

PRO

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COVER PHOTOGRAPH

RACIAL BARRIERS ARE FORGOTTEN AS THREE PLAYERS LINK ARMS AFTER THE HISTORY-MAKING SOCCER MATCH BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES AT THE RAND STADIUM ON 26.3.73. THEY ARE GEORGE WILLIAMSON, EFRAIM SONO, AND NICKEY HOWE, CAPTAIN OF THE WHITE TEAM. (BY COURTESY OF THE STAR.)

VOORBLADFOTO

RASSE-GRENSE IS VERGETE TERWYL DRIE SPELERS MEKAAR VASHOU NA DIE GESKIEDKUNDIGE SOKKERWEDSTRYD TUSSEN SWART- EN WITMENSE BY DIE RANDSE STADION OP 26.3.73. HULLE IS GEORGE WILLIAMSON, EFRAIM SONO EN NICKEY HOWE, DIE KAPTEIN VAN DIE WIT SPAN. (GOEDGUNSTIGLIK DEUR „THE STAR“ VERSKAF.)



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CHRISTENDOM IS 'N LEWENSWYSE

Die Kongres oor Sending en Evangelisasie wat onlangs in Durban gehou is, was in baie opsigte van veel betekenis en daar is baie belangrike dinge wat daarvoor gesê kan word. Die gemeenskap oor die grense van verskillende denominasies heen, geestelike insig op grond van die seminare en besprekings, kontak met talle oorsese besoekers, 'n diepe gevoel van eenheid tussen alle Christene en 'n gemeenskaplike taak in die diens van Christus is sommige sake wat aandag behoort te verdien. Dit was 'n besondere oomblik toe duisende mense op die uitnodiging by die saamtrek van Billy Graham gereageer het om na vore te kom en sodoende hulle gewilligheid om Jesus as Koning en Verlosser na te volg, getoon het.

Al hierdie wonderlike dinge kan egter grootliks teoreties bly of selfs weer onvrugbaar word as dit van die praktiese alledaagse lewe in Suid-Afrika losgemaak word. Die Christendom is meer as net die handhawing van sekere geloofswaarhede, basiese oortuigings en 'n aanhang van 'n geloofsbelydenis. Dit is 'n lewenswyse. Dit was ook die werklike punt waar dit by die Kongres om gegaan het.

'N DEURBRAAK

Die Kongres was in elke opsig, van die verblyf wat vir die meeste van die 700 afgevaardigdes van alle rasse in een hotel voorsien is tot die feit van die sprekers, op 'n non-rasse basis ge-organiseer. Die Billy Graham-saamtrek, as 'n deel van die Kongres wat in Kingspark gehou is, het op dieselfde basis plaasgevind. *Baie, insluitende Billy Graham self, het daarop aanspraak gemaak dat hierdie eenstemmigheid op 'n non-rasse basis die Christelike lewenswyse is.*

As dit werklik die Christelike lewenswyse is, dan moet die Suid-Afrikaanse lewenswyse in baie opsigte as onchristelik beskou word. Dit is die plig van alle Christene om hierdie Christelike lewenswyse in Suid-Afrika op alle gebiede na te volg. Dit sal in stryd met die huidige stelsel wees en dit mag moontlik verskriklike lyding veroorsaak, maar die evangelie vereis dat God meer as die mens gehoorsaam moet word. Die apartheidsstelsel kan alleenlik gehandhaaf word so lank as wat die witman, die swartman en die Christelike kerk dit aanvaar.

Dit is van die allergrootste belang dat mense ge-evangeliseer word, dat swart en wit mekaar sal liefhê, dat hulle saam sal bid en dat hulle mekaar by die voet van die kruis sal ontmoet. Hierdie wonderlike evangelie moet in 'n lewenswyse in Suid-Afrika omskep word. Tensy dit gedoen word, sal dit 'n saak van „geloof sonder werke”, wat dood is, wees.

DIE WERKLIKE PROBLEME

Die Christene wat die Kongres bygewoon het, asook alle ander, moet hulle oortuigings in die praktyk toepas in gehoorsaamheid aan Christus se eis dat die hele

CHRISTIANITY IS A WAY OF LIFE

The Congress on Mission and Evangelism recently held in Durban was in many respects very significant, and there is much of importance to be said about it. The fellowship across denominational barriers, spiritual insight through the seminars and discussions, and contact with many overseas visitors, a deep sense of unity of all Christians and a common task in the service of Christ are some of the things that should be referred to. It was a precious moment when thousands of people responded to the appeal at the Billy Graham rally to come forward to show their willingness to follow Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

However all the wonderful things could well remain merely theoretical or become sterile again were they divorced from practical everyday life in South Africa. Christianity is more than the holding of certain beliefs, basic convictions and attachment to doctrinal creeds. It is a way of life. This too was the real issue of the Congress.

A BREAKTHROUGH

The Congress was organized on a non-racial basis in every facet, from the accommodation provided for most of the 700 delegates of all races in one hotel, to that of the speakers. The Billy Graham rally in King's Park was structured in the same way as a part of the Congress. *This unanimity on a completely non-racial basis was claimed by many, including Billy Graham himself, to be the Christian way of life.*

If this is in fact the Christian way of life, then the South African way of life must in many aspects be regarded as un-Christian. It is the duty of all Christians to follow the Christian way of life in South Africa in all spheres. This would be opposed to the present system and it might cause terrible suffering but the Gospel demands that God must be obeyed rather than man. The apartheid system can only be maintained as long as the white man, the black man and the Christian Church accept it.

It is of the utmost importance that people be evangelised, that black and white love one another, that they pray together and that they meet at the foot of the cross. This wonderful Gospel must be *translated into a way of life in South Africa*. Unless this is done it will be a case of "faith without works"—which is dead.

THE REAL ISSUES

Those who attended the Congress—as indeed all Christians—should put their convictions into practice in obedience to Christ's demand that we should transform all human life in accordance with God's will. This implies, among other things, the following:

1. To insist on the necessity of providing facili-

menslike lewe in ooreenstemming met God se wil verander moet word. Dit veronderstel, behalwe ander sake, die volgende:

1. Om op die noodsaaklikheid aan te dring dat fasiliteite voorsien moet word sodat die families van arbeiders na die plek van hulle werk gebring kan word indien hulle dit sou verlang. Met ander woorde die huidige stelsel van trek-arbeid moet na 'n meer Christelike en menslike stelsel verander word.
2. Om op die aanvaarding en implementering van verpligte onderwys vir kinders van alle rasse aan te dring.
3. Om op gelyke geleentheid vir opleiding van geskoolde arbeiders en dieselfde loon vir dieselfde werk afgesien van 'n mens se ras, aan te dring.
4. Om op die geleentheid vir swartmense aan te dring om volkome en gelyk aan die politieke besluite van die land deel te neem.
5. Om die kerke te versoek om duidelike leiding te gee aan Christene, wat volgens hulle Christelike gewete nie langer sekere wette, wat hulle as onchristelik en onregverdig beskou, kan gehoorsaam nie.
6. Om op die afskaffing van inperkings sonder verhoor aan te dring en dat mense wat deur hierdie inperkings ge-afekteer word, vry te stel.
7. Om aan te dring op die betrokkenheid van die kerke op alle gebiede van die lewe, insluitende die politiek, sodat Christus se weg nie net tot sekere persoonlike areas beperk word nie, maar dat dit die hele samelewing insluit.
8. Om voort te gaan om Christus se evangelie op alle gebiede van die lewe te verkondig en om aan te hou bid vir die koms van sy Koninkryk in die lewe van individue en van die samelewing, ook in Suid-Afrika.

Die lewe van die moderne mens is op baie maniere versplinter, maar dit kan geheel en volledig gemaak word as die belangrikste faktor van gemeenskap met God en gemeenskap met die mens in sy volheid in sy lewenswyse herstel word. Dit kan alleenlik gedoen as ons gewillig is om die praktiese probleem in die gesig te staar—die sonde en die lyding, die apartheid-gestruktueerde samelewing en die praktiese hardheid van die mens se hart—en om dit met Christus se lewenswyse te konfronteer.

Die fundamentele probleem vir Suid-Afrika wat deur die Kongres te voorskyn gekom het, is dat die Christendom of 'n lewenswyse is, of dit beteken eintlik niks nie.



ties to bring the families of workers to the place of their work if they so wish. In other words, to change the present system of migratory labour to a more Christian and humane system.

2. To insist on the acceptance and implementation of compulsory education for children of all races.
3. To insist on equal opportunities for training of skilled workers and the same wages for the same jobs regardless of race.
4. To insist on the opportunity for Black people to participate equally and fully in the decision-making process of the political life of the country.
5. To request the church to give clear guidance to Christians who in Christian conscience can no longer obey certain laws which they regard as unchristian and unjust.
6. To insist on the abolishment of bannings without trial and to set free people affected by these bannings.
7. To insist on the involvement of the churches in all spheres of life, including politics, so that Christ's way is not restricted to certain personal areas but will include the whole of society.
8. To go on proclaiming Christ's Gospel in all spheres of life and to keep on praying for the coming of His Kingdom in the lives of individuals and of society also in South Africa.

Modern man's life is fragmented in all sorts of ways, but it can be healed and made whole if the one crucial factor of fellowship with God and fellowship with man in its fullness is restored in his way of life. That can only be done if we are willing to face the practical issue—the sins and the hardships, the apartheid-structured society and the practical hardness of man's heart—and confront it with Christ's way of life.

Emerging from the Congress the fundamental issue for South Africa is that *Christianity is either a way of life or it is nothing at all.*



the Black Man and the Church

Ernest Baartman

There is a lot of literature in many Theological Institutions on "The Church". If you have not read them you are a lucky man because you can go now and read the Bible and learn what it says about the Church. The one thing there seems to be agreement on is that Christ is the head of the Church. The way some servants of the Lord carry on makes you think that Christ is their servant. Another idea known in many church circles is that the Church has a mission. I am not sure that there is general consensus on what that mission is, let alone on how to set about that mission. Sometimes I get the feeling that within my own sect we are not agreed on how to engage in mission. It is this mission we need to work out and crystallize for the Black man. Until we have done that we stand the risk of finding many Blacks confused and unable to handle the situation.

What picture does the Black man have of the Church? The Church is composed mainly of elderly people. There are also some young people. The young people who think and ask questions are not encouraged to remain in the Church. The Thomases are not made to feel at home. The black Church has room only for the good, obedient, well-mannered young person. The result is that the young rebel is not tolerated. By and large the Church receives those for whom society has very little use. Not many beauty queens, entertainers are strong Church people. This means the Church must take a long look at her method of outreach.

For many people, young people are to be seen and not heard. The black man is going through this phase of his development. Incidentally, this is not necessarily a cultural trait peculiar to blacks. It is a sociological question in the development of any people. The question that was asked when any young person took his membership responsibilities seriously was: "Has he finished with the world?" Nobody was going to listen to a boy. Your grey hairs were your badge of respectability. The book, i.e. education, is beginning to replace this. Again this is not peculiar to blacks. The result is that the church is run, patronised and stifled by old people. She has become the waiting room for the Bus to the Beyond.

Another characteristic of the black church is that it is run by autocratic or bullying church wardens and stewards. These are men who have become or are becoming power drunk. If you knew their position in South African society you would understand their behaviour. *You have to remember that throughout the*

week they are "nobodies", pushed around by some insignificant White Boss engaged in that job reserved for useless, unproductive whites, "Kaffirkyk". In fact Kaffirkyk is a welfare job. Sunday is therefore the one day when the warden is somebody. Human nature being what it is, he never stops to think what his behaviour does to those in the pews.

Change too slow

The multi-racial church is characterized by white domination. This is changing gradually. It is so gradual that one wonders if it will ever reach the point where it has changed sufficiently to enable us to speak of a truly non-racial church. Unfortunately this is one of those areas where the church reflects those practices of South African society which are against the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The church is God's. This is fundamental to the nature of the church. It is given to man through Jesus Christ. Man joins Christ in His Church. This means that the church is both holy and sinful. Jesus Christ gives it its holiness. Man brings his sinfulness. It is also true to say that man is out to thwart God's plans and purposes when these go against man's selfishness.

The black man is therefore ever grateful to God for *His Church*. He admires those missionaries who came here with the Gospel. These men heard the call and came to Africa. The one great thing that the whites missed and missed badly was that Jesus Christ was already at work in Africa. They were not bringing Jesus on a boat to Africa.

