

PRO

VERITATE



South Africa's Political Alternatives

Report of the Spro-cas
Political Commission



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DIE KOMENDE KRISIS

Terwyl baie blanke Suid-Afrikaners hulle klaarmaak om hulle Julie-vakansie by die Suidkus, in die bosveld of oorsee te geniet, skyn dit asof meeste van hulle salig onbewus is van die krisissituasie wat besig is om in ons land op te bou en die behoefte vir onmiddellike aksie om 'n ernstige katastrofe te vermy. Diegene wat hulle stemme in besorgdheid en onsteltenis verhef, word skerp gekritiseer en selfs bespotlik gemaak as doemprofete of as ondergrawers van die vertroue wat die witman behoort te hê in die regverdigheid van sy saak. In die outoritêre—ja, totalitêre—klimaat wat die regering geslaag het om oor 'n aantal jare met sy arbitrêre en diktatoriale optrede te skep, skyn die heersende houding van die meerderheid van blankes te wees: O, die regering weet wat beste is—laat alles aan hulle oor! Maar in die tussentyd lyk dit nie asof die feit registreer dat die Suid-Afrikaanse subkontinent, soos Spro-cas se Politieke Verslag dit so goed stel, „verswelg mag word in 'n rasse-oorlog waarvan die moontlikhede om toe te neem onberekenbaar is”.

POLITIEKE STERILITEIT

Is dit waar? Vir hulle wat so 'n aanspraak betwyfel, ignoreer of selfs verwerp, mag die volgende faktore wat in ons samelewing werksaam is, miskien tot ander insigte bring voordat dit te laat is. Binne ons grense het ons 'n situasie waar die meerderheid van tuislandleiers in die mees uitgesproke terme die regering se tuislandbeleid volkome verwerp; arbeidstakings wat duisende swartwerkers betrek het, het in onmiskenbare terme die gevoelens van 'n duidelike bewustheid van en 'n tipe ontevredenheid oor totaal ongenoegsame lone en werkstoestande uitgedruk; stygende lewenskoste is besig om die proses van inflasie aan te help—wat altyd die armste die hardste slaan; ten spyte van die outoritêre en onderdrukkende aksie van die regering is studente-onrus besig om te groei—soos die sluiting van die universiteit van die Westelike Kaap so duidelik geïllustreer het; en om alles te kroon is daar die betreuringswaardige apatie onder die blanke kiesers wat 'n gevaarlike toestand van politieke steriliteit geskep het wat duidelik die verlies van belangstelling (en geloof?) weerspieël in die leiding wat die twee grootste politieke partye veronderstel was om te gee.

Buite ons grense egter, is die toestand selfs nog ernstiger. Alleen 'n dwaas of iemand wat bewustelik blind is, kan nog die feit van die snelle toename van die houding van verharding van die hele wêreld teen die rassebeleid van ons land ignoreer. Op byna elke front het 'n belangrike verskuiwing plaasgevind ten gunste van totale verwerping van dit waarvoor die blanke politieke staan en dringende stemme vir optrede teen die onreg van apartheid is besig om toe te neem. Met die Vietnamoorlog agter die rug, word die aandag van die wêreld nou op Suidelike Afrika gevestig wat die meerderheid van wêreldmagte sien as die skepping van 'n ernstige situasie vir 'n potensiële rasse-oorlog. Die reeds omvangryke steun van regerings-, kerklike- en private ondernemings vir die saak van bevrydingsbeweginge, soos die wêreld buite ons dit in die alge-

THE CRISIS AHEAD

Whilst many white South Africans are preparing to enjoy their July Holidays at the South Coast, in the Bushveld or overseas, most of them seem to be blissfully unaware of the crisis situation building up in our country and the need for imminent action to avoid a major catastrophe. Those who raise their voices in concern and alarm are being severely criticized and even ridiculed as prophets of doom or as subverters of the confidence which the white should have in the justness of his cause. In the authoritarian—yes totalitarian—climate which the Government has succeeded to create over a number of years with its arbitrary and dictatorial actions, the prevailing attitude of the majority of whites seem to be: Oh, the Government knows what is best—leave everything to them! But in the meantime the fact does not seem to register that (as the Spro-Cas Political Report puts it so ably) the Southern African sub-continent “may become engulfed in a race war whose possibilities of escalating are incalculable”.

POLITICAL STERILITY

Is this true? For those who doubt, ignore or even reject such a claim, the following factors operating in our society could perhaps bring them to other insights before it is too late. Within our borders we have a situation where the majority of homeland leaders are out-and-out rejecting the Government's homeland policy in the most vociferous terms; labour strikes which have involved thousands of black workers have expressed in unmistakable terms the feelings of clear awareness of and deep dissatisfaction over totally inadequate wages and work conditions; the spiralling costs of living rapidly increase the process of inflation which always hit the poorest hardest; despite the authoritarian and suppressive action of the Government student unrest is growing—as the closure of the University of the Western Cape has so clearly illustrated; and above all there is the appalling apathy amongst the white electorate which has created a dangerous situation of political sterility which clearly rejects the loss of interest (and belief?) in the lead which the two main political parties were supposed to have given.

But outside our borders the situation is even much more serious. Only a fool or somebody who is wilfully blind can still ignore the fact of the rapid growth of hardening of attitudes of the whole world against the racial policy of our country. On every front there has been a major shift towards total rejection of what the whites stand for politically and insistent calls for action against the injustice of apartheid are mounting. With the Vietnam war over world attention is now being focussed on Southern Africa which the majority of world powers believe to be creating a dangerous situation of potential racial warfare. The already substantial support of governments, church and private agencies

meen sien, is aan die toeneem. Die jongste optrede van die regering teen die Duitse predikante van S.W.A. (pastore Dunze en Krüger) is besig om al die kerke van die wêreld vinnig teen ons te verenig. Baie sterk stemme roep nou om die onttrekking van beleggings. Die jongste aksie van die magtige IAO om hierdie oproep te ondersteun en om 'n massiewe handelsboikot teen Suid-Afrika goed te keur, is nog 'n verdere en baie belangrike stap van 'n wêreldliggaam om steun aan die beëindiging van die blanke-regering van rassediskriminasie en -onderdrukking te verleen.

ALLEENLIK GEWELD?

Die koppige weiering van Suid-Afrika om te luister na die pleidooie, waarskuwings en dreigemente van die wêreld oor twee dekades, of ons traagheid om enige toegewings behalwe onder ernstige druk van buite te maak, (bv. die veranderinge in ons sportbeleid), bewys duidelik die ideologiese verslawing van die blankes—en versterk die oortuiging, wat ons nie deel nie, dat alleenlik geweld van een of ander aard tot fundamentele verandering kan lei. Niemand in Suid-Afrika durf sê dat daar nie ernstige stemme van waarskuwing in ons land verneem is nie. Niemand durf sê dat daar nie aanvaarbare en realistiese alternatiewe tot die verwerplike rassebeleid van ons land aangebied is nie. Die jongste poging—Spro-cas se Politieke Verslag—gee 'n helder insig in ons huidige politieke dilemma, waarsku ons vir die gevaar wat voorlê, lewer 'n pleidooi vir fundamentele politieke verandering en gee 'n duidelike aanduiding van die rigting waarin ons behoort te gaan.

Die beslissing lê vandag nog in die hande van die blankes—veral die Afrikaners. Daar is geen tekens van enige aard dat die meerderheid van Afrikaners óf bewus óf besorg is oor die komende krisis nie. En waarom sou hulle? Hulle politieke, kerklike, akademiese en nywerheidsleiers is nie in die algemeen besig om die gevaarkreet te laat hoor nie behalwe om die vrees vir terrorisme te beklemtoon en 'n beroep te doen vir die sluiting van blanke-geledere. Terwyl gebeurtenisse snel besig is om na 'n krisispunt te beweeg, bly selfs die groep van besorgde akademiese en kerklike leiers nog vasgevang in lang sitkamerdiskussies. *Wat dringend benodig is, is aksie:* Die verwydering van alle vorme van diskriminasie en vernedering soos deur ons rassewetgewing verskerp; onmiddellike en volledige konsultasie tussen wit en swart om 'n geldige konsensus te bereik; gesamentlike stappe om die volle deelname van al die mense van ons land in hulle politieke toekoms te verseker.

Hoelank gaan blankes nog wag voordat hulle begin om op te tree—en betekenisvol op te tree? Of word 'n mens gedwing om te aanvaar dat die onvermoë as gevolg van hulle eiebelang, onkunde en vrees om op te tree, die blankes so verlam het dat hulle hulleself—en hulle land—nie langer kan bevry nie? En dat die enigste manier waarop hulle nog kan handel, is deur te praat, praat, praat om hulle gewetes te stil, hulle onreg te rasionaliseer en hulle vrese te onderdruk? Indien dit die geval is, kan ons alleen aan die blankes sê: As julle slegs wil voortgaan om te praat, broeders, praat voort, maar dan moet julle besef dat die dag van oordeel baie naby mag wees. Aan die ander kant kan ons in der waarheid aan ons swart broers sê: Op een of ander stadium moet verlossing kom en dan sal julle jul verheug!

—Beyers Naudé

for the cause of liberation movements (as they are generally seen to be by the outside world), is growing. The latest action of the Government against German clergy of South West Africa (pastors Dunze and Krüger) is rapidly uniting all the churches of the world against us. Very strong voices are now clamouring for the withdrawal of investments. The latest action of the powerful ILO, supporting this call in approving a massive trade boycott against South Africa is one further (and very significant) step of a world body to assist in terminating the white regime of racial discrimination and oppression.

ONLY FORCE?

The obstinate refusal of South Africa to heed the world pleas, warnings and threats of two decades or our tardiness to make any concessions except under severe outside pressure (e.g. the changes in our sport policy) simply go to prove the ideological enslavement of the whites—and strengthen the conviction, which we do not share, that only force of some kind could lead to fundamental change.

Nobody in South Africa dare say that strong voices of warning have not been sounded in our country. Nobody dare say that acceptable and realistic alternatives to the rejectable racial policies of our country have not been offered. The latest effort—the Spro-Cas Political Report—gives a lucid insight into our present political plight, warns us of the dangers awaiting us, makes a plea for fundamental political reform and gives a clear indication of the direction in which we have to move.

The decision today still lies in the hands of the whites—especially the Afrikaners. There are no signs of any kind that the majority of Afrikaners is either aware of or concerned about the coming crisis. And why should they be? Their political, church, academic and industrial leaders generally are not sounding the alarm, except to beat the drum of terrorism and calling for the closing of the ranks. Whilst events are rapidly moving to a point of no return even the group of concerned academic and church leaders are still stuck in long drawing-room discussions. *What is urgently required is action:* the removal of all forms of discrimination and humiliation created by our racial legislation; immediate and full consultation between white and black to reach a valid consensus; joint steps to ensure the full participation of all the people of our country in their political future.

How much longer are whites going to wait before they begin to act—and act meaningfully? Or is one forced to accept that the inability through self-interest, ignorance and fear to act has so paralysed the whites that they can no longer liberate themselves—and their country? And that the only way in which they can still act is by talking, talking, talking to silence their consciences, to rationalize their injustices and to suppress their fears? If so we can only say to the whites: If you wish only to continue talking, talk on, brothers, talk on, but then you must realise that the day of judgment might be very near. On the other hand we can truly say to our black brothers: Deliverance *must* come at some stage or the other, and then you will rejoice!

