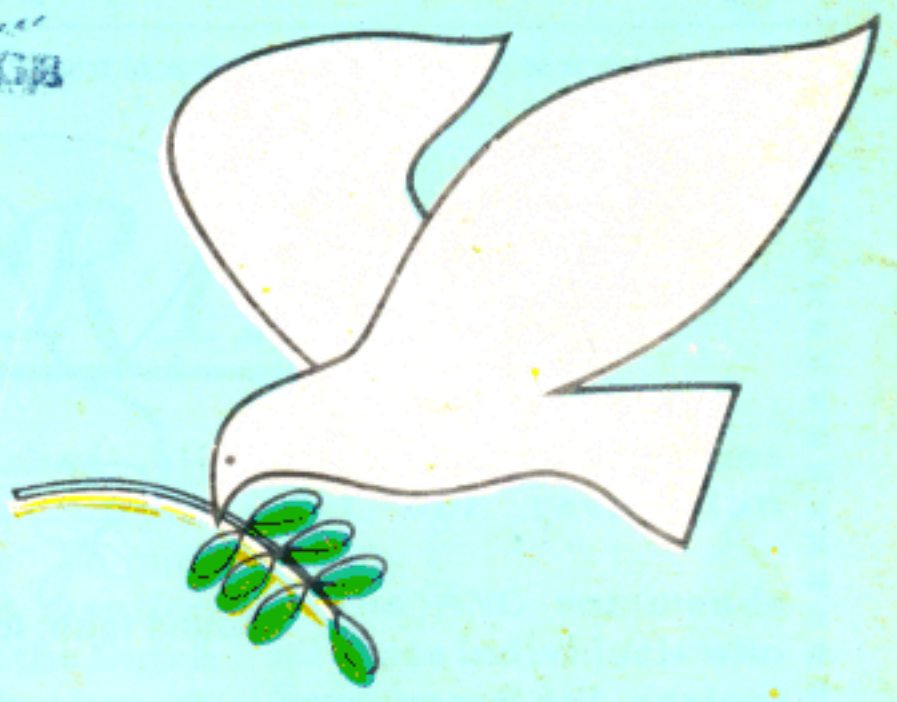


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Phakamani

Quarterly magazine of the ANC
Department of Religious Affairs
Vol. 2 No. 2 / 1988



Sound Faith, Love and Endurance





Sound faith, love and edurance

The Department of Religious Affairs would like to appeal to the international community with regards to seven (7) of our Movement's cadres who have wished to gain admission to study theological science in various parts of the world.

Any assistance you as individuals and/or as institutions/ organisations may render to these comrades of different denominations will be greatly appreciated.

We must emphasize that the size of your gift is not a criteria for the good it will serve to further develop our cadres for a religious vocation and who in turn will contribute to our Department of Religious Affairs of the ANC.

We simply ask that you give.

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FRONT COVER

Archbishop Desmond Tutu lamenting over innocent blood daily shed by racist Botha-Malan regime. How long must our Church leaders shed tears before, we as the Church take action?

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View and opinions presented do not necessarily express the official policies of the African National Congress, or the editorial collective of the Department of Religious Affairs. Articles are designed to raise issues, stimulate debate on current and topical issues in as well as matters of faith and theological concern.

Contributions, articles and letters are welcomed.

Published by the ANC Department of Religious Affairs



EDITORIAL

In his present position, Reverend Lafras Moolman of the NGK, at Stellenbosh University is portraying himself as an enemy of the people.

He and others like himself, exceed all limits to discredit the efforts of South African people-people dedicated to the creation of a just society in our Motherland.

Rev. Moolman is the director of Information of the Cape Synod of the NGK. He claims that the ANC is transforming the Church in South Africa into an instrument of revolution.

But what truly worries Moolman and the racists of his type? It appears their concerns center around the events within the white Dutch Reformed Church - their church. For within this Church have sprung a few who have divested themselves of baasskap which was introduced to South Africa by that very Church at the time when apartheid was born. These noble sons, many of whom are ministers, have not only spoken out against the apartheid but have taken trips to various parts of the world to consult the ANC. When

Moolman published his propaganda piece in the NGK's "Kerkbode" he conveniently did not mention the contacts that the Dutch Reformed Church, through some of its Church leaders, has with the ANC.

What is becoming increasingly clearer is that the ANC is fighting for justice in South Africa. The Church is obliged by its fundamental tenets to fight for the same. Consequently, it has to identify with all those individuals and institutions that are involved in that struggle.

The status of the Church in a future, free and democratic South Africa has never been in doubt; especially vis-a-vis the policies of the ANC. The matter was specifically addressed at the inception of the ANC in 1912. The election of Rev. John Dube as the first President of the ANC Movement is not an accident of history but a reflection of the nature of our revolutionary Organisation.

And the pattern continues. We have published in many of our Organisation's journals the names of other religious figures who have served and are presently serving the Movement in responsible leadership positions. These names include priest like Reverends Z.R. Mahabane, J. Gumede, etc. and the list will wax

before it wanes as time and our revolution grows.

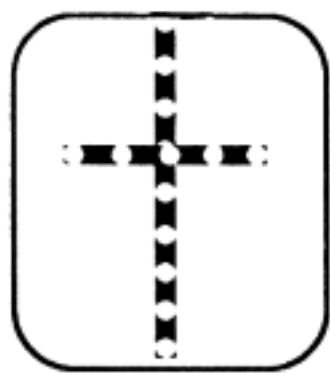
The ANC commends all those individuals who have come out against the apartheid monster. And we profoundly commend those inside South Africa, who from the belly of the beast, still openly and steadfastly confront apartheid in the name of Truth and Justice.

"... while we disagree with other groups in the liberation movement on some issues, we are in agreement with them that apartheid is an evil and needs to be brought to a decisive end... Islam and Muslims will always find themselves on the side of the truth and justice ..."

MOOLMAN-apartheid by its nature is utterly evil. And we must destroy it. Therefore, we loudly rejoice in saying to the South African Church - THIS PERSECUTION WILL BE DEFEATED !!!



SOUND FAITH LOVE
AND ENDURANCE



THE CHURCH AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER



1988 marks the thirty-third year since the adoption of the Freedom Charter, by the Congress of the People, in Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

It was adopted by the ANC as its programme of action a year later. It was also adopted by the SACP as its short-term goal.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC declared 1980 as "The Year of the Charter". The newspapers inside South Africa soon commemorated the year by publishing millions copies of the Freedom Charter, and since the formation of the UDF in 1983, hundreds of women, residents, students, civic and other organisations have adopted the Freedom Charter as their programme of action, so as to realise the objectives of our National Democratic Struggle.

In this issue of "PHAKAMANI", we re-publish a theological critique of the Freedom Charter by one of our prominent church leaders in South Africa, after a brief background. At the end of the critique, we pose questions that will help you discuss the Freedom Charter. In our next issue, we hope to produce a message on the Freedom Charter by another prominent South African figure. We will also attempt to look at the Freedom Charter and the social teachings of the church.

BACKGROUND OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER

"If you could make the laws what would you do? How would you set about making South Africa a happy place for the people who live in it?"

These were the questions asked of hundreds of thousands of South Africans in an 18-month campaign which ended in the Freedom Charter and the Congress of the People.

The Congress of the People (Freedom Charter) Campaign was launched in March 1954 by the Congress Alliance, African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Congress of Democrats (Whites). Over 200 organisations attended a conference in Tongaat near Durban to plan the Campaign. The National Action Council (NAC) was elected to run the campaign.

The first task of the NAC was to make the whole country aware of the congress of the People. "This can only be done through the greatest possible campaign of printed material side by side with a string of hundreds meetings, house canvasses and group

discussions.

Every demand made by the people at these gatherings, however small the matter, must be recorded and collected for consideration by

the Congress of the People for inclusion into the Freedom Charter. In this way it will become the charter of the People, the content of which has its source in their own homes, factories, mines and reserves." Through the collecting of the demands of the people for the Freedom Charter thousands of people would begin to see what kind of society they wanted to live in.

The campaign was divided into three phases:

1. "To make the Congress of the People known and understood throughout the country, draw in all possible organisations, recruit the first 5000 volunteers and set up provincial committees."

The volunteers were educated through a series of lectures before the meetings were organised. National sub-committees were set up to look into the conditions facing mineworkers, farm-labourers, domestic servants, bantustan residents, factory workers and youth to present them with the plans for the campaign. Thousands of pamphlets were sent out, with the most important



question- "What do you mean by freedom?"

2. The second phase of the campaign was to establish a network of 2000 local Congress of the People's Committees, gather demands, in writing, for the Freedom Charter, increase the number of Freedom Volunteers and start preparing for the congress, 26th June 1955. People across the country were also urged to elect their delegates to the Congress of the People.

The campaign was set back by the bannings which removed layer after layer of leadership. But the campaign went ahead with the people coming forward to fill the gap left by the bannings.

The demands for the Freedom Charter were flooding into the NAC offices. "... on sheets of torn paper from school exercise books, on little dog-eared scraps of paper, on slips torn from the Congress of the People's leaflets."

A journalist described the happenings just before the Congress of the People: "And now, we are on the eve of the meeting of the Congress of people where the Freedom Charter will be discussed and debated. All the signs now are that this will be for and away the greatest such gathering ever in our country."

Almost every group of people who got together to formulate their demands, neighbours in a suburb, workers in a shop or factory, farmers, peasant... have been electing delegates to speak for them at the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

3. The third phase was the

Congress of the People. It was held on the 26th June 1955. There were 3000 delegates and 2000 observers. It was a historic day. A day that people had been waiting for, for 18 months. Each clause of the Freedom Charter was read out, explained, debated and accepted by the people. At the end of the day delegates took home the Freedom Charter drawn up from the peoples of South Africa's demands. The next few months were spent in holding report back meetings, house meetings, and meetings in organisations. The people who had sent their demands had to know what had happened at the Congress of The People.

This year we celebrate the thirty-third anniversary of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter. We remember the people's desire for a new South Africa. We also remember that this vision for South Africa has not been realised yet. Finally, we commit ourselves to continuing working for this new South Africa.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER; A THEOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

Thirty years ago a humble town called Kliptown, hosted one of the most significant political events in South Africa. One can write volumes on what came to be known as the "Congress of the People" exclusivist national convention of 1908-9, the "Congress of the People" was a shining example of democracy at work. The CONGRESS WAS OPEN TO ALL those who subscribed to the values of a free, united, just, and non-racial society. It

is now generally acknowledged that the "Congress of the People" was the culmination of a struggle against white conquest, economic exploitation and political domination. The historic Assembly at Kliptown crowned its deliberations by producing the first anti-imperialist people's document in South Africa- the Freedom Charter. This document has continued to be the rallying point for all freedom-loving patriots who have an interest in the destruction of Apartheid.

What has the Freedom Charter to do with the Church today? A lot! For one thing, many participants in the Congress of the People were professed christians. For another, all progressive Christian Churches condemn apartheid as evil, heretical, as well as theological untenable. Modern theological scholarship is acutely aware that those who are committed to the struggle for total liberation must address them-

"As long as there is a Minister who thinks he is God, we (the Church) have work to do. It doesn't matter if they ban us, throw us in jail, say we've been inspired by I don't know who, we will continue to have work to do in this country as long as Apartheid exists. I want to say to Vlok" Who do you think you are? Whose line must the Church toe in South Africa?"

Dr. Allan Boesak



selves to the social, economic and political structures of the society in which they live. The Freedom Charter provides a broad based progressive forum for those who are committed to self-determination for the majority of the people. Nothing could be more Christian than waging a struggle for freedom.

At the theoretical or ideological level it is imperative for the Christians in South Africa to understand how apartheid serves the interests of monopoly capital and international imperialism. Through the Freedom Charter, thousands of people from all social classes and strata declared their opinion for a social order which would facilitate a fairer distribution and sharing of natural as well as other resources. They also wanted to create conditions where the PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN, where they will create and control their sovereign and independent countries. They committed themselves to a society wherein all bonafide South Africans would enjoy full citizen rights.

The Freedom Charter puts the human person right in the centre of the universe. It takes democracy quite seriously. That is why it is a people's document. The interests of the people are paramount. Some ultra-leftists have criticised the Charter for not being dogmatic or doctrine enough. As we know, the Congress of the People was preceded by a series of intensive and candid consultations. On the practical level, the Charter can teach the church much even about

itself. In the process of consulting, the Freedom volunteers learned a lot from simple folks. They built up a formidable network of genuine communication and mutual respect between themselves and the people.