The price of that mistake is still being paid by the church and the church still has to pay. She finds her word being doubted by a giant who is stirring from a sleep, as it were. As this giant Africa stirs, he wakes up to the call of many voices. Christianity calls and many -isms are calling. Which way shall he go? Where is the young black to go?

You have the picture that I tried to draw mainly because, at the moment, the black man is finding it very hard to see what he hears or even to hear what he is supposed to hear.

The church in this land is not what the church in the New Testament is. In the New Testament the fact that Christ is the head of the Church is taken seriously. Hence in Corinth you could get a church with such diversity of people. Yet they could worship together. They were bound by the blood of Jesus. In this country people are more bound together by the blood of their

fore-fathers. The Cross and its message is secondary to the monuments and the messages around those monuments; the blood of our fore-fathers.

The Commandment of Jesus Christ was love. "You shall love the Lord They God ... and love your neighbour as yourself." To use the word love in this country is to beg for loneliness. For lonely is the man who loves in South Africa. When I use the word love I use it in the sense of agape. Yet could we say we feel smothered with love in here?

I believe when blacks look at the church they see very little evidence of love. Let me confess something *that was a grave shortcoming for me until recently*. When I spoke about the church I had in my mind the congregation at worship. This was what one talked about as the church. That was very different from what the black man had in his mind. He talked about the church scattered. This is when and where the black man sees and assesses the credibility of the Church. It is when Christians in industry, commerce, politics etc. meet to live out their Christianity that the church is under scrutiny. Behaviour in life outside the church buildings and courts is very different.

The black man finds this very difficult to understand and justify. He never was a religionless or irreligious man. He had his own religion. The difference between his religion and Christianity was that his was part of his life. No matter where you went your ancestors went with you. You were not in touch with them once a week or only when you visited their kraal.

Communism not for black man

Perhaps it is as well that I deal with one of the isms that some people would dearly like to see the black man called. That ism is Communism. I am not a student of Communism. But let me say here and now that *NO* black man can ever truly be voluntarily a communist. I do not care what the whites say. The communists deny life hereafter. The black man is born into a world of spirits. The supernatural is a strong element in his life. Years of hard work has not removed that element from the blacks. They believe in slaughtering in far greater depth than whites will ever understand. All sorts of excuses are made for slaughtering. These are mainly for the consumption of whites. The point here is not indigenisation but simply to emphasize that communism is the one ideology that cannot easily find acceptance among blacks. Therefore the church has a far better chance of attracting the black man than communism has.

The black man, as I implied earlier, wants the church to be involved in life. The life in this world must be a foretaste of the life hereafter. This seems to contradict what is preached in many black churches. We usually hear that we are to endure suffering in this world and in heaven we shall be set free. Pie in the sky. For many whites this may sound silly and backward. Let me remind them that that is partly what is keeping

them in a position of privilege. The black man waits for his reward in the next world. This kind of thinking or theology is driving the young and intelligent blacks up the wall. I remember some years back I was walking along the beach at Muizenberg, and one young black man asked me, "Do you think there is a place for whites in heaven? Surely if our reward and freedom is in heaven, then they have already had theirs".

It is into this situation that the church is expected to throw herself. For God's children, the blacks, she ought to be saying something to her members about sharing the good things of this life for we claim to share in the godly things of this life. The church ought to be there in Durban alongside the blacks who are striking for their humanness, who are trying to be and live like the children of God. Instead it is Christians who threaten to sack these people. Many are going to be not so much victims of the strike, but of greed and selfishness. What is going to happen on Sunday? We are going to try and preach sermons that are theologically sound.

The church ought to speak to those in power. The church ought to be helping to bring the people in power back to reality. Surely, I do not need an agitator to tell me I am hungry, I need no agitator to tell me my children are starving to death, I need no agitator to tell me that a stupid white boy with no experience of the work is earning six times what I get with all my experience. What I am saying is that the church would speak much more loudly to the black man if she was engaged in current events or even current affairs.

Sharing of power

Another point that troubles the black man, particularly when he looks at the multi-racial church, is the monopoly of power by the whites. This point has been considered before in many places where people have been concerned about the church in South Africa. I know when a black man raises this point the initial reaction from whites is "These blacks want nothing but power". That is partly true. The one thing that is not true is the "nothing but". Power yes. But much more than that. *There is something greater than that. "Human being-ness". "To love". "To live a life of abundant joy in Christ"*. In South African society the black man takes orders from whites. Some of those orders may be very stupid, but the black man has to take them. When you read the story of the creation, the Bible makes it quite clear that God gave man dominion over all creation. God did not only give man dominion but he also gave him the ability to rule. There is something within me that seeks to be over something. You cannot keep me down forever. The church should be preaching this but it is the church that has been the culprit.

There is hope in that gradually she is beginning to bring more blacks into the decision-making bodies. Let us stop for a moment and look at what the black man sees happening.

In every man there is the desire to preserve himself. In the South African context the black man has developed this into an art, the art of saying what the whites want to hear or see. Hence the road gangs appear happy to the "Kaffirkyker" and he is happy that his Kaffirs are happy because they are singing whilst swinging those picks. And their happy song is "Abelungu ugoo-Swine". The black man in the church has for a long time been guilty of this. What blacks see happening is that the ones who say what the white bosses want to hear get appointed. The more honest ones are languishing in the back veld of the country because they are difficult. I pray to God that I am wrong. I pray to God that there are no blacks like that. Do I pray in vain?

The other sore point about blacks on these decision-making bodies is tokenism. It is not often that you get an equitable representation of blacks and whites. You get what many people call window dressing.

The church must take this very seriously. If the church is going to make intelligent decisions then she must take into consideration the viewpoints of all her constituencies. When she makes public pronouncements she must speak for all her members.

It would be the height of irresponsibility on my part not to say anything about one of the pressing questions today, that of the World Council of Churches and their aid to the so-called terrorists. The black man in this country knows what violence is. The white structures have not found a way of dealing with him without being violent in the end. It is not necessary for me to enumerate instances of violence. Ask any black man in your group and he will do so. When this violence is practised on blacks it is Law and Order. It is for the protection of the public, the security of the country and the average white Christian will say, "We need law and order". Yet when a white is not satisfied with his employer he can move from one city to the other. When the black does that, the security of the country is threatened.

Real caring

When some blacks I spoke to heard what the World Council of Churches had done, it was not so much the money but rather the show of concern, love and care which touched them. Many white people say, when the terrorists get here they will oppress everybody. Do you really think that impresses the black man? His retort would probably be to "join the club".

The Church needs to do something concrete. She needs to join Christ in His struggle for the poor, the oppressed and the hungry. She needs to write more theology along that line. There was a gap. This slot Black Theology is filling.

Now a few words on church unity and the black man. When the missionaries came into this country they evangelised the country in different geographical areas, according to their denominations. This was



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possibly the most economical way of doing the work and probably the most convenient way in terms of languages and dialects. It resulted in a further division of the blacks. For many blacks it is an accident of history that they belong to their particular denomination. I have no deep emotional ties to or differences from any of the imported denominations in this country. I have no fore-father who was persecuted because he was an Anglican or a Roman Catholic. For many blacks in the pew there are great doctrinal reasons why they cannot join in the Lord's Supper.

There may be some moral questions, like, "How am I going to worship together with somebody who drinks and gets drunk?" I think these are the kind of questions that will be asked. The reason for this feeling is that even now in the black church the minister spends a lot of his time on two moral sins, viz. sex and drunkenness. The other great moral issues are seldom if ever discussed in the black church.

With the white government separating us, black from white and black from black, the church needs to bring the people of God together. On the black side, I believe there is an urgency for church unity that is possibly not as easily detectable in the white church. There are some dangers in denominationalism. There are two great dangers for me. I can see that, sooner or later, one of these Bantustans is going to choose one denomination and make it its national church. There are advantages in having a national church but the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. Ethnic grouping is going to be deepened by denominationalism.

If we continue as we are, competing in the field of mission, we only add to the black man's confusion. We shall waste our time on competition without really meeting the needs of the black man.

The denominations have made far too many mistakes which cannot be corrected now. A United Church can make a new start. A United Church could bring the Word of God more strongly and powerfully to South Africa. It could lead her into the paths of God and bring her back to face and meet the demands of the Gospel. She will bring heaven to South Africa where man is man, where love is justice and mercy! ★

BALANCE IN SOCIETY

sol selepe

The third resolution on race relations of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod reads: "Since men inherently seek their own interests rather than the welfare of their fellows, the church should stress the duty of men individually and collectively, to practice self-sacrifice for the welfare of others. Self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ is the highest form of self-preservation, for self-preservation is only then concomitant with obedience to the second great commandment when it is qualified and limited to the biblical demands of love and righteousness so that it does not interfere with the God-given privileges of other people."

It would seem that this resolution has two clearly distinguished aspects: *self-sacrifice* and the equally important *self-preservation*. Both these drives live within all of us. Sometimes we long to express our selfishness in self-preservation and at other times we feel the pressures of the community forcing us to sacrifice ourselves. Thus we know within ourselves the force of polarity between the two drives—the desire to be ourselves in our uniqueness and the desire to be part of our community.

SICK INDIVIDUALISM

In our South African society, it is the drive for self-preservation which is dictated by being made an end in itself. We find the white ruling group intensely desirous of unity with exclusion of the black ruled group. The white group has the power, educational, political, economic, military and police, which enables them to pursue their desired course without interference. In this kind of society created by the whites, the urge for uniqueness and self-expression has become individualistic. This of course is a structural manifestation of our sick society.

In all fairness I must point out that this drive towards self-expression is not a prerogative of the white group only. Most unfortunately it is an ever-present danger in the black group as well. Here the group seeks to exclude the deviant, the waverer—in fact anyone who seems to have a different point of view. The individual is not permitted to hold contrary views—if he tries this he must be put down. This is illustrated by the Sono affair. Temba Sono was a member of SASO who differed from the SASO policy of non-co-operation with the Bantustan governments. When he expressed this opinion at a meeting at Hammanskraal, he was expelled from SASO.

It is the task of the church both to affirm the humanity of others and to help them to affirm it for themselves when it seems as if they have denied it. I wish to shout loud and clear and far and wide to anyone who will hear: we blacks are persons made for love; don't cut us off from that love by thinking and acting superior to us. Do not bully us. For that we are too precious. Do not destroy us and thus destroy our uniqueness. It is the duty of the church to see to this and to do everything in its power to make blacks stand up and be themselves in the community of self- and mutually respecting people.



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the need for reform

APATHY IN THE CHURCH

Denis Hurley

During February Spro-cas arranged a series of public lectures in Johannesburg on reform in South Africa, hoping thereby to stimulate thinking about the need for a programme for reform.

This lecture on the need for reform in the church was delivered by the Most Rev. Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban.



The history of the Christian church, like the history of the people of Israel, from which it originated, is one long series of reforms, some of which were achieved without loss of unity, others, alas, like that of the sixteenth century, with a shattering explosion. It is the belief of dedicated Christians that the Church bears within itself such reservoirs of divine power that it is capable of extraordinary renewals even when seemingly sunk in a slough of impotence and conformity.

Reform of the Church can have a hundred connotations. It can refer to structure, doctrine, exercise of authority, clerical life, monastic life, lay participation, liturgy, theology, practical commitment and so on. When we talk of reform of the Church in South Africa we talk of need for change in the Church, and fairly radical change at that, that would transform the Church from being an almost passive spectator of a situation of oppression into an active, concerned, and prophetic body clamouring for the observance of Christian standards in the life of our country.

There are three assumptions in what I have said that will not be readily accepted in South Africa. The first is that there is a situation of oppression. The second is that the Church should be anything more than a passive spectator. The third is that the Church is not clamouring for the observance of Christian standards in the life of our country.

White power structure prevents real life

Taking up the first point about *oppression*, I think we could say that a situation of oppression exists when the power structure of a country, instead of providing for the development of all its peoples in harmony and freedom, is a positive obstacle to such development. By power structure I mean that complex of persons and

institutions that controls the political, economic and cultural life of a country: personalities and associations that, through their central position in political parties, industrial and financial corporations and mass media decide how the country is run and what opportunities are allowed the great bulk of citizens to participate in its life, its opportunities and its achievements. Within such a power structure there may be disagreements and divisions on a great number of points, there may even be very powerful tensions; but as long as there is a certain consensus, possibly only implicit and seldom if ever articulated, the power structure can function. In South Africa there are profound differences within the White power structure: political differences, clashes between politics and finance, conflicts within the mass media; but there is implicit agreement about the preservation of white privilege and, on this basis, the power structure operates.

