

PRO VERITATE

INSIDE:

PEACE- THE DESPERATE IMPERATIVE
THE WCC DECISION AND ADDIS ABABA



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PRO VERITATE

KONFRONTASIE

Ten spyte van die onlangse plegtige versekering op ministeriële vlak dat dit die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering nie te doen staan om "ongeoorloofde inbreuk op die terrein van die godsdiens" te maak nie, kan 'n mens die suspisie nie vermy dat die Regering, sy dit bewustelik of onbewustelik, besig is om op 'n konfrontasie met die Kerk af te stuur nie.

In die Januarie-uitgawe van Pro Veritate is die name verskaf van 24 kerkamptenare teen wie daar oor die afgelope jare heen van staatsweë opgetree is. Intussen is ook nog 'n aantal verdere gevalle onder ons aandag gebring. Al hoemeer wil dit voorkom of daar 'n herkenbare patroon uit hierdie sporadiese vervolginge na vore begin tree, 'n patroon wat steeds duideliker word soos die gevalle al hoe sneller op mekaar begin volg.

En dan is daar natuurlik ook nog die minder bekende feit dat veral die nie-Afrikaanse kerke dit te kampe het met 'n staande owerheidsreëling dat geen buitelandse kerklike werker in Suid-Afrika mag aanspraak maak op naturalisasieregte nie - die enigste beroep waarvan dit geld! -- wat vanselfsprekend dien om kritiese monde te snoer.

Van die kant van die owerheid word daar aangevoer dat sy optrede nie gemik is teen kerke of kerkamptenare as sodanig nie, dog teen individue vanweë hul persoonlike bedrywighede, ongeag die kerk waartoe hulle behoort of die amp wat hulle beklee. Dit mag waar wees, maar as verduideliking gaan dit eenvoudig net nie op nie.

Waarom nou eers, in die geval French-Beytagh, word daar *coram publico* 'n klagstaat ingedien sodat veral die kerk 'n insae kan kry in die staat se bewegredes? Waarom die argwaanwekkende stilswye en geheimsinnigheid in al die vorige gevalle? En waarom juis in onvermydelike konfrontasie met die kerk, vir wie die waarheid by uitstek die toets van die lig moet kan deurstaan?

Dan het die hele aangeleentheid natuurlik ook nog diepere dimensies.

'n Mens kom bv. voor die ernstige vraag te staan of die "persoonlike bedrywighede" van 'n kerklike amptenaar (d.w.s. 'n amptelike en assulks geordineerde "afgesant van Christus") in getrouheid aan sy goddelike roeping, soos hy dit verstaan en opgelei is om dit te verstaan, werklik geskei kan word van sy amp en van sy amptelike verteenwoordiging van sy bepaalde kerk. Dit is tog sekerlik met groot omsigtigheid dat die verskillende Christelike kerke hul amptenare tot die bediening ordineer. Kan selfs hul "persoonlike bedrywighede" van die amptelike standpunt van hul onderskeie kerke geïsoleer word

sonder en voordat die kerke hulle openlik en amptelik van 'sodanige amptenare distansieer het?

'n Verdere vraag: het ons huidige Regering, verstrengeld soos hy is in 'n a-Christelike of selfs anti-Christelike rasse-ideologie, nie, hoe onbewustelik ook al, tot op 'n punt van konfrontasie met die anti-ideologiese openbaringswaarheid van Gods Woord gekom nie? As die Apartheidsideologie tot sy logiese konsekwensies gevoer word, het die tyd nie reeds gedaag vir die amptelike Sensorraad om die Bybel as subversiewe en ondermynende literatuur in en vir Suid-Afrika te verban nie?

En dan is daar nog een laaste vraag wat ons al hoemeer ernstig begin kwel: hoe lank nog kan enige eerlike en gewetensgetroue bedienaar van Gods Woord en beoefenaar van Sy liefdeswet (of onderskrywer van iets so onlangs nog as die Besluite van Lunteren, 1968*) dit hoegenaamd nog vermy om in konflik te geraak met ons huidige landsbeleid veral i.s.v. dit die gesinde verhoudinge tussen mense en mensegroepe, ook van verskillende rasse, aanbetref? Om maar een voorbeeld te noem: hoewel dit geen direkte wetsverbreking impliseer nie, kan enige geroepe en toegewyde herder van siele wat daartoe die vereiste staatspermit besit, dit nog oor sy hart kry om veral Bantoe-lidmate van sy kerk in die Naam van die Here in die huwelik te bevestig, terwyl hy voor sy siel weet dat so 'n huwelik hoogs waarskynlik van staatswêe ontheilig, en die gesin wat daaruit mag voortvloei, byna onvermydelik deur die bestaande landsbeleid verbrokkel staan te word?

Bewustelik mag die staat geen konfrontasie met die Kerk bedoel nie. Hy is egter besig om lynreg en onverbiddelik daarop af te stuur -- tensy die kerk in Suid-Afrika nie meer Kerk van Christus is nie, maar gediensstige handlangers van die staat en sy rasse-ideologie geword het, of tensy die staat daartoe kom om sy gewetensbeswarende wêe te wysig.

* *Uittreksels: "Ware liefde tussen mense vereis dat ons ons naaste, ongeag sy ras of kleur, sal aanvaar as geskape na die beeld van God .. In die verkondiging van die Woord moet die Kerk .. moedig en toepaslik spreek oor sake van die dag, sowel met die oog op die opbouing en teregwyding van sy lede as, waar nodig, ter kritisering van die aktiwiteite en beleid van regerings en organisasies .. In sy pastorale arbeid moet die Kerk daarna streef om houdinge van rasse-meerderwaardigheid en rassevooroordeel uit te wis .. Dit moet dringend, volhardend en geduldig gedoen word .. Die eenheid van die Liggaam van Christus moet tot uitdrukking kom in gemeenskaplike aanbidding, insluitend die Heilige Nagmaal, van Christene, ongeag hul ras .. Die Heilige Skrif bevat geen uitspraak oor huwelike tussen lede van verskillende rasse nie .. Kerk en staat moet hulle daarvan weerhou om huwelike tussen lede van verskillende rasse te verbied .. Die Sinode dring by sy lidkerke daarop aan: .. Om elke vorm van rasse-diskriminasie en rassisme te verwerp .. Om die subtiele vorme van rassiediskriminasie met betrekking tot behuising, indiensneming, onderwys, wetlike dwang ens., wat vandag in baie lande aangetref word, te verwerp."*

Februarie 15 February 1971

FOR THE SAKE OF TRUTH

For the sake of truth the bald facts of Rev. Colin Davison's deportation need recording.

He came to South Africa in 1963 and though still a British citizen possesses a South African permanent residence permit. He is at present on the staff of the Christian Institute. His understanding of the Gospel's message of freedom has set him in opposition to the bondage of apartheid.

On Sunday 31st January he accompanied a friend who was taking her son back to school at Mbabane, Swaziland. Returning to the border a few hours later he was refused re-entry to South Africa. His wife being at present on holiday with her family in England, he had to see his three young children stranded in Johannesburg while he remained in Swaziland.

The matter was speedily brought to Parliament and the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Theo Gerdener issued a statement.

He claimed that

- * on the 20th November a deportation order was signed by his Department
- * on the 11th December this deportation order was sent to the police together with a notice of cancellation of exemption from visa requirements and withdrawal of his temporary residence permit
- * on the 15th December a warning note by the Department was sent to all passport control offices, including the Oshoek border post at Swaziland, that Rev. Davison was a deportee and was no longer exempt from visa requirements and an aliens residence permit
- * that he had been informed of this on entering Swaziland
- * that Rev. Davison had not been informed of the deportation order because of negotiations with the British authorities to ascertain whether Britain would receive him back.

On Wednesday 3rd February Rev. Davison was served with the following deportation order:

"3.2.71.

Reverend Sir,

I forward herewith for your information, a notice dated 11th December, 1970, from which you will note that the Honourable the Minister of the Interior has issued a warrant for your removal from the Republic under the powers vested in him by Section 22(3) of the Admission of Persons to the Union Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913, as amended, and that he has also withdrawn in your case, in terms of the provisions of Section 24 (2) (c) of the aforementioned Act, the exemption from the visa requirements granted to certain citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies.

2. The Minister has, however, decided further to suspend the execution of the warrant of the condition that you leave the Republic on your own accord on a date not later than the 28th February, 1971.

Yours faithfully, SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR.

Many questions arise:

- Why did it really take from the 20th November to the 3rd January for him to be served his deportation order?
- how many other people's deportation or banning orders are already in their files?
- if the Oshoek border post was instructed on the 15th December that Rev. Davison was a deportee, why was he allowed back through that very same border post on the 17th December after a holiday in Mozambique?
- why was a temporary residence permit refused when he possesses a permanent residence permit?
- why was Rev. Davison not told of his travel restrictions on leaving South Africa on the 31st January. The Minister of State says he was. The Minister of the Gospel says he wasn't. We know the latter, we believe his Word?
- why does the Minister of State say that negotiations with the British authorities were taking place when the British Consul denies any knowledge of such negotiations?
- why did the deportation order of the 3rd February refer to the police instruction of the 11th December and not the original deportation of the 20th November?
- why were negotiations necessary anyway? After all Rev. Davison is a British citizen and Britain can hardly refuse to receive him back.
- more pertinently, was Swaziland approached in order to find out how they reacted to a deportee within their borders?
- and most important of all, why was Rev. Davison deported? What did he do? We believe he is innocent till proved guilty. We believe he did nothing until we are told he did something. But now, as we have shown already, credibility in this incident is already very strained.

The only reason we can think of is that this action is delayed victimisation for his having taken part in the protest march in April 1970 against the infamous detention of 22 Black South Africans. However, the State withdrew the charges against the marchers. But we do remember then a tension between the Police and the Department of Justice. Is this another case of a similar tension? Who is Boss of the State - the police?

Pro Veritate is not surprized by this action against Rev. Davison - this is part of the reality of South Africa. Destruction of life, of work and family life is the normative experience of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. The experience of Rev. Davison indicates that this destructive process is now catching up to White South Africans as well.



PEACE

Many years ago the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote:

When will you ever, Peace, wild
wooddove, shy wings shut,
Your round me roaming end, and
under be my boughs?
When, when, Peace, will you, Peace?
I'll not play hypocrite
To own my heart: I yield you do
come sometimes; but
That piecemeal peace is poor peace.
What pure peace allows
Alarms of wars, the daunting wars,
the death of it?

