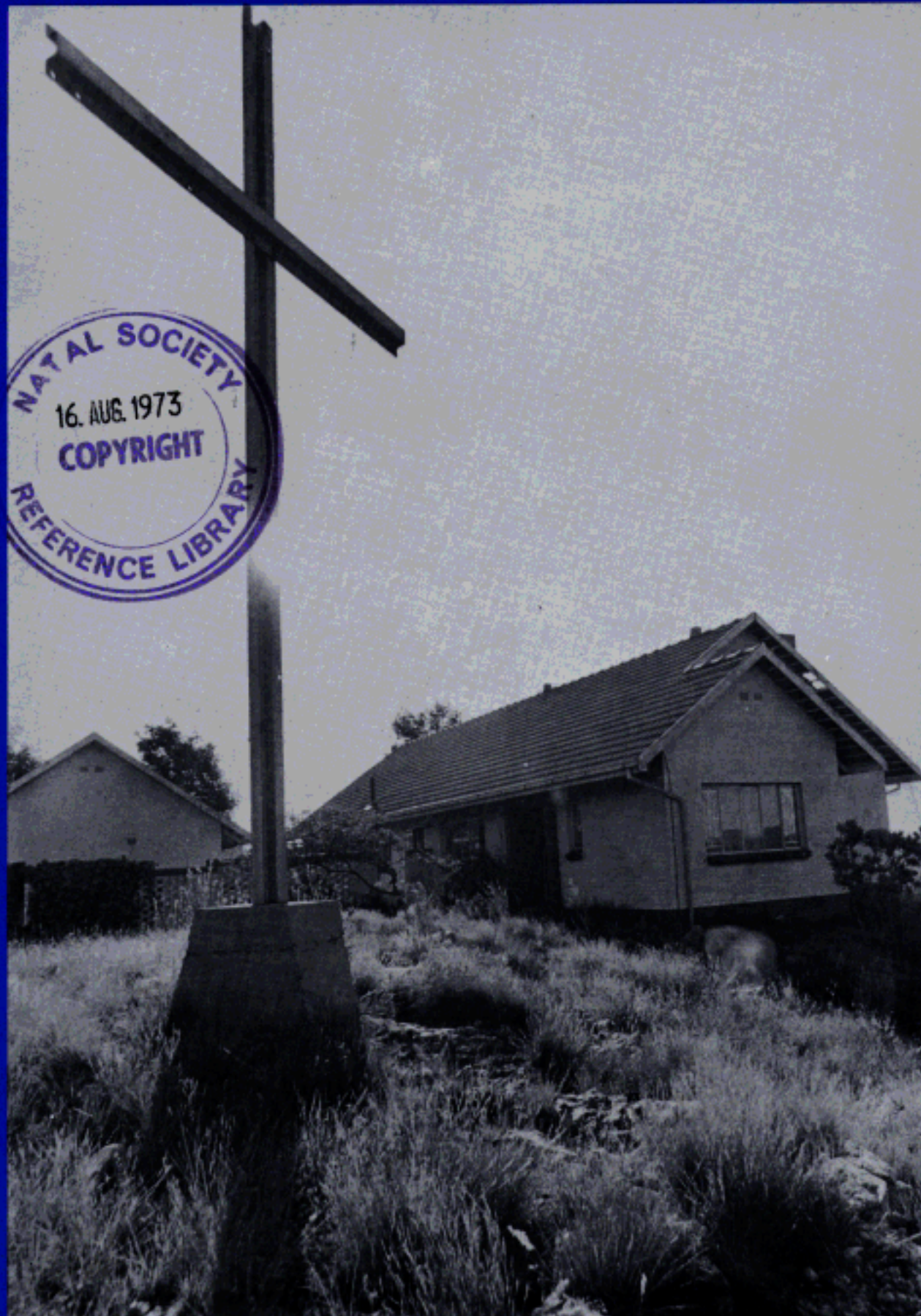


PRO VERITATE



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COVER PHOTOGRAPH

THE CROSS WHICH STANDS AS A BEACON DEMARCATING THE BOUNDARY OF THE WILGESPRUIT GROUNDS, WITH SOME OF THE BUILDINGS IN THE BACKGROUND. THE COMMITTEE, APPOINTED BY THE S.A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF EX-JUDGE DENDY YOUNG, INVESTIGATED THE WILGESPRUIT COMMUNITY CENTRE PUBLICLY AND HAS REJECTED THE ALLEGATIONS OF THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION. IT HAS ALSO BEEN DECIDED THAT THE COURSES WILL SOON BE RESUMED.

VOORBLADFOTO

DIE KRUISBAKEN WAT DIE GRENS VAN DIE WILGESPRUIT-TERREIN AANDUI MET SOMMIGE VAN DIE GEBOUE IN DIE AGTERGROND. DIE KOMITEE VAN DIE S.A. RAAD VAN KERKE, GELEI DEUR GEWESE REGTER DENDY YOUNG, WAT DIE WILGESPRUIT-GEMEENSKAPSENTRUM IN DIE OPENBAAR ONDERSOEK HET, HET SO PAS DIE AANTYGINGS VAN DIE SCHLEBUSCHKOMITEE AS ONWAAR VERWERP. DAAR IS OOK BESLUIT DAT DIE KURSUSSE SPOEDIG HERVAT SAL WORD.

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RADICAL CHANGE IN S.A.

In the tenth year of its existence the Christian Institute has decided to issue a directive for radical Christian change in South Africa. This is contained in three brochures, "Christian Change", "The Christian Principles for which the Christian Institute stands in Southern Africa" and "A Programme of action for the Christian Institute", available from the Christian Institute and published in this edition as well.

This "manifesto", as it was described by the press, has sparked off a tremendous reaction from the Afrikaans press. Die Vaderland reacted with a main article on the front page under the headline "C.I. drops bomb in its shock manifesto". We publish this article as well in order to enable our readers to judge for themselves whether or not this was a just report on the "manifesto".

AN OPPRESSIVE SITUATION

Even if there be different ways for attempting to solve the problems in South Africa, it is becoming more and more obvious that only rapid, radical Christian change will ultimately bring forth a society where peace and justice reign. The *Verligte Aksie*, being launched at present must be prepared to champion, and to work for, far-reaching structural changes, otherwise it will be degraded to an innocent parlour game. This will require the co-operation and joint authority of the black people (and this includes Coloureds and Asians) without which this action will remain another white pipe-dream.

The situation appears critical at present:

1. Some *homeland leaders* reject the apartheid policy and lay claim to their rights and sufficient land. If the homeland policy should fail, it would mean that the basis of apartheid has been destroyed and the white man will have to accept the black people as citizens of South Africa, whether he wants to or not. According to statistics more black than white people will in any case be permanent residents of South Africa.

2. *Black consciousness* is developing at a tremendous rate and is here to stay. This means that in future, any further manipulation of the black people will only be possible with the utmost forms of violence by the white people.

3. That *polarisation and alienation* are snow-balling again is clearly illustrated by the closing of the University of the Western Cape. The Coloured students, in search of solidarity against the whites, are demanding fundamental changes which will honour their human dignity.

4. The *pressures on South Africa*, from all sides and on all levels, are increasing; e.g. in the fields of investment and sport, and military actions on the borders. It is clear that the Government, making superficial adjustments, is losing control of the situation. Structural violence, massive defence budgets and activities, and bannings without trial will ultimately be the order of the day.

RADIKALE VERANDERING

Die Christelike Instituut het besluit om in sy tiende bestaansjaar 'n riglyn vir radikale Christelike verandering vir Suid-Afrika uit te spel. Dit is in drie brosjures wat by die C.I. verkrygbaar is, vervat, nl. „Christelike Verandering“, „Die Christelike beginsels waarvoor die C.I. in S.A. staan“ en „'n Program van aksie vir die Christelike Instituut“, en dit is ook in hierdie uitgawe gepubliseer.

Hierdie „manifes“, soos dit deur die pers beskryf is, het geweldige reaksie in die Afrikaanse pers uitgelok. Die Vaderland het daarop in die hoofberig op sy voorblad onder die opskrif „C.I. los bom in sy skokmanifes“ gereageer. Elders in die uitgawe word dit ook gepubliseer sodat die lesers self kan besluit of dit 'n billike weergawe van die C.I. se „manifes“ is.

'N BENOUEDE SITUASIE

Al sou dit moontlik wees om baie weë te volg om die probleme in S.A. te probeer oplos, word dit al meer duidelik dat alleenlik snelle, radikale, Christelike verandering enigins 'n samelewing op die langduur sal voortbring waar vrede en geregtigheid heers. Die *Verligte Aksie* wat op die oomblik van stapel gestuur word, sal bereid moet wees om ingrypende struktuurveranderinge voor te staan en daarvoor te werk, as dit nie tot 'n onskuldige studeerkamerspeletjie gedegradeer wil word nie. Daarvoor is in die eerste plek die samewerking en medegesag van die swartman (dit sluit die Kleurlinge en Asiërs in), nodig, waarsonder dié aksie slegs nog 'n wit wensdroom sal wees.

Die situasie lyk op die oomblik kritiek:

1. Sommige *tuislandleiers* verwerp die apartheidsbeleid en maak op regte en genoegsame grondgebied aanspraak. As die tuislandbeleid faal, beteken dit dat die basis van dié beleid daarmee heen is en sal die witman, of hy wil of nie, die swartman as *burger van Suid-Afrika* moet aanvaar. Volgens statistieke sal meer swart-as witmense in elk geval permanente inwoners van S.A. wees.

2. *Swartbewustheid* is besig om teen 'n geweldige tempo te ontwikkel en dit het gekom om finaal te bly. Dit beteken dat die witman die swartman in die toekoms slegs met die uiterste vorm van geweld verder sal kan manipuleer.

3. *Polarisasie en vervreemding* sneeubal soos nou weer duidelik uit die sluiting van die Wes-Kaapse Universiteit blyk. Die Kleurlingstudente, wat nou solidariteit met almal teen die blankes soek, eis fundamentele verandering wat hulle menswaardigheid sal honoreer.

4. *Druk op S.A.* neem van alle kante en op alle vlakke, soos bv. op die gebied van beleggings en sport, toe, terwyl die militêre bedrywighede op die grense nie verminder nie. Dit is duidelik dat die regering met oppervlakkige aanpassings beheer oor die situasie verloor en op die lang duur sal strukturele geweld, reuse

COMPREHENSIVE RENEWAL

André Bieler, an authority on Calvinism, states that the history of Christianity over twenty centuries has proved that nowhere on earth and under no circumstances has it been possible to stop the ultimate liberation of man, inspired by the gospel, by means of violence. Further: The greatness and the strength of Calvin was that he initiated a Reformation which was at the same time spiritual, social, political and universal, that is to say supranational."

This is the scope which guided the Christian Institute in the formulation of its Christian principles as a directive for radical change. The Christian religion is not merely a simple, inner, mystical experience which enables the oppressed human being to endure injustice and suffering passively and patiently while waiting for the life hereafter. Nor is the gospel an outward political programme which can merge with the apartheid ideology of a particular race or nation. Some Christians in South Africa have identified Christianity with the former concept. Christian nationalism", which is the background and philosophy of the apartheid policy, has identified Christianity with the latter.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ delivers man from personal and collective sin, individual and structural exploitation, and brings man, regardless of race, descent or social status, into the liberating fellowship where love and justice prevail. The most important thing in the life of a believer is not his race, status or development, but his new, liberated way of life in Jesus Christ.

If the will of man therefore demands unchristian racism by legal or other means, the believer must obey the will of God. Even if the believer has to suffer, he cannot act in any other way because this is his new Christian way of life (Acts 4).

PRACTICE AND SURVIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN?

What does this directive mean in practice? In essence it means that *everybody* in South Africa will receive equal opportunities for development in the fields of education, economics, politics, the law and the church, etc. It further means that *everybody*, and not only the white people, must be involved in the making of decisions, laws, etc. in South Africa.

The Christian Institute and Pro Veritate stand for peaceful, radical, Christian change. This might still be possible under the present circumstances, but if this does not happen soon, it might well be too late.

Some white people's immediate reaction will be, "What about the survival of the white man and his white descendants?" The answer to this is that such a question is in the first place a question about racism and not about the continued existence of Christianity. The choice which the white man has been evading will have to be made soon. The choice is between a Christian way of life, characterised by justice and freedom and not by racial consciousness, and a completely totalitarian state which upholds apartheid with naked violence in order to ensure the continuance of the privileges and existence of the whites. With the first choice, the Christian way of life, it is possible to build a

verdedigingsbegrotings en -bedrywighede en inperkings sonder verhoor al meer aan die orde van die dag wees.

OMVATTENDE VERNUWING

André Bieler, 'n deskundige op die gebied van Calvinisme, het gesê dat die geskiedenis van die Christendom van twintig eeue bewys het dat die bevryding van die mens wat deur die evangelie geïnspireer is, nêrens op aarde en onder geen omstandighede op die lang duur deur geweld gestuit kan word nie. En verder: „Die grootheid en krag van Calvyn was dat hy 'n hervorming begin het wat terselfdertyd geestelik, maatskaplik, polities en universeel, d.w.s. supra-nasionaal was."

Dit is op hierdie weg wat die Christelike beginsels vir radikale verandering deur die Christelike Instituut as 'n rigsgoer opgestel is. Die Christelike godsdiens is nie maar 'n eenvoudige innerlike mistieke ervaring wat die onderdrukte mens in staat stel om op 'n passiewe wyse die onreg en lyding met geduld te verdra en op die hemelse lewe te wag nie. Ook is die evangelie nie 'n uiterlike politieke program wat met 'n apartheidsideologie van 'n bepaalde ras of volk kan saamsmelt nie. Sommige Christene in Suid-Afrika het die Christendom met eersgenoemde opvatting vereenselwig, en „Christelike nasionalisme" wat die agtergrond en filosofie van die apartheidbeleid vorm, het die Christendom met laasgenoemde vereenselwig.