There is a situation of oppression in South Africa, because in practically every aspect of personal and social life, the power structure not only fails to provide for the free and harmonious development of Black South Africans, but actually prevents it.

There is abundant evidence for this in the discrimination practised in education, in culture, in economic and political life. In education the disparity stretches from the amount of R200 per annum spent on the schooling of a White pupil to R15 per annum spent on the education of an African child. There is no need to go into the details of economic discrimination: of job reservation, of wages well below the Poverty Datum Line, of the refusal of trade union rights to Africans, of a planned and purposeful system of migratory labour, of indifference and neglect in regard to millions of underprivileged Black citizens condemned to grinding poverty, malnutrition and an infant mortality rate that is little short of genocide. In politics, the oppression consists in refusing to grant to the oppressed the right to be heard.

Four excuses

There are four possible rejoinders to the accusation of oppression. The first is *to deny the facts*, to say that the stories of hardship, privation and restriction are simply not true. There may be a few White South Africans who would attempt such a denial. But the facts are all too obvious. To refuse to face them is to in-

vite the worst possible kind of retribution and violence.

The second rejoinder is to maintain that the economic and cultural differences are *the result of historical circumstances*, of developments that took place in the past and for which the present generation of Whites cannot be held responsible. True enough, historical facts are historical facts and they cannot be altered by a wave of a magic wand; but, when for those who lost out in the historical process, they have resulted in a situation of real subjection and privation, and this situation is perpetuated by the power structure and maintained by the people that came out on top, we have quite obviously a situation of oppression. To say that this is the result of history is merely to state a fact. It does not constitute a refutation of the charge of oppression, nor does it propose a solution to the problem.

The third rejoinder which, if used, is more often implied than explicitly asserted, is that White South Africans accept the fact of oppression but can see *no way of altering it*, because to alter it would constitute a mortal danger to the survival of the White race in South Africa. To allow the Black races freedom of development would be suicide for White South Africa, but no one can be compelled to commit suicide, so White South Africa cannot be asked to lift the state of oppression that it imposes on its Black citizens. This is tantamount to saying that we know that we are oppressors, but only by remaining oppressors can we survive, so oppressors we will remain. We do not really feel guilty, because to be guilty one must have a free choice. White South Africa has no choice: either it continues as an oppressor or it succumbs. Few White South Africans would spell out this attitude as clearly as this, but many live with an unarticulated acceptance of it.

The assumption behind it is that White racial identity is a dominant value, important enough to be weighed in the balance against the exercise of oppression and to be found preponderant. As long as White South Africans attach such importance to the value of white privilege, there is no hope.

The fourth rejoinder to the charge of oppression levelled against the White power structures in South Africa is the rejoinder of *those who seriously and sincerely believe in separate development*. They reject the charge, because they say that though, at present, while the races are still territorially and economically mixed, justice cannot be achieved for all, the process of separation is going ahead, and once a sufficient degree of separation has been achieved, each race will be able to pursue its own development justly and effectively in its own territory. This has been said so often that it sounds like the self-evident truth to those who believe it and the most naive and incredible nonsense to those who don't. The non-believers look at a quarter of a century of efforts at unscrambling the eggs and find them more scrambled than ever. The pathetic instances of

separation achieved by the creation of the homelands do not impress them at all. They say: "If this is all that can be achieved by the tightening of the oppressive screw, there is no justification for going on with it, and the sooner we abandon the futile effort and get on with what should be our major consideration, the liberation and development of people, the better."

This really is the point we are at in South Africa: a choice between the maintenance of oppression in pursuit of the chimaera of separate development or the realisation that our dominant consideration must be people; the liberation and promotion of the human beings who live together in our South African political and economic community, 80% of whom at present are prevented from getting their fair share because the other 20% are afraid of losing their position of privilege and are making use of the oppressive machinery of apartheid to ensure that they do not.

Church involvement necessary

Among those who read these words, there is a very great number of White South Africans who, despite anything I or anyone else may say on this topic of oppression, would remain unconvinced. Over against them, practically a hundred per cent of the Black South Africans, a small minority of Whites and the great bulk of outsiders do not need convincing, so let us pass on to the next point: the assumption that, given a situation of oppression, the Church should be more than a passive spectator.

Here we enter the realm of conscience and are face to face with considerations of the long painful evolution of the moral sense in man and the role that religion has played in that evolution. It is not my intention to deal explicitly with this theme but only to make a few brief references to the Judaeo-Christian tradition which is the one to which South Africa mainly looks for the formulation of its moral convictions.

The role of conscience is central to this tradition, as to all other great religious traditions, and conscience means that imbedded in his intelligence and emotions man has a capacity for distinguishing between good and evil. Some would say that it is a sort of social memory derived from experience and passed on by education. Others see in it an indispensable concomitant of intelligence and freedom; and, therefore, of human nature, developed like intelligence and freedom by experience and education: a capacity for measuring moral values comparable to our other specifically human measuring capacities: intellectual vision, scientific insight, practical judgement, aesthetic appreciation.

Religion down the centuries has been the great educator of the moral conscience. It has made its mistakes, it has suffered aberrations and exaggerations like any other human endeavour; but, by and large, it has been the promoter and preserver of sound moral values without which there could not have been any

true humanisation and civilisation.

Abuse of power

One of the great achievements of the growth of conscience is the conviction that might is not right; in other words, that there are independent moral standards which men with power are as much subject to as any other man; men with military power, economic power, political power, communications power. We see this developing very clearly in the *Jewish Scriptures*. As the leadership of the people of Israel began to lose its dual religious and political character, and to become more and more exclusively political, side by side with the kings there emerged a succession of great religious figures, the prophets of Israel. They were the conscience of Israel and the kings knew what it was to have a conscience. Samuel did not mince his words when he spoke to Saul. David, after his adultery and homicide, had the picture of the selfish, unjust exploiter painted for him by Nathan, and Nathan's last stinging identification must have rung in his ears for the rest of his life: "You are that Man".

Not only the kings but the priests and the people felt the sharp lash of the prophet's tongue, reminding them of the one true God they must serve and the idols they must eschew, of the sincerity of the religion they must practise and the hypocrisy they must avoid, of the justice and compassion towards their neighbour that must be the proof of their sincerity.

It was Amos who cried out against market manipulations that hit the poor:

"Listen to this, you who trample on the needy and try to suppress the poor people of the country, you who say, 'When will New Moon be over so that we can sell our corn, and sabbath, so that we can market our wheat? Then by lowering the bushel, raising the shekel, by swindling and tampering with the scales, we can buy up the poor for money, and the needy for a pair of sandals, and get a price even for the sweepings of the wheat'. Yahweh swears it by the pride of Jacob, 'Never will I forget a single thing you have done'

....

I am going to turn your feasts into funerals, all your singing into lamentation; I will have your loins all in sackcloth, your heads all shaved. I will make it a mourning like the mourning for an only son, as long as it lasts it will be like a day of bitterness" —(Amos 8: 4-10).

Isaiah roared his disgust at the hypocrisy of a religion that observed ritual but overlooked justice:

"What are your endless sacrifices to me? says Yahweh. I am sick of holocausts of rams and the fat of calves. The blood of bulls and of goats

revolts me. When you come to present yourselves before me, who asked you to trample over my courts? Bring me your worthless offerings no more, the smoke of them fills me with disgust. New Moons, sabbaths, assemblies—I cannot endure festival and solemnity. Your New Moons and your pilgrimages I hate with all my soul. They lie heavy on me. I am tired of bearing them. When you stretch out your hands I turn my eyes away. You may multiply your prayers, I shall not listen. Your hands are covered with blood, wash, make yourselves clean.

Take your wrong-doing out of my sight. Cease to do evil. Learn to do good, search for justice, help the oppressed, be just to the orphan, plead for the widow" —(Isaiah 1: 11-17).

Renewal to witness

The prophetic spirit that was so powerful in Israel from the eighth to the sixth century before Christ has had its counterparts in all great religions and its extension into Christianity. In Christ himself it is unmistakable. But the prophetic spirit has to fight a constant battle with conformity as the history of Israel witnesses only too clearly. Man has not changed much in the intervening centuries. He is social by nature, conformity is his rule and mediocrity his safe average, a mediocrity that tends to tug downwards rather than bear upwards. Excellence is rare and genius flashes but seldom on the screen. When it comes it is disturbing and unwelcome, because it offends the placid balance of conformity and mediocrity and jerks uncomfortably against the downward pull of gravity. Implicit in all this is the contention that the Church, as successor to the prophetism of Israel and perpetuator of the spirit of Christ, can never be a passive spectator of oppression. It must speak its mind. It must give its witness. It must live its witness. But this is not easy. History has not made it easy. It will take a profound renewal before the Church can perform its prophetic function of clamouring for the observance of Christian standards in a situation of political and economic oppression.

Everywhere in the world of Christianity to-day, and I would not be surprised if this were true of the other great religions as well, there is a growing conviction of the necessity of such renewal and reform. The conviction stems from the realisation that religion is already irrelevant to vast areas of human experience and is rapidly becoming irrelevant to the remainder. Speaking of Christianity, as the only religion with which I am familiar, I would say that the reason for this irrelevance is the failure of organised Christianity to exercise its prophetic role in the great developments that have shaped the society that once was Christian, Western society. As an organised religion (perhaps the word 'disorganised' would be better) we failed to exer-

cise our role in the age of colonial conquest and occupation: in the age of that disastrous blot on the name of Christian civilisation, the slave trade: in the age of emerging capitalism and industrial revolution; we failed to face up to the self-examination that the dawn of the scientific age demanded with the result that a scientific culture emerged, not only alienated from religion but often hostile to it. We failed for many reasons. One of the most important was that, just when modern western civilisation was getting off the ground at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Church was in no shape to cope with it. It split in the mighty quarrel of the Reformation, dissolved into theological polemic and bloody warfare, and when the turbulence had begun to settle found itself increasingly on the sidelines of a Western world determined to go its own way with less and less regard for its traditional faith.

Preoccupation with a future life

The religion that emerged from the cataclysm of the 16th century, whether Protestant or Catholic, had little power to influence broad secular developments. Political alignment remained, of course, Catholic on one side and Protestant on the other, because we had not yet reached the stage of believing that religion could work through the conscience and still relied upon institutional influences and controls. Religion, though dependent on political protection, saw as its principal preoccupation a spiritual salvation, a future life, that *did not seem to demand too much of a transformation* of the contemporary human scene, too much of an effort to bring the scene more into conformity with the salvation it looked forward to. We did not really mean what we said in the prayer: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven". The Church of this period was dominated by an unfortunate dualism that goes back a long way in the history of religion, far back to pagan origins, a dualism separating all too categorically man's religious interest in eternal salvation and his human interest in politics, economics and human living generally.

It was this that made it possible for Christianity to be at times intensely evangelistic without unduly disturbing the conscience of the capitalist or the coloniser. It was this that made possible the explosion of missionary energy in the 16th and 17th century and again in the 19th and 20th within a western social system that condoned slavery and canonised colonial exploitation.

It is easy to be critical after the event; but the ease of the criticism does not render it unnecessary. Man learns from experience, and history is the experience of the race—and of the Church for that matter. Experience in this case, in the case of Christian conscience, teaches us that conscience grows all too slowly and painfully; that the vast majority of men have a conscience about something only when their social education gives it to them and that great issues of corruption and cruelty and injustice escape their notice unless



Most Rev. Denis Hurley, Archbishop of Durban.



there are prophetic spirits or prophetic institutions constantly available to reveal the truth and form the conscience of the masses.

A self-contradictory country

How true this is of South Africa, one of the last lingering fragments of that self-contradictory world that the West managed to create in its colonial heyday: a world of oppression and exploitation, graced by missionary zeal and evangelisation. Future generations will smile incredulously when they read of it; but we who grew up in it are not unduly astonished. It was our world. We took its contradictions in our stride.

All the major Christian denominations took in their stride a kind of ecclesiastical dualism in South Africa, whereby each church was not really one church but at least two; the church of the White settlers and the missionary church.

The church of the White settlers took these settlers as they came from Europe and carried on with them in South Africa the church concerns they had brought with them: the concern with worship and personal and domestic and, to some extent, business morality. It took no steps to relate their Christian conscience to the whole new set of circumstances into which they had been transplanted, the circumstances of a colonised country, a dispossessed people, a people becoming more and more subject to exploitation.