What peace will cause the death of war? Peace is the desperate imperative of our day as developing nations enter the power struggle, as leaders within developing nations 'solve' militarily their own power struggles, as Christians enter actively the battle to end exploitation in one of its forms namely racism.

'Make peace not war' is not a slogan. It is a way of life, yet a way of life that most of us will have to learn anew. Making peace creatively in the tensions of our time will not be easy just as much as living actively our faith is not easy. This the many Jehovah's Witnesses who are in detention barracks for refusing to participate in any form of military training are now showing.

In this issue we have concentrated mainly on the area of peace and conscientious objection thereby hoping to open this area so that together we may in fact start learning to become makers of peace. We hope to explore this issue over the coming months.

EFFECTIVE PROTEST

Editorially *Pro Veritate* has always been heartily in favour of protest in a situation such as ours which cries out for it almost from day to day. We would also regard it as the ultimate disaster for our country if the voice of protest were ever to be silenced or to wither away by itself.

We fear, however, that there is a very real danger of the latter happening simply because we are being subjected to such a plethora of protests and so very few of them have turned out to be really effective. All too often what set out to be a roar of outraged principle has dwindled to the all too well known whimper of the "professional" protesters.

Historically, protest has proven to be one of the most effective means of bringing about a change in society. But there have been very few such successful protest actions and they have almost always been characterised by their rarity, spontaneity and absolute sincerity. Has the time not perhaps come for us in this country, who have every reason to protest, to ask ourselves whether we are not actually denuding our protest of its sting by overdoing things, crying "Wolf! Wolf!" too often and doing so too unconvincingly and too disorganisedly?

A further thought occurs to us: are we always protesting against the proper authorities? Most protest actions in this country are - often quite rightly so - aimed at our present Government. When strictly Christian principle is involved, however, it becomes a moot point whether the protest to which it gives rise should not in fact be directed at the Church whose vocation it is to uphold Christian principle but who often so abysmally fails to do so in practice. For the Government is ultimately the spiritual responsibility of the Church, by virtue of its prophetic calling, but this is the very responsibility the Church so frequently seeks to evade, thereby bestowing tacit approval on the Government's policies and practices. After all, all the members of the Government and the vast majority of those who elected them to power are also professing members of the Christian Church. This is where the real inconsistency lies and this is why in protesting against the Government we are in effect putting the cart before the horse.

It bears some consideration that some of the most effective protest actions of all time - the Reformation and Confessing Church in Germany during the Nazi era spring readily to mind - were directed not against the secular authorities but against the corrupt clerics of the times.

CHURCH, CHANGE & DEVELOPMENT

Ivan Illich

ONLY THE CHURCH can "reveal" to us the full meaning of development. To live up to this task, the Church must recognize that she is growing powerless to orient or produce development. The less efficient she is as a power the more effective she can be as a celebrant of the mystery.

This statement, if understood, is resented equally by the hierarch who wants to justify collections by increasing his service to the poor, and by the rebel-priest who wants to use his collar as an attractive banner in agitation. Both make a living off the social service the Church renders and both in my mind symbolize obstacles to the specific function of the Church, which is the annunciation of the Gospel.

Ivan Illich is co-director of the Centre for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico. He examines the role of the Church in change and development. By offering fresh and appealing insights, he calls the Church to powerlessness and rather to celebrate the advent of the future than to attempt to shape it.

This specific function of the Church must be a contribution to development which could not be made by any other institution. I believe that this contribution is faith in Christ. Applied to development, faith in Christ means the revelation that the development of humanity tends towards the realization of the kingdom, which is Christ already present in the Church. The Church interprets to modern man development as a growth into Christ. She introduces him to the contemplation of this mystery in prayer and to its celebration in her liturgy.

I believe that the specific task of the Church in the modern world is the Christian celebration of the experience of change. In order to fulfill this task the Church will have to renounce progressively the "power to do good" she now has, and see this power pass into the hands of a new type of institution: the voluntary and ever controversial embodiments of secular religion.

Later, I will explain what I mean by the progressive renunciation of power and the growth of secular religion. Now I will explain what I mean by the celebration of change.

We have ceased to live against a rigid framework. All-enveloping, penetrating change is the fundamental experience of our age, which comes as a shock to those brought up for a different age. In the past the same experience was exceptional and had many appearances: exile, migration, imprisonment, overseas assignment, education, hospitalization. All these traditionally represent the sudden loss of the environment which had given form to a man's feelings and concepts. This experience of change is now faced as a life-long process by every individual in technological society.

■

In Cuernavaca we have set up a center at which we train persons to feel with others what change means to their heart. What happens to the intimacy of a person when his familiar surroundings suddenly disappear, and with them the symbols he reveres? What happens when the words into which he was taught to pour the stream of his life lose their accustomed meaning? What happens to the feelings of a mountain Indian thrown into a factory? What anguish does the Chicago missionary feel when he is suddenly exposed to the mountains of Bolivia, and finds himself used as a cover-up for Napalm-bombs? What happens to the heart of a nun who leaves the convent? These questions are precise and elusive; each must be fitted to the one heart it opens.

What threat and what challenge does social change represent to this individual or to that social group? How does this heart or that common mood react to a change in setting? We speak about threat and about challenge, because the reaction to transition is very ambiguous. It can allow for new insights, can open new perspectives and therefore face the person with new awareness of choice. Development can be a setting for salvation which leads to resurrection. But transition can reduce a bewildered individual into defensive self-centeredness, into dependence and aggression; it can lead into the agony of a lived destruction of life, straight into hell.

Neither efficiency nor comfort nor affluence are criteria for the quality of change. Only the reaction of the human heart to change indicates the objective value of that change. All other measures of change which disregard the response of the human heart are either evil or naive. Development is not judged against a rule but against an experience. And this experience is not available through the study of tables but through the celebration of shared experience: dialogue, controversy, play, poetry; in short: self-realization in creative leisure.

■

The Church teaches us to discover the transcendental meaning of this experience of life. She teaches us in liturgical celebration to recognize the presence of Christ in the growing mutual relatedness which results from the complexity and specialization of development. And she reveals to us the personal responsibility for our sins; our growing dependence, solitude, and cravings which result from our self-alienation in things and systems and heroes. She challenges us to deeper poverty instead of security in achievements; personalization of love (chastity) instead of depersonalization by idolatry; faith in the other rather than prediction.

Thus the Church does not orient change, or teach how to react to it. It opens a new dimension of specific faith to an ecumenical experience of transcendent humanism. All men experience; the Christian knows what it means. What the Church contributes through evangelization is like the laughter in the joke. Two hear the same story, but one gets the point. It is like the rhythm in the phrase which only the poet catches.

The new era of constant development must not only be enjoyed, it must be brought about. What is the task of the Church in the gestation of the new world? The Church can accelerate time by celebrating its advent, but only by abstaining from engineering its shape.

■

The future has already broken into the present. We each live in many times. The present of one is the past of another, and the future of yet another. We are called to live knowing that the future exists, and that it is shared, when it is celebrated. The change which has to be brought about can only be lived. We cannot plan our way to humanity. Each one of us and each of the groups with which we live and work must become a model of the era we desire to create. The many models which will develop should give to each one of us an environment in which we can celebrate response to change with others who need us.

Let the Church be courageous enough to lead us in the celebration by highlighting its depth. Let the Church discern the spirit of God wherever charismatic gifts call the future into the present and thus create a model to live. Let the Church be *mater et magistra* of this play. Accentuate its beauty, let her teach us to live change because it is meaningful and not just produce it, because it is useful.

Awareness of change heightens the sense of personal responsibility to share its benefits. Awareness of change therefore does not only lead to a call to celebration but also to a call to work; to the elimination of obstacles which make it impossible for others to free themselves for toil and illusion.

Social change always implies a change of social structure, a change of formalized values and finally a change of social character. These three factors constrain invention and creativity, and action against these constraints becomes a responsibility of those who experience them as shackles. Hence, social change involves a triple reaction: (1) the reorganization of social structure, which is felt as subversion or revolution; (2) the attempt to get beyond public illusions justifying structures, which implies the ridicule of ideologies and which is felt as ungodliness or as education; and (3) the emergence of a new "social type", which is experienced by many as utter confusion.

■

Through history the Church has participated constantly in the shaping of social change: either as a force of conservation or as a force of social promotion. She has blessed governments and condemned them. She has justified systems and declared them as unholy. She has recommended thrift and bourgeoisie values and exsacrated them.

We believe that now the moment has come for the Church to withdraw from specific social initiative taken in the name of church structure. Let us follow the example of the Pope: have the courage to allow churchmen to make statements so ephemeral that they could never be construed as being the Church's teaching. Who would take the International Fund for a Catholic dogma?

This withdrawal is very painful. The reason is precisely that the Church still has great power and has used this power in socially relevant fashion in recent generations. If the Church at present in Latin America does not use the power she has accumulated for fundamental education, labour organization, cooperative promotion and political orientation, she leaves herself open to criticism from without, of creating a power-vacuum, and from within, in the terms "if anybody, the Church can bear having power, because she is self-critical enough to renounce its abuse!" But if the Church uses the power-basis she has (think of education) then she perpetuates her inability to witness to that which is specific in her mission.

■

Societal innovation is becoming an increasingly complex process. Innovative action must be taken with increasing frequency and sophistication. This requires men who are courageous, dedicated, willing to lose their career. This innovative action will increasingly be taken by groups committed to radically humanist ideals, and not Gospel authority, and should therefore not be taken by Churches.

The modern humanist does not need the Gospel as a norm; the Christian wants to remain free to find

through the Gospel a dimension of effective surprise beyond and above the humanistic reason which motivated social action. The social-action group needs operational freedom: the freedom to let convenience or opportunism dictate choice of priorities, objectives, tactics and even strategy. The same social goal might be intended by two opposed groups: one choosing violence, one non-violence as a method.

Social action by necessity divides tactical opponents. If organized around deeply held, radically human, secular-religious tenets, it also acts as a powerful catalyst for new forms of secular ecumenism: the ecumenism of action springing from common radical conviction. Social action organized around secular-religious (civic-religious) ideas, therefore, frees the Church from the age-old dilemma of risking its unity in the celebration of faith in favour of its service to controversial charity.

The Christian response has been deeply affected by the acceleration of time; by change, development and growth having become normal and permanence the exception. Formerly the king could be on the opposite pole of the priest, the sacred of the profane, the churchly of the secular, and we could speak about the impact which one would have on the other.