—Beyers Naudé

PRO VERITATE NOW R3 PER ANNUM

Pro Veritate has always been heavily subsidised because we wanted the magazine to circulate as widely as possible. Many people have said that the subscription fee of R1 for 12 editions is ridiculously low. The load has now become too heavy, with an increase in all the expenses, such as 30%-40% on the price of paper. As a result the directors have decided to raise the price, as from this edition, to R3 p.a. and 25c per copy. The price for airmail and overseas copies appears on the inside of the cover.

On the other hand we would like to make a concession because we do want the magazine to circulate as widely as possible. If it should happen that you cannot afford to pay the full price, you would be welcome to pay as much as you can afford.

May we put a request to our esteemed readers? If you feel that the magazine ought to enjoy greater support, won't you try to subscribe for another person as well? Or if you could possibly make a donation to Pro Veritate which might help to pay some other person's subscription fee, we will appreciate it tremendously.

Thank You
—Roelf Meyer.

PRO VERITATE NOU R3 PER JAAR

In die verlede was Pro Veritate nog altyd swaar gesubsidieer omdat ons die blad aan soveel persone as moontlik wou stuur. Baie het dan ook aan ons gesê dat R1 vir 12 uitgawes belaglik laag was. Op die oomblik met die styging van alle kostes, o.a. die koste van papier 30%-40%, word die vrag teen R1 te swaar. Die direksie het gevolglik besluit om die koste vanaf hierdie uitgawe tot R3 p.j. en 25c per kopie te verhoog. Die prys vir lugpos en die buiteland is op die binneblad gedruk.

Aan die ander kant wil ons graag 'n toegewing maak omdat ons die blad so wyd as moontlik wil versprei. Indien iemand nie die volle prys kan betaal nie, is u welkom om soveel as wat u kan bekostig, te betaal.

Kan ons aan ons geagte lesers dan ook 'n versoek rig? Indien u voel dat die blad beter steun behoort te geniet, sal u nie vir nog 'n ander persoon probeer inteken nie? Of as u moontlik 'n donasie aan Pro Veritate kan maak wat ander met hulle intekeningsoffi sal help, sal ons dit baie waardeer.

Baie dankie
—Roelf Meyer.

LETTER TO EDITOR

The Man's World — A FAILURE?

The most important question of the day is "Why have the churches, nations and U.N. failed so dismally to bring about world peace?"

The answer is supplied by Dr. Jung who says "If the individual is worthless the nation is worthless".

In every nation woman is the so-called worthless individual. She is the child-bearer and beyond that of little account.

The latest protagonist is Pope Paul VI for recently he said, in reference to the "Women's Lib." movement, that the role of woman is motherhood.

It would seem that Almighty God was unduly lavish when He endowed woman with an intellect, and that really she ought to bury it like the man who buried the talent, and confine herself to the purely animal function of bearing and rearing young. This is her sole value in places where polygamy is practised and these

are the backward and under-developed nations, indicating that truly "If the individual is worthless the nation is worthless".

Since all nations and all churches in the masculine dominated world have a certain degree of worthlessness, they cannot and will not achieve anything so worthwhile as world peace.

Has the time not come to give women complete equality so that their God-given talents and feminine traits can enrich society?

Denise Goodwin

Rustenburg,
TRANSVAAL.

CHRISTIANITY IN S.A.

MANAS BUTHELEZI

A Serious Look by a Concerned Black Believer

I am a Christian and I hope to remain one because in the Christian Gospel I have discovered an assurance that the possibilities of my true humanity can be realised. Even though I often feel betrayed by fellow Christians, I have never experienced betrayal by the Gospel. Were it not for the Gospel, I would already have had every reason to regard whoever created me as the enemy of my humanity. In the Gospel I have discovered hope for my liberation towards true humanity.

It is against this background of expressed faith in the Gospel that you should try to understand what I am going to say. For my part, it is out of this Gospel-given hope that I have mustered the courage to say what I am going to say about the pathological state of Christianity in South Africa. Listen to me as to a fellow believer, speaking out of the depths of his overflowing and believing heart. If, in taking South African Christianity as a spiritual pathological case, my diagnosis and prescription here and there smack of missionary and evangelistic arrogance, kindly bear with me; I am simply moved by the black man's love for his fellow South Africans.

I shall call the first part of my address, "A SPIRITUAL DIAGNOSIS", and the second, "AN EVANGELISTIC PRESCRIPTION".

1. *A Spiritual Diagnosis*

The Christian Gospel has been in this land for over 300 years. This is a long time if one considers the spate of drastic changes which have taken place since then. Here I am not only referring to changes on the political map of South Africa, but also to changes in the very history of the spiritual destinies of the people of South Africa.

The modern history of Christianity in South Africa is a sad tale of gradual erosion in the expression of the spirit of Christianity itself. The institutional symbols of Christianity, the church and the ministry, are there but they are becoming to a lesser extent the visible incarnation of that which accounts for the uniqueness of Christianity, vis-a-vis, the religion of our forefathers. Over the past decades, the church has been turned into a living monument of a race and colour-orientated society. Is it not true that many church buildings are no longer houses for worshipping God, the Father of Jesus Christ, but have become heathen shrines of a race and colour god? That is why even in this day and age some church synods still find it necessary to pre-occupy themselves with making resolutions about keeping their churches lily-white on Sunday. You see, a racially mixed service assails the majesty of the god of racism and colour.

This is a negative appraisal of South African Christianity, you may say. Is it not true that there are more people who believe in Christ today than there were in 1652? Is South Africa not in fact the most Christian country in Africa percentage-wise? The conclusions drawn from answers to these questions cannot but be disquieting unless one fails to see beyond the mere quantitative theory of progress.

To my mind the ultimate criterion for the spread of Christianity is not just how many people go to church on Sunday, but how many people allow that which is unique in the Christian Gospel to shape their lives as well as the spirit of their social, economic and political environment.

What is it that is unique in the Christian Gospel? It is the love of God in Jesus Christ that transforms strange neighbours into loving brothers. It is very often said that points of racial contact are points of friction. What is unique about the Gospel is that it changes points of contact into points of fellowship. Fellowship is by definition a situation of contact. It follows that there can never be Christian fellowship without human contact. Any deliberate elimination of points of human contact is a calculated sabotage of the essence of Christian fellowship.

About this uniqueness of the Christian Gospel Christ said: "I give you a new commandment: love one another; as I have loved you, so you are to love one another. If there is this love among you, then all will know that you are my disciples" (John 13:34-35, NEB).

As if in commentary to this, Paul asserts in Galatians: "There is no such thing as Jew and Greek, slave and free man, male and female; for you are all one person in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28 NEB).

In Jesus Christ the divisions of mankind into warring nations as dramatized in the story of Babel, is resolved. In Christ mankind becomes a family, a brotherhood. This is the uniqueness of Christianity, otherwise white Europeans would have no business to leave Europe and come here to make Christians out of black Africans. This is the uniqueness which, according to my diagnosis, the South African way of life has done its share to undermine and almost destroy. We are all the poorer for it; ours is a Christianity in caricature. It seems that the white man, as the main architect of the South African way of life, has done his best to destroy the heart of the faith he brought with him.

When white missionaries came to Natal during the time of Shaka, they were hospitably received by the black people who did not know anything about Christ and who had every reason to reject the humanity of white people because they had never seen any white

human being before. They accepted them as human beings to such an extent that they were prepared to allow their black girls to marry them. The classical case in point is the British hunter John Dunn, who raised generations of coloured people in Zululand from the black wives he was allowed by King Cetshwayo to marry. Of course, Cetshwayo did not know anything about the Immorality Act because white Christianity had not yet invented it. The Zulus could see a dignified human being behind the facade of a white skin.

You all know Henry Francis Fynn who was among the first white men ever to visit King Shaka. In his diary Fynn made a very touching description of the grand reception which he as well as his entourage received from the king. James Stuart, who edited Fynn's diary, made the following comments on Fynn's diary account:

"The first meeting of Shaka with Farewell Fynn, and the rest of the party was manifestly a unique and memorable occasion. Instead of the formal, stiff and constrained ceremonial customary at such a moment, Shaka, whose heart had been mysteriously touched by the advent of British settlers to his shores, converted the occasion into a grand and dramatically planned festival."

This is not just an allusion to dead past history, but it is a commentary on the black man's open and loving attitude towards the white man, as I have grown to know it. When I grew up, white people, especially missionaries, used to visit our home as my father was an evangelist. I cannot remember a single occasion when a white person did not receive the best courtesy and the best catering our limited resources could allow. Many a black man can testify to the same. The lack of reciprocity when we visit white people's homes has not deterred us from giving them our best. In South African society there are many things which remind the black man of the fact that he is a rejected member of society. Indeed, white South Africa has rejected the black man as someone with whom a self-respecting patriotic white man can relate with any degree of intimacy in daily life situations. Whites who have not observed this convention, have ordinarily not escaped some degree of social and political censure bordering on the forfeiture of personal security. Even as lepers in society, black people on the whole have not withdrawn the hand of friendship and love stretched out towards the white man. Nothing less is expected of those who follow the way of Christ.

There is a pattern of racist outlook in the thinking and behaviour of the average white, mainly Anglo-Saxon Protestant or Northern European, whether he happens to be in America, Asia or South Africa. As the respective histories of the United States and South Africa, in particular, demonstrate, the Northern European seems to be overly obsessed with his race and the fact that he is white. He translates this into his politics, economics and social theory. This tendency is not so pronounced in the Catholic Mediterranean or



Dr. Manas Buthelezi is the newly appointed Regional Director of the Christian Institute for Natal.

Southern European. The history of the colonies which belonged to the latter also bear out this contrast.

Be it as it may, white people, whether they like it or not, are our brothers. We owe them not just passive love, but creative and creating love. It is not enough for us to bemoan the pathological condition of South African Christianity; we must do something about it. To a medical doctor, diagnosis is never the end; it is a means towards a healing prescription.

2 Evangelistic Prescription

Black Christians as a group have not made any significant contribution in the evangelization of South Africa as a country beyond the people of their own race. This is out of proportion to their numerical strength as Christians. Among the main denominations, the Dutch Reformed Church is the only exception where there is a white majority. Black people can therefore never be taken as merely an appendage to South African Christianity. They are a factor to be reckoned with. The trouble is that hitherto they have not taken themselves seriously. Nowhere else is this better illustrated than in the negligible role they have played in the evangelization of South Africa.

In other words, black people have not preached the Gospel to *all* nations yet. They seem to have been conditioned into thinking of themselves as third grade "Kaffer" ambassadors of Christ, whose spiritual credentials do not in any way qualify them to carry the message of God to white people, for instance. They have underestimated both their integrity as ambassadors of God in South Africa and the universality of the scope of their mission.

This stands in sharp contrast to the evangelistic consciousness of white Christians who have always correctly understood themselves as being sent everywhere and to everybody. Here I am not by any means overlooking the influence of the colonial motif in

European history; I am simply stating the basic essentials of the case of evangelism in South Africa.

As a black Christian, I feel obliged to thank white Christians for having realized that God did not send them to white people only, but also to me, black as I am. In saying this, I hope that white people will also be generous enough to reciprocate this sentiment of mine *as I feel moved at this hour that God has also sent me as a black person to tell them the Good News that God died in Christ to liberate the white man from the urge to oppress the black man.* This means to say that the Gospel as preached by the white man needs to be complemented by the Gospel through the black man.

I have already hinted that the Gospel as preached by white Christians was of such a kind as to harbour the reality of the white man's rejection of the black man. It was and still is a Gospel with a truncated expression of Christian fellowship. By Christian fellowship here I do not mean just worshipping together on Sunday, but also sharing together all the daily blessings of God which he continually showers on his children.