The missionary church saw in the dispossessed and increasingly exploited people not the victims of a colonial system but souls to be converted, souls to be saved. In saying this I am not blaming the missionaries. I think they did an extraordinary job. In many cases their lives were marked by great dedication, admirable self-sacrifice and consuming zeal. They spent themselves in the pursuit of their ideal. And if

their ideal did not include certain dimensions of human concern and social justice, that was not their fault. It was the fault of the system in which they had grown up and been educated. If we wish to blame them for not seeing through the system and going beyond the system, we must be prepared to blame them for not being born geniuses and prophets. Some of them were, of course, born with a touch of the prophetic and a touch of genius—men like Philipps and Moffat, and Colenso and Bernard Huss.

Though the system as such was not geared to a prophetic ministry in the matter of social and racial justice, we must not imagine that it was unconcerned about the human development of the people it endeavoured to evangelise. We can never assess or never forget the educational debt that Africa owes to the missionaries. All over sub-Saharan Africa it was the missionaries who launched Africa on the path of organised education. Faulty it may have been, lacking in adaptation if you like, to the local scene; but someone had to start it and it was the missionaries who did. So much so that, when the age of independence dawned, it was the little elite band of mission-trained leaders who, for better or for worse, and taking the broad view, generally much more for better than for worse, took over the running of their emergent states.

What the Church did for education it also did in the matter of hospitals and other forms of social service. It was the Church, through its missionaries, that began them, moved by the compassion of the Christian heart.

The zeal of the missionaries in evangelisation, their work of human development in education and of compassion in medical services stands to their everlasting credit, and whoever criticises the Church in South Africa, or more widely in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, must never forget the great Christian task that it accomplished.

But among its missionaries, as among those who ministered to the Church of the White settlers, the prophetic spirits were not strong or numerous enough to pierce the veils of the colonial system and rouse a Christian alarm at the exploitation that was developing. This was because the missionaries, priests and ministers, were the product of a Church that was not as yet geared to sensitising the conscience of its members to the moral implications of large scale social and political developments, such as that which made of South Africa a country of two populations, the White oppressors and the Black oppressed, with the Church ministering to both and hardly noticing the situation of oppression that should have been one of its top priorities in the matter of Christian concern.

Double Standards

So it was that we developed those opulent White parishes side by side with shanty churches in the missions. So it was that we built impressive and sometimes prestigious church schools for White pupils, with

the fees their parents paid and the donations and endowments they provided, while Black schools struggled for existence, for black-boards, chalk, exercise books and starvation wages for the teachers. So it was that we accepted the whole conventional system of separations and discriminations and had little to offer by way of resistance when these conventions received the shape and sanction of law.

So it was, too, that we paid poor wages in our White institutions, because that was the accepted social practice, and in our Black institutions even worse wages, because there was so little the Black community could contribute and most of the money available came sparingly enough from outside the Black community. So it was, too, that we accepted in the Church the unquestioned assumption of the superiority of the White and the inevitability of White leadership and White management at least for the foreseeable future; or, perhaps, to express it more accurately, in a situation favouring White dominance we took insufficient steps to tilt the balance a little more in favour of the Black man. In our absorption in what had become standard church practice we failed to produce enough questioners or critics among both Black and White to puncture our conformity and disturb our mediocrity. It is an all too human story of a great religious vision, emasculated by historical compromises, tamed and intimidated by assimilation into the very human context in which it is supposed to be a ferment of criticism, conversion and transformation. The Church in South Africa is no worse than the Church elsewhere for its failure in this regard. It is just that our failure, because of circumstances, is so much more conspicuous. We protested at times, we published statements and declarations, we produced some significant individual acts of witness; but as communities we lacked vision and conviction, courage and ability. An army can campaign only if it is trained to campaign; and we were not trained.

Future community involvement

So much for the past. What of the future? All the signs are that we need a profound reform, a reform that will enable Church people to recognise oppression when they see it and react against it in a Christian way. We are talking of what is frequently designated in religious vocabulary as conversion. This word has the disadvantage of being associated with religious experiences that are purely personal, deeply subjective and emotional and largely pietistic, whereas, what we are aiming at is something both personal and corporate, something that, though inevitably emotional, has intellectual depth and objectivity, and goes far beyond the pietistic to achieve genuine community involvement.

It is a conversion of this kind that we need, a conversion that is the discovery and acceptance of and commitment to new horizons. This image of horizons is used by Bernard Lonergan, S.J. in his treatment of

conversion. He writes: "Joseph de Finance has drawn a distinction between a horizontal and vertical exercise of freedom. A horizontal exercise is a decision or choice that occurs within an established horizon. A vertical exercise is the set of judgements and decisions by which we move from one horizon to another. Now there may be a sequence of such vertical exercises of freedom, and in each case the new horizon, though notably deeper and broader and richer, nonetheless is consonant with the old and a development of its potentialities. But it is also possible that the movement into a new horizon involves an about-face; it comes out of the old by repudiating characteristic features; it begins a new sequence that can keep revealing ever greater depth and breadth and wealth. Such an about-face and new beginning is what is meant by a conversion". (Bernard Lonergan, S.J. *Method in Theology*; Darton, Longman and Todd, London; p. 237-238.)

Lonergan goes on to deal with various types of conversion: intellectual, moral, religious. Since the conversion we are talking of concerns the Church, it must obviously be a religious one, demanding of our religious bodies "an about-face", a coming "out of the old by repudiating characteristic features", a beginning of "a new sequence". The about-face must make us capable of looking hard at the oppression prevalent in South Africa, so that we may not have the excuse that we did not know. Among the characteristic features we must repudiate are our passivity in the face of oppression, our lack of response to a situation of suffering and injustice, so totally incompatible with the Christian gospel, our acceptance of the situation, our identification with it in so many ways, ways of which most Christians in the power structure seem to be totally unaware, ways that astonish the observer and scandalise the faithful suffering under the system.

Reform through willing people

How do you bring about the conversion on such a scale? How do you achieve so radical a reform? It is not easy to answer these questions. The believing Christian is convinced that ultimately reform comes from the power of Christ within his Church, which is another way of designating the action of the Spirit, the Spirit present in the Church as the reality of the new life taken up by Christ in his Resurrection and shared by him with all those who come to him by faith and baptism. But the Church by its very nature involves people. The Spirit does not operate except in and through people. There can be no conversion, no reform, without people willing to lend themselves to it.

The people on whom, by role and function, the chief responsibility falls are the Church leaders. It is they who by word and deed and style of life and administration should be the principal witnesses that the Church is sensitive to the suffering of people and wishes to identify itself with them. This is what should be. What actually is usually falls far, far short of the ideal. The ideal and the actual often have very little in

common. All too frequently the leaders a Church has are in their positions of leadership because they are reliable products of the system, the very system that has to be reformed. By upbringing and education, tuning and habituation they are geared to perpetuating what they have inherited. They have been thoroughly socialised into their role. They lack the imagination to see it in another light: or, if this light is vouchsafed them, the emotional compulsion to change; or if that, too, is given them, the courage to step into the unfamiliar and the heroic. I use the word 'heroic' advisedly.

The long history of religion teaches us that, though constitutional leaders have sometimes played an important part in reform, it need not necessarily be so. In fact, by the law of averages, it should not be so. The Church is a community, and within the community God can raise up whom he wills to carry out the prophetic role. In such situations it is the duty of constitutional leadership to discern the gift of the Spirit and to approve, support and encourage.

Spro-cas is important

It may not be God's plan for South Africa that prophetic spirits should emerge on the heroic scale to lead us to a better realisation and performance of the Church's role in the kind of oppression we have to deal with here. It may be his plan that our conversion take place more according to the Gospel image of the leaven working in the dough, that is, the hundred and one projects, activities, dedications and changes of personal attitude that will gradually transform the Church from its passive and pietistic attitude of the past to a thorough-going commitment to promoting the law of love in every aspect of personal and social life in South Africa.

In this line we must welcome the appearance of SPRO-CAS (STUDY PROJECT) and all that SPRO-CAS is doing, both its promotion of Black consciousness, responsibility and initiative, and in its work for social change among Whites. In SPRO-CAS, as I know from experience, the Churches have a magnificent resource centre. We welcome, too, the establishment of the Division of Justice and Reconciliation in the South African Council of Churches. We welcome the intention of its Division of Family Life to follow up the splendid achievement of the Pilgrimage of Reconciliation in bringing so much attention to bear on the evils of migratory labour. We welcome all that is being done and will be done by the various committees and commissions of Churches to concentrate the attention of their members on the agonising social evils of our country and to create a Christian public opinion capable of welcoming and fostering change.

Strikes sign of the times

The memory of the Durban strikes is still fresh with us, and if these are a sign of what our Black citizens are capable of achieving in a generally peaceful and orderly fashion, we must welcome this phenomenon

DIE LEWE VAN DIE SENDINGWERKER 2

David Bosch

Hoe sien ons die swartman aan wie ons graag die evangelie wil bring?

Bejammering of empatie?

Ek dink die gesindheid by baie van ons is die van *bejammering*. Dis egter nie genoeg nie. Bejammering is eintlik altyd iets wat op 'n afstand geskied, en eintlik ook altyd van bo na onder. Bejammering is neerbuigend.

Die gesindheid wat nodig is, is dié van *empatie*. Empatie is ook *meer* as simpatie. Dit is die vermoë om onself te verplaas in ons medemens, om sy nood *ons* nood te maak, om werklik mee te leef.

Waartoe lei 'n gesindheid van bejammering? Tot die houding van die ryk man wat 'n geldstuk in die hand van 'n bedelaar gooi omdat hy vir die „arme drommel”

jammer kry! Lyk ons sendingwerk nie soms ook so nie? Ons gooi die evangelie-„munstuk” in die „hoed” van die „arme drommels”, en dan gaan ons met 'n verligte gevoel weg. Ons het mos darem nou weer iets vir hulle gedoen! Ons het ons „plig” gedoen! So staan ons heel rustig op die veiligheid van die wal en slinger reddings-toue uit na hulle *daar* in die geweld van die kolkende stroom. As hulle die reddingstou kan raak vang, goed, reg. Maar as hulle dit misvang, is dit ook maar tot daarnatoe. Ons het immers gedoen „wat ons kon”.

Maar waartoe lei empatie? Om dit te verduidelik, moet ons ander beelde gebruik as dié in die vorige paragraaf. Bv. dié van die landbouer wat sy saad saai en in spanning wag op die kiem—en groeiproses, wetende dat sy eie voortbestaan van dié proses afhanklik is. Dit is sendingwerk gedoen in die gesindheid van empatie! *Ons weet immers dat ons nie sonder hulle „volmaak”*

enthusiastically. Black awareness is on the increase. It is a sign of the times, a sign that the oppressed are having their say once more; and by all that is most firm and sure in the tradition of Jewish and Christian faith, when the oppressed speak, it is God that speaks. There is biblical warrant for the identification: “When I was hungry when I was thirsty when I was a stranger when I was naked, and sick and in prison” (Matthew 25: 35-36).

There can be no doubt about it. It is the Black Man himself who will be the main instrument of his own liberation. It is for the Churches to decide whether he will achieve it with grateful memories of the inspiration and encouragement he received from them, or with a cold resentment of their disregard for his sufferings and struggles.

It looks as if the field of wages and of family life is one of the most promising for the Churches to concentrate their efforts on. And this means, of course, that we have to make our own thorough examinations of conscience to see if our performance gives us the right to speak. SPRO-CAS, to its credit, seems determined to help us in this respect. It will probably also be helping us in the not too distant future to consider the implications of our financial investments. This is one of the great levers now being used overseas and a most effective one as it is beginning to prove.

Be open to the opportunity

A time of conversion is a time of humility, and yet a time of pride — humility to accept criticism, correction and reproof, to be sufficiently open-hearted to recognise its validity and to love the one who offers it

and magnanimous enough to build on it — pride that, at the end of a very long period in the life of the Church, during which she did not pay much attention to such matters, it is given to our generation to begin to see how utterly necessary it is that the Church's mission of love should involve her whole-heartedly in the liberation of oppressed people. Not by political methods, not by violence, but by her own methods of peaceful, persistent, day-to-day identification, witness, prophetic utterance, education, example and prayer. In this broad spectrum of Christian endeavour there is occasion and opportunity for many forms of commitment, for the exercise of many charismas. We are a community, and in a community there must be a rich variety of contribution and achievement.