Die evangelie van Jesus Christus verlos die mens van persoonlike en kollektiewe sonde, individuele en strukturele uitbuiting, en bring die mens ongeag sy ras, afkoms en sosiale status in die bevrydende gemeenskap waar liefde en geregtigheid seëvier. Die belangrikste in 'n gelowige se lewe is nie sy ras, status of ontwikkeling nie, maar sy nuwe bevryde lewenswyse in Jesus Christus.

Daarom moet 'n gelowige God se wil gehoorsaam in teenstelling met die mens se wil as dit van hom onchristelike rassisme deur wetgewing of andersins verlang. Al moet 'n gelowige ly, kan hy eintlik nie anders optree nie omdat dit sy nuwe Christelike lewenswyse is (Hand. 4).

DIE PRAKTYK EN DIE VOORTBESTAAN VAN DIE BLANKE?

Wat beteken dié riglyn vir die praktyk? Om dit in 'n neutredop saam te vat, beteken dit dat *almal* in die één S.A. gelyke geleenthede tot ontwikkeling sal ontvang op die terreine van o.a. opvoeding, ekonomie, politiek, wet en die kerk. Verder beteken dit dat *almal* by die neem van besluite, wette, ens., in S.A. betrokke moet wees en nie slegs die blanke nie.

Die Christelike Instituut en Pro Veritate staan vir vreedsame, radikale, Christelike verandering, en dit is miskien nou nog in die huidige omstandighede moontlik, maar as dit nie spoedig kom nie, kan dit moontlik daarvoor te laat wees.

Sommige witmense sal onmiddellik vra: „Wat dan van die voortbestaan van die blankes en sy wit nageslag?" Daarop moet geantwoord word dat dié vraag in elk geval in die eerste plek 'n rassevraag en nie 'n vraag oor die voortbestaan van die Christendom is nie. 'n Keuse

shared society which does not necessarily include "mixing". Christian unity among people does not abolish diversity, but it does destroy the overpowering importance of such diversity. The second choice, ongoing enforced apartheid, will bring us face to face with isolation, contempt, strife, hate and an eventual bloodbath.

In depth the question put to the white man is not the question of his own survival, because the gospel testifies that he who wishes to save his life will lose it, but a question as to the quality of his life. In South Africa everybody will have to answer this question before God: Does something of the image of God shine through in our lives in the political, economic and social spheres? Are we reshaping our lives and those of our neighbours in society according to the image of Christ in his love, sacrifice, self-denial and service unto the death of the cross and the resurrection? The real choice before us in the South African apartheid ideology and society is the choice for or against Christ, the Son of God.



wat die blanke tot nou toe nog ontwyk het, sal spoedig gemaak moet word. 'n Keuse vir 'n Christelike lewenswyse waar die kenmerke geregtigheid en vryheid sal wees en nie rasbewustheid nie, of 'n keuse vir 'n volslae totalitaristiese staat wat apartheid met naakte geweld handhaaf om die blanke se voorregte en voortbestaan probeer verseker. Met eersgenoemde keuse, 'n Christelike lewenswyse, kan 'n gemeenskaplike samelewing opgebou word, wat nie noodwendig „vermenging” hoof in te sluit nie. Christelike eenheid tussen mense hef in elk geval nie die verskeidenheid op nie, maar vernietig die allesoorheersende belangrikheid daarvan. Met die tweede keuse, die volgehoue keuse vir geforseerde apartheid, kom wat wil, staar isolasie, veragting, stryd, haat en uiteindelik 'n bloedbad ons in die gesig.

Ten diepste is die vraag vir die blanke nie om sy eie voortbestaan nie, want die evangelie getuig dat hy wat sy lewe wil red dit sal verloor, maar wat die kwaliteit van sy lewe is. In S.A. moet elkeen hom voor God met dié vraag verantwoord: Straal daar iets van die beeld van God in ons lewens op die politieke, ekonomiese en sosiale terreine deur? Is ons besig om ons lewens en dié van ons medemense in ons samelewing te omvorm na die beeld van Christus in sy liefde, opoffering, selfverloëning en diens tot in die kruisdood en opstanding? Die eintlike keuse waarvoor ons in S.A. se apartheidsideologie en -samelewing staan, is die keuse vir of téén Christus, die Seun van God.



WE SHALL RETURN

(To all black people whose homes were taken and given to "White Christians")

Like the bee returns to the flower
and the mole returns to his burrow
like the river runs back to the sea
and the bird to his nest at night
like ships return to port
and waves roll back to the shore

so we too shall one day return
to homes we once called our own
until these whites kicked us out
in a sweet Christian manner
Women shall once more stand
in front of blackened stoves
and feed the roaring flames
with dry wood from the mountain.
Black children shall play again
in the ruins and alleys and lanes
and fields and hideouts and trees
like they did yesterday
in Simonstown and District Six
and Kenilworth and Kirstenbosch
before they were chased away
in a sweet Christian manner.

The fisherman shall one day cry
with joy when they return to their stolen homes close to the
shore

where anchors have gone rusty
and nets have decayed and boats
and oars have been silently beaten
by the sea.

They'll kiss the shore and dry their
eyes and offload their catches
with hairy black hands
and sip a pint or two in old
beloved taverns which have been
taken away

and sincere white friends who wept
when we left will peep from behind
curtains and cry quietly and say:
Our town has got its soul back again
and in the dark of the night when
the seagulls have gone to sleep
and policemen ain't looking
they'll celebrate.

When will that be?
When sanity returns to white man's mind
When they realise that we are black and
beautiful and human
just like they are.

howard eybers

the need for POLITICAL REFORM

beyers naudé

This lecture was given in Durban on 12.6.'73 in the series of Spro-cas lectures on the need for reform.

In accepting the singular honour of dealing with a theme of such crucial importance for our country as stated in the title of address, I am deeply aware of many personal shortcomings in doing justice to the subject. On the other hand my deep concern for the future of our country leaves me no choice but to share with you—and I hope with many others outside this hall—my views, insights and concerns, as well as the steps which I believe to be urgently required in order to prevent a major catastrophe in the future.

Because of the wide scope of issues included in the full title, *The Need for Social and Political Reform*, I was forced to concentrate mainly on the need for political reform because of the seriousness of our current political situation and because in our country, with its dangerous legal restrictions of social issues, social reform could only become operative and effective when fundamental political change has been brought about.

The Present Political Position

The report of the Spro-cas Political Commission has dealt so clearly with the basic ethical principles which, for a Christian in any case, should underlie his political criteria and judgements, that I do not see that it could serve any useful purpose to try and repeat the contents thereof. Similarly, the different Spro-cas Reports have dealt so ably and with such devastating accuracy with the harsh and bitter realities of the policy of apartheid and with the long, sad history of the breaching of ethical principles, the erosion of practically all black political rights, the removal of civil liberties and the disastrous effect this has already had and is increasingly going to have on black and white people, that I see no point in repeating what we all know—or should know: that for all practical purposes no black man in this country has any effective say or share in any of the political decisions of our country. This situation has existed for many years, even before the National Party came to power, but since 1948 it has deteriorated badly. Although political leaders of the African and Indian racial groups have tried for many years to bring about political change, the increasingly repressive actions of the Government through increased discriminatory legislation, constant bannings, harassments and intimidation by the Security Police, buttressed by a widespread system of paid informers, succeeded in



crushing or suppressing temporarily and effectively all black political opposition.

This situation still exists, except for the emergence of African political leadership in the African homelands—a product of the Government-sponsored agencies which the Government cannot suppress out of fear that this might be seen as an admission of failure on the policy of separate development. But the creation of this limited form of political action in itself cannot be seen to make any appreciable difference to the lack of political rights of the black people of South Africa.

If it is claimed that our political position today is much more serious than before, yes, even dangerous, surely this could only be the case if a number of important new factors have emerged which previously did not exist—or if they existed, did not have any definite or decisive influence on the political situation. Are there such factors or forces present today, and if so, to what degree do they contribute substantially to the situation to make the need for social and political reform more urgent than before? Or, to put it differently, to what degree have new elements or factors been introduced which make the continuation of white domination more dangerous and potentially more explosive?

I wish to mention seven factors which up till approximately three years ago were either non-existent or had very little possibility of making any worthwhile impact—but which from 1970 onwards have created a situation fraught with danger for all South Africans, but especially for the whites.

1. *Increasing isolation of South Africa from the outside world:* During the last three years the voices from many quarters clamouring for the isolation of our country from the outside world have gained tremendous momentum. Nowhere is this more clearly discernable than in the area of sport where we are witnessing the increasing success of a world campaign to exclude our country from all international participation in sport until such time as South Africa fully subscribes to and implements the principle of non-racial sport, clearly implying the selection of players from club level upwards solely on the basis of merit. These pressures have already been partially successful, forcing our Government to institute a system of multi-national sporting events. The fact that the public of Pretoria (the city where the headquarters of a number of verkrampte movements like the HNP and Sabra are centred) responded so positively to this multiracial experiment is proof that many Afrikaners are far more open and amenable to such racial contact than the Government was prepared to admit or to give them credit for, but this will by no means diminish the pressure from the outside world on our country. The fact that a limited measure of success has already been achieved is only going to serve to increase the efforts at isolating our country until such time as we acknowledge that the choice is a simple (but for many Afrikaners an agonising) one: *integration—or isolation*. And if attempts at isolation could be implemented effectively in one sphere (that of sport) we should not be surprised if in other spheres, such as art, drama, cultural exchanges, opportunities for overseas study and participation in international cultural and academic conferences, similar efforts are going to be made.

2. *Increasing economic pressures:* The average white South African is to some degree aware of news reports of individual actions by certain bodies of investments, e.g. the World Council of Churches; the growing chorus of voices from international labour organisations calling upon trade unions to refuse to handle South African goods at ports of trade, e.g. the most recent I.L.O. Conference in Geneva. Not as well known is the full extent of increasing pressures being exerted upon American, British, Dutch, German and Swiss firms operating in South Africa, not only to increase all black wages substantially, but to ensure that full and equal labour rights, as generally accepted

throughout the western world, would be accorded to all South African labourers regardless of race or colour. A number of firms could perhaps withstand these pressures for a shorter or longer period, but eventually the majority will be forced by world opinion and world pressures either to accede to these demands or to pull out of the country. South Africa finds itself in the fortunate position of its economic strength being determined to a much greater degree by its mineral wealth than by its industrial productivity.

Time and again, in one or more important sectors of our economy, a crisis has been averted by such events as the rise in the price of gold or the devaluation of the dollar, and because our economy has remained at this level of strength and the pressures have not yet increased substantially, the Government's position has remained fairly secure. The recent African labour strikes with their demands for a substantial increase in wages, the spiralling cost of living with the spectre of inflation already threatening the existence of all lower income groups, plus the insistent and growing demands of the whole world that South Africa should be hit where it hurts most, i.e. in the fields of trade and investment—all these are signs of a situation of potential danger which could rapidly materialise if our economy takes a wrong turn.

The world economic pressures mounting against South Africa—and for that matter the major part of Southern Africa and the colonial policy of Portugal as enforced upon Mozambique and Angola, could at present still be withstood. But if these pressures are increased through say successful international trade boycotts in some form or other, our position could become very precarious.

3. *Increasing threat of terrorism and military action:* It is generally accepted that there are three world areas of confrontation where warfare could erupt: Vietnam, the Middle East and Southern Africa. With America's withdrawal from Vietnam the attention of the whole world has been focussed much more on the other two areas. During the last three years an increasing number of government, church and private agencies have made contributions to the humanitarian needs of movements described as liberation movements by the world outside, and as terrorist organisations by the white inhabitants of Southern Africa. The difference in terminology is in itself a telling comment on the basic differences in understanding and interpretation between the white minority of Southern Africa and the whole outside world. The increased threat of guerilla and terrorist action in Rhodesia is not only drawing more and

more white people into a common white laager of fear but is also pushing South Africa closer and closer to a situation of armed conflict and war. Even to the uninformed white South African it should now become more evident that our country is slowly drifting—or being inexorably pushed—into a form of open warfare. I am aware of an increasing number of young whites, including married couples with families, who have either already left the country or are seriously contemplating emigrating simply because they see no future for themselves and their children here.

One tragedy is that so many whites become highly emotional, angry or defensive when hearing of increased terrorist incursion in Mozambique and Rhodesia, instead of acknowledging that our racial policies are the main cause for such actions and that if South Africa were to bring about a fundamental reform tomorrow to meet the legitimate political demands of our black population, terrorist action would hold no threat for our country but would in fact be met by the rebuttal of a united front of black and white. Another tragedy is that many blacks have lost all hope that the majority of the white electorate, through a long process of ideological brainwashing, is able any longer to recognise the root causes of the emerging confrontation between black and white, namely the racial policies of our country, and thus to change the course of our history by supporting a political party which advocates a fundamental political and social reform. Thus these whites have become the victims of their fatalism. If it is true that the majority of whites have already consciously or unconsciously accepted that an armed conflict with black Africa is inevitable, then the position of the white people is even more dangerous and vulnerable than they themselves realise.

4. *Growing Black Consciousness—and bitterness:* For many years a number of white and black leaders have been voicing their concern at the continued growth of frustration, anger and bitterness in the hearts of the black people of our country against the whites because of the continued discrimination against and humiliation of people of colour. During the last three years we have seen the emergence and rapid growth of black consciousness, of black political awareness, linked to the mounting criticism of practically all the homeland leaders against the policy of separate development. Daily we sense the growth of bitterness in the hearts of the black people; increasingly we experience the polarization between black and white and the rejection of everything and everyone seen to be white. What future hope is there of building peaceful and harmonious relations between black and white if

and as long as the whites stubbornly refuse to face the many injustices they have inflicted upon the blacks and to seek to bring about reform in every sphere, especially the political and social ones?

