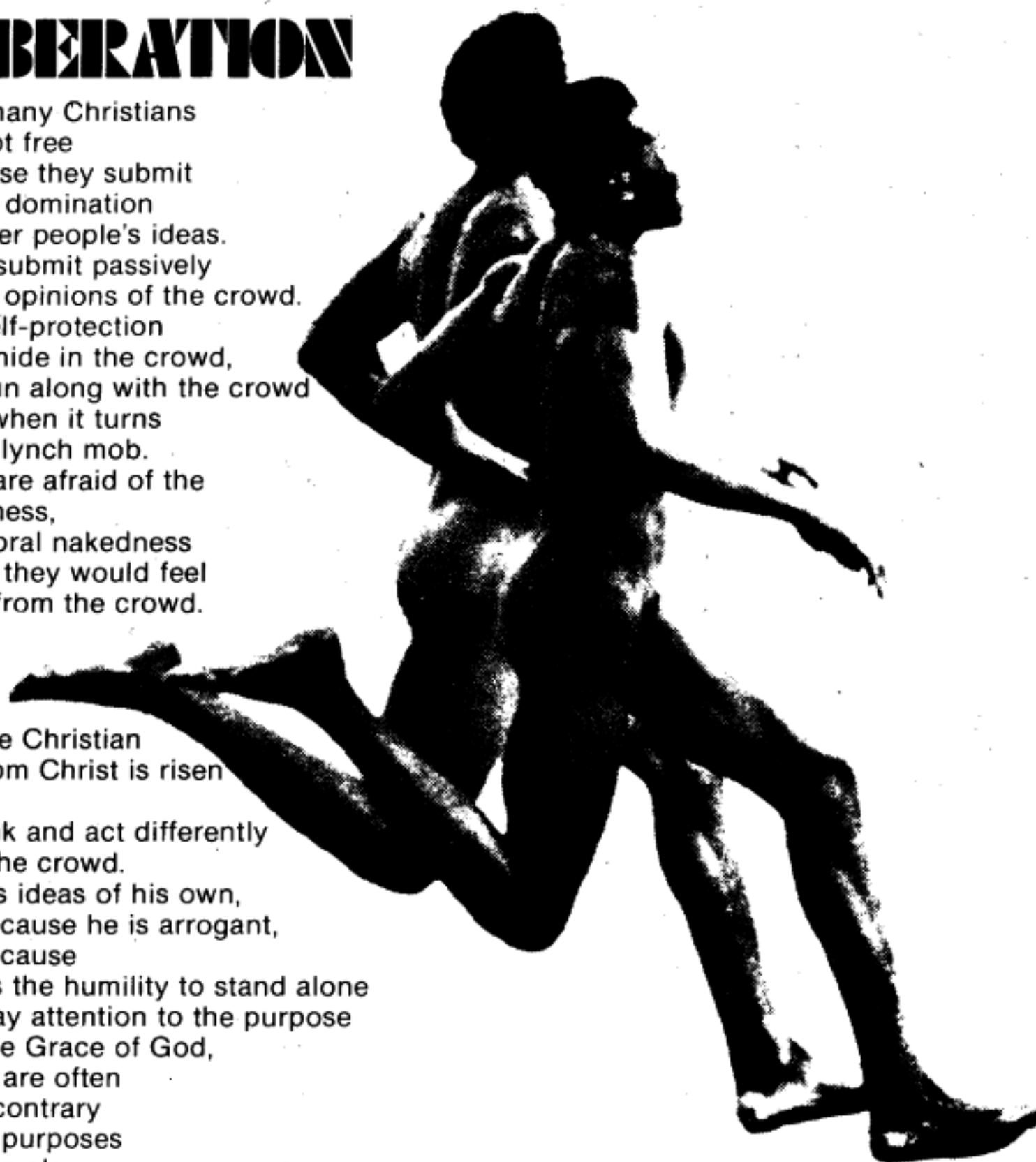


LIBERATION

Too many Christians
are not free
because they submit
to the domination
of other people's ideas.
They submit passively
to the opinions of the crowd.
For self-protection
They hide in the crowd,
and run along with the crowd
even when it turns
into a lynch mob.
They are afraid of the
aloneness,
the moral nakedness
which they would feel
apart from the crowd.



But the Christian
in whom Christ is risen
dares
to think and act differently
from the crowd.
He has ideas of his own,
not because he is arrogant,
but because
he has the humility to stand alone
and pay attention to the purpose
and the Grace of God,
which are often
quite contrary
to the purposes
and the plans
of the established
human power structure.

THOMAS MERTON

march

1977

maart

BY DIE POSKANTOOR AS NUUSBLAD INGESKRYF

REGISTERED AT THE GPO AS A NEWSPAPER

pro veritate

FEAR AND LOVE

Education becomes indoctrination; democracy becomes totalitarianism; 'Defence' means the forceful imposition of a policy on an unarmed population; Truth is decided by censor; Law is pronounced by policemen without recourse to the Courts. Faith in Christ becomes the support of religious systems and tribal taboos. Many churchmen, whilst verbalising liberal theories, actually identify with white supremacy, wealth, discrimination, western ideologies, the armed forces of violence, irrelevant pseudo gospels, and a social consciousness that promotes the concepts of capitalism rather than Christ. But they are so petrified with fear that they do not recognise it.

Whites have got everything: especially fear. Boundless qualities, noble traditions, high ideals, long training, and vast experience of citizenship are crippled by their fears. They are like highly trained athletes whose legs are placed in chains until they become stunted and twisted.

These dark white fears need obliterating by the light of truth.

Blacks are useless. False. Most white ideas of black ideas are white ideas. Many who have the 'I know the kaffir' mentality picked up their concept of black intentions from white politicians who have no real knowledge of the feelings of black people. The actual black contribution is vital.

Blacks are communists. False. Blacks want to be human adults instead of dehumanised minors but have no desire to swap white domination for red domination. The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have been fighting communists in their ranks simply because so many blacks reject a communist take over. Tanzania and Zambia accepted Chinese help for the Tanzam Railways simply because the West refused it. Black South African politicians seeking a new deal rightfully examine every political and social alternative, and own a special interest in Communism simply because the Nationalists reject it with such vehemence. Yet they know that nationalists are as capable as fascists of using communism as a scape goat, and they have no desire (and no necessity) to be taken over by 19th century theories or 20th century Great Powers. They want a local, indigenous, actual liberation.

Blacks will decimate the country with tribal warfare. False. South African blacks are well aware of the dangers of human fratricide, and deeply critical of the factions which have caused chaos amongst South African Whites: and amongst the Black states to the north. Many are strongly apprehensive of the nationalist tactic of using the ideology of ethnicity to establish 'Homelands', scorn the 'independence' of Transkei and BophuthuTswana, and are deeply concerned about Inkatha.

From the African National Congress to the Black Peoples Convention, black political organisations have eschewed tribalism. It is specifically rejected by blacks in the churches.

Blacks are as aware of their personal and local roots as the English, Jews, Afrikaners, Cockneys, or Transvalers — but they want one united South Africa.

Nor do they have any doubt who their leaders are, though they are denied the opportunity to elect them.

Blacks will drive whites into the sea. Blacks will cut white throats. Blacks will use power to retaliate and we cannot blame them. False. Blacks are opposed to apartheid, oppression, racism, and subjugation; they are opposed to white dominance, to whites telling them what to do, to whites thinking they know best, and to the enforced imposition of white customs and priorities. But blacks are not opposed to whites.

The notion that Change in South Africa means a black government which totally rejects whites is entirely a figment of white nationalist imagination and swart gevaar politicising. Because whites exclude blacks as subhuman they should not assume that blacks do the same.

There are whites in the government of many 'black' states, including our neighbouring territories. There are whites in the African National Congress. The Black Consciousness Movements exclude whites from membership for obvious tactical reasons, but not from friendship, nor the future.

People who have been guilty of crimes against humanity can expect the judgement of society in South Africa as anywhere else; flashpoint tragedies are bound to occur. But anti-criminal action is not to be confused with anti-white action, and black leaders are as opposed to mob rule in South Africa as they are to the maghotlas in Soweto and the KKK in the USA.

Blacks will repeat the catastrophes of the states to the north. False. South African blacks are more aware than anyone of the happenings in the north, and are opposed to dictators white, red, or black. They know, far better than most whites, of the errors of Nkrumah, the problems of Nyerere, the tensions around Kaunda, the follies of black leaders in Zimbabwe, and the unspeakable foulness of regimes like Uganda. (Read what blacks write on it). They are determined to produce an alternative South African Christian solution that works.

Blacks have nothing positive to offer. False. This is a lie against the human race perpetuated by racist influence on the media, and the rearing of fear laden whites through the use of indoctrination in the schools — but a lie, nevertheless. The opposite is the truth. Only the positive human values expounded by the 'black' consciousness movement can save us from the annihilation inherent in apartheid. Black people have a vital leadership role to play, through which God is speaking, and our present peril is that whites are not hearing his voice.

We shall be swamped by the black majority. Why do we interpret 'majority' in nationalist terms of race, ethnic group, and language? It is our task to strive for a majority that will put Christian concepts first, not the unChristian aims of wealth and security. Fifteen million black Christians in this country want to find a Christian answer — and that answer includes whites.

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

Gloom and despondency dominate many white Christians. The future looms before them in dreadful greyness, unrelieved by any sparkle of hope or delight, so they seek means of sensual or spiritual escapism, and let the government be their god.

67 Years of white power have failed to produce a peaceful and hopeful society, and government promises to secure the future of whites by the use of massive armed force are no comfort. The economy is breaking down under the cost of forcefully segregating and subjugating 80% of the population. Is there no shame when whites must shoot hundreds of school children to maintain their superiority? Superior in what?

But Christians who prophesy only doom must realise they are not speaking with a Jesus voice. There is an alternative programme in which the positive contribution of whites is fully demanded, arising from the faith that **God is busy with his programme. The strategy of God is at work in our history and it is our task to find and follow his purposes. That is what the Christian faith is about, and the task for which we are sent to make disciples.**

The alternative vision is the growth of a community which firmly believes in and seeks to work out the Christian model of

society in the New Testament. It can be expressed in three ways.

