerke deurgedring dat daar 'n brief van vermaning uitgegaan het en wat die inhoud van dié vermaning was nie. Maar die *belangstelling* in die onderwerp was besonder groot, nie alleen by die Afrikaanse kerke nie, maar, in alle kerke en in die hele pers, omdat elkeen besef dat 'n uiteindelijke verandering in die houding van veral die N.G. Kerk van diepgaande betekenis sal wees.

Die gevolg was dat die tema „Lunteren” oral aktueel was en dat ek as toegif by ander onderwerpe oral in Engels en in Nederlands moes praat oor „Lunteren”, selfs byvoorbeeld addisioneel in 'n Moslemklub in Durban!

Die pers het groot aandag geskenk aan hierdie uitlatings en selfs die „amptelike uitsaaidiens” (radio) het besluit om van my aanwesigheid gebruik te maak vir 'n uitsending, waarvoor ek later in hierdie verslag meer sal vermeld.

(d) *Die Skokreaksies rondom die Aankondiging van die voorgenome Verskerping van die Werkreserveringswet in April 1970 gedurende die Laaste Dae van my Verblyf*

Gedurende die laaste dae van die reis het die Adjunk-minister van Bantoeadministrasie en -ontwikkeling plotseling die voorneme afgekondig

dat dit aan Westerse bedrywe op 'n bepaalde datum nie meer toegestaan sou word om Bantoes in diens te hê as tiksters, winkelbediendes, kantoorpersoneel, ens. nie. Hierdie maatreël is duidelik bedoel om die voortsrydende integrasie in die sfeer van arbeid teen te gaan. Die betrokke adjunkminister, dr. P. Koornhof, het openlik verklaar: „Die bedoeling van die Regering is om 'n einde te maak aan die voortsrydende arbeidsintegrasie”. Hierdie maatreël is 'n simptoem van die voorneme om apartheid nog strawwer deur te voer, kos wat dit wil. Ineens was dit 'n skouwenster waardeur 'n mens 'n insae kon kry in die diepste bedoelinge van die apartheidsideologie.

Die reaksie was buitengewoon fel. Dit was asof die apatie, wat besig was om aan te groei, die gelate frustrasie, skielik verdwyn het voor 'n groeiende bewussyn dat dit só nie kan en nie mag nie. Kamers van koophandel, nyweraars, kerke het geprotesteer, veral deur persoonlike onderhoude met die betrokke ministers. Dit was merkwaardig om te sien dat die betrokke ministers kennelik geskrik het en eers ietwat kopgegee het en toe — in die klimaks van die verkiesingstryd — weer hul „stoerheid” teruggevind het.

Die bitterheid van die betrokke „black Africans” was buitengewoon groot. Nog tien sulke maatreëls en dit sal blyk dat hierdie soort oorwinninge Pyrrhus-oorwinninge is en die hele swart bevolking voortdryf tot kollektiewe verset.

Maar ook by 'n groot deel van die blanke bevolking het hierdie maatreël felle reaksies uitgelok. Baie is tereg van oordeel dat die hele werkreservering afgeskaf moet word en dat die bevordering van 'n Bantoemiddestand 'n onmisbare stap in die rigting van integrasie sou wees.

Dit behaag die huidige regering van Suid-Afrika kennelik om voort te gaan met 'n sisteem wat aan die Bantoes hoe langer hoe meer die rol opdring van die proletariaat in die 19de eeu van die Weste.

INDRUKKE EN AFLEIDINGS

In die verslag sover het ek probeer om iets te sê oor die verband waarin my besoek plaasgevind het en daarin maak ek die volgende afleiding; nl. dat daar in die verkiesingstydperk na 'n tyd van apatie onder diegene wat 'n ander rigting as dié van apartheid wil inslaan, 'n nuwe ontwaking aan die ontwikkel was, 'n nuwe sensitiewiteit, sodat die besoek veel meer „teenwerking” ontvang het as wat ek van tevore kon vermoed het.

Vervolgens sal ek poog om enkele indrukke saam te vat, afleidings te maak en enkele voorstelle aan die hand te doen.

DIE APARTHEIDSIDEOLOGIE EN -PRAKTYK IS MOREEL ONVERDEDIGBAAR EN PRAKTIES ONUITVOERBAAR

In my boekie „Breek de muren af” het ek die mening gelug dat die agtergrond van die apartheids-politiek gevorm word deur 'n nasionale ideologie. Hierdie ideologie het die blanke-heerskappy ten doel en veral om die eeulange Afrikaner-heerskappy oor Suid-Afrika te handhaaf, deur 'n ontwikkeling aan die nie-blanke gemeenskappe onder leiding, bewaking en „beskerming” van die blanke oligargie te verseker, wat hierdie blanke heerskappy nie aantast, maar verstewig van geslag tot geslag.

Ek het vervolgens 'n opsomming gegee van al die diskriminerende wette wat hierdie doel dien. Nou het ek hierdie wette in die praktyk sien funksioneer en weet nou uit persoonlike waarneming wat die toepassing van die Werkreserveringswette en die Groepsgebiedewet, wat die woongebiede kragtens die arbitrêre beslissings van die magsgroep bepaal, is. Verder weet ek ook nou wat die arbitrêre beslissings oor dié verdeling van grond ens. in die praktyk beteken.

Ek weet nou wat die 180-dae wet in die praktyk aan onregverdigheid en willekeurigheid inhou. Ek weet

nou dat alle pogings van die meerderheid om deel te neem aan die sentrale verantwoordelikhede hardhandig die kop ingedruk word. Uit eie waarneming weet ek nou wat politieke, kulturele, ekonomiese en sosiale apartheid beteken. Ek het met die betrokke mense gepraat wat die lydende party onder sulke maatreëls is. Nou het ek veel meer rede om te handhaaf dat hierdie ideologie en praktyk in stryd is met God se wet en Evangelie en dat dit heel skokkend is dat die naam van Jesus Christus ter verdediging van hierdie praktyke misbruik word.

