

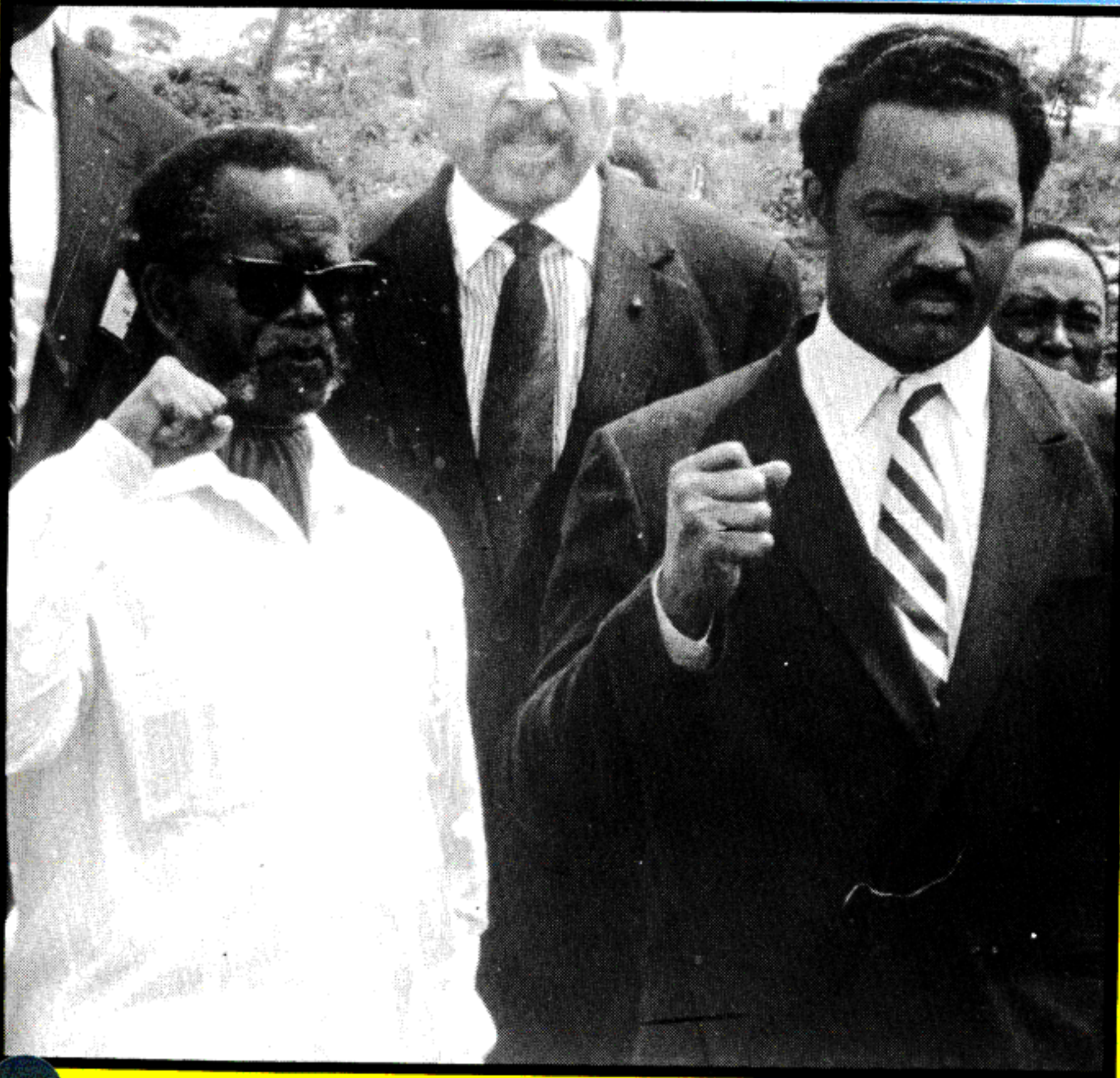
BA 261.705 PHA  
s. 92/82  
RECEIVED BY  
1992-06-3  
U.C.T. LIBRARIES

# Phakamani



Quartely magazine of the ANC  
Department of Religious Affairs  
Vol. 3 No. 1/1989

**Sound Faith, Love and Endurance**





**Sound faith, love and edurance**

## **FRONT COVER**

President Oliver Tambo with Rev Jesse Jackson at a wreath laying ceremony for the late Johnny Makhathini, Director of the ANC's International Department. See more pictures in this issue.

View and opinions prssented do not necessarily express the official policies of the African Nationa 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*

# IN THIS ISSUE

---

- Page 2. Editorial**
- Page 3. Tribute to Makhathini**
- Page 4. S.A.C.C. Tribute to Makhatini**
- Page 6. Challenge to the Church!**  
**By: Gedric Mayson**
- Page 12. The Freedom Charter A**  
**Roman Catholic Persepective**
- Page 14. U.S Evangelicals**
- Page 15. Support The A.N C.**  
**By: B.Chavis**
- Page 16. "Our call" – M. Msimang**
- Page 25. Book Choice**
- Page 26. Reflections**

# EDITORIAL

*The upsurge of the mass democratic movement against the Botha-Malan regime has been reflected in the increase of judicial murders in South Africa.*

*The case of the Sharpville Six is well-known. They were sentenced to death on the 13th Decembe 1985 for the death of a Lekoa town council on the day of the Vaal uprising, during a mass protest against rent increases. The judge admitted there was no direct evidence connecting the Six with the actual murder, nevertheless he convicted them under the law of common cause, and refused to find extenuating circumstances.*

*Their sentence high lights the extreme lengths the South Africa state is prepared to go to protect black sell-outs co-opted into government service, where-ever there is unrest, whoever may be even remotely connected can be blamed for whatever may result. ,moreover thee white ellectorate must see "law and order" firmly mantained.*

*The final reprieve of the Six in November 1988 in no shows official admission of a miscarriage of justice, and even less was it an act of gratuitous confession. Black lives were cynically traded for white lives, four white police-men being reprieved as well.*

*That the Six were temporarily reprieved in March and finally reprieved in November has been the result of intense international pressure, as well as pressure inside South Africa itself. This included appeals by Head of States, the Security Council and European COMMUNITY and anti-apartheid movements and supporters world-wide.*

*To oppose the judicial slaughter of the 64 South African patriots presently on death row remains an urgent priority, especially for the religious Community. Through oār faith we are called to struggle for justice and peace and furthermore, are called to see all human life as having ultimate worth, being in the image of God.*

*Significantly, the South African Council of Churches in its 1988 Annual Conference called for the abolition of the death penalty as such. Currently a total of 290 are on death row. The S.A.C.C. recognise that this appalling number, most of them black, is caused partly by the apartheid judicial system, but even more by general alienation in a disturbed society.*

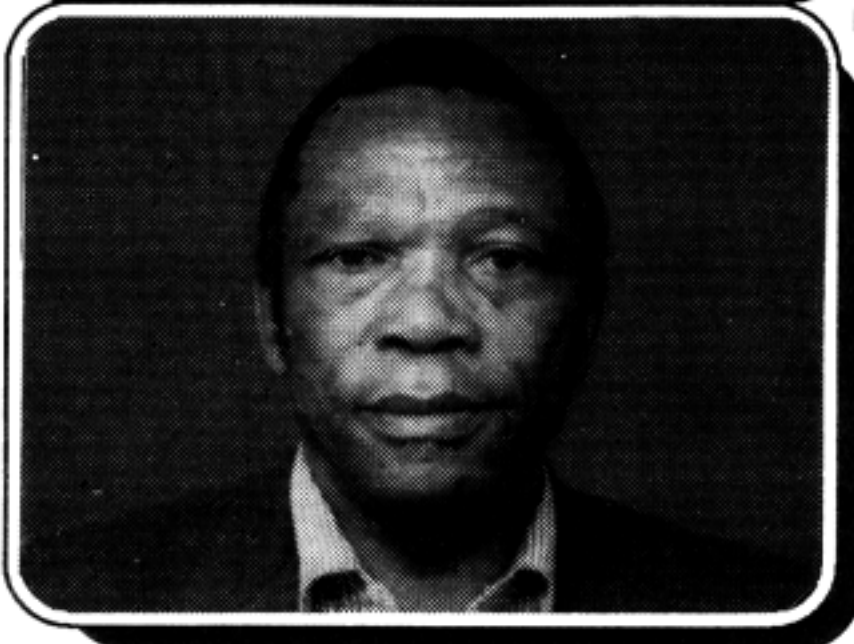
*The recent sentencing of the Delmas trialists for high teason shows the battle-lines more rightly drawn than ever. The mass democratic movement has no space left to struggle for change in legal and peaceful ways.*

*This is a great challenge to the Churches inside South Africa who still have some room to promote change.*

*Also to the religious community, among others, world-wide. We call for increased support to the African National Congress openly and in good concience, that the apartheid system of death may be replaced by an open society, where all South Africans live in mutual support, freedom and peace..*

*Let us all say apartheid must go.*

# TRIBUTE



## JOHNSTONE JOHNNY MFANAFUTHI MAKATHINI

Johnny Mfanafuthi Makatini was a pioneer in bringing to the International Community knowledge of the oppression of the apartheid state, and in mobilizing support to remove it. He left South Africa in 1962 and for some years he worked as ANC Representative in Algeria where he made important links with other Liberation Movements, and initiated support of newly independent African States for the ANC.

He gave impressive service as ANC Representative at the United Nations. In his last year he was Director of the newly expanded Department of International Affairs of the African National Congress which has now become a major department in the Movement. This has occurred because of the ANC's growing prominence in the International Community through, among other things, massive support for the Movement inside South

Africa itself, and also because of Johnny's own unstinting diplomatic work and frequent travels to maximize support for the Movement. Many Church Leaders together with those of other faiths have met Johnny and through him have learned the true nature of the struggle in South Africa and the moral imperative to throw their weight behind the democratic forces.

Johnny's funeral was held in the impressive setting of the Anglican Cathedral in Lusaka, which was packed to capacity, with friends and comrades coming from as far as Europe, Asia and North America, National Representatives, ambassadors, friends, some from South Africa, itself, who all testified to Johnny's hard work; self-sacrifice, and dedication to South African freedom and International Peace and Solidarity. His widow; Valerie, pledged her on-going personal support for

the Movement. The Reverend Jesse Jackson, a personal friend, was represented by his son, and some weeks later made his own moving personal tribute at Johnny's graveside when attending an African-American Conference.

Both Dr. Beyers Naude and the Reverend Frank Chikane former and present Secretary of the South African Council of Churches took part in the funeral.



REST IN PEACE

# TRIBUTE TO MAKATHINI FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND FROM THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

*ADDRESS BY REV FRANK CHIKANE - SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES*

I bring you a message of sincere condolences from the South African Council of Churches, and all peace-loving people of South Africa. I bring this message of condolence for all of you, particularly the Makathini family, who have been grieved and saddened by this sudden death of our brother and comrade in the struggle, Mr. Johnstone Mfanafuthi Makathini.

## THE SILENCED MAJORITY

I stand here today in the place of many South Africans who would have wished to be here in their thousands to pay their last respects to their brother and comrade in the struggle but could not do so.

I stand here in the place of those political prisoners, detainees, the many who are in death row awaiting execution, those who are dragged into apartheid courts, charged for high treason, terrorism, public violence, etc; simply because all these, all of them, rejected and actively opposed the apartheid regime.