1. REPENTANCE. It is a society in which whites deliberately throw away their fearful submission to the Nationalist Government and white racist propaganda and take their place in harmony and humility with their neighbours. It starts with the unequivocal rejection of racism, nationalism, and the worship of wealth.

2. CHANGE. The objective is not to make a more comfortable place for blacks in the apartheid society, but to design a new sort of society altogether. This common shared society, making full use of the vital input of black people, is a community built on good human relationships arising from the total human resources of our land.

The priorities will be people not profit; 25 million educated healthy productive satisfied people rather than 4 million; a deliberate redistribution of wealth which starts with the voluntary renunciation of the search for riches by persons, groups, and churches. It means designing and building a distinctively new type of society for the South African Community, which will enable us all to face the future with hope and confidence and cooperation.

3. ACTION. It is a call for commitment to action, for people to build centres of confidence from which a new community can emerge out of the experience of shared knowledge, friendship, and trust. It means working out and adopting new life styles. It means political involvement. It means joining and supporting organisations and groups which are dedicated to bring change. It means bringing pressure to bear where you work and where you worship. It means forming a supportive community (instead of an ostracising one) for those who suffer from Government persecution. It means calling your friends and neighbours and family together and consulting with them on the issues involved, replacing falacies with truth, and translating theories into experience. It means seeking to build a Christian community.

That means establishing relationships of love.

And that casts out fear.

REDAKSIONEEL

VREES EN LIEFDE

Opvoeding word indoktrinasië; demokrasie word totalitarisme; 'Verdediging' beteken die kragtige afdwinging van 'n beleid op 'n ongewapende bevolking; Waarheid word bepaal deur sensorskap; Wet word aangekondig deur die polisie sonder toegang tot die howe. Geloof in Christus word die ondersteuning van godsdienstige stelsels en taboe van stamme. Baie kerkmense, terwyl hulle liberale teorieë verkondig, is in werklikheid besig om hulle te identifiseer met die wit heerskappy, rykdom, diskriminasie, westerse ideologieë, die gewapende magte van geweld, irrelevante pseudo-evangelies en 'n sosiale bewussyn, wat eerder die konsep van kapitalisme dan dié van Christus bevorder. Maar hulle is so vasgevang deur vrees dat hulle dit nie beseef nie.

Witmense het alles: veral vrees. Onbegrensde hoedanighede, edele tradisies, hoë ideale, lang opleiding en ruim ondervinding van burgerskap word belemmer deur hulle vrese... Hulle is soos puik afgerigte atlete wie se bene met kettings geboei is totdat hulle verdwerg en verwring word.

Hierdie donker wit vrese moet deur die lig van die waarheid uitgewis word.

Swartmense is nuttelos: Verkeerd. Die meeste wit idees van swart idees is wit idees. Baie wat die 'Ek ken die kaffer' mentaliteit koester, het hulle konsep van swart oogmerke gekry van wit politici wat geen ware kennis van die gevoelens van swartmense het nie. Die werklike swart bydrae is lewensbelangrik.

Swartmense is kommuniste: Verkeerd. Swartmense wil

graag menslike volwassenes wees in plaas van verontmenslike minderwaardiges, maar het geen begeerte om wit oorheersing vir rooi oorheersing te ruil nie. Die African National Congress en die Pan Africanist Congress het kommuniste in hulle geledere beveg eenvoudig omdat so baie swartes 'n kommunistiese oornamewerf. Tanzanië en Zambië het Sjinese hulp vir die Tanzam spoorlyn aanvaar slegs omdat die weste dit geweier het. Swart Suid-Afrikaanse politici wat 'n nuwe bedeling verlang, ondersoek met reg elke politieke en sosiale alternatief en gee alleenlik spesiale aandag aan kommunisme omdat Nasionaliste dit met soveel heftigheid verwerp. Tog weet hulle dat Nasionaliste net so in staat is soos die fasciste om kommunisme as 'n sondebok te gebruik en hulle het geen begeerte (en sien geen noodsaaklikheid nie) om oorgeneem te word deur die teorieë van die 19e-eeu of die Groot Magte van die 20ste-eeu nie. Hulle verlang 'n plaaslike, inheemse, werklike bevryding.

Swartmense sal die land deur stamgevegte uitdun. Verkeerd. Suid-Afrikaanse swartmense is deeglik bewus van die gevare van menslike broedermoord en baie krities oor die partyskappe wat chaos veroorsaak het tussen die witmense in Suid-Afrika; en tussen die swart state ten noorde. Baie is ernstig bevrees vir die taktiek van die Nasionaliste om die ideologie van etnisiteit te gebruik om 'Tuislande' te stig; hulle minag die 'onafhanklikheid' van die Transkei en BophuthaTswana en is baie besorg oor Inkatha.

Vanaf die African National Congress tot die Black Peoples' Convention het swart politieke organisasies stamgebondenheid vermy. Dit word spesifiek verwerp deur swartes in die kerke. Swartmense is net so bewus van hulle persoonlike en plaaslike wortels soos die Engelse, Jode, Afrikaners, Londenars of Transvalers — maar hulle wil een verenigde Suid-Afrika hê.

Hulle twyfel ook nie wie hulle leiers is nie alhoewel die geleentheid om hulle te kies nie aan hulle gegun word nie.

Swartmense sal witmense in die see jaag. Swartes sal wittes keel af sny. Swartes sal hulle mag gebruik om weerwraak te beoefen en ons kan hulle nie blameer nie. Verkeerd. Swartmense is gekant teen apartheid, onderdrukking, rassisme en onderwerping; hulle is gekant teen wit oorheersing, teen witmense wat vir hulle sê wat om te doen, teen witmense wat dink hulle weet die beste en teen die gedwonge oplegging van wit gebruike en prioriteite. Maar swartes is nie gekant teen wittes nie.

Die idee dat Verandering in Suid-Afrika 'n swart regering impliseer wat witmense geheel-en-al verwerp, is 'n versinsel van Nasionaliste se verbeelding en swartgevaar politikery. Omdat witmense swartmense uitsluit as sub-menslik behoort hulle nie te aanvaar dat swartmense dieselfde doen nie.

Daar is witmense in die regering van baie „swart“ state, insluitende ons buurstate. Daar is witmense in die African National Congress. Die Swart Bewussynsbeweging sluit witmense uit van lidmaatskap vir klaarblyklik taktiese redes, maar nie van vriendskap of van die toekoms nie.

Mense wat hulle skuldig gemaak het aan misdade teen die mensheid moet die oordeel van die samelewing in Suid-Afrika net soos op enige ander plek verwag; ontvlampunt-tragedies sal onvermydelik voorkom. Maar anti-misdadige aksie moet nie verwar word met anti-wit aksie nie en swart leiers is net so gekant teen gepeupel-heerskappy in Suid-Afrika soos wat hulle is teen die maghotlas in Soweto en die K.K.K. in die V.S.A.

Swartmense sal die katastrofes van die state ten noorde herhaal. Verkeerd. Suid-Afrikaanse swartmense is meer as enigeen bewus van die gebeure in die noorde en is gekant teen diktators wit, rooi of swart. Hulle weet baie beter as die meeste witmense van die foute van Nkrumah, die probleme van Nyerere, die spanninge rondom Kaunda, die dwaashede van swart leiers in Zimbabwe en die onnoembare skandelikheid

van regerings soos dié in Uganda (lees wat swartes daarvoor skryf). Hulle is vasbeslote om 'n alternatiewe Suid-Afrikaanse Christelike oplossing wat sal werk, te voorskyn te bring.

Swartmense het niks positiefs om te offer nie. Verkeerd. Dis 'n leuen teen die menslike geslag wat in stand gehou word deur die rassistiese beïnvloeding van die media en die vorming van vreesbevange witmense deur middel van indoktrinering in die skole — maar nietemin 'n leuen. Die teenoorgestelde is die waarheid. Slegs die positiewe menslike waardes soos deur die 'swart' bewussynsbeweging uiteengesit, kan ons red van vernietiging wat inherent in apartheid is. Swartmense het 'n lewensbelangrike lewensrol, waardeur God besig is om te praat, om te vervul en die huidige gevaar is dat ons as witmense nie sy stem hoor nie.

Ons sal verswelg word deur die swart meerderheid. Waarom interpreteer ons 'meerderheid' volgens die Nasionaliste se terme van ras, etniese groepe en taal? Dit is ons taak om te strew na 'n meerderheid wat die Christelike konsep eerste sat stel, nie die onchristelike doelstellings van rykdom en sekuriteit nie. Vyftien miljoen swart Christene in hierdie land wil 'n Christelike antwoord vind — en die antwoord sluit witmense in.

HOOP VIR DIE TOEKOMS

Somberheid en moedeloosheid domineer baie wit Christene. Die toekoms strek voor hulle uit in doodse grysheid, sonder enige sprankie van hoop of vreugde, daarom soek hulle weë van sensuele of geestelike ontvlugting en laat toe dat die regering hulle god is.

67 Jaar van wit gesag het gefaal om 'n vreedsame en hoopvolle samelewing voort te bring en die regering se beloftes om die toekoms vir witmense te verseker deur die gebruik van 'n massiewe gewapende mag is geen gerusstelling nie. Die ekonomie is besig om af te takel vanweë die gedwonge skeiding en onderwerping van 80% van die bevolking. Is daar geen skaamte as witmense honderde skoolkinders moet skiet om hulle meerderwaardigheid te handhaaf nie? Meerderwaardig in wat?