Finally, there is the unprecedented resurgence of interest in the Freedom Charter today. This could be seen as an offshoot of the Free Mandela Campaign. One would hope that the interest goes far deeper. Apartheid as a policy or political philosophy is barren and discredited. People are searching for alternative models of society. The church cannot stand idly by if it wishes to promote the struggle for liberation and human dignity. Without any fear of contradiction it can be said that the Freedom Charter is compatible with Christianity. The least that the Church can do is to encourage its adherents to study the Freedom Charter and to enter into the debate surrounding the Charter, particularly during this 33rd anniversary of its birth. Not only is the Freedom Charter theologically sound, it forms a basis for a new society where all South Africans will have the right to be fully human.

DISCUSSIONS QUESTIONS

Once you have read the Freedom Charter

1. Discuss the differences/similarities between South Africa today and the South Africa envisaged by the Freedom Charter.

2. Where there are differences, discuss whether what is happening now or that is envisaged by the Freedom

Charter is more Christian.

3. Discuss if any clauses of the Freedom Charter could be considered un-Christian.

4. Discuss how your parish, order, organisation, school etc, could take up the Freedom Charter as an issue.

5. Do you think the church should be influenced by the clauses of the Freedom Charter?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

If yes, how?

"The greatest threat to public safety in South Africa is this government ... If it is revolutionary to say I am working for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, then, yes, I am (a revolutionary)."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu



«Congress of the People» Klip-town, 1955.



JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN AFRICA (N.G.K.A.): LUSAKA, ZAMBIA FEBRUARY 19, 1988.

01. In accordance with the decisions of its General Synod, a delegation of the N.G.K.A. met with the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia on the 17th & 18th of February, 1988. The delegation of the N.G.K.A. was composed of the following:

Moderator Rev. Sam Buti Leader of the delegation and

Ds. MM Maphoto (Assessor)

Dr. NJ Smith (Actuaris)

The ANC delegation was made up of the following :

Mzwai Piliso: member of the National Executive Committee of

ANC (hereinafter NEC)

Ruth Mompoti (NEC)

Joe Nhlanhla (NEC)

Jacob Zuma (NEC)

Thabo Mbeki (NEC)

Rev. Fumie Gqiba

02. The delegation of the N.G.K.A. explained that the Commission for Justice, Reconciliation and Peace of their church has been charged with the task of meeting the ANC, among others with a view to assist in finding a way of stopping the continuing violence in South Africa by ending the apartheid system through negotiations. The church feels that it has a responsibility to act as a peacemaker to promote

justice, peace and reconciliation.

03. The ANC welcomed the initiative of the N.G.K.A. and expressed its appreciation of this first ever meeting between itself and the N.G.K.A. It reaffirmed its position that the source of violence in our country and region is the apartheid system and that to attain peace this system must be abolished in its entirety. It reiterated its commitment to continue the struggle until the objective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is achieved.

04. The two delegations agreed that before any negotiations can take place, it is necessary that the Pretoria regime should create a climate conducive to such negotiations. The purpose of these negotiations should be the creation of a society in which apartheid is ended and a social order acceptable to all the people of South Africa put in its place.

05. The delegations agreed that the church, while not aligning itself to any political party, has to be true to itself and should therefore, in action, promote justice and peace in the world. To be faithful to its own nature, the church should voice a clear witness and initiate all neces-

sary actions towards the achievement of justice and peace in South Africa.

06. The delegations agreed that all people of goodwill had an urgent responsibility to take up such questions as the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, saving the lives of the Sharpeville Six and others condemned to death in South Africa, and ending the tragic fratricidal strike in Pietermaritzburg and whenever else it may occur.

07. The delegation of the N.G.K.A. will report back to its own church as well as to other churches in South Africa, with a view to the promotion of all possible common action by all the people of South Africa, black and white, to bring about peace and rest to the people of our country.

08. The delegations agreed that the ANC and the N.G.K.A. should maintain contact and therefore arrange for further meetings in future.





THE NDOLA DECLARATION

CONFERENCE ON: "CHALLENGES ON THE FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN YOUTH IN CHURCH TODAY"

We, the delegates of the Southern African Youth Conference, coming from Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Burundi, Botswana, Sudan, Nigeria, Malawi, Lesotho, Ghana, Gambia, and Canada gathered from 1st to 7th May, 1988, in the Republic of Zambia, at the National Vocational Rehabilitation Centre-Ndola, with our theme: "Challenges on the Future of the African Youth in the Church Today," reflecting on the burning issues like: The Peace Challenge, The Development Challenge, The Theological Challenge and The Social Action Challenge, a result of a resolution for such a conference adopted at a meeting of the general secretaries of the East and Southern African Christian Councils in Gaborone, Botswana, in July 1987, and convicted by the call expressed in Isaiah 58: 6-10:

"Is not this the kind of fasting I have chosen;
to loose the chains of injustice,
to untie the cords of the yoke,
to set the oppressed free...
to share your food with the hungry. . .
to provide the poor wanderer with shelter
to clothe the naked.
..
If you do these, your night will become like the noonday.' Resolve the fol-

lowing:

1. We have noticed that in spite of its political independence, Africa's development is still hampered by economic dependence on capitalist Western Countries.

We therefore call upon the African youth to support the movement toward a new international economic order. We will respond to the sacred calling of God to engage in holy labour by supporting indigenous development projects like:

(i) buying locally manufactured goods and lending our support to Southern African Development and Coordination Committee (SADCC), Preferential Trade Area (PTA), and other like organisations.

(ii) starting self-help projects.

(iii) taking pride in our African Culture.

2. We call upon the Fundamentalist churches and organisations to develop a theology relevant to life and death reality in our suffering world.

3. We have noted that an important way of practising theology is not relevant to our situation. We therefore call upon the churches to develop a contextual theology from the grassroots which will also draw our sacred African culture.

4. In solidarity with the Ecumenical Decade of Women, we call upon our churches to support the ordi-

nation of women and to encourage them to fully participate in the leadership of the church.

5. We further pledge our solidarity in Southern Africa's fight against the imperialist exploitative support of the racist regime and the inhuman and barbaric regime of South Africa against the majority.

6. In view of the above we call for:

(i) The unconditional release of all the political prisoners and imprisoned children of South Africans and Namibians.

(ii) The unbanning of banned political organisations and the returned of exiles.

(iii) The immediate lifting of the imposed state of emergency.

(iv) The immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and Namibia.

(v) A stop of South Africa's aggression and destabilisation policies on the Frontline States.

7. We call on:

(i) All Christian youth to commit themselves to pray and work for the downfall of the Pretoria regime and to give material support through the OAU liberation funds in their respective countries, to South Africa and Namibia in their fight for total liberation and for refu-



gee programme.

(ii) The UN to implement Resolution No. 435 on Namibia.

(iii) All the progressive youth and the liberation forces to come together to fight the oppressor regime since we believe in unity we stand and divided we fall.

8. We urge all peace loving nations of the world to support the economic sanctions on South Africa's apartheid regime in order to accelerate its downfall so as to avoid more bloodshed in South Africa and Namibia.

9. We call on all churches and youth organisations to promote conscientisation

programmes and to give material support to organisations or committees in charge of refugees from South Africa, Namibia, and other parts of Africa. Where there is no such refugees organisations or committee, we resolve to create one to care for such refugees.

10. We call upon the South African President P.W.Botha, to grant clemency to all patriots on death row, to forthwith stop all treason trials, and to stop the death sentence as a form of punishment.

11. To express our solidarity with the South Africans and Namibians in their struggle to topple the Pretoria regime, we resolve as soon as possible to:

(i) withdraw all funds

and interactions with Barclay's (First National) standard banks and other financial institutions with dealings in South Africa.

(ii) participate fully in and encourage cultural boycotts.

(iii) boycott all South African goods.

12. We resolve to form a continuous committee, to be based in Zimbabwe, out of the participants of this conference whose task will be to set up a network of youth and student organisations to facilitate information sharing and exchange programmes, to follow up in six month's time on the resolutions here recorded, and to plan for further conferences of this nature.

THE CHURCH/STATE CONFLICT

WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

* On 24 February 1988, 17 organisations, including the UDF, DPSC, and other groups were effectively banned.

* The following week church leaders walked from St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town to parliament to present a petition protesting the bannings. Some church leaders were arrested (including Archbishop Tutu, Dr. Boesak, Archbishop Naidoo, Rev. Chikane, Rev. Mgojo).

* P.W. Botha, in response to this protest, wrote a letter to

* Archbishop Tutu asking him if he is 'serving the Kingdom of God or Kingdom of the SACP and ANC'.

* Bishop Tutu was supported in his stand of protest by the Anglican bishops of South Africa who said 'We question the right to define what is spiritual or decide what is valid Christian witness.'

* Rev. Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, wrote a letter to P.W. Botha in support of the church position of protest.

* P.W.Botha responded to Rev. Chikane accusing him of promoting hatred and revolution.

* Forty-five leading theologians from theological faculties and departments across the land came out in support of the church leaders and explained that 'the church has a clear Biblical basis for its protest and is in accord with the mainstream of Christian tradition in resisting injustice.'



* The Methodist Peace Church proposal was attacked on a SABC Network programme.

* The "New Nation," a newspaper published by the SACBC was closed down by the state. The Catholic bishops protested against this on the steps of the

Johannesburg Cathedral.

* The Church leaders have called an emergency convocation for 30th, 31st May 1988 to address the issue of Christian witness through non-violent effective action in these times.

BACKGROUND TO THE STATE POSITION

The government has embarked on a reform program in which people who are powerful at present implement what they see as necessary changes. The government says these changes must occur under conditions of stability and thus they cannot tolerate forces such as the ANC and the UDF - because they upset the stability of reform.

The government's present course of action is a response to the events of the 1970's: the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the independence of neighbouring countries and the development of opposition groups locally. In addition, after 1970 the economy was unable to develop consistently.

The strategic response of the

National Party was the new constitution of 1983. This constitution aimed to draw in Asians and 'Coloureds' to increase the stability of the government. It also laid the way for executive power to lie in the State President and appointed committees under the secretive National Security Management System

is greatly restricted. Many organisations have been effectively banned. South Africa has responded to the growth of international anti-apartheid actions by retreating into an increasingly aggressive and isolationist stance. It has pursued military intervention rather than diplomacy towards its neighbouring states.



The state and church conflict

BACKGROUND TO THE CHURCH POSITION

While the government's actions have served to widen the gap between black and white South Africans, many church denominations have begun to take seriously their responsibility to address the concerns and divisions in the community. The churches originally

rather than through the traditional parliamentary system. This style of government was designed to provide strong mechanisms for responding to any security threats. This is 'total strategy.'

The new constitution has been severely tested by the opposition that created; in particular, the rapid growth of the United Democratic Front and the growth of oppositional labour federations such as COSATU. On the white right, in opposition to the reform course, has been the growth of the Conservative Party. As a result, the government has had to intensify control and repression. The whole country is under a state of emergency. The press

arrived with the white settlers and were at first primarily pastors to this community. As a result most churches inherited racially divided practices. The apartheid of the 1950's with issues such as forced removals and the Bantu Education Act however, activated individuals and led to the issuing of anti-apartheid church statements. More recently some churches have been trying to change their structure to meet their new awareness of social needs. Where the mother-church (as was the case with the N G Kerk) was not prepared to fundamentally transform its approach to apartheid, its black mem-



bership consequently came into conflict. The majority of Christian churches have however, developed an openness to the needs of the country's black majority and the political organisation which represent them.

Through the SACC and SACBC have increasingly moved in a direction which makes conflict with the government more likely, some of the membership of these churches have not kept pace with their leadership. There are furthermore some churches which embrace the status quo. The government intends to use these divisions for its own ends, by promoting the conservative and right-wing church group. At the same time many of the church denominations critical of apartheid are moving toward the recognition that action and not simply words, are demanded by the gospel in situations such as ours. These developments in church and state make further conflicts likely.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES

Obeying The Law

State Position

The Church must obey the government and keep its law 'since all government comes from God.' (Romans 13:1)

Church Position

The church in fidelity to the whole gospel must obey 'God rather than men' (Acts 4) particularly when the people in question are responsible for practising a heresy like apartheid maintained by political repression.

LOVING YOUR NEIGHBOUR

The Group Areas Act and Separate Education create barriers between different racial groups. The government has structured people's lives such that loving your neighbour in practice means loving your own group.

The church teaches us to love everybody as our neighbour irrespective of their colour.

POLITICS

The Churches should not involve themselves in politics but should rather remain within the spiritual realm.

The churches believe sin should be opposed wherever it occurs, whether it be personal life, family life, at work, or in our social and political life.