5. *South Africa's Vulnerability vis-a-vis South West Africa:* Up till three years ago the situation in South West Africa (Namibia for the outside world) was not seen by the majority of whites to be playing any significant role in the future of our country. The unexpected strike of the Ovambo labourers, the increased pressures of UNO, the voice of concern and protest emanating from the black Lutheran Churches, the danger of Angola eventually becoming a base for terrorist operations against S.W.A.—all these new factors brought home, in no uncertain terms, to the whites of South West and South Africa the vulnerable position of this mandate territory and of the country governing her. It should be clear to all of us to what degree the hasty and full-scale implementation of the policy of separate development has increased the opposition and bitterness amongst the indigenous groups of people of South West and has strengthened the determination of many nations of the world not to rest until the rule of this territory is taken away from South Africa. The military weakness of the United Nations must not blind white South Africans to the potentially explosive situation which the implementation of the policy of separate development has created.
6. *The Present Sterility in White Politics:* Up till three years ago there still seemed to be some form of dynamism and drive in white politics. During the last two years it has become abundantly clear that both the National Party and the official Opposition are unable or unwilling to face the political, social and economic realities of our situation. The National Party is unable to do so—even though some leaders may be willing—because it would require a fundamental reversal of every main principle upon which the N.P. has based and sold its racial policy to the electorate. Moreover, in order to remain in power, it would need a much longer period to bring around its supporters to accept a policy of non-discrimination against and full political participation by blacks than the time we have left. The United Party, in turn, is unwilling to do so because it would require taking a much bolder stand against the N.P. in the field of race relations—which seems a very remote possibility.

No better proof of this political deadlock could be found than the emergence of the verligte movement of a number of Afrikaans academic leaders desperately seeking ways and means of breaking

this deadlock. Their task will be made more difficult by the tragic ignorance in which the Afrikaans electorate is being deliberately kept by the Afrikaans political press, the radio and the Afrikaans churches regarding many aspects of our racial situation. They will also soon discover the dangerous effect of widespread apathy and fear which has been created by the wilful suppression of movements for social change through the vilification, intimidation and labelling of many persons of integrity with such smear labels as "Kafferboeties", liberalists or communists. A crucial test of their concern for and commitment to change will be their willingness to take a determined stand in public in the face of similar accusations.

In evaluating this present political impasse the following facts have to be added to complete the picture of frustration in the situation:

- 6.1 Only two population groups are at present determining the trend of political events in our country: the Afrikaners—and the black people. The other groups feel very strongly left out in the cold, and these two groups stand miles apart.
- 6.2 Political power still lies in the hands of the whites but the political initiative is rapidly passing into the hands of the blacks. For black people this is a source of joy and hope—for whites a source of fear.
- 6.3 At this moment in our history our country urgently needs a person of stature, integrity, charismatic leadership and political acumen who has won the trust of both black and white to such a degree that both groups would be willing to entrust their future to his hands. But where is a leader with such gifts and qualities to be found, who could lift our country out of the present political morass in which we are bogged down? And if he is found, will *both* groups accept him?
7. This leads me to refer to another situation of danger which could arise depending on certain developments. If the U.P., as official Opposition remains as weak as it is at present and if a crisis situation arose in race relations, either in South Africa or in South West Africa, which the Prime Minister interprets to be a serious threat to national security, I would not be at all surprised if Parliament's right to govern would be seriously curtailed or even temporarily suspended and a military regime established. The effect which such a step could have not only on black feelings but also on world opinion would be very serious indeed. Therefore everything possible must be done

to prevent such a development from taking place.

Some Guidelines of Political Reform

In view of the potentially dangerous and explosive situation in which we find ourselves at present, as I have sketched it above, it is of the utmost importance that *all* South Africans who have the peaceful development of our country at heart should urgently seek practical and effective solutions in a new direction. The Political Commission of Spro-cas has come forward with a number of conclusions and recommendations which merit careful consideration. On the basis of this report I shall now try to summarize the kind of reform which I believe is needed in order to defuse the mounting tension and eventual violent confrontation, not only between South Africa and the black movements outside the country bent on overthrowing racial injustice by armed insurrection, but also between white and black within our borders. I present these thoughts as guidelines for the urgent consideration of all those in positions of power as well as for the ordinary citizen who is concerned about the future peace and prosperity of our country.

1. All political reform must start from the accepted premise that it has been conclusively proved that the policy of separate development as implemented from 1948 onwards has failed both in principle and in practice—especially as far as the urban African, the Coloured and the Indian groups are concerned, and that a more satisfactory political policy must be devised to meet the needs and demands of the year 1973.
2. Any political and social reform, to be seen to become relevant and effective, must start with the withdrawal of all statutory forms of discrimination based on colour or race within a specified period.
3. All worthwhile political reform should be based on the principle that all the people of our country should have a just, responsible and effective share in the political decision-making processes of the country.
4. The inhabitants of the African homelands should be given the opportunity by way of a plebiscite (free from any outside control) to indicate whether they wish their homeland to become a fully independent and autonomous state like Lesotho, Swaziland, or Botswana within a specified period, or whether they prefer remaining part of South Africa. A binding promise would have to be given that whatever the outcome of the

plebescite, the South African Government would abide by it—even if it implies discarding the whole Bantustan concept.

5. One of the first and most urgent steps in the reform sought would be to encourage and create opportunities for consultation on the highest level between white and black leaders to work out in mutual agreement a course of political change which can allay the legitimate fears of the whites with regard to an eventual black majority rule, as well as ensure the full participation of blacks in the political decisions of the country. *What we urgently need in our country today is not a consensus between white and white (which is nothing but a strengthening of the white laager!), nor in the first instance a consensus between South Africa and hostile African states, but a consensus between the white and black citizens of our land.*

An Appeal

Because of the crisis situation in which South Africa finds itself at present, and because of the serious danger that the state of undeclared war in which we already are may unexpectedly lead to declared armed warfare against the subcontinent, I wish, with all the strength of conviction and feeling at my command, to make the following appeal:

1. I wish to *appeal to our Prime Minister* to act in the same statesmanlike way as he has done following the Natal labour strikes, to tell the country that the real security of our country does not lie in a consensus of white political opinion, but of white and black opinion—and that all our efforts should in the first place be directed towards that goal.
2. I wish to appeal to *the group of verligte Afrikaner academics* which has expressed its deep concern about the present political sterility and apathy amongst whites to recognise that no verligte white movement has any hope of success unless it has the support of the responsible black leadership of South Africa. Today such a group will still find a positive black response to its approach—tomorrow may be too late.
3. I wish to appeal to *the leaders of commerce and industry* in view of the emerging dangers of increased labour unrest and serious economic disruption, which could follow upon increased

terrorist actions and trade boycotts or economic pressures, to shed the cloak of political "neutrality" behind which many have been hiding and to take the lead in bringing about the political and social reform which is so essential to ensure the peace and prosperity of our country. I would like to extend this appeal not only to the English-speaking and the Jewish business community but also, and especially, to Afrikaner industrialists and business leaders like Dr. Jan S. Marais, Dr. Anton Rupert and Mr. Louis Luyt who, because of their financial strength, wield immense political power and who could, if they wish, make a significant and possibly decisive contribution to participate in steering a new course for our country.

4. I wish to appeal to *the white clergy of our Afrikaans churches*, who in some way or other have privately expressed their deep concern about the turn for the worse which human relations are taking in our country, to come into the open and to speak, as men of God, with a prophetic voice to inform and enlighten our Afrikaner people of what really is at stake. A fearless expression of common concern by a group of Afrikaans clergy could well mark a turning-point in our history. Therefore my urgent and loving plea: In obedience to God, in responsibility to our Afrikaner people, in order to maintain your integrity—speak and act before it is too late!
5. Lastly my appeal to *the black people of our country*. A small—perhaps insignificant—group of whites try to be aware and to make other whites aware of the many forms of injustice and humiliation to which all blacks are subjected. We, this small group of whites, can never fully feel what you feel, suffer what you suffer and strive for liberation as you do. Neither do we have the right to prescribe to you how you should seek to obtain your rights and to achieve your freedom. But we wish to plead with you, in the unwavering belief that the day will surely come and is already coming when your humanity will be fully recognised, your rights will be fully ensured and your people will be truly free: prepare yourselves and your people so well and act in such a responsible, inspired and fearless way that when the social and political reforms which we believe are so desperately and urgently needed have taken place, you will be able to lead South Africa to a new future where all forms of racial superiority, of religious bias, of social inequality and of political injustice will have been left behind.



CHRISTELIKE VERANDERING

1. Christus is Heer

Vernuwing van die menslike samelewing volgens Christus se evangelie beteken persoonlike en nasionale berou en vertroue in Christus vir 'n omvattende verlossing.

2. Ongeskondenheid

Om elke faset van die lewe tot gehoorsaamheid aan Christus te bring, beteken om die dwaling van rassisme, apartheid en „Christelike nasionalisme” te verwerp.

3. Gemeenskap

Christelike liefde streef na die eenheid van alle mense in Christus en na die voorsiening in die behoeftes van die noodlydendes; dit beteken fundamentele verandering van wette wat verdeel en strukture wat onteien.

4. Geleentheid

Om dit vir elke mens moontlik te maak om as 'n persoon tot sy volle potensiaal te ontwikkel, moet dit vir almal moontlik wees om deel te hê in die neem van besluite en die verkryging van grond en rykdom.

5. Gesag

Wetgewing en regering is aan die evangelie van Christus onderworpe en onreg en totalitaristiese aktiwiteite moet verwerp word; wanneer Christene voor onchristelike wette te staan kom, moet hulle God eerder as die mens gehoorsaam.

6. Ekumenisiteit

Christene glo, aanbid en dien in 'n eenheid wat die beëindiging van alle skeiding en die groei in samehorigheid, ondersteuning en onderlinge afhanklikheid in alle menslike aangeleenthede vereis.

7. Sending

Die apartheidsstelsel word met geweld teenoor onskuldige mense gehandhaaf en dit lok revolusionêre geweld uit. Hierdie lewenswyse moet op 'n radikale en vreedsame wyse verander word na 'n lewe van liefde en geregtigheid in gehoor-

saamheid aan Christus.

8. Optimisme

Die aandrag van geloof, die krag van liefde en die belofte wat hoop inhou, daag die vrees, pessimisme en bitterheid van die apartheid-samelewing in Suid-Afrika uit en kom dit te bowe.

Hierdie verklaring oor Christelike verandering is 'n samevatting van die brosjure „Die Christelike beginsels waarvoor die Christelike Instituut in Suider-Afrika staan”.



Vir verdere inligting kontak die Christelike Instituut van Suider-Afrika:

Hoofkantoor:

Posbus 31134, / Jorissenstraat 80,
Braamfontein,
Transvaal.

Tel.: 724-0346

Kaapse Streekskantoor:

Posbus 245, / Longstraat 1,
Rondebosch / Mowbray,
Kaap Provinsie.

Tel.: 68970.

Natalse Streekskantoor:

Sirol-gebou 5,
Bergstraat 257,
Pietermaritzburg,
Natal.

Tel.: 53714.

BESKIKBAAR:

1. Die brosjure en lidmaatskapsvorm van die Christelike Instituut
2. „Die Christelike beginsels waarvoor die Christelike Instituut staan”—'n brosjure
3. 'n Program van aksie vir die Christelike Instituut—'n brosjure
4. Die C.I.-nuusbrief
5. C.I.-studies 1973: „Poverty in abundance or abundance in poverty?”—50c elk
6. „Pro Veritate”—'n Christelike maandblad, R3 per jaar ★

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦ The Christian Principles for which the C.I. stands ♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦

1. THE BASIS

The revelation of God in Christ is the basis of the Christian's belief and behaviour. The Old Testament expresses God's purpose to liberate Israel in all her social, economic and political life. This purpose is fulfilled and extended in Christ to the whole of human society. Within that vast corporate concern God reaches out in tender care with the offer of individual salvation now and forever.

Our response to God must be spiritual and temporal, and must be expressed both corporately and individually.

- * All the fundamental problems of the world are found to some degree in South Africa. Our task as Christians is to follow the Gospel through which God can renew the life and society of this sub-continent on which we live.

2. THE GOOD NEWS OF JESUS CHRIST

2.1 Jesus Christ is Lord

He is the Lord of human society, proclaiming the sovereignty of God and sending out His friends to call every part of the world to follow Him. He is the Lord of our whole life.

Responding to His authority Christians seek a developing society where all may find that love which leads to peace and prosperity, to justice and joy, to responsibility and freedom, and where they may live in harmony and godly love.

- * In Southern Africa some people acknowledge the lordship of other gods: the supreme importance of race, apartheid, 'Christian nationalism', denominationalism, and a self-centred piety.

2.2 Jesus Christ is Saviour

In their individual lives and in their institutions men suffer because of sin. They are alienated from God, and live in an alienated society.

The Gospel awakens men to the reality and peril of sin, brings the message of the life, the cross and resurrection of Christ as the saving act of God and leads them through repentance and faith to a new life of fellowship with God and their neighbours.

- * Southern Africa is a sick society because of its alienation and doomed to die unless it is healed. In this situation we all share. Our only hope is to admit our need of Christ, to turn to Him in personal and national repentance, and to trust Him and follow His ways for salvation.

3. THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

3.1 Opportunity

God made man as a creative and responsible being, and in Christ sets him free to develop his whole life and that of his fellowmen.

Christians seek social conditions where each person can develop his creative abilities to the maximum, and grow in stature by fulfilling the responsibilities of manhood.

- * The social structure of South Africa prevents most people from developing their full potential because of their colour. Christian change means opening equal opportunities to all in the fields of education, economics, politics, law and the church.

3.2 Fellowship

God summons man to communion with his Creator and his fellowmen. People are isolated in a disrupted community because of sin; in Christ, God brings them into a restored community of love.

Christians should seek to establish conditions in which people may enjoy the fullness of human fellowship in the whole of society.

- * In South Africa people of different racial backgrounds are kept apart. Whites are not permitted to visit blacks freely in their homes, and apartheid legislation has the inevitable result of breaking up family life. Christian change means the abolition of divi-

sive legislation.

3.3 Sharing

The earth and its riches belong to God who has set people to live on it as His stewards in harmony, as epitomised by the spirit of the early Christians who shared their wealth.

Christians should seek a society in which land, wealth, and power can be equally obtainable by all.

