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Political comment in this issue, by W.B. de Villiers and M. Collier, 35 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

Konfrontasie - bedenkinge

REDAKSIONEEL

IN DIE APRIL-uitgawe van die Calvinistiese maandblad, *Woord en Daad*, verskyn daar 'n anonieme (vermoedelik dus redaksionele) artikel oor die „Deportasie van Engelse Geestelikes” waarin daar op effens liefdelose en in elk geval oningeligte wyse verwys word na instansies soos, by name, die Christelike Instituut „wat 'n konfrontasie tussen die kerke en die owerheid verlang, natuurlik weer met die doel om daaruit moontlike politieke wins te maak.”

Met die uiteensetting van die Calvinistiese siening van die regte en verantwoordelikhede van Kerk en Staat respektiewelik - volgens die Gereformeerde beginsel van „soewereiniteit in eie kring”, onderhewig aan die soewereiniteit van God - wat hierop volg, het ons vrede.

Ons kan egter nie maar so ligtelik saamstem met *Woord en Daad* in sy ietwat naiëwe aanvaarding van plegtige ministeriële versekeringe dat die owerheid nie daarop bedag is om in te meng in kerklike aangeleenthede nie. Die saak is tog nie heeltemal so eenvoudig en kan nie maar net so afgemaak word met 'n beroep op die vir ons land en tyd alte simplistiese beginsel van soewereiniteit in eie kring nie - asof kerk en staat hier in Suid-Afrika twee duidelik afgebakende en onderskeie groothede vorm en daar slegs maar toegesien moet word dat hulle nie op mekaar se terreine oortree nie. Veral in Suid-Afrika, *anno domini* 1971, het ons dit met ernstig kompliserende faktore te doen en met ingewikkelde fasette van 'n situasie wat nie maar goedsikks met 'n beroep op die elementêre Calvinistiese soewereiniteitsbeginsel weg te praat is nie.

★

Om maar 'n paar te noem - en om *Woord en Daad* se goeie voorbeeld te volg deur albei kante van die saak te stel - het ons dit enersyds hier in ons land nie maar net, soos in baie ander lande, met 'n blote burgerlike owerheid te doen nie, maar met een wat, volgens die grondwet van ons land, regeer oor 'n volk wat „die oppergesag en leiding van die Almagtige God” erken; 'n regering wat homself bewus verklaar het van 'n „nederige erkentlikheid teenoor die Almagtige God, Beskikker oor die lotgevalle van nasies en die geskiedenis van volkere”; 'n regering wat plegtig voor God verklaar het dat hy bewus is van sy „verantwoordelikheid voor God en die mensdom en dat hy „oortuig is van die noodsaaklikheid ... om die geluk en die geestelike en stoflike welvaart van almal (selfs die nietigste nie-blanke burger van hierdie land?) te bevorder”.

Ons Suid-Afrikaanse owerheid is m.a.w. nie maar net nog 'n godsdienstig neutrale landsowerheid nie,

maar een wat deur eed en gelofte toegewy is aan verantwoordelike gehoorsaamheid teenoor die „Almagtige God” van die Grondwet. En aangesien die groot meerderheid van ons land se stemgeregtigde, en daarom teenoor God verantwoordelike, burgers amptelik as Christene deurgaans impliseer hierdie gelofte sekerlik ook gehoorsaamheid teenoor Christus, sy liefdeswet en die opdragte vervat in sy Bergpredikasie (om maar slegs 'n paar basiese elemente van die Christelike geloof te noem). Dit impliseer ook dat die owerheid nie maar net insidenteel betrokke is by die welvaart van die Kerk van Christus in Suid-Afrika nie, maar dat hy wesenlik verstrengeld is met die kerk, sy belange, sy ideale en sy verantwoordelikheid teenoor God, die ware Koning van sy Koninkryk, ook hier te lande. In sy diepe betrokkenheid met die Koning van die Kerk kan die staat dus nie anders nie, maar word hy deur sy eie Grondwet verplig om hom „in te meng in kerklike aangeleenthede”. Ons het dit nie hier met 'n blote moontlikheid te doen nie, maar met 'n feit en 'n werklikheid. Die konfrontasie tussen kerk en staat is nie maar net nog 'n verwagting op die verre horison nie, maar 'n gedurig teenwoordige realiteit wat nóg kerk nóg staat kan vermy of ontvlug - 'n aktuele situasie wat ingebou is in die hele struktuur van ons Suid-Afrikaanse staats- en kerklike bestel.

★

Andersyds het ons dit in Suid-Afrika te doen met 'n Kerk van Christus wat minstens vier verskillende aangesigte het: die gevestigde Afrikaans-Hollandse Kerke, die gevestigde nie-Afrikaanssprekende of „Engelse” kerke, die groot getalle nie-blanke lidmate wat behoort tot die verskillende gevestigde kerke en die heerskaars sg. Onafhanklike Bantokerke. In den breë gesproke ondersteun die Afrikaanse kerke openlik die apartheidsbeleid van die owerheid, en betreur of veroordeel die ander kerkgroepe dit - en geskied sowel ondersteuning as veroordeling tragies genoeg in naam van die Christelike geloof. Die uitweg uit hierdie nare dilemma waartoe daar dan gewoonlik die toevlug geneem word, is 'n piëtistiese beroep op die kerke om hulle uitsluitlik te bepaal by die taak van evangelieverkondiging en nie in te meng in die politiek nie.

Wanneer dit egter kom by 'n aangeleentheid soos die apartheidsbeleid het die kerk dit nie meer te doen met 'n onpersoonlike owerheidsregulasie wat neergelê word bloot om praktiese redes en ter wille van die goeie orde in die land nie, dog met 'n beleid wat deurgevoer word met die swaardmag van die owerheid en wat die lewens en lotgevalle van miljoene mense, geskape na die beeld van God, en veral

dan ook lidmate van die Kerk van Christus, ten diepste raak en helaas so dikwels benadeel en te kort doen. Moet die kerk in so 'n geval ook dan nog ordelik en vroom die swye bewaar uit respek vir die owerheid se soewereiniteit op eie terrein? Wanneer wetgewing deur die owerheid deurgevoer word wat kennelik diskriminerend en daarom immoreel is, mag die kerk hom dan sonder vermaning eenvoudig laat begaan? Is die kerk dan nie onontkomelik geroepe om ook teenoor die owerheid - en veral dan 'n owerheid wat hom bewus verklaar van sy „verantwoordelikheid voor God en die mensdom” - die Woord van God te verkondig nie? Kan 'n konfrontasie met die owerheid hoegenaamd vermy word of, nog beter gestel, bevind die ware Kerk van Christus hom nie lank reeds in 'n konfrontasie-situasie wat hy nie durf ontwyk as hy gehoorsaam wil bly teenoor dié Almagtige God wie se oppergesag en soewereiniteit hy, saam met die owerheid, bely nie?

★

Selfs *Woord en Daad* is verplig om, hoe skoorvoetend ook al, te erken dat „die kerk die roeping het om die evangelie te verkondig, en dit selfs in 'n bepaalde situasie”. Maar dan waarsku hy versigtig: „maar dan moet hy die dinge wat eie is aan die kerk doen, en dit op 'n kerklike wyse.”

Dit is juis hier waar die knoop lê. Ons is dit met *Woord en Daad* volkome eens dat die kerk se wyse van doen nie lê op die gebeid van opsweping nie, maar op dié van verkondiging en vermaning. Hy het egter geen opdrag van God ontvang om, op grond van watter motiewe ook al, selektief te wees in sy verkondiging en vermaning en sommige instansies, soos die owerheid, uit te sonder en oor die hoof te sien wanneer hy verkondig en vermaan nie. Om ook en

veral dan teenoor die owerheid profeties te getuig in die Naam van God is juis om een van die vernaamste dinge te doen wat „eie is aan die kerk”. Hiermee sal seker ook elke goeie Calvinis saamstem, want as ons kennis van die kerkgeskiedenis ons nie in die steek laat nie, het juis Johannes Calvyn geen sweem van die huiwering tot inmenging in politieke aangeleenthede openbaar wat hier in ons land so angswalig deur veral sy volgelingen voorgestaan en aangemoedig word nie. Inteendeel, hy het dit op so 'n vasberade en onverbiddelike wyse gedoen dat hy self in die destydse Genève vir alle praktiese doeleindes die rol van die owerheid oorgeneem het.

Wanneer daar egter hier by ons teenoor die owerheid getuig word, dan word dit bestempel as ongewettigde terreinoorskryding van die kant van die kerke; dan word dit as 'n sonde beskou in die oë van die owerheid en dan word daar amptelik opgetree teen die ergste oortreders. Ons wil egter met *Woord en Daad* saamstem dat dit in laaste instansie nie gaan om wat die owerheid met sy swaardmag of selfs die kerk met sy geestelike mag as sonde beskou nie, dog om wat die Almagtige God onontwykbaar as sonde bestempel in Sy Woord, en voor hierdie oordeel staan nóg die staat met sy diskriminatiewe beleid nóg die kerk met sy vrome swye ten aansien van onreg en ongeregtheid sekerlik as onskuldiges.