We stand at the end of a century long struggle to free man from the constraint of ideologies, persuasions and religions as guiding forces in his life. A non-thematic awareness of the significance of the incarnation emerges: an ability to say one great 'yes' to the experience of life. A new polarity emerges: a day-by-day insight into the tension between the manipulation of things and the relationship to persons. We become capable of affirming the autonomy of the ludicrous in face of the useful; of the gratuitous as opposed to the purposeful; of the spontaneous as opposed to the rationalised and planned; of creative expression made possible by inventive solution.

We will need ideological rationalizations for a long time to achieve purposefully planned inventive solutions to social problems. Let consciously secular ideology assume this task.

I want to celebrate my faith for no purpose at all.

APOLOGIE

Ons bied ons apologie aan vir die laatverskyning van *Pro Veritate* oor die afgelope aantal maande heen. Drukkoste het aansienlik vermeerder. Met die oog daarop om koste te verminder en om 'n verhoging in intekeningsfooi te verhoed het ons 'n „Varityper” aangekoop. Dit beteken dat ons nou ons eie tik- en setwerk versorg en *Pro Veritate* nou laat druk d.m.v. 'n litografiese drukproses. Tandkry-probleme en aanvanklike moeilikhede deur ons drukkers ondervind a.g.v. die arbeiderskrisis was die oorsake van die vertraging. Ons hoop dat dit vorentoe net beter sal gaan.

DIE OBJEKTIWITEIT-SPELETJIE

Peter Randall

Dit is betekenisvol dat *Die Kerkbode* die eerste kerkorgaan moes wees om 'n uitgebreide bespreking oor *South Africa's Minorities*, die tweede publikasie uitgegee deur SPROCAS, te plaas. As politieke wese loop die Boer die Brit telkens onder die stof, en die potensiele politieke betekenis van die Studieprojek oor Christenskap in 'n Apartheidssamelewing sal sekerlik nie sy aandag ontgaan nie.

'n Mens verwelkom die feit dat *Die Kerkbode* SPROCAS as van genoeg belang beskou om meer as 'n bladsy relatief billike kommentaar en relatief feitelike verslaggewing te wy aan die projek se tweede geleentheidspublikasie. Een van die probleme van 'n onderneming wat daarop gemik is om 'n bydrae te maak tot die openbare denke, is om die publiek te bereik, en bystand vanuit watter oord ook al is welkom.

Een punt in *Die Kerkbode* se artikel verg egter verdere kommentaar, aangesien dit 'n vraag van fundamentele belang m.b.t. die dialoog oor die filosofiese en politieke gevegslinies in ons land heen na vore bring. Die lede van die verskillende SPROCAS-kommissies is uitgekies onder andere vanweë hul "aanvaarding van die noodsaaklikheid vir verandering in Suid-Afrika". *Die Kerkbode* gryp dit aan as 'n bewys dat dit onwaarskynlik is dat die bevindinge van die projek objektief en gebalanseerd sal wees, aangesien, so beweer, hy, die deelnemers bevooroordeeld was nog voor hulle begin het.

Hierdie gevolgtrekking kan die toets van redelikheid nie deurstaan nie: mense wat geen noodsaaklikheid vir verandering sien nie, is bevooroordeeld ten gunste van die *status quo*, wat in ons geval beteken dat hul geen objektiewe waardebeplanning oor apartheid en die posisie van die swart en bruin bevolkingsgroepe kan maak nie. Skaakmat.

Nou was ons nog altyd onder die indruk dat Christene gerig is op verandering, op reformasie. Geen menslike maatskappy kan immers perfek wees nie, sodat Christene noodwendig daartoe verplig is om te streef na verandering van die maatskappy in die rigting van 'n groter ooreenkoms met die Koninkryk van God. Ook teologies, dus, wil dit voorkom of *Die Kerkbode* se argument nie op pote staan nie.

Wat dit finaal vernietig is *Die Kerkbode* se eie gebrek aan objektiviteit in sy bespreking van *South Africa's Minorities*. Die grootste deel van die bespreking is daarop gemik om uit die artikels in die publikasie bewyse in te win wat die indruk van die ondersteuning van apartheid skyn te verwek, strekende van Kleuring-ontnugtering met die "ge-integreerde" kerke tot die Engelssprekende blanke se rassistiese gedrag.

Laat ons dit nie hoër stel nie as om te beweer dat elke intelligente persoon die noodsaaklikheid van minstens 'n mate van verandering in Suid-Afrika besef, sy hy 'n sombere Calvinis in Potchefstroom of die harigste "hippie" in Hillbrow.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS

OR MORE MEN FROM THE MINISTRY

REPORTS on these (personal reasons) were investigated by me personally and never was any thought given to attacking any of the churches as such.

This has not happened in the past and would not happen in the future".

(Mr. Theo Gerdener, Minister of the Interior 9th January, 1971 on refusal of passport to Fr. Cosmas Desmond).

"It is not the church we watch. It is the men who make up the church"

(Brigadier J.F. van der Merwe, acting chief of the Security Police on inquiry of Dr. M. Braun's visit to a D.R. Church service in December 1970).

Last month we published a list of 24 church ministers and workers who had been acted against by the Department of the Interior over the last few years. This list is not complete - it only includes whites, and only those whites known to us.

It is claimed that this apparently consistent action against clergy is not an attack on the Church. We believe this is just a matter of opinion. Certainly there is no professional group in South Africa that has been so attacked. For this reason the State should not take it amiss if the Church experiences and interprets it differently.

The events of the last month - within weeks of Mr. Gerdener's benevolent assurances - re-focus the tension existing between the Church and the

(By courtesy Daily Despatch)



"My goodness, Father Desmond, we had no idea you belonged to a Church ...!"

State. In a country like ours - far removed from normal democratic and legal process, the Minister seems to be in a spiral of events in which truth is expendable.

We list now the ministers of the Gospel who have been affected since our last issue and one previously affected.

DEAN GONVILLE FRENCH-BEYTAGH -

Anglican Dean of Johannesburg was detained by the Security Police on the evening of 20th January under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Midst mounting local and international pressure he was brought to court on the 28th January for having contravened the Suppression of Communism Act.

We deplore

- the presence of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act on our statute-book
- the detention of a man under this act when charges are laid against him in terms of another Act.
- the fact that such power in our country is now so firmly embedded in the hands of the police.

REV. COLIN DAVISON -

Anglican priest on the staff of the Christian Institute.

British citizen with permanent residence permit
Deported in petto November 20th
Deported de facto February 3rd
(For further details see editorial)

REV. CASIMIR PAULSEN -

American Catholic priest working in Natal. Arrived in South Africa September 1966, applied for permanent residence in October 1970. Application refusal received on 10th December. He applied on the 11th December for renewal of his usual temporary residence permit. To date no reply has been received from the Department and his temporary permit expired in December. The American consul has been given telephonic assurance that he may stay till the end of March 1971.

REV. J.S. WALLER -

Training officer of the Anglican Youth Council. Entry refused when appointed rector of Bellville, Cape.

BUITEBLAD

Ons het opdrag gegee aan 'n professionele kunstenaar om 'n nuwe buiteblad vir *Pro Veritate* te ontwerp. Ons hoop dat sy ontwerp vroeg genoeg gereed sal wees sodat ons dit a.s. maand reeds sal kan gebruik.

BOEKE ONTVANG

In die serie: *De Prediking van het Oude Testament*:

Dr F.C. Fensham: *Exodus*

Dr H.A. Brongers: *II Koningen*

(Uitgewery G.F. Callenbach N.V. - Nijkerk)

South Africa's Minorities (SPROCAS Geleentheidspublikasie Nr. 2): W.A. de Klerk
Fatima Meer, Colin Gardner, M. Whisson.

VIR TOEKOMSTIGE UITGAWES

"Die vriendlikmaking van kompers in die nywerheid" - 'n voortsetting van ons gesprek op die terrein van die mens vs. die masjien.

"Afrika en Suid-Afrika" - 'n voortsetting van die gesprek oor ontwikkelde/ontwikkellende lande met die gevolge wat Brittanje se toetreding tot die Europese Gemeenskapsmark op Suid-Afrika en, deur Suid-Afrika, op Suider-Afrika suid van die Zambezi mag hê.

VRAELYS

Ons is dankbaar teenoor die talle lesers van *Pro Veritate* wat die vraelys wat ons onlangs uitgestuur het, voltooi en aan ons terugbesorg het. Daaglik ontvang ons nog steeds 'n hele aantal. Vir diegene wat hul vraelys nog nie voltooi het nie en dit nog wil doen, is daar nog geleentheid tot die einde van Februarie. Aan die einde van die maand sal ons die antwoorde analiseer en die resultaat van ons bevindinge in die Maart- of April-uitgawes van *Pro Veritate* publiseer.

If I am really deeply and genuinely concerned for others and I am going out and taking the needs and seizing the opportunities and I am working to change at least a portion of the world in which I live, if I'm deeply concerned for other people, what's happening, the very redirecting of my consciousness and my affectivity, the very redirecting which is my redemption is actually going on.

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

IT TOLLS FOR THEE

Colin Winter

ONCE MORE the eyes of the entire world are focussed on South Africa. A much loved priest of the Church of the Province of South Africa has been imprisoned, placed in solitary confinement without the right to defend himself. The world watches, and by this vicious act, an act prompted by fear, South Africa is judged. No matter what assurances are given by the Minister of the Interior this is, for me at least, another calculated act of intimidation by the State in its attempt to suppress the voice of those Christian Churches who day by day are being forced to speak out against the cruelty and harm the South African Government is doing to thousands of people.

A Church leader in England has been reported as saying that unless ordinary Christians speak out in protest the Church here deserves to die. It is a simple thing for any government to pick on individuals if the main mass of the people remain dumb. Relations between government and Church are now in head on collision. Ordinary Christians have to decide now whether like the early apostles to take their stand by God or by Caesar - for a dedicated, compassionate Christian priest has been swept into prison. As once again no reasons have been given we can at this stage only guess at the cause.

I am proud to claim Dean French-Beytagh as a friend. I know him to be a priest of invincible Christian courage and I believe it is for acts of Christian service in caring for his fellowmen that he is now arrested. The pages of history are full of actions by such fearless men as the Dean of Johannesburg, men who will refuse to keep silence when they see the misery caused by injustice.