VIER OPMERKINGS

Ter aanvulling van wat ek in my boekie geskryf het, wil ek slegs vier opmerkings maak:

1. Die diskriminasie is veel ernstiger en skend die menslike waardigheid veel dieper as wat ek my voorgestel het.
2. Die diepste bron waaruit hierdie apartheidsideologie en praktyk vloeit is nie soseer die neiging tot ideologie nie, maar wel die *angs* van die Afrikaner-minderheid vir die groot meerderheid van die bevolking. Hierdie ideologie is die rasionalisasie van 'n kollektiewe *angs*, wat diep wortels in die geskiedenis het.
3. Die problematiek van Suid-Afrika is veel meer gekompliseerd as wat mens van ver af kan vermoed. Maar wie hierdie problematiek nie benader uit naasteliefde en erkenning van die gelykheid van alle mense nie, sal altyd in 'n sisteem wat met diskriminasie gelaai is, volhard.
4. Hierdie ideologie en praktyk is nie alleen moreel onverdedigbaar nie, maar ook prakties onuitvoerbaar. Die verhoudings in die bevolkingsgroei, die groeiende ekonomiese integrasie en die tegnologiese ontwikkeling eis verhouding i.p.v. verwydering, dit eis integrasie i.p.v. apartheid. Die apartheidspolitiek loop hom nie alleen dood teen die weer-

stand van die openbare gewete nie, maar ook-teen die weerstand van die ekonomiese en tegnologiese ontwikkelings.

DIE TUISLANDPOLITIEK GEE GEEN INTEGRALE OPLOSSING

Die tuislandpolitiek is gebore uit ang vir die swart meerderheid en dit word gevoed deur die illusie dat hierdie politiek in staat sou wees om reg te laat geskied aan die drang tot deelname van die verskillende „Bantostamme”.

Die ideaal bestaan daaruit dat die ontwerpers van hierdie politiek beoog om mettertyd die lede van die verskillende stamme almal terug te voer na hierdie tuislande. Alle Xhosa's na die Transkei, die Zulu's na Zululand, ens.

Met die ekonomie van b.v. die Transkei gaan dit beroerd. Die Transkei-korporasie is vanweë gebrek aan kapitaal en „know-how” nie in staat om behoorlike ekonomiese inisiatief te laat ontplooi nie. Van die moontlikhede om Afrikaanse en Engelse kapitaal in „gemengde nywerhede” te belê is tot dusver nog geen gebruik gemaak nie en die moontlikheid hiervan is nie groot nie. (Die „grensnywerhede” lê so ver van die Transkei dat die niks oplos nie.) Volgens medici is die gesondheidstoestand baie swak. Een van die ekonomiese beplanners van die Transkei sê eerlik: „As die Transkei in die jaar 2000 selfonderhoudend is wat die voedselproduksie vir die huidige bevolking en die groei van die huidige bevolking betref, dan kan ons dankbaar wees. Maar om te meen dat die Transkei ook lewensmoontlikhede kan bied aan die honderdduisende Xhosa's wat daarbuite in die stedelike blanke gebiede woon, is 'n volstreekte illusie.”

Wie reg wil laat geskied aan die honderdduisende, sal regte vir werk, woning, besit, gesinslewe en politieke deelname aan die honderdduisende Bantoes moet beskikbaar stel, wat nou soos in 'n niemandsland in die blanke gebiede sonder enige sosiaal-politieke sekerheid leef. Bowendien:

daar is in die hele Afrika 'n neiging na ontstamming. Die tuislandpolitiek wil nou stroom-op hierdie ontstammingsproses omkeer. Daar wil—soos die bejaarde Prof. Monica Wilson sê—van stamme nasies in die moderne sin van die woord gemaak word en dit is 'n onmoontlike taak. Ook die biskop van Zululand het daarop gewys.

Ten slotte: daar is onder die Bantoes 'n groeiende verset om in die tuislande soos in 'n soort reservaat versamel en uitgesluit te word van deelname aan die totale ontwikkeling van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek. Wie sou geen bewondering hê vir die werk aan die streeksontwikkeling van die tuislande nie? Wie egter meen dat regbewysing aan die swart meerderheid daarmee geskied word, voed homself nie alleen met illusies, maar pleeg ook vervalsing. Selfs die bouers van hierdie politiek weet dit ook baie goed.

Daar is dan ook alle aanleiding om hierdie onderdeel van die apartheidpolitiek grondig te hersien. Baie is van die noodsaaklikheid hiervan bewus. Veral die sosioloë en kulturele antropoloë wys telkens daarop, dat dit bv. dwaasheid is om te meen, dat die stedelike Bantoes hul ooit weer sal tuis voel in die primitief-agrariese sfeer van die tuislande. Hulle is ook die mening toegedaan dat die stedelike Bantoes gehelp moet word deur voluit deel te hê aan die stedelike samelewing. Daarom is daar alle aanleiding om die koers te wysig.

DIE DISINTEGRASIEPROSES IN DIE „AFRIKANER BROEDERBOND”

Die „breintrust” en die voorperd van die apartheidsideologie en -praktyk word gevorm deur die Afrikaanse Broederbond. Hierdie instrument van die emansipasie van Afrikaners, wat in 1918 gestig is om van die mag van die Britse imperialisme los te raak, is nou die Nasionale Party, waarvan hy die kern vorm, en het reeds lankal die mag verwerf om 'n instrument te word om die magsmonopolie van die

Afrikaners te handhaaf. In plaas van die emansipasie en deelname van alle groepe te bevorder, streef die Broederbond na die voortsetting van die Afrikanerheerskappy oor alle ander groepe. Daar is egter volgens persone uit die Bond self allerei simptome wat op 'n disintegrasiemasie dui. Die „geheime” van hierdie organisasie word langamerhand vir niemand meer 'n geheim nie.

Die „verkrampde aanslag” van die Herstigte Nasionale Party en sy verkanste geesgenote het 'n splitsing teweeggebring in die leiding van die Broederbond, wat op groot onderlinge wantroue uitgeloop het. Verder besit die jonger geslag weinig of geen drang meer om aan te sluit by hierdie geheime organisasie nie. Die Broederbond is besig om homself te ondermyn en sal—volgens persone uit die kring self—naderhand 'n natuurlike dood sterf.

In die kerke groei steeds die besef dat dit onaanvaarbaar is dat 'n geheime organisasie soos die Broederbond so lank in werking gebly het. Talle jong teoloë van die N.G. Kerk, wat deur hul integriteit 'n diep indruk op my gemaak het, steek nie hul grondige afkeer van die Broederbond se metodes en optrede onder die banke weg nie.

SAMEVATTING

Dit is nie my bedoeling om verder op die apartheidsideologie en —praktyk in te gaan nie. Toe ek die bejaarde prof. dr. B. B. Keet op Stellenbosch se kampus ontmoet het, het hy 'n paar woorde gesê wat my aangegryp het: „Die mense praat hier van klein apartheid en groot apartheid. Ek ken maar net een soort apartheid en dit is 'elike apartheid”. Ek vind dat prof. Keet gelyk het. Veel belangriker as die kritiek op en die afwysing van apartheid is egter die vraag of daar groepe is, wat 'n ander weg wil instaan en wat dan die alternatiewe is wat hulle teenoor die apartheidsideologie wil stel.

THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE

Rosemary Elliott

Rosemary Elliott is a Quaker from Addo in the Cape.

I have seen the most shocking pictures of the My Lai massacre in Vietnam. You not only see the dead women, children and babies but there is a picture of women and children just before they are shot, clinging in terror to one another.

Where is God?

He seems to ask a question: "Which would you choose, to be amongst the killers or the killed?" And to my horrified answer, "Neither", He seems to say, "How relevant is your life to expressing My love to mankind? Do you know that if you were put to the test tomorrow, you would be amongst the killers?"

TRUE DEFENCE FORCE

The message of Jesus Christ is translated to the world by the actions of men. It cannot be defended by arms nor enforced by law. The fruits of the spirit can only be safeguarded by being expressed.

The only "defence" which Christians have in this world is our total commitment to the way of Christ. We cannot use the tools of evil to promote good. We cannot "Fight for Freedom" or "Arm ourselves for peace" by buying guns. A gun can only be used for killing. We cannot train our young men for war and not expect them to look forward to battle for the fulfilment of their training.

Our Christian role is fulfilled in the peace of a caring society. Our society does not care. Therefore we have failed. Christ has not failed. We have failed to interpret our Christian role in the world.

War starts amongst damaged humanity. A frustrated man does bitter things. A maladjusted society

finds maladjusted solutions to its problems and the numbers of damaged people increase. The Christian answer is to use ourselves and our own resources in projecting love into the situation.

LOVE IN TENSION

The Christian should be represented in EVERY situation. Tension is always high round an unresolved conflict. It is at these points that Christ can enter the situation and channel love into it — if we are there to represent Him.

Every time we enter a conflict situation, we nourish the spirit which either makes us disciples of Christ or of Mammon. The emotion (usually anger) which builds up in people involved in conflict, no matter what the issue, involves a release of undefined spiritual energy. If we are angry enough we will DO something. Even if it is only to punch the other man on the nose! If you elect to love, your anger gives you power and energy to do something effective.

Immediately you say "I will love", a whole range of reactions becomes closed. You cannot withdraw. You cannot resort to evil. You must be forgiving — particularly to your own friends; though you are crushed and misunderstood, though you give way to moments of anger and despair; if you love, you will not give up trying for the loving answer to the situation. You personally become more willing to commit more and more of your resources to the right solution. And as doors shut, you find others to open. More and more people are drawn in. The whole community may be in an uproar as people assume attitudes and take a stand. But love, which is from God, brings Light not heat. Gradually the positive elements draw together, as the Truth, which is of Him alone, touches the hearts and minds of others and they respond.

CHRIST IN CONFLICT

Every conflict we leave unresolved grows in size and complexity. It involves more people, and since we ourselves have not found the love-response to the problem, larger groups of people are even less likely to do so.

The smaller the conflict situation, the greater is our responsibility towards finding a solution. The bigger the conflict, the less our personal responsibility. Until you can get the total abdication of responsibility of the Nazi soldiers in Germany to the thousands of Jews they destroyed.

It seems odd that Christ should always be involved in conflict. (Yet He warned us of it.) Because in Him there is complete Unity. This is the ultimate Truth of His nature. He is One with God and if we are in Him and He in us, we are One also in one another. There is no conflict. That this experience of real spiritual communion is so rare, indicates how very far we have to go.

CONFLICT IN GROWTH

The churches fail to teach their people which occasions involve spiritual growth. (A man's spiritual growth can be measured in his capacity to love.) For instance, in a parish meeting which is more important, the building of the new church hall, or the spirit in which the decisions are reached? Which is more important, to be right or to be loving? Because successful clergy are often "right" but seldom "loving", their congregations are often large, but seldom spiritual. It is a paradox we must solve.

Every conflict situation is a potential spiritual growing point. These are the places where Christians are forged and proved, not in church, but in life. This is where Christ preaches: (not on Sundays in the quiet) but on Mondays, at the business conference; at the committee meeting; at the work bench. On Sundays God rests, or so it would seem.

In this article, Helder Camara discusses the problem of violence by setting it within the context of the needs of the Third World. He calls for a new metanoia for a post-Communist world.

THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE

Helder Camara

The subject is certainly topical. It is true that violence belongs to all ages, but today it is perhaps more topical than ever, it is omnipresent, in every conceivable form: brutal, overt, subtle, insidious, underhand, blind, rational, scientific, solidly entrenched, anonymous, abstract, irresponsible.

It isn't difficult to speak of violence if it is either to condemn it out of hand, from afar, without bothering to examine its various aspects or seek its brutal, and regrettable, causes; or if it is to fan the flames from a safe distance, in the manner of an "armchair Che Guevera".

What is difficult is to speak of violence from the thick of battle, when one realises that often some the most generous and the most able of one's friends are tempted by violence, or have already succumbed to it. I ask you to hear me as one who lives in a continent whose climate is pre-revolutionary, but who, while he has no right to betray the Latin American masses, has not the right either to sin against the light or against love.

● THE NEED FOR WORLD-WIDE CHANGE

Here is a first basic remark, necessary to the understanding of the problematic of violence: the whole world is in need of a structural revolution. With regard to the underdeveloped countries, this fact is self-evident. From whatever standpoint one approaches the question — economic, scientific, political, social, religious — it soon becomes obvious that a summary, superficial reform is absolutely insufficient. What is needed is a reform in depth, a profound and rapid change; what we must achieve — let's not be afraid of the word — is a structural revolution.

Economically speaking, it is common knowledge that the underdeveloped countries suffer from internal colonialism. A small group of rich and powerful people in each country maintains its power and wealth at the expense of the misery of millions of the population. This regime is still semi-feudal, with a semblance of a "patriarchal" system, but in reality a total absence of personal rights; the situation is sub-human, the conditions those of slavery. The rural workers, who are nothing more than pariahs, are denied access to the greater part of the land, which lies idle in the hands of rich landowners who are waiting for its value to rise,

● CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY

With such a situation in a continent like Latin America, which is wholly Christian — at least in name and tradition — one realises the great responsibility borne by Christianity in such countries. Without forgetting the fine examples of devotion, of sacrifice, of heroism even, we must admit that in the past — and the danger still persists — we Christians in Latin America have been, and are, seriously responsible for the situation of injustice which exists in this continent. We have condoned the slavery of Indians and Africans; and now are we taking a sufficiently strong stand against the landowners, the rich and the powerful in our own countries? Or do we close our eyes and help to pacify their consciences, once they have camouflaged their terrible injustice by giving alms in order to build churches (very often scandalously vast and rich, in shocking contrast with the surrounding poverty), or by contributing to our social projects? In practice, don't we seem to have vindicated Marx, by offering to pariahs a passive Christianity, alienated and alienating, justly called an opium for the masses?