I stand here, in the place of all those who have been subjected to restriction orders, some amounting to house arrests, who could not be here today. Such as Mama Sisulu,

Baba Gumede, Ntate Mbeki and many others.

I stand here, according to the decision of Church leaders in South Africa, to speak for the silenced organisations, the silenced majority. To speak the truth in the face of heavy propaganda and a disinformation campaign, including the control of information. To speak the truth, and the truth only, in a country where telling lies is a virtue whilst the truth is prohibited and criminalised.

Yes, I speak on behalf of those masses of people including family members who were prevented from holding a memorial service for Johnny Makathini, on Wednesday, 14th December, 1988, because of a prohibition by the apartheid regime under the State of Emergency regulations.

*SAn. Clergy at the funeral of the late Makathini from left to Right Rev. Chikane, Rev Gqiba, Naude and Father Osmers.*



Ladies and Gentlemen, the apartheid regime would not like us to be here because the regime wants to perpetrate the lie that those who have been forced into exile by the violence of the system are not our brothers and sisters. They want to maintain the image they have created of a blood-thirsty, violent, murderous organisations called the African National Congress which has no interest in the well-being of the people of South Africa. For them Johnny Makathini and the ANC are just blood-thirsty radicals who are totally against democracy whatever they mean and are bent on overthrowing the 'GOVERNMENT' by force to establish a Marxist dictatorship as they said when they confronted us as Churches who stand against apartheid.

## STANDING FOR THE TRUTH

Chairperson, I have to stand for the truth, as the Churches I represent stand for others, I must declare on behalf of the people that this is a lie.

These are pure blood-brothers and sisters. Nothing in the world can change this. For this reason, we have the right even by birth to be here to pay our last respects to our brother.

The truth, Ladies and Gentlemen, is that it is the apartheid regime that is totally opposed to democracy and over the years the regime has violently and forcefully subjected us to minority white racist dictatorship.

The regime at home would like us to believe that these, our brothers and sisters are just merciless terrorists, bent on killing and maiming innocent South Africans for the sake of it. But I would like to say that they know very well that they are lying. Our experience is mainly that of terrorism of the so-called security forces of South African regime against the defenceless majority and the innocent people of the Frontline States.

I would like you to know that the regime at home says that people like Mr. Makathini and the ANC are the enemies of South Africa who are bent on overthrowing the state and destroying the economic base of the country.

But, I would like to say that it is the white minority regime which is an enemy of South Africa. Through its rude, racist and unjust policies, it is going to cause the destruction of that

country and its economic base, resulting in the death, pain and suffering of millions of people. This is the truth, I stand for the truth.

The death of our brother comes again as a reminder of the seriousness of the situation at home, that apartheid is evil and it needs to be eliminated. To make sure that our brothers and sisters return home and assume their responsibilities in the life and government of that country. To make sure that our brothers and sisters will die and be buried at home with all the dignity and respect they deserve.

## BETRAYAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

What shocks me friends, is that, this world, particularly the so-called civilised modern world, after witnessing the Nazi Germany experience, can still allow an inhuman, brutal and racist regime like the one in South Africa, to continue for 40 years (in its institutionalized form) without any direct intervention to stop it. What shocked me even more is the fact which I discovered lately during the 40th Anniversary celebrations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that this declaration was produced precisely because of the experience of Nazi Germany (The Third Reich). Its intention was to stop a repeat of such an experience. On the other hand, South Africa has not only refused to sign and adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but it is fundamentally opposed to the very essence of Human Rights, in terms of its constitution, and laws, etc.

In fact, because it does not recognise blacks as human beings, and because it treats them as less than human, the question of human rights does not arise at all. Thus in the spirit of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, it should have been sufficient for the world to act. But this has not happened. The question people are asking at home is: "How long will this state of affairs be allowed to continue?" "How many of us should die before the world acts?" "How close should South Africa come to a direct threat to International Peace and Stability before the world opens its eyes?"

It is my prayer, and I say it on behalf of the majority of South Africans, that God opens the eyes of those who are in positions of power around the world to see the seriousness of the situation we are facing and act to avoid another possible holocaust.

We, as Churches in South Africa have committed ourselves to a path of standing for the truth to end the apartheid regime.

Brother Makatini, I say, on behalf of the people of South Africa and the Churches: "MAY YOUR SOUL REST IN PEACE. MAY ALL YOUR LIFE AND ENDEAVOURS STAND AS A WITNESS AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD YOU BUT IGNORED YOU. MAY THEY REMAIN ACCUSED UNTILL THEY RESPOND TO YOUR CALL."

NO PEACE OF MIND, UNTILL THEY ACT, NOT FOR THE SAKE OF SELFISH INTERESTS, BUT FOR JUSTICE AND THE

# CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH

Cedric Mayson

## 1. THE CONFLICT

The conflict in South Africa is between a minority who impose a divisive undemocratic non-racial society. It is divided between the mostly white rich and the mostly black poor. One side has the weaponry of a modern military state and the other has their bare hands. One side receive massive economic and political support from the west, and the other is allowed neither political organization nor outside support.

The regime has no legitimacy. It survives solely by violence enacted in the legal, economic and social structures, the bloody engagement of the military and police, and the employment of mercenaries in townships and bantustans, the reckless repression of its own populace and its neighbouring states. Over all lies a grey fog of deceit and misinformation, a deliberate attempt to disguise or justify the enormity of the oppression and its root in brutal injustice and exploitation.

It is not a conflict about sanctions or violence or

communism, or the Commonwealth, or the EEC, or PCR, or church funds, or theology, or forms of representation, or reforming



*Clergymen including Dr Allan Boesak, The Rev F. Chikane, Archbishop Tuta and Archbishop. S. Naidro leading a protest march.*

apartheid, or protecting minorities, or necklaces, or bishops, or prisoners on Robben Island; it is a struggle to overthrow an unjust and repressive regime and replace it with a government mandated to establish a united democratic non-racial South Africa. This is the line of battle on which the contending forces divide.

## 2. RECONCILIATION

2.1 Is the Church a Reconciler?

Before we could explore the role of the church they likes to think it stands between the contestants, black and white, rich and poor, old and young, stretching out the hand of

friendship to draw both sides together....but plays no such a role. The church itself is divisive and divided, in desperate need of reconciliation. It is not Gods army but Gods battlefield.

Since the current emergency began in June 1985 progressive Christians in the South African church have produced three documents which have jolted the

course of the struggle and startled the west northerly world.

A THEOLOGICAL RATIONALE AND A CALL TO PRAYER FOR THE END OF UNJUST RULE was produced by a group in the Western Cape for the June 16th Memorial Service of 1985, and its authors explain;

We have prayed for our rulers as is demanded of us in the scriptures. We have entered into consultation with them as is required by our faith... We now pray that God will replace the present structures of oppression with ones that are just, and remove from power



those who persist in defying his law, installing in their place leaders who will govern with justice and mercy.

From Soweto in September 1985 came a document called "A challenge to the Church" but known universally by its subtitle ; THE KAIROS DOCUMENT. This theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa begins by denouncing what it calls State Theology which defies secular rulers, Law and Order (even if the law is unjust and the order vicious), and make a devilish scapegoat of communism. The South African regime promotes a false god, an idol, the anti-Christ. The document criticizes the false assumptions behind Church Theology: "Reconciliation" which accepts evil; "Justice" which is determined by oppressors and envisages no fundamental change in the structures of society; "Non-violence" which condones the violence of the state and accuses its victims of aggression; and the promotion of a false faith and spirituality remote from the affairs of the world and the concerns of scripture.

To be truly biblical our Church leaders must adopt a theology that millions of Christians have already adopted - a biblical theology of direct confrontation with the forces of evil rather than a theology of reconciliation with sin and the devil.

The Kairos Document advocates Prophetic Theology which makes a social analysis, emphasizes the firm Christian

tradition of the conquest of oppression and the dethroning of tyrants, assures Hope, and calls people to side with God in the struggles of the oppressed.

The Church of Jesus Christ is not called to be a bastion of caution and moderation. The Church should challenge, inspire, and motivate people.

E V A N G E L I C A L WITNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA was produced in June 1986 by a group of 'concerned evangelicals' which includes those belonging to the charismatic and pentecostal churches and groups. These 'born again' Christians endorse much of the Kairos theology and are particularly aroused by the intrusion of western heresies.

What is called Western Christian Civilisation or the western capitalist culture is seen as identical with the Christian faith or the demands of the gospel . . . it is the class interest of these people . . . their being beneficiaries of this racist apartheid system, which moves them rather than the gospel . . .

None of these documents were produced by Church Synods or hierarchies: each of them was built line on line in small groups of progressive Christians involved in the struggle - united non-racial democratic Christians - and evoked an explosion comparable with the Church in England calling a Day of Prayer for the downfall of Thatcher, or the German Church changing its name to Christians against Kohl. It also blew away any notion that something called "The

Church" occupies a neutral central ground and acts as reconciler with both sides. The Church is a model of division and conflict, not reconciliation.

There we sit in the same Church while outside Christian policemen and soldiers are beating up and killing Christian children or torturing Christian prisoners to death while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace. Kairos Document.

## 2.2. Is Christian teaching a reconciler?

Can our theological perception of the faith once delivered to the saints indicate to voters and politicians how to dissolve the tensions in society? Do religious leaders have a store of solutions to our conflicts? Does the Church have Good News for the Modern World?

It is the unanimous message of these documents that much Church teaching has led us astray. The Gospel is true, but our understanding is so buffeted by the storms of social and political pressures that we cannot set a course through the chaos and confusion. We all feel the church ought to point the way out: but it does not. The moment Christians begin discussing these documents the theological conflict emerges in growls or moans or cries of 'Heresy!' The terrible accusation that the teaching of the church has misled the people demonstrates to serious situation in which we live, the cutting edge of the Kairos time. And yet reconciliation is at the heart of the Gospel.

### 2.3. Scriptural Reconciliation

For anyone who is in Christ, there is a new creation; the old creation has gone and now the new one is here. It is all God's work. It was God who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the work of handing on this reconciliation. In other words, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not holding men's faults against them, and he has entrusted to us the news that they are reconciled. So we are ambassadors for Christ; it is as though God were appealing through us, and the appeal that we make in Christ's name is: be reconciled to God. 2 Corinthians 5. 17-20.

There are two ways to conclude a contention. One is for the contestants to discover their points of agreement and for both to unite upon this central ground. The other solution is when one says: 'You are right and I am wrong', and crosses over to the other side. When the scriptures speak of reconciliation with God the latter case always applies. God never meets sinners half way. He goes all the way to suffer with them in order to bring them entirely on to his side. He does not reconcile himself to the world, he reconciles the world to himself. The work of reconciliation which he has handed on to us as ambassadors for Christ is not that God will be reconciled with evil, or that we should be reconciled to one another in our godlessness, but that God draws us all onto his home ground.

One of the national

characteristics of the British (in the humble opinion of the British) is their ability to hear both sides of the question, to ensure fair shares and play the game, but it behoves us not to confuse our conflicts. God never makes a compromise with evil. When God's new creation is spelt out in terms of love, or justice, or compassion, the reconciliation in which we deal is not a *quid pro quo* with brutality, or kinder forms of exploitation, but a reconciliation which pulls the offender totally onto God's camp. Jesus refused to compromise with the rich, with Pilate, with Caiaphus, with Cephas, or with himself. God does not sit half way between rich and poor: he camps with the poor. Jesus did not reform the traditions of the Pharisees: he broke them. He did not negotiate lower prices with the money changers: he kicked them out.