"A TIME TO SPEAK"

What of other Christians? One shudders to think what would have happened had the person arrested been the head of the Moeder Kerk in Cape Town. Anglicans throughout the world are not characterised as a militant group. As a bishop of the Church what deeply distresses me is how far the Government has succeeded by the 180-day Detention Clause, the Terrorism Act, the BOSS law, by the work of the Special Branch, and by paid informers to intimidate into silence normal God-fearing people, and even to condition many into being unable to see the issues at stake.

Christian conscience and legal opinion throughout the world have condemned as loathsome imprisonment without trial. This is what we are today protesting. In this and other acts I see democracy collapsing in this country: for when freedom of speech is inhibited when people are afraid, then we have reached the point of no return. People in Nazi Germany were equally intimidated, were afraid to speak out against Hitler's savageries against the Jews. History has condemned them: We in South Africa today are now being placed by our government in a similar position.

Let me say in definite terms what we are protesting. We deplore this evil law of imprisonment without trial. We remind our leaders that by such acts they are dragging the name of all decent South Africans into the mud. The world watches and waits for this is surely a time for the consciences of all Christians in South Africa to speak.

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'ABBA (FATHER)!' he said 'Everything is possible for you. Take this cup away from me. But let it be as you, not I, would have it.' He came back and found them sleeping, and he said to Peter, 'Simon are you asleep? Had you not the strength to keep awake one hour? You should be awake, and praying not to be put to the test. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak'. Again he went away and prayed, saying the same words. And once more he came back and found them sleeping, their eyes were so heavy; and they could find no answer for him. He came back a third time and said to them, 'You can sleep on now and take your rest. It is all over. The hour has come. Now the Son of Man is to be betrayed into the hands of sinners. Get up! Let us go! My betrayer is close at hand already!

Even while he was still speaking, Judas one of the Twelve, came up with a number of men armed with swords and clubs, sent by the chief priests and the scribes and the elders. Now the traitor had arranged a signal with them. 'The one I kiss,' he had said 'he is the man, Take him in charge, and see he is well guarded when you lead him away.' So when the traitor came, he went straight up to Jesus and said, 'Rabbi!' and kissed him. The others seized him and took him in charge.

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The chief priests and the whole Sanhedrin were looking for evidence against Jesus on which they might pass the death sentence. But they could not find any. Several, indeed, brought false evidence against him, but their evidence was conflicting. Some stood up and submitted his false evidence against him, 'We heard him say, "I am going to destroy this Temple made by human hands, and in three days build another, not made by human hands"'. But even on this point their evidence was conflicting. The high priest then stood up before the whole assembly and put this question to Jesus, 'Have you no answer to that? What is this evidence these men are bringing against you? But he was silent, and made no answer at all.

(Mark chapter 14).

FOR GOD'S SAKE

PEACE -

Francis Wilson

In October last year the Civil Rights league organised a Conference on Conscientious Objection to Military Service in Cape Town. We are grateful to the league for permission to print a fairly full summary of the talk given to the conference by Francis Wilson.

IT SEEMS TO ME that the question of Conscientious Objection is one of the moral issues of our time, certainly in the United States and I believe very certainly in South Africa. Perhaps it says something that it took the Civil Rights League, a secular body, to initiate such a conference to get the churches doing some official thinking about this issue.

This topic is complicated and offers no easy solutions. I think I could perhaps start by looking at some of the roots of the problem viz. conscience. The human conscience has long been troubled, certainly the Christian conscience has been. For the question is really one of killing which is what war is about ultimately. Now there have been two responses to this. I think there has been first of all the completely passivist response which is to say that in all circumstances killing is wrong. But this position has not always been satisfactory because people recognise that policemen are necessary. The problem then is: at what stage does your policeman backed by the ultimate sanction of the force of power, become a soldier.

The answer is not clear at all. So another trend or another theme in thinking about the morality of war developed. This goes back to Thomas Aquinas and back even further to Augustine. This is the theme of the just war and the idea that there are circumstances in which we may be right to participate in military activity and that there may be times when its not. Theological and philosophical thinkers listed conditions under which it may be right to participate in military activity, viz. if this activity is waged by the legitimate authority, if it is waged for a just cause, if the violence is going to be as limited as possible, and, importantly, if all other means of settling the dispute have been tried and have failed. Now this argument of the just war has in time past been used largely by the State in order to get the troops that it needed to go to war. The difficulty about these conditions of course (and this is the whole difficulty of contextual ethics) is that there are no clear cut answers and very often

Francis Wilson lectures in the Economics Department of the University of Cape Town.

you have armies marching to war under the banner of the same God and with God on both sides. And this has happened time and again in history and it becomes even more complex in a situation of civil war. George Washington - was he a terrorist opposing legitimate authority or was he a freedom fighter, fighting for a just cause? Now there's no clear answer to that. At the time, plenty people thought he was just a terrorist. However as he was successful, we now think he was a freedom fighter!

Now let us look at the State's response. First of all responses to the question of absolute passivism have undoubtedly developed. At the time of the first World War in Great Britain, people like Bertrand Russell spent periods in prison as passivists. But by the time of the second World War, some States had come to an increasing moral awareness that they could not simply ride rough-shod over consciences that were so firm on this particular issue.

In recent years there has been a large question mark placed over the whole war debate and this question mark arises from a number of factors. First of all nuclear war and all its horrors: its been estimated that in the first nuclear attack, should there be such a thing, something like six to eight hundred million people would be killed. Well now, in such a situation it begins to seem obscene even to contemplate war and so this has forced a lot of people to think about war in a way that they have never done before. But more than that, and this is particularly since the second World War arising out of the Nuremberg trials and the Eichman trial, where it is made quite clear that it was immoral for people to have obeyed certain orders without question. The individuals could not simply abdicate their responsibility by saying "Look we were obeying orders from higher up". But the essence of war and of being a soldier is that you obey your orders from higher up. So how does one reconcile this! Furthermore these issues have come particularly to a head in recent years with the whole Vietnam war. There have been plenty of people who have been able to argue that this is not a just war in terms of the criteria laid down by Aquinas and others. People have argued this and then looked back to the Nuremberg trials and they have said "Right, we've got to think for ourselves *individually* about the morality of war". Hence a new question has emerged: not necessarily the morality of war per se but the morality of particular wars. Now this raises very real problems both for individuals and for the State.

And I'd like to just raise a few things without answering them yet. For the individual, he needs to question and ask himself "Is one a passivist or not". Can one agree with the concept of being an absolute passivist in all circumstances? Is this ethically a sort of consistent decision or is one simply hiding behind a rather convenient conscience in order to avoid something awkward? Then in other situations people may ask: "Is order better than anarchy. Maybe change is necessary in a society and non-violent change doesn't seem to be possible. Therefore, perhaps one should participate in violent change. One should be like George Washing-

ton". But then this may create a situation of anarchy and so one may feel in a case of, say the American War of Independence, that it is better to participate on the side of the government at the time, even although one doesn't necessarily agree with all its aims, simply because one feels that on balance the present order is better than the anarchy that seems likely to arise should one participate in the activity of the other side. And I think that one can look at say, the South American situation or indeed, for a lot of people, our own situation, and one needs to ask: "Is the cause for which one is using the force or the military power a just cause and is it legitimate to make a distinction between defensive and offensive war".

A lot of States have argued that an offensive war is immoral, but a defensive war is different. Now is this a legitimate distinction, particularly in view of the increasing awareness that violence need not necessarily be only in the form of the violence of say, a guerilla with a gun. Violence, if you take the definition developed by the churches in recent years, is the destructive imposition of power. This means where power is being imposed in such a way that it is destructive, for example the ordering of society in South America, where you have a few very, very rich people owning all the land and masses of very, very poor people. But it need not necessarily be like that. You could have a fair distribution of wealth. But is it not a destructive imposition of power if a vast number of people are dying as a result of poverty. If this is a form of violence, and the other one is a form of violence, which one is one going to choose? Is one going to decide to maintain the order at all costs and so participate in military service? Or is one going to decide that the whole set-up is so unjust and that all means of changing it or discussing it, have been ruled out, so that one will participate in the violence of the other side because one believes that this is a lesser form of violence than the existing violence in the situation? Or is one going to say that there is perhaps a third way out; that neither the violence of the existing regime nor the violence of those who are trying to change it, is right. And one is going to try and operate in a creative non-violent way to eliminate the violence within the society. And these are very, very real moral problems and they do depend so much on the context that one finds oneself in. Hence it is quite possible for people to come individually to the three possible choices. I think one has got to accept that different individuals can come to different conclusions and we don't have to impune their integrity at all. This I think is crucial.

So much then for the individual difficulty, but this creates a host of difficulties for the State and one must not under-estimate the sort of difficulties created for the State. For example, should it recognise and allow conscientious objection in the first instance? Secondly, and increasingly importantly, should it include Selective Conscientious Objectors? Because if the State does recognise this,