It is well-known that in this land the white man has grabbed for his own use the greater portion of the wealth God has meant for us all. God is angry about this and will definitely judge the white people. White people need to be liberated from the coming wrath of God. They need to be told that God also loves them; He wants to give them power to love the black man so that they do not find it nauseating to share a meal with him in a public restaurant.

I say this in full awareness of the existence of fringe groups in the white Christian establishment which have tried to stir the white Christian conscience into realising the full implications of Christian fellowship. The Christian Institute is one of those fringe groups. However, as fringe groups, they have existed as voices crying in the ecclesiastical wilderness. It has very often been said that the leaders of the English speaking churches have displayed a liberal and progressive stance which is very often out of touch with the grass-root membership of those churches. This is a euphemistic way of stating that the average white Christian still does not see any contradiction between professing Christian discipleship and rejecting the black man in his daily life. He has not been liberated into accepting the black man as his daily life brother.

Just to illustrate how patently true this observation is, a leading white statesman of this country has recently found it necessary to exhort white people to remember that black men also have souls. I would be shocked if any one here could stand up and say that this statesman — who will remain nameless — did not know what he was talking about. This poses a challenge to the black man: the white man needs to know that the black man was created in the image of God too. The black man must testify to the white man that he really has that image, otherwise any third person statement of that fact will not free some people from doubts. The image of God in the black man must

urge him to evangelize the white man into accepting him as a brother.

If white people are lost, does it ever occur to the black man that he may be held responsible? Does it ever occur to black people that they have an evangelistic duty of getting the white man out of the spiritual darkness which has prevented him from seeing that the black man is his daily life brother? God will ask: "Black man, where were you when the white man abandoned my Gospel and went to destruction?" When the black man answers, "I was only a kaffir, how could I dare to preach to my baas?", God will say: "Was Christ's resurrection not sufficient to liberate you, black man, from that kind of spiritual and psychological death? Go to eternal condemnation, black man, for you did not muster courage to save your white brother."

This leads me to the following practical conclusions:

1. There is an urgent need for the establishment of a black Christian Mission to the whites in South Africa. This mission manned by blacks will have as a general aim:
 - 1.1 to enable the white man to share the love of God as it has been uniquely revealed to the black man in circumstances in which the white man does not have experience;
 - 1.2 to preach love to the white man so that he may have the courage to see with consequence that his security is not necessarily tied to his rejection of the black man;
 - 1.3 to give glory to God for what he has done for the black man in spite of everything;
 - 1.4 to work for the salvation of the white man who sorely needs it.
2. It would be appreciated if some existing white church buildings could be made available to serve as mission stations. This gesture on the part of white churches will serve as a realization of a meaningful partnership in mission.
3. The feasibility of this endeavour is assumed from the fact that there is freedom of preaching in this country. Whites do preach among blacks; therefore there is no reason why blacks cannot preach among whites.

This is not a neat outline of a programme, but merely an expression of an idea. Who knows? It may come as a significant contribution towards the solution of some of our basic problems. ★

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

PETER RANDALL

1. There is an urgent need for change (as evidenced, for example, by various studies of poverty, the reports of the different Wages Commissions, and the reports of the Spro-cas study commissions).
2. We are not a static society: change is occurring (but generally the more visible symptoms of this are such superficial adjustments as "multi-national sport" and slightly higher wages for black workers).
3. The real need is for fundamental and structural change in the basic patterns of inequality, oppression and discrimination which are essentially "the South African way of life" (in the words of the Spro-cas Economics Report, what is needed is nothing less than a fundamental redistribution of power, wealth and land).
4. Opponents of the apartheid system, if they react only to the superficial events in our society, tend to alternate between cautious optimism at the latest "breakthrough" (e.g. recognition of the right of African workers to strike) and profound gloom at the latest example of intolerant repression (e.g. banning of peaceful protest). It is only by seeing the situation steadily and seeing it whole, by being aware of the historical roots of the present social patterns, and by recognising the powerful underlying social forces, that one can keep some perspective and continue to recognise that change, major change, is, after all, inevitable.
5. As the forces of change (Black Consciousness and black solidarity, the potential bargaining bases provided by separate development itself for leaders like Buthelezi, the growing ability of black labour to organise to press its demands, the counter-cultural forces which are white-anting traditional white values, guerilla movements near our borders, etc.)—as these forces grow in scope and strength, so they evoke, and will increasingly evoke, counter-forces of repression and reaction (banning, legislation, increased use of "security" apparatus, threats against press freedom and other civil rights etc.).
6. We are thus in a period of growing polarisation and confrontation with all the dangers and challenges this brings, together with the opportunities for creative change.
7. The short-term reaction of the authorities is likely to be increased intolerance of dissent and activity for change. This in turn will accelerate the pro-



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cesses of polarisation and confrontation.

8. The crucial question about the future potential for a relatively peaceful resolution (varying degrees of conflict are inevitable) is the degree to which the white oligarchy will accommodate to the need for a fundamental sharing of wealth, land and power. The short-term prospects (e.g. out-of-hand rejections of the patently justified demands for more land by homeland leaders) are not auspicious.
9. In the words of the Spro-cas Political Report, "Our conclusion is that the panoply of measures taken to promote the security of the State has obscured the real issue. South Africa's dilemma in this respect is not the supposed antithesis between order and freedom: it is the real conflict between supporting the existing social structure and ideas and actions that strive to change it. The Suppression of Communism Act and other measures of its kind are only peripherally or tangentially concerned with their ostensible aims: the real aim is to shore up the existing unequal order and to frustrate the evolution of a more just order. A closely related parallel is to be found in the field of censorship, which is ostensibly primarily aimed at curbing pornography and other undesirable literature or art forms; but with seeming inevitability its major concern becomes an attempt to arrest the spread of new ideas."
10. The real initiative for fundamental change will

come from blacks. Perhaps we are already seeing the historical initiative passing into black hands (Buthelezi et al, Black consciousness, black labour's demands, Black Theology and other initiatives by black Christians, and the wave of cultural and intellectual activity now emanating from the black community and, far more profound, both culturally and in terms of socio-political significance, than anything from the English or Afrikaans white communities).

11. The black initiative has implications for whites opposed to apartheid. One is a need for white liberation, and a creative response to black initiative in place of fear or hostility or paternalism. Another is to question the present validity of many sacred cows of the traditional liberal approach. A third is to recognise the need for black advancement and to support it where

possible.

12. Finally, the question must arise whether our "traditional" economic structures are capable of enabling the kind of fundamental change envisaged, or whether we should be exploring more vigorously the alternatives offered by a socialist form of society.

These statements, for whose boldness and generalised nature I apologise, seem axiomatic to me. That they won't to most whites in South Africa is also axiomatic. They are merely attempts, arising from my participation in the work of six Spro-cas study commissions over the past four years, to suggest guidelines for a conceptual framework within which to approach the problem of socio-economic change in South Africa. ★

BOOK REVIEW

south africa's political alternatives

S.A. FACES RACE WAR

The Southern African sub-continent, on its present course, faced the danger of becoming engulfed in a race war of incalculable possibilities of escalation.

This grim warning is a major conclusion of the report of the Spro-cas (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society) Political Commission, entitled "*South Africa's Political Alternatives*", and published to-day.

The Commission accepted the urgent need for major change in the political system. It said that security in South Africa could be achieved only by admitting Blacks to an effective share of political participation and by collaborating with them in building an open society whose foundations were justice, liberty, and mutual esteem.

As a possible solution to the problems facing South Africa, the Commission detailed a set of proposals in the form of a "model for transition" from the present apartheid system in the direction of a more open and equal society.

The transition period is divided into two stages:

* The first stage aims at the greatest measure of non-discrimination and equality possible in the present society and a progressive pluralistic devolution of power starting from the present political system.

SECOND STAGE

The second stage suggests the main outlines of a more open society and the basic structure of a new political system embodying a federal multiracial

government.

Thirteen members of the Commission have signed the report. They include the chairman, Prof. A.S. Mathews, professor of law at Natal University, Mr. Leo Marquard, noted historian and author, Dr. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute, Mr. Rene de Villiers, former editor of the Star, Dr. Oscar Wollheim, of the Civil Rights League, Mr. David Welsh, senior lecturer in African Government at UCT, and Mr. Andre du Toit, senior lecturer in political philosophy at Stellenbosch University.

The names of two senior United Party MPs, Mr. Japie Basson and Dr. Gideon Jacobs, appear as consultants.

The Commission found that the policy of separate development was completely inadequate to ensure the ethical principles without which no political system could succeed.

The real aim of much security legislation and action was "to shore up the existing unequal order and to frustrate the evolution of a more just order".

'CATASTROPHIC'

The Commission believes that "the rhetoric and the actions aimed at the goal of self-preservation" were having catastrophic effects on White society, breeding values that were the antithesis of love, compassion and humanity.

It warns in the strongest terms that the growth of a militarist spirit was "a serious cancer which, if un-

checked, would nullify any claims White South Africans may have to being custodians of the Judaeo-Christian tradition".

In considering the possible forces for change in the present political position, the Commission sees little likelihood of revolution in the near future.

However, taking into account the impact of Black consciousness, including labour unrest, economic forces and foreign pressures, it emphasizes that "unless structural changes are made in the political system there are grave dangers facing South Africa".

It might degenerate into a "garrison state", a type of totalitarian society in which all the liberties of all the citizens were stifled; or there might be violence.

"There is," the Commission concludes, "a long-run danger that the entire sub-continent may become engulfed in a race war whose possibilities of escalating are incalculable."

The one hope, it believes, is the "model of transition" which it regards as a feasible political alternative to separate development.

In the first stage it recommends:

- * Furthering the process of economic, social and educational advancement among all groups with priority to those who are relatively deprived.

- * Progressively extending the rights to freedom of expression and association to all citizens, reversing the trend towards Government curbing of civil freedoms, and creating new institutions for consultation and collective bargaining.

- * Creating sub-systems of representative government for population groups of the common area at present excluded from the parliamentary system, such authorities to have powers in local government and cultural affairs.

- * Creating effective institutions to co-ordinate the decision-making and planning process in all inter-dependent issues.

- * Progressively transferring the decisive policy-making, executive and administrative powers from the central government to the new regional and communal authorities.

- * Negotiations or conferences involving all major regional and communal authorities and the central government and Parliament to prepare the way for a basic constitutional transition and determine the political structure of a new system.

In the second state it recommends:

FOREIGN POLICY

- * Vesting all national matters and policy for foreign affairs, defence, justice, finance, transport, commerce, planning in a federal government and administration.

- * Constitutional entrenchment of civil liberties and minorities rights and the vesting of effective powers in an independent judiciary and Senate to maintain them effectively.

- * Provision for the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Unlawful Organizations Act, the "Sabotage Act" and the Terrorism Act after a specified period (e.g. five years) for the safe negotiation of the constitutional transition, and in the absence of severe and direct threats to internal and external security.

- * Creating appropriate communal authorities for Whites to deal with education, cultural affairs, health and welfare services—the present provincial councils may be adapted to this end.

- * Creating an "open" society allowing some degree of "optional segregation".

This review appeared in the Cape Times, 8.6.73.

IN THE CITY

PICCANIN SMALL

On his bare and dirty feet,
Trying to cross a crowded
city street
While traffic races
in constant murderous stream -
Dante's Inferno,
That wild, prophetic dream!

LITTLE BOY

darting ahead, then leaping back
Out of the way of the oncoming
murderous pack,
How can he reach his goal -
The Other Side?
He is alone, and that River,
the River of Death,
is wide.