PROTEST

The churches should refrain from engaging in protest actions since this falls outside their sphere of competence. Christians are obliged to act in witness to Christian values. In our present situation this includes acting to remove apartheid.

VIOLENCE

The government does not see itself as violent. Violence from the opposition is terrorist and immoral. The churches see that much of the government violence is immoral. On counter-violence some Christians would say that active non-violence is the churches' position, while others would support both a just war and non-violent action.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The ANC is seen as a violent,

terrorist organisation which wants to subvert existing society and undermine the reform programme. The ANC wants to govern and is seen as an enemy.

The ANC is an African Nationalist political movement with widespread support. It represents the views of many South Africans. It cannot be excluded from a political solution to South Africa's problems.

THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON THE CHURCH/STATE CONFLICT

We should also reflect upon the present Church/State conflict in the light of the Bible. What appears immediately is that there is nothing new about a Church-State conflict. Throughout the Bible and the history of the Church there have been conflicts between those who held political power and those whose first loyalty was to God. Again and again we find the people of God accusing the political authorities of sin: injustice, exploitation, abuse of power, oppression and idolatry.

EXODUS

The conflict here was between Pharaoh and Moses, between the Egyptian state and the religiously-motivated Hebrew slaves. Pharaoh was an oppressor; 'The Egyptians ill-treated us, they gave us no peace and inflicted harsh slavery upon us' (Dt 26:6). God heard the cry of the Hebrew slaves and called Moses to free them from slav-



ery. This led to a conflict between Moses and Pharaoh. The reason for the conflict was clearly the hard-hearted sinfulness of Pharaoh.

THE PROPHETS

After the people of Israel had settled in the land of Canaan they called upon Samuel to 'appoint for us a king to govern us like all the nations.' Samuel warned them that the king would become rich at their expense and that in time 'you shall become his slaves' (1 Sam 8:17). However, he gave in to the people and anointed Saul king. As time went on the Jewish kings became worse and worse until eventually the people found themselves cruelly oppressed by their own kings. Here it was the great prophets of the Old Testament who protested accusing the kings of injustice, exploitation, cruelty and idolatry. For generations these messengers of God were in conflict with the Jewish state. There were also false prophets who supported the status quo and told the kings what they wanted to hear, shouting 'peace, peace, when in fact there was no peace' (Jer 6:14).

JESUS

It has sometimes been said that Jesus was not in conflict with the State. This misunderstanding arises because it is assumed that the State or political authority was the Romans and the scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, chief priest and elders were the re-

ligious authorities of that time. In fact Caesar was the external imperial power but the local, national government was in the hands of Herod and the Sanhedrin which included scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees. Jesus called Herod 'that fox' and he classed with all the various groups who were represented on the Sanhedrin. There was that time in Judea no clear distinction between religious authorities and civil authorities. In any case all the powers and authorities eventually conspired to destroy him in order to maintain the status quo. Jesus was in conflict with the authorities of his time for exactly the same reason as Moses and the prophets in their time:

because of the sinfulness of those in power. Jesus' whole life was a drama of conflict with evil in all forms. That is why he was crucified.

THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

From quite early on Christians found themselves in conflict with the Roman Empire. Off and on for the first three hundred years Christians were persecuted by various Roman Emperors who imprisoned them and threw them to the lions. The idolatrous sinfulness of the

State in these times of persecution was clearly the reason for the conflict.

CONSTANTINE

The Church-State conflict of the first three centuries ended abruptly in 312 when the Emperor Constantine removed all restrictions on Christians religion and eventually made it something like



the official state religion. This was the beginning of an association between Christianity and political power in which all too often the Church accepted material benefits and privileges in exchange for its loyalty and support. The prophetic tradition has nevertheless continued through the ages particularly in the saints and reformers who spoke out about the sins of those in power.

SOUTH AFRICA TODAY



South Africa's fundamental problem lies in its policy of apartheid which is sinful and unjust and can only be implemented by force. Virtually all the Christian leaders have recognised that such a policy contradicts the gospel and have pleaded privately and in public with the political authorities to hear the cry of the oppressed and usher in a new era of peace based upon justice for all. Since these cries have brought forth little response it is duty of God's churches to oppose the continuation of this sin.

THE CHOICE FACING US?

The recent events have shown clearly that the church and the government are set on different paths. The conflict between them will not remain an isolated event, but calls into question which side can rightly claim to be Christian

In the past South African Christians have been shaped by both the Church and the government and this did not seem to involve a contradiction. More recent events have left many Christians

feeling caught between the authority of the State and the authority of the Church.

We will have to examine our consciences and choose between the values represented by the SA government and those represented by the Church. Ideally the values of the church and the state should be in harmony, but this must not be achieved at the expense of 'truth and justice.'

More than ever before the present crisis cries out for Christians to stand together. With this in mind the church leaders assembled a historic convocation to plan non-violent effective actions. Your contribution is vital if we are to succeed in creating the just South Africa we all long for.

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GRAPPLING WITH YAHWEH/THE LIVING GOD

O, Lord!

Despite a Great many prayers to You we are continually losing our wars. Tomorrow we shall again be fighting a battle that is truly great. With all our might we need Your help and that is why I must tell You something. This battle tomorrow is going to be a serious affair. There will be no place in it for children. Therefore I must ask you not to send Your Son to help us. Come Yourself.

The prayer of Adam Kok, leader of the Griquas tribe, before a battle with the Afrikaners in 1876. Quoted from the book 'Another Day of Life' by Ryszard Kapuschinski



CHALLENGES ON THE FUTURE OF THE AFRICAN YOUTH IN THE CHURCH TODAY.

THE PEACE CHALLENGE TO SOUTH AFRICA. BY Dr. NICO SMITH

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

The French philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre, wrote in an introduction to a book by a Ghanaian author, "decolonizing the mind of the African," that colonizers right through history always had lives. Colonizers go to a country, colonize it and build a world of their own, according to their liking and usually much more luxurious than the countries where they came from. To build this world, they use the colonized people, exploit them and keep them in a powerless position. The colonizers eventually exclude the colonized people from the world they have built for themselves. They thus live their own convenient lives with the colonized people excluded socially but included as servants (slaves). This is their own life, their second life they achieved as follows: They structure society such that the colonized people are totally dependent on the colonizer. Eventually the colonized people behave that they cannot live without the colonizer, that all good things come from the colonizer and if the colonizer were not there, they the colonized, would have killed one another. The colonizer thus has his second life in the lives of the colonized people.

When we look at the situation in South Africa we find

how correct the observation of Sartre was. In 1652 the colonizer from Europe started to enter the Southern region of Africa. They gradually colonized the whole southern part of Africa, built their own luxurious world there and eventually excluded the colonized people from that part of the world in a final and constitutional way, a constitution they

themselves have created and implemented, in 1948, homelands were installed and a law for race classification was introduced by which every Black person in South Africa had to register as a citizen of one of those homelands. Those Blacks who found themselves outside the homelands were disowned from all the rights they previously had enjoyed. Through the influx control Act the blacks living in the homelands were locked up in areas which represented only thirteen percent of the total surface of the country, only those who were needed in the colonized areas, had to receive special permission to be present in the so-called white areas in South Africa. For the Black families who lived in the white areas before 1948,



special provision was made. This provision was the implementation of the Group Areas Act through which blacks could only live in certain black townships where they would have no property rights. Through this act more than three million blacks were resettled which means that they were forced to leave living areas in which many of them were living for generations already. They had to go and live in townships which were so-called matchbox homes were provided to them. These matchbox four roomed houses, were built on very small plots. "We were packed like sardines", one of the inhabitants of the township where I live, told me. In these townships a minimum



of facilities were provided and no one was allowed to alter a single brick in those houses, add anything to it or erect any type of structure in the backyard. I have been told that in a circular letter from the Department of Native Affairs as the Government Department which was responsible for handling the affairs of the Blacks were called the administrative Boards which administered the Black townships, were told to supply only the absolute minimum facilities in those townships in order to make it as inconvenient for the blacks in the so-called white areas. Because then they will develop the desire to return to the homelands. The result was that no parks, no playgrounds, no sport fields, no restaurants, cinemas, etc, etc were provided. The Blacks black townships became slave (labour camps) where blacks were locked up by night through laws which prevented them from going down town to the white city or entering any of the recreational facilities which they (the blacks) helped to create. The only recreational facilities which the blacks could enjoy and were available to them, were sex and alcohol and for both they are blamed for by the whites- having too many children and being drunkards.

2. PREDICTION FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant stated in an essay on "Continuous Peace" that peace in the world can only be achieved along one or

two ways. First of all the rationality and the morality of the political leaders in a conflict situation must be of such a nature that they are able to sit around a negotiation table and iron out their points of conflicts. Fortunately, he said, most of the conflicts in the world are solved that way. But when the rationality and morality of the political leaders have degenerated to such an extent that they can't sit around the negotiation table, the only way to achieve peace is through catastrophe of such magnitude that it forces conflicting parties to make peace.

Looking at the South African situation, I have reason to believe that the rationality and morality of the white political leaders in the country have degenerated to such an extent that they are totally unaware of the real issues at stake. This become evident from the fact the Nationalist Government in South Africa keeps on believing that a programme of Reform has eliminated (dismantled) Apartheid and is changing political dispensation to fit the political aspirations of the blacks. And what the Government has done so far in bringing about reform has already caused some of the Nationalist members of parliament to break away from the Party and constituted a new party, the Conservative Party. The leaders of this new party promises the white electorates that should take over Government, they will return to the old ways of the real and true Apartheid. This Conservative Party is already gaining support at a frightening tempo which witnesses the fact that also the whites in the country have

become completely irrational.

The Nationalist Government, in trying to sell its reform policy to the Black people, are at present pumping millions of rands into the Black townships in order to convince the Blacks that the Government has good intentions with them. They, the blacks, must therefore be willing to cooperate with the Government and everything will be well with them. The main real intention of the Government, however, is to get the blacks to participate in the coming elections for local councils which is to take place in October, 1988.

What are the effects of this total onslaught on the shoulders of the Black people by the Government?

It now becomes clear to what extent the colonizers have succeeded in colonizing the minds of the Blacks. In the black townships there are the elderly people, above the age of thirty five saying that blacks have to be thankful for what the government is now willing to do for them. So many things have been changed by the government and that must be appreciated. They are willing to accept things and be satisfied.

But an interesting phenomenon appears in the townships. People under the age of thirty five are in no way to accept the good things and trust the intentions of the government. On the contrary, they are even more in resistance to what the government is trying to achieve. Why is there such a difference in approach? What the colonizers never considered was



that by removing blacks from their own vicinity, they have taken them out of reach of their own colonizing power. Young people under the age of thirty five have indeed completely decolonized minds. They know that the colonizers will do every possible thing to keep in bondage. They realize that there is only one way towards real liberation and that is total onslaught against the total onslaught on their minds. The flames of freedom which is burning in their hearts is not to be extinguished, not with all the guns they have available in South Africa.

It was the resistance by the youth in the townships which eventually forced the government to declare a state of emergency. This the government had to do in order to be able to continue with its programme of so-called reform. Since the state of emergency had been declared, five different categories of weapon carrying groups are controlling the people in the townships. The unrest had faded out according to the government. But it is a rest at gun-point. It is a rest only on the surface. If you listen carefully you hear the thundering continuing underneath this restful surface. The struggle is continuing though not on the surface but in the hearts and minds of the black youth in South Africa.

Immanuel Kant said that when rationality and morality of political leaders are not able to achieve peace, the only way left is the way of catastrophe. As it seems that the white political leaders have already made a choice

for disaster, we have to look at the possible nature of the catastrophe the country is heading for. In this connection there are different scenarios disaster, which to my conviction has become inevitable, may come about. Let us consider a few.

1. The first scenario is that the present regime will continue to put into action its present programme to reform. The content of this programme of course is as even Gatsha Buthelezi said, the best kept secret in South Africa. But it seems that the state president Mr Botha, will from time to time make certain announcements on what the government or rather he has in mind for the future. So for instance he has recently announced in parliament that he is going to appoint a Prime Minister who may be a black person. It may be an indication that they have in mind to bring a person like Gatsha Buthelezi into parliament in order to convince some blacks still having colonized minds that they are going to give the blacks participation in the political dispensation.