Maar Christene wat alleen verdoeming voorspel, moet beseft dat hulle nie met 'n Jesus-stem praat nie. Daar is 'n alternatiewe program waarin die positiewe bydrae van die witmense tenvolte geverg word, omdat dit voortspruit uit die geloof dat **God besig is met sy program. Die strategie van God is besig in ons geskiedenis en dit is ons taak om sy oogmerke te ontdek en te volg. Dit is waaroor die Christelike geloof gaan en die taak waarvoor ons gestuur word om dissipels te maak.**

Die alternatiewe visie is die groei van 'n gemeenskap wat vas glo in die Christelike model van die Nuwe Testamentiese gemeenskap en soek om dit te verwesenlik. Dit kan op drie maniere uitgedruk word.

1. BELYDENIS. Dit is 'n samelewing waarin witmense willens en wetens hulle vreesbevange onderworpenheid aan die Nasionale Regering en wit rassistiese propaganda moet afskud en hulle plek moet inneem in harmonie en nederigheid naas hulle bure. Dit begin met die ondubbelsinnige verwerping van rassisme, nasionalisme en die aanbidding van rykdom.

2. VERANDERING. Die doel is nie om 'n meer gerieflike plek vir swartmense in die apartheidsamelewing in te ruim nie, maar 'n algehele nuwe vorm van samelewing te ontwerp. Hierdie gesamentlik-gedeelde samelewing met volle gebruikmaking van die lewenskragtige bydrae van swartmense is 'n samelewing wat gebou word op goeie menslike verhoudinge wat voortspruit uit die totale menslike bydraes in ons land.

Die prioriteite sal wees mense — nie wins nie; 25 miljoen opgevoede, gesonde, produktiewe, tevrede mense liever as 4 miljoen; 'n doelbewuste redistribusie van rykdom wat begin by die vrywillige prysgawe van die soeke na rykdom deur persone, groepe en kerke. Dit beteken om 'n kenmerkende nuwe soort

samelewing vir die Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap te ontwerp en te bou, wat ons almal in staat sal stel om die toekoms met hoop en vertroue en samewerking tegemoet te gaan.

3. AKSIE. Dit is 'n oproep tot toewyding tot aksie, dat mense sentrums van vertroue sal uitbou waaruit 'n nuwe gemeenskap te voorskyn sal tree as brug van die ondervinding van gedeelde kennis, vriendskap en vertroue. Dit beteken om nuwe lewenswyses uit te werk en aan te neem. Dit beteken politieke betrokkenheid. Dit beteken aansluiting by en ondersteuning van organisasies en groepe wat toegewy is om

verandering aan te bring. Dit beteken om druk uit te oefen waar 'n mens werk en waar jy aanbid. Dit beteken om 'n nuwe ondersteunende gemeenskap te vorm (in plaas van een wat uitsluit) vir hulle wat ly onder vervolging deur die regering. Dit beteken dat jy jou vriende en bure en familie moet bymekaar roep en met hulle sal beraadslaag oor die betrokke vraagstukke, om valshede met waarheid te vervang en om teorieë in daad te omskep. Dit beteken om te soek om 'n Christelike gemeenskap te bou.

Dit beteken om verhoudinge van liefde tot stand te bring. En dit dryf vrees uit.

AFRICA'S FUTURE LOOKS SAD

PERCY QOBOZA, Editor of THE WORLD Newspaper, is prominent amongst the voices of black Africans in the Transvaal. In little over a year THE WORLD has developed from a sex and soccer sheet to a vital reporter and commentator of the South African scene. It is a paper for blacks that whites should not miss. We reprint a recent editorial from WEEKEND WORLD.

AFRICA, so far, has not exactly been a raving success.

The great promises that were made at independence have seldom turned into reality. Instead of the land of milk and honey, independence has too often been a case of dry bread.

Not all is gloom. There are the Kaundas, the Nyereres, the Khamas — but there are too many of the other kind.

(1) Amin

Foremost of the "other kind" is Uganda's President Amin. Amin is not a joke, as some people seem to think. He is a wicked racist murderer, and an insult to Africa.

The free Press of Africa is virtually unanimous — Amin must go. But where are the governments of Africa? Until they, too, raise their voices against Amin's massacres they will appear to the world as a spineless mob of jackals.

(2) Matanzima

Kaiser Matanzima is introducing a death penalty for people who criticise the Transkei's "independence". What a way to win the recognition of the world! What a way to celebrate the birth of a so-called "free"State!

Is this what is in store for the other homelands? Is it this kind of attitude which will ultimately hold sway in South Africa itself?

(3) The Zimbabweans

If there is anything even more depressing than the attitude of the White Rhodesians, it is the attitude of the Black ones.

On the present showing it is highly likely that when the Smith government finally topples, the country will face years of war and violence while the conflicting Black groups try to grab power.

(4) Vorster

Yes — Africa's future looks sad. But no where as sad as right here in South Africa Black leaders generally are putting up a poor performance, but none as bad as our own Government. Whatever their faults, none of the Black leaders have the incredible gall to build up a structure of law that makes one race inferior to another.

Let that not offer any comfort to Black people. Let Black South Africans realise that our only chance for contentment is by realising that wickedness can occur under Black rule as well as White, and by opposing all forms of racism and brutality — both now and in the future.

NATION MAKES MISTAKES

—President Carter

Warning that "in effect, many of us worship our nation", President Jimmy Carter told the 25th Annual National Prayer Breakfast that America must be more humble as a nation.

"A sense of communion that we can have under God throughout the world," he said, "ought to convince us that we are not superior, that we ought to constantly search our national and

individual consciousnesses and strive to be better, which doesn't mean more powerful and autocratic, but more filled with love and understanding and compassion and humaneness and humility."

"Sometimes it is easier for us to be humble as individuals than it is for us to admit that our nation makes mistakes", Mr Carter said.

„DIE AFRIKANER AS REBEL”

—Beyers Naudé

(Bydrae tot paneelbespreking op Vrydag, 4 Februarie 1977 as deel van die Somerskool van die Universiteit van Kaapstad onder die tema: Suid-Afrika 1984: Afrikaner Waarheen?)

Die Afrikaner verkeer vandag oteenseglik in die ernstigste krisis van sy voortbestaan. In teenstelling met baie Afrikaners wat die hoofoorsake van hierdie krisis buite die Afrikanervolk om soek en wat die skuld daarvan op magte en moondhede buite die Afrikaner om plaas, wil ek beweer dat dit in die eerste plek die Afrikaner self is wat verantwoordelik is vir hierdie krisis en nie vyandige magte van buite nie. Ek wil vir geen oomblik die gevaar van magte van buite wat die Afrikaner se bestaan bedreig, ontken of verkleineer nie, maar ek wil beweer dat die grootste bedreiging vir die Afrikaner en sy voortbestaan voortkom vanuit die Afrikaner self, vanuit sy eie geleedere en nie van buite nie. As in wese hierdie stelling korrek is, dan is my verdere stelling ook waar, naamlik dat dit in die laaste instansie die Afrikaner self is wat hierdie bedreiging vir sy voortbestaan kan afweer en kan omskep in 'n toekoms van verantwoordelike saambestaan met ander bevolkingsgroepe in Suid-Afrika — natuurlik met aanvaarding van sy posisie as een van 'n aantal minderheidsgroepe in 'n volksbestel van 25 miljoen mense.

Laat my toe om my bewering dat dit ten diepste die Afrikaner self is wat sy voortbestaan bedreig soos volg te staaf. Vooraf egter moet ek kortliks stel hoe, na my mening, die krisis hom vandag vertoon. **Polities** het die beleid van afsonderlike of selfstandige ontwikkeling by 'n doodloop-staat gekom omdat, ten spyte van al die vroom versekeringe wat aan ons voorgehou word, ons weet dat die oorgrote meerderheid van die swart en bruin bevolking die huidige politieke beleid nooit vrywillig sal aanvaar nie; **ekonomies** beleef ons die een krisis na die ander soos bewys word nie net deur die ineenstorting van 'n magtige eiendomsontwikkelingsreus soos Glen Anil nie, maar veral deur die dodelike kritiek van 'n ras-egte Afrikaner soos dr. A. D. Wassenaar; **kerklik-teologies** word die gaping in Bybelse interpretasie en kerklike beleid tussen die drie blanke Afrikaanse kerke enersyds en die drie swart N.G. Kerke andersyds steeds groter met toenemende isolasie van die drie blanke kerke; **buitelands** het Suid-Afrika hom nie alleen van die volkere van Afrika vervreem nie, maar ook van die Weste en staan ons tans geheel en al alleen; **binnelands** groei swart en bruin ontevredenheid en verbittering teen die magspolitiek van die Afrikaner by die dag. Waarom al hierdie ontwikkelinge? Wat is die grondoorsaak van hierdie, vir die Afrikaner, toenemend bedreigende situasie?

„Die oorsaak van al die omwentelinge in ons land en in ons stede in die besonder, is nie, die studente' of 'die totsis' of 'Swart Bewussyn' of 'Kommuniste' of 'Christen-agitators'. Die primêre oorsaak van onrus en van al die geweld in ons land is die sonder van rassediskriminasie. Dit is hierdie sondige blanke rassisme wat die oorsaak is van verslegtende verhouding tussen Swart en Wit in ons land.” So (vry vertaal) som die Predikante Broederkring van Langa, Guguletu en Nyanga in Kaapstad die situasie op in 'n vlugskrif getiteld: Message for 1977 — to those in authority and to White South Africa.

Dis my diepe oortuiging dat elkeen van die hierbo-genoemde situasies in die laaste instansie voortgespruit het uit die politieke rassebeleid van die Afrikaner. Die weiering van die Regering om dit ruitelik te erken, gepaardgaande met die weiering van die Afrikaner as gemeenskap om dit in te sien, is die grootste enkele oorsaak van die krisis waarin die Afrikaner hom vandag bevind.