PICCANIN SMALL

Give me your little hand.
(Don't be afraid,
THIS contact is not banned!)
And I will take you
To the Other Side.
My love is deep,
And my Compassion
wide.

NAOMI R. PUCHER

a sick society

The following is an abbreviated speech which the well-known Afrikaans writer, André P. Brink, made in the Spro-Cas series "The Need for Reform" recently held in Johannesburg.

I must define my position as being that of a writer, not a politician. And so I may not always be practical in my approach: my concern is *man*, the *human*, not the system through which he can be effectively organised. But I cannot accept that ethical ideals should be regarded as unpractical or impracticable merely *because* they are ideals. Convictions, if strong enough, can turn almost any ideal into practical reality. And if there are those who sneer that the world belongs to men who "do or die", I believe that their doing and death can only be worthwhile if it takes place within the dimension created by those others who try to "reason why". It may be plausible to say: "Poor word without a gun", but it really becomes true only when one adds the complement: "Poor gun without a word."

The reader will appreciate, I am sure, the enormity of the scope of the subject: "The need for social and educational change..." and the impossibility for any one person to do justice to it. And so we shall have to be selective in our approach. On the other hand, there may be some who feel that the very phrasing of the topic is so obvious as to make it redundant or ridiculous: is not the enormity of wrongs in our society, in fact in *any* society, so obvious that anyone can see at a glance that change is necessary and inevitable? Even the government admits this, tacitly or openly (cf. pronouncements on the "end of the road" for Coloureds, on sports policy, on wage inequality). But even then it would not be enough to state that change is necessary: we must explore the situation, we must evaluate it, we must specify the wrongs so that medicine can be prescribed for the ailment. It is not enough to realise that the patient is ill: we must diagnose the symptoms and find the causes.

The Struggle in Education

Access to education

Compulsory education for whites vs a haphazard and almost criminally negligent "open" system for Africans. As early as 1920 the Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape called compulsory education for Africans "desirable", although conceding that it was "not practicable at present". Just over fifty years later the rectors of six universities called insistence of such compulsory education "totally unrealistic". In half a century the position has, in other words, deteriorated.

There are not nearly enough schools; the pupil-

andré brink



teacher ratio has deteriorated from 42:1 in 1949 to 60:1 in 1972 (Whites 21:1). African children must buy their own school books at exorbitant cost (Std VI: R25 per child - whereas many families earn less than that per month for five or more people). For economic and practical reasons the drop-out rate is alarming: for every 1 000 children who enter Sub A only 7 reach matric. Especially Std VI seems to be an alarming watershed, and it so happens that the African Teachers' Association came out, in this last week, with an accusation that the Bantu Education Department was deliberately manipulating results in order to slow the pace of black progress in education. The secretary for Bantu Education admitted openly that Std. VI results had to adhere to a strict, previously determined quota system of passes and failures. He insisted that the quota was based on previous statistics but seems to have remained silent when asked how these statistics could be acceptable if they, themselves, had been manipulated. Obviously this has to be done because there are not enough facilities—how can there be if the Government spends R14.50 p.a. on the education of an African child as opposed to R70 on an Indian, R73 on a Coloured and R228 on a White?! It must also be done because there are simply not enough teachers—and how can there be expected to be enough teachers if the highest salary that can be paid to an African teacher is considerably lower than the lowest notch of a white teacher fresh from university and with exactly identical qualifications? The position becomes even worse if one takes into the account the

double-session system in African schools, which results in a black teacher receiving less than half a white's salary for practically twice the work. *Even within the framework of Apartheid* this is iniquitous, since the whitewashed face of the System preaches the so-called "uplift" of the Black races so that they can "help their own people".

By the time a Coloured, Indian or African pupil has passed matric and is ready to enter University, the odds are loaded even more heavily against him. To receive an inferior higher education he has to travel to some remote tribal area to be taught, almost exclusively by whites, with every move supervised, with access to a strictly limited library, almost no opportunity of organising his activities, communicating with the authorities, or matching his achievements with those of students elsewhere.

Contents of education

He carries the burden of several languages because he is obliged to study at least some subjects through the medium of a second or third language. Surely those Afrikaners who experienced the Milner system of anglicization should be among the first to recognise the basic injustice of such a practice *and* the smouldering resentment that results from it? But those Afrikaners in power seem to have learnt as little from their educational past as from their war-time activities, doing consistently unto others as others have done unto them.

Indoctrination is caused by the use of carefully "Europeanised" set-books, "white" interpretations of history and society, in order to inculcate, from as early an age as possible, an acceptance of apartheid as the only feasible social order or, preferably, apartheid as the only existing social order.

Results of education

Black education really has no aim beyond itself. It is hardly geared to practical or social needs. A black man who has graduated from university has no social security whatsoever and all possible measures are taken to ensure that he returns to some tribal "homeland" where he can use his M.A. to cultivate weeds or his Ph.D. to dig irrigation trenches. If he decides to remain in a "white" city, i.e. any South African city with more black than white inhabitants, he has the prospect of being promoted to teaboy or head messenger. It may seem an outrageous or distorted picture, but the percentage of Black graduates who can fully realise their potential in society, even without expecting to be paid for what they are worth, is negligible. The only practical result of such an educational system can be dissatisfaction, resentment, or open resistance. In the words of one South American labourer: "My father earned 4 dollars a month, I earn 40. But my father was richer than I am, because he did not know that he was poor."

White Education

What I have said about Black education in this

country does not, of course, imply that all is well with White education. There is not much to be commended about a system which uses blatant indoctrination in order to ensure the survival of a nineteenth century concept of nationalism, creating in the process a complexity of fiercely subjective and mutually exclusive nationalisms totally out of keeping with the needs and demands of a world where all unnecessary barriers are being broken down. There is not much to be commended about a system which believes in education not as a means of expanding the frontiers of the mind but of keeping them within predetermined limits, excluding anything "from outside" which might, through intellectual or spiritual stimulation, lead to real development of an integrated personality. There is not much to be commended about a system which reduces Christianity to an Old Testament concept of racial supremacy, and which accepts as its premise differences instead of similarities, brokenness instead of wholeness, splintered glass instead of a mirror in which one can recognise oneself. There is not much to be commended about a system which divides the world into "us" and "they", denying "them" humanity in order to make it that much easier for "us" to ignore "their" true needs and "their" true nature. There is not much to be commended in a system which denies youth any effective say in the shaping of the terrible world they must inherit. In last year's Joint Statement by the Rectors of the Afrikaans Universities, it is stated: "We welcome it that students should show a lively interest in matters of national importance in the educational, social and political field. This interest must, however, be expressed in such a way that the first priority should continue to be devoted to their studies." These rectors seem to have deliberately ignored the fact that the student demonstrations arose from the awareness that they could only give priority to their studies if the state could give some priority to the study needs of all races in this country. How dare I involve myself in studies knowing

- (a) that the great majority of my fellow South Africans are deprived of the opportunities I have simply because they have a different colour, and
- (b) that these very studies are getting more and more out of touch with the realities of the world in which I live? If the authorities in this country could learn nothing from the so-called "student unrest" in other countries they will have to discover this in a harder way.

The simple truth is that, if nature has its way, those students attacked by the "batallions of hate" the government sent against them will still be alive long after Mr. Vorster and his company are dead. This, in itself, should suggest a pause for sobering reflection.

As long as this government tries to reply to the needs of today and tomorrow with violent stock responses of yesterday, it can expect student agitation to continue and to escalate. And it may be just as well to remember that it is irrelevant to blame "agitators", because no popular movement—no resistance in Ovambo, no student protest, no strikes in Durban—can flow from "agitation" unless there has been an exploitable situation to start with. And there are few aspects of the inflammable situation in this country so eminently exploitable as the injustices, the iniquities, the malpractices and the inhumanities of the South African system of education. The Cabinet can do much. But there is one thing which, in the words of Mrs. Suzman, it cannot do: it cannot ban ideas from the minds of men.

A Desperate Society

It is especially in connection with the need for social change that our field is hopelessly vast. There is so little of man's life that does not touch upon the social. The bread he eats, the book he reads, the thought he thinks, the act of love, the act of hate, the house he builds, the recreation he enjoys, the work he does ... all this, and more, has a social dimension. All we can hope to do is to attempt a partial diagnosis of our society. Let us start with a few moments, a few symptoms of this society, chosen almost at random:

Rights Denied

The historian De Kiewiet wrote: "What abundance of grass and rain was to New Zealand mutton, what plenty of cheap grazing land was to Australian wool, what the fertile prairie acres were to Canadian wheat, cheap native labour was to South African mining and industrial enterprise." Now this aspect would have been fully dealt with in an earlier lecture on economic change, so I shall not enter into it too deeply. But I cannot omit it, since so much of our social pattern depends on it. Whereas we readily proclaim "Western" or "Christian" concepts like the holiness of the family unit, a correlation between work and remuneration, the necessity of free enterprise, the elementary rights of free movement or choice of domicile, more than three quarters of all South Africans have no claim on these concepts.

The strikes in South West Africa and Durban.

Resettlement camps. (Comment from a Grahamstown Fingo: "I also heard that it is the non-productive African who will be sent there. Why don't they shoot us? A non-productive cow is slaughtered. Is this their way of doing it?")

Migratory labour—"the canker in South African society". One and a half million migrant workers in South Africa and South West Africa, of which two thirds come from the homelands. With their families taken into account, this affects some 6 million people. In Europe such workers may take their families with them. They have trade union rights and the right to

strike, and in due course they may acquire citizenship. The system perpetuates *poverty*. In Soweto alone 68% live below the poverty datum line. Single-sex hostels lead to adultery, delinquency, drunkenness, venereal disease ... This goes hand in hand with the simple fact that the majority of South Africans are treated and regarded as foreigners in their own country: 54% of the Africans live in urban areas ... Soweto ...

The Laws Snowball

A society ruled by *laws*. From 1909 to 1948, 49 laws were passed to regulate relations between races or situations within specific groups. From 1948 to 1960, 53 such laws. From 1961 to 1971, 98 laws. This of course, goes hand in hand with provisions for detention without trial, house arrest, bannings, deportations, etc. The individual counts for less and less. (And then the Prime Minister has the temerity to say that we should regard our workers as "people with souls".)

A fearful implication of this set-up seems to be present in a recent case before the Natal Supreme Court. I have not seen the court records and must rely on press reports. From these, it seems that a group of young white men taunted some African labourers with the express intention of provoking a fight. When the Africans fled, they were pursued and one of them was trapped on a high bridge. There he was viciously assaulted, twice thrown into the river from a height of almost 30 feet, as a result of which he died. Now, according to the press reports, the judge found that the man who was eventually found guilty had specifically intended to commit the murder, which was described as "barbaric". The accused was sentenced, not to death, but to 12 years imprisonment. And, again according to newspaper reports, the mitigating circumstances which averted a death sentence included: the youth of the accused, incitement by his friends, and also "his misplaced idea of his superiority over the Africans, which could have contributed towards his reaction when the Africans threw stones". Now I obviously have no wish to misconstrue this, but if I read it correctly, would it be wrong to infer from this that a white man who kills a black man can be saved from the gallows if it can be proved that he felt himself superior and therefore was entitled to murder him if he so wished? Would such a finding imply that such a principle has now been incorporated in, or at least condoned by, our juridical system? I have no training in law and am merely posing these points as questions which, I believe, should be answered, and that without delay.

A few years ago, when I requested certain statistics from Mr. Vorster, it was revealed that, until that stage (and I am not sure that the position has changed since then) no white man had ever been hanged for raping a black woman, whereas a staggering figure of blacks had died on the gallows for the same crime committed against white women. It might also be worth while to obtain figures for whites executed for murder on blacks, and vice versa. This need not be any reflection

on the South African judiciary, of course, and I should like to believe that our courts deserve the high esteem in which they are almost universally held. But it *does* reflect on the nature of our *society*.