Wanneer instansies soos die Christelike Instituut dus wys op die reeds bestaande en uiteraard onvermydelike konfrontasie tussen die kerke en die owerheid in Suid-Afrika, dan verval hulle nie in wensdenkery ter wille van „moontlike politieke wins” nie, dog staan hulle vierkant in die politieke werklikheid wat tegelykertyd ook deel vorm van die arbeidsveld en roeping van die Kerk van Christus.

Onward Chocolate Soldiers

FRUITFUL DIALOGUE can only be based on truth, never on half truths, never on approximations at truth, never on myths. This applies to the affairs of nations, to the ecumenical dialogue, to dialogue within the churches. It applies especially today when communications media are so sophisticated that they have made it possible for any action to be made instantly present everywhere. It more especially applies today when so many of the issues confronting us are so emotionally loaded.

A classic case of the need for truth surrounds the September decision of the W.C.C. to encompass liberation movements in its widely-based Programme to Combat Racism. We refer to two recent instances when truth was conspicuous by its absence.

First is the confusion arising out of this recent decision:

“The Trustees of the Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust have decided to make an un-

conditional grant of £30 000 to the Mozambique Institute, the welfare wing of Frelimo, the liberation movement in Mozambique. The Institute undertakes considerable educational, medical and other relief work among the inhabitants of 'Free Mozambique'.” (Quoted from the Press Release of the Trustees).

On the basis that Joseph Rowntree was a Quaker, the popular mind believes that Rowntree still makes Quaker chocolate, that Rowntree Trusts dispense Quaker charity - in short that the name Rowntree is synonymous with Quaker. Hence the banner headlines in our press such as “Quakers take up arms” (Rapport 2nd April). In that article, Mr. G.H. Calpin, an English columnist for the Afrikaans National Sunday paper concludes:

“As a departure from a long cherished tradition, this Quaker adventure is worth study. It is not a happy thought that in addition to the rest of the Churches Quakerism is, for

the first time in its life, taking up arms, and taking up arms against a people, a nation, it took to its heart so long ago."

But is this true?

Joseph Rowntree was a Quaker. He set up in 1905 three Trusts - the J.R. Social Service Trust, the J.R. Charitable Trust and the J.R. Village Trust (now renamed the J.R. Memorial Trust). These three Trusts have always been independent from one another, have different powers, have and never have had any organisational links with or responsibility to either the Religious Society of Friends or the Rowntree family.

So the Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust has no responsibility to either the Religious Society or the Rowntree family. Its policies consequently do not represent Quaker positions nor prejudice Quaker beliefs. Furthermore the Trustees committee has no more than a marginal Quaker presence among its membership.

Rowntree set up the Social Service Trust as a non-charitable body which could operate in political fields. Ironically one of the Trust's first initiatives was to set up a newspaper group dedicated to fair reporting!

No, Mr. Calpin, your premises lead you to untrue conclusions. Without the truth no man can be free.

The second instance also relates to the 'WCC-decision'. In an article entitled „Skuldkompleks in Rede" (Burger, 26th February) Al Venter in a wide-ranging article moves from Queen Juliana's gift to the WCC Programme to Combat Racism to some unfortunate guilt-by-association conclusions.

Two of the persons mentioned in the article viz. E.A. du Plessis and K.L. Roskam, both South Africans, have refuted many half-truths and complete untruths in the article. We mention only a few. Sjaloom is not a Jewish pressure group but an ecumenical group consisting mainly of Reformed ministers and lay people and Catholic priests and lay-people; Mr. du Plessis, who is Coloured but married to a White woman (a case of Breyten Breytenbach in reverse), has not been in South Africa since 1967 and has had nothing to do with the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor had he anything to do with the TV film 'The Dumping Grounds' - the film was produced by Granada, an independent TV company in Britain and similarly had no official connections with the Archbishop's tour; Mr. Roskam never belonged to any underground movement and never escaped across the border (he was deported). Etc., etc.

Words are symbols of communication. If they are to promote dialogue they must represent truth and reality, otherwise they are meaningless and have no value. It is incumbent upon journalists, just as it is upon Christians, to seek the truth and communicate it.

Mei 15 May 1971

From Myth to Reality

DON QUIXOTE-LIKE we can rush about tilting at imaginary windmills and solving 19th social and religious problems. Far more difficult is to analyse a situation to find out what the problem really is, to discover the dynamics of the situation and to respond with courage and honesty.

The labour situation in our country is relevant here. In South Africa we have the oddity of *de jure* segregation with *de facto* integration. For many years our economy has been integrated and this process cannot now be reversed. In fact, the economic inter-dependence process is accelerating. Yet this is seldom taken into account. It does not seem to be an accepted given in the debate in the United States around the Polaroid policy.

There seems to be a conspiracy of silence about the significant positive gains in our economic situation. Rather than solely preoccupy ourselves on abuses and the disregard of values, there should be greater public sharing of the *de facto* situation. The article by Rob Kraft of TUCSA makes just that one plea while the article by Peter Randall of SPRO-CAS spells out in some detail the real possibilities in the *de facto* situation.

These possibilities, if realised, will strengthen the existing positive forces, encourage greater co-operation and so deepen trust which is the foundation of hope.

Sailing

you can sail on your yacht
it can tip
you might drown
and go to the devil or god
you can sail
and you can drown

you can sail on your yacht
it might tip
into society's rot
you might drown
and start rotting too
you can sail
and you can rot

you can sail on your sorrows
they might flip
you might drown
by yourself all alone
you can sail
but where to go
all alone?

Deon Smith (Aged 14).

Godswil of Volkswil?

Cas Labuschagne

Dr. C.J. Labuschagne is 'n Ou-Testamentikus en dosent aan die Universiteit van Groningen. Hierdie artikel is ons derde in die reeks Israëls Jabroerprofeten.

EXODUS 32:1-8

TOE die volk sien dat Moses vertoef om van die berg af te kom, het die volk rondom Aäron versamel en vir hom gesê: Kom, maak vir ons gode wat voor ons uit trek; want hierdie Moses, die man wat ons uit Egipteland laat optrek het, ons weet nie wat van hom geword het nie. En Aäron sê vir hulle: Ruk die goue ringe af wat aan die ore van julle vroue, julle seuns en julle dogters is, en bring dit vir my. Toe het die hele volk die goue ringe afgeruk wat aan hulle ore was, en dit na Aäron gebring. En hy het dit uit hulle hand geneem en dit met die beitel bewerk en daar 'n gegote kalf van gemaak. Daarop sê hulle: Dit is jou gode, O Israel, wat jou uit Egipteland laat optrek het. Toe Aäron dit sien, het hy daarvoor 'n altaar gebou. En Aäron het uitgeroep en gesê: More is daar fees tot eer van die Here. En hulle het die ander dag vroeg klaargemaak en brandoffers geoffer en dankoffers aangebring; daarop het die volk gaan sit om te eet en te drink, en hulle het opgestaan om te speel. Toe sê die HERE vir Moses: Gaan heen; klim af, want jou volk wat jy uit Egipteland laat optrek het, het verderflik gehandel. En hulle het gou van die weg afgewyk wat Ek hulle beveel het. Hulle het vir hulle 'n gegote kalf gemaak en daarvoor neergebuig en daaraan geoffer en gesê: Dit is jou gode, O Israel, wat jou uit Egipteland laat optrek het.

HIERDIE SKRIFGEDEELTE bevat die verhaal van Israel se ontrou aan die verbond toe dié nog maar so pas geslote was. Dit sal vir iedere leser duidelik wees dat dit hier gaan om 'n flagrante skending van sowel die eerste as die tweede gebod. Ongeag of ons die beeld van die goue kalf sien as 'n afbeelding van God of as 'n voetstuk waarop die onsigbare godheid troon, beteken die oprigting van die beeld afvalligheid van die ware Jehowa-diens. In sy huidige vorm neem die verhaal hoofsaaklik stelling teen die stierkultus van Jerobeam in die noordelike ryk, welke kultus hier as afgodery veroordeel word. Dit beteken egter nie dat die verhaal sekondêr is in vergelyking

met die geskiedenis soos beskryf in 1 Konings 12 nie. Jerobeam se stierkultus was geen nuwerwetse uitvinding nie, maar knoop aan by 'n sterk onderstroming in die godsdiens van Israel waarvan die wortels teruggaan tot die oudste tyd van Israel se volksbestaan. Ons verhaal maak dit duidelik dat Israel vanaf die vroegste tyd afvallig was en heel spoedig afgewyk het van die weg wat God hulle deur sy profeet Moses gebied het. Sinspelings elders in die Ou Testament wys ook in hierdie rigting (Num. 25, Deut. 9: 8; 21, 31:16; 32:15,16; Psalm 106: 19, 20). „Hulle het by Horeb 'n kalf gemaak en gebuig voor 'n gegote beeld. En hulle het hul Heerlikheid verruil vir die afbeelding van 'n bees wat gras eet”. (Psalm 106: 10, 20; vergelyk Handeling 7: 37 - 41). So word die geskiedenis van die oprigting van die goue kalf vertolk as die begin van Israel se afwyking van die ware Jehowa-diens, ongeag of hierdie afwyking afgodery beteken en of dit gaan om verdraaiing van die ware Jehowa-diens. Fundamenteel is daar weinig verskil - afgodediens is net so erg as vervalste godsdiens.