And yet Christianity exists, with its demands of justice and fraternity; Christianity exists, with its message of eternal redemption. Indeed, our love for mankind is inspired from within by a love which is greater than the dimensions of the world and which provides it with a radically new element. In this way Christianity too is a motive force working for an integral development — including economic development — for scripture teaches that God gave man his image and likeness and wished him to subdue nature and bring creation to perfection.

● RESPONSIBILITY A CALL TO CHANGE

If we Latin-American Christians assume our responsibility in face of the underdevelopment of the continent we can and must work to promote radical changes in all sectors of social life, particularly in politics and education. Politics must not remain the preserve of a privileged few, who stand in the way of basic reforms by betraying them or agreeing to them on paper only. Education is so far below the needs of technology — itself in constant evolution — that the unrest of our

students is easy to understand. They have no time for the superficial, timid, and empty university reforms that are imposed upon them.

My remarks about Latin America can, more or less, be transposed to the whole of the underdeveloped world, which is in crying need of a structural revolution.

It is harder to understand that the developed countries are also in need of a structural revolution. Isn't their advanced state of development a proof that they have achieved success? Let us glance for a moment at the two most successful forms of development, under the capitalist and socialist regimes, as exemplified by the United States and the Soviet Union.

● CAPITALISM: UNITED STATES

The United States is a living demonstration of the internal contradiction of the capitalist system: it has succeeded in creating underdeveloped strata within the richest country in the world — 30 million Americans live in a situation below the dignity of the human condition: it has succeeded in provoking a fratricidal war between whites and blacks; under the guise of anti-communism, but in fact driven by a lust for prestige and the expansion of its sphere of influence, it is waging the most shameful war the world has ever known. The dominant system in the United States is so irrational in its rationalisation, as they call it, that it has succeeded in creating a one-dimensional, "robot existence", to such an extent that young Americans of different cultural traditions feel called to build a more just and more human society by transforming the social context and humanising technology.

● SOCIALISM: SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union considers itself motivated solely by scientific humanism, since it takes its inspiration from marxism. In practice, however, under the pretext of defending itself from the contamination of capitalism it perpetuates the iron curtain and the wall of shame; it refuses all pluralism within the socialist camp — the Soviet Union and Red China face each other like two capitalist powers; and it considers marxism to be an untouchable dogma.

Marx failed to distinguish between the essence of Christianity and the weakness of Christians who, in practice, often reduced it to an opium for the people. But today there is a change of attitude among Christians. Now, even in practice, there is an effort to preach and live a Christianity that is by no means an alienated or alienating force, but that is incarnated among men, following the example of Christ. This change has not yet been understood by the Soviet Union.

It is in vain that Asia at Bangkok, Africa at Algiers, and Latin America at Tequendama, in vain that the Third

World in its letter from Algiers continues to repeat that the problems which vitiate relations between rich and poor countries are not a question of aid, but of *justice* on a world scale.

The two "super-powers", supreme examples of capitalism and socialism, remain blind and deaf, enclosed and imprisoned in their egoism. How can the developed world be prevented from leaving the underdeveloped world each day further and further behind? Today, 85 per cent, tomorrow 90 per cent, rot in misery in order to make possible the excessive comfort of 15 per cent, tomorrow 10 per cent, of the world's population. Who can now fail to understand the need for a structural revolution in the developed world?

● INSTITUTIONALISED VIOLENCE

Before asking whether the structural revolution needed by the world necessarily supposes violence, it must be underlined that violence already exists and that it is wielded, sometimes unconsciously, by the very people who denounce it as a scourge of society.

It exists in the underdeveloped countries: the masses in a sub-human situation are exploited violently by privileged and powerful groups. It is well known that if the masses attempt to unite by means of education at grass roots level based on the popular culture, if they form trade unions or co-operatives, their leaders are accused of treason or communism. This has aptly been described as follows: "they rebel against the established disorder, so they are classed as outlaws . . . They must disappear so that order may reign". An orderly disorder.

As for "law", it is all too often an instrument of violence against the weak, or else it is relegated to the fine phrases of documents and declarations, such as the Declaration of the Rights of Man, whose second decade the world is commemorating this year. A good way of celebrating this anniversary would be for the United Nations Organisation to verify if one or two of these rights are in fact respected in two-thirds of the world.

● RESPONSE TO THIS VIOLENCE

Violence also exists in the developed world, whether capitalist or socialist. In this respect, there are certain disquieting signs which speak for themselves. Negroes pass from non-violence to violence. The black apostle of non-violence is felled to the consternation and shame of all men of goodwill. We are filled with horror when we see, on the one hand, young Americans forced to raze whole regions by means of "overkill", supposedly in order to protect the free world (we know the real reason); and on the other hand young men, children almost, obliged to kill in order to defend their lives, or rather sub-human existence. The youth of Western Germany, of Italy, of Spain, of Poland rise simultaneously

in revolt. There is also the unique protest movement of the hippies. The arms race continues, and risks contaminating the space race. How splendid would be this glorious achievement of our age if the cosmonauts were not instruments of belligerence, of political and military prestige. Faced with the new Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union's uneasiness is evident and, under the pretext of safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp, it rekindles the ideological battle against the capitalist world.

Faced with this triple violence — that which exists in the Third World, or in the developed world, or that done to the former by the latter — it isn't hard to understand the possibility of thinking, speaking and acting in terms of a liberating violence, of a redemptive violence.

● NO PAPER REFORMS

If the élites of the Third World haven't the courage to rid themselves of their privileges and to bring justice to the millions living in sub-human conditions; if the governments concerned content themselves with reforms on paper, how can one restrain the youth who are tempted by radical solutions and violence? In the developed countries on both sides, how long will it be possible to restrain the ardour of youth, the spearhead of tomorrow's unrest, if the signs of disquiet and violence continue to multiply? How long will nuclear bombs be more powerful than the poverty bomb which is forming in the Third World?