And on the basis of the few introductory examples I have given, and on the basis of the innumerable others one *can* refer to, I think one could, in trying to diagnose the nature of the South African society, enumerate certain specific characteristics:

It is a *society of violence*, fear, illusions, intolerance, inhumanity, isolation and bondage.

But if this is so: why must it *be* so? Why should it go on like this? During 25 years of Nationalist rule the authorities have tried to convince us of one thing, which is a distortion of a Calvinist principle, and that is: that society is a fate which can only be endured. This is simply not true. Society is a practical reality, an organization which can—and *must*—be changed when it no longer adequately expresses the needs of the individuals within it. Even more so in the case of apartheid, where the lives of more than 22 million people are utterly determined by a group of men representing considerably less than 4 million, and where less than one-fifth of the citizens possess almost ninety per cent of the country. where millions of people are insulted and humiliated and oppressed simply because their skin colour is less bleached than that of the oppressor who has lived under a moral wheelbarrow for too long. In a world already overpopulated, in which mass media and international communication systems are rapidly eliminating artificial barriers and increasing contact, South Africa alone tries to reverse the process by erecting more and more barriers between people—aimed at the final Utopia of apartheid, separate heavens, separate hells, and separate lavatories in both.

A Direction for Change

I think we all agree that, in a situation like this, there is not simply a need for change but an urgent necessity. What we should do then is to discuss the possibilities of *direction*. But in doing so we must be fully aware, of course, that the real nature of our future cannot be decided or chosen by us, by any small group. The future of South Africa will be decided by *all* its people, which means that the predominant factor in that decision will be the attitudes and wishes of the Africans. This very fact provides a pointer: without having to deny the inherent differences distinguishing individuals and groups from each other, what we need today is Gandhi's vision of the common dignity of all men. Instead of the old American slogan "separate but equal", Gandhi saw the world as "together but different". A prerequisite for achieving this would be to accept that South Africa has some 22 million inhabitants who share the country and whose children shall inherit it.

This means that, long before change reaches the stage of revolution; or, on another level, long before it emerges in the form of legislation, a climate for change

must be prepared. Even while apartheid still officially determines the social patterns of life in South Africa we must create—or where it exists, enhance and improve—a climate of common goals, of togetherness. Much of this will be a cultural effort, a process of making people aware of their common South African-ness. This may not, in all cases, be as difficult as it seems; in spite of censorship and isolationist attitudes, South Africa has not remained untouched by the larger international movements of the time. International programmes to combat famine, to explore the sea, to save water, to stop pollution, international sport contacts, the influence of films, music, literature etc. ... all these things make people more conscious of themselves simply as people sharing the world of today. Economic needs accelerate the process. The most rudimentary forms of education spread it. "No man can say," writes John Berger, "that he has *not* seen the intolerable condition of the world". And this provides a starting-point from which a general cross-cultural development can be organised more systematically. (Cf process of "conscientisacao" in Brazil ... Role of theatre ... role of student organizations like Nusas ... writers.)

One should approach this in the light of Sartre's distinction between a *gesture* and an *act*. A gesture is intended for an audience, but without practical or moral significance. An act implies involvement with the whole chain of cause and effect; it leads to something, it has a direct moral bearing on the situation in which it is performed ... We can evaluate, in this context, the importance of the Nusas declaration not to be silenced into submission should the law intervene to make it impossible for them to campaign for elementary human dignity in South Africa. The Supreme Court has accepted the democratic right to demonstrate as a principle of social organization. This creates a dimension within which our rebellion should continue. No blind rebellion, but one in Camus' sense of breaking constantly more fetters limiting true human liberty. The slave who rebels against his master, says Camus, does not do so merely to win his own freedom: he does it in order to confirm that *man* should be free. In other words, it is a rebellion not simply directed *against* something, but aimed towards something positive: a fuller realisation of human potential in South Africa. Let us be quite clear about this: we aim towards more freedom and more justice, but absolute freedom and absolute justice are mutually exclusive. At the same time, we can always have *more* freedom and *more* justice than we have now. And so, if we say *no* to the System, it is the No of Antigone, who refuses compromises and who is prepared to suffer for her convictions for the sake of a more meaningful life for herself and others.

It is in this context that the name and example of Gandhi becomes important once again. "I found," he wrote, "through my wanderings in India, that my country is seized with a paralyzing fear. We may not open our lips in public: we may only talk about our opi-

'n nuwe poging in **TEOLOGIESE LITERATUUR**

Wat is die Teologiese Boekreeks?

Die plan is om 'n teologiese boekreeks in Afrikaans oor alle belangrike teologiese vakke en oor talle enkele teologiese vraagstukke aan te bied. Dit is bedoel vir leraars, teologiese studente maar netso ook vir ernstig belangstellende leke. Die gedagte is verder om boeke tot beskikking te stel wat teologies beslissend is, maar nie konfessioneel bevooroordeel is nie.

Die prys van hierdie boeke word met opset so laag as moontlik gehou sodat hulle as werkboeke so ver as moontlik versprei kan word. Sommige boeke is in die reeks nuut geskrywe en weerspieël die teologiese opleiding van inrigtings in hierdie land asook die lewe van kerke in Suid-Afrika. Ander boeke is vertalings en bewerkings van besonder belangrike teologiese werke van oorsee, veral uit die teologiese kringe in midde Europa. Die uitgewers het gevoel dat hier 'n voelbare leemte is, en hulle poog dus met hierdie boekreeks om 'n deur oop te maak tot verantwoordelike deelname aan die een taak van teologiese werk en om die nodige kontakte tussen die deelgenote van hierdie werk te maak. Ons smee soos die dissipels ook vir hierdie

gemeenskaplike taak soos dit oor die boekreeks geskrywe staan: Veni, Creator Spiritus! Kom, God Skepper, Heilige Gees!

Deur wie is dit uitgegee?

Hierdie boekreeks word uitgegee met die finansiële hulp van die "Theological Education Fund". Plaaslik is die "Association of Southern African Theological Institutions" besig om te help dat geskikte teologiese literatuur in alle tale, veral vir teologiese inrigtings, aangebied word. Die uitgewers van die boekreeks is die Verenigde Lutherse Teologiese Seminarie, Paulinum, Otjimbingwe, Suidwes-Afrika en die Teologiese Seminarie van die Evangeliese Broederkerk (Moraviese Kerk). Die komitee is besig om die samewerking van almal te verkry wat ernstig in teologiese opleiding belangstel. Die skrywers en medewerkers is uit verskillende kerke.

Ons nooi u hartlik uit om met hierdie boekreeks kennis te maak. Lees een of ander boek self en help om hierdie boekreeks bekend te maak en te versprei.

sick society (cont.)

nions secretly ... I suggest to you that there is only one whom we have to fear, that is God. When we fear God, then we shall fear no man, however high-placed he may be; and if you want to follow the vow of truth, then fearlessness is absolutely necessary."

"The vow of truth ..." For the 2 basic principles of his doctrine were those of satyagraha and ahimsa, too readily translated as "passive resistance", "non-violence" etc. There was nothing passive about Gandhi's resistance. It was inspired by the positive force of love: what he called "soul-force", Antigone's refusal to compromise. He warns his followers not to react to injustice with resentment, which is merely negative. "When I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce." Here are some practical examples of what he meant: A fortnight ago a white man, refusing to discharge his African charlady simply because she had contravened the influx control regulations, declared himself prepared to go to jail. A magistrate openly commented on and condemned the procedures of police in arresting people, many of them children, at random. He was demoted as a result of this. If more people were to follow such examples and be loyal to truth, and refuse to submit to injustice, something *must* eventually give way. The test is one of personal integrity. Bram Fischer is slowly dying away in jail: not primarily because he was a Communist, but because his ideals of justice and love were in conflict with the system of our authorities. The very essence of Gandhi's message is the line: "Love requires you to resist the wrong-doer by dissociating yourself from him even though it may offend him or injure him physi-

cally."

There can be no failure in the exercise of this sort of "soul-force". "Resist not evil" means that evil cannot be repelled by evil but only by good. It forces us back to a constant and profound examination and re-examination of our motives, because only if these have integrity and are pure in themselves, can the resistance continue in the right direction. Then it links up with the two things Camus demanded of the writer: to resist oppression, and to tell the truth ... It implies that the writer can be an important agent of change in any society, and specifically in this one ...

I have written many words. Words are necessary. But they are not enough. To change the injustice, the fear, the isolation, the inhumanity, the violence and the illusions of our apartheid society and its system of education, acts, not gestures, are needed. In order to act, individuals must be made to realise that they are not alone in their resentment or their resistance, so that they can discover and define their common purposes in order to actively strive for them. Apartheid is making it more and more difficult to have the contact necessary for this, but it is not impossible: in fact, the very difficulty is often a surface one—because behind the mask of apartheid the reality of our situation is already multiracial. It is simply a matter of coming to terms with that. And in order to do so, the cultural and social climate can be created in which the minds of men can be changed in order to see the world and the country not for what they wish it to be, but for what it *is*—and finally for what *it can become*. ★

Die Teologiese Boekreeks

R. Voipio, Algemene Godsdienskunde

Prys: 30 sent

Hierdie boek gee 'n baie beknopte oorsig oor die ver-
naamste godsdienste in die wêreld en vergelyk hulle
met die Christelike geloof

R. Voipio, Godsdiensonderrig, 'n katkisasiehandboek

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Deel I: 'n Kort inleiding tot die teorie van die
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Kort verklaring van hierdie brief van die Nuwe
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Sundermeier

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Luther se mees beroemde werke, o.a.

Uittreksels uit die Aflaatstellinge en ander werke en:
„Die vryheid van 'n Christen”

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S. Löytty en U. Schüle, Inleiding tot die Nuwe Testament

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H. Gollwitzer, Die Lukasevangelie

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E. Lohse, Die Openbaring van Johannes

Prys: 70 sent

J. Serna Weiland, Oriëntasie

Prys: R1 00

'n Antwoord op die vraag: „Wat is die nuwe
teologie?”

Waar is die boeke verkrygbaar?

Die Moraviese Boekdepot, Posbus 9, Genadendal,
K.P.

Die Bücherlager, Posbus 71, Karibib, S.W.A.

Die Finse Sendingdrukkery, Oniipa, Ondangua,
Ovamboland, S.W.A.★

“AS THROUGH A GLASS - DARKLY”

It matters not —
the colour of the skin,
But the beat, beat, beat
of the living heart
within.

is it filled
with loving kindness
Or hard,
and black with sin?

How can it matter —
the colour of the skin?

NAOMI R. PUCHER

A PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

A program for social change can be seen as developing through several stages, not necessarily chronologically distinct, but tending to overlap and merge:

1. **A preparatory stage** in which awareness is developed of the need for fundamental change, hope is aroused by the possibility of change, and the realisation is created that individuals and groups can assist in bringing about change.
2. **An organizational stage** in which specific groups and organisations of different types are created: e.g. local action groups and committees, caucuses, supportive groups, etc.
3. **Action stage** in which direct strategies are developed. At this stage there may be a coalescing of forces into a broad movement with defined social and political goals.

The first preparatory stage has been under way for some considerable time in South Africa. The churches, the English-language universities, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Black Sash, the Christian Institute, the English press, NUSAS, other agencies, and Spro-cas itself, have all seen an important part of their function to warn whites of the need for change, to create awareness of the injustices in the system, etc. There has been an understandable general reluctance to move beyond this stage of dissemination of information and exhortation for change. It is our intention to work with those who have gone beyond this and to assist others in becoming relevant as change agents by setting themselves 'doing' objectives.