Am I being unrealistic in painting such a picture of a Church shaking off the paralysis and torpor of the past in matters of social justice and liberation, of dissolving prejudice and promoting understanding and community? Perhaps. Perhaps it will be a case of too little and too late. But if each of us plays the part we are given the vision and the courage to play, if each of us lets himself be the instrument of the Spirit in the revelation of one small area of God's wisdom and love, if each of us becomes just a little less afraid of loving in a situation in which love is somewhat terrifying but richly promising, we may be on the threshold of an achievement in Christian liberation as great as the achievement in missionary evangelisation in the last century. The Church has an immense reservoir of divine power within her. For it to be released it is only necessary that our minds should be open to the need and our hearts to the opportunity. ★



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sal word nie (vgl. bv. Hebr. 11:40).

D.T. Niles, 'n bekende kerkleier uit Ceylon, het ware sendingwerk op 'n keer as volg gedefinieer: „Sending is een bedelaar wat vir 'n ander bedelaar vertel waar hy brood kan kry”. Dit is dus iets anders as die houding van die ryk man wat uit sy (vermeende) rykdom op neerbuigende wyse 'n armsalige geldstukkie in die hoed van die bedelaar gooi. Nee, ons is albei bedelaars, ons staan naas mekaar, maar die Christen, die sendingwerker, wéét waar hy brood kan kry, genoeg vir homself *en* vir die ander.

Sendingwerk in die gesindheid van empatie beteken dat ons nie met ons reddingstoue veilig op die wal sal staan en hulle daarvandaan lukraak na drenkelinge in die stroom sal slinger nie. Dit beteken dat ons self *naas* die drenkeling in die stroom sal gaan staan; dat ons, *net soos hy, sal voel hoe die geweld van die water aan ons ruk, hoedat ons voete gly op die gladde bodem, maar dat ons dan nogtans die hand na hom sal uitsteek.*

Die einde van sendingglorie

Dit alles beteken dat sendingwerk nie vanuit die hoogte gedoen mag word nie, maar vanuit die diepte. Dit geskied in 'n houding van opregte nederigheid. Vir ons is soiets eintlik baie moeilik—moeiliker as wat ons gewoonlik dink—want ons blanke meerderwaardigheidsgevoel sit ontsettend diep, dieper as wat onself ooit sou kon droom. Ons weet gewoonlik nie eens meer dat ons uit 'n meerderwaardigheidsgevoel optree nie. Ons het 'n stille, inherente oortuiging dat alles by ons beter is. Daarom is daar in ons hele

optrede teenoor die Swartman 'n soort vanselfsprekendheid: *ons* sê, hulle moet luister; *ons* skryf voor, hulle aanvaar; *ons* weet, hulle weet nie; *ons* besluit, hulle val daarby in. Ons dink nie eens aan die moontlikheid dat ons teëgesprek kan word of dat ons onwelkom mag wees nie. Watter bedelaar verset homself dan teen sy weldoener?!

Hierdie soort houding van die kant van die blanke sendeling word in ons tyd al meer 'n probleem. In die toekoms gaan dit nog meer die geval word. Gedurende die afgelope tien jaar is boeke geskrywe met titels soos: *Missionary, Go Home* (James A. Scherer); *The Unpopular Missionary* (Ralph Dodge); *The Ugly Missionary* (John Carden), en verskeie ander. Die mense in Afrika en Asië raak al minder gediend met die vanselfsprekendheid waarmee die Westering sy eie meerderwaardigheid aanvaar. En ons kan seker wees dat ook die swartman in ons eie land in die toekoms al meer gegrief gaan raak oor ons houding van meerderwaardigheid. Dit sal meebring dat hulle soms ook aanstoot gaan neem aan heeltemaal onskuldige dinge wat ons heel goed bedoel het.

In die nuwe tyd wat ons binnegaan, sal alleen die blanke sendingwerker wat werklik opreg nederig is, aanvaarbaar wees. Ja, en selfs hy nie altyd nie, want sy opregtheid en nederigheid gaan meer as een keer in twyfel getrek word. Die feit is dat ons wit velle, wat vir eeue lank tot ons voordeel gestrek het, vandag al meer 'n nadeel word in ons sendingaksie en andersins. En ons sal daaraan gewoon moet raak.

Douglas Webster, iemand met jarelange ondervinding van sendingwerk in Sjina, skryf hieroor: „Not many missionaries in the modern world are romping home with success. In many places they are rediscovering that their function is not to be little lords, as once upon a time, but little servants, insecure, vulnerable, acutely hurt, often despised and unheeded, just as Jesus was. But that is why they are there, not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give their life in whatever way the Lord shall ordain and accept. And already some of these ... missionaries, who have learned in their own situations something of the passion of Jesus, are beginning to discover what can be known only on the other side of Calvary—the power of the Resurrection and the meaning of Pentecost.”

'n Tyd gelede het 'n sendeling 'n brief geskryf aan die seun van 'n Swartleraar van die N.G. Kerk. Die seun is student aan een van die universiteite in ons land. Die sendeling het verneem dat die betrokke student allerlei probleme en frustrasies het en wou hom graag bietjie bemoedig. Vandaar die brief aan hom. Na sowat twee maande kry hy 'n antwoord van die student, wat in hooftrekke so gelui het:

„Dear Rev. —, Let me say at this stage that I did receive your letter—but due to the extreme pressure of work I couldn't answer. Anyhow, that's part of the truth—the other part being that I haven't yet worked out what kind of relationship I'm to have with White

Dutch Reformed Church ministers since most of those working with my father are usually arrogant, rude and condescending and your surname happened to be Afrikaaner—that just about condemned you.

I'm being very candid so much so that it sounds rude but let me assure you at this stage it's not my intention to be rude.

I'm also told by my parents that I owe you a letter which indeed I do but every time I set out to write (including this time) I couldn't for the love of me think what we'd talk about ...

For some reason or other I couldn't ask my father this—could you tell me—how black people are to relate to or identify with the Dutch Reformed Church? Not on an emotional level but a ... logical and intellectual level?

Hope you are still well,

Yours faithfully,

NN."

Wat is ons reaksie op so 'n brief? Ek dink ons gewone blanke reaksie is: „Hy kan na die hoenders gaan! Hy kan gaan doppies blaas! Die vermetelete vent! Hoe durf hy so met 'n witman praat! Dit wys jou: hulle is tog maar almal barbare! Kyk net wat doen ons alles vir die swartman! Kyk net na ons kerk se trotse sendingrekord!”

Ja, dit is inderdaad soos ons meestal reageer. Onlangs nog skryf 'n dominee in 'n kerkblad: „Ons as Afrikanervolk het geen skuldgevoel teenoor die Nie-blankes nie, omdat ons nog altyd regverdig teenoor ons Nie-blankes opgetree het. Gaan maar na hoeveel ons vir hulle gedoen het en nog besig is om te doen!” 'n Ander dominee skryf in dieselfde blad: „Laat my toe om u te herinner aan die onberekenbare welwillendheid wat sedert Jan van Riebeeck deur ons kerk geskied het aan alle rasse tot bokant die ewenaar”. Dit alles na aanleiding van 'n oproep van die redakteur van die betrokke blad dat ons moet aandag gee aan ons intermenslike verhoudings.

Nouja, as ons só redeneer, sal ons daardie student se brief en die woorde van Douglas Webster wat ons hierbo aangehaal het, natuurlik nooit verstaan nie. Ek pleit nie daarvoor dat ons as Blankes 'n patologiese skuldgevoel moet ontwikkel nie. Hoegenaamd nie. Maar ek wil tog beweer dat ons *blind* moet wees as ons meen dat alles in ons houding teenoor, en ons behandeling van die Swartman in orde is.

Die kyk in ons oë

Dit laat my dink aan 'n verslaggewer wat *voor* die Tweede Wêreldoorlog Indonesië besoek het. Indonesië was destyds nog 'n Nederlandse kolonie en die verslaggewer het 'n onderhoud met die Nederlandse goewerneur gevoer. Dit was 'n tyd van politieke onrus en nasionalistiese agitatie van die kant van die

Indonesiërs teen die Nederlanders. Die goewerneur het toe gesê: „Wat het die Indonesiërs eintlik teen ons Hollanders? Kyk net wat het ons alles vir hulle gedoen: ons het skole en universiteite gestig, hospitale gebou, paaie gemaak en hawens uitgelê. Waarom is hulle dan ontevrede?” Daarop het die joernalis geantwoord: „Sir, it is because of the look in your eyes when you speak to them”.

Die kyk in ons oë ... het u al daaraan gedink? Dis belangriker as wat ons dink. 'n Mens se oë sê *meer* as jou mond. Ons oë dui aan of ons iemand werklik raaksien of nie, of ons hom waarlik as medemens beskou of nie, of ons op ons gemak is in sy teenwoordigheid, of ongemaklik.

'n Swart leraar het my eenmaal vertel dat hy soms 'n winkel instap en dan toekyk terwyl 'n blanke klant deur 'n blanke toonbankklerk bedien word. Vanwaar hy hier eenkant of agter staan, kan hy die toonbankklerk se oë sien waarmee hy na sy blanke klant kyk. Hy sien dat dit *sprekende* oë is, oë wat wil sê: ek het u raakgesien, ek erken u as my medemens en gelyke. Maar as die blanke klant loop en die Swartman kom aan die beurt, dan word daardie klerk se oë opeens heeltemaal leeg en uitdrukkingloos, hulle gaan dood, hulle kyk dwarsdeur die swartman sonder om hom te sien.

U weet, ons het op talle maniere gewoon geraak daaraan om die swartman *nie* raak te sien nie. Ons praat en tree op asof hulle hoegenaamd nie bestaan nie, bv. in ons kombuise of kantore. So misken ons eintlik sy menswees.

Bediende of misdadiger

'n Kollega van my het onlangs tereg gesê: „Ek ken die swartman in werklikheid net in twee rolle: as huis- of tuinbediende, of as misdadiger.” En dit is waar van die meeste van ons blankes. Onlangs het die rektor van een van die Universiteite in ons land in 'n toespraak gesê dat hy twee maande lank 'n bepaalde koerant daagliks deeglik bestudeer en alle berigte in verband met swartmense gelees het. In die hele twee maande was daar geen enkele positiewe berig oor 'n swartman nie. Daar was wel enkele neutrale berigte (twee Bantoes in 'n padongeluk gedood; vier in 'n mynrampe omgekome, ens.) maar vir die res was daar slegs negatiewe berigte (huisbraak, diefstal, moord, verkragting, ens.).

Hierdie soort beriggewing beïnvloed ons op heel subtiele wyse, sonder dat ons dit beseft. Gaandeweg vorm ons 'n beeld van die swartman wat inderdaad net twee elemente bevat: die swartman as werknemer, en die swartman as misdadiger.

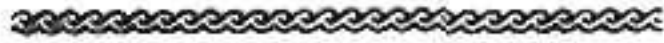
As ons as sendingwerkers nou by die swartman kom, kom daar skielik 'n derde element in ons verhoudingsrol by; die swartman is vir ons nou nie (net?) bediende of misdadiger nie, maar ook *mens* aan wie ons die evangelie wil bring. Ons probleem is dat ons vir hierdie

HOW S.A. MEETS

THE WORLD'S DESIRE FOR GOLD

Norman Hart

A South African economist looks at the way gold miners are employed in the industry which has helped to set the whole tone of South African society.



"Gold is bought primarily to be used as money; that is both as a medium of exchange and as a store of value. It is valuable because men want it and men want it because, in the last resort, it is still almost the only material which they are confident will be accepted by others as money."

This central fact, set out so clearly by Dr. Francis Wilson in his book "Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969" (Cambridge University Press 1972, £4.60 U.K.), lies at the bottom of a great deal of Africa's present-day anguish. For had the Republic of South Africa not been blessed with a large supply of this mineral which all the world wants, she would surely not dominate African politics to this extent today.

On one side, the industrial and commercial world of the West would have less need of South African alliances. On the other side, the gold mining industry in South Africa would not have had the opportunity to create a pattern for the employment of black Africans which has set the whole tone of South African society.

Dr. Wilson, a Cape Town University lecturer who is also the editor of the radical Christian monthly "South African Outlook", sees the huge and devastating sweep of his subject, which might otherwise seem technical and academic. He treats it as an economist, but as an economist who realises that economics is also about history and politics and human life.