□

Die feit dat die verhaal afspeel in die tyd van Moses is nie sonder betekenis nie. Afgesien van die spesifieke historiese raamwerk waarin hierdie geskiedenis geplaas word, verkry die verhaal 'n verdere afmeting deurdat Aäron hier die gestalte aanneem van teenparty van Moses. Die profeet Moses en die priester Aäron staan hier lynreg teenoor mekaar. Dit beteken nie dat die figuur van die profeet teen dié van die priester afgespeel word nie, al sou dit gaan om 'n teenstelling tussen profeet en priester. Die feit dat Aäron 'n priester was, speel nouliks 'n rol in die verhaal. Dit sou daarom onjuis wees om Aäron te beskou as die denkbeeldige verteenwoordiger van die latere priesters te Betel en Dan. Die rol van Aäron moet gesien word teen die agtergrond van die feit dat hy op daardie moment die plaasvervanger van Moses was (vergeelyk Exodus 24:14). As sodanig was hy nie net alleen die helper en ondersteuner van Moses, 'n ampsplig wat op een uitsondering na (Num.

12) oral elders in die Ou Testament hom opgelê word nie, maar hy ook was op daardie tydskop die plaasvervanger van Moses tydens die se afwesigheid. Daar is in ons verhaal geen sprake van Aäron as van huis uit 'n konkurrent van Moses, of dat hy getrag het om Moses se leierskap te ondermyn nie. Eerder is dit so dat hy, as saakgelastigde van Moses, gevolmagtig was om namens die afwesige leier en profeet te spreek en op te tree. Op hierdie wyse raak hy by die geskiedenis van die oprigting van die goue kalf betrokke, en alleen so kan dit verklaar word dat juis hy die een is wat hom genoodsaak vind om voor die meerderheidswens van die volk te swig. Ons moet ons die gebeure nie so vreedsaam voorstel as die vertaling van die eerste vers voorgee nie, as sou die volk, toe hulle gesien het dat Moses al te lank weg-bly, hulle sonder enige beroering om Aäron versamel het. 'n Verwysing na die Hebreuse teks maak dit aan ons duidelik dat die volk teen Aäron bymekaar kom (vergelyk Num 16:3; 16:42; 20:2) en dat daar enorme druk op die plaasvervangende leier uitgeoefen was. Menslik gesproke het hy geen ander keuse gehad as om toe te gee aan die magsbegeerte van die volk nie, indien hy sy persoon en sy posisie as plaasvervanger van Moses wil red. Ewemin as ander leiers van die volk was dit Aäron beskore om 'n held of 'n martelaar wees. Hy het gefaal, nie soseer as leier nie, maar as profeet. Sy mislukking kan veral daaraan toegeskryf word dat hy nie in die gees van Moses opgetree het nie en in gebreke gebly het as Moses se plaasvervanger in die uitvoering van die profetiese amp. Sy opdrag as saakgelastigde lê hierin dat hy die profetiese getuienis betreffende die wil van God ten aansien van sy volk duidelik moes laat hoor. Hy blyk nie opgewasse te wees teen sy taak om Moses as profeet te vervang nie. As gevolg van sy mislukking het in werklikheid ook die profetiese amp misluk. Die volk wat sy ontstaan te danke het aan die profetiese uitleg van God se verlossingsdade in sy geskiedenis, moes op daardie tydskop die leiding van die profetiese woord ontbeer. Aäron het aan die volk vrye teuels gegee - met al die gevolge van so 'n optrede, nl. 'n algehele verbreking van die verwantskap met God. Hoe erg Aäron ook al misluk het, veel ernstiger was die feit dat hy sy magtiging gegee het aan dit wat die volk op daardie tydskop verg. As plaasvervanger van Moses beklee hy die volkswil met profetiese gesag: nie alleen vervaardig hy die simbool deur die volk aangevra nie, maar daarbenewens gaan by akkoord met die uitleg wat die volk aan die simbool gee: Dit is u gode, O Israel, wat u uit Egipteland gevoer het. Toe dit eenmaal sover was, voel hy hom ook as priester geroepe om dit wat die volk eis met sy priesterlike gesag te beklee - hy bou 'n altaar en roep uit: Mōre is daar 'n fees tot eer van die Here! As priester gee hy, in die naam van die HERE, sy goedkeuring aan 'n heidense fees waarby seksuele uitspattighede volgens die patroon van die Kanaänitiese vrugbaarheidsfeeste, (Num. 25: 1-9; 1 Kon. 14:24) hoogty vier. Dit sal nou al aan u duidelik geword het dat die verhaal van die goue kalf veel meer is as bloot 'n berig oor

Israel se afvalligheid van Sy God. Op meesterlike wyse word in die verhaal uitgebeeld hoe die plaasvervanger van Israel se grootse profeet hom laat inspan voor die karretjie van die volkswil en hoe profeet en priester op hul knieë gebring word voor die geweldsmag van die volksteologie. Basies vind ons hier 'n verklaring vir 'n verskynsel wat dwarsdeur die geskiedenis van Israel hom voordoen naamlik dat die pseudo-teologie telkens die oorhand verkry. Die diepste oorsaak hiervan lê in die mislukking van die amp van die profesie en in die feit dat vele profete, wat kragtens hulle amp streng die voorbeeld van die groot profeet Moses moes volg, in die praktyk, vanweë die mag van die openbare mening, hulle laat meesleur het deur die sterk onderstrome in die volksgodsdienst. Juis om hierdie rede loop sake dikwels skeef met Israel. Indien Aäron in hierdie verhaal iemand verteenwoordig, dan is dit die figuur van die pseudo-profeet of, anders gestel, die valse profeet.

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Vanaf Aäron as falende verteenwoordiger van Moses, is daar 'n deurlopende lyn na al die ander profete wat konformeer aan die volkswil - die jibroerprofete.

Ons moet die volkswil in die verhaal van die goue kalf alte seker nie onderskat nie, veral nie ten opsigte van sy teologiese motiewe en godsdienstige voorwendsels nie. Die wens, „maak vir ons gode wat voor ons uitgaan”, het ten minste een godsdienstige voorwendsel - sonder God kan en wil ons nie. Daarby spruit hierdie wens voort uit 'n begeestering wat teologies goed gegrond is - ons kan nie langer wag nie want die tog na die beloofde land moet voortgaan. Die God wat aan die volk die vergesig geopen het, moet nou noodwendig oorgaan na daad. Agter die wens van die volk lê as grondslag die diepe verlange om die Godgegewe belofte bewaarheid te sien word. Dryfveer en doel is albei edel. Maar die wyse waarop die doel nagestreef word en die middele wat daarby aangewend word is op hul minste verfoeilik. God word tot optrede gedwing en sy gevolmagtigde verteenwoordiger gemanipuleer. Op hierdie wyse word God 'n rol toebedeel wat hy, om die guns van die volk te behou, fyn moet nakom: hy moet opruk na die beloofde land.

Tegelykertyd word van sy verteenwoordiger verwag dat hy die fondament van die strewe van die volk teologies goedkeur met sy profetiese gesag en priesterlike bystand. Dat dit inderdaad gebeur het, is die tragiek van ons verhaal. Aäron het hom ongetwyfeld by die volk bemind gemaak, al was sy motivering miskien selfbehoud, maar een feit bly onomstootlik: hy het partygetrek teen God en teen God en teen Gods wil. Net soos Moses die geskiedenis ingaan as Israel se grootse profeet in die ware sin van die woord, so gaan Aäron, die mislukte verteenwoordiger van Moses, die geskiedenis in as Israel se eerste jibroer-profeet.

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To Engage or not to Engage

Peter Randall

Peter Randall, in a memorandum submitted to the Christian Institute discusses the pros and cons of economic engagement with South Africa. He shows how American (and indeed other foreign enterprizes) can make significant contributions to the country by creatively using their financial involvement.

Peter Randall is Director of SPRO-CAS (the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society).

There is a continuing debate on whether American firms investing in South Africa should withdraw completely or should maintain their investments and seek to bring about such modifications of apartheid and amelioration of the position of blacks in this country as possible. This is the 'engagement-disengagement' debate.

American firms with South African investments will inevitably be motivated primarily by their own self-interest. Moral concern will play only a marginal role in affecting any decision to engage or disengage.

B. STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

It is necessary to distinguish between a strategy for the U.S.A. and a strategy for S.A. Irrespective of consequences for S.A., it may be more important for good relations in the U.S.A., and thus indirectly better for the self-interest of the American firms concerned, to withdraw from S.A. Such a decision would have to be taken in the light of the American, not the South African, situation.