Allow me the humble courage to take up a position on this issue. I respect those who feel obliged in conscience to opt for violence — not the all too easy violence of armchair guerilleros — but those who have proved their sincerity by the sacrifice of their life. In my opinion, the memory of Camilo Torres and of Che Guevara merits as much respect as that of Martin Luther King. I accuse the real authors of violence: all those who, whether on the right or the left, weaken justice and prevent peace. My personal vocation is that of a pilgrim of peace; personally, I would prefer a thousand times to be killed than to kill.

● THE GOSPEL RESPONSE

This personal position is based on the gospel. A whole life spent trying to understand and live the gospel has produced in me the profound conviction that if the gospel can, and should, be called revolutionary it is in the sense that it demands the conversion of each of us. We haven't the right to enclose ourselves within our egoism; we must open ourselves to the love of God and the love of men. But is it enough to turn to the beatitudes — the quintessence of the gospel message — to discover that the choice for Christians seems clear: we Christians are on the side of non-violence, which is by no means a

choice of weakness or passivity. Non-violence means believing more passionately in the force of truth, justice and love than in the force of wars, murder and hatred.

If this appears to be mere moralising, be patient a moment. If the option for non-violence has its roots in the gospel, it is also based on reality. You ask me to be realistic? Here is my answer: If an explosion of violence should occur anywhere in the world, and especially in Latin America, you may be sure that the great powers would be immediately on the spot — even without a declaration of war — the super-powers would arrive and we would have another Vietnam. You ask for more realism? Precisely because we have to achieve a structural revolution it is essential to plan in advance a "cultural revolution" — but in a new sense. For if mentalities do not undergo a radical change then structural reforms, reforms from the base, will remain at the theoretical stage, ineffective.

● APPEAL TO YOUNG PEOPLE

I should like now to address a few remarks especially to the young. To the youth of the underdeveloped countries I put this question: what is the point of acceding to power if you lack morals adapted to your situation, to your countries? Up till now you have been offered solutions which are viable only for developed countries. While we Christians try to exert a moral pressure, ever more courageously, on those who are responsible for the situation in our countries, you should try to prepare yourselves for the responsibilities that await you tomorrow; try above all to help the masses to become a people. You know only too well that material and physical underdevelopment leads to intellectual, moral and spiritual underdevelopment.

To the youth of developed countries, both capitalist and socialist, I would say: Instead of planning to go to the Third World to try and arouse violence there, stay at home in order to help your rich countries to discover that they too are in need of a cultural revolution which will produce a new hierarchy of values, a new world vision, a global strategy of development, the revolution of mankind.

It is only those who achieve an inner unity within themselves and possess a worldwide vision and universal spirit who will be fit instruments to perform the miracle of combining the violence of the prophets, the truth of Christ, the revolutionary spirit of the gospel — but without destroying love.

Helder Camara is Archbishop of Olinda and Recife in Brazil. Dedicated to justice and yet an apostle of non-violence, he has become the Third World's most eloquent spokesman.

Is prayer affected by the general process of secularisation apparent in our present-day dechristianised society? By a dechristianised society I mean a society without much apparent faith in God, and so a society without prayer. It will be the purpose of this article to discuss some of the problems in connection with this issue, especially with reference to drugs and contemplation.

PRAYER AND SECULARISM

Clare Adam

SECULARISATION

What exactly is secularisation? According to the definition of Charles Davis, it means the recognition of the autonomy of the secular in contradistinction to the sacred. The secular, he writes in his Maurice Lectures "is that area of intelligibility which lies within man's grasp". This being so, God in Himself a transcendent mystery, can never be the object of a secularising process. Thus phrases like Bonhoeffer's "religionless christianity" and the "death of God" epitaph refer rather to the means whereby God is apprehended. So it is the means to prayer which can profitably be made the subject of secularisation.

That this is being done is apparent from the new approaches being made to prayer in books such as Mark Gibbard's "Why Pray", "The Experience of Prayer" by Sebastian Moore and K. McQuire, and Michael Quoist's "Prayers of Life". The chapter headings of "Why Pray" indicate a modern orientation which take account of modern conditions — the chapter "Praying and Informal Groups" is one such instance, "Prayer and Exploration" is another. There is no talk of ascetical exercises or the length of time to be spent in prayer, both chapter headings in the older literature on prayer. But it seems to me that books of this type are more in the nature of preliminaries to prayer for people who are beginning to seek God and who

need some preparation, some background.

PRAYER AND THE HIPPIE SUB-CULTURE

However, before continuing with this subject I would like to take a glance at a rather dramatic expression of the search for experiential contact with God as expressed by the "hippies" and the drug cult. I think it can be said that the pseudo-mystical experience, which is associated with the cult of drugs, is an expression of the modern yearning for God in some cases, if not all. I say advisedly, a pseudo-mystical experience, because it is an experience which is rooted in the individual's subjective, sub-conscious state. It is interesting to note that in the time of Freud when the sub-conscious was explored, sex came to the surface because it was then very much repressed, whereas under present-day conditions sex is no longer a problem of the same dimensions, but religion is.

It is evident from Aldous Huxley's testimony that drug-taking brings a certain reward and fulfilment, leaving a haunting nostalgia for more, and so the search for another experience begins. But as has been scientifically pointed out elsewhere, all that the drug-taker experiences is a subjective quasi-religious experience rooted in his own sub-conscious. It is significant that drug addicts without their drugs, on being questioned whether

they have found any of the answers to life, have no replies. The heightened awareness of drug-taking becomes then more an awareness of self, or otherwise put, a lack of awareness of both others or the Other, because the experience is characterised by a lack of contact with reality and hence Reality.

AUTHENTIC EXPERIENCE

On the other hand, in authentic mystical experience there is a supra-conscious state bringing with it an objective enlightenment, primarily with regard to the existence of God, in such a way that the fact of His existence cannot be doubted. There are many other enlightenments possible, and they are all dynamic in the sense that they become operative as principles of enlightenment and action. For example, someone who has glimpsed the nothingness of created things in relation to God will have a far better idea how to relate to the goods of this world than one who has not had this vision. This enlightenment also accounts for the humility one sees sometimes in great men. Or again, there may have been some awareness of God's Being, such as His Eternity or Unity which is so powerful that it becomes a unifying and operative force. This should be sufficient to show the difference between pseudo and real contemplation. But if one cannot help oneself to contemplation by means of drugs or Yoga techniques — which can run the danger of becoming ends in themselves — how is the ordinary man to come to some sense of God and fulfilment in Him, especially with his secularised outlook which feels that man-come-of-age has no need of God, and still less has a sense of guilt?