WORK UNDERGROUND

He tells his reader at the outset how gold is mined and what it is like to work in a gold-mine:

derde rol gladnie voorberei is nie, sielkundig of andersins. Die ander twee rolle is so *deel* van onself, so diep op ons afgeprent, dat ons dit baie moeilik vind om na hierdie derde rol oor te skakel. Die gevolg is dat ons baie ongemaklik voel in sy teenwoordigheid—wat weereens deur ons oë verraai word! Ons weet nie hoe om ons ongemak te verberg nie, of waarheen om te kyk nie. Ons weet nie hoe om ons in hierdie nuwe situasie teenoor hom te gedra nie, ja, ons weet nie eens hoe om hom te groet nie ...

Baie dikwels los ons die probleem op deur eenvoudig terug te skakel na die eerste rol, die van die baas-kneg-verhouding. In daardie rol is ons immers tuis en op ons gemak! Dan besef ons ons weet hoe om die swartman te behandel, hoe om na hom te kyk, hoe om met hom te praat. Baie sendingwerkers kyk inderdaad na die swartman met die oë van 'n baas wat na sy bediende kyk.

„Julle diensknegte om Christus wil”

Dis egter onvergeeflik. Ons staan in ons sending-aksie nie bo-oor die swartman nie, maar *naas* hom. As ons die evangelie aan hom bring, is ons sy *dienskneg*. Ons verkondig immers nie onself nie, maar Christus Jesus as Here, en ónself as hulle diensknegte om Jesus wil (2 Kor. 4:5, vgl. 6:4). Die gestalte van die dienskneg is die *egte* gestalte van die sendingwerker. Al beklee hy in die gewone lewe ook watter hoë posisie, *hier* is hy dienaar, bedelaar teenoor bedelaars.

Hierdie les staan op talle bladsye van die Nuwe Testament; trouens: dit is die kern van die boodskap in lewe van die Here Jesus wat gekom het nie om gedien te word nie, maar om te dien (Markus 10:45). En tog leer ons hierdie les so swaar!

Nederigheid en beskeidenheid is dus noodsaaklike eienskappe vir 'n sendingwerker. Dit geld ook ten opsigte van sy houding teenoor heidene en hulle heidense geloof. Ons moet onthou dat die godsdiens van 'n ander heilige grond is, ook die godsdiens van 'n heiden en dit betaam ons nie om sommer in daardie heiligdom in te storm en sommer links en regs afgode te wil platslaan nie. Ons moet vir die godsdienstige oortuigings van 'n ander respek hê. Ons mag dit dus nie belaglik maak en daarmee die spot drywe nie. Daardeur sal ons eerder die heiden van ons vervreem en van Christus wegdryf.

Respek vir 'n ander se oortuigings beteken natuurlik nie dat ons dit goedkeur nie. Dit beteken ook nie dat ons nou *ons* boodskap van verlossing nie met heilige oortuiging gaan bring nie. Allermens! Maar as ons wil hê dat hy ons moet hoor en ons ernstig moet neem, moet ons ook sy oortuigings ernstig neem. Vir Paulus was daar geen ander heilsboodskap nie as dié van die evangelie van Jesus Christus, en tog kon hy op die Arcopagus met die grootste hofflikheid en eerbied teenoor die godsdiens van die heidene optree (Hand. 17).

(word vervolg)

"It is perhaps easiest to start by thinking of a road labourer digging up a pavement with a jackhammer drill. Now imagine him doing that work thousands of feet underground, in intense heat, where he cannot even begin to stand upright, and where the drill is not going with the aid of gravity into the ground beneath, but where it has to be held horizontal and driven into the wall in front.

"Add to this picture the noise of a road-drill, magnified several times by the confined space; dust which, despite strenuous efforts to control it with water, invades the lungs; and the possibility that the roof of the mine might suddenly cave in under the pressure, or that a spark from the drill or a careless cigarette might ignite a pocket of methane gas, and one has some idea of the work of a 'machine-boy'."

This daunting description of the conditions in which a gold-miner spends his hard working day underlies all that Dr. Wilson's book has to say about the miners themselves. From his careful analysis of the way labour was first recruited, the growth of the industry and the appearance of an ever-strengthening colour bar throughout the gold mines, several firm conclusions emerge:

The restriction of skilled work to white miners only and the ruling that only white miners could form effective trade unions have given them enormous bargaining power. Their use of it has kept white wages high and created an ever-widening gap between the wages of black and white workers.

Only very recently have mine managements begun to make a really effective use of their black mineworkers.

The migrant labour system, which the gold mines continue to operate for a variety of reasons, is not only damaging the workers themselves and the families they leave behind, but is bidding to destroy South African society.

PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT NECESSARY

Other mining industries in other parts of Africa have encouraged what Dr. Wilson calls "oscillating migrant labour", which flows to and fro between the mine and the land where the worker's family is settled and which hopefully produces his family's food. But other mining industries—notably the copper mines of Zaire and Zambia—have for over 30 years now encouraged the permanent settlement of workers and their families around the mine itself.

Their main argument is that the higher level of training which mineworkers need is impossible unless the men are permanently employed. In other words,

migrant labour ensures that those who migrate will never be trained above a very basic level and can never rise to responsible positions in the mining industry.

The migrant labour system continues in the South African gold mines because it fits the present-day realities of South African society. Black miners are not allowed to hold skilled jobs in the mines—and few of them have been able to get sufficient education to enter the training programme, even if they could.

The policy of South African Governments has been to prevent the permanent settlement of black South Africans in the cities and to encourage them to treat as their real 'homelands' the areas where the law insists that they leave their families.

Dr. Wilson examines carefully the forces which push the migrant worker to the city and then, after a spell of wage-earning, pull him back to his rural homeland, often at ploughing time. He considers the possibility that the city job and the homeland farm enables the migrant worker to avoid the worst of both worlds—ruinously expensive city living for his whole family or a total crop failure. But he concludes that the main reason that migrant workers need their links with the poor soil of the homeland is simply as an insurance policy for their old age. When industrial society casts him out, he must ensure that he has maintained his standing in the village.

For the mining industry, the migrant system means lower wages, less leave and absenteeism, better control of the labour force, less risk that men will get the miner's disease of silicosis and—though Dr. Wilson disputes this—greater output in jobs involving hard physical work. Dr. Wilson concedes that, while the colour bar in jobs continues to operate, the present system is cheaper for the mines. But he believes that the colour bar is preventing the mining industry from training a stable labour force which could ultimately make the mines more efficient and more economic.

FAMILY LIFE IS DESTROYED

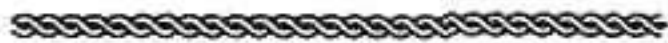
If the mines are willing to accept the cost of the migrant system, Dr. Wilson does not believe that South Africa as a nation can afford it. He quotes Dr. Anthony Barker, former superintendent of a Zululand hospital:

"The extended family is a net wide enough to gather the child who falls from the feeble control of neglectful parents; it receives the widow, tolerates the batty, gives status to grannies. Migratory labour destroys this by taking away, for long months together, the father, the brother, the lover and friend ... Your migrant is concerned with nobody but himself ... the food he eats cannot fill the bellies of his children, nor the blanket he sleeps under warm any but himself. His care, his love, his family loyalty cannot reach out to his wife, nor caress his children, nor extend to the grandmother who brought him up ... There must be a harvest of

THE CHALLENGE FACING AFRICA'S STUDENTS

José Chipenda

"The African student is for the first time feeling lonely," says one of the Africa secretaries of the World Student Christian Federation in this article. He describes some of the reasons for the current unrest among African students forced to live in two worlds and to belong to neither. José Chipenda, an Angolan, is World Student Christian Federation co-secretary for Africa and Madagascar.



Young people and students today are in a rush to unveil the unknown. The city, in former days considered the centre of trade and political administration, is today the home of countless young people and students. The University, in a non-distant past an institution reserved for the few, is today the place where sons of kings and peasants meet.

Africa is on the move. Former positions are being vacated and new groups are being formed. Some of these groups are already taking their rightful places in society. The African student therefore finds himself in a hurry to fill the few existing posts which may not be available ten years from now.

Since independence, education has been regarded as a passport for the future. A number of schools were started to train citizens of new democratic societies even before political leaders had time to set up an educational policy suitable for their youngsters. Former colonial masters and friends, gained at the time of independence, gave money and sent teachers to newly independent countries.

DISASTER OF ALIENATION

It is said that education "reflects the society within

agression, with the weeds of violence growing rank within it. The dreadful society is the community of the careless, those who, treated like boys, behave like boys."

In another book which was published very recently (January 1973), Dr. Wilson has continued his examination of what the migrant labour system is doing to South Africa. It may, at present, be the only way politically acceptable to white South Africans of meeting the world's hunger for gold, but he leaves no doubt that what the system is doing to people should frighten us all.★

which it functions", but in Africa this has not yet been the case. The African student is not being helped to understand the values of his own society. Instead he is being exposed to the values of an industrial Western society.

The longer a child stays in school the more he becomes alienated. It is becoming increasingly difficult to relate the experience of a student at the university with the experience of his parents and relatives at home. The village situation demands an education that enables the young man or woman to change the environment, but the training received at school prepares him to fit into an environment which does not exist.

Alienation brings about a crisis of identity. The African student can rightly be described as a child living in two worlds: the African and the Western. In the first, man is part of the whole community but in the second, he is responsible only to himself. In the African world life is to be enjoyed for it is a growing experience while in the Western world life is to be used, due to the lineal concept of time.

Thus the African student, child of the two worlds, grows with divided allegiances and finds it difficult to coin his new identity. He is immersed in an alien world without a protecting shell of his own making.

A.A. Lema of the University of Dar-es-Salaam has likened the student's situation to an astronaut's 'walk' in space:

"Set adrift in a culture which could give him no community to belong to, he was left hanging, floating aimlessly in space: his feet far beyond the gravitational pull of the society into which he was born, the earth which his forefathers had trod so firmly; his hands unable to grasp any of the stars of his new ambitions and desires in the blue but void skies of the new learning."

That "each new generation travels through a different mental universe en route to adulthood" is a fact. The African student should not be expected to conform to tradition. He is not interested in going back. For him "new occasions teach new duties" and "time makes ancient good uncouth".

The public demands that the present generation

become more responsive, show more creativity, assess the experience of their elders and work to lay the foundation on which coming generations may build.

The time factor is a problem. Our countries are in a race for development. The African student finds no time to think before making important decisions. He is part of the "squeezed" generation.

STUDENTS ARE LONELY

His values are in conflict with the interests of teachers, parents and friends at home. His society urges him to play different roles simultaneously. The end result is a widespread feeling of hopelessness and powerlessness. At work as in leisure time activities, the student is reminded that he has nothing to be proud of. Newspapers, radio and television bombard his five senses with information about the achievements of people other than his own. The blazing sense of restlessness among students should be seen in this context.

All over Africa in these last years, there has been some sort of student unrest. Reasons for this state of affairs vary from country to country, but the current common features seem to be lack of communication between the student body and the University administration, the student population explosion, the transplanted nature of the University, and uncertainty about the future.

The African student is for the first time feeling lonely. Formal education received away from home has broken family ties previously strengthened by participation in all major family events such as farming in the field, visiting the sick, burying the dead, helping to build a house and counselling brothers and sisters. At the University the student is part of an anonymous group struggling to master imported concepts from abroad by means of foreign books and lectures.

During this painful process the African student quite often needs an experienced brother to talk to, but no brother is around. Worst of all is the lack of day-to-day information on routine aspects of academic life which will allow him to plan well and ahead of time.

The agglomeration of thousands of students in one place has awakened in African students the impression that they hold an important power which the University administration and the Government must cope with. It is a pity that much of the energy of the present student generation is often concentrated on trivial concerns such as quality of food, better facilities on campus, allowance increases, academic freedom and protest. There are other issues that should take priority in student life. One of them is curriculum reform.

Madagascar is the country where students recently brought about change in the system of education. A careful analysis of students' unrest in Madagascar reveals that as early as 1968, high school pupils and university students had already been engaged in a serious study of the educational system in the country.

They held an important seminar in Antsirabe and circulated the findings in a mimeographed document.

At the time the spotlight was on the democratisation of secondary school education. Students pleaded for a system in which all children of school age could share. Last year the same students proved that when real issues are taken up, the public responds favourably.

Following independence, education in Africa was geared to train individuals to replace foreigners in technical posts important to the nation's programme. Now, as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere has said, "The educational system must emphasise co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement. It must stress the concept of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry or in academic pursuits".