- * The South African system deprives many people of a fair share in God's earth and society on the basis of racial distinction. Christian change means consultation and participation in decision-making by all, and a redistribution of authority under the kingship of God.

3.4 Caring

Jesus Christ, Saviour, Liberator and Provider, meets in spiritual, mental, and physical needs of people, and has a particular concern for the poor, the outcast, the exploited, and the rejected.

Christians should identify themselves with these sufferers, seeking to help them, and to establish a situation which ensures that need is banished.

- * The South African system perpetuates poverty, exploitation, rejection, and deprivation. Many South Africans lack nourishment, housing, education, health services, clothing, and provision for their old age—and people feel no responsibility for it. Christian change means immediate care for those in need, and a radical change in the structures of society which cause it.

4. THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF GOVERNMENT

4.1 The Highest Authority

Jesus Christ is the highest authority, and the government of a state is a servant of God and responsible to Him.

Christians should seek to have laws passed which are in accordance with the Gospel of Christ and to urge obedience to them by all citizens.

- * Most South African voters give priority to the preservation of white privilege and power, and permit the government to use totalitarian methods including detention without trial, bannings, and government by decree. Christian change means the rejection of injustice, the democratic control of all powers of government, equality before the law, the Rule of Law, and a mutual responsibility for making the laws under which men are to be governed.

4.2 The Christian Sphere

God is King of the whole universe, and Jesus Christ entered into all the problems, temptations, and opportunities of human living.

Christians should see all life as a unity of which Christ is the core and the hope.

- * Many South Africans divide life into sacred and secular, permitting political opinions and racial attitudes to have ascendancy over Christian criteria in some spheres. Christian change means bringing every facet of life under the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

4.3 The Responsibility to Oppose and Suggest

Jesus Christ, like the prophets before Him and Christians after Him, sought to fulfil God's will even in opposition to the will of people and their rulers.

In proclaiming the good news of Christ, Christians should emulate the example of His followers who defied the unchristian structure or practices of society, and prompted new developments and the solution of social evils.

- * The South African social structures incorporate many injustices which prevent the inhabitants from realising the way of Christ. Christians are called to obey God rather than men, even if this involves disobedience to the civil authorities, passive resistance, or defying unchristian laws, and even if the solutions which they suggest are unpopular. Christian change means being willing to change ourselves according to the Gospel.

5. CHRISTIAN UNITY

The one God created Man in His image, and the God-given unity between men is greater than all

differences. In Jesus Christ, God creates the one Church as His body on earth.

Christians throughout the world should seek unity in believing, worshipping and serving which transcends all differences of race, culture, and civilisation. They seek that oneness in Christ which is the basis of a common society.

- * In South Africa, where the Church is divided into different groups, or divided on racial grounds, or under pressure to support apartheid for political purposes, or to practise discrimination, all Christians should work for Christian unity and support specific efforts of the churches in this regard.

6. CHRISTIAN HOPE

The Creator and Sustainer of the world has a purpose for it which He will fulfil. Jesus Christ reconciles all things and He is the hope of the world.

Christians should have an optimism arising from the grace of Christ which prompts them to face the blackest circumstances with the assurance of ultimate victory.

- * Fear, pessimism, and bitterness dominate the South African scene. Blacks hope for liberation from oppression, injustice, and defeat, but the effort to combat fear, the heritage of psychological debilitation, and the sheer weight of oppression is dismaying. Whites dream of utopia, snatch at material wealth, but are dominated by fear of annihilation. Marginal change is no solution: it produces only frustration. Christian change means the discovery of a new verve for living, the courage to proclaim fundamental change through the Good News of Jesus Christ.

7. THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSE

God loves the world, and enters into its sufferings Himself in Jesus Christ, making the Cross the way to victory, and proclaiming in His resurrection that the way to life is the way of love.

Christians who respond to God's call know that they are called to take up a cross to follow Him.

- * The present South African system can only be maintained by the force of structural

violence in opposition to God's way. It invites and is threatened by revolutionary violence. Christian change means a rapid and radical peaceful change towards a society based on the way of Christ: love, justice, freedom, truth and responsibility. Christians should expect to suffer, to be victorious and to call upon all men to respond to God in Jesus Christ.



For further information contact the Christian Institute of Southern Arica at:

Head Office:

P.O. Box 31134, / 80 Jorissen Street,
Braamfontein,
Transvaal.

Tel.: 724-0346

Cape Regional Office:

P.O. Box 45, / 1, Long Street,
Rondebosch, / Mowbray,
Cape Province.

Tel.: 6890

Natal Regional Office:

5 Sirol House,
257 Berg Street,
Pietermaritzburg,
Natal.

Tel.: 53714.

AVAILABLE:

The Christian Institute brochure and membership form.

"Christian Change"—a one page statement.

"A programme of action for the Christian Institute"—a pamphlet.

C.I. Newsletter

C.I. Studies 1973: Poverty in abundance or abundance in poverty?*,
50c each.

'Pro Veritate'—a Christian monthly, R3 00 per annum.



'n Program van aksie vir die Christelike Instituut

1. FUNKSIE

Omdat die Christelike Instituut 'n lewende organisasie is in 'n samelewing wat ontwikkel, is dit voortdurend nodig om sy doelwitte te herformuleer.

1.1 Verandering

Die C.I. is daaraan toegewy om in die naam van Jesus Christus te help om verandering in Suider-Afrika te bewerkstellig. Alle mense behoort die geleentheid te hê om op alle gebiede te ontwikkel. Dit beteken dat daar na fundamentele verandering in die gesindhede van mense, in die strukture van mag en in die proses van die neem van besluite gestreef moet word.

Die C.I. is met versoening besig, wat beteken om vrees in ons land deur liefde uit te werp; om geweld deur vrede uit te dryf; om wanhoop en pessimisme met vreugde en hoop te oorwin; om ongeregtigheid, bedrog en onderdrukking met geregtigheid, waarheid en vryheid te vervang.

Die C.I. streef na 'n diepgaande en radikale verandering deur berou en geloof in gehoorsaamheid aan die wil van God, en na die transformasie van die samelewing in sy Naam.

1.2 Hulp

Baie organisasies is besig om mense te help om die apartheidsamelewing te deurleef. Die C.I. deel hierdie besorgdheid, maar sy primêre doelstelling is om te help om die situasie te verander. Verandering en hulp kan mekaar wedersyds ondersteun.

1.3 Nasionale en Internasionale Aksie

Die C.I. besef dat dit 'n deel van sy taak is om sy getuienis vir 'n positiewe Christelike antwoord van liefde, eenheid, en geregtigheid in Suider-Afrika op nasionale en internasionale vlak vol te hou.

1.4 Aktiwiteit

Die aktiwiteite van die C.I. behels die aanmoediging van groepe mense om die weg van Christus in die totale lewensfeer na te

streef. As individue kan hulle dan in liefde, moed en visie groei en as 'n groep kan hulle 'n lewende Christelike gemeenskap vorm, wat getuig van die ervaring om die vreugde en probleme van die lewe te deel.

2. LIDMAATSKAP

Die Christelike Instituut is as 'n organisasie 'n ope gemeenskap sonder geheime en verwelkom enige persoon, wat Christus navolg, as lid.

2.1 Lede van die Christelike Instituut onderskryf sy beginsels, maar hulle het 'n groot verskeidenheid van belangstelling, hulle beklemtoning verskil en hul grade van betrokkenheid varieer.

2.2 Persone wat begeer om hulle name op die poslys te plaas en om met C.I.-aktiwiteite besig te wees, maar wat nie formele lede wil word nie, is hartlik welkom.

2.3 Baie C.I.-lede is betrokke in verwante organisasies wat op hulle tyd aanspraak maak. Die C.I. dring by sy lede aan om hulle aktiwiteite te heroorweeg, op prioriteite te besluit en om, waar moontlik, op die rol van „verandering” te konsentreer, in besonder waar ander mense gewillig is om die „hulp”-aktiwiteite te onderneem.

3. GROEPE

3.1 Die C.I. bestaan in 'n samelewing met stande en beoog om as 'n transformerende en opbouwende organisasie op te tree: ons begin waar mense hulleself bevind in die hoop dat ons tesame voorwaarts gelei sal word.

3.2 Die C.I. beveel groepsprogramme met Christelike studie en aksie aan. Sulke groepe wat normaalweg non-rassisties en ekumenies van aard is, kan volgens woongebiede of verwante belangstellings ingedeel word. Daar word nie van hulle verwag om 'n patroon wat deur 'n hiërargie neergelê is, na te volg nie, maar hulle kan hulle eie belangstellings vasstel en ontwikkel. Hulle streef daarna om hulle doelwitte in elke deel van

die samelewing te verwesenlik.

- 3.3 Die opleiding en beoefening van leierskap in 'n groep is uiters belangrik, wat 'n pastorale besorgdheid teenoor die lede meebring. 'n Leierskapspatroon waar omruiling geskied, word aangemoedig.

4. KOMMUNIKASIE

Die hoofkantoor van die Christelike Instituut is in Johannesburg. Streeksdirekteure is vir die Kaap en Natal aangestel en ander streeksaanstellings kan volg.

Dit is die beleid van die C.I. om streekskomitees, wat die werk ontwikkel en wat persoonlike kontakte tussen groepe en lede tot stand bring, aan te moedig.

Plaaslike nuus kan deur streeksnuusbriewe versprei word en die nasionale nuusbriewe sal items

van uiteenlopende aard en algemene berigte van die streke insluit.

5. DOELWITTE

Die belangrikste sferes waarin die Instituut streef om Christelike verandering te bewerkstellig, is die volgende: die kerk, ekonomie en arbeid, opvoeding, familielewe en gesondheid, politieke lewe en die jeug.

Dit word aanbeveel dat aandag in die nabye toekoms aan die kerk, arbeid en opvoeding gegee sal word—Julie 1973.

6. MIKPUNTE

Lede en groepe word aangemoedig om hulle eie plaaslike mikpunte binne die raamwerk van die doelwitte vas te stel. ★

JOOST DE BLANK MEMORIAL FUND

Fifth Annual Award

The Trustees invite applications for the fifth award. The purpose of the award is to enable the holder to devote a year to thought about his own experience in the field of race relations. This may have been either in Britain or in Southern Africa and applicants may be from any walk in life. The award is intended especially to encourage those to whom academic resources are not available.

The Trustees hope that the award will lead to publishable written work. The value of the award will be not more than £2 000.

A leaflet giving further information about the award is available on request.

Applications by 1 September 1973 to:-

Miss Mercy Edgedale
Joost de Blank Memorial Fund
C/o Lutuli Memorial Foundation
Annandale, North End Road,
LONDON, NW 11 7QX.

I'LL STILL LOVE YOU

Take away my house white man
I'll still love you

Let me slave in your kitchen
while my little ones long for me
I'll still love you

Let me enter at your back door
I'll still love you

Take away our beaches
we'll still love you

Look down at me and say INFERIOR
I'll still love me

Go on being cruel to me
insignificant black thing
I'll still love you

But white man there are stormy
clouds on the horizon
the ground is shaking with thunder
sleepy moles are coming to life
black hearts are beating faster
blood is racing in veins
... and
we may still love you

howard eybers

CIVIL OBEDIENCE AND DISOBEDIENCE

André du Toit

The following address, slightly abbreviated, was recently given at a Black Sash meeting in Cape Town by Mr. André du Toit, lecturer in Political Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

It is not my purpose while dealing with this topic in any way to advocate or initiate a civil disobedience action or campaign. Neither, for that matter, can it be my aim actively to condemn or discourage such actions or campaigns. I am not here to take up a *political* stand for or against it at all. My aim must be to understand and analyze the problems of civil obedience and disobedience in such a way that both the political implications and the moral issues are given their proper due.

Important to start discussion

I want to stress the exploratory and preliminary nature of my talk. I have not come to give you an exposition of my final conclusions on this subject. I cannot say the last word; indeed, I doubt whether anybody can at present say the last word on the topic of civil obedience and disobedience in South Africa—but perhaps I can say a first word which may start a serious, responsible and necessary discussion. For I believe that there are signs that we seem to be entering a new and problematic situation of utmost moral and political concern to all the various citizens of South Africa: its precise nature and implications is not yet fully discernible, and perhaps I am wrong in the significance I am inclined to attribute to certain recent events. In this respect, therefore, I cannot claim to give more than some experimental soundings of the situation. Nevertheless I do believe that we can also draw on the experience and the reflections of others.

Thus the recent history of the civil rights movement in the U.S. has, amongst other things, given rise to a considerable amount of philosophical reflection on the problems of civil disobedience and political obligation in general. There can be no doubt that the South African context is radically different, and that in important ways the whole problem of civil obedience and disobedience thereby acquires a different significance. Still, a brief look at some of the outcomes of the American discussions may at least serve as a starting point for our own investigations.

I will thus deal with my topic of "Civil Obedience and Disobedience" in the following way.

First, I will make some brief comments on the re-emergence of civil disobedience as an issue in South African politics and society, and on the general social, cultural and political context of civil disobedience as a phenomenon.

Secondly I will give a brief summary of some of the

outcomes of recent American discussions on the nature, problems and implications of civil disobedience.

The re-emergence of civil disobedience in S.A.

You may perhaps have noticed that in recent months the South African press has reported a number of individual and apparently quite unrelated cases of civil disobedience. The most publicized case was perhaps that of Father Cosmas Desmond who in 1972 repeatedly and openly attended church services, participated in the mass and even preached to the assembled congregation in defiance of the requirements of his banning order. According to newspaper reports he had on some occasions been accompanied by other banned persons as well. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the Desmond-case was that the authorities did not instigate any steps against him, whereas the requirements of similar banning orders had in the past often been stringently enforced. In fact, if my information is correct the Minister, as a result of Father Desmond's actions, has changed the provisions of his banning order so that he may now attend church services. Another widely publicized case of civil disobedience occurred at the Albert Luthuli Memorial Services in July 1972 where, according to newspaper reports, Mr. Sonny Leon, the Leader of the Labour Party, played a tape recording of Luthuli's banned speech on accepting the Nobel Peace Prize. Again, to the best of my knowledge, no official steps have so far been taken against Mr. Leon.