These announcements by the State President will cause a growing fear and uncertainty in the minds of the whites. This may increase the support for the conservative party which may very likely take over their government at the next general elections for the whites. Such a take over may bring about two possible reactions. From the side of the State President it may force him to call into existence a military junta. He has at least a great deal of confidence that the army will stand behind him. From the

side of the blacks, a take over of the government by the conservative party can only speed up their total resistance in a revolutionary way. I don't and can't believe that blacks in South Africa will be willing to accept yet another return to the Verwoerdian type of Apartheid. It may happen then that all over the country blacks will organize a complete stay-away for an unlimited time- until the regime has been forced to their knees. Another possible scenario is that an application of sanctions against South Africa will bring an end to the regime within five years. The possibility of total sanctions from the side of the western countries seems however very unlikely. Should it nevertheless perhaps happen, it is still a debatable issue whether the South African regime will be able to survive in spite of sanctions. Some African economists believe that the country has enough internal strength and potential to survive another fifteen years after total sanctions have been applied. This still remains a debatable question.

A last and most frightening scenario is that a continuous deepening of the spiral violence will take place. Continuous outbreaks of violence will occur in which more and more people will die. This may continue for many many years. One thing is certain- the struggle for liberation will not end. Nothing can and will stop it again.

3. PRESCRIPTION FOR HEALING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DISEASE



What are possible solutions for the conflict in South Africa? Most of the people will of course say: only a continuous revolution will eventually solve the problem. Of course this is true and one can say it without being a Marxist. Pure intellectual abilities, even limited intellectual abilities, can tell a person, if he/she is not blinded by the ideology of Apartheid, that the revolution which has already started will not end until all the people in South Africa, oppressed and oppressors are liberated.

From a political point of view it is clear that there can be and never will be a solution without the political parties of the Blacks unbanned and the political prisoners released. Only then will authentic negotiations for a new political dispensation to start. If the Western countries may come to their senses in time, which seems unlikely, they may force the South African regime to the negotiation table with the authentic Black leaders. At present the western governments still have a staunch confidence in their white partner in South Africa and are naive enough to believe that the government is on the way towards a solution, namely change and therefore political stability.

But what is the challenge and responsibility of the churches in this connection? The most painful tragedy about South Africa is the fact that the churches, not Christianity have failed to fulfill their task in the country. They have thus failed both to

God and the people. It is not the Christian faith which has failed. I believe the Christian faith contains the potential to bring about solutions to any conflict between people in this world. It has the power to reconcile people and to create justice and peace in our world. In a joint communique released by leaders of the African National Congress and the leaders of the black Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, they have stated clearly that it can't be expected from the church to align itself with any political party in the country. But the church, if it claims to be a church, has the responsibility to be faithful to its own nature namely to work for justice and peace in this world. In this, the churches in South Africa has failed. Considering the fact that at least eighty percent of all the inhabitants of the country belong to a christian church, it is sad and really tragedy that in such a country the evil of apartheid could develop and be continued to the present in spite of the presence of the churches.

What can and must then the church do? I want to draw your attention in this connection towards the master of all philosophers as I have drawn your attention to two philosophers in the previous points. I want to remind you of the words Him the founder of our faith and the church, Jesus Christ the son of God, namely: "Happy are those who work for peace for God will call them His children." (Matthew 5:9) older translations read: Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called the children of God". Peacemaking is some-

thing very different from peace-loving. There are many peace-loving people in our world-too many of them. They love peace but they don't want to do anything about it. They are like a young man loving a girl but doesn't want to make love with her. Peacemaking in the same way means involvement and involvement means making something working for peace.

To make peace in our world means that the church has to be involved in politics. It is one of the severe damages which white missionaries have done to our people of South Africa, namely to teach them that Christianity shouldn't be involved in politics. In that way they were violating Christ's words and His very command to His followers. It is said that this indoctrination which was imposed by the white missionaries is still being continued in the minds of Christians in independent countries of Africa, while their countries are decolonized the Christians still have colonized minds. They follow the instructions of the white missionaries as if all those instructions were directly given from God. How hypocritical the white missionaries were! While they or many of them were themselves deeply involved in politics by supporting the colonial powers and even cooperated with the colonial powers, they taught the African Christians not to be involved in politics.

What must be the nature of the Christians involvement in the politics of their country? I believe that they must always be aware of the fact



that although they are involved in the politics, they have a special responsibility to fulfil namely to be peacemakers. And they can only be peacemakers if they resist the evil (devil) within whatever political involvement they may have. Here the words of Jesus Christ are again applicable, namely, "You are the salt of the earth... you are the light of the world" (Matthew 5:13,14) In every aspect of society the Christians must shed light around them helping people to see the way. But they also have to be the salt and the work of the salt is to prevent that evil will have its way. This function of the salt can cause a lot of pain. Whenever you rub salt into a wound, it is very painful but it purifies and therefore heals. If you fulfil this function of peacemaking some people will perhaps call you a marxist or a communist or a radical. It doesn't matter what people say or think about you. It is only what God say about you that is important. And Jesus said, if you are peacemakers, God will call you His children. To the youth in Africa as a whole, I want to bring to their attention that in the year 2000 Africa will have the largest number of Christians of all the continents. What type of Christianity will it be? Are we going to allow Christians be corrupted as Christianity in the western world? To the young Christians I want to say stand behind your church leaders in their struggle for justice and peace. Don't allow the regime to create suspicion against the leaders. Support those

leaders who have the courage to resist the evil and to be the light and salt to the people. I also want to call upon young African Christians to draw young white Christians into the struggle for justice and peace. Be patient with the young white Christians. Remember that they are kept ignorant., They do not know the African life. They need to be informed and even re-christianised. They have to be aware of the fact that they can't claim to be Christians if they are not willing to work for justice and peace in this world. Even if they belong to the church, God won't call them His children if they are not peacemakers. And peace cannot be brought without justice being done. The struggle for justice and peace in South Africa had been long enough entirely a struggle by blacks. It needs to become a united struggle and together we will overcome.

To the Christian youth in the rest of Africa I would also like to say two things: first of all liberate yourselves from all forms of colonized thinking in your faith. Do not just allow the ways, traditions and customs as they were handed over to you by the white missionaries. Rethink your faith within your own situation, context, culture, etc. Be dew-breakers into new ways of understanding Christian faith. (A dew-breaker is someone standing up early in the morning and being first to leave his footsteps on the grasses covered by dew).

In becoming dew-breakers in new ways of understanding Christian faith, also help especially the leader people in the churches to follow in your

footsteps in order to develop decolonized minds in them as well.

Secondly be deeply involved in the development of God's creation with all the riches which God has put into his creation. In your country there are many different kinds of such riches. Help your fellow-country citizens to explore those riches in order to improve the quality of life more meaningful and the world more human. But always remember that in all forms of involvement, you have to be present as salt and light. As the salt, you have the responsibility to protect life in your country against decay and make life tasteful to God's people. As light you have to reflect the light of the light of the world, Jesus Christ the Lord. in His light which you have to reflect, people will see the way towards developing into what God wants them to be.

Conclusion

According to recent estimations Africa will be the continent with the largest number of Christians in the world at the year 2000. What a wonderful opportunity the church has to influence the minds and thinking and therefore also the actions of the people. I plead with you not to corrupt Christianity as the western countries have done during the past two centuries. Take care of the Christian faith and above all be faithful followers of Christ Himself, our Lord and Saviour, the king of this world.





REFLECTIONS DRAWN FROM

APARTHEID

My name is Cas. Paulsen. I am a Detroitter-a Catholic Priest, ordained in 1962-a member of the Marianhill Mission Community. I have lived and worked in Southern Africa, for the most part, since 1966. There are three phases to my African experience.

A. Phase I (1966-1971) -

South Africa proper - hospital chaplain, youth work, adult education (all mainly black, 2/3 English, 1/3 Zulu language), co-pastor of a mixed (African, Indian, coloured, white) parish (a rarity), all this work, mainly urban-city and townships, some rural work.. In 1971 the South African government refused to renew my visa or grant the permanent permit and I was forced to leave.

B. Phase II (1972-1977) -

After some time spent working in the inner city of Detroit, I began work in Zambia, a genuinely independent African country-pastor of a parish, again, youth work and adult education-small town, mainly black but English speaking.

C. Phase III (1978-1987) -

BY CASIMIR PAULSEN
CMM



After a year Leave Of Absence in the States, I was re-assigned to one of the nominally "independent" homelands of South Africa.. Transkei-youth work, development work, adult education, and pastor of a large parish with 18 mini-parishes (working with a team of 2 Irish Dominican sisters and 7 unpaid, volunteer, local "catechists") - all black, almost rural, very little English (almost all Xhosa-the click language, like Zulu). My stay ended with arbitrary

(though legal) detention (incarceration), beginning on December 17, 1986, and ending on March 11, 1987, with the warning that I had 24 hours to leave the country, "or else!"

In my twenty odd years in South Africa, working both in urban townships and in the poverty stricken rural area;

-being involved in youth work at all levels from university to grade school;

-working as a parish priest in several different types of parishes;

-working on various development projects whose aim was to convince people that they could take responsibility for the shaping of their own history;

-being checked on and followed by the

Security Police;

-watching the poverty deepen and the suffering grow steadily;

-observing that as the anger and frustration of the people grew, so did the repression by the regime of those who dared to resist;

-being appalled by the collaboration of Western nations who uttered many denunciations but encouraged "business as usual" and took no



meaningful action to give weight to their denunciations;

-being detained without trial for three months and tortured then released only because of being an American citizen and the object of a huge letter writing campaign, I came to various conclusions, among which are the following:

1. Working for a just society in the world is not a "hobby" for a dedicated (radical) Christian. It is at the heart of the gospel message and is not an option.

2. The social teachings of the church must be an essential part of the formation of every Christian in every community (seminaries, convents, monasteries, parishes religious communities, etc.)

3. A theology without a global dimension is a theology that is not true to itself. No Christian can understand his/her relationship with God, Christ, the Spirit, without understanding the relationship with, and therefore responsibility to, our brothers and sisters in the Third World.

4. The rich get richer and the poor, poorer. The rich get richer because of/at the expense of the poor, who therefore become poorer. Poverty is not an accident or the result of laziness or stupidity. The insatiable greed for profit or power of a few leads to the exploitation of the many, bringing death to millions and subhuman living conditions to billions.

5. We must escape from the "band-aid" mentality that responds to symptoms rather than eradicates causes. We must seriously pool our talents and work hard to get to the bottom of things, the root causes. We must learn to do social analysis: cultural, societal, religious pasture fits together, understand it thoroughly, and analyses it critically, in order effectively to respond to the needs of our society.

6. Whether we speak of Nicaragua or South Africa, Chile or Korea, Haiti or the Philippines, or our own mini-Third World here in the United States, we are dealing with the same enemy: oppressive structures, exploitation, and profit on the part of big business and government of the West.

7. Although racism is a real disease to be dealt with, the roots of the racism in South Africa, and I suspect, in other parts of the world, are to be found in economics. The leadership of the African National Congress, which models its new society on the "Freedom Charter" includes all colors. The only person who is not acceptable in their new society is the person who is willing to exploit others for the sake of profit, be s/he black or white or whatever.

8. We must stop blaming "communism" for all the world's problems. I was not tortured by communists, the people in the villages I served were not starving because of the communists. The children protesting their unsatisfactory education were not shot down, not by communists. The torture that ac-

companies most detentions without trial is not perpetrated by communists I don't need a communist agent from Moscow University to explain to me that my wages are not enough to feed my family. The real problem in the world is not an East-West problem, it is a North-South problem - the haves and the have-nots. 9. Although it will take much work we must support those networks already existing and create new ones as necessary, which force our legislators to be both responsive and accountable to us, their constituents, when it comes to formulating foreign policy that will be constructive and not destructive. (Stop aid to the Contras in Nicaragua; support sanctions against South Africa; stop aid to the UNITA rebels-Angola; do not support RENAMO-Mozambique: etc..).

10. People cannot act without information. There is enough propaganda and disinformation around, even in our "reputable" newspapers. We must find a way to spread our information more broadly, not just to the converted, and we must have credible contacts with the press in major cities who will be responsible for catching the disinformation- and answering it.

My commitment is primarily to the liberation struggle in South Africa, precisely as a member of the Church. For too long we have sat on the

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APARTHEID
A CRIME AGAINST
HUMANITY



THE REVEREND PITYANA

A PROFILE

The Reverend Barney Pityana, a Church of England cleric in Birmingham, has been appointed director of the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism, based in Geneva.

His brief:

To advise the international Christian community on the appropriate responses to racial injustice.

According to friends, he saw it not just as a matter of solidarity work, but as a task of advising from a Christian point of view how conflict could be avoided.