The struggle to liberate the world, to bring salvation to society, is concerned with the purpose of God for humanity. Christians are not dealing here with political compromises but of fundamental issues of faith, the will of God, the truths which enable human society to operate, and on such matters reconciliation does not come from seeking the central ground. It comes by a total transformation, a moving of the position, an unconditional surrender of evil anti-godly, anti-human positions, and a commitment to the new creation.

It was the genius of Jesus to capture this new creation in his teaching of the *Basileia*. This creative movement within human society is not a dream of heaven but a reality on Earth, not a space odyssey descending from the clouds at the end of the age but as a power within humanity here and now, not a religious organisation about spirituality but a liberating movement in the whole material of our being together. The *Basileia*

is the reconciling power drawing people from 'east and west, from north and south, to come and take their places at the feast'. (Luke 13.29) This is the Good News of the new creation.

### 3 RECONCILING CONFLICTS IN AFRICA.

#### 3.1. The focus of reconciliation.

The liberation struggle in Southern Africa is of this fundamental nature. It is an appeal to be reconciled to God. It is not about replacing white supremacy with black supremacy but establishing a non-racist society. It is not to permit upwardly mobile blacks to join the ranks of the wealthy but to design a new society in which the earth is shared. It is not an ideological western scheme but an actual conflict in which South Africans are transforming their society and building a new nation on a new plane.

On the 25th and 26th of June 1955, on a soccer field outside Johannesburg several thousand South Africans met to formalise the Freedom Charter. (See end) Those concerns were fundamental and remain the basis of the liberation struggle to this day. They are not matters of negotiable politics but fundamental principles for the design of human societies which we, in our Christian way, recognize as Jesus' *Basileia* working its way out, conditions derived from the ground of being in which human society is rooted. 'It is all God's work'. Reconciliation is not halfway between justice and injustice. apartheid is evil: its theological justification is heretical: it cannot be reformed but must be totally rejected. Half a democracy is undemocratic. Less exploitation is still exploitation. Oppression is not to be reduced but eliminated.

Tyrants are not to be domesticated but tumbled from their thrones. Even South Africans are sinners and when we achieve a united, non-racial democratic structure we shall still have plenty of problems: but until we establish a society on that basis the conflict is totally irreconcilable.

### 3.2. The Church and Reconciliation.

From that moment in

Basileia is the other way round, rooted in the communities of the common people who heard Jesus gladly. They assume the Basileia is directed from God in heaven through Church or State committees. The theology of Jesus' community mostly arose from the beliefs of the oppressed, but today the academic community mostly situated in the middle and higher middle class does the theology, basically for the same community, Bonino. Much of what we do in our church services has lost its relevance

liberation who are not necessarily believers. In its original biblical expression, God's Kingdom was for the poor and not for the believers' Pixley 104

The church must avoid becoming a Third Force, a force between the oppressor and the oppressed. Christians, if they are not doing so already, must quite simply participate in the struggle for the liberation and for just society. Kairos Document.

The Church is not the servant of a Basileia which is

different from the Basileia emerging in day to day human experience. The Church has no elevated role on a superior plane: its agenda for human society is the same as the Freedom Charter. There is only one liberation struggle in South Africa,



*Rev. Allan Boesak addressing Students.*

history when the Church fell into the hands of an elite who associated the Basileia with an ecclesiastical structure, the Church isolated itself from God's work in human society. It became a community which was good about caring for the outcast in society, but lost its vision of society in which people were not cast out. Western people see Jesus as one of themselves doing missionary work to save the uncivilized heathen and find it difficult to believe that the

to the poor and oppressed, says the Kairos Document.

Christ is in the conflict. It is the liberation struggle of the people against the oppressive regime which is seeking to reconcile South African society with the Basileia. The only role for the church is in the heart of that struggle of the oppressed people, doing its theologising from within the conflict.

The task of Christian groups must be carried out together with people committed to

and the role of the Church is to enter it wholeheartedly and proclaim and pursue it in terms of faith and hope and commitment as the only way to reconcile our conflict in the new creation.

Christians who approach the liberation struggle from a base in the affluent middle class of the white west are unconsciously aligned with the oppressor and find themselves deeply challenged by the

insights of Christians in the front line who have grappled with the dimensions of the struggle in terms of their faith. They profess particular concern about violence and communism.

#### **4 Summing up; the Church and Oppression**

Many western Christians are horrified by the white Christians who govern South Africa but in truth there is no difference between white South Africa and the white West, except that for us the Third World is on the other side of the street and for you it is on the other side of the world. The South African microcosm enables us to see what the western world is really like. In this conflict the Church cannot occupy hypothetical positions between or above the struggle; if it is not on one side it is on the other. Most see it situated within the oppressive western block.

The Church 'protestation that it has taken an option or bias for the poor and oppressed locates it firmly in the midst of the affluent ruling class with a mission to be kind towards the poor. It accepts the perspective and legitimates the structural disparity between affluence and poverty, power and powerlessness. For most Christians in South Africa and the world the church does not have a bias towards the poor; the church is the poor and oppressed people of God, struggling to overthrow the

tyranny of economic, political and military structures which make people poor, and the cultural, social and religious structures which make people accept their oppression. It is from these dispossessed people of God that God's initiatives come, not from the powerful and affluent administering ecclesiastical institutions. God does not act because the Church has decided to take an option for the poor: the liberation struggle IS God's initiative to save the world from tyranny and reconcile it to himself. The western church must decide whether it will be sympathetic towards the oppressed, or join the struggle on their side.

We are a divided Church precisely because not all the members of our churches have taken sides against oppression. Not all Christians have united themselves with God "Who is always on the side of the oppressed" Kairos Document.

#### **5 The Church and Reconciliation.**

These recent documents from South African Christians enable us to set-out explicitly the role the Church should play:

##### **5.1. Reconciliation means rejecting the System.**

The Church cannot collaborate with tyranny. Kairos Document. It must be totally irreconciled with the policies and practices of the South African regime and their partners. They can give not the slightest support, not a grain of recognition, not a step of common ground with the

unjust, heretical, violent exploitative regime. That rejection entails a positive response to the victims demands for the total isolation of the regime, including mandatory economic and political sanctions. That rejection includes only the Nationalist Party, but every party in the present South African elections, splinter groups seeking their own benefit, and the tragedy of Inkatha which is being used to divide and destroy our people.

The United States, West Germany and Britain seem intent on arranging a round table conference between the South African regime, other white political parties, Inkatha, Black Consciousness groups, the PAC, the UDF and the ANC, but this seems a ploy to justify continuing the System. The only base for reconciliation is commitment to a united non-racial democratic South Africa by those entering such negotiations and the Western Church should be there amongst them.

##### **5.2. Reconciliation means commitment to the Liberation Struggle.**

The Church's role as ambassador, as reconciler, is entirely dependent upon its entering the struggle on the side of the poor and oppressed. The positive role of the Church in the reconciliation process is one of open solidarity with the Liberation Movement, specifically with the African

National Congress and the United Democratic Front. There has been a gradual progress along these lines, but the moment is ripe for decisive action by the Western Church. Christ cannot come into you until you come into the struggle.

The time has come for the Western Church to go beyond negative criticism of apartheid to positive open strong action on the side of the liberation struggle. If the Western Church is serious about reconciliation it must establish a direct detailed and ongoing consultation in Europe with the African National Congress. It must be seen to be there. The ANC would welcome the closest relations with the western churches on the theological, political, economic and pastoral fronts of the liberation struggle.

Those of you who will come together as a group to take such a stand within the Church will certainly have to carry a cross: in South Africa it would take you into detention for the UDF and death for the ANC.

### **5.3. The nettle of Capitalism.**

If the Church in the West would play a role as reconciler it must grasp the nettle of Capitalism. It did good in its day, but now it is corrupt and it must follow the great empires and slavery and feudalism into extinction. Western Christians are beginning to hear the word from the world that capitalism, like its child apartheid, is evil and its theological and moral

justification is heretical. Its time has come, and its time is your Kairos. You cannot devise a western version of the Kairos Document or the Liberation theology of Latin America, only those engaged in Liberation struggle can theologise about them. Your struggle is to liberate western civilisation from the exploitation and destruction of capitalism. In this struggle you will write your own Kairos documents and devise your own liberation theologies and they will mingle with the harmonies already being played in the Third world. Such is your role as reconciler to the ways of God.

### **The Gift of Faith**

If that were all, it would seem that this paper is simply suggesting that the Churches should join the trendy lefties but there is a distinctive role for Christians at which vitality we must look in conclusion. Disciples of Jesus know that he taught little about God that the Jews and the older eastern religious did not know already. His distinctive message concerned proclaiming the Basileia and he had the gift of enabling them to believe it when he preached it. That was their gift of faith through grace. Preaching and teaching the Kingdom of God is the distinctive task of Christians in the liberation struggle surging through the world today.

What Christ in the Third World struggle offers the west is not arguments and expositions of the evils of capitalism, but the gift of faith in an alternative future. People

in the oppressive unliberated western world are so deplorably and miserably hopeless, so uncertain and depressed about the future, and people in the liberation struggle are so incredibly and joyfully certain that victory is coming

Faith is a new vision. The western church thinks as the western world thinks: most of it has little vision beyond that of the politicians, the media and warmed up 19th century theologians. It is fumbling and lost and it knows it. Indeed, as the Marxist Machovec writes:

Many Marxists, but also many self-critical modern theologians, are aware of the fact that concern for the future that longing for liberation and radical change once found in Christianity- has been taken over in the modern period almost exclusively by Marxists.

Perhaps what is needed most is the liberation of the Church itself. There is need of a mental decolonization and a theological perspective to analyze the situation not only scientifically but out of experience...perhaps you can only do that if you find others who have been born and bred in the struggle themselves and can talk from experience.

There is a new way of looking at the world at God, at the Basileia, at the Church, at Communism, at Christians, at other religions, at people: a world reconciled to God. There is a vision of world with social structures design to make peace instead of antagonism; of a new economic system that is

**– continued to page 25**

# THE FREEDOM CHARTER

## A ROMAN CATHOLIC PERSPECTIVE

As Catholics, our views on the demands of the Freedom Charter should be guided by examining them against the social teachings of the Church. Extracts from Pope John XXIII's encyclical letter on "Human Rights and Duties" (*Pacem in Terris*) and Pope Paul VI's letter "On the Development of Peoples" (*Populorum Progressio*) have been used here to show some parallels between the Church's social teachings and the message of the Freedom Charter.

"As introduction we can look at Pope John's statement on the reason for having government and the duties of the government:

The whole reason for having rulers is to further the common good...

Moreover, the nature of the common good demands that its benefits extend to all citizens... Those who govern must do so impartially, showing no favoritism either to individuals or groups but promoting fairly the interests of all".

We would

therefore surely have the Church's backing when quoting from the preamble of the Freedom Charter that "no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people". Furthermore, it also meets the demand that "all shall be equal before the law".

### The people shall share in the country's wealth

In talking about the rights and duties of property owners, Pope Paul VI reminds us that God intended the earth and all that it contains for the use of every human being and people. He quotes from Saint Ambrose to describe the proper attitude of persons having possession towards those in need

"You are not making a gift of your possession to the poor person. You are handing over to him what is his. For what has been given in common for the use of all, you have arrogated to yourself. The world is given to all, and not only to the rich."