Since whites as a group are the beneficiaries of the system, the preparatory stage has had limited success, and the mass of whites is probably far more concerned to prevent fundamental change than to enable it to occur. But there is a limited constituency of whites—in the churches, amongst academics and students, in the "change" organisations, and some individuals scattered throughout the community—who are aware of the need for fundamental change and have some understanding of what this implies. We would, for example, see it as crucial to be able to discard strategies and operations that have become outdated or fallacious.

To some extent the second, organizational, stage has been with us for some time. Various action-orientated groupings have emerged—e.g. Spro-cas 2, the Wages Commissions—but the present picture is of diffuse,

a spro-cas statement

unco-ordinated activity occurring rather haphazardly and sporadically.

So at present the need seems to be to concentrate on this stage, while further preparatory work in terms of the first stage continues, and becomes increasingly more sophisticated and effective in its techniques. The aim is to move as rapidly and coherently as possible into the third, coalescing, stage. From this stage may come a broadly based consensus amongst those whites working for change, in which there is agreement on the social, economic and political objectives for the society—thus providing the potential for a new political force.

A number of assumptions underlie our own approach:

1. We are increasingly entering a period of successive crises and confrontations between black and white: labour/management; homeland leaders/central government; students/university authorities; black drama and poetry; within the "multi-racial" churches; and also between younger and older whites over questions of authority and life-style, etc, e.g. the Schlebusch Commission. This period will be aggravated by international tensions (foreign investment, South West Africa, liberation movements, etc.
2. The short term response of the South African government is likely to be increasingly repressive and totalitarian, thus aggravating the potentials for conflict.
3. The need is for fundamental change in the sense of a radical redistribution of land, power and wealth, with the kind of pre-conditions listed in the Spro-cas Economics Report, p. 103-104.
4. Such fundamental change will be initiated by blacks, not whites. We are perhaps already entering a period of transition in which the initiative is passing into black hands: labour, Black Theology, Black Consciousness, Buthelezi, Matanzima, Phatudi etc.
5. Under these circumstances there are various implications for whites wishing to see fundamental change:
 - (i) to stop acting as obstacles to black advancement by wresting initiatives, by acting as spokesmen for blacks, by pursuing the multi-racial strategy which saps black solidarity, by perpetuating black dependency through

the drc and sydney

UNITY NEEDED

sol selepe

Resolution No. 5

"Christians should be urged to acknowledge their common involvement in guilt with a world torn by sinful divisions and attitudes. They should be called upon to repent of their own sin in this respect and to make restitution by following Christ in the way of love. In this way alone they can fulfil their divine charge to bring the gospel to unbelievers of all races, recognising them as fellow sinners."

When one studies the history of the church, one discovers how the church has been rent by schisms and divisions. The church has been rent not only by heresy, but also by such factors as rivalry, nationalism, social and economic factors and disputes about liturgy and discipline. In the New Testament we find Paul fighting against the tendency for Christians in Corinth to hive off into separate groups claiming different human leaders.

In South Africa to-day most Christians do not take the scandal of division and the lack of unity in the church seriously. In our society, which has such poten-

tially explosive seeds of division in its racial, economic, language and cultural differences and which therefore so urgently needs the church to be a witness to and an agent of this reconciliation, any call by the church for reconciliation and unity between the different groups in society appears as so much hypocrisy. On the contrary, the church is being used to give religious sanction to the ideological aims and ambitions of different racial groups.

We hear much about Black Theology which attempts to make the Gospel of Christ relevant to the general situation of black people, asking and answering the question: what does Jesus Christ mean to us in terms of our political situation as an oppressed people in South Africa? We also hear much about the God of the Afrikaner volk, the God of the English, etc. When one reads the speeches that are made on the Day of the Covenant, especially by the Afrikaner political and religious leaders, one gets the impression that they seem to be seeing God as the God of the Afrikaners only, to whom other national groups do not have access. It is particularly on this public holiday that the promotion of the claim that God is on the side of the Afrikaner is wrongfully conducted. Let me quote one of the prominent ministers of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk for an example. "The Afrikaner was placed on a par with the Israel of the Old Testament as a chosen people in order that as God's people they should crush the children of Satan (i.e. the Zulus) in the Canaan of Natal which was the promised land for the Afrikaners" (The Star, 16.12.71, cf. "Die Kerkbode", 10.12.70, 10.12.69).

From the above we see that God is being reduced to the spirit of a particular nation and the result of all this is that the church's fundamental message, that God has wrought reconciliation between Himself and man and thus also between man and man in terms of Christ, is contradicted.

I believe that the church exists as God's reconciling and uniting agent which should bring men together, and needs both to act and to be seen as such. All efforts within the Church of Christ to manifest the unity of all believers, irrespective of colour, in worship and other aspects of church life help the world to believe that Jesus is the one sent by the Father. Only in this way can the church meet the different needs of the pluralistic society of our country. ★

change (cont.)

paternalism and charity etc.

- (ii) to work primarily within the white community, preparing it for change, modifying those structures which are amenable for change, mobilising forces for white liberation, etc.
6. When fundamental change occurs it will be important that there should be a body of whites who have thought through and accepted its implications, who will be available for negotiation, and who will co-operate with and support black leadership by providing some of the necessary skills and resources.

In summary, we see the need for the conscious development of a program for fundamental change amongst whites, to operate parallel to initiatives that are developing in the black community, and to be guided by the above considerations. ★

EWEWIG IN SENDINGDOEL

die lewe van die sendingwerker iv

david bosch

Dit is belangrik dat daar aandag geskenk sal word aan die *doel* van ons sendingaksie. Die doel staan egter hoegenaamd nie los van die persoon en gedrag van die sendingwerker nie.

Wat presies is nou die doel van ons sendingwerk? As ek u 'n vraelys gee om in te vul en die een vraag lui: „Wat beoog ons met ons sendingwerk?“, wat sou u daar invul? Ek dink dat die oorgrote meerderheid sou skryf: ons beoog die bekering en verlossing van die heidene.

Só 'n antwoord is honderd persent in die kol, maar het ons daarmee alles gesê? Ek glo nie! Want wat beteken dit eintlik as iemand „tot bekering kom“ of „gered word“?

Bewoënhed oor ewige verlorenheid

Daar is baie definisies van bekering en baie omskrywinge van die eintlike doel van ons sending. Laat my toe om vir u 'n voorbeeld aan te haal, nl. dié van die stigter van die China Inland Mission, Hudson Taylor. In 1894 het hy in Detroit in die V.S.A. voor 'n groot studentegehoor die volgende gesê: „Die evangelie moet aan die mense van Sjina verkondig word in 'n baie kort tyd, want hulle tyd gaan verby. Elke dag, elke dag; o, hoe stort hulle na benede! Dit lyk vir my of julle groot waterval Niagara vir ons 'n les kan leer en 'n voorbeeld kan stel. Hoe stort die water nie oor daardie groot waterval nie, ononderbroke, dag en nag! Net so is daar in Sjina 'n groot waterval van siele wat die duisternis binnegaan. Elke dag, elke week, elke maand gaan hulle die ewigheid in—elke maand sterf 'n miljoen Sjinese sonder God. En wat 'n geweldige verskil is daar nie tussen 'n sterwe met God nie en 'n sterwe sonder God!“

Hierdie benadering van Hudson Taylor vind waarskynlik by die meeste mense van die Ned. Geref. Kerk aanklank. Ons word ook—net soos hy—aangegryp deur die ewige verlorenheid van mense en die ewige oordeel wat hulle tegemoetgaan. Daarom ywer ons vir hulle bekering, sodat hulle in die hemel kan kom. *Dit*, is ook wat die kerk in die verlede beweeg het, wat die Protestantse kerke uit die rus van eeue geruk en tot sendingaksie uitgedryf het. Ek dink aan mense soos die Morawiër Friedrich von Zinzendorf en die Baptis William Carey. „Ons is skuldig as ons stilbly terwyl mense verlore gaan; God sal hulle bloed van ons hand eis”—dit was wat daardie mense besef het en tot daadkrag geaktiveer het.

Hierdie gesindheid het ook geleef in die harte van die stigters van die Studente-Vrywilliger-Beweging, wat op sy beurt gelei het tot die stigting van die Christen-Studente-Vereniging. John Mott het teen die begin van hierdie eeu na vore getree met die sterk leuse: „The evangelization of the world in this generation.“

Talle Christene is veral aangegryp deur uitsprake soos dié in Matt. 24:14 en Mark 13:10 waar die Here Jesus sê dat die evangelie oor die hele wêreld verkondig moet word voordat die wederkoms kan plaasvind. Teen die jaar 1890 het sommige Christene selfs begin sommetjies maak: Ons moet groot getalle sendingwerkers werf en binne die kortste moontlike periode uitstuur na al die heidene het hulle gesê. *Soveel* sendelinge is nodig wat elkeen *soveel* mense kan bereik; dan kan die wederkoms plaasvind in daardie of daardie jaar!

Sulke oproepe het mense aan die brand gestee en bereid gemaak om alles op te offer, selfs hulle gesondheid en hulle lewens om huis en haard te verlaat en na die ongesondste dele van die wêreld te gaan om die evangelie daar te gaan verkondig. Natuurlik was daar maar enkeles wat gemeen het dat hulle net haastig hot en haar die evangelie moet verkondig om die wederkoms te bespoedig. Die oorgrote meerderheid sendelinge was mense wat hulle lewens op die altaar gelê het om langs 'n lang en moeisame weg op toegewyde wyse 'n Christengemeente uit die heidendom op te bou. Ek dink maar aan mense soos Ludwig Mommensen, Adoniram Judson, Robert Morrison, Hudson Taylor, C.T. Studd, en baie ander.

Ook uit die N.G. kerk bv., was daar sulke mense: Stefanus Hofmeyr in die Soutpansberg, A.C. Murray en W.H. Murray in Malawi, J.M. Hofmeyr en P.J. Smit in Zambia, A.A. Louw in Rhodesië, Pieter Stoffberg in Botswana, George Botha in Nigerië en honderde meer. Al hierdie mense was besiel met die begeerte om mense wat verlore was te red, om hulle oor te bring uit die dood na die lewe.

Bewoënhed oor bestaansnood

In baie kerklike kringe vandag het dit *anders* geword, heeltemal anders. Vir baie sendingwerkers en kerkleiers is bekeringsprediking nie meer belangrik nie. Hulle bekommer hulle nie meer, soos Hudson Taylor, oor „verlore gaande siele“ nie, maar oor armoede, honger, ontwrigting, uitbuiting, rassediskriminasie, ens. Dit gaan dus vir hulle in die eerste plek skynbaar

om die *sosiale* probleme van ons dag. Vandaar dan ook die groot belangstelling in Suid-Afrika!

Ook vir die Amerikaanse rassevraagstuk is daar 'n geweldige belangstelling van die kant van die kerke. In 1965 het 'n Amerikaanse predikant vir my gesê—naby diéselwde Detroit waar Hudson Taylor 70 jaar tevore gepraat het!—: „In the America of today I see God at work only in the Civil Rights Movement.” In sommige kerklike kringe lyk dit soms byna asof die oplossing van die rassevraagstuk die enigste taak van die kerk is, asof niks anders meer saak maak nie; dit is die een en al van sendingwerk. 'n Interessante spotprent wat in 1968 in die Amerikaanse blad *Christianity Today* verskyn het, dryf bietjie die spot met hierdie eensydigheid. Die spotprent toon 'n Amerikaanse predikant met 'n taamlik moedelose uitdrukking op sy gesig wat vir 'n kollega sê: „What are we going to do when they have solved the race problem?” Ja, inderdaad! Want dit lyk soms asof dit die enigste taak van die kerk in die wêreld is. In sommige kringe word hierdie saak só belangrik beskou dat kerke bereid is om gewelddadige optrede te steun om sodoende rassediskriminasie uit die weg te ruim. Die uiterste konsekwensie van hierdie soort redenasie is natuurlik die sg. „Teologie van die Revolusie”.