Generally, however, this does not seem an important consideration for those urging disengagement. They seem primarily motivated by a desire to express abhorrence of apartheid and to bring pressure to bear on it.

Since considerations regarding a strategy for the U.S.A. are not of immediate concern to South Africans, this memorandum will deal only with the question of a strategy for South Africa.

It is also necessary to distinguish between long-term and short-term strategy. In the long-term it may seem both feasible and effective to work for total disengagement, although the short-term prospects of success in attaining this seem remote.

Pursuance of such a long-term goal overlooks the fact that no one can tell what the future holds in the changing Southern African context. It may also limit one's future options in that a valuable lever in the South African situation may be lacking at some future time when its presence may be very useful.

It is also necessary to distinguish between single- and multiple-strategy. There is no single key to change in Southern Africa. Change in Southern Africa is likely to come about as a result of the complex inter-workings of many forces, trends and accommodations, both from within and without. Social, cultural, political, economic, diplomatic and military factors create a complex interplay which are resulting in some changes (cf. the stepping up of the Portuguese policy of 'assimilation', the acceleration of political processes in South Africa's Bantustans, the shifts in the white political scene in South Africa etc). In view of this it seems wise to avoid as far as possible inflexible decisions and dogmatic positions with regard to strategies for change in South Africa.

C. ARGUMENTS FOR "DISENGAGEMENT"

The main argument for disengagement seems to be that by reducing capital inflow and thereby confidence in the S.A. economy a serious blow will be dealt the white power structure which may eventually lead to the breakdown of apartheid.

A further argument is that it is necessary to demonstrate effectively the world's abhorrence of apartheid so that white South Africans will be persuaded to change.

A related argument is that a slowdown of industrial growth as a result of disengagement will lead to massive unemployment, particularly among blacks, who will become more militant and thereby bring about change.

D. THE FEASIBILITY OF "DISENGAGEMENT"

Since U.S. companies are primarily motivated by self-interest, the high return on investment in S.A. will make them resistant to the implementation of disengagement. Much time, energy and money would have to be expended on efforts to persuade or force them to disengage. Such resources might be more effectively used in other ways.

It is highly improbable that sufficient pressure could be mobilised to force most U.S. firms in S.A. to disengage. Even if they did withdraw, the gap they left would probably be filled immediately by investors from other countries (possibly France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom).

Any disengagement policy would be ineffectual unless it were truly comprehensive and co-ordinated, involving the agreement of governments and major investors in at least the western democracies. Such massive agreement seems most unlikely. The success of Rhodesia in withstanding the most comprehensive and co-ordinated campaign of sanctions and forced isolationism in history seems crucial here. In spite of six years of this campaign the growth rate in Rhodesia continues to rise. South Africa's whites command economic resources which are infinitely greater than Rhodesia's, and they would be correspondingly more able to withstand economic pressure. Nor should one underestimate the ingenuity and skill white South Africans would display in circumventing economic and other sanctions. A large undercover system of trade and other ties would probably develop between South Africa and the United States of America even if the unlikely event of the United States of America administration and business agreeing to disengage.

In at least the short-term, the trend in western government, sensitive to and therefore illustrative of business interests, is away from disengagement. President Nixon has made this clear with regard to the U.S.A., while Mr. Heath's decision to supply arms to South Africa indicates the British government's desire to trade with the Republic at almost any cost in terms of possible damage to international relations. These are hard short-term realities which show little signs of change in the near future and should influence strategy for change accordingly.

A slowdown in South Africa's industrial growth is in fact more likely to result from South Africa's manpower shortage and the government's ideological obsessions than from attempts to make U.S. firms disengage. Such a slowdown will have incalculable consequences. In the short term it will have the effect of increasing white dissatisfaction thus making a United Party government more possible (such a change of government would probably stimulate even greater inflow of U.S. and other capital). An economic slowdown will also result in increased black unemployment.

To think that at this stage increased black unemployment will lead to such frustration and militancy that blacks will force changes on the whites is to overlook the sociological forces conditioning blacks and reducing their morale, as well as the virtual monopoly of military and para-military might in white hands. Relatively minor unemployment, caused for example by the withdrawal of U.S. firms - assuming that other foreign investors did not immediately fill the gap - would be easily accommodated by the system. Workless blacks with some industrial experience would be readily absorbed elsewhere in view of the white manpower shortage and the increasing relaxation of the industrial colour bar.

S.A. whites have probably been subject to the most intensive propaganda offensive in history. They are probably so hardened to exhortation, protestation and condemnation that ineffectual attempts to promote disengagement will merely harden their attitudes of contempt and self-confidence. So if one of the motivations for urging disengagement is to influence white attitudes, it is likely to be counter-productive unless comprehensive and co-ordinated disengagement by S.A.'s major trading partners were to become a reality, which on balance appears impossible.

E. THE ALTERNATIVES TO "DISENGAGEMENT"

An integrated strategy would be more effective than the present position of the U.S.A. talking to S.A. with different voices. The administration favours continued contact and trade and generally follows a low profile, cool approach. The military apparently favours a degree of collaboration. Business follows a pragmatic line of self-interest. Church, student and radical groups use heated rhetoric and what pressure they can mobilise to press for total disengagement. Protagonists of apartheid derive comfort from this diversity.

There thus seems a need for more effective dialogue within the U.S. itself on strategy for S.A. Decisions too often seem to be taken in vacuo, or directly in relation to the U.S. context which is very different from the S.A. one.

The concept of *selective engagement* may provide a useful framework for evolving an overall strategy. One principle that might operate in such a concept is that disengagement is good when it is immediately effective, and does not bring further disadvantages to S.A. blacks. Examples of action in line with this would be a continued arms boycott, the refusal to expose U.S. military and navy personnel to apartheid humiliations (refusing to make courtesy calls, etc.) and action to nullify the S.A. government's propaganda counter-offensive in the U.S. On the other hand, cultural and academic contacts and the inflow of ideas, books, films, records and TV programs from the U.S. should be continued for the possible beneficial effect they have in opening up both black and white attitudes in S.A.

There are strong arguments for Polaroid-type action. Major change in S.A. is likely to be a long haul, with sudden cataclysmic change out of the question unless there are totally unexpected important developments. Sudden major change in the near future, without a considerable cadre of trained, confident blacks who have consensus on the sort of society they want and without military power to prevent counter-revolutionary efforts from being effective, would result in chaotic conditions from which neither black nor white would benefit.

In view of this any efforts aimed at improving black training, skills, advancement and morale generally, are important. The Polaroid strategy seems to be in line with this. At the same time whites attitudes will benefit from increased exposure to trained, confident blacks. Continued industrial growth will significantly affect race relations. Skilled blacks will achieve a scarcity value which will increasingly enable them to exert demands on the system.

Investment in neighbouring states is important in a strategy for S.A. They can act as models of non-racialism for white South Africans. Industrial development in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi will reduce these countries' need to export labour to S.A., thus increasing the potential bargaining power of black workers in S.A. With greater economic independence, such countries would also be able to exert greater diplomatic pressure on S.A. to modify apartheid.

U.S. firms operating in S.A. could do the following:

- (i) Pay maximum possible wages to black employees
- (ii) Advance blacks as speedily as possible to promotion posts
- (iii) Institute non-contributory pension schemes, free medical aid, and, if necessary, supplementary high-protein feeding.
- (iv) Promote vigorous training programmes for black employees, including literacy.
- (v) Create bursary funds for the children of black employees
- (vi) Play a useful role in community development in the townships from which workers are drawn: libraries, clinics, crèches, pre-school enrichment programmes are greatly needed and could either be started or existing ones subsidised.
- (vii) Establish effective and recognised workers' committees to allow for black participation in decision-making, and for training in bargaining skills.
- (viii) Select promising blacks for further training in the U.S., including scholarships to universities.
- (ix) Insist on all social functions etc. arranged by U.S. firms being non-segregated.

- (x) Give financial and moral support to groups working for change in S.A.
- (xi) Agree jointly to establish an independent reviewing commission composed of both white and black Americans and South Africans to periodically assess the practices of U.S. firms in S.A. Such aspects as wages, discrimination in employment, social responsibility at firms, working conditions and training of black staff, and degree of worker participation and decision-making could be examined by such a commission, with its recommendations made public.

Most of the U.S. companies in S.A. do some of these things. None do them all. If they all did they they would make a significant contribution to change in S.A.

ILO to UNO

WILFRED JENKS, Director-General of the International Labour Office addressing the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights in March 1971 pledged the support of I.L.O. to fight racial discrimination in seeking equality, justice and personal freedom for all.

There has been world wide improvement in race relations, if not in practice, at least in belief; the exception is South Africa, and it now stands as the crux of the problem. World opinion does not accept that apartheid means equal though separate. Even if the allocation of resources were fairer, it presumes too long a time scale and promises no true equality, nor is a plea for patience plausible where no prompt and persistent movement towards equality is present.