'n Tweede oorsaak van die krisis is geleë in die angsvallige weiering van die amptelike leierskap van die drie Afrikaanse kerke om sonder huiwering aan hulle lidmate die pynlike maar noodsaaklike waarheid te verkondig dat ons huidige landsbeleid, gemeet aan die Bybelse norme van naasteliefde, geregtigheid, gemeenskap, versoening, bevryding en vernuwing in direkte stryd is met die evangelie. Ek wil vir geen oomblik die waarde van die onlangse verslag van die N.G. Kerk oor rasseverhoudinge misken nie of die ernstige poginge van die Calvinistiese groep van Woord en Daad in Potchefstroom onderskat nie, maar ek is oortuig daarvan dat ons alleen dán die lidmate van die drie Afrikaanse kerke sal help as die hierbogenoemde Bybelse begrippe en waarhede vir die deursnee lidmaat in duidelik verstaanbare taal deur middel van prediking, kategetiese onderrig, kursusse en konferensies op 'n **konkrete** manier uitgespel en in voortdurende diskussie gestel word. Dit sal ook beteken dat die kerk sy profetiese roeping teenoor die staat sal moet nakom om nie net persoonlik en vertroulik nie, maar ook in die openbaar oor ons volkereverhoudinge en rasseproblematiek te sê: So sê die Here! Eers wanneer ons so ver gekom het is daar hoop om die verlore vertrouwe van die drie swart N.G. Kerke te herwin en die proses van toenemende vervreemding en polarisasie tussen wit en swart Christene binne die familie van die N.G. Kerke tot 'n halt te roep.

'n Derde oorsaak van die ernstige dilemma waarin die Afrikaner hom vandag bevind is die weiering of die onwil van die grootste groep van Afrikaner akademici om pertinente, indringende, prinsipiële kritiek teen die huidige politieke beleid te lewer. Ek bedoel hier kritiek nie net teen sekere aspekte van die beleid nie, maar teen die hele konsep, die fundering, die struktuur, die raamwerk self. Dit val my keer op keer op hoedat talle Afrikaanse akademici (en dit geld ook vir die grootste getal van Afrikaanse teoloë) wanneer hulle kritiek op die huidige politieke sisteem uitspreek, angsvallige pogings aanwend om te beklemtoon dat hierdie kritiek nie gesien of geïnterpreteer moet word as 'n verwerping van die breë raamwerk van die politieke beleid van selfstandige ontwikkeling nie. Wie vandag nog die oplossing vir ons volkereverhoudinge binne hierdie raamwerk bly soek, pleeg verraad teen die hoogste belange van die Christendom sowel as die Afrikanervolk en versterk daarmee die oortuiging in ons swart gemeenskap dat die Afrikaner nie bereid is om enige alternatief te oorweeg of enige gehoor aan die waarskuwings en pleidooie van swart leiers te gee nie. Die ware bevryding van die Afrikanervolk sal eers dan kom wanneer 'n genoegsame aantal Afrikaanse akademici bereid is om buite die raamwerk van 'n verwurgende politieke beleid te gaan staan en die prys daarvoor te betaal — net soos die bevryding van die blanke Afrikaanse kerke van hulle ideologiese verbintenis eers dan sal kom wanneer 'n genoegsame aantal Afrikaanse teoloë wat op grond van die evangelie in hulle harte en in hulle gewetes die beleid van selfstandige ontwikkeling verwerp, bereid is om dit in die openbaar te sê en ewe-eens die prys daarvoor te betaal.

En as dan as verweer die argument geopper word dat die openbaarmaking van sodanige oortuiginge lei tot vervreemding van en verwerping deur jou eie volk dan antwoord ek deur te sê dat

dit die prys is wat 'n Afrikaner bereid moet wees om te betaal as hy sy volk van ondergang wil help red. Alleen die openbaarmaking van die waarheid kan die Afrikaner bevry. Is dit 'n ydele droom om selfs nog op hierdie laat oomblik te bly hoop dat 'n aantal Afrikaners die moed sal hê om na vore te kom met die stigting van 'n Genootskap van Vrye Afrikaners wat die magte wat ons wil vernietig kan aanspreek en sê: Tot hiertoe en nie verder nie?

'n Vierde oorsaak van die ernstige krisis waarin ons as Afrikaners ons tans bevind is die byna halsstarrige weiering van ons blanke gemeenskap (insluitende die Afrikaner) om aandagtig (en ootmoedig) na die openhartige en some skerpsnydende kritiek van bruin en swart leiers in ons midde te luister — omdat onder andere regeringspropaganda daarin slaag om sulke kritiek af te maak as komende van agitators, opstokers, kommuniste, verdwaalde geestelikes en dergelike meer. As die kritiek van verantwoordelike leiers soos Steve Biko; Allan Boesak, Gatsha Buthelezi, Manas Buthelezi, Sam Buti, Alan Hendrickse, Sonny Leon, en Desmond Tutu teen die Afrikaner en sy politieke en kerklike beleid vir ons onaanvaarbaar is — as ons in ergernis of woede (of verbolgenheid — om die woord van Die Burger te gebruik) dit afwys of verwerp met die wrewelige oproep: Klim van die Afrikaner se rug af! — as ons Afrikaners ons harte verhard en ons gewetes toesluit vir die pleidooie van sulke mense, watter hoop het ons dan om die krisis op te los? Watter morele reg het ons dan om te verwag dat dié mense geduldig, gediensdig, gedwee moet wag tot eendag doer ver in die verskiet wanneer ons as blankes en as Afrikaners dit uiteindelik goeddink om erns te maak van hulle waarskuwings en uitnodigings? Is ons as Afrikaners dan werklik so blind dat ons nie kan insien dat as ons die opregte pogings van hierdie gemagtigde leiers tot 'n dialoog met die oog op politieke magsdeling afwys, ons uiteindelik voor 'n radikale, revolusionêre leierskap te staan sal kom wat nie meer bereid sal wees om te kommunikeer nie, maar alleen om te konfronteer?

'n Verderê, en vir my ewe-eens ernstige, gevolg van die negering of afwysing van hierdie swart en bruin leiers is die wyse waarop ons as Afrikaners daardeur in toenemende mate veral die jong swart intellektueles van ons sted in die arms van die Marxiste en die kommuniste dryf. Is dit nie ironies dat dié volk wat homself daarop beroem dat hy die mees uitgesproke, anti-kommunistiese volk ter wêreld is 'n politieke beleid volg en afdwing waardeur al meer en meer die oortuiging by miljoene swartes van ons land posvat, dat hulle hul bevryding alleen van die kommunisme kan verwag? As ons huidige bewindhebbers dan werklik so bekommerd is om die

aanstormende mag van die kommunisme te breek (soos hulle beweër), waarom kom hulle dan nie na vore en sê eerlik aan die Afrikanervolk: „Ons kan nie so voortgaan nie. Of ons gaan voort om 'n beleid op die meerderheid van die bevolking af te dwing wat al hoe meer haat en vyandskap teen die blanke wek en al hoe meer swartes hulle heil en bevryding by die kommunisme laat soek, óf ons sien af van hierdie heillose weg en verklaar ons bereid tot 'n samespraak met swart en bruin leiers om 'n politieke magsdeling te bewerk wat die kommunisme sy aantrekkingskrag as ideologie vir miljoene swartes sal ontnem.” Dis die keuse waarvoor die blanke, en by name die Afrikaner, vandag in Suid-Afrika staan.

Slot: Selfs in hierdie late uur wil ek beweër dat daar nog die moontlikheid bestaan vir die Afrikaner om 'n wending te gee aan die gang van sake wat andersins ramspoedig gaan wees — as daar 'n genoegsame aantal Afrikaners bereid is om na vore te kom en in woord en daad hulle verset teen die huidige beleid bekend te maak. Sodanige moedige optrede veronderstel egter die aanvaarding van minstens die drie volgende stappe:

1. Dit verg die moed om weg te breek van die huidige politieke status quo, nie om daardeur van die Afrikaner weg te breek nie, maar om duidelik te sê dat ons nie bereid is om ons óf deur Pretoria óf deur Potchefstroom óf deur Kaapstad óf deur watter groep ookal, te laat voorskrywe van wat ons onder Afrikanerskap verstaan nie, asook om daardeur ons opregte begeerte te betoon om die toekomstige saambestaan van Afrikaner met ander volksgroepe in hierdie land te verseker.
2. Dit veronderstel verder die gewilligheid aan die kant van sulke Afrikaners om oor te gaan tot 'n georganiseerde vreedsame verset teen alle vorms van onreg wat vandag in die naam van die behoud van blanke identiteit en van Christelik-nasionalisme aangebied en vereis word. In hierdie verband geld die sleutelwoord van prof. Dreyer Kruger ten diepste: Vreedsame verset as morele imperatief.
3. Dit verg van ons 'n nuwe lewensstyl, 'n nuwe lewenspatroon waar klein alternatiewe gemeenskappe van mense van verskillende uiteenlopende kulturele en rasse-agtergronde bereid is om saam te kom om iets te weerspieël van die menslike verhoudinge van die toekomstige Azania. Selfs al sou dit geen noemenswaardige openbare uitwerking hê nie, dan sal sulke pogings dien as 'n teken, as 'n simbool van hoop en verwagting dat dit moontlik is om in die land van die toekoms as wit en bruin en swart in vrede saam te lewe.

KAAPSTAD,
4 Februarie 1977.

PRO VERITATE AND THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

P.V. to be sent FREE to all C.I. members

The recent National Council of the Christian Institute made several far reaching decisions regarding Pro Veritate. The journal has always existed financially on a large grant from C.I. sources, and the effect of the changes will be to reduce the grant, increase circulation, and increase Regional involvement in distribution and promotion.

- * PRO VERITATE will be sent free to all C.I. members, via the Regional Offices.
- * The C.I. membership subscription of R1 per annum remains unchanged at a figure anyone can afford. However, nearly all members send a donation as well, and we hope they will increase this to assist with Pro Veritate.
- * The reduction in the work load in Johannesburg makes

possible a cut back in staff and office accommodation.

- * Subscriptions to P.V. from people who are not members of the Christian Institute will be increased to R5.00 per annum to cover the increased cost of printing and postage.
- * Promotional Campaigns are to be encouraged, from Regional level, in an endeavour to have PRO VERITATE sold regularly in many churches, educational institutions, work centres, and local organisations. Copies in bulk for such campaigns can be obtained from Regional C.I. offices, and will sell at 30c each, compared with the normal price of 40c. (Except that if people join C.I. they receive Pro Veritate freely.)