Pope Paul says that this implies that "private property does not constitute for anyone an absolute and unconditional right".

"Furthermore ... , the right to property must never be exercised to the detriment of the common good... If certain landed estates impede the general prosperity because they are extensive, unused or poorly used, or because they bring hardship to peoples..., the common good sometimes

*Veterans of the revolution with Cde Dora Tamane in late 50's, The year of the Z.C.*



demands their expropriation".

What the Freedom Charter is calling for here could be seen as a demand that the wealth of the country be used for the common good.

## **The land shall be shared among those who work it!**

On the question of property ownership, Pope John writes:

“Also deriving from man’s nature is his right to possess private property even of the kind which is productive”.

To link the themes of property ownership and workers we can quote a previous Pope, Pius XII, who declared that:

“...the inherent dignity of work demands, among other things, the maintenance and development of a social order which will extend property owning, even if only on a modest scale, to all classes of society”.

## **All shall Enjoy Human Right’s**

The theme of human rights is evident throughout both the social teachings examined. A small selection of the many statements on this issue are produced below:

“(Citizens) can insist on freedom to search for the truth and- within the limits imposed by the moral order and the common good - to publish their opinions and to pursue any occupation. They also have the right to be told the truth about public events”.

“From the fact that people are social by nature comes their

right to gather in groups and create societies... They have every right to exercise initiative and responsibility in them to achieve the objects for which they have been founded”.

“Then also every person should be allowed freedom of movement and choice of place of residence within his or her own country”.

## **There shall be work and security**

Again from Pope John XXIII’s encyclical:

“Turning now to the individual’s rights in matters economic, it is clear, first of all that besides enjoying the natural right to have opportunities for work, he or she has the right also to freedom in taking up work.”

“The rights entail others by which a person can demand conditions of employment which will not undermine his or her physical health, will not assail his or her moral integrity and will not be harmful to the development of young people”.

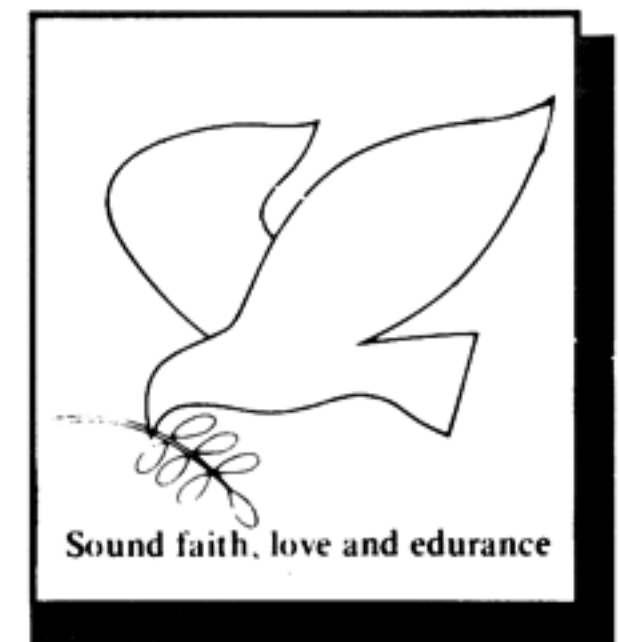
## **The Doors of Learning and of Culture Shall be Open!**

The right to education features prominently in both Pope Paul’s teachings.

In speaking on a citizen’s natural right, Pope John XXIII says:

:Since by a natural right a person is allowed to seek knowledge, he or she must, of necessity, be granted access to the ordinary courses of education, or, if he or she wants, to the courses of training from a trade or profession, in the measure permitted by the degree of education progress reached in his or her country... so that, as far as possible, everyone reaches a position in society which is consonant with his or her natural talents and the skill he or she has acquired.”

The extracts presented here from “Pacem in Terris” (1963) and “Populorum Progressio” (1967) show that the Church and the proponents of the Freedom Charter are largely in agreement as to human rights which citizens can justly demand. These extracts are taken from only 2 of the 10 encyclicals on social teaching and when the Freedom Charter is examined against all 10 teachings more thoroughly, the common goals are to be more clearly revealed.



**THE FREEDOM CHARTER LIVES ON!!**

# HOW U.S. EVANGELICALS BLESS APARTHEID

**"People abroad don't understand our problems here,"** said the deacon of Johannesburg's largest American-style Pentecostal church. We were sipping tea in the living room of his comfortable suburban home in an immaculate white enclave of the city. Through a window I saw the deacon's garden boy, a black man in forties, cleaning out the swimming pool with a net fixed on a long pole. A new Mercedes was parked in the driveway.

**"Unlike your country,"** he went on, **"the blacks here are not a minority. One person, one vote just isn't practical in the South African situation. There is no political solution to this demand."**

Nevertheless, the deacon, a prosperous businessman, did not seem apprehensive about the bonfire to come. "Someday, we will be recognized as a model for race relations all over the world," he said with eerie fervor. "God is the only solution for South Africa."

But whose God? President Botha's or Bishop Tutu's? The God of apartheid or the God of liberation? In a giant step backward for Good Samaritanism the Big Three of American evangelism — Jerry Falwell, Jimmy Swaggart, and presidential candidate Pat Robertson — have been chosen Botha's idol. Although all have officially deplored the masonries of South African segregation, they support the Pretoria regime in the sacred name of national security.

As Pastor Falwell portrayed

the crisis in a Moral Majority Express Gram: "Communist terrorists are openly threatening to kill me and my family because of my campaign to prevent the Soviet Union from taking over the vital minerals, strategic sea lanes, and naval bases of South Africa . . . . Please send your \$100, \$25 gift now . . . ."

Since the only alternative to Botha, in the geopolitical theology of the right, is a Communist bloodbath, Falwell urges mere prayers instead of protest against apartheid.

As a practiced renderer unto Caesar, however, Falwell polluted the national debate over economic sanctions and disinvestment in the summer of 1985, when he called Bishop Tutu "a phony" and appealed to fellow Americans to prop up the all-white government by buying Krugerrands. This solidarity was the result of an

authoritative five-and-a-half-day fact-finding tour of the troubled country. Falwell, a former segregationist himself, dared to claim that he met not a single black soul in South Africa who wanted to squeeze reform out of Pretoria by applying financial pressure. Since he hung out with members of the ruling party, perhaps his contacts were as limited as his stay.

Despite the moral isolation of the Botha regime, American evangelist-from hard-boiled fundamentalist to tongues-talking Pentecostals have made communion with the white cause in South Africa. The fruits of this shameful connection were apparent when I visited the country for five weeks last spring.

Jimmy Swaggart is the most popular American evangelist in South Africa. He has a large office and spiritual super market in Johannesburg, where his tapes, records, books, and pamphlets are for sale to the faithful, blacks and whites alike love brother Swaggart's music. Since his fantastic apocalypticism serves the interest of the regime, he gets plenty of exposure on the state controlled television.

For instance, the South African Broadcasting — continued to page 28



# SUPPORT THE

## AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

by Dr. BENJAMIN F. CHAVIS, JR.

After my recent tour of Southern Africa as part of a leadership delegation from the United Church of Christ, I have come to one firm conclusion: the most effective means of supporting the people of South Africa in the struggle to dismantle apartheid is to give all possible, direct support to the African National Congress (ANC).

On April 16, 1988 in Lusaka, Zambia I had the pleasure of taking part in an historic meeting between the leadership of the African National Congress and national leaders of my church. The ANC delegation was composed of members of their National Executive Committee, including Pallo Jordan, Thabo Mbeki, Ruth Mompati and Jacob Zuma. The ANC's Religious Affairs Department was also there, including Chaplain Gqiba. The atmosphere was permeated by a sense of mutual respect and solidarity. What became clear to our delegation was the profound love which the ANC continues to have for the people of South Africa.

**Candid and in-depth discussions**  
We met for an entire day in candid and in-depth discussions concerning the present crisis in South Africa and South Africa's attempts to destabilize all of Southern Africa. We also discussed the history and programme of the ANC and its vision for the future of South Africa.

Dr. Avery Post, President of the United Church of Christ, stated at the meeting: "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 or unrelated to the holocaust during the World War II, and both of these crimes against humanity were borne out of, similar racist/fascist ideologies... We are called by God to promote God's justice".

In response, ANC's Pallo Jordan stated, "We have had reason, especially since 1980, to be extremely disappointed with the sorts of responses we have been able to get from the Administration in the United States on issues related to Southern Africa. And we are pleased to have this opportunity to meet with the people like yourselves who have been with us in the trenches, fighting the same end."

Thabo Mbeki focussed on the long history and deep affection of the South African people for the African National Congress, reminding us that, "The ANC was founded in 1912 as an organisation committed to the democratic, non-racial transformation of South Africa. Naturally, we have deep roots without our communities. Generations of Black South Africans have grown up in the ANC. So even if they arrested all the leaders and activists, the community would carry on in the spirit and the name of the ANC."  
**South African terrorism**

Mbeki also reported on the latest murderous acts of terrorism committed by the government of South Africa against the ANC: the assassination of Dulcie September, the ANC's Paris representative; the car bombing of Albie Sachs, an ANC lawyer in Mozambique; the attempted bombing of ANC's chief representative in Brussels; and the

scores of other persons who have been murdered by South Africa's "Z death squads" in raids on the neighbouring front-line nations.

While I was in Botswana I saw the terrible devastation at the site of a recent raid where South Africa's death squad had murdered and burned the bodies of four people, three of them young women. One of the victims was a church member of the United Congregational Church of South Africa.

Also at the meeting Ruth Mompati spoke of the millions of children who are being physically and psychologically tortured at the hands of the South African government. She talked about the ANC youth programme that established schools to care for and and prepare the youth who escape from South Africa for future leadership. The beauty of the ANC is that it is preparing future leaders while still respecting the wisdom of the senior leaders of the struggle.

The President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, is 70 years old. He was once the law partner of Nelson Mandela, the noted ANC leader. Mandela has been a political prisoner in South Africa for 26 years. Those at the meeting reminded us that on July 18th of 1988 there will be an international celebration of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

As our meeting ended, a member of the ANC delegation requested prayer. Suddenly another member of the ANC began to sing "We shall overcome", and, as our voices joined in song, we formed a circle and held hands. As the South Africans say, "Amandla!" - "Power to the people."

# "OUR CALL IS THEOLOGICAL"

Address to the National Summit of the Historic Black Churches  
Howard Inn, Washington DC on 10 January 1989 by  
M.Msimang, ANC Chief Representative in the UK and Ireland.

African Americans - greetings from the African National Congress!

We are truly honoured to be asked with you today. Long ago, your ancestors and mine came from the soil of the same continent. And now, here we are, you and I. You are citizens of a great country, with the wars of Independence and the emancipation of slavery and the mighty struggle for civil rights behind you. No doubt, you still have a few problems left!

At this historic conference, when you recall the epics of your past, and in this month when you recall the 69th anniversary of Dr Martin Luther King, we count it a great privilege that you should invite us to discuss with you the struggle in Southern Africa. Our revolution is not yet won, our tyrant still occupies the throne, our people have no rights at all.

This is a church conference, and I am a politician, not a preacher. But I am told that a good American sermon has an introduction, three points, and a conclusion.

You have had the introduction.

For my three points I shall speak about:

- the nature of our struggle
- the violence of our struggle
- the legitimacy of our struggle.