Pityana has plenty of experience of injustice. He was one of the founder members of the Black Consciousness Movement in the late 1960's and early 1970's. In 1973 the leaders of the movement were all

served with banning orders. In Pityana's case, it confined him to the Magisterial district of Port Elizabeth; forbade him to meet more than one person at a time; and prohibited him from entering a factory, school, university, or newspaper office. Nothing he said could be quoted, and nothing he wrote could be published. "Publication" in effect meant a bar on showing anything he had put on paper could to a third person. The banning order made him a prisoner of his own whom from 6pm to 6am every night and from 6pm to 6am Monday every week.

The boers could not be satisfied by that alone. He was again detained in August 1977 and was held without trial for the whole year. His banning order expired, while he was in detention. On his release, a new one was is-

sued. This added a further restriction - it prevented him from practising as a lawyer or assisting in any legal work. He had completed a legal course degree by correspondence and had

on women, who Pityana says, suffer from double oppression because of their race and sex. We in the African National Congress-Department of Religious Affairs, hereby send our sincere



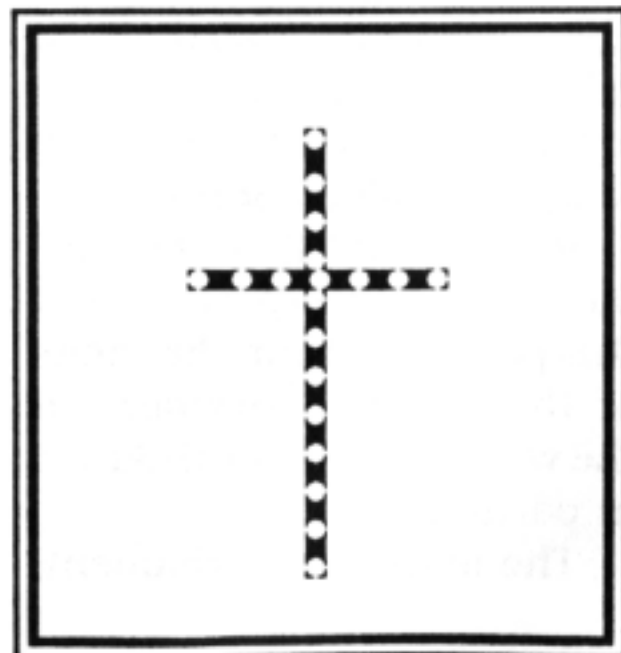
congratulations to the Pityanas on the noble appointment of Rev Barney Pityana as director of the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism. And we again charge you people's leaders to advise the Christians of the world on what to do in order to avoid the unfolding blood-bath in South Africa. The Bible tells us that there is nothing hidden that will not come out into light and be seen. Therefore, let us make it our task to expose the evilness of Apartheid which are now carried out under

the imposed State of Emergency. It is a well known factor that the aim of this state of Emergency is to give licence to the Apartheid perpetrators to suppress our people and main them without arousing the international community.

qualified as an attorney. He was not admitted to the profession because he was in detention. He recalled the years of bannings by saying that he had to be his own policeman.

Barney Pityana and his wife - Dimza - and daughter - Loyizo - left South Africa in 1978. He studied theology at Kings College, London, and Rippon College in Cuddleston, Oxford, and was ordained a minister in 1981. Barney's new post as a director of the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism will not however, be concentrated scely on the Apartheid state. He will be in charge of an office that focuses on the land rights of indigenous people in Australia, New Zealand and the Americas. It also scrutinizes the question of minorities in Europe and Asia, migrant workers, and has a programme

the imposed State of Emergency. It is a well known factor that the aim of this state of Emergency is to give licence to the Apartheid perpetrators to suppress our people and main them without arousing the international community.





THE HOLY MARCH

It was a spark. A very small spark and yet of such great significance. More of the same will surely count among the being made by our compatriots for the total destruction of the Apartheid monster which is ravaging our motherland.

How else can we see the memorable Cape Town march of South African churchmen in February? It takes more than just guts to march to the South African parliament - the

From: Sandile ka Sandile

led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was also significant in one more respect. Within the ranks of the marchers were leaders of the independent churches.

The independent African

the interloper and not the indiginous blackperson.

What was learnt in school had to be ordered in such a way as to create a servant and, within the church, a gullible churchman who would unquestioningly accept the leadership and dominance of the white man as a messenger of God with a divine mission to salvage from the

clutches of the devil the pagan black hordes of our country.

In our history there are many stories of the black Christian attempting to wriggle out of this domination. Some



cradle where the Apartheid monster was nursed through its infant years and the fortress where, throughout the years, it has been defended.

Progressive mankind, including millions of churchmen throughout the world has declared Apartheid a heresy and, therefore, a policy that cuts across every tenet of civilised norms.

Why should there be conflict in the interpretation of this position within the ranks of the church anywhere in the world and in South Africa in particular?

The march to parliament,

churches has a problem. Every aspect of black life in South Africa has had to suffer the ignominy of dehumanisation. Minority regimes since the arrival in South Africa of the white interloper have made themselves the authors of the nature of things in our motherland.

They have dictated where black children must be born and what benefits of life they may taste and which they should stay away from. If they have had to be taught anything, it would have to be limited and, by and large, must at the end of the day benefit

left the conventional white church and established the independent African church, while others remained with the white church but as a rebel who became a thorn in the flesh of the white churchman.

Some of these black churchmen rubbed more salt into the wounded pride of the white saviours by mixing religion with politics. Some of this breed became leaders of our own movement, the African National Congress.

Meanwhile the interloper had found his own church, the



Dutch Reformed Church, which helped spawn the policy of Apartheid, thus helping to increase racial hatred in South Africa and laying the basis for the ordering of bloodshed as many opponents of the racists inside and outside the country have been killed as sacrificial offerings to the Apartheid beast.

The independent African church degenerated into a weak institution as a result of splits within its ranks and increased repression by the state. The splinter groups started an unfortunate trend to the door of the racist to beg for recognition and even sustenance - the crumbs from the master's table.

The ZCC provided a glaring example of those who would go for the crumbs and Botha saw this as support by the independent African church of his racial policies. He may have believed the African church was totally cowed to accept both argument and consequences of the fallacy of the divine mission of the white folk.

The stand among others Archbishop T.W. Ntongana (Apostolic Methodist Church of South Africa) and Archbishop NH Ngada (United

Independent Believers in Christ) must have been rude awakening for racist Botha.

While the DRC did not participate in the march, it would not be correct to say there are no great patriots within the ranks of that church. They are known because they have not only been vociferously opposed to Apartheid. They have also acted in many ways against the racists and of course, had to sustain deep wounds as the monster cracked its whip in livid anger.

Let the Cape Town march develop into a flame of hope for the struggling masses of our motherland. Let it be a once-in-a-while manifestation

The ANC is quite clear on its expectation regarding the church. Cde President OR Tambo put it quite clearly in Holland in 1980, when addressing the World Consulate of the World Council of Churches:

»...The church that oppressed people of our country demand is one that openly, publicly and actively fights for the political, economical and social liberation of man, as part of the world forces engaged in the process of bringing into being a new and

world order for those who are discriminated against for justice, peace and social progress.»

That other patriot who is languishing in Pretoria's dungeons, Cde Nelson Mandela, put it this way in a letter he wrote to Sheik Abdul Hamid Gabier, former chairperson of the Moslem Judicial Council:

»...The new trend that the church, as opposed to the isolated actions of individual clergymen, should be in the forefront of the struggle for self-expression and justice, and the elevation of blacks (i.e. Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) to oppositions of authority in the church have, in terms of our unique situation turned christianity into militant doctrine, and the institution itself into a powerful force and natural ally of all those who are involved in that struggle.

»These developments have made the church more aware of the evils of lack of opportunity, poverty, malnutrition and, as a result more acceptable to the masses of our people.»

The church in South Africa could not receive a higher compliment.

from page 18

fence or been half-hearted in our support for what we all know is a just cause. But that commitment includes the commitment to struggle against unjust wherever it may be in the world, whether it is the exploitation in South Africa and Central America or the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

We read in Populorum Progressio,» We must make haste: to may are suffering and the distance is growing that sepa-

rates the progress of some and the stagnation, not to say the regression, of others.» In Octogesima Adveniens, we are rimmed, » It is not enough to recall principles, state intentions, point to crying injustices and utter prophetic denunciations: these words will lack real weight unless they are accompanied for each individual by a livelier awareness of personal responsibility and by effective action.»

I am tired of weeping and being consumed with an anger that just wont go away. Almost twenty years have gone by since those words were written and how many have died because the Christian world has responded so weakly to its legitimate call. Pray, yes: reflect, yes: denounce injustice: yes: but what is needed, for Christs sake, and the sake of his people, is

ACTION.



The State President

18 March 1988

Private Bag 9080
Cape Town
8000

Dear Mr. Botha:

I write to you in my capacity as General Secretary of the SACC, and on behalf of the church leaders of the SACC. The attack you made on Archbishop Tutu with regard to the petition presented to you dated the 29th February with his covering letter dated 1 March, and the peaceful march of the church leaders on the 29th February in Cape Town is of great concern to us.

Archbishop Tutu was one of a large group of church leaders and the clergy who marched. A petition was drawn up and signed by 25 church leaders. We therefore are concerned that you have singled out the Archbishop for your allegations and wish to reiterate that the march of witness and protest and the petition presented to you are actions that were taken by many and endorsed by an even greater number of church people here and abroad.

The reason for these actions, both of which were peaceful, were to witness and protest.

(a) to witness to the vast majority of the people in this country, who are in our parishes, that we the church leaders, cannot accept the ungodly acts of oppression of this government. Thus, a public act, in the form of a march, was a public witness to our constituency. Talks behind closed doors with government leaders have not achieved anything. Church leaders have often come away humiliated and the people they represent are not able to witness these discussions. The lack of success of such

meeting have led many church leaders to believe that such attempts at change are hopeless, especially where those in power are determined at all costs to maintain white domination and apartheid.

(b) The protest was aimed at the government in a non-violent peaceful manner. Our protest was against the evils of apartheid which we observe and experience in South Africa as part of the "evil in the world." Thus we proclaim to our people, in the context of a day to day oppression and dehumanisation of apartheid, now intensified through the effective bannings of organisations and individuals, that "victory against evil in this world is guaranteed by our Lord." We are bound to proclaim the gospel in the context of our experience of injustice and oppression in South Africa under the apartheid government. I would like to let you know that the majority of members of our churches have never experienced oppression and brutal suppression of their political expression from us by Marxist, the ANC or the SACP, but under your government. We stand and will be against totalitarianism or any kind, irrespective of who is involved and whatever ideological position they hold.

You asked Archbishop Tutu whether his view of evil includes the struggle on behalf of Christianity, the Christian faith, and freedom of faith and worship, against the forces of godlessness and Marxism. In our understanding and experience of the struggle for the Christian faith and freedom of faith and worship in this land, we have to struggle against the forces of godlessness and apartheid, for it is the apartheid government that interrupts church services and seeks to control funeral services, all of which are part of the duties and life of the church.

You asked in your letter whether it is not true that the Christian church knows no other power than life and faith, and no other message than the true message of Christ. We say that our mes-

sage is exactly that: we proclaim the message of God's love for the oppressed in this land and our message to them is the message of God:

"Have nothing to do with the fruitful deeds of darkness but rather expose them. For it is shameful even to mention that the disobedient do in secret. But everything exposed by the light becomes visible, for it is light that makes. We have expressed ourselves forcefully in this letter - everything visible." (Eph 5:11-13).

We understand our activities to be based on the gospel and that our mandate is from God. Our prophetic mission is that of God's i.e. to preach the good news of freedom to the poor and oppressed.

It was this tradition which the prophets of Israel took up when they protested against the abused of power by the kings. Jesus also identified himself with the poor and the downtrodden.

We feel that this unprecedented attack on the clergy may be paving the way for a state clampdown on the church and its witness to the truth. The church throughout the ages has borne the brunt of such attacks while the government have come and gone. We therefore, pledge ourselves to the gospel of Christ against the forces of evil of this country in of a new order of peace and justice for all irrespective of the consequences.

To quote the church leaders statement "if the state wants to act against the church of God in this country for proclaiming the gospel then so be it."

Yours sincerely,

FRANK CHIKANE (THE REV)
General Secretary
South African Council of
Churches





The General Secretary

**South African Council
of Churches
P.O. Box 4921
JOHANNESBURG
2000**

Dear Rev. Chikane:

I hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter of 18 March 1988, which I read with a certain measure of alarm and concern.