We hope that many local individuals will take it upon themselves to sell P.V. 10 copies per month are not much — but it soon mounts up when 100 people start doing it!

"ONLY SOCIALISM CAN SATISFY SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE."

-Peter Randall

On March 1st 1977, Peter Randall spoke in favour of this motion at the Centenary debate of the University of Cape Town Debating Union. Harry Oppenheimer, head of the Anglo American Corporation and Chancellor of the University opposed the motion.

This is the real debate in South Africa today, and we report it in full.

I congratulate the Union on its centenary, and on its choice of topic for this anniversary debate. The Union obviously sees the true nature of the basic issue facing South Africa.

I also congratulate the Union on its choice of at least one of to-night's speakers. It's not so obvious, however, why I should be the other. Some reasons may be found in the very nature of our political economy, that complex interplay of politics and economics which makes up the South African social system. **Ideally you should have had a spokesman for black labour, but the most articulate and dynamic black labour leaders have been systematically silenced, with hardly a squeak of protest from organised white labour or from the captains of commerce and industry, those upholders of freedom — their freedom — in a free enterprise system.**

On the other hand, you would hardly expect to have a spokesman for organised white labour proposing to-night's motion. Generally, our white labour leaders are pretty content with the capitalist system. It has given them a good innings, at the expense very often of their black colleagues. In fact there is a basic convergence of the interests of white government, white business and white labour in our free enterprise system, which results in quite a cosy alliance, notwithstanding relatively minor disagreements. And even moderate white labour leaders who disagree a little too strongly soon get silenced themselves.

So I'm afraid you'll have to put up with someone like me: not a doctrinaire socialist, and a pretty poor ideologue. **But I do believe that our present socio-economic system is leading us to disaster, and that only the adoption of a social democratic program offers any real hope for the future.** This is essentially my case to-night. I shall concentrate, perhaps inevitably, on the economic ordering of our society, but I wish to remind you that social democratic principles extend into other major fields, like education and the law. Inevitably, I shall also have to be brief and risk oversimplification. I cannot present the case for a social democratic South Africa in a bare quarter hour with any adequacy.

Social Justice

The clash of ideas, the great debate about socialism and capitalism, has occupied generations and encompasses virtually the whole globe. It is clear that most countries are now moving, if not in a pure socialist direction, at least towards a mixed economy, employing many of the programs and principles of socialism for the greater benefit of their people. Portugal is only one example in recent times.

The motion you will be called to vote on reads: Only socialism can satisfy South Africa's future. By SA I understand not just the whites, not just the affluent, whether black or white, but our total human community. Eugene Roelofse, former director of the Consumer Council, who was purged when his ideas became too embarrassing to big-business and the government, reminds us that the average SA consumer is not an Afrikaans-speaking senior clerk living in Parow and with a half-paid for Valiant — he is a black worker with a monthly income around R70 and an education around Std. 3. And it is this average South African's future which must be satisfied if all of us are to have any future at all. This is possible only through the achievement of social justice, of a society in which poverty, ignorance and race and class conflict are progressively eradicated, a society in which real human needs are met, rather than the pseudo needs fostered by advertisers and other

lackeys of big business, a society in which, as far as possible, the exploitation, degradation and alienation of people and the destruction of our environment will not be tolerated. For all this we need an equitable sharing of wealth and resources and effective participation of all our people in major decisions, political and economic, which affect our lives.

These ideals cannot be achieved in our country through capitalism. This dehumanising system in fact retards the achievement of a just society. It is like a runner with a huge lead saying to his competitors, OK you can start now. Capitalism rests on values of individualistic-materialism. Lord Keynes said: 'Avarice and usury must be our gods, for only they can lead us . . . into daylight'.

Strange and obscene gods for men to go whoring after. We need other, worthier ones in their place to be fully human. Ha, the 'realists' will say smugly, starry-eyed idealism. But, as a French student leader said, 'Be realistic, do the impossible'. And I would add, **if we do not do the impossible, we shall face the unthinkable.** Like the great Calvinist, Andre Bieler, I believe the world has arrived at a point where the ever-madder pursuit of material goods has become suicidal, and when utopia alone is realistic.

We must also grasp the present as history, realising that many of our social institutions and modes will change; unbridled capitalism and the unfettered pursuit of profit is a relatively recent phenomenon — one day it too will be relegated to history's scrapheap to join other quaint concepts like slavery and the divine right of kings. I recognise there are no panaceas, that social engineering is complex and involves difficult decisions — putting money into mass basic health schemes rather than prestigious heart transplants, for example. But there is no growth without pain, no building without rubble.

Challenge

The new Penguin political dictionary defines socialism as 'a political and economic theory according to which the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned and controlled by the people, everyone should be given an equal opportunity to develop his talents, and the wealth of the community should be fairly distributed.' Can any fair-minded person argue with that as a desirable goal for our society? The commanding heights of the economy, the main industries of the nation, should be brought under common control and planned for the common good, and not for the benefit of a few shareholders. This does not mean the nationalisation of every fish and chip shop or dry cleaning establishment.

The definition also stresses the need for a fair sharing of wealth. This is one of our most urgent priorities. For any future worth having we must eradicate the artificial gap in incomes and living standards between white and black. Not only is the huge racial disparity immoral, it holds the seeds of massive conflict. The present economic system cannot save us from that. It may admit a few selected blacks in, to form a small elite — the 'middle class buffer' we are told about — but it cannot solve the major problem. Only the other night, speaking in the USA, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said, 'I see the need for a radical redistribution of wealth which I cannot envisage taking place within the framework of SA's present order'. He went on, 'Blacks suffer terribly as a result of a particularly exploitative free enterprise system' and he looked towards the day when unfettered capitalism would be eliminated. From within Afrikanerdom itself men like Prof Dreyer Kruger are

now raising the same challenge to capitalism.

There is a groundswell building up, which allied to the inherent weaknesses and contradictions in capitalism itself, points towards the shape of the future South Africa with which all of us, wealthy capitalists included, will have to come to grips. No wonder that Dr van der Peol, managing director of Huletts, speaking to the Institute of Race Relations, expressed alarm at the rejection of the free enterprise system among blacks, who, according to him, see capitalism as being only for the benefit of whites. In a notable address at the same conference Mr Michael Savage presented some sobering figures: *10% of our population get 58% of all income* — a worse picture even than Brazil, notorious for its social inequalities. *Although forming only just over 17% of the total population, whites get more than 73% of all the country's income. Nearly two-thirds of all African households live on less than R80 a month, and almost a third of Coloured people live below the poverty line.* Yet the whites are persuaded to spend more than R20m a year on their pets, while R300m was spent on TV sets in the first 18 months of the TV service.

But R50m would electrify Soweto, and R20m wipe out the black housing backlog in the country's largest and richest city. The Sprocas Economic Commission found that some sectors of the black population are poorer now, in absolute terms, than at the beginning of the century. The Financial Mail calculates that the gap between black and white household incomes widened dramatically during the great boom years up to 1973, while the Wainers and the Poplaks of this world were having it good, and that white per capita incomes are now 16 times as high as those of Africans. Verily, under capitalism, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Not apartheid but capitalism

Because we cannot simply blame the government or apartheid for this sorry record. The same kind of imbalances appear in the leading free enterprise country, where the law at least is on the side of non-discrimination. The top 20% of Americans own 80% of all that can be privately owned, and the bottom 25% own literally nothing, or less than nothing, being in debt.

No socialist society on earth shows anything like these patterns of gross inequality. Nor can the reason be found in the racial composition of SA and the USA. At the height of British capitalism, at the beginning of the century, the same patterns appear — and are by no means eradicated yet. The cost in social and human terms is poignantly revealed in the death rates in London in 1906. In the working class East End the average life expectancy was 30 years; in middle to upper class Mayfair it was 55.

Capitalism's ugly record is aggravated by its undemocratic nature. South African big business is run by a small group of white males, activated by the profit motive and responsible only to their shareholders, who form only 11.8% of the adult white population anyway. In pursuit of profit, this numerically insignificant minority is even prepared to desecrate our landscape and pollute our environment (Sandy Bay, for example), even to destroy human life (thalidomide babies in Europe, mercury-poisoned children in Japan). Secret meetings of boards of directors and of shareholders daily take decisions which affect the lives of all of us.

Capitalism in SA is also blatantly undemocratic in the way it operates to the advantage of white entrepreneurs; where were the Wassenaars when hundreds of Indian and Coloured merchants were uprooted and their livelihoods destroyed under the Group Areas Act? Where are their protests on behalf of African entrepreneurs who have less freedom of operation than foreign investors? Why will they negotiate with white trade unions but not unofficial black unions?

Monopolies

And meanwhile the white-controlled business juggernauts get more swollen and more powerful by the day. Take-overs, mergers, amalgamations are concentrating power in fewer and fewer hands. I cannot understand the logic of those who claim that public control of industry destroys people's incentive to work, but that being a mere cog in a vast corporation does not. During the Social

Democratic election campaign in 1974 I used to say half-jokingly that by 1990 most South Africans would face the prospect of having to work either for the government or for Anglo-American. The way things are going now I would bring the date forward at least a decade.

Whereas free enterprise may once have allowed for reasonably healthy competition, we are now well on the road to monopoly capitalism in which the big conglomerates divide the field up to suit themselves and fix prices between themselves like the price cartels of the middle ages. Jan Nettle recently pointed out in the RDM that a handful of Anglo American directors sit on the boards of many major companies in a vast financial octopus which encompasses just about every pursuit of profit known to man. The Business Times of 30 January gave an illuminating analysis of 76 interlocking companies revolving around Anglo to make up the octopus. The complexity of it all, a complexity deliberately fostered, I believe, to keep us mystified, baffles my simple mind, but the implications of so much wealth being concentrated in so few hands are quite staggering. And let us not bluff ourselves that most of this wealth is actually earned.