And in conclusion we must consider your response.

## The Nature of our struggle

It has often been noted that the nature of our struggle is really a matter of faith. Apartheid Pretoria asserts that its policies and practices are to preserve Christian civilisation upon the African continent. We believe such claims are patently false: Christianity has to be liberated from this corrupt caricature that masquerades in its name.

23.4% of our population adhere to Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Bhuddhist, Confucian or traditional religion, or specify no religious adherence: they show no signs of being converted to apartheid Christianity.

20.4% belong to African Independent churches; 23% to

the main line Protestant Churches who are members of the South African Council of Churches (SACC); 9.5% are Catholic; 7.5% belong to smaller Christian groups (Orthodox, Mormon, Seventh Day Adventist, Salvation Army); and all of these specifically reject the claim of the regime that its policies represent Christian truth.

15.9% of the population belong to the Dutch Reformed Churches, but nearly half of these are members of the black "daughter churches" which maintain, with the endorsement of the world Reformed Church community, that the moral and theological justification of apartheid is heretical, a direct negation of Christianity.

Thus the apartheid policies are accepted by only 8.3%, belonging to the white Dutch Reformed Churches.

The ANC totally refutes this imposition of a fallacious theological authority for the oppressive apartheid regime. Religious people are not called to protect the white South African way of life but to reject it.

When the South African Constitution talks of an almighty God who has blessed and protected those who have killed and conquered to enforce a racist supremacy, it is promoting an idol which does not exist. When people thank God that guns have a longer range than spears, that god is a false image.

### THE KAIROS DOCUMENT:

*"The god of the South African State is not merely an idol or false god, it is the devil disguised as Almighty God—the anti-Christ."*

In the ANC we recognise that many of us were born into a situation of religious antagonism and exclusivity, a type of spiritual apartheid, from which we have been painfully liberating ourselves. South Africa has left behind the missionary era when many equated Christianity with a form of ecclesiastical colonialism.

No one denies that devout exponents of apartheid may display charitable personal attitudes: tyrants can be charming persons. It is their practice of injustice that is wrong, their promotion of oppressive policies enacted by violence that is evil, and their claim to do it in the name of God that is blasphemous.

Pretoria has constantly attacked the ANC for being ungodly and irreligious as is seen in P W Botha's letter to

Archbishop Tutu of 16 March 1988:

*"You are no doubt aware that the expressed intention of the planned revolution by the ANC/SACP alliance is to ultimately transform South Africa into an atheistic Marxist*



*Rev Jesse Jackson and his son laying a wreath at the Grave of Johny Makhathini.*

*state, where freedom of faith and worship will surely be among the first casualties". PW Botha. 16 March 1988*

This is simply rubbish: ridiculous fallacious sloganism. The ANC is a Liberation Movement (not a political party) which has always recognised that the liberation struggle takes place in a religious context, and is specifically committed to religious freedom.

When the people formed the African National Congress in Bloemfontein in 1912 South Africa was a predominantly Christian country and their commitment to a united quest for a liberated society was fired by their faith.

From Rev John Dube, the first President who opened the ANC in prayer, to S M Makgatho, Rev ZR Mahabane, Rev W B Rubusane, J T Gumede... right down to Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela today, our

leadership has been strengthened by religious conviction.

O.R. Tambo, 4 May 1987:

*Our founders were churchmen and women. Throughout our 75 years that*

*link has never been broken.*

Today the ANC embraces within its membership a wide variety of believers. The varying symbols and practises through which we focus our faith bring a wealth of value to our culture which enrich us all, and display a unanimity of theological, ethical and political priorities which confirm and guide our struggle to liberated society.

From the beliefs and experience within our ranks, the ANC knows that adherents of all faiths have contributions to make to the concept of justice and peace, and the practice of democracy, from which caring and competent communities are emerging to comprise our new society.

O R TAMBO

*Ours is a national liberation movement which contains within it different philosophical*

*and religious tendencies, but all of which adhere to a common resolve to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa on the basis of the Freedom Charter .... As in the past, we shall resist all attempts to inject any anti-religious notions into our midst.*

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**, devised and accepted in 1955 after a nationwide consultation, is the main focus of ANC policy. It declares that:

*The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.*

*All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour, or belief shall be repealed.*

*All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all.*

*Only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex, or belief.*

This commitment to religious pluralism in the Freedom Charter has two aspects. It is a **political** statement that democracy preserves religious freedom, and a **theological** statement that religious pluralism is essential for democracy.

**CHIEF A J LUTHULI:**

*I also, as a Christian and patriot, could not look on while systematic attempts were made in almost every department of life to debase the God-factor in Man or to set a limit beyond which the human being in his black form might not strive to serve his Creator to the best of his ability. To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticised God for having created men of colour was the sort of thing I, as a Christian could not tolerate. Oslo. Nobel Lecture 1961.*

**SHEIKH ABDUL HAMID GABIER.**

*The Freedom Charter to which the ANC is committed provides the surest guarantee of the preservation of our Din and culture in a liberated South Africa.*

**PROF LOURENS DU PLESSIS:**

*The Freedom Charter still remains the basis of the ANC programme. It gives hope. On the basis of this remarkable expression of the aspirations of the people of South Africa ... the ANC perception of the struggle provides room for me and other Afrikaners who despise apartheid to also make a particular contribution. Dakar 1987*

The faith which underlines the Freedom Charter supersedes the false claims of

religious apartheid, and it ends with a declaration to struggle together until liberation is wrought: for faith grows in action.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER:**

*These freedoms we will fight for side by side throughout our lives until we have won our liberty.*

**MAULANA FARED ESSACK:**

*They did not ask us if we were Muslim or Christian when they declared Claremont and Constantia white. They did not ask us if we were Hindus or Muslims when they tear gassed us; nor do they enquire about our religion when they killed our children on the streets. Side by side Apartheid has sought to dehumanise us and side by side we shall work to destroy it and create a new South Africa. Cape Town. August 1984*

**THE KAIROS DOCUMENT:**

*Christians, if they are not doing so already, must quite simply participate in the struggle for liberation and for a just society.*

Our struggle is a matter of faith: our faith is confirmed in our struggle.

**THE VIOLENCE OF OUR STRUGGLE**

Violence rules Southern Africa. It is a function of

**THE SPIRIT OF LUTHULI LIVES ON!**

government by coercion instead of government by consent, and the System is bound by it. It cannot establish the apartheid policy except by violence. It cannot counter the liberation struggle and the Freedom Charter except by violence. It cannot answer the moral appeal of non-violence resistance except by violence. It cannot prevent justice being done except by violence.

Millions have suffered under the racist rule from structural, social, judicial, or military violence. The infant mortality, preventable disease, starvation, poverty, deliberate homelessness, industrial and agricultural neglect, detention, imprisonment, and the calculated killing of thousands throughout the subcontinent verges on genocide. The blood lies warm across Africa today because apartheid is a killing culture.

The liberation struggle is not an academic debate in gracious surroundings, but gas and guns and bloody guts, dog's teeth in your children's legs and electrodes on their testicles. Apartheid is violence unto death in the name of Jesus Christ.

And it goes on. Do not be misled by the talk of reform: repression is as strong as ever today. The SA Catholic Bishops meeting with the ANC in Lusaka recognised "that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be ended in its entirety".

Talk of releasing Mandela from prison conceals the hundreds now being consigned to prison. The Sharpeville Six

were saved from the gallows because of the threat of sanctions, but the judgement in the Delmas trial makes any quest for peaceful political change into treason. 'If these four men have committed treason' says Archbishop Tutu, 'then I have committed treason as well'. Pik Botha shook hands with Chester Crocker in Brazzaville on the day his colleagues were banning four more organisations at home. The brutality never stops.

Those who denounce the ANC for "practising violence" or being "a terrorist organisation" forget that for nearly 80 years our struggle has used non violent direct action against the apartheid regime. It did not stop when the Passive Resistance Campaigns were crushed after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, but continues today at a higher level than ever. Boycotts of schools, shops and buses abound. Last month the regime's Soweto City Council wrote off R167million lost by the rent boycotts; despite fearsome repression, 1988 saw the greatest three day national strike in South Africa's history; sit ins and stay-aways continue; bans on peaceful funerals, meetings and marches are defied; there is persistent non-cooperation with officials appointed by the regime, rejection of the SADF and SAP, and continuous defiance of the Special Branch and its tactics of intimidation and destruction. Church leaders, jailed whilst marching in peace to protest to the State President, are committed to making non-violent action work.

The ANC has deep

sympathy with those who find the use of force difficult: it causes us much anguish too. The addition of the strategy of armed struggle to liberation tactics came after 46 years of non-violent endeavours. All peaceful means had been exhausted, the appeal for a National Convention rejected, and the existence of the ANC as a passive resistance organisation summarily banned, before military methods were used.

When the ANC speaks of turning to armed struggle "as a last resort", it means we have tried every sort of non-violent resistance and found it blocked by violence. The pursuit of peace means that warmongers who cannot be won by conversion must be restrained by compulsion. (Many of those who criticise the ANC for taking up arms have not tried anything).

After World War II, Christians in many colonial countries found that because violence was a structural function of oppressive societies the removal of such regimes was the only way to secure justice and peace. Political and economic systems which established the rich and exploited the poor had to be changed to remove both the injustice and the violence which ensured it, and this was brutally apparent in South Africa which defined and defended oppression on racist grounds.

Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, and agnostics in the ANC were in the forefront of those who debated this

question, and when the ANC was banned in 1960 they could no longer escape a decision.

**NELSON MANDELA. 1963:**

*At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some of my colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence when the Government had met our peaceful demands with force. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. We did so, not because we desired such a course, but solely because the Government had left us with no other choice*

Criminals and fascists and tyrants have to be restrained, and when persuasion fails to reform them force is necessary to remove them. Oppressors who exterminated those who sought justice and peace had to be removed from power, and like the struggle to remove the Nazis, this necessitated the use of arms.

The bland statement that the "Church does not agree with violence" requires closer examination.

The ANC has great respect for those who hold deeply 'pacifist' beliefs yet commit themselves to the liberation

struggle by taking non-violent action against the regime. But those who use an appeal to pacifism to cloak their racism, imperialism or cowardice, or use their rejection of armed struggle as an excuse to avoid the struggle altogether, are supporting the regime. In the judgement of Mahatma Gandhi, if cowardice is the only alternative to violence, it is better to choose violence "I would rather have blood on my hands than the water of Pontius Pilate" said Bishop Trevor Huddleston.

History reveals several traditions about violence.

**HERBERT McCABE OP;**

*There is probably no sound on earth so bizarre as the noise of clergymen bleating about terrorism and revolutionary violence whilst their cathedrals are stuffed with regimental flags and monuments to colonial wars. The Christian Church, with minor exceptions, has been solidly on the side of violence for centuries, but normally it has been the violence of soldiers and policemen. It is only when the poor catch on to violence that it suddenly turns out to be against the gospel.*

But there is another tradition which has accepted the use of armed struggle for righteousness sake. Those who protect the poor and oppressed, stand up against tyranny, fight to preserve justice and seek peace, have been praised. The ANC hates violence, but is proud that thousands of men and women and boys and girls

are willing to give their lives to defend our people against aggression.

There is a fundamental difference between force and violence, and the words should be used correctly. Force is used by legitimate rulers to restrain wickedness and vice and protect their citizens, and is quite acceptable. Violence describes the aggressive acts of illegitimate oppressors and criminals, and is repulsive.