These are two relatively minor and also quite straightforward cases of individual civil disobedience. I do not know how many other similar cases there may be though I do know of some. However, I do think that we should see them and other similar instances in the context of a number of other events in the recent past which in one way or another are directly or indirectly related to the problem of civil disobedience.

These events are of various kinds. Thus in connection with the inauguration of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at the beginning of 1972 its members swore an oath of loyalty to the South African President, but refused to swear its allegiance to the Government and its laws. I take this event as of crucial significance to our topic of civil obedience and disobedience in South Africa, and I regard both the fact of the allegiance that was sworn and the allegiance that was refused, and particularly the simultaneous combination of both, as equally significant. I hope that we may return to this case later in our discussion. Meanwhile we may just note again that, to the best of my

knowledge, the authorities have not retaliated in any way.

A much more familiar case, though one that strictly speaking involved no disobedience, was the very widely publicized fast in 1971 in Cape Town of Father Bernard Wrankmore arising out of the death of the Imam Haroun while in police custody under the Terrorism Act. Rather similar though less publicized actions have been undertaken by the Rev. David Russel in connection with the plight of the inhabitants of resettlement camps like Sada, Dimbaza, etc. And recently we have had the "pilgrimage of confession" from Grahamstown to Cape Town to draw public attention to the plight of migrant labourers.

Another familiar category is that of *conscientious objection to military service*. Particularly the official treatment of the Jehova's Witnesses in this regard has been a matter of public controversy for a number of years now. As we shall see, conscientious objection is usually differentiated from civil disobedience, though in this case the government's tendency to refuse to give a recognized exempted status to conscientious objectors somewhat blurs this distinction.

The various student protests, demonstrations, petitions and boycotts in June 1972 were of a much more widespread nature, in some cases amounting to organized campaigns. There were some significant differences. Whether or not they were always acting within the law the students at Cape Town and Wits could at least lay claim to a legal and democratic *right* to protest. So far as I know the issue of civil disobedience did not even arise at that time. Now, of course, since the recent NUSAS conference in Grahamstown the issue has been raised, though in a somewhat confused manner, with NUSAS' public announcement that they will defy any Government actions intended to curtail them. The position of the black campuses in May and June 1972 is very different and to my mind, no doubt largely due to ignorance, much less clear. On the whole, however, the confrontations seemed to have concerned merely the university authorities.

I could continue to list other related instances of various kinds like the bus boycott following on the Gelvandale riots in Port Elizabeth, the strike by the Ovambo migrant workers in January of 1972, the current spate of illegal strikes in Natal, the attempt by Mewa Ramgobin to petition for the inclusion of "political prisoners" in the amnesty granted on the occasion of the Republic Festival, or the public announcement at the last meeting of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie by a prominent Afrikaans professor of literature that he will continue to keep banned books on his shelves regardless of the consequences, but it is not my purpose to compile a complete catalogue of any kind.

I merely want to indicate that in a variety of different ways the issues of civil obedience and disobedience are increasingly being pressed upon us. I

must stress that I do not think *at all* that we are on the verge of some new campaign of massive civil disobedience. Indeed, in terms of the provisions of our security laws it is hardly possible to see how such a campaign could even begin to get off the ground. On the other hand, I cannot but think that there are important reasons why these issues of civil obedience and disobedience should once again be emerging as matters of public concern at the present time, and that we should very carefully reflect on their precise origins, nature and implications.

We have, of course, twice before experienced major campaigns of civil disobedience in South Africa. But there were also major differences between both campaigns, and between either of them and our present position. The first real mass movement in the long history of civil disobedience took place here in South Africa almost sixty years ago with Gandhi's successful but limited campaigns against Smuts. But non-violent resistance as understood and practised by Gandhi and his satyagrahis involved a very specific set of moral, philosophical and tactical doctrines. These were still very influential particularly in the early stages of the passive resistance and defiance campaigns staged by the Congress movement during the fifties. On the whole, however, I think it can fairly be said that the Gandhian philosophy and techniques were now definitely subservient to the political aims of resistance, and eventually they all but disappeared in the wake of the increasing trend towards more militant and violent strategies of resistance during the early sixties. On both counts the resistance movement was, however, effectively blocked by the overwhelming force of coercive power and the security measures of the government. The Congress movement was driven underground, if not completely dispersed—and so we arrive in the seventies: without the positive philosophy of Gandhi, and without even the vestiges of a publicly organized resistance movement.

Our problems now would seem to bear much more specifically on the basic issues of civil obedience and disobedience as such, rather than on the nature or power of non-violence or on the strategies of resistance. Perhaps the time has come to take a hard and close look at the phenomenon of civil disobedience, its nature, implications and consequences.

The Nature and Meaning of Civil Disobedience:

The issue of civil disobedience has featured very largely on the American scene in the past decade and more, not only in the Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, but also in the Student Movement and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement. Quite understandably American political philosophers have increasingly concerned themselves with the problem of civil disobedience. Much of the debate has been concerned with the possible *justification* of civil disobedience, or not; but that will not be my concern

now. I will attempt to draw on the American discussions for an understanding of the *meaning* and implications of civil disobedience. Obviously *we must be clear on what is to count as civil disobedience, and what not*, before we can even begin to consider its justifiability or otherwise. For that reason I will also not be mainly concerned with the various controversies whether it is essential to civil disobedience to be *non-violent*, to the *public*, to have exhausted all constitutional alternatives, etc., in so far as these controversies tend to become mixed up with the issue of justifiability.

It is perhaps best to begin with the "minimal definition" of civil disobedience proposed by Robert T. Ahl: "An act of civil disobedience is an act in violation of a law (or a specific group of laws) which is undertaken for moral reasons" (*The Morality of Civil Disobedience*, p. 15). Only one essential qualification is missing from this definition, namely that the violation of the law must also be an act of *protest*, it must be aimed *against* some requirement, authority or practice that it considers to be immoral or unjust. Otherwise, for example, someone driving in excess of the speed limits to get a patient as quickly as possible to the hospital would qualify for civil disobedience. He may indeed be violating the traffic laws and for moral reasons to boot, but he is not doing so in protest; and only in the latter case could it qualify as civil disobedience.

This minimal definition is concise enough: *an act of civil disobedience is a violation of the law, for conscientious reasons, and in protest*. Yet it can go a long way towards clarifying its meaning, differentiating it from related phenomena and outlining the problematic issues.

In the first place this definition makes it unambiguously clear that civil disobedience is and always must be *illegal*. It may be "positive", the doing of something the law forbids; or it may be "negative", the refusing to do something the law commands, but whether it consists in commission or omission it is legally wrong, and as such entails legal penalties. "It is always the sort of thing that can send one to jail" (Hugo Bedau: *On Civil Disobedience*, 1961). The only exception to this is in the case of what has been termed "provisional civil disobedience" where the violated law itself may be set aside, and the violation thus prove to be vindicated as it were after the event by, e.g., the supreme court in terms of the constitution. To begin with, however, it is equally regarded as illegal and thus open to legal punishment.

The insistence on the essentially *illegal* nature of civil disobedience serves as a major differentiation from some related phenomena with which it is often confused. Thus, in a constitutional democracy it must be sharply distinguished from all forms of legal and rightful *protests*, political *opposition* and ordinary *dissent*. In the words of Carl Cohen "all parades, assemblies, marches, picket lines, and other public

demonstrations that abide by the law however vehement or unusual are not civil disobedience It is a serious mistake to class all public demonstrations of protest as civil disobedience". (Carl Cohen, *Civil Disobedience*, pp. 41, ff.): If in the course of some demonstration a municipal by-law or traffic regulation is violated it cannot be considered as civil disobedience unless done deliberately and in protest. In terms of this understanding of civil disobedience it would thus follow that the student gatherings and demonstrations in Cape Town on the steps of the Cathedral and of the Jameson Hall last June, whether technically within the law or not, were not intended as civil disobedience but as rightful protests. Certainly they were not deliberately laying themselves open to legal penalties. It is of course a different matter altogether in a *non-democratic* state which does not recognize the right to protest — in terms of our minimal definition it would then seem that under such circumstances *all* conscientious protest would amount to illegal civil disobedience.

Conscientious Objection

A similar position obtains with regard to *conscientious objection*. In many countries this has come to be a recognized procedure to lay claim to an exempted status from the requirements of the law, particularly concerning military conscription. If granted, the conscientious objector attains a legally recognized status *within the law*. His position is thus radically different from the civil disobedient whose act of protest, however conscientious, is essentially *illegal*. Again the position is different in a country that does not wish to recognize conscientious objectors as a separate category. However, it remains at least possible for it still to do so whereas in the case of ordinary civil disobedience it is a major problem whether a state can ever be expected to deliberately recognize or tolerate it. A "legal right to civil disobedience" would seem to amount to a contradiction in terms, and yet there may well be good reasons for somehow recognizing that it is not just illegal, but also *conscientious*.

In the second place, then, our minimal definition of civil disobedience makes it clear that although it is illegal it should not be equated with *crime* or law evasion. An act of civil disobedience is a violation of a law, but it is not or not merely a crime — how can this be? We should note that this must be a moral or political distinction; in a technical sense all violations of criminal laws are of course criminal violations. From a moral and also from a political point of view, however, we cannot consider all violations of the law on a par as all equally criminal. There is a basic difference between an act violating a law with the purpose, for example, of gaining some private benefit at the expense of others and an illegal act motivated by moral and conscientious reasons. The former is in a moral sense as well a *crime*, and normally the criminal would hope to get away with his illegal gains if the crime is

not to be self-defeating. On the other hand, the man forced by conscience to an illegal act of *civil disobedience* is not out for personal gain but knowingly incurs the penalties of the law, and often that of public wrath and abuse as well.

I must emphasize that to say that an act of civil disobedience is conscientious is not to say that it is justifiable or right; the moral reasons for which some-one may be acting are often quite subjective, arbitrary, foolish or inappropriate. It would be foolhardy to say that in every conflict of conscience and the law, conscientious action is always right. But we must also recognize that conscientious violations of the law cannot simply be classed in the same category as ordinary crime.

Moral and Civil Disobedience

In this connection we must also make a further distinction between purely *moral* disobedience and *civil* disobedience proper. It is possible to conceive of a direct conflict between the requirements of a law and someone's purely personal moral standards: he violates the law because *he* cannot comply in good conscience. He does not wish to change or eliminate the law as such; he does not want others with perhaps different moral principles to violate it likewise; his conscientious violation of the law is basically a *private* act and it is quite incidental whether either the authorities or other people come to know of it. He simply has to do what to him personally is morally right, and damn the consequences — certainly strategic and tactical considerations can play no rôle in his conscientious decision. Usually, however, the conscientious violation is of a different nature. In violating a law for moral reasons, I may be implying that it is not merely wrong *for me* to comply with it, but for others as well. I am thus not merely contrasting the demands of the law with my private conscience, but I am rather appealing to some *shared* morality. If I have a moral obligation to disobey, so have you and so have all of us — that is, all of us who share these moral reasons. It is characteristic of *civil* disobedience, in distinction from purely moral disobedience, that its conscientious nature is not to be merely privately judged but that its ends are "formulated with a view to making them morally legitimate to onlookers and to the public" (Christian Bay, *Civil Disobedience*, ESS, p. 474). While it may thus be hypothetically possible to say that the criminal is acting in "moral" disobedience in accordance with some perverted private morality his crime cannot be an act of *civil* disobedience.

The same difference between the peculiar *illegal* nature of civil disobedience and ordinary *crime* appears if we reflect on the essential element of *protest* contained in our minimal definition. In an act of civil disobedience I am not merely violating the stipulations of the law, I am contesting its very authority. Directly or indirectly my disobedience of the law is aimed at getting it changed or repealed. It is thus of the

essence of my violation that it should be brought home to the authorities and the public at large, otherwise it fails as a protest. Thus it is possible that I may in ignorance of it contravene a law, and this would then constitute a crime, but an act of civil disobedience cannot consist in an ignorant violation of, or a mere non-compliance with, the law. It must be openly insisted on as a conscious and deliberate violation, because the disobedience is an essential and not mere accidental element of it. In the case of a crime it is natural to hide both the act and the agent from the public view, and if it perhaps takes place in public, like a bank robbery, the criminal will seek to evade the enforcement of the law — except in an abnormal case where the crime is a mere means towards attaining the punishment as an end.

An act of civil disobedience, on the other hand, must in a certain sense always be public. "What seems to be essential ... is that the violator makes no attempt to hide from the authorities or the community that it is *he* who is committing the act, or the nature of the act he is committing; indeed, he must deliberately seek to make these known. When one attempts to hide such facts, we quite naturally regard the act as an attempt to evade the law" (and not to protest it) (F.R. Berger, *Obligation and Disobedience*, p. 40). In the case of a crime the accused may plead innocent, and seek some legal defence, even a purely technical one, or plead guilty and submit to the penalties. In the case of civil disobedience the defendant must plead guilty (except in the special case of "provisional civil disobedience") and he may personally submit to the penalties, but he cannot offer a legal defence in terms of the violated law because he is precisely protesting the authority of that law. His violation of the law is technically a crime but basically an act of political defiance.

Civil Disobedience and Revolution

At this point we come in the third place to the crucial distinction between civil disobedience and such other political categories as *opposition*, *rebellion* or *revolution*. In terms of our minimal definition civil disobedience is differentiated from all legal forms of political opposition by being illegal, but it is also contrasted to revolution and anarchism as being a *selective* rather than a general violation of the law. It is understood as a violation of and a protest against specific law or laws, not against all law or the state as such. Unlike the revolutionary who lays a total claim to primacy, and aims at a complete transformation of the political order, civil disobedience may be described as "the acting out of a partial claim against the state" (M. Walzer, *Obligations*, p. 10); and it is thus characterized by the pursuit of limited public ends by way of carefully chosen and limited means.