South Africa is a reservoir of wealth and skill which could contribute to Africa. Every intelligent employer and worker in S.A. recognises that bitterness and violence can only be changed by determined magnanimity and not by lawlessness. U.N.O. has the task of dialogue, within a framework of the Declaration on Human Rights, and the I.L.O. programmes which call for equality and opportunity in labour. Apartheid is no longer a national responsibility when only a fraction of the people have a voice in the decision making. The principle involved is world wide acceptance that *all* human beings have the right to pursue material and spiritual development in freedom and dignity.

(Abstract of address by Wilfred Jenks on occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination).

The Times they are a-changing

Robert Kraft

The time has come for much more frankness on the part of all to admit that the evidence of our daily lives shows many successes in inter-racial co-operation in the practical affairs of the work-place.

MUCH MORE recognition can be given to our achievements and successes in practical race relations.

Far too many of us are hiding under the table the many achievements and successes in practical race relations that we as citizens have in our daily work.

There are hundreds of cases of Whites and non-Whites working shoulder to shoulder in harmony in tens of thousands of factories and offices.

It obviously takes time for different cultures and people to get to trust and understand one another, but if we are to encourage this understanding then we must be less secretive about our successes in this regard, because a lot of other people will benefit from knowing about successful work-place partnership between different race groups.

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This kind of work-place co-operation is part of the South African tradition. In practice many South Africans have a basic common sense towards race relations; it merely requires building on, not a break from the actual experience of many South Africans.

Our economic problems of high prices, a shortage of skilled manpower, balance of payments trouble, small production runs and unemployment among the African, will not only be solved through a number of economic programmes but also through extending the areas of co-operation between Whites and non-Whites on a practical level in factories, offices and public administration, where both parties have a common objective in making money and getting the job done.

Commenting on the appeal made recently by the President of the South African Railways Artisan Staff Association, Mr. J.H. Liebenberg, at the opening of their annual conference, that South Africa must make full use of all existing labour - despite party politics - TUCSA gave support to this call and said it supported the condemnation of politicians who continue to cultivate racial prejudices for political party purposes.

Robert Kraft is an economist and assistant General Secretary of TUCSA - the Trade Union Council of South Africa.

We in TUCSA are optimistic about the future of race relations in South Africa if the citizens continue the common sense building of bridges of co-operation and understanding in the work-place environment.

Today verkramptes find it very difficult to find concrete examples of racial conflict in our factories and offices, and despite what they say in theory there is a vast amount of practical partnership between White and non-White in every industry in South Africa.

Good human relations are as important to an economy as sound management, natural resources or sufficient finance. We are daily exchanging views and experiences on management methods, technical methods, and financial methods. From these exchanges of our successes we learn from one another.

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But far too few of us exchange experiences of the many successes we have in human relations in the factories and offices. The many successes in co-operation between the different race groups in industry should be talked about because others will benefit from the knowledge, and can thereby improve the foundations of the economy and society through improving human relations.

Admittedly much of the working together is still on a master servant basis, but here also is a nursery-school for understanding which often develops into a relaxing of mistrust as people get to know each other through contact on a practical level.

The time has come for much more frankness on the part of all to admit that the evidence of our daily lives shows many successes in inter-racial co-operation in the practical affairs of the work-place and then we could give encouragement for further evolutionary experiments along these lines.

To continue hiding these facts will simply play into the hands of those who wish to perpetuate the myth that under no circumstances can this country move gradually towards a practical partnership between the White and non-White.

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White Worship and Black People

Mongameli Mabona

In March this year the University Christian Movement arranged a Seminar on Black Theology. (It was at this Seminar that Bishop Zulu was arrested on a pass offence). This desire for a Black Theology is part of the growing awareness of the peoples of the Third World for an understanding of God's revelation applied to their situation - hence the emerging African theology, Asian theology and the flood of theological writing by South Americans.

We publish a talk given at the seminar by Dr. A. Mabona for two reasons. First because this is the view of a theologian much concerned with the problem of Africanisation (cf his article in Pro Veritate March 1970), and secondly because our readers should be aware of this theological trend. In order to show the nature and depth of this theological investigation, we also include abstracts on the subject.

THE QUESTION of what worship is and what role it plays in the life of man has not been settled satisfactorily, and I doubt if it ever will be since it seems to concern the total human condition. The reason, therefore, for my raising it here is my hope that by thinking on it together we may discover new aspects and gain new insights into this interesting but inexhaustible field of inquiry.

It has seemed reasonable to me that I should raise this question before I proceed to consider the relevance of present Christian worship to the life and interests of black people.

Let me first of all make it clear that it seems to me impossible that anyone whose faith does not include an eschatological dimension can find any meaning and relevance in worship. For the purposes of this lecture I will take eschatology and transcendence as parallel terms. Therefore I hold myself to mean by the above statements that anyone who does not believe in a transcendent deity and in the reality of the eternal Kingdom cannot worship in a christian sense.

But precisely here do we experience the most intractable difficulties with the concept and practice of worship or liturgy.

● How can we, a generation surrounded by man-created scientific wonders, with vistas opening up for the ultimate mastery of cosmic processes - how can we be impressed by metaphysical ideas of transcendent beings which are not very apparent? In centuries past the names and presences of transcendent beings were 'immediately felt' by man because man's position in nature was so fragile and vulnerable that he appealed to these transcendent forces at every turn of his life - perhaps several times a day. Today we encourage people to build bigger dams and practise desalination of seawater instead of praying for rain. There is less and less mention of transcendent beings in our daily life and the reason is not the haughtiness of modern man, it is his conquest of the environment. There is no inherent reason why man

should not be able in the long run to manage all by himself in his environment without need of appealing to external forces.

But again, was it ever Christian this prayer addressed to the 'God of the gaps': this God who only fills up ultimate human ignorance or ultimate human impotence? This God who was postulated as 'prime mover' by philosophers like Aristotle. The idea of 'prime mover' itself is based on primitive physics which proclaimed that bodies move only when moved; whereas we know from modern physics that all bodies continue in uniform motion unless they are stopped.

The 'God of the gaps' is meaningless or will ultimately become meaningless. And such ideas are as unacceptable as the Cartesian idea of the point from which the whole universe has its dynamism or the Teilhardian idea of point Omega.

● The God of Christian worship is a personal living and loving God not a metaphysical or mathematical abstraction. He is the God who sent Jesus Christ to us and poured out His Spirit upon us. His transcendence over us is that of superiority and not one of metaphysical or mathematical infinity. The peoples of the universe are his family and this is the inheritance of the kingdom to which he calls us through Christ.

The liturgy seems to me to be an expression of family relationships with a cosmic dimension. I know this explanation will be considered very incomplete because the liturgy is supposed to penetrate beyond the portals of death.

Again may I say here that I get the impression that our primitive concept of death makes us give to it a meaning and importance out of all proportion. After all what shall we think of death when we shall be able to rouse individuals after they have been deep-frozen for decades, perhaps for centuries and millenia? The rousing of Christ from death showed us that death is something very marginal in human existence.

From all that I have said I think it is clear that I agree fully with those who say that liturgy or worship is a function of life. "Worship is faith, action, suffering". Worship is not a "stepping out of the world". "Therefore those elements of worship which promote an authentic relation to reality, such as intercession, offertory, experience of active fellowship and so on, are to be emphasised."

Moreover in order that reality may remain real to us, it must not be expressed in mysterious or rather mystifying symbols. We do recognise the necessity of symbols in human life; but not of symbols as mysterious signs but of symbols as natural and encompassing expressions of reality. We are not advocating that liturgy should be deprived of all historical dimensions. We are however strongly suggesting that it should always be relevant to life, and mysterious signs and ritualistic gestures are not always an aid in this direction. I maintain that the emphasis in our worship on these latter elements is not Christian but our own derived from the practices of traditional religions.

● Christ's doctrine stresses the reality of God as father of all in the universe. The father who to us on this earth has sent Jesus to teach and save us. The Father who has sent us the Holy Spirit to continue Christ's work among us after his departure from this earth. These are the things we are supposed to celebrate in Christian worship and not some mysterious, religious or metaphysical realities. We have to get some natural, encompassing expressions for the realities of our fellowship with God and with all human beings in the universe, of our feelings of gratitude for Christ's work among us, of our constant desire for the gift of the Spirit who strengthens us and makes us grow inevitably towards the fulfilment of our comprehensive destiny.

This is the concept of worship with which black people will have to prime themselves. Present so-called Christian worship is full of mysterious signs and mystifying ritualistic gestures by which it tries to communicate with metaphysically transcendent religious realities. This kind of worship is not progressive i.e. towards the fulfilment of true human destiny but is regressive. To go back to it is worse than useless, it is harmful. We black people have much to catch up with as it is. However, I'm not advocating a mass exodus from the existing Christian ecclesial communities. If we cannot immediately do away with their forms of worship let us on our own try to change them by questioning them and challenging them at every turn, at every opportunity.