The point to make again is that these people are not answerable to the community at large, and if they wanted to waste the country's resources by investing in a plant to make electric toothpicks and then mount an expensive campaign to persuade us to use them, they could do so. Like a spokesman for the British Labour Party I do not understand freedom in terms of allowing men who have money to do what they want. And like the famous Clause 14 of that party's manifesto, adopted in 1918, I do believe that we must *'secure for the producers by hand and by brain the full fruits of the industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production'*.

Under the present system there is virtually no way in which the gold mining companies, for example, can fail to be party to the gross exploitation of black miners, who by no stretch of the imagination can be regarded as enjoying the full fruits of their labour. At the very least we need, as part of a transition, public representation and worker participation on the boards of large employers like the mines, as is already the case in seven West European countries, with the UK soon to follow suit. We also need far more vigorous diversion of the profits of large companies into social security and social service.

Crisis demands new priorities

We now face probably the greatest crisis in our history. It is not just a crisis of race relations. It is multi-faceted. Need I remind you of the sorry state of the private sector of our economy, with rising unemployment, inflation, the collapse of property companies and banks, bankruptcies and financial scandals? These are the signposts on the road to a collapsing system, and the waste and suffering involved is staggering. We need massive action to save us from massive conflict. We must recognise that social justice can in fact lead to greater productivity and efficiency, as well as to greater security and happiness. **One after another, the social democratic countries of western Europe, with their extensive social welfare systems, their efforts to bring about equitable distribution of wealth, and their increasing public control over private enterprise, are outstripping the USA in terms of living standards, and in terms of individual well being.** Even in the USA the lesson should be clear: its best decade in terms of real per capita income was the 1940's when the economy was run on a socialist wartime basis and planned for the benefit of the whole community. This is not my finding but that of the respected Professor Lester Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute for Technology.

We ourselves need to establish, through effective political participation of all our people, **a national set of priorities**, so that much more of the country's wealth goes on areas of real human need, like black education, black housing and the development of black rural areas, so that the shame of Thornhill can never be repeated. We must remember that politics and economics are

inextricably interwoven and that major economic decisions are also political decisions. We must move towards a society in which all our people have a say in those decisions through their democratically

elected representatives. If enough white South Africans commit themselves to that goal, there will be some hope of a future for us as well.

MR OPPENHEIMER REPLIES

Mr Oppenheimer did not speak from a typed script so we cannot print his reply in full. This report is reprinted from THE CAPE TIMES of 2.3.1977.

Mr Oppenheimer emphasized that the private enterprise system should be developed to its full to ensure that people got their proper share of the "great benefits it can bring".

He said the socio-economic system had already gone too far in South Africa and that "spreading wealth and freedom did not depend on the Government alone".

Mr Oppenheimer, agreed with Mr Randall that the country had "a very bad Government".

Reasons

He said a socialist system was "wrong" because:

- **It was an inefficient means of getting the product** — "this I base on experience, because if everything was controlled by the Government . . . the organizations (companies) would not be what the people wanted".

- **It tended to disregard the need of providing people with personal and family security and "most of all, a freedom of choice"**.

He said: "It is the job of the Government not to run everything but to determine and enforce the rules of the game for maximum freedom."

Referring to Dr A. D. Wassenaar's recent attack on the

Government in his book "Assault on Private Enterprise", Mr Oppenheimer said this showed that a wide part of the South African economy was run according to the "price of socialism".

"It would frighten me very much to see the mines run on the same lines as, for instance, the Dairy Industry Control Board."

He added that it amused him that the chairman of Iscor — "a very fine company" — was "willing to return to private enterprise, but that there had been such losses that it was not practical".

- **Economic freedom was essential for political freedom** — "it is not coincidence that the great hope the Russians pinned on the revolution ended in the tyranny we have now".

Mr Oppenheimer said that if everyone was employed by the government, as in a State-controlled society, "how could we change the government if we did not like the way things were run?"

"Who would be brave enough to operate the printing presses to print the propaganda (against the government)?" he asked.

"I certainly cannot find that greater government control would make for happier and more evenly treated people. It just doesn't work," he said.

"Of course you can turn round and say that a socialist government is not necessarily like this. But what does a socialist government mean? Who can decide what is good for the people? I profoundly agree that there is a very bad Government here.

"It is all very well to talk of the misery of Black workers, but we must not be deceived by socialism. Blacks must be given a proper part to play and this would make the country even greater," he said.



COMMUNISM, THE TOOL OF GOD

— Brian Brown

Studdert-Kennedy, famous World War I padre, presents an interesting picture of Judgement as seen through the eyes of a Cockney soldier; "There 'aint no throne and there 'aint no books. It's 'Im you've got to see; It's 'Im, just 'Im, What is the Judge of blokes like you and me. And boys, I'd sooner frizzle up in the pangs of a burning 'ell, than stand before "Is face one day and 'ear "Is voice say - Well?"

This interpretation of Judgement differs from the traditional, as indeed there are many divergent understandings of what that event means. The either/or brigades of Christianity (either my way or else!) assassinate one another in contending that Christ's Judgement is seen exclusively in either time or in eternity. The "here and now" brigade assure you that because Grandad slept around, the tragedy of his grandson's cancer can be understood; after all, are not the sins of the fathers inflicted on the third or fourth generations? While the "great beyond" brigade depict splendid thrones, weighty ledgers and enough burning oil to make the Arab oil countries look to Christianity for truly enduring profits!

Surely God's Judgement is to be seen in both time and eternity, and when the two scriptural pictures, purged of crudity, are placed side by side in complementing tension, perhaps we attain to truth about judgement.

Preachers traditionally dwell on the judgement of eternity — it's so much safer. The congregation might consider the preacher's understanding of the event to be as naïve as our "there is no crisis in S.A." mentality, but they can't prove him wrong. At least not until

the great beyond, and then there's always the possibility that the preacher shan't be around to suffer the indignity of an, "I told you so!"

To speak of judgement in time is more dangerous. It's a discipline which the biblical prophetic school took seriously. Be it an Amos prophesying the destruction of the Northern Kingdom of Israel or a Jeremiah lamenting over the pending fall of Jerusalem, these prophets saw historical events in terms of the judgement of God. Woven into the fabric of God's history they discerned the law that righteousness and justice exalt a nation and apostasy and injustice culminate in — Judgement. Jesus as prophet saw God's judgement coming upon his beloved Jerusalem, and some thirty years after his pronouncement those who had stoned prophets and killed the noblest of them all suffered most grievously through the Roman siege of that special city.

A Christian's response to the perplexed cry of "Where is God," can be at least: alive and well and working in judgement within the historical process as truly now as within the days of scripture. What Christians will not readily acknowledge perhaps because like me they feel God chooses some strange bed-fellows) is that **Divine judgement comes through non-believers!** I well recall the shock when my dour Old Testament lecturer, referring to Cyrus the Persian King as "God's Anointed, His chosen", told us that the bestowers of judgement in scripture were traditionally pagans. The thought struck home with the incredulity of hearing some great surgeon's hands described as leprous. But be it Assyria in 722 BC or

Babylon in 586 BC or Rome in 70 AD, those powers which stood in opposition to the Covenant Community became God's tool of judgement in history. Like Communism?

To equate God and Communism in any way in the S.A. situation is as difficult for Christians to accept as was propounding a round-earth belief to Christians of the 16th Century. Strange as it might sound to many, a Christian who abhors the Communist system can yet see world Communism as God's tool to judge the church and society; and this without minimising communism's avowed Godlessness, its self-deification and its tyranny of totalitarian methodology. This trinity of horrors must incidentally ensure its ultimate demise, as Communism itself comes to know the judgement of God in history.

Meanwhile, in the words of an old Chinese Christian, "**Communism is God's tool to judge the Church**". The Divine hand is currently using it with customary skill to weave His purpose.

The nature of that judgement within our South African society is diverse:

Caring

(i) As the oppressed peoples of our country increasingly sense that their liberation is becoming a reality, it is tragically true that they also see in Communists the community who "care" enough to both take their plight seriously and to identify themselves with the liberation struggle.

The tendency is for the oppressed to see the Communists as the compassionate ones, and the Christians as those who intercede for the eternal preservation of the status quo. **When communists are called more caring than Christians, the Church is judged.**

Seemingly we have not absorbed the lesson of Mocambique. There the ready discrediting of the Church, once the despotic Portuguese regime had been toppled, was God's judgement through Communism. While the Church concerned itself with power and prestige, or at best responded in silence before injustices, the chains of the people were being sacrificially broken by the Communists. Identification by the Church, not with violence but with people oppressed, was negligible.

It is said that those who do not learn from history repeat it. Those who do not discern God's judgement in history experience it.

Concern

(ii) This whole understanding of Communists being the caring ones (and thus a judgement on the care-less Christians) is furthered in South Africa by the disastrous habit of tarring every would-be reformer with the Communist brush. So when a believer, having agonised with God's revelation and struggled to yield himself to the demands of Christ, is sent forth by the Spirit to identify with the sufferings of his oppressed fellows, the general evaluation of his ministry is that he is a card-carrying Communist worthy of being held under some Suppression of Communism legislation.

This is not to say that every person who suffers in the struggle for justice is a Christian, but is to say that our Government and media ensure that the discredited witness of Christians is inevitably gain for the Communists. World Communism owes an eternal debt of gratitude to the State propaganda machine and those who uncritically accept its "blame it on the Reds" approach. **When a supposedly Christian country, often assisted by the Church, allows the pursuit of justice to be ascribed exclusively to Communism, then we are indeed discerning the judgement of God.** We promote the adulation of that which is Rosemary's baby! We ensure that the new South Africa will both see Communism as the only movement which concerned itself in their liberation and Christianity as that which tightened the chains.

Destruction

(iii) In a yet more dramatic sense however, Communism will become God's instrument for judging South Africa. We have seen that **the biblical prophets interpreted the absence of justice in society as leading to a nation's destruction by God-ordained forces.**

Our land (in common with others but I speak for the land in which I love and minister) is morally destitute; an unjust society which has created a class/race war of virtually unparalleled proportions. Communism thrives on the class war; in fact, it promotes it so as to create the disorder out of which is born the "classless" society. It is feeding on the class war which South Africa has so diligently created over the years.