Most churches accept that force is sometimes necessary to defend justice and withstand the violence of oppressors: the ANC has practised it for decades. Side by side with such strategies the Church supports the use of military action where necessary; so does the ANC

Neither the South African regime nor western governments have moral or theological objections to the use of force; they enrol thousands of people to the 'Defence Force' every year. The issue is not the use of force but the legitimacy of the user, not their militancy but their morality.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC is extremely concerned at the recent spate of attacks on civilian targets, and whilst the great majority of these have been mounted by the regime, it notes that:

*Some of these attacks have been carried out by cadres of the people's army, Umkhonto we Siswe... and in certain instances operational circumstances resulted in unintended casualties. It has*

also come to their notice that agents of the Pretoria regime have been detailed to carry out a number of bomb attacks deliberately to sow confusion among the people of South Africa and the international community, and to discredit the African National Congress. The ANC hereby underscores that it is contrary to our policy to select targets whose sole objective is to strike at civilians. NEC Statement. 17 August 1988.

In an interview with the Afrikaans Newspaper Beeld in December 1988, Margaret Thatcher spoke of the ANC and said

The question is how to get it to give up the politics of violence. The best approach is by offering the possibility of negotiations.

The ANC has always sought to talk rather than fight, and the regime has always responded by violence. When Luthuli and Mandela sought a round table conference in the 1950's, when the Sharpeville residents sought to talk in the 1960's, when the children of Soweto sought to talk to the Bantu Education Authorities in the 1970s, and when the mourners of Uitenhage and the clergy in Cape Town sought to talk in the mid eighties, the response was brutal armed

rejection. Thousands are dead today because they have sought to talk to the racist regime.

No one has died by seeking to talk with the ANC. Students, politicians, businessmen, Pope and Archbishops, women and men, Black and white, Afrikaner and English, sotho and Zulu, rich and poor, the world's leaders and oppressed children ... they all talk to the

Puppet Bishop Mokoena, left.



ANC. What is this politics of violence we must give up before they will talk to us?

### THE LEGITIMACY OF OUR STRUGGLE

The South African regime contends that they alone may make decisions for our country. All must obey without question because government is instituted of God to be the authority in matters of state. Minister J C Heunis wrote to the church leaders of Thaba'nchu who requested the reconsideration of a compulsory removal:

*I have no doubt that you, being men of the cloth, will not object to the Government expressing its view on non-governmental institutions meddling in affairs of state. I earnestly and with reverence must request the signatories not to become involved in the matter ... which is a decision of the highest government authority in the country, but rather to confine themselves to the matter for which they have been called, namely service to the Lord. 4 April 1988.*

There is international unanimity that people have the right to determine their own governments and their own future, which is enshrined in the Charter of the United

Nations, and because apartheid violates this it constitutes a crime against humanity.

### HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANTS:

*All people have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural developments. 1966.*

### INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

*To establish ... and to*

*enforce, distinctions, exclusions, restrictions and limitations exclusively based on grounds of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which constitute a basic denial of fundamental human rights is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter. 1971.*

By its violent subjugation of its own citizens the SA regime violates international law and would be subject to international exclusion and sanctions were it not for the protection of the UK or US veto in the Security Council

## DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

*The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and general elections.*

The only legitimate basis for the authority of any government is the consent of the people, and thus the regime has no right in international law to speak in the name of South Africa and no right to assure its own survival.

The rulers of South Africa deliberately manipulate the Statute Book, Army and Police to ensure that the will of the people is never expressed, and thus lack any authority to rule.

This judgement is endorsed by WCC and the SACC.

## THE WCC LUSAKA STATEMENT 1987:

*It is our belief that civil authority is instituted of God*

*to do good, and that under the biblical imperative all people are obliged to do justice and show special care for the oppressed and the poor. It is this understanding that leaves us with no alternative but to conclude that the South African regime and its colonial domination of Namibia is illegitimate.*

*We affirm the unquestionable right of the people of Namibia and South Africa to secure justice and peace through the liberation movements. While remaining committed to peaceful change we recognise that the nature of the South African regime which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours compels the movements to the use of force along with other means to end oppression. We call upon the Churches in the international community to seek ways to give this affirmation practical effect in the struggle for liberation in the region and to strengthen their contacts with the liberation movements.*

The words of South African church leaders to their own white members should be heeded by the whole western world:

*To the white voters of South Africa we must say ... that you are being deceived by the government. Your fellow South Africans want nothing more than to live in a just and peaceful country. Your position is becoming untenable and we believe you must dissociate yourselves from this government. Apartheid a heresy. You cannot reform a heresy. If you are to assure*

*your future you must pull out of 'white politics' and join the real struggle for democracy. SACC. February 1988.*

Another question on the legitimacy of our struggle which is frequently raised in the west, concerns our relations with the South African Communist Party and the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. It can be answered directly by our President, Oliver Tambo:

*We must state clearly that we consider all these forces as firm and reliable allies in the common struggle for the liberation of our country and our people. Instead of being criticised and denounced for involving themselves in the struggle against apartheid, they should rather be congratulated as should people of other political persuasions, such as social democrats and liberals who have also joined the fight against white majority domination....*

*The African National Congress... is not in the least interested that elements of the East-West conflict should be introduced into our situation. It would therefore help a great deal if the same spirit that inspired both East and West in the struggle against Hitler's Germany should once more prevail, enabling the great powers to act in concert, with the common objective of seeing South Africa transformed into a non-racial, non-aligned and peaceful entity. WCC 1987*

No one can validate



apartheid by criticising communism. Our problems in South Africa are not caused by commissars who claim to be atheists, but by capitalists who claim to believe in God. The challenge is not how to evangelise eastern communists but how to liberate western Christians.

Those who afford the SA regime recognition and claim they are 'seeking positive change' must realise this is not the way to deal with international criminals. Humanity does not ask those condemned for committing mass murder and wholesale robbery to be a little kinder: it deposes them and appoints legitimate rulers instead.

**DR ALLAN BOESAK**  
February 1988:

*Let us no longer pussy foot around this issue. This is an illegitimate government that deserves no authority and does not have it ... that deserves no obedience and must not get it.*

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, you did not ask the ANC to come here to tell you that apartheid is wrong: we won that battle years ago. You want to know how you can help to pull the tyrant from the throne, how you can stand in solidarity and support with these people who seek to build a new society on the other side of Earth.

You will not expect me to ask you to take the matter lightly. You are too nurtured in the words of Scripture and too reminiscent of your own

struggles, to imagine that 'taking up your cross' is an undemanding matter, or that 'laying down your life for your friends' will not hurt. We share together in the struggle of all God's people on Earth for their inheritance.

Our first call upon you is theological. North America is largely Christian, and the fallacies and heresies which infect the religious perception of many South Africans affect you too. Because apartheid is theologically false its removal is a duty upon Christian people everywhere.

The US church, the US people, and the US government, must be brought to realise that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be removed and replaced. The right wing sects which seek to justify right wing policies, the evil arguments which excuse racist genocide, and the heretical voices which worship the idols of anti-communism and the apostasy of affluence, must be confronted and silenced.

We need you to make clear to every US citizen that the liberation struggle is theologically sound: that the quest for a new united nation, with a mandate to establish a free, non-racial non-sexist democratic society can be embraced wholeheartedly by the people of faith. Let the climate of conviction become so strong that no one can claim to belong to Christ in the United States without supporting the liberation struggle in South Africa! Who will take on that theological task for us?

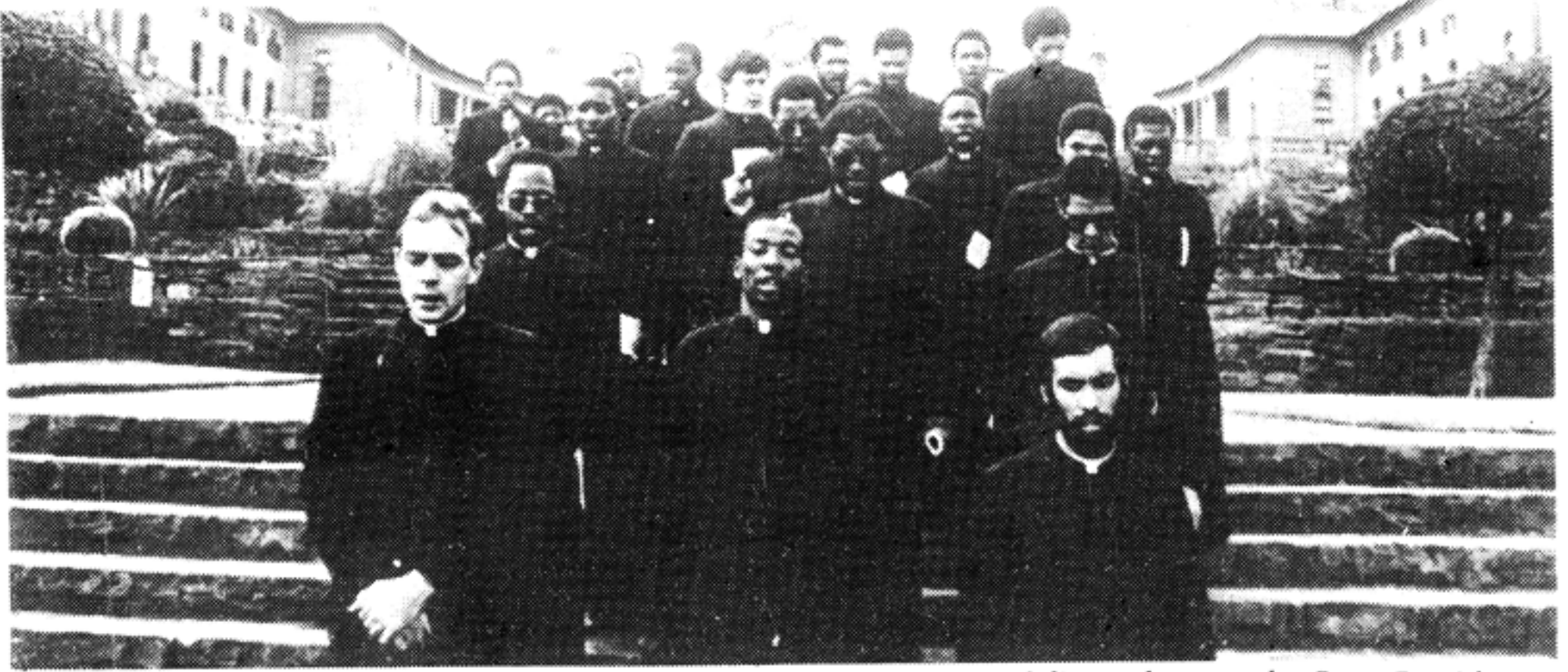
Secondly, there is a political task. The tyranny of

Pretoria cannot continue to exist without the support of the western world, and the imposition of total mandatory sanctions in every sphere is the crucial political objective. Some of you have made magnificent efforts over the years to promote this policy but we need to confirm that call. Sanctions are working.

Sanctions are designed to hit full pockets, and hit them first, and they do. Those who are squealing about sanctions are whites not the blacks, the wealthy not the impoverished, those with work not those without work. Sanctions are designed to make those who consort with the apartheid regime to tremble, and as the democratic movement grows those who are not aligned with that movement fear sanctions more and more.