There is here a basic paradox in the relation between civil disobedience and the law: it violates the law (a specific law) and yet in another sense it submits to the law (the legal order). Civil disobedience may thus be

described as a kind of conscientious violation of the law which yet seek to maintain the values that law observance promotes (Berger, p.2). Characteristically it may thus take the form of deliberately violating the law *and* then submitting to arrest without resistance. This is made very clear in Dr. Martin Luther King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail": "One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for the law."

However, though it is important to establish and maintain this general differentiation between the basic aims of civil disobedience and revolution, it is not always possible to distinguish them clearly in any given case. There are at least two sets of complicating factors.

First, we are usually not confronted with a whole revolution or a complete campaign of civil disobedience all at once, but with an on-going series of events. A revolution may eventually culminate in a popular uprising or a direct attempt to overthrow the government, but this is usually preceded by an extensive prior campaign in which selective violations of the law may well have played a part. In the case of a specific violation of a law, it may thus prove very difficult to say whether it is a revolutionary act or an act of limited civil disobedience. In fact, it may well be both at the same time. Thus, for example, Gandhi's limited campaign of civil disobedience against the Salt Acts in 1930-1 was also part of his long-range revolutionary objective to end British rule in India. On the other hand, this does not mean that *every* selective violation of the law is also a revolutionary act. It depends on the overall political objectives of the violator—and we may note that in terms of these objectives the civil

disobedient, unlike the revolutionary, is required to keep careful control over the consequences of his pursuit by limited means of limited ends. It should also be emphasized that a crucial part is played by the nature of the response by the authorities. The government may choose to regard *any* challenge to its constituted authority, however selective, as implicitly revolutionary, and deal with it accordingly; or it may accept it as being merely a partial claim to primacy, and somehow learn to live with it even if it can not be just tolerated (Walzer, p. 11). The distinction between civil disobedience and revolutionary intent is to a certain extent dependent on its mutual observance.

The second way in which the distinction between civil disobedience and revolution may be complicated is connected with the problematic relation between the established *government* of the day and the *state*. We have said that even in violating a specific law the civil disobedient remains bound to the general legal order of society. But what precisely is this general order? Is it the system of laws issued by the government of the day? Sometimes the distinction between civil disobedience and revolution is indeed made in these terms. Thus Carl Cohen writes that "the civil disobedient does, while the revolutionary does not, accept the general legitimacy of the established authorities" (Carl Cohen, *Civil Disobedience*, p. 44). On the other hand, we may wish to distinguish between our recognition of the legitimacy of the government of the day and our obligation to the state; we may wish to contest the authority of a comprehensive set of laws for the sake of what we regard as the proper legal order of society. Under these circumstances it becomes extremely difficult if not impossible to distinguish the implications of our fundamental *civil obligation to obey* not the government but the state from that of the aims of a revolution.



GATEWAY TO HAPPINESS

naomi r. pucher

He paused at the gate,
He was lonely and sore
And he did not want
To go home any more.
There was little to eat
And nowhere to play,
Mother and father away all day,
So - he paused at the gate.

The little girl stood
On the other side,
A bow in her hair
And her blue eyes wide.
She put out her hand
As he hoped she would do,
And she opened the gate
As her heart told her to,
And - the little girl stood.

Thro' the open gate
The little boy came,
There was none to applaud
Or to censure or blame.
And the two little children
Played happily there,
One black - and one white
With a bow in her hair.
SHE - had opened the gate.

A RELEVANT CHURCH IN SOCIETY

sol selepe

The sixth resolution of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, held in Sydney, reads:

"In the proclamation of the Word, the church, to whom has been entrusted the message of Christ's Kingdom, should speak courageously and relevantly on the issues of the day, both for the edification and correction of her members and, where necessary, in criticism of the activities and policies of governments and organizations."

The new Testament makes reference to the church's relationship with the world in two ways. In the first place Christians are called upon to proclaim Christ and his salvation to the whole world. This is expressed at the close of Matthew's Gospel. Christ commands his disciples: "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. 28:19).

In 1 John However, we are told that the church is to proclaim Christ not solely to convert individuals. John says: "that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you too that you also may have fellowship with us" (1 John 1:3). John knows that the church of Christ is supposed to be a sharing fellowship based on its unity in Christ, thus he knows that evangelism, the proclamation of the Word, is also to bring people into the intense sharing fellowship of the church.

In other words, evangelism springs out of a rich experience of community and a tremendous care for people who live in a world of bitter struggles, jealousies and poverty. Thus it is not enough for the church to want people to accept Christ. It also entails our wanting to accept them and them to accept us so that together, black and white, we can share the warmth of human intimacy.

The white Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa has done a lot to bring Christ to the black people of this country. It has spent a great deal of manpower and money to bring salvation to my people and yet the very objects of this evangelism, the black people, are not accepted in this church. As things stand at the moment many white ministers and members of the Dutch Reformed Church are bitterly opposed to integrated worship and the argument is always that integrated worship will be the beginning of integration. This sounds ridiculous, but it is one of the "weapons" that the white church uses to keep blacks from its doors. For me as a black man it has become increasingly embarrassing to belong to a church which brought me Christ and his salvation, but which does not want to share with me the warmth of the Christian community.

CARING NECESSARY IN SOUTH AFRICA

However, it is not only evangelism that marks the church's relationship with the world. There must also be a deep caring for fellow human beings as people, and a ministering to their needs. Perhaps the clearest statement about this in the New Testament comes from St. James. In his letter (2:14-16) he states his understanding of the relationship between faith and works. James makes it clear to us that faith which is not accompanied by acts of mercy and kindness is dead and useless. He goes so far as to say: "You say you have faith and I have good deeds—now you prove to me that you have faith without any good deeds to show" (James 2:18). Paul, however, in his letter to the Romans, says that a man is justified by faith and not by his good deeds (Rom. 4:6).

This does not at all mean that James and Paul are in conflict. It simply means that their emphases are different. For Paul the Christian life of caring springs out of union with Christ as a gift of the Holy Spirit. For James the test of a man's claim to faith is in the life of care for others that he shows. Jesus also said: "It is not for those who say to me 'Lord, Lord', who will enter the Kingdom of heaven but the person who does the will of my Father in heaven. When the day comes, many will say to me 'Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, cast out demons in your name, work many miracles in your name?' Then I shall tell them to their faces: I have never known you, away from me evil man" (Matt. 7:22,23). Here Jesus makes it plain that the true disciple is not the one who "has faith" but the one whose life is stamped with actions which show true acts of discipleship. Do the actions of the church, in particular the Dutch Reformed Church, show this discipleship in our torn society? What does the Dutch Reformed Church do for the edification and correction of her members in the sphere of race relations in South Africa? What is the churches' stand on the question of racial discrimination which entails so much suffering and humiliation for my people? Is the church's conscience clear about the tense relationship between white and black in this country? I'll leave these questions to the church to answer.

I believe that Christians in South Africa, both white and black, as well as Christians all over the world, are the disciples of Him who said that He came, not as a Master to be served by slaves, but as the servant of others (cf. Mark 10:45). It is the life in service of others, irrespective of colour, which is to be the disciple's life. If the church's life does not have the quality of caring, condemning the wrong, speaking courageously and relevantly on issues of the day, then all religious practices are sheer hypocrisy. ★

TOTALE VERLOSSING

die lewe vd sendingwerker—slot

DAVID BOSCH

Ook die Ou Testament bring dieselfde boodskap van liefde tot God *en* tot die naaste. Kom ons kyk na Jesaja 1. Ek dink die één vers in Jes. 1 waaroor almal van ons al preke gehoor het, is vs. 18: „Kom nou, en laat ons die saak uitmaak, sê die Here: al was julle sondes soos skarlaken ...” Maar het ons ooit al gaan kyk wát daardie sondes was waarvan Israel verlos moes word? Daarvoor moet ons nie slegs vs. 18 lees nie, maar ook verse 11-17! As ons dit lees, kry ons die beskrywing van ’n volk by wie dit skynbaar honderd persent in orde is sover dit die liefde tot God betref. Godsdienstige feeste, offers en gebede word nougeset nagekom op al die vasgestelde tye. En tog is die volk dodelik skuldig, skuldig aan „ongeregtigheid”, „bose handeling”, „verdrukking” en onverskilligheid teenoor die nood van weduwees en wese.

Dan kom vs. 18: „Kom nou, laat ons die saak uitmaak ...” Die strekking is dat dit gehaper het aan die liefde vir die medemens in nood. Maar meer nog: ook die liefde vir God word deur die profeet bevraagteken. Al is alle gebede en offers en feeste keurig in orde, beteken dit *nie* dat hulle God wel liefhet nie. Intendeel—so bedoel Jesaja—waar die liefde tot die naaste ontbreek, ontbreek ook die liefde tot God, word dit *omgekeer* tot „skynheiligheid” en „gruwelikheid” (vs. 13; vgl. ook Amos 5:21-24). Geen wonder nie dat die profeet Jesaja elders kan sê: „Julle ongeregtighede het ’n skeidsmuur geword tussen julle en julle God, en julle sondes het sy aangesig vir julle verberg, sodat Hy nie hoor nie” (Jes. 59:2).

’n Sendeling sonder ’n sendinghart

Dit is dus duidelik dat ’n ware, egte bekering altyd *geweldige* gevolge het. Dit is ’n bekering tot God *en* my naaste. As ek God waarlik met ’n geloofsoog begin raaksien, begin ek ook met nuwe oë na my naaste te kyk.

So dikwels egter lyk dit asof bekering net die één element bevat: asof dit hoogstens bekering tot God is. Selfs in ons mees toegewyde sendingpogings bestaan die gevaar dat ons die *mens* nie werklik sal raaksien nie. Die profeet Jona is in hierdie verband vir ons ’n waarskuwende voorbeeld. Prof. J.C.G. Kotzé het ’n aantal jare gelede ’n radiopreek oor Jona gelewer. Die tema van die preek was: „’n Sendeling sonder ’n sendinghart”. Want dit was Jona inderdaad! Hy het geen liefde vir die Assiriërs gehad nie, geen erbarming met hulle nood nie. Hy het gaan preek, ja, maar slegs om sy gewete te salf en skoon te kry.



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Vandag is daar ook nog sulke sendelinge. Ek het érens gelees van ’n sendeling aangaande wie sy swart gemeentelede gesê het: „He loves us only in the Lord”—wat eintlik soveel beteken as: hy het ons glad nie lief nie! Teen hierdie verskriklike moontlikheid waarsku Paulus ons in 1 Kor. 13:3. Dit kan nl. gebeur dat ons in ons diens aan die Here, in ons toegewyde oorgegevenheid en pligsgetrouheid, al ons goed uitdeel en selfs ons liggame oorgee om verbrand te word ... sonder liefde. Dit kan dus gebeur dat ons baie geld gee vir die sending, of dat ons baie ure lank bid vir die sending, ja, dat ons selfs self sendingwerk gaan doen, onself „opoffer” in die diens van die Here, maar dat ons dit alles doen met harte wat koud staan teenoor die *mense* om wie dit in ons sendingwerk gaan.

Ons kan dus midde-in ons sendingaktiwiteit en godsdiens „anderkant verbyloop”, soos die priester en die Leviet ...

Bekering tot God *en* my naaste

Ek het hoërop gesê dat dit soms lyk asof ons

bekering net één element bevat, nl. bekering tot God. Eintlik is dit nie korrek nie. Want in die lig van die Skrif is so 'n bekering geen werklike bekering nie. Bekering tot God *sonder* bekering tot die mens is geen ware bekering nie—bekering tot die mens sonder bekering tot God natuurlik ook nie! As ons by ons naaste in nood „anderkant verbyloop”—soos die priester en Leviet wat op pad was na Jerusalem om tempeldiens te gaan verrig—menende dat ons sodoende by God sal uitkom, fouteer ons. Wie ten opsigte van sy naaste „anderkant verbyloop”, loop ook by God anderkant verby. En natuurlik: wie ten opsigte van God „anderkant verbyloop” om sodoende by sy naaste uit te kom, loop ook by sy naaste verby en help hom nie waarlik nie. Op my pad na God kom ek my naaste teë; op my pad na my naaste kom ek God teë.

Die verlossing van die mens—dit is wat ons beoog met ons sendingwerk! Ons het nou reeds begin ontdek dat hierdie begrip veel meer aspekte het as wat ons aanvanklik gemeen het. Die boodskap wat ons bring en die verlossing wat ons beoog, is oneindig ryk en veelkeurig. Om dit verder te illustreer, kan ons gerus 'n bietjie mooi gaan kyk na die Bybelse begrippe wat ons met „verlossing”, „redding” of „heil” vertaal het in ons Afrikaanse Bybel.

Die mees algemene Hebreëuse woord vir „verlos” of „red”, is die woord *jasja*. Verskillende bekende persoonsname is van hierdie woord afgelei, veral name soos Josua, Hosea en Jesus. „Jesus” is natuurlik net die Griekse vorm van „Josua”, en die Here Jesus het spesifiek hierdie naam gekry omdat Hy gekom het om te verlos (vgl. Matt. 1:21).

Wat beteken die woord *jasja* nou eintlik in die Ou Testament? Primêr beteken dit: verlossing of redding uit konkrete, aardse nood. Heel in die besonder beteken dit vir die volk Israel hulle verlossing uit Egipte, uit die slawehuis (Ex. 20:1). In hierdie betekenis kom die woord veral in die Psalms voor (vgl. Psalm 106:8, 10).

Totale verlossing tot diens

Tog gaan dit nooit om 'n blote *uiterlike* hulp nie, maar om 'n totale verlossing, liggaamlik *en* geestelik. Die woord impliseer 'n vernuwing in 'n mens se bestaansomstandighede *en* 'n herstelling van sy gemeenskap met God. Daarby moet gevoeg word dat dit in die Bybel by die verlossing van die mens ook wesenlik altyd gaan om verlossing tot *diens*. Niemand word verlos of gered om hom daarna bloot te gaan sit en verlekker of verlustig in sy redding uit nood nie, maar om hom in diens te stel van God en sy naaste. (Dit is trouens ook waar van roeping en uitverkiesing—dit is altyd verkiesing *tot diens*; vgl. Gen. 12:3).