GOD AND SCRIPTURE

Certainly with secularising processes pushing God further and further out of the picture of daily life, it can be valuable in helping

solve the problem of suffering, in that God can be less blamed for it, and we more responsible in our task of alleviating and overcoming it. But the key to finding God in the modern context may perhaps be found in Scripture which speaks frequently of the man who fears God as being blessed. This fear is certainly not fear in the ordinary sense of the word, but fear arising from a sense of reverence; "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". This is the first of the operative principles which leads to depth in contemplation. Sometimes this depth comes as a result of a direct experience of God's presence, but if it does not, it can be cultivated by serious reflection, and this is true of all the deeper contemplative truths. It seems to me that contemplation is the ability to make value judgments (in more old fashioned language one would say "have the vision") about life that bring peace and unity and issue in fruitful action.

JESUS AND SECULARISATION

To conclude: the main trend of the secularising process, following the definition of Charles Davis, would seem to refer to our approach to God, and this approach is being radically influenced in all spheres of life by our growing advances in knowledge, though it needs to be noted that to absorb it in its effects involves a considerable time span. It is only very slowly, for example, that the implications of the long time-element involved in the evolutionary process are being realised. Our Lord himself was profoundly secular when he called the omnipotent Jahwe, whose name might not be mentioned, "Daddy". (Matt. 14.36.)

Clare Adam is a contemplative and spent the last 20 years in a contemplative monastery of the Carmelite Order.

Last month Kenneth Barnes wrote on the Permissive Society and traced some of its history and characteristics. Following upon this article, Sytze de Roos writes on the New Feminist movement in Europe and America offering some projections of possible future consequences for human relations and societal structures.

SOCIETY AND THE NEW FEMINISTS

Sytze de Roos

Of all people and groups of people currently out to drastically overhaul existing societal structures, the new feminists warrant special attention. If women in many western countries are acting on their secondary cultural position, there will inevitably be decisive consequences for these societies. Since resistance to change is inherent to the human condition, the recent re-emergence of militant feminism could have been expected to provoke at least some reaction from the side of men. Instead, the cause of women's liberation is met with indifference and ridicule.

Further to Kenneth Barnes' explanation of the effects of early feminism on the genesis of the permissive society⁽¹⁾, it may be useful to explore, if only superficially, the dynamics of modern feminism. This should be of special interest to Christians, widely known as they are for their compassion and love for mankind in general and female human beings in particular. Attention is drawn to the writings of Saint Paul.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NEW FEMINISTS

Although women's liberationists more often than not base their theories on cheap generalisations and easy stereotypes to avoid, one fears, the strenuous thinking the complex

problem of contemporary feminine existence requires, their basic objectives are both necessary and desirable. Fundamentally, new feminists want to do away with everything that stresses the biological and environmental immanence of womanhood. At the same time they demand for women the very avenues towards transcendence they feel men have egotistically reserved for themselves. Thus feminists want to abolish male domination and male chauvinism⁽²⁾. They claim the right to decide for themselves whether or not to fulfill their biological role. They insist on free and legalised abortion and the free and legalised use of contraceptives. They want to destroy the myth of female inferiority. They want to smash the dubious double standards of sexual morality. They want equal career opportunities and equal pay for equal work. They fight for the establishment of full-time crèche facilities and they fight against sexual stereotyping in child-rearing and educational tracking. But above all, these remarkable women wish to be treated as persons and not as sexual objects.

THE BACKGROUND OF MILITANT FEMINISM

If by their manifestations, militant feminists appear odd and irrational at times, it would nevertheless be

wise not to dismiss them too easily. Women's lib⁽³⁾ certainly has its idiosyncrasies, but the sometimes fanatic radicalism is symptomatic of a number of developments in present-day western society more than anything else.

With mass communication media geared to sensationalism, ferocious fanaticism has great tactical value. It may serve to attract the attention of the public via the media. In this process, however, prospective sympathisers may be alienated. Another important factor is the increase in the number of female students. Paradoxically, the most vociferous feminists are often the most sensitive: together with their level of awareness their frustration has risen considerably. During the sixties the Campus Revolution, the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left attracted a sizeable number of politically motivated young women. Male rebels, unfortunately, are not famous for the treatment of their female counterparts. Many girls taking part in these movements expected comradeship and respect, but were subjected to discrimination instead. Embittered and disillusioned they left and found their refuge in the more radical lib-groups.

It should furthermore be kept in mind that the fight against male domination is not only just that, but far more importantly, a revolt of the female super-ego. Significantly, new feminists tend to be most fanatical in societies where the cultural and commercial image of womanhood is most humiliatingly insipid.

POSSIBLE SOCIAL EFFECTS

There can hardly be any doubt about the profound effect women's liberation will have on the cornerstones of western civilisation: the family and labour. The institution of marriage, as it is tied up with administrative processes inherent to post-industrial society, may effec-

tively regulate sexual expression, but there is no evidence to suggest that it is the only possible way in which human beings may mate, reproduce and rear the young⁽⁴⁾. To the supporter of women's lib, marriage is a trap in which her humanity gets caught as her sexual role is glorified out of all proportion. The emancipated woman will be expected to have sufficient self-respect to emphatically refuse to negate her humanity in order to fulfill her biological role. Formal marriage, therefore, is on the way out. The search for suitable alternatives is open. Instead of people having to fit into existing frameworks, systems will be developed to fit individual needs. The expression of sexuality must be removed from the jurisdiction of the state and the moralistic influences of institutionalised religion.

The effects of total equality in the field of labour are more difficult to pinpoint. To radical women's liberationists, femininity often seems incompatible with the pursuit of a career. On the other hand, women's traditional experience in relating to others, which underlies what is called feminine intuition, may possibly promise great advances in, for instance, the humanities⁽⁵⁾. But this is speculative and, since new feminism is basically a fight for options⁽⁶⁾, women engineers, crane drivers, doctors, street sweepers and pilots should be welcomed for the highly necessary reinforcement of labour-power they constitute rather than for the possible effect of their femininity on the quality and character of their work. Eventually the most profound and most important effect of new feminism will be evident in the sons and daughters of today's liberated, professional women. The current Unisex fad among young people indicates to some extent what may come. The polarity of the sexes will finally become of secondary importance. Differences between men and women will be seen as relative to their common humanity.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT

As women move outward they encounter not only the inequities of a male-orientated society but also the structural inhumanity of modern industrial and social systems. Radical feminism, therefore, presupposes and includes in its objectives, essential structural changes on the institutional level of society. It will not suffice to vote a woman president into power to counteract the preponderance of males in public office. Such a move would in effect amount to inverse discrimination and could aggravate conventional attitudes towards women in general. If women are to avoid exchanging the slavery of housewifery for the slavery of alienated and insignificant work in one of the many sickly dehumanising commercial and industrial organisations that are hallmarks of western civilisation, then it is imperative that they be politically aware. In response to this need, many radical lib-groups have come to embrace orthodox-marxist and maoist political philosophies. In general, feminists may infuse originality into accepted "democratic" processes and add impetus to extra-parliamentary opposition.