The arms embargo was a vital factor in the military defeat of the South African forces in Angola. Sporting and cultural boycotts have been major elements in undermining white South Africa's ability to live with itself. Financial sanctions are proving a crucial influence in making apartheid too expensive to sustain. That is politics.

No one doubts the influence the United States exerts in the world, but it needs directing. Margaret Thatcher was persuaded to provide bases for US aircraft to bomb Libya, and she can be persuaded not to provide bases to support apartheid. Swiss francs will stop supporting apartheid rands, and western banks refuse to roll over apartheid loans, if the mighty dollar growls at them. That is politics.



*Student Catholic Priests march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to deliver a letter to the State President.*

But if the political will of America is to be aroused by her politicians, it will be because the conscience of America has been aroused by her people. Who will take on that political task for us!

....Thirdly, there is the task of financing the liberation struggle. Despite divestment, US business is making millions through the exploitation of the human and natural resources of our country. Despite the public protestations of peaceful intent, US dollars feed the political and military disturbances which plague our subcontinent.

Is it not time for you to come in on our side, by direct financial support for the work of the African National Congress? We do not ask you for equipment to assault the the military might of the racist regime: we believe that is the work of God, but it is not the role of churches.

Most of our work falls in direct response to the word of the Prophet Isaiah which Jesus

of Nazareth took to himself:

*to bring the good news to the poor,  
to proclaim liberty to the captives,  
to give the blind new sight,  
to set the downtrodden free,  
and announce that the day has come when the Lord will save his people.*

To the African National Congress this vision means not only evangelical zeal, but conscientising the world to win commitment to the political objectives of liberation; it means structuring and directing the quest for a new community; it means ministering to thousands of exiles with the essentials of healthy living and an education in which struggle can emerge in true democracy; it means our schools and hospitals and settlements; it means research and training to prepare to constitute a democratic South Africa; it means enabling our people to turn the hopes of the

Freedom Charter into the experience of liberated living. And that means money.

This is what we need from you, Christian comrades: theological partnership, political collegueship, and financial solidarity.

We have always had support from Christian individuals within our ranks, but it is only in recent times that church bodies such as you have begun to reach out their hands to us. African Americans, you will understand the particular poignancy, the deep sense of gratitude and greeting, which enables me, today, to reach my hands to you in the name of and on behalf of my leadership and the entire membership of the African National Congress and the oppressed and fighting people of South Africa.

**LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN AMERICANS**

# BOOK CHOICE

On October 18, 1972, Benjamin F Chavis Jr. and nine other Black activists were convicted of having incited race riots in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1971. They were sentenced to a combined total of 282 years in prison. Nearly a decade and millions of dollars later, that conviction was overturned and the Wilmington Ten were freed. The case has become a landmark in the struggle for civil rights in this country. Amnesty International declared the Wilmington Ten political prisoners in the U.S.A.

During his years of confinement in various North Carolina prisons, Chavis knew that he had to maintain his faith in God, in God's people, and in their

collective will and yearning to be free. He decided to capture his prison prayers and experiences in the form of psalms. The psalms were written as a testament that the descendants of African slaves were able to survive centuries of oppression because of an irrepressible faith in God of justice and freedom.

The book is divided into three parts: Oppression, Struggle, and Liberation, the three historical phases of all successful freedom movements. It consists of 150 psalms, written in freeline and free verse, from the perspective of a Black minister who was a political prisoner in the United States. The psalms speak directly to the issues of the Black struggle, but they also address the overall issue of

human rights. As Chavis writes in his introduction, "The context is particular but the message is universal."

Since leaving prison, Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. has earned a doctorate from the Divinity School of Howard University. He is currently Deputy Director of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. A veteran of the civil rights movement for 21 years, Dr. Chavis is a former schoolteacher, and is an experienced civil rights leader who has worked with Dr. Martin Luther King JR., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the NAACP. Currently, Dr. Chavis is helping to organise the National Black Independent Political Party.

## From page 11

designed primarily to give people homes and schools and hospitals and jobs to do; a new way of looking at the world without the barbed wire of nationalism, denominationalism, race or sex, a faith which blasts the church out of the tyranny of its traditions and tumbles its conceits off the throne, and sees new communities of the faithful growing more rapidly than ever before in history.

It is a vision which laughs at the idea that western

churches can have a moral reforming influence on the western powers - any more than they can improve Botha's unshining image; which mocks your ego trips in your best suits to burning the Church to the notice of Government ministers or the big names of business; which says to those hopeless reformists who recognise the enormity of the west but steadfastly refuse to contemplate the revolution: come over and join us!

This faith is a gift. When Jesus told Nicodemus it was necessary to be born all over again to see the Kingdom of God he was referring to the transformation of our religious

experience. No one can force themselves to be reborn, or manufacture faith, but they can be willing to let the old life go, to let the burden of those oppressive ideas of God and his world roll away, to realise that in the cold lonely godforsaken nuclear fears of the oppressive western world, the liberated people are offering us the hope of new life.

**Let us all say  
apartheid  
must go**

# REFLECTIONS

BY REV. F..F. GQIBA.

*DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS AND INTER-FAITH  
CHAPLAINCY AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)*

If anyone says I love God , but hates his Brothers, he is a liar. (1 John 4:15-21)

The epistle of John has been called by many theologians the letter of Love. What are the circumstances that led to its writing?

One thing that comes clear is that the author is writing to a Christian community not a pagan one. He is writing to a community in which the Gospel has successfully been preached. They are clearly a community in which there was a great deal of enthusiasm for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Apparently things began to go wrong. Heresy began to creep in. There arose teachers who claimed that they have reached such a high level of spirituality that they were beyond good and evil.

What might be sin for people at a less mature stage of spiritual development was no longer sin for the mature spiritual man. As it often happens this tended to leave divisions among the Christians. As a result, it was no longer possible for the loyal Christian to continue with the new creed of Christians.

In response to this grave situation, the writer wrote this letter to state the criteria for truth. For him the criterion for truth is Love. Love is essential

ingredient of truth. For the Christian, Love has become the dominant principle of his life.

In Corinth, we find a somewhat similar situation. If it is clear when reading through the 1st Cor. that Paul had been to Corinth to preach the Gospel. He gained many converts and encouraged the gifts of the spirit.

On his departure, things went wrong. The devil began to take hold of their enthusiasm. Self interest began to creep in. Boosting began to creep in. Some Christians began to see themselves as more spiritual than others. Certainly, speaking in tongues began to be the criterion according to which one's level of spirituality could be judged.

This is the situation that Paul had to correct. Paul does not say that the gifts of the spirit are undesirable. All that Paul is saying is First things First. Love is the principle gift. He even places it above faith: So faith, hope, love abide; but the greatest of them is love. (1 Cor. 13:13)

In the 1 Cor.. 14:1 make love your aim so, for Paul as well love has to be the dominant principle of the Christian life.

Of course, what John and Paul say about love is grounded in the teaching of our Lord

Jesus Christ. For Jesus, loving God and loving one's neighbor is the gift of the Gospel.

Love is one of the attributes of God. It is love which characterized His relationship to us. It was in the context of love that the Incarnation took place. The Incarnation is the love of God for us in action.

Jesus and later Paul and John (whoever wrote the epistle) all agree that love is of prime importance for Christians. Everything else comes second. It is the context in which the Christian life has to be lived. Love ought to be the distinguishing mark of the Christian faith. Love has to characterise our relationship to God. This is true, but the story does not end there. If anyone says I love God and hates his brother, he is a liar has to extend to one's fellow man.

I need not talk about the problems of our land South Africa. They are all too familiar to you. Our land is a land of injustice - a land where some people are treated as less than human on the basis of one's colour; a land where some people are denied their God-given right to determine their destiny; a land where some people are denied equal share of the wheat of the land. It is a land where greed, hatred and



*Rev Jesse Jackson, President Tambo, FR. Osomers (in white) and Rev Ggiba (in black) at a wreath laying ceremony for Johnny Makhathini in Lusaka.*

selfishness prevail. It is a land without love.

This is a problem. Love in our land is conspicuous by its absence. The words of St. John If anyone says I love God and hates his brothers he is a liar, have been ignored. God calls upon all christians to take a stand in relation to the injustices of our day. They are not of God's making. They are a consequence of man's sinfulness. Our Lord took a stand in relation to the injustice of his day. He scolded the Jewish authorities. You hypocrites, and when reason failed to prevail he did not hesitate to use the sjambok.

It is, however, significant that whatever Jesus did and

said in opposition to the injustice of his day stemmed from love. It stemmed from concern for his own lost people. This is the spirit and concern for our sinful fellow-human beings who are in fact as sinful as we are. It is clear that the Christians cannot stand and look on in the face of injustices. In one war or another, he has to oppose them because they are not of God, but of the devil.

However, the Christian responsibility cannot only be negative. There is something positive that he can do. There is famine of love in our land. This is the problem. Love has got to be restored to our people. Then our land will be healed. It often surprises me that whereas

the evil of racism has managed to spill over from our society into the church, love does not seem to spill over from the church to our society.

We do not seem to be making much impact on the world around us. I am afraid, face it, the responsibility for this sad state of affairs in the last analysis lies with the shepherds of the flock. It is our ineffectiveness and lack of seriousness about the work to which God has called us.

I can only reiterate the words of God to the prophet Ezekiel in connection with the shepherds of Israel: Ho shepherds of Israel who have been feeding yourselves! Should not shepherds feed the sheep?

### From page 14

Company aired a tape of a scary Swaggart sermon just as the government announced a state of emergency in June of 1986. Blacks whom I interviewed viewed Swaggart's ravings as political

would soon be raptured into heaven. They would escape the terrible tribulation period when "the heavyweight champion of all the ages is going to come back" and destroy Russia.

Swaggart has actually put down roots in South Africa by

theological foundation for its war against the African National Congress(ANC), the illegal occupation of Namibia, and any abuse of human rights.

But not all native Evangelicals accept the political theology sponsored by the white state and blessed by

*Church leaders leading a funeral procession of a victim of state terror in Cape Town.*



propaganda. "The conflict that is coming is not just for a tiny portion of the globe," he preached. "It is for the entire planet, and that includes South Africa. And to be honest with you, you are a prime target, because there are few countries on the entire continent of Africa that hold up the Bible and Jesus Christ."

Swaggart described the land of apartheid as a fundamentalist paradise where teachers could pray and read scripture in their classrooms and where abortion is outlawed. Their nation was so godly. "They hate Israel," he said, "for the same reason they don't like South Africa." But he assured his audience that if they believed in Jesus, they

helping to fund a new Assembly of God bible college outside Cape Town. Only after the American Pentecostal who runs the school signed a statement denouncing the anti-apartheid World Council of Churches (considered a Communist front by Botha's people and by our own Religious Right) did the government grant a multiracial charter. When I stopped by the campus last April, I learned that the student body included just a few whites.

Since the biblical justification for segregation has been abandoned even by the mainline Dutch Reform Church, the American brand of Evangelicism has furnished South Africa with a new

American missionaries. A group of 132 ministers who call themselves Concerned Evangelicals, most of them from the black township of Soweto, recently published a detailed critique of their own kind. Many evangelical churches and evangelistic groups, especially those organised by whites (here or in the USA) preach the gospel to blacks to make them submissive to the oppressive apartheid system of South Africa'. declared the pamphlet, entitled *Evangelical Witness in South Africa*. We as Concerned Evangelicals have been outraged by the

way in which American Evangelists like Jimmy Swaggart came here to South Africa in the mist of our pain and suffering, even unto death, and pronounce that 'apartheid is dead'.