Linked with this fact is the biblical truth that **God is even more interested in unjust systems and racist divisions than the Reds.** He must judge a nation which exploits His children and sells them for the prophet's "pair of shoes" and what more obvious a contemporary instrument to use than the very Communism created in the fertile soil of our evil society.

The Kremlin leaders would deem it the kiss of death to be seen as part of any Divine plan of judgement, but we must excuse the pagan chosen of God their theological ineptitude. Had we asked the Assyrian or Babylonian conquerors of old whether they conceived their defeats of the apostate People of God as being within Jehovah's scheme of things, they would probably have asked us to spell Jehovah! Nor would the People of God, outside of a few unpatriotic idiots like Amos, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Co., have dreamt that God worked this way. To suggest in Jerusalem that the sins of exploitation of a deprived majority by an entrenched minority might lead to a God-induced exile of His people, could result in a jail sentence or a charge under the Suppression of Babylonianism Act. But God judged. It happened. He judges still. It happens still.

Cheap Applause

(iv) I am truly perplexed that we do not see God's judgement in the current Communist advance. Common sense demands that before we simply condemn an evil we seek to understand it. While I can abhor the destruction of my neighbour's son through drug addiction, I must surely consider sympathetically the factors of (say) parental selfishness which contributed to his plight. When factors deeper than the mere rejection of an evil are faced, the judgement of God upon the parents' indifference might well be apparent.

We in South Africa refuse to ask the deeper question, why is Communism so appealing and winsome? **We attack Communists, real and imagined, without attacking the very factors which spawn their ideology.** As if a man removes weeds by cutting off their tips. As if we shall resist God's judgement through Communism other than through repentance, personal and national.

Bonhoeffer talked of cheap grace. Many denominations in South Africa seek for cheap applause. The applause of State and White constituencies through constantly attacking Communism with seldom a critical word of the system which causes it to breed like flies.

Repentance

(v) If then Communism is God's tool to judge Church and Society in diverse ways, it is also God's tool to call the People of God to repentance. When God has judged other sinful societies through Communism, be it Russia as the first or the former Portuguese territories as the most recent, He appears to have permitted judgement to begin with the "Household of God". This is inevitable, for of a community to whom so much has been given, so much more will be expected. But if the Church is especially the recipient of Divine judgement, it is not for punishment primarily but rather a purging of the faith, a refinement of discipleship through repentance. **Communism then becomes God's tool of judgement to lead His people to penitence and renewal.** Because it is of God, the ultimate achievement and purpose must be positively redemptive.

Which is not to say we need Communism to repent the evil which is our South African society — Grace can work very nicely without Karl Marx thank you! But our repentance will ultimately be known through Communism if as a stiff-necked people we continue to resist the grace of God.

HELP?

Letters to
the Editor,

Sir,

Please discontinue my subscription to your magazine. I feel it is doing more to promote anger and dissatisfaction than promote goodwill and a Christian attempt to give the black man all the possible help we can. Our only solution to this country's problems is to promote love.

Sheila Braithwaite.
Somerset West.

Is it *help* blacks want?
-Editor

GOD AND THE S.A.P.

D. W. Bandey. Grahamstown

Sir,

With respect to the article "God and the S.A.P." in your issue of January 1977, I am bound to say that your ironic commendation seemed to me to be in bad taste. The article was sincere, though astonishingly one-sided.

We do need a police force, and shall continue to do so. And that force must have the power to do its duty against opposition. It has to protect ordinary citizens against the anarchy of individual criminals, crooks and corrupters. It has to ensure, as far as it can, that members of the community obey the laws framed by its government. It is misguided to blame the police for enforcing bad laws. The government, not the police, is to be blamed for the many bad laws in our country. To suggest that every policeman who disagrees with one or more of the existing laws ought to resign from the force rather than enforce them is both absurd and dangerous. If acted upon, it would leave us with a political police, composed only of enthusiastic and uncritical supporters of the government. May God prevent such a thing from coming to pass! Let us be thankful that we have policemen who do their duty because it is needed for the good of the community, and who do it even when they dislike what they have to do. At least they are likely to enforce the bad laws as humanely as possible. The fact is that once a law has been promulgated by parliament, the police are automatically bound to enforce it. There is no other way by which the relation between government, police and public can be properly maintained.

This is not to say that the way in which the police act is beyond criticism. It was a senior police officer who spoke to me of some young men under him, who got a psycho-pathological satisfaction from wielding power over others, and from being able to point a revolver at people. It is well known that some use every opportunity to give vent to their fear and hatred of blacks. But more often, the behaviour, especially of young policemen, is distorted by sheer inability to understand the people they are dealing with; they have

no experience of blacks as people. They call them "kaffirs", but they themselves are unbelievers; they call them "bantus" but they show no "ubuntu". However, to admit this is only to admit that our police force is made up of average, not too well educated, South African whites (I have good reason to believe that the black police simply copy the behaviour and attitudes of their white trainers). The police as a body cannot be condemned for being very much like everyone else in the country!

The criticism that police officers enjoy too much protection may be valid; it looks as though they are too eager to conceal brutality or perjury when it occurs, and as though their authorities are too reluctant to discharge men found guilty of unsuitable conduct. But in a country where brutality, perjury and clanishness are endemic, they are no worse than a good many others.

It is true that some of their duties inevitably corrupt their characters, but this is a matter for tears rather than condemnation. To spend years in the S.B. snooping into the private affairs of law-abiding citizens, and living in the knowledge that few people believe what you say or expect you to believe what they say, must be terrible. Even worse, enforcing the Immorality Act by spending night after night peeping into bedrooms in the hope of seeing a couple in a sexual embrace would degrade anyone who was not already degraded. Voyeurism is a recognised sexual perversion; to make it a duty is appalling. But the S.A.P. did not make the laws. And the men who did make them are exempted from the revolting task of enforcing them.

All I ask is that, whether we wish to commend (as did the writer of January's article) or to condemn (as have other writers), we should direct our statements at those to whom they are appropriate, and not make sweeping verdicts on the whole police force, or the whole black population or white population, or all Afrikaners or English or any other great community.

HORST KLEINSCMIDT REACTS

In the Rand Daily Mail of February 9th 1977, it is reported that a detainee under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, and whose name has not been revealed to the public, gave evidence to the Cillie Commission, to the effect that I had approached him to leave the country for military training.

It is totally untrue that I have ever suggested to this person that he should leave the country for military training. I have not yet offered such advice to anyone.

-Horst Kleinschmidt.

European Representative, Christian Institute.

SOWETO AND NON-VIOLENCE

-Rob Robertson of St. Anthony's, Vrededorp.

**"The struggle shall go on until Black people are free or everyone of us has dropped dead;
Our struggle is non-violent;
United we stand!"**

(Soweto Students' Representative Council, 10th October 1976)

If the struggle for freedom and equality in South Africa can be waged non-violently then a new day is dawning before us. And what is learned in that struggle will make us less afraid of the possibility of a big-power take-over here, because we will then know how to resist military power.

Gandhi led his nation to independence by non-violent action and **Martin Luther King** gained Negro recognition and civil rights in the same way, thus sparing their countries a great deal of bloodshed and hatred. Both gave their lives for this.

South Africa is a tougher situation. After the Defence Campaign of 1952 the Government, fearing the effectiveness of non-violent civil disobedience, passed a Criminal Law Amendment Act which makes it a severely punishable offence to break even a minor law as part of a campaign to have that law changed. The penalty is as much as three years imprisonment plus 10 strokes or a fine of R600. This had the effect of turning Black movements towards violence and perhaps, since it controls police and army, the State considers itself better equipped to deal with violence than to face the moral challenge of "folded arms and steady eyes". So the violence and hatred grows and a successful but violent revolution will not remove it.

The claim of the non-violent way is that, although it may take longer, it holds the promise of final victory that everyone can share and it reveals the true character of man as shown in Jesus Christ. It is the way of the Cross in social and political affairs. Christians need to know what a non-violent way of life involves and to spread that way of life, especially now.

*Stand ye calm and resolute,
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war.
And if then the tyrants dare,
Let them ride among you there,
Slash and stab, and maim and hew,-
What they like, that let them do.
With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay
Till their rage has died away.
Then they will return with shame
To the place from which they came,
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek.
And these words shall then become
Like oppression's thundered doom,
Ringing through each heart and brain
Heard again again again
Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number -
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep has fallen on you -
Ye are many, they are few.*

(Shelley in "The Mask of Anarchy", written shortly after the "Peterloo Massacre" in Manchester 1819.)

STATEMENT ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

-The South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

-Pretoria, February 1977

Assembled in plenary session, we, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, accept that the Catholic Church in South Africa is lagging behind in witness to the Gospel in matters of social justice. We are encouraged by the support given to our policy of opening Catholic schools to all pupils, regardless of race, and now, after prayerful reflection and in humble reliance on the wisdom and strength that comes from God's spirit, we commit ourselves to the following programme.

A.CONCERNING SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND CUSTOMS:

1. To strive for the **elimination of terms** which of themselves or in their South African context, are derogatory and even insulting, even when no slight is intended, such as "Native", "Bantu", (except where this word is unavoidable on official documents), "Boy", or "Girl", for adults, "Non-Whites", "Non-Europeans" "Location" and "Mission" (when used in the sense of parish) and to combat the unnecessary use of racial and national designations that emphasise differences and foster the apartheid mentality.

2. To **eradicate all differentiation on purely racial grounds** in the treatment of persons at presbyteries, convents, other church institutions and private homes.
3. To suppress the custom still lingering in some places of having **different sections of churches** appropriated to different race groups and to ensure that church halls and similar premises in any area are available to all.
4. To insist that all Catholic associations and parish councils **review** their policy and actual achievement or failure in bringing various races together.
5. To commend the Witness of persons who, in their desire to identify with the deprived and to make the Church recognisable as the Church of the poor, **refrain from patronising** places which are reserved for Whites or for wealthy mixed groups.
6. To aim at a **simple life-style** for ourselves and where necessary to encourage other Church and religious personnel to do the same.