Why are forms of Christian worship so stilted and restrained? Are we in worship communicating with an aristocratic or a capitalistic God who wants the little people to be very well behaved or even muted when they approach his majesty? Let there be less cringing and scraping in liturgy. Let us be apostles of more freedom and spontaneity in worship. Why have we to cringe and scrape even in our father's house?

Why the awkward gap between people and ministers? Sometimes one feels that the attitude of the assembly towards the president and ministers is that of the crowd towards an emperor and his retinue. Let there be no participators and spectators in our worship. We are all participators in God's bounty and spectators of his works of loving kindness.

Do we need the type of meditation and spiritual training that is being used in our Seminaries? I put this question because attitudes developed in so-called spiritual training come to surface in the liturgy. Now the type of meditation I'm talking about is that in which one is supposed to go into oneself to exercise one's memory, one's imagination, and one's sentiments especially in trying to call up scenes from the life of Jesus and then fixing them in one's imagination and then trying to express one's sentiments about all this. Now, this is supposed to be the kind of exercise that helps one to increase one's moral excellence, one's spiritual perfection. Let me say it quite frankly that I think all this kind of practice to be foreign to our traditions.

● I cannot remember in any of the traditional practices of the black people that persons were encouraged to cultivate high moral excellence or self-perfection by 'entering into themselves'. A sensible person in our society was supposed to be one who knew and performed his or her duties towards ancestors and members of the community. The faithful performance of these duties and the development of correct attitudes also towards natural objects was not supposed to imbue such a person with any kind of halo of sanctity or holiness. It was supposed to make a person a sensible and well-adjusted member of society and the universe.

Since spirituality is a basic element in our worship, I would advocate that black people should also question and challenge the traditional methods and aims of present spirituality. We do not believe that withdrawal into self can issue in any kind of moral excellence, sanctity, or holiness or whatever you call it. We believe in developing correct attitudes towards things and towards men. These pave the way towards fuller communion between the individual and nature and human society. This fuller communion is in itself a healthy state and not any kind of mysterious sanctity or holiness.

Black people have a long way to go. They need to have their senses together and not to go chasing after mirages, mares' nests, or ghostly elevations of ideas. Let us go on and try to find natural, encompassing expressions for the relationships expressed in worship and spirituality. We are not supermen. We will not find them today or tomorrow. But if we keep on vexing the present situation we are likely to be successful in the long run. By no means, however, should we be misled by mystifying symbols or shimmering expectations.

African Theology

and

Black Theology

BLACK theology and African theology are by no means the same; Black theology may be described as specifically an American phenomenon, a theology of black liberation.

African theology is relatively new; born of the experience of African clergy returning to the practical ministry from their study in Europe, and seeing the need to make Christian theology indigenous. African theology is not born out of slavery, as is black theology, and is not concerned with the emancipation of black people from white racism. It does not exclude whites. The concerns of African theology are rather to enhance the present and active presence of God, the holiness, and love of God and the Mediatorship of Christ - ideas which are either neglected or rejected in traditional African belief. The concept of ancestor worship as well is a belief of which some elements have a place in Christian thought, and other elements must be rejected. In summary the African theologian's task is that of bridge-building, an exacting task shared by a variety of confessions and nations. African theologians are sympathetic of the aims of black theology; through Black American exiles in France African theologians discovered their identity. We now see black America looking to Africa to discover the depths of their black personhood.

(Abstract: Article "Random Notes on Black Theology and African Theology" by David Gelzer, member of Faculté de Théologie de Yaoundé, Cameroon. Appeared in The Christian Century of 16th September 1970).

Black Theology and Black Liberation

BLACK THEOLOGY is a religious expression of Black people's definition of the scope and meaning of their existence to show that Black power is not only consistent with the Gospel, but is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This expression stems from the recognition that black identity must be defined in terms of its African heritage rather than in terms of White physical and cultural enslavement. Black power is the social expression of this unique identity; master and slave have necessarily different view points, and the black must change his existence from himself alone, by defining his own identity, and setting these limits to his oppressor. This is extended into Black Theology by starting with the conviction that the God of Christianity

is the Liberator, identified with the aspirations of the oppressed in the Bible. Christian Theology interprets this message of liberation to this generation, and shows that all actions that make for the freedom of man are actions of God. The message must now be black, the colour of its victims. This means therefore that authentic theological speech arises only from the community of the oppressed who realize that their humanity is inseparable from their liberation from earthly bondage.

(Abstract: Article "Black Theology and Black Liberation" by James Cone, assistant Professor of Theology at Union Theological Seminary, New York City in The Christian Century 16th September 1970).

Towards a Theology of Black Experience

NEEDED TODAY is a theology that takes into account the experience of black people, and also recalls the biblical past. The response to black experience has suggested one of four solutions.

- Resignation: a solution too closely identified with fatalism to be satisfactory.
- Accommodation: as a response to the black experience reflects a theological dualism positing the existence of two contending worlds.
- Integration: as a solution reflects a theology of redemption assuming that the suffering of one, works for the benefit of another, and works for an eventual reconciliation. Historically blacks have held this view since emancipation, but whites are neither ready nor willing to have as brothers, the blacks.
- Separation: is the solution some blacks insist is the only alternative, this intensifies the dualism of the accommodation solution.

The cry for separatism and the push for integration are born of the same desire that the uniqueness of black experience be recognised and appreciated. It is here that the solution lies - in the thrust and counterthrust of co-operation with white development in a climate of black creation and under black control. The understanding of God, (theology) must come through life experience - for the black person, his black experience.

The dangers - (i) idolatry of a Black Messiah. It is not because God is black that we are in touch with the eternal but because of the black experience. And (ii) danger of seeing deprivation in terms of existential concerns only and not the threat to our relationship to God.

(Abstract: Article "Toward a theology of the Black Experience" by Miles Jones, dean of Virginia Union University's school of theology, Richmond, USA. Appeared in Christian Century of 16th September 1970.)

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The Theology of Land

Basil Moore

In August 1970 we published the inaugural address of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in which he set out some Zulu demands - a representative constitution, more technical training, free and compulsory education, relaxation of influx controls, end of migratory labour and more land.

Recently this demand for more land has been echoed by Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei.

Land is a crux problem in our land and has been written on by Professor Ron Davies for the Economics Commission of SPRO-CAS.

Here Basil Moore, Methodist Minister on the staff of the University Christian Movement examines the question of land in relation to the Biblical understanding of man and creation.

RACISM is an excuse. It is a myth. This does not mean that racial prejudice does not exist. It does. But it exists because men have made a myth of race.

Myths are created to serve a purpose. Their powerful effectiveness depends on the power of the personal or social urge they serve. They also gain prestige (especially moral prestige) if they are able to conceal their purpose without reducing their effectiveness in achieving that purpose. The danger of many myths is that they are able to distract attention from the real issues.

● THE PROBLEM OF POWER

The "real issue" behind the myth of race is power. People want to be able to shape their own destiny. There is nothing sinister about this. But we do live in society with other people. It is these 'other people' who are the problem. They also want to be able to shape their own destiny. This provides us with the ingredients for conflict.

In this situation there are two basic alternatives. We can either try to get together and together shape our common destiny (the high ideal of socialism), or we can try to get what we want by reducing as far as possible the power, and thus the threat, of 'the other' to our own ambitions (a common reality of capitalism).

Tragically it is the option of controlling 'the other' which most people take. To be able to do this we have to gain power over 'the other'. This entails gaining maximum control over the common environment in which the whole society lives by reducing as far as possible both the extent of the environment

over which 'the other' has control and the extent of the control he has. (E.g. in South Africa whites give blacks as little land as possible and at the same time introduce inferior education for blacks and legislate to exclude them from becoming skilled labourers.)

In the pre-technological society a crucial environment over which to have control was farming land. With the great landowners in control the landless peasants had to give up their (economic) independence and sell their bodies as labour if they did not wish to starve. In South Africa the control through ownership which the white colonists and Trekkers gained of the land was a most effective way of reducing the power-threat of the black inhabitants.

In the technological society the quantity of land possessed ceases to be so crucial. Now power resides in those who possess the land which has mineral resources or which is suitable for industrial development, and those who possess the skills to utilize the land and its resources in this way. Here the style of power possession through control of the environment has changed, but it is still necessary to deprive as far as possible 'the others' from any means of access to the land's resources and the skills to utilize them. This is why in South Africa the question of who owns the mines in the homelands is as crucial to whites as their reluctance to train black miners.

● THE POWERLESSNESS OF LABOUR

Labourers are not without power, though it is obvious that skilled labourers (whites) possess far greater powers than unskilled labourers (blacks).

Yet it is still true that it is the owners who most frequently hold the trump cards, especially if historically they have been able to legislate and act in other ways against exercising collective power (hence making trade unions, especially black ones, illegal and illegalising collective bargaining with the owners in strike actions).