I am surprised at your reaction concerning my letter to Archbishop Tutu, which was a reply to the petition as well as to a letter he sent to me when he forwarded the petition to me. In your letter you referred to an attack I was supposed to have made "on Archbishop Tutu, with regard to the petition, his covering letter, and the march of the church leaders," while you also asserted that I "singled out the Archbishop."

Firstly, the only reason why I wrote to Archbishop Tutu was because he wrote to me, because he was asked to do so by those who marched with him. It is as simple as that. I trust that your replying on his behalf does not signify a motion of no-confidence in the Archbishop's handling of the matter, but I did note the fact that the SACC apparently no longer believes that the Archbishop can act and speak on its (sic) behalf.

Secondly, I did not single out the Archbishop by receiving him in Tuynhuys - I handed the letter to him at a meeting which took place at his specific request. He asked for the meeting!

Thirdly, if you read my letter properly, you will also find that I did not single out the Archbishop in that either. On the contrary, I specifically addressed "you and the others who were with you on

that day;" those who support this petition; "those who co-signed the petition" "your individual capacities as members." Your allegation is therefore devoid of all truth. In view of this, and of the general drift of your letter, I wish to address you frankly.

I grew up in environment where the Lord was served, where the love of God, His Church and His word was transferred to me, and which I cherish in my heart to this very day. That is why I strive to conduct my personal life, and my services as State President according to the principles of the Christian faith.

thousands of citizens from neighbouring countries flee across our borders to seek food, work, health services and safety in our country which you so miserably misrepresent?

I have gone out of my way to invite leaders of Black communities, and also religious leaders, to co-operate with me in pursuing a just, peaceful and prosperous future for all in South Africa and our region. Many of them already do so.

It is therefore disturbing that you and others, who claim to represent the Church of Christ and the word of God, act in the irrespon-



This Government has in the light of the message of the Bible, gone out of its way to serve the people of this country, to broaden democracy, to remove hurtful and discriminatory legislation and social practices, and to provide for the needs of all on a scale that is found nowhere else on this continent.

The quality of life in South Africa compares favourably with the best in Africa. How do you explain the fact that hundreds of

sible way that you do.

You do not hesitate to spread malicious untruths about South Africa here and abroad. You should be fully aware of the numerous misleading statements concerning local support for sanctions and for the ANC, alleged atrocities by the security forces, the treatment of youths, and the fabrication of false testimony for especially the overseas



media.

You love and praise the ANC/SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces perpetrating the most horrendous atrocities imaginable; and you embrace and participate in their call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution.

In this regard you may recall Archbishop Tutu's statement during a lecture in St Paul's Cathedral in 1984 when he said:

"If the Russians were to come to South Africa today, then most blacks who reject communism as atheistic and materialistic would welcome them as saviours."

You may also recall the Archbishop saying that the aims of the SACC and the ANC are similar; and added in Atlanta, Georgia, in January, 1986 that:

"We hope one day to hear the leaders of the Western world say we side with the ANC which sought to change an unjust system peacefully, and were sent into the arms of the struggle because the West abandoned us."

The SACC, in its support of the Kairos Document, apparently regards communism as a myth, and in its acceptance of the Harare Declaration and the Lusaka Statement, expressed support for sanctions, disinvestment and boycotts against South Africa, and support for the Marxist terrorist movement.

It is alarming that God, and the Church of God which I also love and serve, can be abused and insulted in this manner; that individual members of the clergy who claim to be messengers of God, are in reality messengers of enmity and hatred while parading in the cloth, and hiding behind the structures of the Church; and instead of pursuing reformation, they are engaged in the deformation of religion, through the proclamation of false so-called 'liberation theology.'

At the same time responsible church leaders who proclaim the true gospel of Christ, lament the fact that they are at times intimidated into a conspiracy of silence

by those who have chosen the path.

The SACC claims to represent the Christians of South Africa. Yet you are aware that only about one percent of your income derives from this country - not even enough to pay your own salary and expenses, while all your activities are financed from abroad. Christians of South Africa are therefore justified to ask: just who do you really represent? I trust that you will admit that there are millions of Christians organised in a multitude of denominations in South Africa who are not members of the SACC, and who reject the road on which the SACC has embarked.

I have noted a frenzy of rumour and expectation regarding possible action by the Government against certain members of the clergy. I see no reason for this, unless they take part in subversive and revolutionary activities. But judging on this reaction in certain circles, it does seem as if some people want it to happen, or have reason to believe that it should happen.

I request you urgently not to abuse the freedom of religion and worship, and the goodwill of the people and the Government of South Africa for the pursuance of secular and revolutionary objectives. In the name of God and in the spirit of true Christianity I call upon you to be messengers of the true Christian religion, and not of Marxism and atheism.

Religious freedom is the cornerstone of proper human rights. It is well known fact that South Africa is a country which cherishes and safeguards freedom of religion. Even in the armed forces more than one hundred different denominations are actively engaged in the preaching of the Gospel.

In this regard it is ironic that you yourself challenged churches in South Africa to provide ministry to the terrorist movements, while at the same time withdrawing chaplains from the SADF!

I am amazed that you as theologian can compare me and the Government with immoral and godless people referred to in Ephesians 5:11-13, while ignoring

Ephesians 4:31:

"Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger and clamour and evil speaking be put away from you with all malice;" and

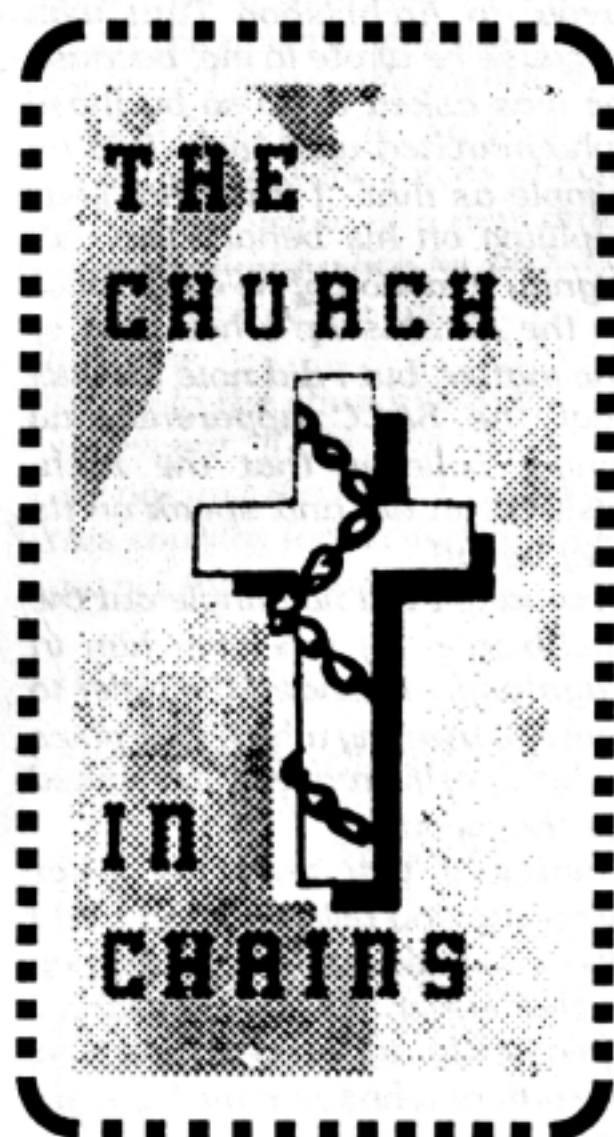
also Ephesians 5:9: "For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness and truth."

In this spirit I call upon the cooperation of all churches and church leaders towards creating peace and goodwill among the peoples of our land, for the benefit of the Church of Christ.

In conclusion, I want to put a question to the SACC. We are both confessing that we are followers of Christ in spite of all our human weaknesses. Christ, as far as we know, openly took part in the spreading of the Gospel during the last three years of his life on earth. Can you quote one single instance from the Word of God in which it appears that Christ advocated violence against the State; or led a demonstration against the State; or broke a law of the State?

Yours sincerely,

P W BOTHA
STATE PRESIDENT





"...BUT THIS IS A PEOPLE ROBBED AND PLUNDERED..."

Isiah. 42: 22-23

STATEMENT BY DR. AVERY D. POST, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST (USA) on the occasion of a meeting between a delegation from the united church of Christ and the leadership of the African National Congress, held in Lusaka, Zambia on April 16 1988

We are very grateful to you, President Tambo, and your colleagues of the African National Congress for providing us with this very valuable opportunity to meet with you and to exchange views about one of the most critical crises in our world today. As church leaders striving to respond to God's call for justice, the crisis in Southern Africa, formed by the apartheid regime, compels our urgent attention and action. We also appreciate the hospitality of Zambia in providing a venue for this meeting.

We are a delegation of 24 leaders from the United Church of Christ, touring several frontline states, including Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana. Our purpose is to familiarize ourselves more fully with this crisis situation and to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed by racial domination and economic exploitation and those who are struggling for liberation and freedom.

We are also here to forge closer relations with our partner churches, including the United Congregational

Church of Southern Africa, United Church of Christ of Zimbabwe. The United Church of Zambia, and the Evangelical Congregational Church of Angola. The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa is one of the groups at the forefront of the struggle for human dignity in South Africa.

From the Evangelical Congregational Church in Angola we learned about the devastation being wrought on that nation by the combined forces of UNITA and South Africa, with financial support and encouragement from the United States Government. The agency of the United Church of Christ which maintains these partnership relations is the United Church Board for World Ministries, headed by Dr. Scott Libbey, Executive President and Jeanne Barnett, President of the Corporation.

As people instructed by Holy Scripture, we can readily identify biblical precedents and parallels for the situation confronting you. Writing about the captivity of the people of God in Babylon.

Isaiah could have been speaking about you and our other brothers and sisters in Southern Africa, when he said: "But this is a people robbed and plundered; they are all of them trapped in holes and hidden in prisons; they have become a prey with none to rescue a spoil with none to say 'Bestore! Who among you will give ear to this, will attend and listen for the time to come?' (Isa. 42: 22-23).

The racist apartheid regime in South Africa is perpetrating one of the greatest crimes against humanity that has been witnessed in history. These crimes are not dissimilar to or unrelated to the holocaust during World War II, and both of these crimes against humanity were born out of similar racist/facist ideologies.

As American citizens, we must also recognize the close interrelationship between the policies of our own government and those of the South African regime. While a very large portion of the American population is strongly opposed to the policies of our government in Southern Africa, our government and many of our economic



institutions have nevertheless aided and abetted apartheid and continue to do so. Our own government and economic institutions have thus been in complicity with the South African regime in many respects, and we Americans must confess and repent these national sins.

But our Christian faith carries us beyond confession and repentance. We are called by God to promote God's justice, and all those who are committed to justice must make every effort to see that freedom and peace come to Southern Africa. This will require that political and economic power in this region is shared equitably, and not solely on the basis of race. All Americans, including the United Church of Christ, have much more that we must do, but we have made a start. Our very presence here today reflects our continuing commitment to active solidarity with the oppressed of this region.

The history of our involvement in this region dates back more than 100 years, and is focussed upon our partnership with the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. Through that partnership we have given substantial assistance to such educational institutions as Inanda Seminary. As you are well aware, the first President of the ANC, Rev John Dube, was a Congregational minister, and two other prominent ANC leaders, Dr. W. Rubusana and Chief Albert Lutuli, were also Congregationalists. The United Church of Christ has been proud of the commitment of our partner church to justice and liberation in Southern Africa.

With encouragement from our partner church, the United Church of Christ has been at the forefront of the movement in the United States for divestment and disinvestment as one means of weakening the powerful apartheid structure. The General Synod of our Church has authorized and encouraged

full divestment of all UCC financial holdings and most of this process, which has involved more than \$100 million, has now been completed. In part through these efforts, increasing numbers of U.S. corporations are leaving South Africa. Our Commission for Racial Justice, headed by Dr. Benjamin Chavis, has mobilized many grassroots organizations in the U.S. to join the anti-apartheid movement.



We have also advocated and lobbied for comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. In a pastoral letter that I sent during Holy Week to all 6000 of our United Church of Christ churches in the United States, I conveyed the hope of our Executive Council that our members work for the passage of the Delums/Cranston bill, currently being debated before the Congress. Our Executive Council has also taken action to place our church behind the Shell Oil Boycott Campaign, organized by churches and labour organizations in the U.S. and Europe in opposition to Shell's major involvement in South Africa.