B. CONCERNING THE SHARING OF RESPONSIBILITY:

7. To do all in our power to speed up the promotion of **Black persons** to responsible functions and high positions in the Church, to encourage them to accept such functions and responsibilities, so that the multi-cultural nature of the Church in South Africa may be clearly recognised, and to provide the training necessary for this purpose.
8. To encourage priests, especially those working in Black parishes from which White priests may be excluded in times of crisis likely to recur, to give the **fullest responsibility to parish councils and lay ministers**, including that by allowing for learning by trial and error.

C. CONCERNING SOCIAL JUSTICE, LIBERATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

9. To **re-assess the distribution and function** of church personnel, clergy and religious, in relation to the needs and numbers of racial and ethnic groups and, where necessary, to bring about a more equitable distribution.
10. To be mindful of the Church's duty to **minister to Christ where he most suffers in society** and therefore to make more strenuous efforts to direct special attention to the growing numbers of unemployed, to individual workers in general and migrant workers in particular, to worker organisations, to the thousands of squatters living on the periphery of large cities, to political prisoners, detainees, banned people and their dependants, and to other distressed and displaced groups discovered; and to provide as far as possible for the care of these groups and **the creation of communities** among them by specially appointed priests, religious and lay workers.
11. To signify, by the **appointment of Black priests to the charge of White parishes**, the breaking away by the Church from the prevailing social and political system.
12. To push forward with the policy of **integrating our institutions**, and in such a way as to enable the poor as well as the better-off to benefit.
13. To accept the establishment of **equal pay for equal work** as the aim of deliberate progressive budgetting and meanwhile to accept as basic the standards proposed by the Justice and Reconciliation Department and to insist on periodical reviews of all wages and conditions of work in our dioceses.
14. To promote the **awakening of social conscience and the awareness of injustice and social problems** as central to evangelisation and an essential element of preaching, liturgy and catechetics and of priestly religious and lay formation, of church work and witness.
15. To give practical expression to the conviction that the Church's mission includes work for complete human liberation and to the teaching of "Evangelii Nuntiandi" that evangelisation includes **transforming the concrete structures that oppress people**; and in the light of this, to strive that the Church be seen in solidarity with all those who work for the promotion of human dignity and the legitimate aspirations of oppressed people; **on the side, therefore, of Black Consciousness**, in regard both to those who promote it and those who suffer for it.

16. To urge that, in addition to the campaign for public social justice Christians be urged to give their time and energy to assisting in **development work**, such as literacy campaigns and tutoring, co-operative ventures and self-help associations and advisory bodies to aid in such matters as welfare services, legal problems, budgetting and the use of hire purchase; that those who have any technique to offer should be willing to help; that projects should be limited and carefully selected; that work should aim at the development of the whole person and the formation of basic groups and communities; and that those engaged in this work should, however, not see themselves as dispensed from the broader social apostolate for human rights.

17. To aim at the employment in every diocese or region of a **full-time worker in justice and reconciliation and development work**, who will give his time to each activity according to needs, and whose financial support will be a priority in diocesan or regional budgetting.

18. To encourage clergy, religious and lay associations to undertake development work less exclusively within the Catholic Church and to **move towards the whole of society**, showing there the power of the Spirit in union with other Christian churches and in co-operation with local communities, so as not to further divide people on lines of church affiliation in ordinary citizen and political action but to promote harmony.

19. To encourage, under the aegis of Church bodies, including religious congregations, **the launching of local community groups** to promote training and development projects and the timely handing over to the groups of the institutions, property and funds connected with the projects.

D. CONCERNING CHURCH FINANCE:

20. To recognise, in accordance with resolution 12 of the 1975 meeting of the Southern African Council of Priests, the importance for community witness of making the **principle of sharing** more visible in church finance and to devote serious study to:

- (1) **the re-evaluation of the meaning and use of money**, as to how much should be seen as belonging to the local parish and how much to the Church collectively;
- (2) **the communalising of parochial funds** within each diocese to form a central fund which will be evenly distributed enabling standards of churches, presbyteries and works of mercy to be more consistent;
- (3) to the application of the principle of communalising church funds not only within dioceses but **also on a national level** between poor and richer dioceses.

E. CONCERNING A PASTORAL CONSULTATION:

21. To take into account the singular situation and resultant tensions of the Church in South Africa, where 80% of the laity are Black and 80% of the clergy White, and to investigate as a matter of extreme urgency the feasibility of a Pastoral Consultation in which lay people, religious and priests, in large majority Black, may participate with the bishops, in order to arrive at policy on Church life and Apostolate but not on doctrinal and canonical matters.

"THE ANDERSON LETTER"

Letters to the Editor

Sir,

My congratulations to the Revd. Peter Anderson for his courage to state a case that is highly unfashionable to say the least, in a climate of hate being almost hysterically fostered by church organisations against all authority and the White man in South Africa!

There is a principle in our Law "Hear the other side!" which implies "hear it *fairly!*" I think this is also based on Christian principles. What chance do you give the unbiased reader with your heading to this letter and invitation for comments! Is a Christian who attempts to be unbiased or dares to suggest that the other side be heard "incredible"? Above all, are you being charitable, (the basis of Christianity) towards the writer with your heading and invitation?

I have often asked myself how the vicious vituperations of "Christians" like I.a. Beyers Naudé, Revd. Stubbs, Bax, Mkhathshwa, Mandela, Sithole, Nujoma and so many others whose cause you champion can be reconciled with true Christian charity. Indeed I am often shocked by the implied and often explicit tolerance shown by some of our vociferous "Christian" institutions towards the Black perpetrators of violence in our country. Although you may deplore their violence, you nevertheless absolve them from guilt by attempting to place that upon the "White regimes".

I did not know that bias and intolerance such as exhibited by these champions of "Christianity" and others like them is indeed a Christian virtue.

Here are some thoughts that exercise my mind:

Has Christ identified with the poor and the oppressed because they more than anybody else need to be comforted, or did He side with them in order to lead them in bloody revolution?

Have the poor and the oppressed diminished in the "liberated" states of Africa?

Have they greater freedom in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania since the "liberation" that you so ardently championed?

Is human dignity not something personal rather than a commodity that can only be had by the grace of outside socio-economical and political circumstances? When Christ and His disciples were deprived of human dignity did they rant in indignation against their deprivers? It appears to me that Christ led a full life indeed in spite of this handicap. "Blessed are the weak . . ." remember?

Does your slanted and intolerant campaign against all authority and the White man in South Africa not foster hate rather than reconciliation? Is your attitude of mind really Christian?

Finally, is it not rather presumptuous of your brand of Christianity to set itself up in judgment? Do you not perhaps in your arrogance usurp this function from Christ? May you cast the first stone?

Obviously, I am not pleading for silence but for perspective, balance and humility.

For lack of space I unfortunately cannot go into more and deeper argument but would welcome further public debate on the matter.

— R. R. Hartman. Pretoria

Sir,

Thank you for your editorial "Hope for 1977" No comment on the letter reproduced below it (from Mr Anderson). Your title is comment enough. But it is frightening!

— Helene Campiche. Elim.

Sir,

I am appalled, and dismayed, that the Rev. Anderson, who is supposedly a leader of a congregation, can write such a letter as appeared in the January issue of Pro Veritate.

How can we praise the Lord for what *He* has done for the Church here? *We* are those responsible for work here, and we have failed lamentably.

His assessment of the meaning, and working out of Christianity, is abhorant to me: if it is not so tragic that a leader (?) of men should think as he does, it would be laughable and contemptuous.

— W.E. Kronhn. Rustenburg.

Sir,

Having just received a copy of the January 77 issue of "Pro Veritate" I feel I must comment on the incredible letter by the Reverend Peter Anderson.

He writes: "Let us grow up a bit and begin to praise the Lord Jesus Christ for all He has done for us in his Church in our land." Honestly! Christ did not come down amongst us to teach us to sing the Lord's praise. He came amongst us to save us from our sin and suffering and to help us do the same unto others. How can I be asked to tell the government it has done a good job when it enforces laws such as those which exist in our country which discriminate against my fellow Christian on the grounds of his colour! Anything done by the South African government looks pretty good compared to what Idi Amin does! However let us not condone the evil which exists in our society by comparing it to greater evil! Let us rather aim for that great ideal which our Lord shows us. A Christian must be a person committed to change in our society, for by turning a blind eye to evil he condones and perpetrates it. Enough said.

— Yuri Jean Joubert. Germany.

Sir,

The letter written by Revd. Peter Anderson is, of course, a tragic example of confusion, fear and blindness; but I wonder whether we should concern ourselves with him.

As I see it, he is relatively insignificant when compared with what is happening at Auckland Park. Under the guidance of a certain Bill Chalmers, the Christian religion as projected by the all-powerful radio and television networks is assuming an alarming, military-political character. In particular, I urge you to pay attention to the radio programme "Signposts" and the television programme "Crossroads", both presented on Sunday. To cite an example, Mr. Chalmers appeared on "Crossroads" one evening and praised the late General Franco and the Fascist system in Spain. Another example: a chaplain in the Rhodesian forces appeared before the cameras and proceeded to quote, not Scripture, but J. Edgar Hoover! Only recently, Mr. Chalmers devoted "Signposts" to quoting from the literature of the Rhodesian Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, attempting to equate the Commission with Marxist thought.

These are only a few examples. It is quite plain to see that Mr. Chalmers has been given enormous powers by SABC/SATV to propagate a narrow branch of ideological and militaristic Christianity favoured by the National Party State. Perhaps it is time to bring pressure on the churches, the press and Parliamentarians in order to expose what is going on. Mr. Chalmers and his "religious" programmes can also be scrutinised in "Pro Veritate".

— M.A. Green. Durban North

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