THE SEXUAL ANGLE

Sexuality is the sublimation of man's need to be free in giving. In fusion, man and woman return to the original state of wholeness because they enable each other to give. In this sense, modern man is sexless. In post-industrial society women are practically forced to invest their complete personality into their sexuality. Due to cultural predetermination, sexuality in the human female has become passive-compulsive instead of active-expressive. The compulsive character of modern feminine sexuality eliminates the possibility of transcendence by way of sex as the need for it increases proportionately. Her consequent sexual enslavement in turn adds to her cultural passivity.

Likewise, the male is alienated from his sexuality. As the spiritual aspect of sex disappears more and more into the background, sex technique becomes of overriding importance. Secretly confusing his anatomy with functional ability and furthermore suffering from the resultant trauma, the 20th-century male pathetically falls victim to the James Bond-Syndrome. Thus he is not seldom a source of great inconvenience, and even misery, to women. By destroying female passivity, women's liberationists will initiate the sexual emancipation of both sexes. Women must conquer the right to give themselves actively on all levels of society. To be able to give herself sexually, however, she needs man (7). And man will not be equal to this challenge if he is himself not sufficiently emancipated.

THE EMANCIPATED MALE

The emancipated male would then know that he too is beautiful. He would accept responsibility for his beauty and therefore would not, for instance, give his body to be converted into a mute and dumb, faceless fighting machine for a government to exert its political pressures with. But he would give himself gladly to a woman should she desire him. Man is beautiful. Once liberated, he could dispense with the narcissistic projections of femininity he would no longer need and which obscure the real feminine beauty he would seek to relate his own to. Should men come to realise that they, too, need to be emancipated, sexually and otherwise, then the new feminists will have played a major role not just in their own, but also in human liberation.

- (1) Kenneth Barnes, "In Search of the Permissive Society", *Pro Veritate*; Vol. IX No. 2; June 1970.
- (2) In order to "prove their equality", new feminists often resort to amusing tactics: A girl will open up doors for a man, light his cigarettes, whistle at him in streets.
- (3) Women's lib is the popular abbreviation for "Women's Liberation Front" in use among feminists in England and the United States.
- (4) Paul Bohannon and John Middleton, *Marriage, Family and Residence*, As quoted from the *Atlantic*; Vol. 225 No. 3; March 1970.
- (5) Margaret Mead, Epilogue to "American Women: The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and Other Publications of the Commission", Charles Scribner's Sons; New York, 1965.
- (6) Helen Dudar, *Newsweek*; Vol. LXXXV No. 12; March 23, 1970.
- (7) It is here somewhat arbitrarily taken for granted that heterosexuality comes more natural and has more scope physically and emotionally than homosexuality or lesbianism.

Sytze de Roos is son of Ds. de Roos, of the Gereformeerde Kerk in the Netherlands who is presently ministering in a centre catering for psychologically disturbed people. Sytze has been resident in South Africa for four years.

RHODES JOINT ECUMENICAL STUDENT STATEMENT

The following joint ecumenical statement has been made by the Chairmen of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic Societies as well as the University Christian Movement's branch at Rhodes University:

We, the chairmen of the undermentioned student Christian bodies at Rhodes University, acting with the consent and support of our members, note that in terms of the Terrorism Act of 1967:

- (i) A person may be detained by a police officer of, or above the rank of, lieutenant-colonel for an indefinite period without trial or access to the normal legal procedure;
- (ii) That in a number of instances the onus of proof is shifted from the State to the accused;
- (iii) People may be held in detention without being informed of the nature of their offence;
- (iv) The provisions of the Act include not only people actively involved in acts of terrorism, but apply with equal force to those who are merely supposed by a police officer of, or above the rank of, lieutenant-colonel to hold information relevant to such acts;
- (v) It is not necessary for the State to prove that such acts are wilful;

And we note:

- (i) That, 13 months ago, 22 people were arrested and have been in detention ever since;
- (ii) That, 18 weeks ago, those 22 people were acquitted on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act in a Supreme Court;
- (iii) That these people were immediately re-arrested under the Terrorism Act;
- (iv) That these 22 people have not been found guilty of any offence.

We believe that the incredible range of power assumed by the Government in terms of this Act are unnecessary, and that the actions and methods of interrogation already committed under the power of this Act are contrary to Christian justice, Christian love and human dignity.

We therefore call upon every member of the Church to

- (i) become aware of the implications of this act; and
- (ii) while not condoning terrorism, denounce the arbitrary assumption of power represented by this Act;
- (iii) work towards understanding and togetherness rather than fear and separation in South Africa.

LETTERS

Gabriel to Gabrielle: Man to Woman

Rev. Gabriel Setiloane,
Bristol, United Kingdom

Gabrielle Pienaar's "Women Only", in your issue of May 15th, makes very interesting reading, if only for the fact that it shows that you are beginning to realise that what South Africa needs is a change in the basic orientation of attitudes at rock-bottom of the "home" in this case "the European home, bastion of the white family which in this country is largely professedly Christian". For, it is from this section of South African society that the proponents of a culture "more dominant than another" come.

She raises issues which I think are so vital that they need more attention, from varying positions: not that one basically disagrees with her:

(a) Although she tries to cover herself up neatly with the statement that "African domestics vary considerably in their ranks as to the degree of urbanisation and social and cultural change they have undergone", Gabrielle Pienaar overstates her point when she depicts "the African maid" "lost in a white homestead."

"To her the complexity of the modern home would be as difficult to adjust to as for the housewife to adjust to the operations of a spacecraft, and all the gadgets as meaningless (and hence useless) as those on the spacecraft for the uninitiated."

My grandmother, before "Die Drie Jaar Oorlog", used to wash her white "nonna's" household clothes and other washing on the same slab of rock on the Valsch River bed as she did hers and her family's. Before then, at the very first contact in the Transvaal, her grandparents hired out their skill or had it "commandeered" to build stone houses for

the Voortrekkers because they were skilled in this trade. (see M. Wilson and L. H. Thompson: *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. I, using David Livingstone: *Missionary Travels*, as source). My mother spent the earlier years of her womanhood, in fact from girlhood, working in a European home: cooking, tending children and housekeeping. My first visit to Johannesburg was to a cousin who worked in one of the Houghton Mansions. She would be left alone for the better part of the day and evening, with all those gadgets: the gas stove, electricity, telephone, the lot! She managed, as many did and still do.