In die Nuwe Testament word die Griekse woord *sozein* gebruik vir die Hebreëuse begrip *jasja*. Ook *sozein* beteken 'n allesomvattende, gehele verlossing, liggaamlik *en* geestelik. Die gebruik van hierdie woord

in Matt. 1:21 mag ons dus nie eensydig „geestelik” gaan interpreteer nie. Hierdie allesomvattendheid van die begrip sozein kom egter nie altyd duidelik uit in ons Afrikaanse Bybel nie, omdat dit soms met ander Afrikaanse woorde vertaal word. So word dit soms met „gesond maak” of „genees” vertaal (vgl. Mark. 5:23,28). Maar juis só 'n Afrikaanse vertaling wys tegelykertyd ook op die omvattendheid van die begrip: dit gaan om genesing of redding van liggaam *en* siel!

In die praktyk het die begrippe „Heiland” of „Verlosser” vir ons slegs 'n geestelike betekenis. Dit beteken vir ons in die reël dat Jesus ons verlos uit ons persoonlike sondes, dat Hy ons siele red en dat Hy ons in die hemel sal laat ingaan. Oorspronklik het die begrip „heil” of „Heiland” egter veel méér beteken. Die woord „heil” is nl. ook verwant aan die woorde „heel” (Engels „whole”) en „heel” (Engels „heal”). Daar bestaan dus in werklikheid 'n noue verband tussen genesing (healing), heelheid (wholeness), heiligheid (holiness) en heil (salvation).

Skakeringe van Verlossing

As ons nou die totale getuienis van die Heilige Skrif ten opsigte van die begrippe „verlossing” en „heil” in oënskou neem, blyk dit dat ons die verskillende betekenis eenvoudigheidshalwe in *drie groepe* kan indeel:

1. Redding of verlossing uit liggaamlike node, bestaansnood, armoede, verdrukking, verstotenheid, ens. Die klassieke voorbeeld hiervan is die verlossing van Israel uit Egipte. In al hierdie gevalle bly die verlossing egter onvolledig, slegs stukwerk, indien dit nie ook 'n herstel van die verhouding met God beteken nie.
2. In die verdere ontplooiing van die openbaringsgeskiedenis kom ál meer 'n tweede betekenis van „verlossing” of „redding” na vore. Dit beteken nie slegs verlossing teenoor vyande buite ons nie, maar ook verlossing van die vyand binne-in ons, van ons sonde; veral die profete en die digters van die Psalms verkondig dat die gelowiges verlos moet word van hulle eiegeregtigheid, selfliefde, egoïsme, onbarmhartigheid en selfsug. Hulle moet oop oë en oop harte hê vir die nood van hulle medemens. Hulle moet onthou dat hulle Redder terselfdertyd hulle Regter is.
3. In die latere profetiese literatuur is daar 'n verdere element wat al sterker op die voorgrond tree: ons merk daar dat „verlossing” ook beteken verlossing uit hierdie wêreld, ewige verlossing met die oog op die hiernamaals.

In die Nuwe Testament kom hierdie betekenis aldrie voor, en wel op so 'n wyse dat ons skade sou doen aan die rykdom van die Bybelse boodskap indien

ons slegs één van hierdie betekenisskakerings sou raak-sien. Ons moet daarom ook in ons sendingaksie aan aldrie vashou. Ons mag die een nie van die ander skei of teenoor die ander stel nie.

Siel en liggam

Met hierdie hele bespreking hang ook nog 'n ander aspek saam. Ons hoor nl. dikwels dat gesê word dat dit in die sending primêr gaan om die „redding van onsterflike siele”, en soms word dit op só 'n manier gesê dat mens die indruk kry dat die liggame van mense nie van enige belang is nie. Dit is natuurlik 'n verabsoluttering van die derde betekenis wat ons hier bo genoem het, en dan op so 'n manier dat die eerste betekenis heeltemal geïgnoreer word.

Kan ons hierdie interpretasie met enige reg uit die Skrif aflees? Ek twyfel. Hierdie eensydige uitleg is eerder 'n produk van die Griekse heidendom as van die Bybel.

Om hierdie opmerking van my te verstaan, moet ons heel kortliks kyk na die betekenis van die woorde wat in ons Bybels gewoonlik met „siel” vertaal is. Nou moet ek dadelik sê dat die Hebreuse begrip *nefesj* en die Griekse begrip *psuche* (wat ons gewoonlik met „siel” vertaal) baie betekenisskakerings het. Ons kan onmoontlik hier alles bespreek en verwys u in hierdie verband na die boekie van prof. J.A. Heyns: *Die onsterflikheid van die siel*.

Eenvoudigheidshalwe kan ons só saamvat: dit is nie so dat die mens 'n siel *het* nie; die mens *is* 'n siel (vgl. Gen. 2:7). *Siel* beteken dus min of meer soveel as: die mens self, die mens as persoon. Dis nie 'n aparte onderdeel van die mens wat ons uit die geheel van die mens kan uithaal nie. Ons sien dit bv. as ons Mark. 8:36 vergelyk met die parallelle uitspraak in Luk. 9:25. Waar Jesus volgens Markus sê: „Want wat sal dit 'n mens baat as hy die hele wêreld win en aan sy *siel* skade ly?”, sê Hy by Lukas: „... maar *homself* verloor of skade aandoen?” Die belangrike punt is hier dat Lukas wesenlik dieselfde sê as Markus: die mens se siel is die mens self. Dit beteken byna dieselfde as „lewe”.

Trouens, ons Bybelvertalers het self gevoel dat hulle die Griekse woord *psuche* nie altyd met „siel” kan vertaal nie. Die duidelikste voorbeeld hiervan is juis in die gedeelte Markus 8:35-37. In die Grieks kom die woord *psuche* in hierdie drie verse vier maal voor; in die Afrikaans is dit egter twee maal met „lewe” vertaal en twee maal met „siel”!

Ons het in hierdie uitspraak van die Here Jesus dikwels iets ingelees wat nie daar staan nie. Ons het vs. 36 gewoonlik verstaan asof dit beteken: „Wat sal dit 'n mens baat as hy 'n massa aardse rykdomme insamel, maar op die ou end beland sy siel in die verdoemenis?” Nouja, dit is wêl die betekenis van hierdie uitspraak, maar dit is nie àl wat dit beteken nie. Dit beteken in die eerste plek bloot: „Wat help alle rykdom en prestasies jou as jy jou lewe verloor, dit wil sê as jy te sterwe kom?” Dit is dus 'n uitspraak wat slaan op die

„gewone” lewe *sowel* as op die ewige lewe.

Die bron van die misverstand

Waar kom die misverstand rondom die begrip „siel” dan vandaan? Dit kom daarvandaan dat *ons* begrip „siel” en alles wat daarmee saamhang, eerder uit die wysbegeerte van die Griek Plato kom as uit die Bybel. Vir Plato en die hele Griekse denke was die siel eintlik iets losstaande van die mens, iets ewigs, iets *onsterflik* téénor al die ander sterflike elemente van die menslike liggaam. Vandaar kom dan ook die gebruik onder ons om van „onsterflike siele” en „sterflike liggame” te praat.

Voorts is die siel in die Griekse wysbegeerte beskou as 'n *gevangene* binne in die mens se liggaam soos 'n voël in 'n koutjie of 'n bandiet in 'n tronk. Die gevangene sit natuurlik net en wag dat die tronkdeur moet oopgaan sodat hy vry kan uitgaan. En wanneer sal dit met die siel as gevangene gebeur? By die dood! Dan eers, as die liggaam sterwe, word die onsterflike siel uit sy kerker bevry. Die eintlike verlossing is dus eers by die dood moontlik.

Toe die evangelie na die Grieke versprei het, het hierdie heidense idee met die evangelie vermengd geraak. Wat dit so moeilik gemaak het om die gevaar in hierdie interpretasie raak te sien, is die feit dat die heidense siening oënskynlik baie ooreengekom het met die derde Bybelse siening van verlossing wat ons pas bespreek het. Maar dít is juis die punt: in die Bybelse leer was daardie derde siening wesenlik één met die ander twee en kon dit nooit *los* van die ander twee gesien word nie! Op die Griekse bodem het hierdie ander twee elemente egter gaandeweg vir alle praktiese doeleindes heeltemal verdwyn.

Vanuit die Griekse toelogie is hierdie beskouing uiteindelik ook na ons eie tyd oorgedra. Die gevolg is dat die meeste gelowiges vandag nog die siel as iets aparts en losstaande van die liggaam beskou, wat uit sy *eie* onsterflikheid besit. Die liggaam is dus sterflik, die siel nie. Daarom, so word gesê, moet gekonsentreer word op die redding van onsterflike siele.

As ons egter die Skrif bestudeer, is dit duidelik dat alleen God self onsterflikheid besit (vgl. 1 Tim. 6:15, 16). God skênk dan onsterflikheid aan die mens (1 Kor. 15:53,54), maar, let wel, aan die mens as geheel en nie slegs aan sy siel nie. Trouens, die hele hoofstuk 1 Kor. 15 handel juis nie oor die *siel* (soos ons dit ken nie), maar oor die opstanding van die *liggaam*.

Opstanding en vleeswording

Juis oor die *opstanding* van die liggaam moet ons in hierdie verband nog 'n paar woorde sê. Dit is nl. iets nuuts en unieks onder die godsdienste van die wêreld. Daaruit kan ons baie dinge aflei, onder andere dat die Christelike godsdiens ook met die liggame van mense te doen het, dat God dus in die mens belangstel in sy totale lewensverbande.

In noue verband met die Bybelse boodskap aan-

gaande die opstanding van die liggaam is die boodskap oor die *vleeswording van God in Christus*. Ook in hierdie opsig is die Christelike godsdiens uniek onder die godsdienste van die wêreld. Dáár hoor ons wel dikwels van 'n mens wat 'n god word, maar h́ier leer ons van God wat mens word, wat 'n menslike liggaam aanneem, met menslike vlees en bloed. Daarmee sê God „ja” teenoor ons menswees, toon Hy dat Hy met ons as mense in ons menslike node bemoeienis maak.

Vir die Grieke was juis *dit* 'n aanstoot, hierdie „liggaamlikheid” van die Christelike godsdiens. Daarom het in die vroeë Christelike kerk op Griekse bodem allerlei sektariese leringe ontstaan, soos bv. dat Jesus 'n skynliggaam gehad het. Hy het nie werklik in die vlees gekom nie; dit het maar *gelyk* asof Hy 'n menslike liggaam gehad het.

Hierteen veg en stry die apostels, veral Johannes. Vir hom is die belydenis van die vleeswording van Christus *die* toets vir die ware Christelike geloof. Elkeen wat bely dat Jesus Christus in die vlees gekom het, is uit God; maar wie dít ontken, is 'n openbaring van die Antichris (1 Joh. 4:1-3).

'n Christen hou dus aan die *liggaamlike* aspek van die Christelike godsdiens vas. God het immers die wêreld liefgehad. Die skepping is ook syne, en Hy het gesien dat dit *goed* was.

Gedurende die eerste eeue van die Christelike Kerk het sommige dwaalleraars verkondig dat die Skepper-god van die Ou Testament iemand *anders* is as die God van die Nuwe Testament. Hy was 'n slegte God teenoor die goeie God van die Nuwe Testament, en die rede hiervoor is dat hierdie dwaalleraars die God van die Ou Testament beskou het as 'n God wat in die skepping belangstel, in die liggame en lewensomstandighede van mense, terwyl die God van die Nuwe Testament, volgens hulle, die God van die siel en sielelewe was. Hierdie God van die Nuwe Testament het gekom—so sê hulle—om die gemors op te ruim, nl. om die siel te verlos uit die chaos van die skepping.

Die Christen sê egter, *saam* met die Ou *en* die Nuwe Testament: Die aarde behoort aan die Here en die volheid daarvan, die wêreld en dié wat daarin woon. Van *daar* uit verkondig die Christen Gods belangstelling in reg en geregtigheid. So lees ons bv. in die Ou Testament herhaaldelik oor die weduwee, die wees en die vreemdeling, en die eise van God dat *hulle* regte beskerm moet word. Hy eis dat daar nie teen die vreemdeling gediskrimineer moet word nie; hy is „soos 'n kind van die land”. In hierdie opsig is Israel heeltemal *anders* as die heidenvolke rondom.

Valse vergeesteliking

Die Griekse benadering sit egter baie diep by elkeen van ons. Daarom vergeestelik ons ook so gou baie uitsprake van die Skrif wat in die eerste plek as konkrete uitsprake bedoel was, ons interpreteer hulle asof hulle slegs te doen het met die mens se siel en met sy ewige redding. Ek het in hierdie verband reeds die voorbeeld

van Mark. 8:36 genoem. Laat my toe om vir u ook 'n ander voorbeeld te noem: Jare gelede is 'n wêreldbiddag vir vroue in een van die Transkeise dorpe gehou, met Matt. 25:31-46 as tema vir die betrokke jaar. Dit gaan dus om daardie gelykenis waarin die Here Jesus die twee groepe links en regs van Hom aanspreek oor hulle optrede teenoor die „geringe broeders” wat honger, dors, nakend, siek of in die gevangenis is. Die dame wat die betrokke biduur gelei het, het toe ter inleiding gesê: „Hier rondom ons is gelukkig nie werklike hongeriges en naaktes nie; ons sal dus die gelykenis maar geestelik toepas!”

Ons sou nog talle ander voorbeelde van sulke ongeregverdigde vergeesteliking kon noem, soos 'n preek oor Mark. 6:37 („Gee julle aan hulle iets om te eet”), wat die prediker dan ook suiwer geestelik uitlê as sou dit bloot bedoel dat ons aan mense geestelike voedsel moet uitdeel. Al hierdie voorbeelde dui egter in één rigting: dat ons die grootsheid, die wydsheid, die allesomvattendheid van die Christelike evangelie verskraal het, dat ons die evangelie soms eerder in Griekse terme gaan interpreteer het as in Bybelse terme.