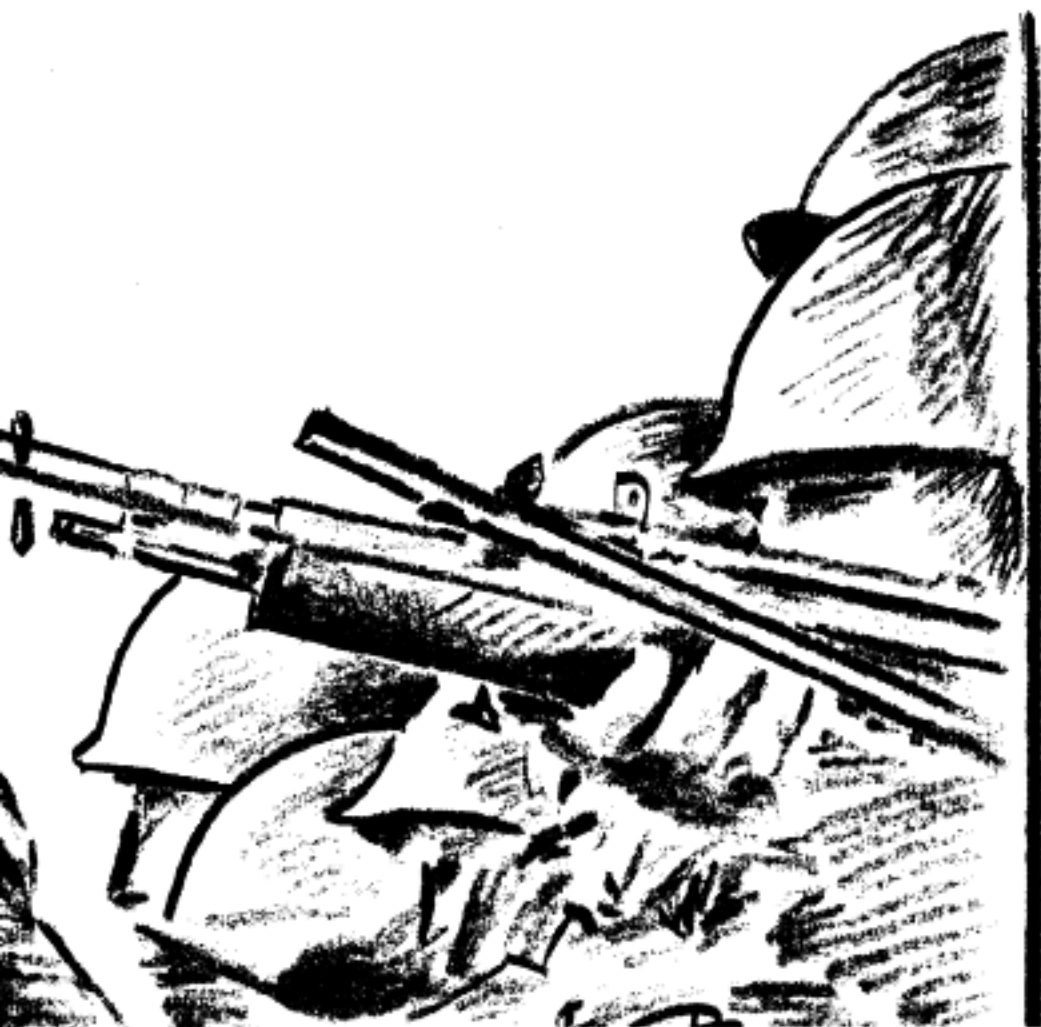
question of Selective Conscientious Objection. And they came to the realization that if they did allow it they simply weren't going to have as large an army as they felt was necessary for the security of the State, and this is a very real problem for a State. It feels that it needs the army. It would prefer a voluntary army, but unless it has some sort of conscription its not going to get all the people it needs. Looking at it from another point of view, one can say this is a splendid development because it means at last that the poor individual soldier, who previously has been marched off to die while the General sat at home organising things, is going to have some power now to refuse. Now this does pose a real problem for the State in deciding whether an individual, in refusing service, is refusing simply because he doesn't feel like going to do military service or is he refusing to go because of political opposition. Is it that he just doesn't happen to agree that strongly with the policy of the governing party or is he refusing to go for the genuinely strongly-held moral, ethical, religious conviction that he cannot participate in that *particular* war.

In such a situation, how does one resolve the problem? It seems to me that the over-riding thing is that we need to change the emphasis from war-thinking to peace-thinking. In other words, a society needs to be spending less energy in resources in working out or training for the making of war. Vast resources are spent in preparing for war and one should deploy some of these resources into using more of one's energy and resources in the working out of peace. It seems today, and South Africa is by no means the exception in this case, that countries are spending vast millions on war preparations. In our country R300 000 000 a year is spent on war preparations and virtually nothing on "Peace-making".



Well now, how does one change this emphasis from "War-thinking" to "Peace-thinking". First of all, it seems that one has got to encourage the formation of individual conscience. And it seems that the churches, the schools, the universities, the Civil Rights League, etc need to be helping and in fact have an immense responsibility to help people work out for themselves what their attitude is among the variety of attitudes I have mentioned before. And I do believe that in this country the churches and the educational institutions have abdicated their responsibilities. They simply have not helped people to think through their responsibilities of what is an enormous moral ethical problem.

Secondly, is to press for change in the law of the land in order to allow conscientious objectors to do something else and by something else I do not simply mean non-combatant duty. One means something else: if an individual comes to the decision that he cannot participate in military preparations at all or in a particular situation, then he must be allowed by the State to do something else. The Concept of National Service should not find its expression *ONLY in Military terms*. One does not want to under-estimate the valuable aspects of military training, but the question one wants to raise is: "Is it only by preparing for war that you can get young people to learn the discipline to participate in a community? Are there not alternative moral equivalents? And I would suggest that there are alternatives: e.g. voluntary service organisations, building schools, hospitals, digging in the mines. These would be moral alternatives. I think it is immensely important that we stop thinking of national service in purely military terms. I'm not saying therefore that there should not be military service as one of the possible expressions or forms of national service.



Thirdly, one has got to work out methods of making peace. This surely is of the essence. Maybe instead of preparing to fight people, we should be preparing to talk to them, and listen to what they have to say and changing the structure of one's society so that their wishes can be accommodated in that society. This is important because if one asks oneself why people fight, one is answered by all sorts of reasons. But it seems to me that some of the reasons are: first a lack of communication between people so that you can build up stereotypes e.g. he's a communist, he's a nationalist, he's a black, he's a white, instead of "he is a person, he's an American." We need to be building up communication to prevent the development of stereotypes. We need to be providing channels for getting to know each other for dialogue. Secondly, there is the need to eliminate injustice, because injustice is one of the root causes.

One has also got to recognise, I think, that there are wars of aggression where it may be necessary to oppose might with might. I'm not suggesting for a moment that this isn't sometimes the case, but one must be very careful of suggesting that wherever force is being developed, that this is simply because people are seeking power. Maybe its because we've been creating stereotypes. Maybe its because there is very real injustice.

Now to include. In recent weeks in South Africa we have been shocked into the realization that we are faced with the beginning of a Civil War. Why? Because we are beginning suddenly to realize that the fighting on the borders may become something much bigger, and this is not a fighting of South Africans against some communists from Russia. This is a fighting of South Africans against South Africans. This is who is fighting each other on the border and this has been part of the horror of the decisions in recent months which we have been reading about. And it seems to me immensely important that we should not let ourselves be bludgeoned or frightened into thinking now simply in military terms. We have got to start thinking: "What can we do to avoid the development of a full scale Civil War. What can we begin to do to make peace, instead of simply writing it all off as a communist-inspired plot by a lot of outsiders because this patently is not the truth. We have got to ask ourselves some very harsh questions. This is why I have placed the emphasis of my talk on the need for changing our thinking or changing the emphasis from making war to making peace. Let me conclude with a quote from C. Wright Mills in which he was writing an atheist sermon to Christian Clergy, but I think it applies to all of us who are in positions where we ought to be thinking about these things. He says: "In moral affairs you are supposed to be among the first of men. No moral affair today compares with the morality of warfare and the preparation for it. For in these preparations men usurp, as you might say, the prerogatives of God. By sitting down and by keeping quiet, by all too often echoing the clap-trap of the higher morality that now passes for political leadership, you are helping to enfeeble further in this time of cruel troubles the ideals of your founder."

Sodepax is the joint commission for Society, Development and Peace of the World Council of Churches - the Pontifical commission of Justice and Peace. In April 1970 Sodepax sponsored a consultation on Christian concern for Peace in Baden, Austria. These extracts are from the official Sodepax Report entitled Peace - the desperate imperative.

VISION OF PEACE

(33) In trying to live their responsibility for peace, Christians respond to their concrete situations. Their responses differ in emphasis. Yet within the worldwide Christian faith-community their different perspectives and experiences find mutual correction and enrichment. As Christians we are united in the one vision of peace as it was given to men in Jesus Christ and united in the one prayer for the coming of His Kingdom of peace, justice and joy.

(34) The peace of God passes all our understanding. There is none of our peace concepts, programmes or practical achievements which might simply be identified with it. The Kingdom of God is not the result of our human peacemaking. This makes us sober and self-critical. However, this peace of God implies the peace of men. We cannot enjoy the peace of Christ unless we are ready to share it with all of our fellow men in visible steps of peace-making. It is heretical to separate the peace that God wills for the world. The *SHALOM* of our faith means wholeness of life for the one family of man. It embraces all its levels and conditions, material and spiritual, social and personal.

(35) The Peace of God releases the dynamics of God's future. It makes us hope. We are caught up in many perplexities and difficulties of our contemporary world. There is no reason for any triumphalism. Yet we are not victims of unchangeable fate. There are reasons of faith, hope and love to press forward in a resolute, patient quest for a greater peace and justice on our earth.

(from chapter II: Christian responsibility for world peace in concrete contexts).

THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

(29) The consultation considers that the exercise of conscientious judgment is inherent in the dignity of human beings and that accordingly, each person should be assured the right, on grounds of conscience or profound conviction, to refuse military service, or any other direct or indirect participation in wars or armed conflicts.

(30) The right of conscientious objection also extends to those who are unwilling to serve in a particular war because they consider it unjust or because they refuse to participate in a war or conflict in which weapons of mass destruction are likely to be used.

(31) The consultation also considers that members

of armed forces have the right and even the duty, to refuse to obey military orders which may involve the commission of criminal offences, or of war crimes against humanity.

(32) It is urged that the Churches should use their best endeavour to secure the recognition of the right of conscientious objection as herein before defined under national and international law. Governments should extend the right of asylum to those refusing to serve in their country for reasons of conscience.

(from chapter IV: Human rights and world peace).

PEACE

EDUCATION FOR PEACE

(1) When we speak of education for peace, we are speaking of ways to free men and women to work toward the Christian vision of *Shalom*. But the Churches often do not act on their own vision, nor do they use their own educational resources with skill. Often they will speak for peace and justice in one moment and then in the next will act in such a way as to present a compromised image in the mass media.

(2) Education for peace means not only a radical new understanding of the dynamic nature of peace, but a radical reform of existing educational practices. It also involves an active engagement of the people of every Church in every land in the process of creation of a common framework of standards as to how the earth's plenty should be shared. It involves harnessing the Christian commitment to the pursuit of truth to a scientific search for understanding of the conditions out of which conflicts emerge at every level of human interaction from the family to the international system. This search for both the causes of conflicts and ways to deal with them must involve the ablest minds of the Christian community, young and old.

(3) Much of the current educational activity of the Church is tied to excessively formal western teaching methods and tools. It is rarely recognized that every individual is both a learner and a teacher, and that the teaching-learning process is *not* a one-way, but a reciprocal process. Adults and youth ideally each teach the other perceptions about the world we live in which are not directly available to the other because each sees the world through the lenses of his own life experience. Similarly rural and urban people within a country have much to teach each other. Among nations, the industrializing have much to teach the industrialized, as well as vice versa.