During the first week of May, many of our members will be involved in hearings on Namibia that are being organized by the World Council of Churches in Washington and New York to impress upon the American people and our government the necessity of forward movement for Namibian liberation. One of our delegation, Dr. Yvonne Delk, plays a strong leadership role in the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of

Churches, and three of our church agencies, the United Church Board for World Ministries, the office for Church in Society, and the Commission for Racial Justice, have provided financial support to the Programme to Combat Racism, which in turn provides humanitarian assistance to ANC and SWAPO. Many of us have been arrested while demonstrating at the South African Embassy to protest the state of emergency, banning, killings, removals, and continued repression in South Africa.

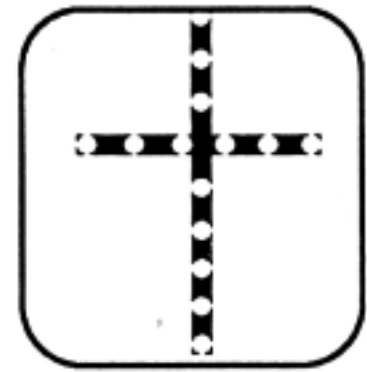
Since ANC and SWAPO are the leading liberation movements in the region, the African National Congress is an organisation of great interest to us. We want to learn more about the ANC and its program, and we want to learn from you about the struggle in this region. We have not fallen prey to the negative propaganda of the South African Government and the U.S. Government concerning the ANC. Nor have we been duped into believing that the ANC is opposed to religion or to free and open religious expression. We know that many of your members and leaders are committed Christians.

We hope that this meeting today will serve as the initiation of a continuing dialogue, and that during these continuing discussions we will find ways to help each other pursue our common objective of promoting freedom and human dignity in Southern Africa and particularly in South Africa and Namibia.





CONDOLENCES



NOTICE:

We regret to inform the community about the passing of Lobisa Kabetso on Wednesday the 15th, aged 10 months. Arrangements for the funeral were delayed so as to inform Cde. Joe, the father, who is in Lusaka.

we say your son has not died but has gone to join those unforgotten fallen heroes. By these words we say, do not cry, do not mourn and do not regret but march forward to the seizure of power. Rest in peace Cde. Lobisa,



Message form the Young Mothers of Kate Molale

It was with great shock that we received the news of the passing away of little Lobisa. As

This loss our our young comrade is a great one to us. We have lost a cadre. She was born for the people and the people will not mourn but mobilise. From Youth Centre Cdes.

Your sudden death has shocked us little Lobisa. We were admiring your cuteness but death decided to take you. We needed your participation in making a new South Africa. Lala Ngoxolo Lobisa From: Young Women Section (SOMAFCO)

Cde. Lobisa; Though you were unknown to some of us we sincerely pass our condolences to you and your family. You left us very early and when the struggle is on its unprecedented heights. We then promise to pick up that fallen spear and march forward. To the bereaved ones

parents, as mothers and as members of the ANC, we wish to give you strength and courage during these trying times so that you can pursue your revolutionary duties by picking Lobisa's spear. Your suffering is ours too! Rest in Peace Lobisa! Lala Ngoxolo Lobisa! Amandla! Malibongwe! **Maatla!**

To those fallen cadres of our glorious Movement including our late young freedom fighter, Lobisa Kabetso, blazing glory be with you all. You have entered the Holy of

Holies. The exclusive world of great warriors: the Tshakas, the Hintsas, the Mahlangus and many others. Your name will never be buried into the past. We will write books and build monuments in your honour. Farewell Cde. Lobisa, Farewell.

From Rev. F. F. Gqiba

**HAMBA
KAFILE!**





COMMANDER OF COMMANDERS IS NO MORE

When news of your death was announced
Heaven and earth were torn apart
Hills, Mountains and Valleys of Africa rumbled
When news of your death was announced
MK combatants crossed spears in oath of vengeance
Mother Africa cried aloud
Even the greatest wicked Babylon America
Cried crocodile's tears

We cried not because of enemy's blow
NO! NO! NO!
We cried not because our political hopes were shattered
NO! NO! NO!
We cried not because our National struggle was crippled
NO! NO! NO!
We cried not because racist killings were on rampage and unstoppable
NO! NO! NO!

We shed tears rejoicing with your firm political achievement
Rejoicing because you have entered Holy of Holies
The world of Tshaka, Sekhukhuni, Bambatha, Hintsa
And all other war generals of our political struggle
We rejoiced because your name will never be buried into the past
We rejoiced because you have achieved the ultimate blazing glory.

Like typical MK soldier
Overwhelmed by the spirit of no surrender
You defied pain
You despised the sting of death
YES! you conquered the uncompromising death.

Your courage, your determination, your revolutionary defiance
Even in the valley of death
Was, is and will remain a political lecture and inspiration for all
It denied the racist enemy necessary data
To set clock of our revolution back
YES! it will remain a political lecture
Even to those who might be tempted
To abandon our blazing revolutionary wagon.
YES! it will! YES! it will!

Dear fallen combatant
Your precious blood in a once friendly
and peace loving country - Lesotho
Has become an indispensable river of our dedication
But Behold
For bloody boers, your shed precious possession
has become a vital weapon of schism and political bankruptcy.

YES! you have rendered South Africa ungovernable
and apartheid unworkable
Your martyrdom has paved way for all
To unite in Action for People's Power
How wonderful it is for an MK soldier
To fall gloriously on the battlefield
with his boots on
You are that pride of our maturing revolution.

Hamba kahle commander of commanders
Farewell commander Mpilo
Farewell commander Atwell
Farewell commander Mazizi
Farewell commander Chwepheshe
Farewell commander Maqheza
Your revolutionary task lives forever in us.

By: Rev F. F. Gqiba



Atwell Ngubekhaya

**HAMBA
KAHLE
MPILO!**

Botha and his generals have declared war against our living God/Oamata. As Oamata's divine earthly instruments were called upon by God Himself to resist and challenge this racist regime. A regime that is heretic and therefore rot of God. We have to destroy it from below. It has become drunk with the blood of Mahlangu's Goniwe's Mxenge's and other patriots of country.

By: Rev. F. F. Gqiba



SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE: (SPEARHEADED BY THE ANC)

By Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis, jnr

The image of 17 year old Godfrey Dlomo of South Africa continues to haunt me. As that

country enforces its recent banning of all legitimate protests by anti-apartheid organisations, I am reminded of that youngman. I see again his gentle smile and a face that looked younger than its years. Godfrey was interviewed for the riveting CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid" which aired last December.

After describing the many times he had been beaten while in jail, he was asked, "Is your life in danger?" He responded, "Yes, it is because I might be arrested or eliminated at any time."

On January 20 this year the South African Police arrested Godfrey, saying they wanted to question him about his interview in the film. Five days later, on January 25, he was found lying under a tree near his grandmother's house. He had been shot to death.

Spokesman from South Africa's Law and Order Ministry said they arrested the young man because, "he had made serious allegations (against the police). While the governments of the United States and other western countries maintain their supportive relationships with South Africa, that regime continues to tighten the screws on dissent.

The new government degree prohibits 17 groups from "carrying on or performing any acts whatsoever," including speaking against Apartheid. These restricted included the UDF, with over 2 million members.

The Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance Reformed Churches and founder member of the UDF, warned, "every single peaceful action we can take has now been criminalized."

Nobel Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu sounded the same alarm, "Peaceful paths to change are being closed off one

by one... White South Africans must realize that they are at the crossroads. If they don't stop this Government soon, and there is not much hope that they will, we are heading for war."

It is the reality of this impending holocaust which makes President Reagan's statement about the crack-down so absurd- and so dangerous.

At a recent press conference the president stated that the crisis in South Africa was "a tribal policy more than it is a racial policy."

It is not a tribal policy which forced mourners attending the funeral of a young man murdered by police to get tickets to his funeral-including his mother.

It is not a tribal policy which has banned the 800,000 members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the main black labour movement from any show of opposition to the government. It is not a tribal policy which directed the recent arrest of 150 clergymen, including Archbishop Tutu, Rev. Allan Boesak and other church leaders. Nor is it a tribal policy which detains and tortures over 8 000 children in prison in South Africa.

And finally it was not tribal policy which killed Godfrey Dlomo because he dared to speak out against the racist Apartheid regime of South Africa.

We, in this country, must speak out as well. On the Legislative front the Delmus-Cranston Sanctions Bill (HR 1580/S556) will soon come up for debate in Congress.

That Bill would require a total trade embargo and the withdrawal of all U.S. corporations from

South Africa and from Namibia, which South Africa illegally oc-



cupies.

We must also be aware of those corporations that continue to do business in and with South Africa, many of them through licencing agreements which deliberately subvert even the watered down sanctions law now in effect.

Among the most blatant are the Ford Motor Company and Shell and Mobil Oil Companies, which continue to fuel the deathpumps of Apartheid.

Then there are the department stores, such as Macy's, which continue to carry merchandise made in South Africa. We must make such complicity with evil unprofitable.

The image of Godfrey Dlomo remains with me and it must remain with us all. He risked his life by raising his voice. Can we, who risk nothing, do any less?



CASTRO LINKS MARXISM WITH CHRISTIANITY

BY

REMMY KABALI

WHEN a Marxist says there are more things in common between Marxism and Christianity than between capitalism and Christianity, the natural reaction is that the proponent of this theory has gone out of his head.

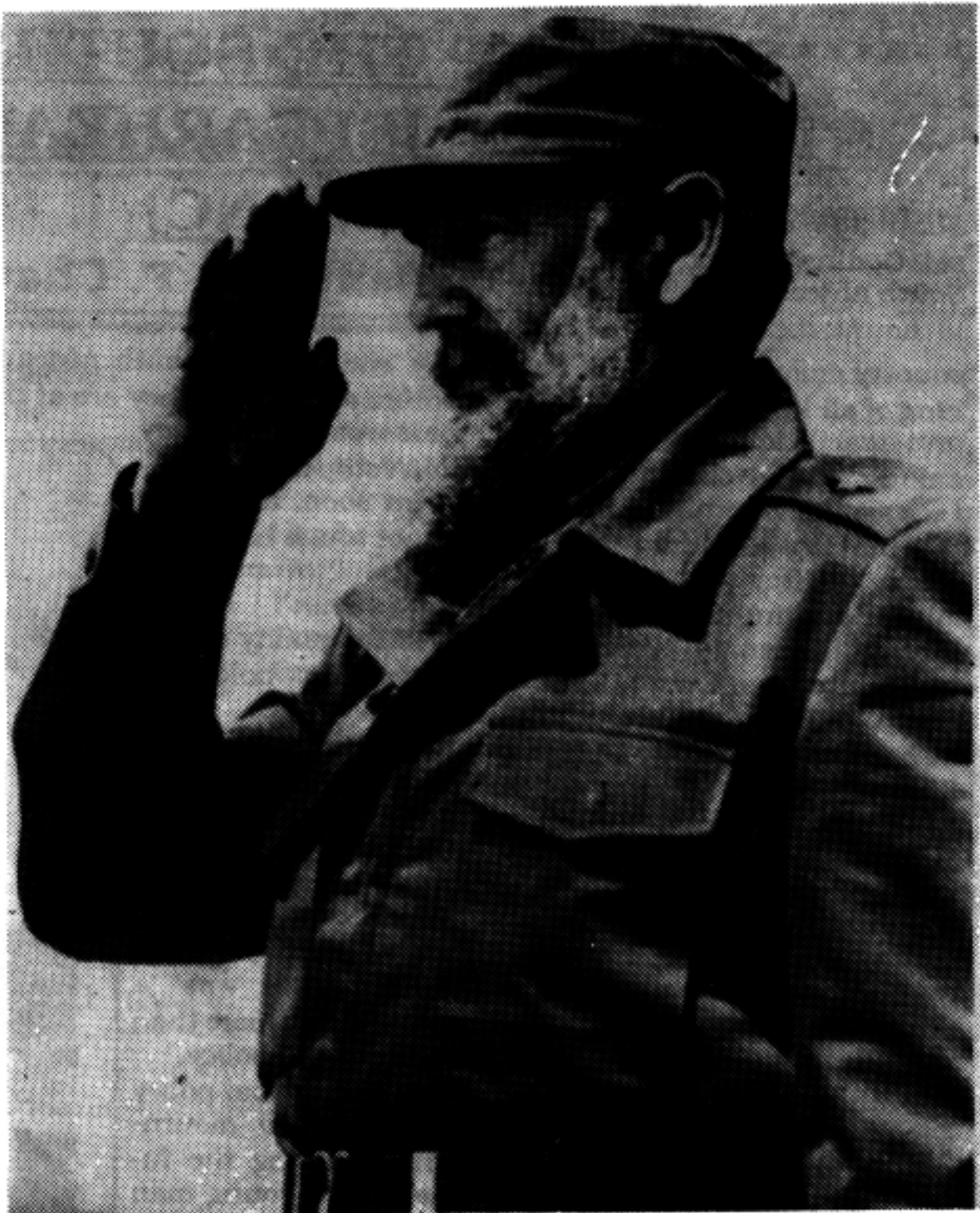
If the proponent of the theory is none other than the Cuban President, Fidel Castro, you would say:

»Ah, I knew nobody can propound such a theory other than the man who knows nothing about Christianity.»