Vertikaal-horisontaal

As ons nou hierdie lg. rigting in die sendingdenke van ons tyd vergelyk met uitsprake soos dié van Hudson Taylor wat ons vroeër aangehaal het, dan lyk dit asof ons met twee totaal verskillende dinge te doen het! Dit lyk asof hulle nooit met mekaar versoen kan word nie. In die diskussies van ons tyd het hierdie twee gedagterigtings tiperende byname gekry, nl. „vertikalisme” en „horisontalisme”. „Vertikalisme” beteken dat dié siening waarvolgens die hoofsaak die mens se verhouding met God is, sy bekering tot God, sy ewige redding; „horisontalisme” dui die siening aan waarvolgens die hoofsaak in die godsdiens en in ons sendingwerk die verhouding van mens tot mens is: die oplossing van alle sosiale probleme soos armoede, onkunde, rassediskriminasie, ens.

Volgens die siening van die „vertikaliste” is die hoofsaak van die kerk in sy sendingwerk die *woord*, die prediking, met klem op bekering, persoonlike geloofsweg, intieme omgang met die Here, geestelike volwassenheid. Volgens die „horisontaliste” is die hoofsaak van die kerk in sy sendingarbeid nie die woord nie, maar die *daad*. Die tyd vir praat is verby sê hulle. Vir eeue het die kerke net gepraat; dis tyd dat iets *gedoen* moet word aan die haglike toestande van die wêreld. Die kerk het gefaal. Hy was altyd net met die suiwer geestelike dinge besig, hy was slegs 'n toring wat hemelwaarts gewys het. Die kerk kon wel die nood van die wêreld *verklaar* as 'n gevolg van die sonde, maar hy het net baie min *gedoen* om daardie nood weg te neem. Daarom kon 'n Engels predikant die kerk vir sy onaktiwiteit beskuldig en sê dat godsdiens opium vir die volk is—'n spreuk wat deur Karl Marx oorgeneem is. Die

kerk steur hom nie aan menslike nood hier op aarde nie en belowe bloot „a pie in the sky when you die”. Karl Marx stig daarom 'n nuwe „godsdiens”, die ideologie van die Kommunisme, en sê: „Tot nou toe het die teoloë probeer om die wêreld te *verklaar*, ek wil die wêreld *verbeter*.”

Onversoerbare teenstellings?

Dit lyk dus asof ons twee totale onversoerbare standpunte het, waarvan die een uiteindelik uitloop op 'n blote miskenning en ignorering van die mens se aardse nood en die ander uiteindelik uitloop op die ideologie van die Kommunisme. Maar is dit 'n korrekte ontleding van die toedrag van sake? Is dit waar dat ons hier twee gedagterigtings het wat uiteindelik onversoerbaar is? Beteken dit—om dit konkreet te stel—dat iemand wat in sy sendingprediking en -werk ook klem lê op die kerk se roeping t.o.v. die bestaansnood van mens, noodwendig in die kommunistiese kamp beland of 'n speelbal van die Kommunisme word?

Ons sal dit moet probeer vasstel en wel aan die hand van die Bybel. En dan, so meen ek, sal ons gaandeweg ontdek dat ons hier met 'n valse teenstelling te doen het en dat, as ons in ons sendingwerk *een* van hierdie twee rigtings kies met uitsluiting van die ander, ons 'n vervalste en verkorte evangelie bring.

Dit mag in ons sendingaksie nooit gaan om 'n teenstelling tussen 'n „vertikale” en 'n „horisontale” evangelie nie. Die boodskap van die evangelie omvat die heil en redding van die hele mens as eenheid. Om hierdie eenheid te illustreer kan ons geen beter voorbeeld kry as die *samevatting van die Wet* in Matt. 22:37-39 nie.

Ons lees hier van 'n groepie Fariseërs wat na Jesus kom met die doel om hom met 'n strikvraag in 'n hoek te dryf. Hulle wil van Hom weet wat die „grootste gebod” in die Wet is. En die eerste deel van die Here Jesus se antwoord bevredig hulle volkome: „Jy moet die Here jou God liefhê met jou hele hart en hou hele siel en jou hele verstand”. Dit lewer vir hulle geen probleme nie—so meen hulle altans! Want volgens hulle siening van sake is hierdie „vertikale” aspek heeltemaal in orde. Hulle beywer hulle as Fariseërs vir die saak van die Here, hulle doen alles met die oog op die eer en verheerliking van sy naam. Terwyl hulle na Jesus se antwoord luister, knik hulle dus in stilte met die kop: „Ons slaag sover! Trouens ons behaal 'n onderskeiding! Ons gee onself 'n A+!”

Maar dan begin die moeilikheid! Die Here Jesus eindig nie daar nie. Nee, Hy sê: „Dit wat julle nou gehoor het, is die eerste en die groot gebod. Dit staan dus voorop. Dis die basis. Maar daarmee is nie alles gesê nie. Want daar is nog 'n tweede gebod, heeltemaal gelykstaande aan die eerste: Jy moet jou naaste liefhê soos jouself”.

Aan hierdie twee gebooe—so sê Hy verder—„hang” die hele Wet en die Profete. Wat beteken dit? Die Wet en die Profete is natuurlik die Ou Testament, die totale

geopenbaarde Woord van God van daardie tyd. Die hele Skrif „hang” dus aan hierdie twee gebooue. Hulle word as onlosmaaklike eenheid voorgestel, onskiedbaar. Ons kan hulle beskou as die twee kante van één skarnier waaraan die groot, swaar deur van die Ou Testament „hang”. Albei kante van dié skarneire is nodig, anders kan die deur van die Ou Testament nie hang en oopswaai nie—sonder daardie twee kante van die skarnier bly die deur van die Ou Testament geslote of val dit uit sy kosyn.

Wie is my naaste?

Lukas vertel ons van die reaksie van die wetgeleerde op hierdie uitspraak van die Here Jesus. Hy wil homself nl. verontskuldig of regverdig—so vertel Lukas—en vra dus: „Maar wie is my naaste?” Sien u, hy het geen probleme met die eerste deel van Jesus se antwoord nie, dié deel oor ons liefde vir God. Dit, so meen hy, is by hom heeltemaal in die haak. Maar hierdie „tweede gebod” lyk ’n bietjie lastig. Veral omdat die Fariseërs self onder mekaar eindelose diskussies daarvoor gehad het. En die resultaat van hierdie diskussies was gewoonlik ’n baie *enge* definisie van die begrip „naaste”: my naaste is my persoonlike vriend, my volksgenoot, die man wat soos ek dink, die man wat aan my „klas” behoort, ens.

Wat doen Jesus? Hy beantwoord die vraag met ... die gelykenis van die Barmhartige Samaritaan! En aan die einde vra Hy ’n vraag: „Wie dan van hierdie drie, dink jy was die naaste van hom wat onder die rowers verval het?” Sien u wat Jesus hiermee eintlik doen? Hy keer die vraag van die wetgeleerde presies om. Die wetgeleerde wou weet: Wie is *my* naaste? Wie kwalifiseer vir hierdie uitgesoekte ereposisie?—Jesus keer die vraag om. Dit behoort te lui: Wie se naaste is ek? Vir wie *mag* ek naaste wees?

Die antwoord lui dan: ek is die naaste van *die* een wat my nodig het, die minderbevoorregte, die arme, die sieke, die ellendige wat God stuur om my pad te kruis, en vir wie ek dan *help* in sy nood. As ek hom *nie* help nie, as ek „anderkant verbygaan”, is ek *nie* sy naaste nie.

Die simbool van die Kruis

Die samevatting van die Wet wil ons dus onweerlegbaar leer dat die liefde tot God en die liefde tot die naaste-in-nood nie geskei kan en mag word nie. Hulle gaan saam. Ons mag nie kies vir „horisontaal” versus „vertikaal” nie, maar moet albei saam en ongedeeld handhaaf.

Die sigbare simbool van die Christelike evangelie is die *Kruis*. En juis hierdie simbool kan ons help om te verstaan waarmee ons nou besig is! Die Kruis bestaan uit ’n vertikale balk waaraan ’n horisontale balk vasgeheg is. Die een balk sou dus die vertikale aspek van die evangelieboodskap kon simboliseer en die ander die horisontale aspek. Sonder die horisontale balk is die kruis nie ’n kruis nie, maar ’n blote paal wat in die grond geplant is. Maar ook: sonder die vertikale balk is die kruis geen kruis nie, dog slegs ’n dwarsbalk wat êrens rondlê. Slegs die twee *saam* vorm die kruis. So is dit ook gesteld met die boodskap wat ons ver-

kondig. Die een aspek sonder die ander is *nie* die evangelie van Jesus Christus nie!

Wat is nou die verhouding tussen hierdie twee „balkke”? Natuurlik is die vertikale balk die basiese. Hy dra die dwarsbalk, en hy kan hom alleen dra as hyself sterk en stewig is, en goed gevestig in sy fondament. Dit kan natuurlik ook gebeur dat die vertikale balk dun en tengerig is en die dwarsbalk kolossaal en swaar. Dan sal die regop balk natuurlik buig en knak onder die gewig. Maar dit kan ook gebeur dat die dwarsbalk so yl en lig is dat mens dit skaars teen die regopbalk kan sien

In die evangelies staan hierdie twee aspekte in ’n wonderlike balans teenoor mekaar. Daar is skynbaar ’n gedurige wisselwerking tussen die twee, ’n beïnvloeding van die een deur die ander. Dit sien ons bv. in die persoon van die Here Jesus self: dit gaan vir Hom om die mense se ewige nood *en* hulle tydelike nood, om hulle bekering tot God *en* hulle lewensomstandighede. Hy praat *en* doen, kombineer dus woorde en dade. Want terwyl Hy gepreek het, het hy ook mense genees, duiwels uitgedrywe en hongeriges versadig.

Die basis en die toets

Reeds by Johannes die Doper kry ons hierdie dubbele beklemtoning. Hy loop in sy kameelhaarkleed daar in die woestyn van Judéa en preek „die doop tot bekering en tot vergiffenis van sonde”. Dit gaan vir hom om die herstel van die versteurde verhouding tussen God en mens, dus: Om die vertikale balk! Maar wat gebeur as mense aangegryp word deur sy boodskap en na hom toe kom met die vraag: „Wat moet ons nou doen?” Dan antwoord hy hulle met ’n verwysing na die horisontale balk! Lees gerus Luk. 3:10-14! Bekering is dus, volgens Johannes, bekering tot God *en* tot my medemens!

Ons het netnou gesê dat die regop balk die basiese is, dat hy die uitgangspunt en draer van die dwarsbalk moet wees. En dit is korrek. Maar as ons sê dat hy die basiese is, moet ons byvoeg dat die dwarsbalk die toets vir die egtheid van daardie basis is. Dis wat Johannes die Doper ook gedoen het. In sy antwoorde aan die volk, die tollenaars en die soldate het hy eintlik probeer sê: „Julle wil tot bekering kom? Julle wil met God versoen word? Goed, maar onthou: die versoening met God het onmiddellik horisontale konsekwensies, ten opsigte van julle verhouding teenoor julle medemens!”