(4) With control of the communication media as well as of economic and political institutions often concentrated in the hands of a minority, the poor and the oppressed are not encouraged to become teachers in their own societies, to educate their fellow-citizens about themselves and their problems. The Church should be pioneering in the reversal of the usual roles of teacher and taught as it works for a society in which no sector shall have a monopoly of power and resources, and in which all relationships shall have the quality of reciprocity.

THE DESPERATE IMPERATIVE

SODEPAX

(5) The methods of education for peace must be pluralistic, experimental, centered in learning through community action when possible and centered on persons always. More groups in society should be encouraged to develop their own educational skills. We need many experiments such as street academies, free universities, teach-ins, action-research centers, and continuing education programmes for the clergy and laity. Education must move both toward releasing the individual as a creative personal force for peace in his community.

(6) Some of the ideas suggested in this report may appear to invite confrontation and polarisation, and may in fact at times heighten existing tensions rather than reducing them. The extent to which it is necessary to engage in a clarification of the sources of conflict before peacemaking can take place is a matter for individual and collective soul-searching for Christians everywhere. Premature glossing over of conflicts without an adequate understanding of their true nature is not consistent with the Christian commitment to truth. The injunction to be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves is a difficult one to follow. It is nevertheless clear that the spirit of Christian caring must inform all efforts to clarify and solve conflicts.

(from chapter III: Education for Peace).

PROPOSALS FOR THE CHURCHES

(a) Support the training of community field workers who can be catalysts in local parishes in helping people to deal with their own problems and to eliminate poverty. Such workers would also help to awaken people to the relationship between international and local social problems.

(b) Develop action-education groups at each level of Church life, engaging in group dialogue about social problems while participating in actual life situations found in the community and dealt with in the mass media.

(c) Encourage youth groups to travel in international teams from country to country to be involved in community life wherever they go. The study of geography, history, economics and social conditions can be incorporated into such group travels.

(d) Experiment with an ecumenical non-violent peace brigade to be used for liberation and peacemaking.

(e) Create and use peace simulation exercises which can aid peacemakers both in clarifying the analysis of conflict situations, understanding the value premises which underlie different definitions of the conflict, and in developing action techniques of conflict resolution.

(f) Consider the sharing of resources with movements for peace and justice outside the institutional Church, when appropriate.

(g) Support research on problems of peacemaking, and on education for peace; make scholarships available to students in this field. Encourage able young people to make careers in research fields relating to the pursuit of further understanding of the international system.

(h) Hold non-violent demonstrations in various forms, hunger fasts; "capture" a national holiday for peace action; peace walks.

(i) Use two-way TV to teach urban groups about the life, styles and values of non-urban peoples, as well as vice versa.

(j) Support all forms of conscientious objection and creation or expansion of opportunities for a national alternative to military service.

(k) Promote conscientisation in the field of human rights and denounce their violation.

(l) Form conversation circles with politicians and other decision-makers, in which they can enter into a dialogue on problems of peace and its problems. Such circles might be initiated within the frame of the national Commissions Justice and Peace as well as under ecumenical auspices. They might be labelled "Working Group for Human Rights" and be undertaken with the collaboration of Jews, Muslims, Humanists, representative of the establishment as well as opposing youth.

(from chapter III: Education for Peace - concrete proposals).

SODEPAX PUBLICATIONS

World Development	Beirut conference: April 1968
The Development Challenge	Montreal conference: May 1969
Peace - the desperate imperative	Baden consultation: April 1970
Money in a village world	Report February 1970
In search of a theology of development	Cartigny consultation: November 1969
Towards a theology of development	Bibliography November 1969

PEACE TESTIMONY

Religious Society of Friends

The South Africa General Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends is concerned at this time to reaffirm the historic peace testimony which for the three hundred years of the Society's existence has grown out of its corporate experience. We quote from "Christian Faith and Practice in the Experience of the Society of Friends."

In 1920 the All Friends Conference declared, "In considering the character and basis of our testimony for peace we have felt strongly that its deepest foundation lies in the nature of God, and that its character must be inclusive of the whole of life. There is urgent need for a fuller recognition that God's essential nature is love, that the Cross of Jesus represents the highest point in the revelation of the character of God, and that there is a seed of God in every man, that spiritual forces are the mightiest, and that we must be prepared to rely upon them and to give expression to them in daily work and character as well as in what we call the great crises of life. We must set before us the highest ideal, that which ought to be, rather than that which is, believing that God is not alone the God of things as they are but the God of things as they are meant to be.

A statement in 1950 reads, "In the present situation persuasive methods and peaceful adjustment should be tried as sincerely and consistently as possible. What if they fail, as well they may, and aggression is imminent? A tragic moral dilemma seems to arise: shall we set violence against violence and defend the society to which we feel bound by duty and affection, the lives and the future of those we love - or shall we reject violence and allow the aggressor to do his worst? This looks like the choice between two equally monstrous evils. But essentially they are not equal. According to all moral standards, and seen in the light both of love and justice, the bearing of evil is diametrically opposed to the inflicting of evil. "It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing" (1 Pet. 3.17). By fighting for civilization and precious lives we may not save but destroy them, and would most probably destroy all moral and spiritual standards of our world through the use of the weapons of mass-destruction. And on the other hand refusal to fight need not be surrender. Nevertheless, nothing can be harder than that choice."

Hence Friends have repeatedly reaffirmed the statement made originally in 1661 by its founder George Fox and Richard Hubberthorne on behalf of the Society. "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world. The spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.

FROM CANTERBURY TO ADDIS ABABA

- THE WCC DECISION REVISITED

Last month the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches met at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This is the second time the Central Committee has met since the 1968 Assembly at Uppsala, Sweden - the first meeting was in 1969 at Canterbury, England. The Canterbury meeting decided to set up a Programme to combat racism.

PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM

(As recorded by Central Committee without dissent and with no recorded abstentions on January 18, 1971).

- A.
1. The Central Committee has carefully considered the various reactions to the decision of the Executive Committee at Arnoldshain and is of the opinion that these decisions were in accord with the Programme to Combat Racism agreed upon by the Central Committee at Canterbury and believes that further action should be taken along the lines indicated in the Report on the Programme to Combat Racism and the Programme and Research Budget 1971.
 2. It believes that the churches must always stand for the liberation of the oppressed and of victims of violent measures which deny basic human rights. It calls attention to the fact that violence is in many cases inherent in the maintenance of the status quo. Nevertheless, the WCC does not and cannot identify itself completely with any political movement, nor does it pass judgement on those victims of racism who are driven to violence as the only way left to them to redress grievances and so open the way for a new and more just social order.
 3. It notes that the question of violence cannot be fully discussed or resolved in the context of racial issues and requests that a study may be undertaken under WCC auspices on violent and non-violent methods of social change in view of the growing concern about this issue among Christians in every part of the world.
 4. It requests the staff to study ways and means to prevent the use of violence by those sustaining the *status quo* when confronted by non-violent actions and demonstrations.
- B.
1. The Central Committee urges the member churches to support fully the Programme to Combat Racism as presented to this meeting of the Central Committee.
 2. The Central Committee initiates a new appeal to the member churches in support of the original minimum Special Fund appeal of \$500 000 established at Canterbury. The Central Committee notes with appreciation that the Executive Committee has received assurance from all organizations which appealed up to the present for grants from the Special Fund that they will not use the grants received for military purposes but for activities in harmony with purposes of the WCC and its divisions. The Central Committee requests the PCR to bring special projects and programmes to the attention of the member churches for their support.
 3. The Central Committee urges the member churches to support the 1971 United Nations International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in an appropriate manner including:
 - a) working to secure the support of national governments of the 1971 U.N. International Year for Action to Combat Racism and national governmental approval of the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racism, the Convention on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention of Human Rights, etc.
 - b) initiate an ecumenical programme which will include whenever possible the participation and support of other Christian and non-Christian bodies in developing appropriate national and local programmes for action in support of the U.N. International Year.
 4. The Central Committee urges the member churches to make the elimination of racism and racial discrimination a primary concern and to initiate immediately a national ecumenical and/or denominational programme to combat racism which will include the following:
 - a) development of a programme which will make full use of the education and communication resources within the churches to educate, inform, interpret to and involve the clergy and laity of the church in action programmes to eliminate racism and racial

discrimination within church and society.

- b) make the elimination of racism and racial discrimination a primary educational task of the church. This will involve (1) making a thorough review of existing parish education materials and programmes to eliminate overt or covert racist content, and (2) a new creative effort to develop parish education materials and programmes designed to contribute toward the elimination of racism and racial discrimination and to develop the conscientization of children, youth and adults.

5. The Central Committee urges the WCC staff and committees and member churches to begin an immediate study and analysis of their involvement in the support and perpetuation of racism in the following areas:

- a) investment policies and practices;
- b) employment training and promotion schedules;
- c) the ownership, management and control of property;
- d) the ownership, management and control of church and church related institutions;

and that the results of this study and analysis be reported to the Central Committee through the PCR at its next meeting. Where this has already been done, the results of this study and analysis should be updated and included in the report.

6. The Central Committee urges the member churches themselves or through their respective national councils to:

- a) investigate and analyse the military, political, industrial and financial systems of their countries to discover and identify the involvement and support provided by these systems in the perpetuation of racism and racial discrimination in the domestic and in the foreign policies of their countries and coordinate their findings through the Programme to Combat Racism;
- b) develop individually or in cooperation with other churches strategies and action programmes designed to redirect these systems to contribute to the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, and to promote racial justice, and
- c) develop in cooperation with the Programme to Combat Racism and between themselves joint strategy and planning to secure and maintain full and mutual cooperation and support in their efforts to eliminate racism and racial discrimination in church and society.

To this end the Central Committee welcomes the invitation of South African churches for consultation on joint strategy and action.

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PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM (PCR)

1. The 1969 Canterbury Decision

At Canterbury in August 1969, the Central Committee decided to set up a Programme to Combat Racism. The Committee acted upon the lines of policy laid down by the 1968 Uppsala Assembly which "urged that the WCC undertake a crash programme to guide the Council and the member churches in the urgent matter of racism". Subsequently, an international Consultation on Racism was held at Notting Hill, in May 1969 which made specific recommendations to the Central Committee.