But if this theory is supported by a highly educated Catholic priest, you will begin to listen and put aside all your prejudices.

For about 26 years, the West has been painting a wrong picture about Cde Fidel Castro. The fact that he is a Christian and has helped repair many church buildings in Cuba has been ignored.

A 353-page book entitled Fidel and religion, removes the veils of suspicion, ignorance and prejudice.



It is written by a Brazilian Dominican friar, Frei Betto, who spoke with Cde Castro for 23 hours about religion and other topics.

Castro, however, admits that Marxists have at times been dogmatic »But you (Christians) are dogmatic too, and sometimes you have more dogmatic than we have been.

The Cuban leader says he told Catholic bishops who went to hold talks with him in Cuba that the church had been inflexible on many occasions.

»I also told them that revolutions had sometimes been inflexible but

that no other institution in history has been more rigid or inflexible than the Catholic Church, » says Castro.

That rigidity, inflexibility and intolerance had led, over the centuries, to the creation of institutions with the ideas such as burning people at the stake for holding dissident views against the church.

Scientists and thinkers had been burned alive for disagreeing with the church.

I told them (American bishops) there were things in common, that we could follow almost all God's commandments



perfectly, that they were very similar to ours.

»The church says, »Thou shalt not steal» and we apply that principle rigorously,» he says.

One of the tenets of the Cuban revolution is to prevent theft, embezzlement and corruption

»The church says, »Love thy neighbour as thyself». This is exactly what we preach through feelings of human solidarity, which is the essence of socialism and communism, the spirit of fraternity among men, which is one of the most valued goals.

»The church says »Thou shalt not bear false witness». Well, lying and deceit are among the things that we most severely criticise and censure,» Cde Castro says.

One of the ethical elements of relations among the Marxist revolutionaries was the principle of respect for a comrade's wife.

This tied very well with the Christian commandment of »Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife.»

»When for example the church fosters the spirit of self sacrifice and the spirit of austerity and when the church urges humility, we have exactly the same thing it is a revolutionary's duty to be self-sacrificing and live modestly and austere,» adds Cde Castro.

Frei Betto says he likes St Theresa of the infant Jesus's definition, which

was that humility was commitment to the truth.

The priest, agreeing with Cde Castro says it seems the Marxists also observe another important commandment: »Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.»

»Reagan and many capitalist governments do precisely that, invoking His name in vain. I prefer fair policies applied in the name of human principles and ideology: colonialists, imperialist fascist policies are often applied in the name of God.»

What reassures the friar is the biblical awareness of the fact that idolatry exists in religious phenomena — that is many people believe in gods, and in general, it is not Jesus.

»I am convinced for example — I have often wondered about this — that there isn't any similarity between God in whom the Latin-American workers and farmers and I believe and God of Reagan and the murderous Chilean generals, such as Pinochet.

»They don't appear to be the same: they are different concepts, and one of those concepts is nothing but idolatry. The evangelical criterion for defining that concept isn't idolatry, it is the commitment to love thy neighbour — and above all, the poor,» says Betto.

Betto denies the god whom Marxist-Leninists deny: the god of capital, the god

of exploitation, the god in whose name the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries slaughtered the Indians: the god who justified and sanctified the ties between the church and the bourgeois state: the god who legitimises military dictatorship.

While the Christians can pride themselves in having sent missionaries to the Amazon, for example to live in the Indian communities or to work with lepers the sick in many parts of the world, Cuba has its own internationalist workers.

Thousands of Cubans are on internationalist missions. For example 2,000 teachers went to Nicaragua and shared the very difficult conditions of the Nicaraguan farmers.

An interesting aspect of this was that nearly half of the Cuban teachers who went to Nicaragua were women, many of them with families and children.

They left their families for two years to go to the remotest, most out-of-the-way places in the mountains and rural areas of Nicaragua, to live where their students lived, in thatched huts, and eat what they ate.

There are 1,500 doctors working in isolated places in Asia and Africa.

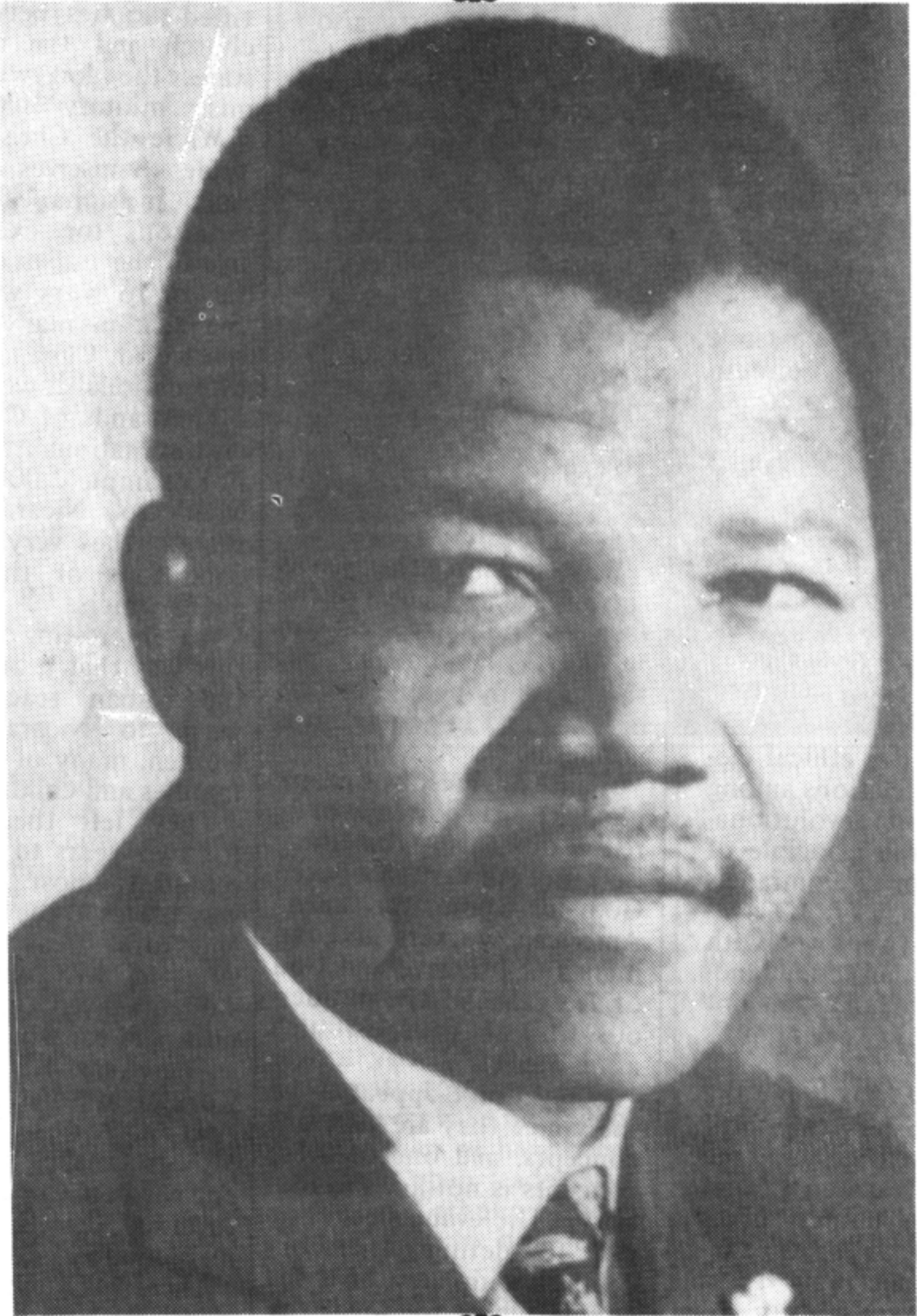
Castro makes many references where Cubans are performing the functions of missionaries.

There is much Christians can learn from the Cuban leader's brand of politics and religion.

After all, he is a Christian who was baptised in the Catholic Church in Cuba at the age of seven.



NELSON MANDELA

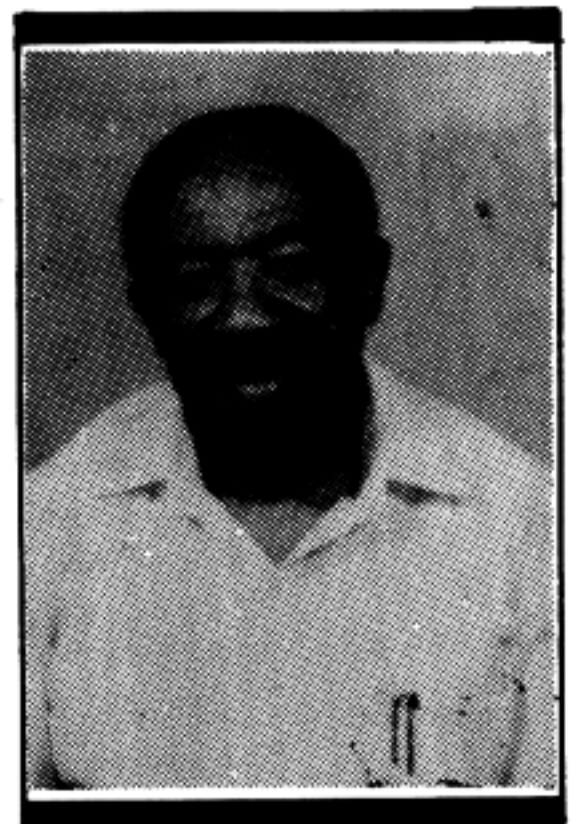


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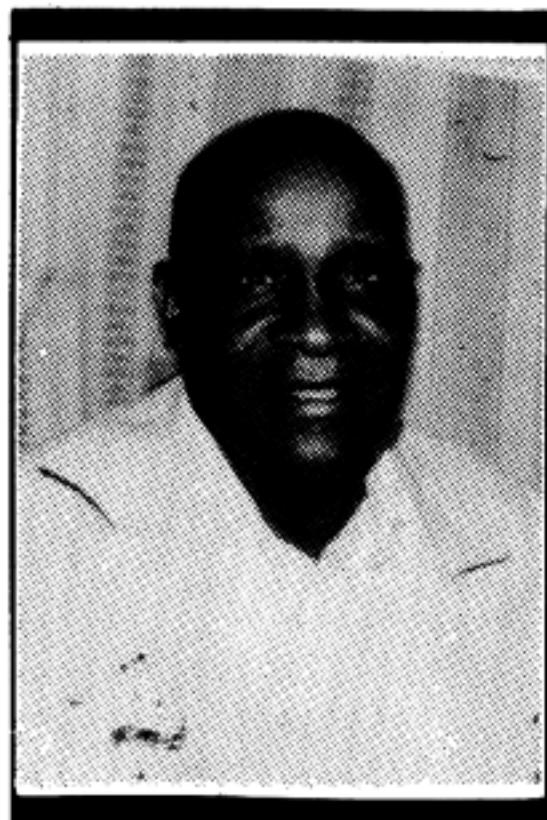
Cde Dan Tloome



Cde Alfred Nzo



Cde President Oliver Tambo



Cde Thomas Nkobi



Cde John Nkadimeng

1. Comrade Dan Tloome, Chairman of the South African Communist Party (SACP).
2. Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress (ANC).
3. Comrade President Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress(ANC).
4. Comrade Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer-General of the African National Congress (ANC).
5. Comrade John Nkadimeng, General-Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

THOU SHALL NOT KILL WHAT «GOD SAW AS GOOD» - MAN -IN CREATION

THE SHARPVILLE SIX

Reid Mokoena
Theresa Ramashamola
Francis Mokhesi
Duma Khumalo
Oupa Diniso
Mojalefa Sefatsa



TO BE EXECUTED!

LETS UNITE IN ACTION TO SAVE THEIR LIVES



Reid Mokoena (22)



Francis Mokhesi (28)



Theresa Ramashamola (24)



Duma Khumalo (26)



Mojalefa Sefatsa (30)



Oupa Diniso (30)

BLOODY RACIST GALLOWES!