It is unusual for any one man to have control over all the effectively life-sustaining environment in any one country. It is more usual for the owners to band together over against 'the others' to assume control. This process is vastly facilitated by being able to group 'the others' together as some sort of sub-species. Here racial characteristics - especially when they are as marked as pigmentation - help enormously.

If 'the others' can be grouped together under easily identifiable racial characteristics, and this can be re-inforced by a religious or semi-religious authentication (a race myth) e.g. the story of the sons of Noah, the process of banding together for control is made much easier. Thus the myth of race emerges, consciously or sub-consciously, to support the drive for power.

In its unreasonable fear of 'getting involved in politics' and thus its concentration on the individual and inter-personal relationships the Church has become fascinated by the myth rather than the problem. Race relations come to be seen as the key to the problem and people are frequently exhorted to meet across the 'colour-line' to get to know one another 'as people'. But this is impotent to deal with the real problem, which is the urge for power based on land possession (broadly understood) in order to control others. The problem is a broad politico-economic one and not a narrow inter-personal one complicated by race prejudices.

While there remains an unequal distribution of land, of ownership, and of wealth in South Africa the problem of inter-personal relations (admittedly complicated as they will be for a long time to come by the hangover effects of the race myth) will not be solved. To meet one another most fully, wholly, and creatively as persons requires a more basic equality of power.

● BIBLICAL CONCEPT OF MAN

This should not be seen simply as political strategy. It is an essential aspect of the Christian doctrine of man. The biblical concept of man insists that he is of the earth, earthy. Man's earth roots are insisted on in the legends of creation which claim that he is made of earth, lives on it, feeds off it, breathes because of it, and at death is taken back into it. They claim also that it is of the essence of man that he is made to have control over his environment. Thus biblically man is intimately related to the land in dependence, care and control for the sake of man. Israel is the name both of a land and a man.

Theologies which insist that in the biblical view of things man is not an isolated individual but a communal animal are correct as far as they go. But they seldom go far enough. Human communities like human individuals do not move about like embodied spirits in an unspecified ether. To be communities at all they need a place, a home, a land where they can build their human life.

This is an often neglected aspect of the Exodus story. The Exodus is not simply the account of the escape of slaves from their bondage in Egypt. It is the story of the creation of a people, and a vital part of that story is that they became a people when they received a land of their own where they could live and multiply and grow their crops. The uninhabitable wilderness was not freedom from Egypt. It was seen as a punishment for their lack of faith. Even the visions of the glorious eschaton are coloured through and through with the hope of possessing a richly productive land unthreatened by enemies.

● THE VOICE OF MATANZIMA

Thus the biblical doctrine sees man as being man when he is in an intimate relationship with the land and is able to have control over his environment. Consequently the Bible knows that when they meet they bring their land relationships with them into the meeting. The meeting and relationship between a great land-owner (whether he be feudal overlord or industrial magnate) and a non land-owner (whether he be peasant serf or dispossessed African) will be very different from a meeting between two land owners or two peasants. When there are power, wealth, or land inequalities between people (especially people in the same geo-political area) they will and do affect the character of the relationship. In South Africa generally white meets black as master meets servant. The problem is not in the black white thing, it is in the master/servant, possessed dispossessed, rich/poor character of the relationship.

In South Africa the history of racism is the history of the excuse which whites have used and continue to use to dispossess blacks and to disqualify them from becoming power competitors, and thus participants in shaping a common destiny.

In the light of this the recent demands made by Bantustan leaders for more land, without focussing undue attention on racial questions, are most encouraging. Not only are the demands necessary, they are perhaps the beginnings of demands for a move towards an equalisation of power. And those interested in the Christian basis for human relationships should be able to appreciate the strong biblical motifs at work here. Here are people showing that they cannot meet others on the basis of a mythical 'equality of persons'. The 'equality of persons' also runs into the land; its possession and quality and the means to harness it in the service of man.

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'n Pleidooi vir die „stadige“ jongmens

Adriaan Mocke

ADRIAAN MOCKE is Direkteur van die Olyfkrans-Kollege op Swellendam. Die Kollege, wat in 1966 as privaatskool geregistreer is, is deur mnre. Mocke en Fred Geel gestig en het tans dertig seuns as leerlinge. Die hoofsaak is om 'n heenkome te bied aan „stadige“ jeugdige wat nie normale werk kan kry of behou nie. Die jeugdige ontvang spesiale onderwys en het ook daaglikse take wat hulle moet verrig. Daar word geprobeer om 'n verantwoordelike besef en werkywer by hulle aan te moedig.

DIT IS DRINGEND noodsaaklik dat in Suid-Afrika spesiale voorsiening gemaak word vir die „stadige“ blanke kind, wat dit al hoe moeiliker vind om op die ope arbeidsmark mee te ding wanneer hy uiteindelik sy eie potjie moet gaan krap.

'n Moontlike oplossing is die stigting van 'n homogene gebied waar hierdie mense 'n integrerende deel van die gemeenskap kan uitmaak en eenvoudige werk kan verrig sonder dat dit vir hulle nodig is om teen die nie-blankes mee te ding. Dit sou nie vir hulle nodig wees om hul selfrespek te verloor omdat hulle minder gesofistikeerde werk verrig soos dié van straatveërs of skoonmakers nie.

Wanneer die Hendrik Verwoerd-dam uiteindelik voltooi is en die damwerkers Oranjekrag verlaat, sou hierdie dorpie 'n ideale plek wees waar so 'n onderneming aangepak kan word.

Die afgelope twaalf jaar bestudeer ek reeds die probleme van die „stadiger“ blanke kind en jeugdige. Dit is met kommer dat ek waargeneem het dat hul posisie in Suid-Afrika aan die verswak is.

Waar arbeids- en maatskaplike probleme in die verlede slegs dié jong mense met 'n intelligensiekwosient van tussen sowat 60 en 80 geraak het, is dit nou vinnig besig om diegene met 'n hoër I.K. ook te raak. Dit geld veral vir die stadige blanke kind wat nie besonder vaardig met sy hande is nie en dit dus moeilik vind om deur middel van 'n ambag 'n bestaan te maak.

● MOEILIKER

Ons Regering en die onderskeie onderwysdepartemente toon 'n diepe begrip van en insig in die probleme van die stadiger kind, en baie word op hierdie gebied gedoen. Vanweë Suid-Afrika se veelrassige samestelling is dit egter aansienlik moeiliker om aan die stadiger kind reg te laat geskied as in die meeste lande met 'n homogene bevolking.

Ongelukkig is ons opvoeding hoofsaaklik gegrond op die opvatting dat die blanke kind net dié soort werk moet doen wat as geskik vir blankes beskou word. Vandag word sekere soorte werk as be-

nede ons waardighede beskou en is dit ondenkbaar dat 'n jong man uit 'n goeie huis werk sal doen wat gewoonlik deur Bantoes of Kleurlinge gedoen word.

Dit is in elk geval feitlik onmoontlik vir die stadiger blanke kind om eenvoudiger werk te kry vanweë die vinnige bevolkingsaanwas van die Kleurlinge en die Bantoes.

Sommige blankes met 'n lae I.K. verrig beskutte arbeid wat eintlik bedoel is vir ernstiger vertraagde mense. Beskutte arbeid is in elk geval slegs in die groot stede beskikbaar, en gewoonlik is daar geen geskikte huisvesting vir die beskutte werkers nie.

● ONNATUURLIK

Beskutte arbeid is daarenteen ook nie geskik vir iemand met 'n I.K. bo 70 nie, behalwe vir dié met fisieke gebreke. Dit is onnatuurlik en moet 'n nadelige uitwerking hê op mense met 'n I.K. hoër as 70.

In private ondernemings wat gewillig is om agterlike jong blankes in diens te neem, kom hierdie jong mense al hoe meer in regstreekse aanraking met Kleurlinge en ander nie-blankes wat nie dieselfde maatskaplike agtergrond en opvoeding het nie, m.a.w. die hoër ontwikkelde nie-blankes voel hulle nie meer aangetrokke tot ongeskoolde en ander werk wat min vaardigheid vereis nie. Omdat dit die agterlike jong blankes aan 'n gesonde oordeel ontbreek sover dit ander se karakter betref, is dit waarskynlik dat hulle moreel en kultureel nadelig beïnvloed sal word.

Ons is dankbaar vir die geleenthede wat vir die stadige blanke jeugdige in die Spoorweë, die Departement van Bosbou en ander staatsdepartemente bestaan. Ongelukkig het hierdie werk ook nadele in dié opsig dat dit die stadige te veel beskerm en geen mededinging bied nie, en die werkeuse enigsins beperk is.

In Suid-Afrika is daar sowat 126 000 blanke kinders met 'n normale I.K. wat 'n dringende behoefte aan remediërende onderwys het. Hierdie kinders maak geen vordering in normale skole nie en kan nie werk inhaal waarin hulle agter geraak het nie.