The Canterbury Central Committee adopted the following emphases for the PCR:

- (a) It is *white racism* in its many organised ways which is by far the most dangerous form of present racial conflicts;
- (b) It is no longer sufficient to deal with the race problem at the level of person to person relationships. It is *institutional racism* as reflected in the social, economic and political power structures which must be challenged; *moreover it is the power structures which use racism to empower themselves which must be challenged.*
- (c) Combating racism must entail a *redistribution* of social, economic, political and cultural power from the powerful to the powerless;
- (d) No single strategy to combat racism is universally appropriate. There is need for *multiple strategies.*
- (e) The need to analyse and correct *the Church's complicity* in benefitting from and furthering white racism. This is an absolute priority if the churches want to make any contribution to the solution of the problem in society.

2. Carrying out the Decision

First steps to carry out the Central Committee's decision were taken when in February 1970 the Executive Committee appointed staff and an International Advisory Committee.

(a) Staff

Mr. Balwin Sjollega (sociologist from the Netherlands) was appointed Executive Secretary of the Programme with immediate effect, while the WCC Officers were authorised to appoint two further executive staff members. Thus, Mr. Nawaz Dawood (lawyer from Ceylon) joined the staff on August 1, 1970 as Secretary for Research, while Rev. Charles Spivey (Black American, formerly Executive Director, Department of Social Justice, NCC, USA) started his work as Secretary for Programme in December 1970.

(b) International Advisory Committee

The Executive Committee also appointed seventeen members of the International Advisory Committee to advise and guide the Programme. They are: Mr. Isaac Beaulieu (Canada), Mr. E. Charles Brown (USA), Dr. Gonzalo Castillo-Cardenas (Columbia),

Mr Jose B. Chipenda (Kenya), Mrs Joyce Clague (Australia), Dr William Eteki-Mboumoua (Cameroon), Miss Jean Fairfax (USA), Mrs Rena Karefa-Smart (Sierra Leone), Dr Jorge Lara-Braud (USA), Prof Nathan Shamuyarira (Tanzania), Bishop Lavrentije Trifunovitch (Yugoslavia), Prof Gherman Troitzky (USSR), Rev R.J. van der Veen (Netherlands), Miss Pauline Webb (UK), Rev Andrew J. Young (USA). Three places are still vacant. Mr Bola Ige from Nigeria has accepted to be the Committee's Chairman.

(c) *Staff Coordinating Group*

From the beginning it was clear that if the new programme was to be effective, it needed to involve all units of the WCC. For this reason a Staff Coordinating Group drawn from the various departments and divisions was appointed. It is here that such questions as racism and the role of the DWME and DICARWS in relation to mission board and service agency policies and programmes are being discussed. It is in this group that race questions are coordinated with the CCPD (Development), Faith and Order, CCIA, the Personnel and Finance Departments, etc.

3. First Developments of the Programme

(a) *Defining Priorities*

At its first meeting in May/June 1970 the International Advisory Committee drew up a number of priorities to guide the staff. It was generally agreed that the main aim of the PCR will be to find ways and means to express solidarity in word *and* deed with the racially oppressed. This solidarity would be shown in the following ways:

- (i) Study the Biblical teachings regarding race;
- (ii) collect, analyse and interpret information on the effects of white racism on the oppressed;
- (iii) collect and interpret analyses on the causes of white racism and propose ways of combating these causes. Oppressors and oppressed should study themselves, not each other;
- (iv) work for the liberation (in the broadest sense) of the racially oppressed peoples by
 - a) action oriented research directed towards the liberation of the racially oppressed
 - b) projects related to "conscientization"*
 - c) projects related to changing racist structures
 - d) emergency programme for racially oppressed;
- (v) analyse the involvement of the churches and the WCC in white racism and propose ways of combating this involvement.

(b) *Research Projects initiated and contemplated*

- (i) A symposium on the Indian Problem in Latin America
- (ii) A Fact-finding Research Project on the Aboriginal Problem in Australia
- (iii) A Fact-finding Research Project on the Proposed Kunene Dam in Southern Angola
- (iv) Land Rights Symposium

(c) *Publication*

The PCR has published three profiles on the humanitarian programmes of liberation movements in Africa which have been supported by the Special Fund to Combat Racism.

- FRELIMO of Mozambique
- PAIG of Guine-Bissau
- ANC of South Africa

These have been widely distributed as a part of multiple strategies/conscientization approach. In addition, the PCR has commissioned a series of short articles from a number of specialists. These provide information on racial tensions in those parts of the world in which organisations of the racially oppressed have received support from the Special Fund.

(c) *Special Fund*

One part of the Programme is concerned with the Special Fund to Combat Racism. The Canterbury Central Committee decided:

- A. that a special fund be created by:
 - (i) the transfer to the Special Fund of \$200 000
 - (ii) an appeal to the member churches to contribute to the Special Fund at least \$300 000;
- B. that this special Fund be distributed to organisations of oppressed racial groups or organisations supporting victims of racial injustice whose purposes are not inconsonant with the general purposes of the World Council and, in respect of funds provided from the reserves of those divisions, with the general purposes of the DICARWS and the DWME, to be used in their struggle for economic, social and political justice;
- C. that the Executive Committee be authorised to decide, on recommendations from the International Advisory Committee, the organisations to which the Special Fund shall be distributed".

In conformity with this decision, the International Advisory Committee made specific recommendations to the Executive Committee about the allocation of \$200 000 to 19 organisations which were adopted at its meeting in Arnoldshain (Germany) in September 1970.

So far income for the Fund has been disappointing although there are indications that a number of churches are considering to make a contribution. It is indeed of the greatest importance that the Fund continues to operate and that recommendations for further allocations be made by the International Advisory Committee at its next meeting in March 1971. The first allocation of funds has been received with enthusiasm by the racially oppressed. *The continuance of the programme is of the greatest importance and should include the fullest cooperation of the other units of the WCC.*

(e) Programme Activities

Programme activities will need to be coordinated by the PCR in line with the principle of *multiple strategies*. Special consideration should be given to *regional developments*. Regional, national and local working groups are now being created. These groups could help considerably in observation of specific area developments, needs of organizations and groups worthy of support, proposals for PCR programmes, etc.

One contribution which the Programme can make towards racial justice in a specific area, is by an *interracial team visit*. The International Advisory Committee agreed that teams of inquiry could be a useful instrument in combating racism in certain areas. Especially churches that are isolated should be visited. It is important that the team informs itself in detail beforehand and that it is carefully chosen. The role of such a team would be threefold:

- (i) to express and personify the ecumenical *commitment* with all those engaged in the struggle for racial justice and recommend to the Churches humanitarian services which support their goals;
- (ii) to help the churches in a particular area (and the WCC) deepen their understanding of local race problems and to set these in the larger world context;
- (iii) to assist local churches, national ecumenical and denominational bodies and the World Council in formulating guidelines for ecumenical action to advance racial justice.

The need for cooperation with the *Roman Catholics* at various levels (through SODEPAX), the Commission for Justice and Peace in Rome, national and local groups) is clear. Contacts have already been discussed.

The *United Nations* have declared 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The PCR has welcomed this UN programme and expressed its desire for co-operation. Although the total programme can be regarded as a contribution towards this special year, the staff is in touch with the various national working groups about their involvement in national and international manifestations. Several international consultations on racism are being planned (e.g. by the Organisation for African Unity - OAU, Justitia et Pax and the Cassin Institute) in which the PCR is participating.

* *A useful working definition of "conscientization" is: "awakening of consciousness, change of mentality involving an accurate, realistic awareness of one's locus in nature and society; the capacity to analyse critically one's situation, its causes and consequences, comparing it with other situations and possibilities, and action of a logical sort aimed at transformation. Psychologically it entails an awareness of one's dignity, the practice of freedom."* (See *West Coast South America Series, Vol. XV, No. 1, "The Paulo Freire Method"* by Thomas C. Sanders).

PROGRAMME AND

RESEARCH BUDGET - 1971

The proposed programme and research budget below represents modest and initial projections of areas of activity requiring immediate attention and action. The proposed budget reflects a careful estimate of costs which may be subject to change as a result of the actual costs as the programmes develop. The very recent completion of staff appointments and the necessity for preparing a presentation for this meeting made it impossible to arrive at exact costs.

I. Regional and Area Consultations \$20 000

A series of regional and/or area consultations with representatives drawn from the constituency, minority, private and secular groups to identify and discuss regional or area manifestations of racism, to develop and propose possible programmes for the reduction and elimination of racism through the churches and church initiated action.

The regions or areas provisionally identified are as follows: Africa, Asia, Australia, Latin America, Carribean, North America and Europe.

Further work by the staff and the Advisory Committee will be required to determine specific areas in which Consultations will be held in 1971. Factors bearing on the final selection include need, local interest, potential support from the constituent churches and Councils of Churches, etc.

It is expected that not more than 2-3 Consultations will be held in 1971. This projection appears realistic in terms of the planning and organisation required for developing programme and resources.

Follow-up on the Consultations will be determined in large measure by the recommendations and proposals which may emerge. This will have budget implications for 1972 and subsequent years. For example, if the decision is made to establish a regional or area committee, funds may be required for meetings and programme development. Full implications for 1972 and onward will become clearer after the Consultations have been held.

II. Ecumenical Team Visitation \$8 000

Small teams of experts in race and problems related to it will be organised and sent to areas in response to requests from areas for interracial and ecumenical assistance in programme and strategy development. Visitation will be related to the follow-up of the Consultations proposed in I above. Since it is expected that 2-3 Consultations will be held in 1971, it is anticipated that the small budget proposed here will be adequate for at least one team visit.

**III. Action Oriented Research and Strategy
Development \$20 000**

This will include both international and regional research on the complex of issues related to institutional, structural racism, and to aid in the development of strategy useful for international and regional programmes to combat racism.

Presently going forward:-

- A study of the Latin American Indian problem
- Research and fact-finding on Aboriginal problems in Australia
- Research and fact-finding on the Cunene River Dam in Angola

IV. Ad Hoc Study and Project Groups \$10 000

From time to time ad hoc study and project groups will be organised to deal with specific areas of interest. These will make use of the staff service of PCR and from other WCC units, since in most instances, the subject-matter will relate to broad areas inclusive of concerns of one or more WCC units. Membership will be drawn from the constituency and will include others whose competence and expertise is needed. Project groups will be discharged on completion of their assignments. In each instance, effort will be made to secure financial support and staff involvement from units related to or involved in the areas of study.

The following at present appear appropriate:-

- a) Public media: the role, responsibility and activity of media in interpretation, dissemination of information and opinion formation concerning racism; indigenisation of media (ownership, control, etc.)
- b) Inter-faith involvement in joint or at least complementary planning and strategy development in dealing with racism (RC, WCC constituency and other faiths)
- c) Law and order enforcement in relation to efforts to reduce or eliminate racism, i.e. courts, legal system, police and law enforcement, etc.
- d) Study of local situations to develop programme and strategy for leadership training, community organisation and political action.