The Association of African Universities held a meeting in Abidjan (Ivory Coast) last December to look into this matter. Many students hope and pray that concerted action will be taken by their governments to save the African student from behaving as a stranger in his own country. ★

ALL I WANT IS JUSTICE

I had this job, see,
in the Bantu Labour Offices.
Those people, slow's the word,
and all busy dodging the rules.
Anyone'd think the Homelands
were pestilent. Only interested
in raking in the highest wages.
And the women—dead set on the city.
Well, I died. Shock, that.
No time even to draw my pension
(which was the main reason I joined).
At the gate Peter stood;
didn't wave me on, like I was expecting.
After all, haven't I done my best,
been a good husband, worked for the kids,
kept my home going?
He read out from his book,
I tell you I didn't like his tone:
'You have separated
wives from their husbands,
torn homes apart, taken men's work away from them,
sent exiles to a far country.'
Me! I ask you!
'All I did, Sir,
was carry out my orders
as decently as possible.
But he'd gone, leaving me this form—
Permit to stay in this area refused.
ENDORSED OUT.
I'm taking it up
with a higher authority.

Jill King
—*Woman's Argus*, 16.11.72.

Civil Rights and the University

Geoff Budlender

There is one thing we should understand about civil rights before we even begin to discuss their absence in South Africa. It is simply this: in South Africa, it is government policy to remove civil rights. This may sound like a gross exaggeration, but it is true. Civil rights, essentially, are about freedom. And freedom is more than the right to see uncensored films, to make political speeches, to associate with people of one's choice, or to have an 'open' university.

Cicero understood what freedom is—he said 'freedom is participation in power'. It is clear that any government which has as its basic policy the retention of power in the hands of a small elitist clique, is totally opposed to freedom; that the only so-called 'freedom' that such a government will allow is freedom that does not threaten its own power—in other words, no freedom at all. It may be prepared—even keen—to create the impression of freedom—but it will create this impression only to consolidate and legitimise its own power.

The record of the Nationalist government is quite clear in this regard. The last twenty-four years have seen the systematic removal of the few civil rights remaining to the majority of South Africans—in other words, have seen their few remaining roads to freedom and power destroyed.

We should not be surprised by this. The Nationalists made their intentions quite clear before they ever reached power. Their support of the Nazi regime was only one example of this. Today they are embarrassed by any reminder of their past—but they cannot escape it. In 1940 Mr. Ben Schoeman, then MP for Fordsburg, put it this way:

The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory. We may as well say that openly, because it is a fact.'

Mr. B.J. Vorster put it more explicitly in 1942:

'We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany German National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism.'

Today, these men are not entirely unrelated to the

South African Government—and I would suggest that their policies are not entirely unrelated to what they said when they were still seeking power.

What have the universities to do with this? It has been suggested that the universities must be non-political, and non-partisan. What this argument ignores is that it is only in a spirit of free enquiry, and in a free society, that a university can function properly. The argument ignores the fact that universities are a real source of power in any society—and that they inevitably perform a political role in that society. Universities provide the knowledge and trained manpower for the society. The university serves society—and it must choose, in a country like South Africa, whether it is to serve the whole society or a small ruling clique. The university is involved in society's problems—and it must help to solve those problems. It must make knowledge a real source of power, and hence a means of overcoming human powerlessness.

Sadly we must admit that our own universities have often failed in this regard. We must admit that they have tended to see their social function as the production of a managerial elite—and have used knowledge to bolster the power of that elite. Their educational methods, for example, have perpetuated the values of the status quo. They have promoted schooling before education, authority before learning, discipline before freedom.

And what have they taught? They have directed the attention of their students to the problems of the elite industrial society; engineers for the super highways which serve the white suburbs; commercial practices to ensure a safe continued profit; industrial psychology to fit the man to the job; surgical operations to treat hearts that have failed from over-eating. But we know that the real problem of South Africa is poverty and powerlessness—not small profits; under-eating, not over-eating. Yet our universities continue to produce people and knowledge to fit into the slots created by our repressive society—complaining bitterly all the while about how repressive the society is.

Why do you think the government pays 70% of your university fees, and of mine? Not because they are dedicated to the pursuit of truth—that's not their usual motivation. Not because they like the things we say—they have made that clear enough. They support us because they like the things we *do*—and that is, consolidate their power and the system of white supremacy.

I say these things not because one gets any enjoyment out of it. I say them because I believe it is time the universities seriously re-examined the role they are fulfilling in our society—because the time is now. Because the universities must see whether they are really supporting freedom and civil rights—or whether they are just talking.

And it would do them no harm to examine the practices within their own institutions. It would do them no harm to discover that at one of our 'liberal' universities, at least four categories of black workers have a *maximum* wage which is below the poverty datum line. That at another university, a committee investigating conditions of service for black workers within the university has representatives from academics, administration and students—but not from black workers.

It would do them no harm to discover that at our universities, there are many facilities reserved for whites only; that their leave conditions discriminate viciously against black staff—that at one university, three categories of black workers have to work for twenty years before qualifying for the annual leave of one month that all other full-time employees receive.

They might look at the system of university government—and ask themselves how they can reconcile their own decision-making process with the principles they apply in scholarly contexts—open inquiry, reasoned justification of conclusions, and the submission of findings to public evaluation and criticism.

They might look, in other words, at civil rights within the universities—because this is also important, even if slightly embarrassing.

Despite all this, however, we are now in the midst of a campaign against the universities. The campaign against student dissent is easy for all to see, but there is also a silent, more subtle campaign against the universities as a whole—to the extent that they permit dissent. This campaign is not to cripple so vital a national resource as the universities—only to render them docile and powerless.

Effective Action Needed

Now we must act—because we know that as Martin Luther King said, 'to ignore evil is to become an accomplice to it.' There will be many people who will oppose us if we act—and they will raise various objections to our action. Their basic objection, however, will be simple—it will be that we are acting, that we are doing something.

There will be those who object to what they call street politics—they will say that we must work only through white political parties. We should remind them that a certain white political party—now allegedly in opposition—nearly came to power through the activities of the Torch Commando, which employed street politics, about twenty years ago. They

didn't seem to mind then.

They will say that we are communists—and we should then remind them of what was said by Dr. Malan and General Hertzog, then both members of the Nationalist Party.

In 1919 General Hertzog said the following:

'I say that Bolshevism is the will of the people to be free. Why do people want to oppress and kill Bolshevism? Because national freedom means death to capitalism and imperialism. Do not let us be afraid of Bolshevism. The idea itself is excellent.'

In 1920, Dr. D.F. Malan put it this way:

'The aim of the Bolshevists was that Russians should manage their own affairs ... This was the same policy that Nationalists would follow in South Africa. The Bolshevists stand for freedom, just like the Nationalist Party.'

Then they will say that we are unrepresentative—that we are only a small minority. Now firstly, this is a strange allegation from a government which represents about eleven per cent of the people it rules. But our answer to this allegation is quite simple. With Henry Thoreau, we will say that 'any man more right than his neighbour constitutes a majority of one already.'

Then they they will tell us that we will antagonise some of our supporters if we continue, because this will lead to a confrontation. First, I will admit that at UCT we did lose some white public support when we continued to protest after the police riot at the Cathedral. But what sort of supporters are these, who support you when you are hit on the head once, and then disown you because you are hit on the head a second time? This is not support at all. Support is no good at all to us unless it implies something more than sympathy—it must also imply action. And let us not fool ourselves that by protesting or not protesting, we are going to persuade the majority of white South Africans to take action that will eliminate their privilege and white supremacy.

Then they will say that some people have broken the law while they protested. The first thing we should do is remind them of the difference between justice and the law. Then we should remind them—and particularly a certain B.J. Vorster, who was a general in the Ossewa-Brandwag during the last war—of certain things. Again, Dr. Malan provides the answer: in 1941, Dr. Malan said:

'If the O.B. decides on passive resistance and

refuses to be disbanded, this is a matter for its own decision. I will share the consequence with the O.B.'

Later that year, he made the following revelation:

'The O.B. leaders were openly talking about obtaining a republic by rebellion, and storm troopers have been told to prepare for it. There were whisperings throughout the country that the storm troopers had rifles, cannons, and even aeroplanes. The O.B. was responsible for Afrikaners being interned.'

That was Mr. Vorster's organisation.

So we must act. And I would suggest that our action should be based on a careful analysis of the structure of our sick society—and that we should learn to hit where it hurts. We should not rush into a particular form of action simply because it is legal, or illegal, or what we usually do. Let us for once take action because it is effective—because that is what counts.

Let us take radical action—that is, action which gets down to the roots of our society. This does not necessarily mean illegal action—it means effective action. What Cosmas Desmond did in exposing conditions in the dumping grounds was not illegal—but it was radical. That is why he was banned. What David de Beer did in Ovamboland was not illegal—but it was radical, it was effective, it got to the roots of an evil system. That is why *he* was banned.

The time has come in South Africa when each man and woman must publicly declare his or her interests—must take sides. We cannot afford to have fence-sitters because in a crisis, fence-sitters are worse than useless. In a time of crisis, no man can remain neutral—and only a fool and a coward will try to. It is up to each one of us to *decide*—what am I prepared to do? Am I prepared to suffer for my beliefs? On which side do I really stand? Those questions must be answered—and they must be answered now. ★

DOSENTE SE MOSIE TEEN INPERKING

Sowat 60 dosente van die Universiteit van die Witwatersrand het gistermiddag 'n beroep op die Minister van Justisie gedoen om die inperkingsbevele teen dr. Richard Turner en studenteleiers op te hef.

—*Transvaler*, 13.3.73.

CHARTER FOR FAMILY LIFE

- We recognize that the South African economy will always need large numbers of Black people to work in the established urban areas.
- We believe that man must not separate those whom God has joined together.
- We know that the present system of migrant labour does violence not only to the families concerned but also to the moral principles without which no just and responsible society can exist.
- We are conscious that the consequences of building our future upon a system which uses men as labour units whilst denying them the freedom to live a truly human life are both evil and explosive.
- We acknowledge our common responsibility for this abuse of power.
- Therefore we dedicate ourselves to work with our fellow South Africans for a society in which the rights of all people to live a secure family life in the place where they contribute to society by their work, are firmly established by law.



A REAL CHURCH?

The Church is out of touch
they say,
with real, with gutsy things in life.
And yet—

The hands, torn and lifted far,
do they not understand
the screaming man beside the road,
trapped in a twisted car?

The eyes filled with blood and sweat,
do they not understand
the Vietnam mother's hollow eyes,
her dead child in her lap?

The side torn open by the spear,
does it not understand
the soldier lying, bleeding, torn,
crying in agony and fear?

If this is true
then could it be
the Church is out of touch with Christ?

Anon

WEIGHED AND...? GEWEEG EN...?

This column in English and Afrikaans comprises short extracts from reports on news, views, happenings, standpoints, etc., and an evaluation of some items by various people.

Readers are invited to express their opinions on news items or on the evaluation of items, or to send in questions on current items.



COUNCIL OF CHURCHES WON'T GIVE EVIDENCE

The South African Council of Churches has decided not to give evidence before the Schlegbusch Commission on behalf of the Christian Institute, the University Christian Movement and the Institute of Race Relations.

The Council of Churches is the third church body to take a stand on giving evidence. The Institute of Race Relations decided it would give evidence and a row broke out within the organisation, culminating with the resignation of several top members.

The Christian Institute has chosen to support members of its board and staff who cannot in conscience appear before the commission.

In a statement yesterday, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Mr. John Rees, said that when the commission was appointed the council offered to give evidence on behalf of the three bodies.

IDEALISM

"However, at a meeting of the executive on March 7 and 8, I was instructed to tell the secretary of the commission that the offer was being withdrawn in the light of a statement issued by the executive concerning the recent bannings and restrictions."

—*Star*, 27.3.73.



22 MORE REFUSE TO CO-OPERATE WITH SCHLEGBUSCH

Twenty-two members of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre will refuse to testify before the Schlegbusch Commission—and the Institute of Race Relations' 300-man council is to reconsider the Institute's stand on the issue.

Opposition to testify before the commission, whose reports led to the banning of student leaders, is reaching a new pitch. The Wilgespruit decision brings to 36 the number of people who will refuse to testify if called.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 28. 3.73.

Hierdie rubriek in Afrikaans en Engels bevat kort uittreksels van berigte oor nuus, opvattinge, gebeure, standpunte, ens. en 'n beoordeling van sommige items deur verskillende persone.

Lesers word genooi om hulle opinies oor nuusitems of die beoordelings van items te gee, of om vrae oor die beoordelings van items te gee, of om vrae oor alledaagse items in te stuur.



IS THIS REAL SECURITY?