Daar bestaan 'n wesenlike gevaar dat ons soms *meer* geestelik wil wees as die Bybel self. Die Bybel het egter te doen met die *hele* werklikheid, met geestelike *en* konkrete dinge. Dit het 'n betekenis ook vir ons sendingtaak: ons moet ons besig hou met die *hele* mens in al sy omstandighede, in sy daaglikse bestaansnood en in sy ewige nood.

Lewe in oorfloed ...

In Joh. 10:10 lees ons dat die Here Jesus gesê het: „Ek het gekom dat hulle lewe en oorfloed kan hê”. In die nuwe Afrikaanse proefvertaling lui dit: „Ek het gekom sodat hulle lewe kan hê, en dit in oorfloed”.

Hierdie woorde vat ons hele sendingsboodskap saam, asook ons hele sendingdoel. Trouens, in hierdie woorde ontmoet die twee onderwerpe wat ons in hierdie aarde met mekaar saam oordink het: Ons *optrede* teenoor die mense na wie God ons stuur en die allesomvattende *boodskap* wat ons in Sy Naam aan hulle moet bring. Mag die Here ons ryklik begenadig as sendingwerkers, mag Hy ons ryklik toerus vir hierdie wonderlike taak, sodat ons die boodskap van die „oorfloedige lewe” in al sy omvattendheid aan hulle kan bring en saam met hulle mag deel in daardie volheid van lewe. ★

CHURCH AND STATE

Secondly, the Church may have to intervene if there is a strong move towards further totalitarianism. The lesson to be learned from Nazi Germany is that the Church is the only effective institution for combating a totalitarian regime. The efforts of trade unions, newspapers, universities, opposition parties are of little avail. Hitler succeeded against all of these but never succeeded in 'breaking' the Church to his will.

Extract from Towards Social Change, the report of the Spro-cas Social Commission.

C.I. LOS OM BOM IN SY SKOKMANIFES

'n Openlike pleidooi om wetsverbreking in die manifes van die Christelike Instituut het die land vanoggend geskok. In sowel kerklike as politieke kringe was daar heftige reaksie op die stellings van die Instituut. Dit is as plofbaar en gevaarlik bestempel.

Die manifes—die eerste beleidsverklaring deur die C.I. die afgelope tien jaar—is vanoggend bekend gestel. Dit is hoofsaaklik 'n skerp aanval op die Regeringsbeleid en die Suid-Afrikaanse leefwyse. Dit word bestempel as 'n basis vir 'n nuwe gemeenskap in Suid-Afrika.

Wat egter die grootste skok veroorsaak het, is die eerste amptelike en skriftelike pleidooi vir wetsverbreking en stellings wat vertolk kan word as bedekte pleidooie om revolusie as 'n metode om die bestaande orde in Suid-Afrika omver te werp. Hoewel dit in versigtige taal gestel is en onder die dekmantel van „Christelikheid” geklee word, word daar tog van revolusie as 'n onvermydelikheid gepraat.

Volgens die Instituut kan die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse stelsel slegs behoue bly deur die „mag van strukturele geweld” en in teenstand met die weg van God. Daarom „lok dit sy eie omverwerping deur revolusionêre geweld”.

„Christene is geroepe om God te gehoorsaam eerder as die mens, selfs al sou dit ongehoorsaamheid teenoor die burgerlike owerheid beteken.”

REAKSIE

Met dié sterk taal het die C.I. skerp reaksie uitgelok.

Ds. Jannie Malan, leraar van die N.G.-gemeente Aasvoëlkop, het gesê dat die stellings baie naby kom aan 'n oproep tot revolusie. „Rassisme word nou voorgedou as die grootste gevaar en nie die kommunisme nie.”

Hy het daarop gewys dat daar gesê word dat die Kommunistiese stelsel op „strukturele geweld” berus. Maar desondanks pleit die Christelike kerke nie vir die omverwerping daarvan deur revolusionêre geweld nie.

„Paulus en Jesus het ook geweld verwerp”, sê ds. Malan.

Dr. Andries Treurnicht, LV vir Waterberg en oud-assessor van die N.G. Sinode, het hom net so sterk uitgelaat oor die siening van wat Christelik is en wat nie.

„Ons verskil nie oor die Christen se plig om die Wet van God te gehoorsaam nie en 'n Regering wat dit oortree tereg te wys nie. Die vraag is egter of ons Regering teen die Wet van God optree. Dan sê ek: NEE. Ons beleid van skeiding is nie onchristelik nie en daar is genoeg Bybelse gronde daarvoor.”

Die stelling dat die Suid-Afrikaanse stelsel deur strukturele geweld behou word, het hy ook verwerp. Dit is 'n demokratiese stelsel. Daarom is dit absoluut vals dat daar net een weg oorbly om die stelsel te verander en dit is deur geweld.

In politieke kringe word ook geglo dat vanoggend se manifes wat uit die bloute vrygestel is, niks anders is as 'n „oorlogsverklaring” teen die Schlebusch-kommissie nie. Dit lyk soos die eerste skote in 'n skerp konfrontasie wat nog gaan kom.

—Die Vaderland, 22.6.73.

VADERLAND VERDRAAI C.I. SE
CHRISTELIKE AKSIE

Die berig op die voorblad van die Vaderland van 22.6.73 was 'n duidelike verdraaiing van die inhoud van die C.I. se „manifes” oor Christelike verandering.

1. *Die berig stel dit onomwonde dat dit „bedekte pleidooie om revolusie as 'n metode om die bestaande orde in S.A. omver te werp” sou wees.*

Daarteen moet ten sterkste beswaar gemaak word. Dit is onwaar dat die C.I. so 'n revolusie of geweld voorstaan. Op verskeie plekke in die „manifes” is dit onomwonde duidelik gestel:

Die C.I. pleit bv. dat S.A. op „'n radikale vreedsame wyse ... in gehoorsaamheid aan Christus” verander word. En: „Christelike verandering beteken 'n snelle, radikale en vreedsame verandering na 'n samelewing wat op Christus se weg gebaseer is: liefde, geregtigheid, vryheid, waarheid, en verantwoordelikheid.”

2. *Dié berig stel dit verder dat die C.I. 'n „pleidooi” lewer „vir wetsverbreking”. Dit sou dan „die grootste skok veroorsaak het”.*

Dit is ook 'n verdraaiing van die inhoud van die C.I. se dokumente. Die C.I. het blote erkende bybelse waarhede oor onchristelike wette en onchristelike optredes van 'n regering op die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie toegepas. Soos duidelik aangetoon kan word, is dit totaal iets anders as 'n algemene pleidooi vir openlike wetsverbreking:

„Wetgewing en regering is aan die evangelie van Christus onderworpe en onreg en totalitaristiese aktiwiteite moet verwerp word; wanneer Christene voor onchristelike wette te staan kom, moet hulle God eerder as die mens gehoorsaam.” En: „Jesus, soos die profete voor hom en die Christene na hom, het daarna gestreef om God se wil te volbring, selfs in teëstand met die begeertes van mense en hulle regeerdes.” En: „Die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewingstrukture sluit baie onreg in wat verhoed dat die inwoners Christus se weg kan verwesenlik. Christene is geroepe om God eerder as die mens te gehoorsaam, selfs al sluit dit ongehoorsaamheid aan die siviele owerheid, passiewe verzet of die openlike teenstand van onchristelike wette in.”

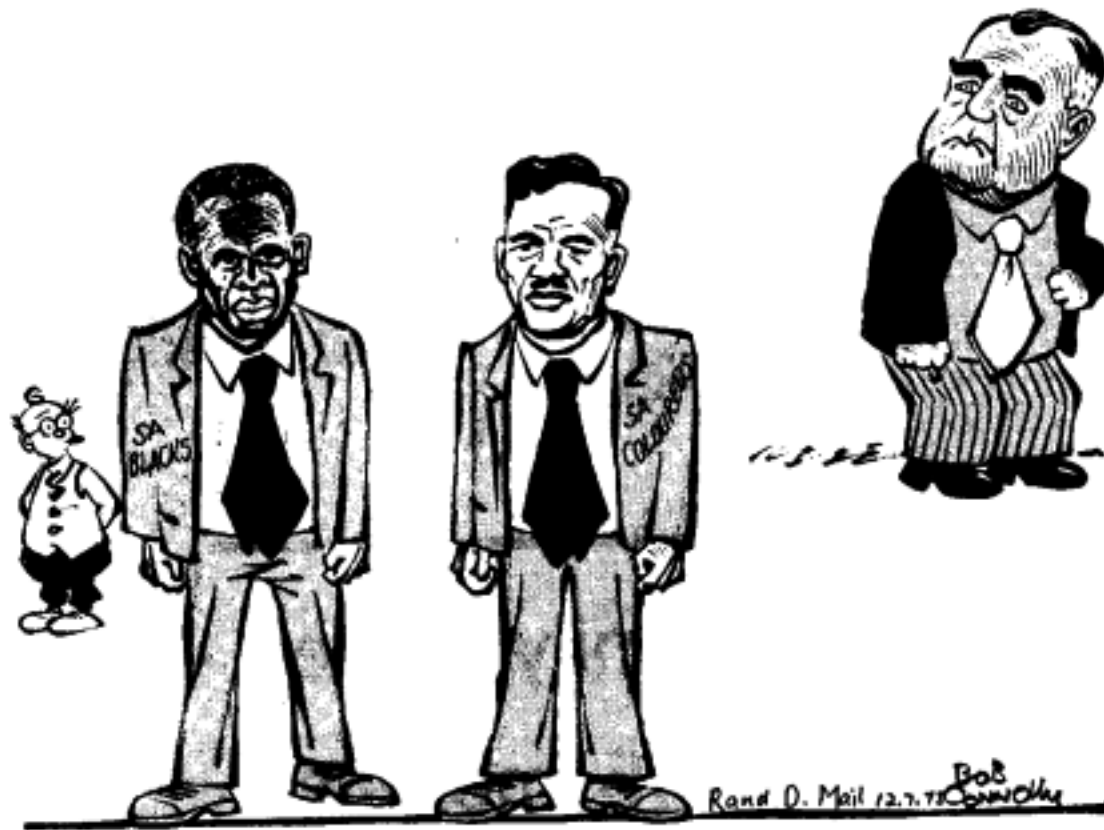
Daar is gevolglik ernstige vrae wat beantwoord moet word:

Waarom het die Vaderland die inhoud van die C.I. se brosjures so ooglopend verdraaid voorgestel? Waarom het dr. Andries Treurnicht en ds. Jannie Malan voortvarende kommentaar daarop gelewer sonder dat hulle insae in die dokumente gehad het?

In die tyd wat die C.I. bestaan het, is dit onomwonde gestel, soos nou weer, en dit is deur die 10 jaar bewys dat dié organisasie teen geweld gekant is en hom volkome met 'n Christelike oplossing vir Suid-Afrika vereenselwig het. Waarom wil die Afrikaanse pers dit nie aanvaar nie en word die C.I. oor dié aspek altyd weer verdag voorgestel? Blote eerlikheid is hier op die spel.

Die C.I. bepleit wesenlike Christelike verandering omdat die apartheidsbeleid en -praktyk neerkom op rasse-klassifikasie en -wetgewing, die verbroekeling van gesinne, diskriminasie, ens., wat onchristelik is. Die evangelie van Jesus Christus moet in Suid-Afrika ook in die politiek, die rigsnoer vorm en nie 'n eiewillige, selfsugtige, rassistiese apartheidsideologie nie.

—Roelf Meyer



NAT FOLLY SPARKS OFF UNIVERSITY CRISIS

Two million Coloured people, filled with bitterness, desperation and anguish, are slowly and systematically being driven into the camp of Black Power and racial extremism by the humiliating petty apartheid policy of the Nationalist Party.

This is the real significance of the shock closure this weekend of the University of the Western Cape—the university for Coloureds at Bellville.

The conflict between the 1 000 students and the White-dominated university authorities grew rapidly in the last few months until the situation got out of hand and temporary closure seemed the only way to handle the students.

This means that the Nationalist Party's Coloured policy has not only failed, but that it has all but alienated the Coloured elite from the Whites.

Unless there is an immediate radical change in the political plans for the Coloureds, granting them full citizenship on whatever basis, all commissions of inquiries are meaningless, and the present confrontation will be, not the culmination, but the beginning of tragic events.

—*Sunday Times*, 17.6.73.

NATS BACK DOWN ON COLOURED UNIVERSITY

The Government climbed down over the University of the Western Cape issue yesterday and all the Coloured students will now be allowed back to continue their studies.

At the same time the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe admitted that the UWC authorities had no right to demand a second undertaking from the entire rusticated student body before they could return.

Coloured leaders and academics conditionally welcomed the Government's climb-down last night, but warned that this left unsolved the serious student grievances that led to the crisis and the closure of the university last month.

UWC student leaders hailed the Minister's announcement as a "complete victory for the Black community", and said they would now demand complete redress of their grievances.

The Minister's announcement follows mounting anger among the country's Coloured people. This resentment crystallised at a protest meeting attended by 12 000 people in Cape Town on Sunday.

DECISION

Dr. Van der Merwe however threatened that "a decision as to further action will be taken in the light of what takes place after the reopening of the university".

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 11.7.73.

RACE POLITICS

Race or racialism cannot be ignored or wished away in politics or future political development in South Africa. All opposition parties—white as well as black—and other bodies opposed to apartheid will have to take race and racialism very seriously indeed. This is so because structures have been created that will increasingly operate on a racial basis. Conceding that the present government will be in power for the foreseeable future, institutional structures like the homeland authorities and the Coloured Persons Representative Council will be given increasingly symbolic or formal recognition, and will in terms of the consequence mentioned above serve as platforms for mobilising support and loyalties in terms of racial awareness and not primarily ethnic awareness. This means that group politics as opposed to individual political participation will increasingly become more significant in South Africa.

Extract from Towards Social Change, the report of the Spro-cas Social Commission.