Soms besef die kind dat hy nie kan vorder soos sy ouers van hom verwag nie, of soms is die ouers

nie in staat om hul kind se beperkings te erken en te aanvaar nie. Party ouers probeer so 'n kind so lank moontlik op skool hou omdat hulle meen dat hy ten minste in st. X - of as dit onmoontlik is, st. VIII - móét slaag. Wanneer te veel van 'n kind verwag word, ontstaan spanninge en sielkundige probleme.

● GESIN LY

Die meeste van hierdie kinders word so lank moontlik op skool gehou, nie slegs omdat daar min geskikte werk vir hulle is nie, maar ook vanweë die algemene opvatting onder die meeste blankes dat sekere soorte werk net vir Bantoes en Kleurlinge bedoel is. Hulle glo dat as die blanke kind nie 'n sekere onderwyspeil bereik nie, daar min geleentheid vir hom is.

Dit is nie net die stadige seun of meisie wat ly nie; die hele gesin word betrek. Die broers en susters raak naderhand skaam vir hierdie verwante wat dan so „anders” is. Met verloop van tyd raak hulle 'n las, nie slegs vir hul gesinne nie, maar ook vir die staat.

Dit moet ons oogmerk wees om aan die stadiger kind, met sy beperkings, die maksimum-voorbereiding vir selfstandigheid te gee. Hy moet die geleentheid kry om sy onafhanklikheid uit te leef in 'n milieu waar hy nie ook nog teen die nie-blankes hoef mee te ding nie.

In Israëel kan die jong mense hul jeugdige ideale verwesenlik deur in groepe op die platteland saam te werk en in dié proses hul jong land te help opbou.

As ons Regering nou 'n gebied beskikbaar kan stel vir selfontwikkeling deur blankes, kan ons terselfdertyd die vraagstuk oplos van die gebrek aan werkgeleenthede vir die onder-gemiddelde blanke jeugdige in ons land.

Die totstandkoming van 'n elektroniese en/of verwante bedryf op Oranjekrag is op 'n kongres van die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in Seepunt voorgestel. Die kongres het die voorstel aangeneem. Daar is voorgestel dat hierdie dorpie behou word nadat die Hendrik Verwoerddam voltooi is, aangesien die omgewing veral geskik is vir die totstandkoming van 'n elektroniese bedryf.

● BEJAARDES

Wie sou die mense wees wat in so 'n gebied sou kan werk en woon? Mense sou uit ons universiteite en kolleges en alle ander stande kom. Hulle sou die intelligentsia van so 'n onderneming wees. Bejaardes wat tans eensaam op plase of in stede woon, sou die geleentheid verwelkom om hul laaste jare op so 'n veilige en vreedsame plek te slyt. Dit sou die ideale plek wees vir 'n „seunsdorp” waar jeugdige met gedragsprobleme blootgestel sou wees aan die he-

lende invloed van gesonde arbeid.

Talle ouers sou graag hul kinders na goeie kos-huise wil stuur, waar hulle gevorm kan word in 'n atmosfeer waar geen stigma aan handarbeid kleef nie.

Op so 'n dorp sou spesiale skole in staat wees om hul leerplanne by die individuele behoeftes van die leerlinge aan te pas. Hulle sou opgelei kan word vir die take wat vir hulle beskikbaar gestel sou word in die gemeenskap, en wattans in ons stede deur nie-blankes gedoen word.

In die kantore, winkels, skole, huise, ouetehuse en buite sou party van die stadiger blankes as skoonmakers, bodes, kōkke, bediendes en tuiniers kan werk. Al die werk wat nou deur Bantoes en Kleurlinge gedoen word, sou deur blankes gedoen kan word sonder dat 'n stigma daaraan kleef. „Verligte” ouers sou dankbaar wees vir hierdie waardevolle geleentheid vir hul kinders.

Ons jeugorganisasies, die Landsdiensbeweging en ander liggame sou op so 'n plek enorme take kan aanpak en uitvoer.

Uit navorsing en studie blyk dat dat soortgelyke projekte in ander lande onderneem is en met sukses deurgevoer is. Dit is ook gevind dat daar genoeg mense in Suid-Afrika is wat kennis dra van die probleem en bereid is om in so 'n gebied 'n projek te onderneem. Ek weier om te aanvaar dat die Regering van Suid-Afrika nie grond vir die doel beskikbaar sal stel nie.

● 'N KRAGBRON

So 'n dorp sou vir Suid-Afrika 'n geestelike kragbron kan word en 'n waarborg kan bied vir die toekoms van hierdie spesiale kinders. Ons sou nie slegs selfrespek ontwikkel nie, maar sou ook 'n voorbeeld stel wat deur alle gemeenskappe in Suid-Afrika hooggeag kan word.

Deur hierdie beroep te doen, vra ek ook dat hierdie saak nie oppartypolitieke grondslag benader moet word nie. In iedere politieke party moet daar mense wees wat kinders het wat onder die gemiddelde of stadig is, of wat familieledede het met sulke kinders. Dit is 'n maatskaplike vraagstuk wat geen grense ken nie en nōg die sosiale status nōg die inkomstepeil van mense in ag neem. Ek doen 'n dringende beroep dat hierdie belangrike vraagstuk suiwer objektief benader word.

„Geen sonstraal gaan ooit verlore nie, maar die groenigheid wat dit voortbring, het tyd nodig om te groei, en dit is nie altyd die saaiers beskore om te leef om die oes te sien nie. Alle werk wat enigiets werd is, word in die geloof gedoen”. - Albert Schweitzer.



Towards a Colourful Future

Michael Whisson

Time passes and the so-called Coloured 'question' still remains a 'problem'. SPRO-CAS in its Publication No.2 on South Africa's minorities, precisely by including the whites with the coloureds as a minority group, poses a new question: how can one minority group regard another minority group as a problem? For if there is any problem, it is a sociological problem at root which is only aggravated by the race question i.e. the problem of the integration of a minority group.

In order to contribute part of the thinking within SPRO-CAS to the current debate we publish an extract from a recent study paper prepared for SPRO-CAS by Dr. M.G. Whisson, senior lecturer in social anthropology in the School of African Studies at the University of Cape Town. Readers are further referred to his article on the Coloured People in SPRO-CAS PUBLICATION NO.2: SOUTH AFRICA'S MINORITIES.

THE SAME SORT of argument as has been advanced for the Africans can be advanced for the people classed as Indian or Coloured, although there are some major differences. As minority groups for whom there appear to be no plans for homelands other than the "group areas" established on the periphery of most of the urban areas in South Africa, and as groups whose cohesion is based more on external classification and common grievances than upon positive internal factors, they have found it more difficult to act in a co-ordinated way than have the Africans.

The imposition of "ethnic" institutions - schools, universities, councils, urban management committees, reformed churches, etc. - by the government has, despite passionate opposition from some of the intellectuals, begun to forge a group consciousness and a political awareness. But where for the African, there is really little hope of integration short of revolution, for the other minority groups there is always the possibility that in order to maintain itself in power against the rising African tide, the white group will permit or even seek integration with the minority groups, creating a non-black alliance against the Africans. Such an alliance appears to have developed to some extent in Southern Rhodesia.

At present the "Coloured" voters appear divided between rejection of all forms of minority group "dummy institutions", acceptance of the Coloured Council and other institutions as means whereby the legitimate aspirations of the "Coloured" people can be voiced and steps taken towards an integrated society, and "Coloured Nationalists" who accept the idea of separate institutions for their people on the basis of equal but different some day. While the second group appear to outnumber the third quite considerably, the size of the first group cannot be gauged very easily other than through calculations based on abstentions in the coloured election. With the development of separate institutions however, linked to the republican government through the virtually government nominated executive of the Coloured Council, the same conflict between the

aspirations of the people and the willingness of the government to meet them as has been described for the Africans will emerge. To maintain some credibility, which is currently minimal, the Council must be granted some of its demands. As in the case of the Africans, accession to its demands will increase its power and its appetite for complete equality or for integration, refusal could lead to heightened frustration and communal unrest. The relatively small size of the community and its distribution through the country would make unrest more easily contained by the government, but the effect on business confidence and the demonstration effect on the Africans might well be significant. Wealth, education, urban experience and participation in urban networks make the "Coloured" people a far more explosive group than the Africans at present, although their numbers make their explosions less productive of fundamental change.

The Indians are in a similar position to the "Coloured" people, but whilst their average incomes, educational level and sub-group cohesion is probably greater than that of the larger minority group, and their experience of political action on a broad base goes back further, their current development of communal political institutions has not proceeded so far. The contribution that their institutions, both evolved and imposed can make to change are limited by size of the community being served, by its distribution through the country and the fatalism that religion inspires in some sections.

Unless the governmental crystal ball finally clears to reveal that the brown minorities are destined to be absorbed into a common non-black South African society, the institutions both evolved and imposed in the minority groups may well contribute towards change through becoming vehicles for the expression of group feeling, even violent frustration, and by their demonstration effect upon the Africans. With respect to the minority groups, the government may not be mounted upon a tiger as in the case of the Africans, but "separate development" for them may be a very irritable ostrich.