So far six reasons have been given for banning the students instead of trying them, and none does either the Government or the security system much credit.

Mr. Vorster: It is unfair to burden the courts with responsibility for security.

Mr. Vorster:

The bannings are preventive, not punitive.

Mr. Schlegbusch:

The students threatened to break the law.

Mr. Piker:

Trials would give the students a platform.

Mr. Horwood:

Trials would "expose the whole security system."

Mr. L. Nel, M.P.:

No time to get the necessary proof for trial.

Not one—and not all of these reasons together—justify abuse of the rule of law.

—*Star*, 27.3.73.



QUIT THE COMMISSION

Mr. Harry Schwarz has spelt out what the United Party's parliamentary caucus has been hinting at in a muffled sort of way for the past couple of weeks—that the United Party will not serve on the "internal security commission" if it is established in the form envisaged by the Schlegbusch Commission.

This is not the end of the United Party's difficulties though. After indicating what its position will be in relation to the security commission, now it has to decide what its position will be in relation to the Schlegbusch Commission itself. Our advice is: get off it.

Continued membership of the Schlegbusch Commission spells only trouble for the United Party. We can think of at least three good reasons why it should announce its withdrawal from the commission at the earliest possible moment.

First: Its four representatives on the commission might soon be facing the prospect of sending to prison one or more members of the Christian Institute or the Institute of Race

Relations for refusing to testify.

Second: Because of their support of the Schlebusch Commission's recommendation for "urgent action" to be taken against the eight Nusas leaders, they have acquired what might be called a vested interest in "urgent action". This places them in the ambiguous position of, on the one hand, deploring the bannings but, on the other, declaring that there are going to be some "red faces" when the rest of the report appears.

Third: When the third interim report of the Schlebusch Commission is presented within the next two or three weeks, the United Party might find itself (if the predictions of the Nationalist Press are correct) sharing responsibility for yet another round of "drastic action" against people as yet unidentified.

—*Sunday Times*, 25.3.73.



COUNCIL OF COWARDICE OR COURAGE?

Concern has been expressed that in refusing to co-operate with the Government over the Schlebusch Commission, groups may alienate support and divide the opposition. This is the council of cowardice.

25 years experience should teach us that we achieve nothing by softening our principles to ruin people, gagging our pulpits to fill our pews, or quieting our consciences to guard our coffers.

Political parties which have sacrificed principles to retain people have in fact lost support. Despite its dreams, it is obvious that the present United Party does *not* have the potential to form an alternative government.

Churches which have sought to retain traditional structures and supporters by side-stepping their principles have also lost ground heavily. The blacks, the young, and the intelligentsia have frequently left, and the church has ceased to have relevance in its neighbourhood.

Cowardice serves the enemy, however it masquerades.

The point here is not the support of people but the support of principles. When totalitarian power is used to make wrong attitudes legal, or to render Christian relationships and priorities illegal, people can no longer give the State blind support. They must have the courage to stand for their convictions.

Institutes or churches which dally with compromise *must* be divided if their true principles are to be uncloaked. Race Relations are not a sociological theory to be discussed in secret but an experience to be lived out in public, and we cannot be true to our principles by consenting to a course of action which denies them. Motives which are mixed by money, comfort, 'niceness', and respectability must be ruthlessly cleansed.

The pressure of the white minority cannot bring about a change in the principle of white Government; it does not have the means to match a self-perpetuating state machine. The pressure of the black majority does have the power, and our task is to proclaim the principles under which black and

white can use that power and live.

Only God's rule can bring God's order on earth. Christians have known from the beginning that this proclamation will bring loss of friends, families, and finance, but it is the way to victory.

What the country needs now is the council of courage.

—Cedric Mayson



WEIER OM VOOR HOM TE VERSKYN SCHLEBUSCH-KOMMISSIE ONCHRISTELIK—CI- MAN

Die Christelike Instituut het dit nie teen 'n ondersoek na sy sake nie, maar wel teen die „onchristelikheid” van die Schlebusch-kommissie.

„Ons het niks om weg te steek nie. As die ondersoek deur 'n geregtelike kommissie gedoen is, sou ons met graagte voor die kommissie verskyn het. Ons weier egter om voor die Schlebusch-kommissie te verskyn omdat dit na ons mening onregverdig en onchristelik is”, het mnr. Roelf Meyer van die Christelike Instituut vanoggend aan *Die Vaderland* gesê.

Hy is die redakteur van hul blad, *Pro Veritate*, en ook sekretaris van die Instituut—'n gewese predikant wat tien jaar lank in die bediening gestaan het voor hy by die Instituut aangesluit het.

Hy het gesê dat hy nie namens die Instituut praat nie en dat hy bloot sy eie mening uitspreek.

„Die Instituut het nog altyd sy werk openlik gedoen. Ons vergaderings geskied nooit agter geslote deure nie—almal is daar welkom. Daar is niks ondergronds aan die Instituut se werk nie. Ons het niks om weg te steek nie”, het hy gesê.

„Dit kan net so Christelik wees om te weier om te praat, Christus het ook soms voor die owerhede geswyg en geweier om op hul vrae te antwoord.

„As daar dan ondersoek moet wees, vra ons 'n regverdige verhoor. Ek persoonlik dink nie dat daar rede vir 'n verhoor is nie.

„Daar is nie sprake van kommunistiese neigings of ondergrondse werksaamhede by die Instituut nie”, het hy gesê.

Mnr. Meyer het gesê dat dit nou tyd geword het dat die Instituut die Regering en Suid-Afrika die vier hoofredes van die Instituut in oënskou moet neem en daarvoor besin.

„Die Regering is besig om 'n onderskeid tussen 'n mens se Christelike en gewone lewe te maak. Die Instituut wil die gevolge van die Evangelie na alle dele van die lewe toe deurtrek.”

Hy het ook gesê dat niemand nog aan die Instituut verduidelik het waarvoor die ondersoek nou eintlik gaan nie.

„Ons weet nie eens waarvan ons aangekla word nie”, het mnr. Meyer gesê.

—*Vaderland*, 12.3.73.

WCC TERRORIST AID DEFENDED

The World Council of Churches' allocations of money to "liberation movements", including Frelimo, have been defended by the Council's Director of Biblical Studies, Dr. Hans Ruedi Weber.

Dr. Weber is in Durban to conduct the daily Bible studies at the massive South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism being held in Durban's Central Methodist Hall.

In an exclusive interview with *The Daily News*, Dr. Weber spoke freely about the World Council of Churches' role in Africa, and the role of Christians in the world today.

Question: In January this year the WCC announced allocations of R156 000 to 25 organisations "combating racism on five continents". Our headlines here read "Churches Give More Terror Aid". Was this fair?

Dr. Weber: No. The largest division in the WCC is that of Inter-Church Aid—which helps churches all over the world help the population, for example in times of disaster. The WCC processes much money from churches for the liberated areas in Mozambique, as well as through Lourenco Marques, for hospitals and schools. We MUST work through Frelimo because in some areas of Mozambique they are the provisional government. All the money grants are given with the proviso that they are used for humanitarian purposes and not for weapons.

Not Naive

I am not naive enough to think that none of this money goes to buy arms. This is out of our control. We now know that much of the money given by South African churches to Biafra went to buy arms. Although it was given with the best intentions it did, in fact, serve to prolong the war.

Question: Why did you use the word "liberated" when speaking of areas in Mozambique under Frelimo control?

Dr. Weber: We think that if a people cannot decide on its own destiny, when they are helped only in a paternalistic way without consultation, when they are not seen as humans, then it is the task of the Christian Church to identify itself with their struggle for liberation. Salvation is not just of the soul, but is also a liberation, and it is in this sense that I used the word "liberated".

—*Daily News*



SASO WAS CREATED BY GOVT. POLICY SUZMAN

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY—If the eight African student leaders who were recently banned had been charged in court it would have given them "a platform" the Minister of Justice Mr. Pelser, said yesterday.

Mr. Pelser made this remark in an interjection during a speech by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, at the close of a snap 30-minute debate on the banning of the students.

Sir de Villiers described Mr. Pelser's remark on giving the students a platform as "an incomprehensible attitude" which was "typical of the utter contempt this Government has for the process of law in South Africa".

Nothing did more harm to the country overseas than that sort of thing, Sir de Villiers added.

Why were SASO and the BPC not referred to the Schlebusch commission, Mrs. Suzman asked.

"Why did the Government not even go through the motions and afford the eight young Black leaders at least the semblance of an inquiry into their deeds of omission and commission?"

"Is it because they belonged to Black organisations that this preliminary could be dispensed with?"

SASO's manifesto made it clear that it aimed to build up Black awareness in order to liberate the Blacks from "psychological oppression arising out of an inferiority complex and physical oppression occurring out of living in a White racist society," Mrs. Suzman continued.

—*Star*, 9.3.73.



PUPIL QUOTA STORM

Africans claim education is restricted

CAPE TOWN—Controversy surrounds a claim that the Department of Bantu Education is applying a quota system to restrict secondary education for African Standard 6 pupils. The claim is made in a report recently issued by the education committee of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA).

The Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H.J. van Zyl, has confirmed the existence of a system of percentages in determining Standard 6 passes. He said however, it was used to standardise results, and was not a directive but a guideline for the use of inspectors.

In its report, ATASA describes the prescribe pass quotas as "the mechanics of restriction". It quotes a directive from a director of education to his circuit inspectors which states: "In order to ensure uniformity throughout the area, you are instructed to follow the normal pattern of examination passes which over the years has been as follows: First class—10 percent, second class—35 percent, third class—35 percent, failures—20 percent."

In effect, this means only 45 percent of all Std 6 pupils are entitled to proceed to secondary education, ATASA says. This is because "continuation certificates" are granted only to pupils with first and second class passes.

In an associated study of Std. 6 pupils, ATASA pointed out that the percentages of African children in secondary schools had risen by a mere 0,32 percent (from 4,3 to 4,62) between 1955, when Bantu education was introduced, and 1969. Prior to 1955, the percentage had steadily risen, doubling itself every 10 years.

The committee draws three conclusions:

- * The policy of the Government is to restrict African education, especially secondary.
- * This is done by allocating insufficient funds.
- * Insufficient accommodation, resulting from insufficient funds, makes it necessary to restrict promotion to secondary schools.

—*The Star*, 5.3.73.

There was a
young lady
from Riga,
Who rode
with a smile
on a tiger;

They returned
from the ride,
with the lady inside,
And the smile
on the face
of the tiger



Sunday Times 12.3.73

W. J. van der Merwe

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The Executive Committee of the South African Council of Churches meeting in Johannesburg on the 7th and 8th March expressed its deep concern over the recent banning without trial of some leading members of NUSAS, SASO, and SPRO-CAS. It declared that the Church recognises that God has given authority to the State for the proper maintenance of law in society, but for the following reasons it regards the recent bannings without trial as a failure on the part of the State to fulfil this responsibility:

1. In so far as the State claims to be Christian it acknowledges that it is bound to a law which is higher than itself, namely, the righteousness of God revealed in Jesus Christ. The arbitrary banning of persons *without trial* is contrary to that righteous exercise of government in that it denies the God-given right of each person to defend himself before the law;
2. In so far as the State claims to be the guardian of law and order, it is bound to act in such ways that the law of the land is held in respect. The arbitrary banning of persons *without trial* brings the law into disrepute, denies its effectiveness for the proper maintenance of the social order, and in this instance makes party politicians rather than the judiciary under the law arbitrator over the lives and destinies of men and women;
3. In so far as the State claims to govern according to democratic norms it must either allow all its citizens democratic rights or else acknowledge that it is no longer democratic. The arbitrary banning of persons *without trial* is a denial of the essence of

democracy and it does precisely that of which those banned are apparently accused:

it increases the already dangerous polarization between the races in our country

it does violence to those who are working for non-violent change

it unwittingly furthers the aims of communism in that it does not allow political idealism to operate openly within the given structures but creates a spirit of bitter frustration and eventually drives persons to acts of political desperation.

Therefore, the Executive of the South African Council of Churches calls upon the Government to revoke their decision in favour of the normal processes of law as only in this way can the innocence or guilt of the persons concerned be clearly established.

— Press Embargo
13.3.73.



WHY WE BANNED THEM—VORSTER

KROONSTAD—Threats to the security of the State are the responsibility of Parliament—and Parliament should not avoid this responsibility by trying to push it on to the shoulders of the courts, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said in Kroonstad at the weekend.

— Rand Daily Mail, 12.3.73.