V. Publications \$10 000

Publication and circulation of theological, sociological, political and other analyses of racism and other materials necessary and useful for the education and action of the constituency.

Some publications will be prepared for free distribution and others in cooperation with the WCC's Publications Department.

Resources needed in 1971

The needs listed above total \$68 000. A provision towards these expenses of Fr 136 000 (about \$32 000) is included in the proposed 1971 budget for the Secretariat of the Programme to Combat Racism. There thus remains need to secure additional resources of about \$36 000 under Programme Project procedures.

TOWARDS A POLITICAL THEOLOGY

Andrew Prior

THE FIRST title of this article was "engaged theology". I am not sure what this term means; to what does theology engage itself? Is it to prayer, social work or "society"? I vaguely recollect a stream of reactionary French theology in the 1950s which went under the name of 'theologie engagee' which, in trying to become socially significant, fell into disrepute. "Keep religion out of politics" was the fortunate hammer which beat life out of the movement. It is not my intention to embark upon an historical survey of 'engaged theology', its successes and failings but to attempt to bring to light the initial insight of the group. This I take to be the relation between theology and politics or Church and society and for this reason I have opted for the title of "Political Theology".

The phrase 'political theology' is highly ambiguous. And before I give you a working definition of this type of theology I must ask you to be patient and to accept the phrase at its face value. What I am going to suggest is that modern theology is falling short in prescribing the Christians' place in society, that this failure is due, in large part, to an existential, transcendental or "Formgeschichte" approach to theology and that only a "political theology" will be able to fill this gap. I see "political theology" as a useful and necessary corrective to modern theology.

□

Before I give content to the phrase, the shortcomings of our present theology must be pointed out.

The influence of a Kierkegaardian or Bultmanian language in theology cannot be underestimated. The language of encounter the importance of 'I-Thou' relationships, the necessity of 'decision' all these are now prominent categories through which the New Testament is interpreted. A central Christian imperative like "You shall love your neighbour as yourself" is given new significance when translated into an existential language. Love is seen as an encounter between individuals; love breaks down previous estrangement and is at the heart of one's

Andrew Prior, philosophy lecturer at the University of Cape Town concludes his series of three articles on "Towards a theology of transformation".

encounter with God in faith. An encounter is possible only between individuals who are sufficiently close to establish a face to face contact. This is essentially a private affair; it is the concern of the individuals involved; it is at the basis of a Christian fellowship. It is presumed or, at least, hoped that such encounters will have a social significance. Clearly, there is no guarantee that this will happen except, of course, if one is content to stretch the word 'society' to include that relationship which is set up between two people involved in a mutual encounter. It is presupposed that such a relationship is possible between people irrespective of the conditions of society. Society and the individual are effectively divorced from each other, private and public life hardly overlap and Christianity becomes a matter of believing individuals and not of believing society.

With all its talk of being radical and existential, for all its talk of encounter and decision, this form of Christianity is not the faith which the world is going to hate. It will not make the slightest difference to anything, outside of the small circle of one's immediate neighbours. While it provides an effective language for demythologising the Scriptures, it falls into the myth of seeing man as totally separated from the world of human, social and economic affairs. The failure here is to base the theology on an anthropology which views man as a possibility only within a *community* and leaving out of consideration man as a *societal* being.

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This rather negative criticism of a particular tendency within modern theology can help us see the place which a "political theology" can fill. We need a theology which concerns man in his totality and our task is primarily one of the 'deprivatization' of theology. The individual-society, religion-politics dichotomy must be re-examined. It is not necessary for us to show that dichotomised thinking results in schizophrenic activity nor to give a sociological or philosophical argument aimed at breaking down this compartmentalisation of man. Let it suffice to say that we are often misled by the way we use the words religion, politics, individual or society. Such logical categories can bewitch us into taking logic for reality. Religious, economic or political relations are not different things but simply different ways of thinking about the one reality viz. man among other men. While our diverse language games are different logical schemes introduced for conceptual clarity, living man is only fragmented into categories at the expense of his humanity. A political theology is concerned with the whole man, how he related himself to other men and what form this relatedness takes. The ontological fragmentation of man, as say in Cartesianism, makes this theology impossible and the Hegelian theology of spirit makes this unnecessary.

The modern solution to the problem of dichotomising man is traceable back to the Enlightenment. For Kant he is enlightened "who is free to make public use of his intelligence under all circumstances". The important world here is "public"; the

man constrained to live a private intellectual life, whose thoughts may not be publicly articulated cannot be free or enlightened. Freedom or enlightenment is understood as a political reality; the call to freedom is the call to participation in political or public affairs and the enlightened man is he who is conscious of the harnessing of his freedom and who does all in his power to remove his bonds. Obstacles to the full expression of freedom may take the form of religious, social or economic constraints. It is on this latter point that Marx, following Hegel, could speak of man's 'alienated' condition. The removal of alienation, the condition of estrangement between man and man, is possible only through socialism. Socialism, for Marx, was not merely a political creed, but the condition in which man achieves his full humanity, when genuine human relationships are possible between men. This is only possible when economic and social relationships are structured to serve man and not man structured in the image of the economy or society.

The issue for Kant and Marx is the understanding of man. Man is taken up wholly into human affairs and society. The web of relationships linking man to his fellow men is a source of estrangement or enrichment. The estranged man is he who lacks essential qualities of being-human and is de-humanised.

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It is this conception of man which is, I suggest at the heart of a political theology. Opponents to this view base their stand on a radically different anthropology which shows strong tendencies to fragment man. This finds its expression in their views of history, creation and the image of the world. For lack of a better phrase I shall call this a 'religious anthropology'. In such a perspective (as I pointed out in my previous articles), time and eternity are radically distinct. Time is the place wherein man prepared himself for his eternal destiny. The temporal order has no value in itself for it is completely directed to the eternal. Secular values are not only subordinate to religious values but obtain their meaning from them. This dichotomy between earth and heaven, time and eternity is expressed in the notion of creation.

All creative activity becomes the prerogative of God; man is asked, not to create, but to respect the created order. Man's greatness does not lie in transforming the world but in maintaining the so-called God-given order. Accordingly, the religious man will adopt a passive attitude in the face of social, political and economic disorder and will brand any attempt at overthrowing it as subversive. The world for the religionist can be nothing but good. Whatever God created must be complete and ordered and cannot be perfected. Such a view expresses itself in political conservatism in allying itself with the present social order and will do all in its power to prevent its alteration. Political theology is, in this view, hardly a possibility and political activity is a mere appendage to one's life.

The non-religious or secular view of man which makes political theology possible is directly opposed

to this. Man is here not somebody who accepts but one who proposes. He refuses to accept any system and its values as being expressions of a God-given order but rather as a challenge to his own creative powers. Progress and development are primary virtues. Injustices and divisions within society are not not to be understood as inevitable or good but as an invitation to his transforming powers. God creates man to be the gardener of the world. More than this, God communicates his creative power to man by creating him in his image. Man becomes a creator. And so, far from accepting the world and social reality as he finds it, man is called upon to improve the world and relations between men.

All I have been trying to say in this rather long excursus is that political theology is only possible if it is a secularised theology. I could equally well say that a political theology is, really, only another name for biblical or secular theology. Indications of this are found in the Old Testament. Salvation is a political reality: the nation is the recipient of salvation and the individual shares in this by belonging to a political group. The means used to convey this salvation are themselves political: law, covenant, Kingdom and Messiah. Even the place where salvation is ultimately found, amongst the 'anawim', is primarily a political group; albeit a victimised group living within the crevices of society. The New Testament shares many similar motives with the Old Testament. Jesus is the victim of a political game played between the Jews and Romans, he is condemned as a political prisoner and he dies publicly "as a sign to the nations".

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A "POLITICAL ECCLESIOLOGY"

How does what we have said apply to the Church? The answer we give to this question must be consistent with a non-religious anthropology. A man is only a man among other men. Associations, communities and societies are not only appendages to being-human, but part of what it means to be human. The Christian is no exception. One is only a Christian because of his community with Christ and other Christians. This community of Christians is the Church. There is no Christian without the Church and no Church without Christians. I see a "political ecclesiology" as another necessary corrective to modern theology.

An existential theology tends to see the Church as a place where the tensions of society are resolved and a genuine human community is made possible. Here the Church is a place of "Mitmenschlichkeit", a "home" or an island of meaning in a meaningless society. Society and community are distinguished. Society is the place of one's day to day alienation by work; community provides a temporary escape from the frustrations of society. As a community within society the Church provides, warmth, genuine fellowship and friendliness denied to us by society. The Church, then, negates rather than challenges society. It understands Church reform as being possible without society reform. It takes for granted that genuine community is possible within an alienating society.

Another prevalent, though often unarticulated, image of the Church today is that of a "pillar", something which does to prop up the existing Establishment. Here the Church is part of the social milieu, its presence sacralizes the *status quo*. Tensions between Church and society are solved by reforming the Church into the image of society and not society in the image of the Church. This posture of the Church hardly differs from that of any other institution whose avowed aim is one of maintenance and consolidation.

Both images of the Church result in political conservatism. The Church as a 'home' writes off society and refuses to see man in any dimension other than his individualism. The Church as a 'pillar' takes account of the socio-political dimension of Christian life but acquiesces totally to the structure dictated to it by society. Both views refuse to see that society can be the object of salvation.

The insufficiency of these views is obvious. Both succumb to the role dictated by society. A political ecclesiology must indicate that the Church must realise its vocation through its inner dynamism and not by exterior dictation.

Following Moltmann * we can begin to sketch out the lines for a new political ecclesiology. This we can do within an eschatology or, more understandably, the theology of hope. The word eschatology is unfortunately vague and it needs to be given content. Words like brotherhood, peace, love and harmony have always been seen as the object of Christian hope. Brotherhood describes the state of kinship, peace implies the removal or war-creating tensions and love the breaking down of the objectivity of the other, Christian eschatology is, then, the state of man after he has removed all barriers surrounding and separating him from his neighbour and Christ.

* In his book: "The Theology of Hope"

WHERE ARE WE GOING POLITICALLY?

DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE IN S.A. POLITICS

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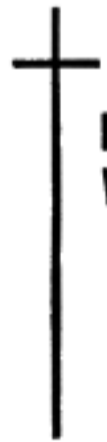
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