TECHNOLOGY CREATES JOB RESERVATION

It is simply not true that we are more lost than the white person in the world of technology. These many generations we have been together technology developed on us all together. It was the same in the home as on the farm (tractors and automatic mowers), in industry and even underground in the mines. True, the white man owned it all, but we used the gadgets, sometimes even more than he himself, the owner. That is why Job Reservation came. But even that has not been able to take the African away from frontal contact with technology equal to his white countrymen.

My sister has never been a white woman's "maid", having acquired a profession albeit "to serve her own people", — and this proves that the ambitions of motherhood for their children are the same for my mother as her white "madam" and that disproves "meaninglessness" — but, go to SOWETO and see her home: It is filthily full of the same gadgets, even as South Africanly tastelessly over-

furnished, in spite of her lack of money. If TV came to South Africa today she would speedily find a corner in her house to squeeze it into, as any white South African woman.

The picture or image of the African woman that Gabrielle Pienaar paints, I hope unwittingly, is the image upon which the whole system of Apartheid is built: while it reflects the Africans' origins and that as seen through the eyes of Victorian White cultural superiority, it forgets that not only has the African helped South Africa progress, but he has progressed with it. He was not hidden in a hole while technology and Western scientific modernism was making its influence on the white South African. Like it or not, *Kerels ons het saam groot geword*. It is Ezekiel Mphahlele, a South African black man who first made the point about the stereotype images of the black man which are passed on by the whites in their literature: The "Step-and-fetch-it", "Outa", "Boy", "Girl" image, or even at best, although disturbing to the White conscience, that of Visser's *Amakhaya*. (See Mphahlele's African image.) Only now British sociologists (see Rose: *Colour and Citizenship*) corroborate the point that the books we read brainwash us to such an extent that even when we mean well — as my feminine namesake, Gabrielle — we may be offending. I must hasten to say that this point was, of course, very well comprehended by the builders of the Apartheid ideology, and they made capital of it. The sad thing is that even these South Africans who think they oppose the ideology, being victims of their environment and educational machinery, know no longer their left hand from their right in this matter.

NEEDED: INTER-PROFESSIONAL CONTACT

(b) Gabrielle Pienaar sounds like an educated career woman, a social worker, perhaps. I was amazed that she and the women who wrote the pamphlet on which she reports, do not deal with the contact of women of profession and careers across the colour line: she and my sister, or my wife, as equal professionals, and not "madam" and "maid". As far back as 1959, I suggested this as what was necessary for South Africa, and believe it or not, my dear namesake, the title of the thing was "The Task of the Church" (see Christian Responsibility in Multi-racial South Africa). Dr. Klaas Runia is right, but he is not the first to say: „As daar ooit 'n oplossing vir Suid-Afrika se geweldige probleme te vinde is, sal dit op die vlak van egte gemeenskap tussen die verskillende rasse en volke moet wees. En juis hier moet die kerk leiding gee." (same issue: Prof. B. B. Keet) „Gemeenskap", fellowship or community, is not built on master-servant, "madam" — "maid" basis. It means the taking off of masks, the opening up of "superiority" fibs shutters, and the meeting of man and man, or rather, woman and woman.

AFFLUENCE AND ALIENATED WOMANHOOD

(c) Are there no psychologists in South Africa. People who probe the depths of man's mind to bring out for him the fears that cripple his being and fulfilment as man? Why should Gabrielle Pienaar's treatment ignore the obvious: the psychological and other tensions of the white woman whom social prestige and custom and usage have burdened with a competitor (another woman) in her own house to rob her of her undisputed, and, by women, ever-hankered-after reign as queen, mother, keeper and provider of her household? When Mrs. Verwoerd, then first lady of South Africa, boast-

fully declared that her children — were there seven? — had not once been bathed by black hands, she was expressing a fulfilment which many a white South African wife and mother envied her. Certainly the "comfortable" "madam" of the Houghton mansion in which my cousin worked, never knew this fulfilment. To bathe the children, feed them, bully them and even fret over them, can be balm to a mother, and a constant reminder to a woman who does it with her children that she has "reached": become fully WOMAN. To be robbed of this can not only lead to nervousness and frustration (as I thought I sensed in the chain-smoking habits, and boredom of my cousin's "madam"!) but also to animosity and hatred — and righteous jealousy!

This is not an affair for "Women Only". It takes in the whole home as Gabrielle herself says at the end of her contribution. There are the white children . . . and the white husband, too, involved in this. What effect on them psychologically has the bringing up of children in such a home? — at the most impressionable time of their growth, a black woman who performed all the services of motherhood on them, but whom they could never regard with the respect, love and loyalty of mother, and, on the other hand, a white mother demanding all these, but being "mother" only because she gave birth to them, and provides materially. What role do emotions play in the development of personality, under these conditions?

APARTHEID, IMMORALITY AND SEX

Continuing this line of thinking: it would be a very interesting thing to enquire into how many of the thousand or so a year prosecutions under the "Immorality Act" find their genesis in white man-black woman contact in a "master"- "maid" situation, i.e., in a white home. The poor white woman endowed with all

the intuition, instincts, and sensitivities common to her sex must surely feel her position threatened in many white South African homes, where, the "other woman" is always a presence claiming her attention, and that of the other members of the family, especially "her man". The black woman, becomes the white woman's constant topic of discussion because she is experienced as a threat. We cannot deny for South Africa what scientific investigation elsewhere is proving true: the role of sex and sex considerations in racialism (see Calvin Hernton: *Sex and Racism*). The very fact that artificial decorum and empty social prestige forbid the disclosing of these fears and feelings of insecurity can serve to increase their intensity. The results are obvious: Mental instability, divorce and suicide rates competing with the highest in the world.

Certainly this is not a "Women Only" Affair!

**JOOST DE BLANK
MEMORIAL FUND AWARD**

The Trustees invite applications for the second award which would enable the holder, who may not otherwise have the opportunity, to devote a year to study and thought in the field of race relations. Applicants should preferably have some practical experience either in Britain or in South Africa, but may be from any walk of life.

The Trustees hope that the award will lead to publishable written work.

The value of the award is expected to be up to £2,000.

Applications, by 1 September 1970, to:

Miss Mercy Edgedale
Joost de Blank Memorial Fund
c/o The Institute of Race Relations
36 Jermyn Street
London, S.W.1