I dropped in on a meeting of the group in a Sowetan church hall, Chickens ran free in the courtyard. Outside, in the dusty street, children played with toy cars crafted from wire and tin cans salvaged from the ubiquitous garbage heaps. Soweto is guarded by two nearby military bases. Occasionally, brown-uniformed white "troopies" would drive by on patrol. Here the state of emergency was an everyday reality.

The black Evangelical I spoke to felt betrayed by their American colleagues especially Jimmy Swaggart. I showed Brother Frans, one of the Sowetan ministers, an article written by Swaggart in the July 1985 issue of his magazine, *The Evangelist*. Frans was incensed by the following passage:

"Some 300 years ago, when the country of South Africa was formed, the whites built this country with ingenuity, sacrifice, and hard work. And through these last three centuries, more and more blacks opting for the good jobs and the higher wages in South Africa migrated in that direction. Consequently, there are now six or seven times more blacks in South Africa than there are whites. And because of this mistake about it, the whites have contributed to the suffering of South Africa but

far and away, it was the ingenuity, the sacrifice, and the hard work of the whites that made this country the envy of all of Africa

"I didn't know that he is as racist as he is," said Frans, like Swaggart, a Pentecostal. There is a South African edition of *The Evangelist*, but no one in the hall remembered seeing this particular issue. "Swaggart is saying things that he does not know," said Frans, shaking his head. "It is only a racist who can say these kind of things. It's very clear that America, as justified by you Evangelicals, is fighting an ideological warfare in southern Africa against the Soviets but at our expense. Your government has an interest in the status quo, and they benefit from apartheid,"

Ministers like the ones I encountered in Soweto are doubly suspicious about American evangelical groups. Several of them mentioned their fears of secret links to the C.I.A. This is not paranoia. The late William Casey was a good friend of South African intelligence. Reversing Jimmy Carter's policy of non-cooperation, Casey shared sensitive information with the Botha government, including material on the A.N.C.

What American Evangelicals really needed in order to sell accommodation toward apartheid is the prophetic equivalent of Bishop Tutu. But where could they find a black holy man of renown in South Africa who would condemn churches of protest and lay hands on the current regime? If bishop Isaac Mokoena did not exist, surely

P.W. Botha or Jerry Falwell would never have invented him. Despite less than distinguished credentials and brushes with scandal, Bishop Mokoena has been plucked from the obscurity of the Reformed Independent that he received the prestigious Decoration of Meritorious Service, an award bestowed on no other member of his race last year but graciously granted to the wives of the present and past presidents.

The American sponsors of Bishop Mokoena were willing to overlook his record and present him as the great black hope at the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters in 1986 and 1987.

The executives of N.R.B. have political muscle. Their various networks saturate the United States, and their satellites literally cover the earth. South Africa, trying to woo Evangelicals, has had a booth on the N.R.B. exhibition floor for the last two years. Bishop Mokoena was introduced to the press at the 1986 gathering as "a man who represents 4.5 million blacks." The small black figure was escorted by two bull-like Afrikaners who turned out to be Pentecostal ministers.

"I have come to appeal to you to speak to your congressman, speak to your senator, ask him to offer some words of encouragement to the President of the United States to step up investments, not only within the present areas of South Africa but also in the homelands," announced

Bishop Mokoena, who proceeded to berate the effort to impose sanctions on South Africa.

A hopeless proselytizer of the terrible status quo in his country, Bishop Mokoena has wandered the globe meeting right-wing leaders, arguing against sanctions, declaring the end of apartheid, and attacking genuine black leaders like Bishop Tutu. ("The Nobel peace prize for such a man is an insult to the black Christians of South Africa," he insisted in 1984.)

Naturally, Ronald Reagan, an arch opponent of sanctions before Congress forced the issue in 1986, was informed of this ecclesiastical ally. Reagan once referred to the bishop in the bumbling press conference in reply on August 13, 1986: "There are religious leaders, another one, another bishop you never heard of him, I don't know whether I pronounce his name right, but it's, I think Moreno or Monorem. I'm going to have to find out how they, what sound they attach to some of their letters. But he's the leader of some 4.5 million Christians there and all of them are deadly, opposed to sanctions."

In fact, the bishop is not the shepherd of 4.5 million independent Christians, according to Professor G.C. Oosthuizen, head of the Research Institute on Black

Independent Churches at the University of Zululand, who dismissed the inflated figure in the Johannesburg Star. "Bishop Mokoena is talking

expulsions. "He is practicing sexual intercourse with the male students of the college," the petition stated in the most serious complaint. Reached



*South African clergy agree with the freedom Charter.*

nonsense by claiming he can speak on behalf of four million blacks in South Africa," said Professor Oosthuizen. "He represents only a small group of a few thousand."

The bona fides of the bishop are tainted by an imbroglio involving sex and money. In 1979, Mokoena was accused of financial mismanagement and committing "unnatural sex acts" in papers submitted to the Supreme Court in Johannesburg in an attempt to ban him from running the South African Theological College of Independent Churches, which he founded and chaired. Fifty-two of the young theologians at the school signed a petition charging him with a multitude of malfeasances, from non-payment of students allowances to unwarranted

by telephone in Johannesburg, Mokoena said that he had been vindicated by the court, but he refused to discuss the specifics of the case or any other incidents in his past over long distance lines. "It's a pack of lies," the prelate shouted. Mokoena was restored to his post at the college and remains there today.

In 1986, the benevolent bishop attempted to establish a new "moderate" multiracial political party, along with Thamsanqa Linda, former mayor of Ibhayi, a township near Port Elizabeth, he formed the United Christian Conciliation Party (U.C.C.P.).

I passed by the headquarters on the 19th floor of a downtown-Johannesburg



building. The debris of a campaign celebration of some sort still littered one of the empty rooms. The U.C.C.P. had no literature, posters, or leaflets. Yet the election was only a week away. In fact it had no candidates running in the all-white election. The party appeared to be nothing more than a front. A couple of Mokoena's staff casually referred to personal connections at John Vorster Square, the Johannesburg headquarters of the South African police.

All this activity on behalf of the regime has made the bishop a subject of assassination by other blacks. In the summer of 1986, gunmen broke into Mokoena's church, mistook the assistant pastor for him, and shot the unlucky man dead. Later in November another mob of blacks kidnapped the bishop from his car, beat him up, and dumped him outside Johannesburg.

Bishop Mokoena is hardly the only South African black making celebrity tours of the United States. Members of the cabinet of the Ciskei, one of the so called homelands, flew to Southern California to appear on a Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) Praise-a-Thon in 1986. Prior to this airlift, Ciskei granted TBN permission to build and operate a TV station there. The South African ambassador to the Ciskei helped TBN with arrangements.

Three Christian pro-government blacks appeared on Pat Robertson's "The 700 Club" last summer. Two were

evangelical ministers, the third, a young woman, claimed to have been a member of the AN.C. She dropped out and turned herself in to the police after she was "born again." One of the others, Rev. Barney Mabaso, said that "the spirit of the ANC is the spirit of anti-christ."

Later, the same three some, along with their Afrikaner interpreter, turned up on Capitol Hill for a meeting with the House Republican Study Committee, where Mabaso characterized Tutu and the ANC as "wolves in sheep's clothing" and went around the bend saying that Tutu supported "drunkenness and immorality and murdering."

Pat Robertson, the televangelist who would be president, has a TV station in the homeland of Bophuthatswana in north central South Africa. Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) aims its signal at occupied Namibia. The Afrikaans version of "The 700 Club" is aimed at the white rulers of that embattled country.

Robertson has a special interest in the frontline states. He has even sent a video crew into Marxist-run Mozambique with a RENAMO (Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana) commando team. RENAMO is a rebel group that has received weapons and direction from Pretoria and gained a reputation for terrorism. The CBN crew filmed RENAMO guerrillas planting antipersonnel mines and blowing up a tree to block passage.

Robertson a regular at the

Reagan White House and a "personal friend" of Oliver North, aired several pro-South African government segments over the last few years. Ben Kinchlow, the black co-host of the "the 700 Club," visited South Africa and, like Falwell, was shown around by government guides. Kinchlow later reported to his viewers back home that he personally experienced no racism in South Africa.

Almost all American evangelical organizations in South Africa practice apartheid, according to Concerned Evangelicals. "They hold separate services for different race groups for mythical claims of language and cultural differences," the 132 ministers charge in their joint accuse. Campus Crusade for Christ (C.C.C.), founded by Reagan pal Bill Bright during the early years of the cold war, has functioned in South Africa since 1972. This California transplant thrived by evangelizing affluent Afrikaans-speaking businessmen and high-level government officials.

In 1983, the C.C.C. in South Africa split into two racially segregated field operations with two different names. The whites and Asians got to keep the original title, while the blacks had to settle for the less catch Life Ministry of South Africa.

Apparently, the schism was initiated by the black crusaders themselves. According to Brother Frans, a former C.C.C. disciple now with Concerned Evangelicals, some of the blacks felt like second-



*Anglican Ministers at a funeral of activists slain by the fascist junta.*

class citizens, and they took hits from their own people for labouring in white-bossed vineyards.

This racial distinction extends to separate but unequal treasuries. The Afrikaners have a much larger budget than their poorer black brothers.

Back at C.C.C. headquarters in St Bernardino, spokesman Don Beehler defended the colour line in the South African branch: "We recognize that they [South Africans] are in a better position than Americans to deal with the cultural difficulties and complexities in their country." Even so, Beehler denied that the C.C.C. approved or practiced apartheid, which means apartness in Afrikaans. Eager to emphasize the racial harmony behind the segregation, Beehler noted that the Afrikaners and blacks "spend time together in

conferences, retreats, and prayer." as for the finances, he said that each racial group depended on its own base of support, emphasizing that all American resources went to the blacks.

In yet another Hands Across Apartheid programme, cadres of Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International, flew to South Africa for a two-week fact-finding missions, with the help of the South African Tourism Corporation. A 30-minute video produced and narrated by Ohio full Gospel Businessmen have close ties to the Reagan administration. The President himself claimed that the prayers of the F.G.B.'s on his staff healed a nasty ulcer in 1973 when he was governor of California.

South Africa's officials are pleased with the result of their outreach to American Evangelicals. "They have been

a great help to our country in her hour of need, said one manning the tourism booth at the national Religious Broadcasters convention last year. "They have been very successful. People return to the United States with a proper understanding of the South African situation."

American Evangelicals have fanned the fires of hatred in South Africa by labeling all religious critics of the apartheid system "apostate" followers of the Antichrist simply because of their policies of the state. They have made the following deadly statement: Resistance to Botha equals Communism. That makes every black protester a potential subversive and a possible target of repression. Once dehumanised ideological enemies can be killed more easily with a clear conscience. Such is the glory of a holy war.

# PSALMS

## FROM PRISON



CHAVIS

**BENJAMIN E. CHAVIS JR.**

*One of the Wilmington Ten;  
Political Prisoner in the U.S.A.*

# KNOW OUR LEADERS



Joe Slovo



Joe Modise



Steve Tshwete



Getrude Shope

1. Joe Slovo: General Secretary of the South African Communist Party.
2. Joe Modise: Commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe
3. Getrude Shope: Head of the ANC'S Women Section
4. Steve Tswete: Member of the N.E.C.