Die Here Jesus leer ons dieselfde les in Matt. 25:31-46, die gelykenis van die skape en die bokke. Die skares wat voor die Seun van die mens staan, word beoordeel volgens hulle liefde vir God in Christus, maar die *praktiese toets* vir daardie liefde is die houding teenoor die medemens in nood! Nêrens in die Skrif word hierdie diepe, wesenlike, onlosmaaklike eenheid van die „vertikale” en die „horisontale” so duidelik geïllustreer as in hierdie gelykenis nie: „Here, wanneer het ons U honger gesien ... of dors ... of naak?” „Vir sover julle dit gedoen het aan een van die geringstes van hierdie broeders van my, het julle dit aan My gedoen.” En is dit nie ook wat in Jakobus 2:14-17 en I Joh. 4:20 staan nie? (*word vervolg*)

black community programmes

Rationale and Aims.

The goals of the Black Community Programmes are:-

- * to help the Black Community become aware of its own identity.
- * to help the Black Community to create a sense of its own power.
- * to enable the Black Community to organise itself, to analyse its own needs and problems and to mobilise its resources to meet its needs.
- * to develop Black leadership capable of guiding the development of the Black Community.

The underlying rationale on which the B.C.P. bases its approach is that in South Africa part of the problem is the extent to which Blacks have been made to depend on white energy, leadership, guidance and trusteeship for most things relating to the direction of social change. Because of this, blacks have tended to voluntarily take a back seat in areas that were extremely crucial to their interests and have allowed themselves to develop feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. This therefore makes it necessary for relevant black work to direct itself amongst other things at eradicating the psychological oppression of blacks by their own oversized mental image of the white man and his abilities and by their exaggerated feeling of powerlessness which results in lack of creative initiatives. Added to this, of course, is the desperate lack of skills arising out of an inadequacy of opportunities that characterise black life under white rule in South Africa.

The Black Community Programmes is a non-profit making organisation, staffed and advised by the Black Community. It seeks to co-ordinate the work of and co-operate in a meaningful way with black groups, organisations and institutions, to enable them to create a consciousness of identity as communities and to develop sufficient individuals conscious of this identity and belonging to acquire and use resources needed to achieve the goals of unity, self-determination, collective work responsibility, purpose and creativity. Believing as we do that a lasting solution to the human relations problem in South Africa can only come when and if the Black Community is not only willing but also capable of entering into a dialogue with white members of this country as equals who speak from a position of strength rather from a position of weakness.

In practical terms the Black Community Programmes



Mr. Bennie Khoapa, Director of the Black Community Programmes.

-
- * **Initiates:** That is, where a community need exists in an area and there is no specific agency to deal with the need, we call together people interested in the meeting of the need and encourage and help them to set up an appropriate agency with a structure capable of meeting the need.
 - * **Promotes:** Where an agency exists but suffers from lack of direction or insight, we call the leadership together and arrange appropriate training to enable them to have a clearer understanding of their work and equip them with skills to effectively carry out their work.
 - * **Co-ordinates:** That is, where several agencies exist presumably serving the same need but having no communication with each other, we create opportunities for the groups to come to "co-ordinating conferences" to discuss common strategies and ways and means of preventing overlapping.
 - * **Enables:** That is, where the ever present problem of leadership is obvious, we set up skills-training seminars for persons in leadership positions of organisations and institutions. Here we set up programmes which help in equipping participants with skills necessary for effective management, programming, fiscal administration, supervision, etc.
 - * **Communicates:** Through surveys and the production of communication materials, we attempt to keep organisations in fuller knowledge of what other organisations are doing in other fields and also to what extent there is overlapping or co-operating between organisations. In this way

organisations are enabled to keep in touch with each other, plan jointly and evaluate their work jointly, realising that an unco-ordinated network of activity does not contribute much to intelligent development.

The Black community requires the kind of self-improvement which can lead to:—

- (a) Changes in things known — knowledge
- (b) Changes in things done — skills
- (c) Changes in things felt — attitudes
- (d) Changes in things valued — appreciation
- (e) Changes in things comprehended — understanding.

Generally, we are now agreed that the Black Community in South Africa cannot afford another generation of people who are ignorant.

The "Black Review" is a research programme whose main intention is to gather information about things of importance to the Black Community which happened during each year.

This will gather information covering

- * legislation
- * political action amongst blacks
- * trends and thoughts in the Black Community
- * activities of government, industry, educational institutions, etc. and the role of the black population in the development of the country and many other topics of interest to the black population.

The information will come out in the form of a publication which we intend publishing every year. Our first publication was in February, 1973. A special staff man has been appointed to do research and edit the publication.

The main intention of this kind of work is to help the blacks to acquire information which would otherwise be unavailable or not interesting to them. We hope that this publication will increase the knowledge of the black community about what is happening in their country.

During 1973 we intend to call a National Conference, in which all black organisations in South

Africa will participate. The purpose of this Conference will be to evaluate the work of the Black Community Programmes and outline in more detail what kind of organisation the B.C.P. should be in terms of future programmes and direction.

B.C.P. STAFF

Head Office, Durban:

Director: Mr. B.A. Khoapa
Director's Secretary: Miss H. Fortune

Programme/Research Office, Durban:

Programme/Research Officer: Mr. B.S. Biko
Research Assistant: Mrs. S. Moodley

Programme/Research Office, Johannesburg:

Programme/Research Officer: Mr. B.J. Mafuna
Programme Assistant: Miss D. Mahlangu

—Year Report 1972



FRIENDS AND BROTHERS

"Shall we UNITE in prayer?"
- He spoke these words,
The preacher standing there -

"OUR Father"
(Injunction loud and clear),

"As I have loved you,
Love ye one another".

If the Lord God is
OUR Father,
Are we not brothers at the end?
But the word is banned
In this dear land,

I may not call YOU 'brother'
But - will YOU call ME 'friend'?

NAOMI R. PUCHER

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

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

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



MOVE COULD BAR ALIEN STUDENTS AND CLERGY

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY—The Government will have the power to prevent religious workers, newsmen and students from some Commonwealth countries from entering South Africa in terms of a new move on aliens announced by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Mulder, yesterday.

Dr. Mulder said the main object was to protect jobs of permanent residents and approved immigrants.

Among those who would be affected would be stage performers, musicians, religious workers and persons connected with the news media.

Defending his announcement, he said he had mentioned a few examples of the sort of people who might be affected by the move, of people with whom the Government had had trouble in the past.

—Star, 17.5.73.



AN ANTI-CHRISTIAN MEASURE

The new measure by the government requiring all aliens to obtain work permits if they want to seek employment in South Africa does not come as a surprise. This government has used escalating totalitarian measures and the objective is clear, namely to gain complete control of every facet of life in South Africa. The two most important fields at present are the Church and the free press. We should realise that totalitarianism ultimately does not allow any exceptions.

Why this move? In all fairness one cannot but admit that this measure is being taken in other commonwealth countries as well and that the measure as such cannot be objected to. But in applying this especially to Church workers, and also to newsmen, one cannot escape the fact that the government wants to acquire a tighter control over the opinionmakers. It is an embarrassment to the government and it is bad for the South African image to deport "difficult" people. It will therefore be easier for them to stop certain people beforehand. It seems as if an example has been taken from Rhodesia who has very strict measures.

South Africa cannot afford to have a smaller number of religious workers. Why then take measures which could prevent them from coming in or make it more difficult for them

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

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



to come to South Africa? Christ's great command was that his Gospel must be preached to the whole world. The same people who want to restrict missionaries in coming to South Africa abhor the closed iron curtain against missionaries and Bibles in the Communist countries. Is the government not going the same way? The government actually said that it had trouble with clergy. It is obvious therefore that the government would only allow a certain type of worker in who would fit in with the apartheid ideology. If this is true a grave warning must be issued that the Church could be forced to conform to an unchristian ideology of race and prejudice. Christ said that his disciples must go and preach the Gospel to the whole world. Is the government rejecting that commission of Christ and will they only allow people who subscribe to the apartheid Gospel or who are willing not to apply the Gospel to real life in South Africa? Already many clergy have been deported. The whole Church must be aware—this type of controlling measure won't stop short of anything—that the Church as a whole is in danger of being controlled eventually.

To prevent people from coming in and preaching the Gospel is actually to work against the Kingdom of God.

—Roelf Meyer.



CITY AFRICANS CAN EXPECT NOTHING

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY—The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said emphatically yesterday that he would make no concessions to urban Africans and repeated that if homelands leaders did not accept Government terms for independence, they could stay as they were.

Mr. Vorster said Africans would never be allowed to own property in White areas—a statement described later by Dr. Jacobs, MP for Hillbrow, as "dangerous".

—Rand Daily Mail, 26.4.'73.



TERLOOPS

In politiek, net soos in internasionale sake, kan niks gekker wees as om 'n mens se optrede op teorie of ideologie te baseer nie. — dr. P. Etienne Rousseau.

—Die Transvaler, 26.4.73

WILGESPRUIT REPORT SLANTED, SAYS EXPERT

The Schlebusch Commission's report on the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre's sensitivity training programme was in many instances one-sided, slanted, inaccurate and unscientific, Dr. Len Holdstock, a senior lecturer in psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, said last night.

Addressing the South African Council of Churches' investigation into the programme, Dr. Holdstock said the commission had referred to isolated studies, ignored major authorities and even ignored a South African study evaluating sensitivity training.

Testifying before a 12-man committee headed by a former Chief Justice of Botswana, Mr. Dendy Young, Dr. Holdstock said he had worked with Professor Carl Rogers, a world authority in group therapy who was referred to in the commission's report simply as "an American".

ANALYSIS

Dr. Holdstock, the third witness at the start of a six-day hearing, gave a critical analysis of the Schlebusch Commission report on Wilgespruit in which he said:

- * In its discussions on sensitivity training and other matters, such as psychotherapy, the commission's report was decidedly one-sided.
- * Rather than present findings of authoritative review articles about aspects of sensitivity training, isolated studies by unknown researchers were presented.
- * The most serious type of reasoning in the commission's report was the relating of sensitivity training to brainwashing. In his view, sensitivity training was diametrically opposed to brainwashing.
- * People did not need degrees in psychology or psychiatry in order to be helpful in the mental health field.
- * Screening participants for group work was almost impossible, but as research evidence indicated, unnecessary anyway.
- * Mr. Eoin O'Leary, one of the group trainers mentioned in the report, fulfilled a great many of the criteria, brought out by research, as desirable for sensitivity training work.

Professor Brian Johanson, theology professor at the University of South Africa, testified on the Christian theological attitude to sensitivity training and group work in the Christian context.

"Self-discovery can be a painful but necessary and very valuable experience," he said. "This often happens only when others reflect back to us something of what we are."

- * It contributes to a clearer self-perception in the individual of his own potential and capacity to help others.
- * It contributes to a greater awareness of how others feel.

- * It contributes to a resolving of problems between people through understanding the principle in which human relationships function.
- * It recreates the redemptive fellowship—the essential character of the Christian community.

Prof. Johanson gave a detailed exposition on Christian theological meaning of community life. He said Christian salvation involved the restoration of human relationships and the relationships between man and God.

The doctrine of Christianity meant "persons bound together in human relationships with Christ."

What appeared to have been most valuable in sensitivity training was the encounter of people across races, denominations and religions.

This was essential to healthy Christian leadership.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 8.6.73.



N.G. PROFESSOR PLEIT VIR AKSENTVERSKUIWING IN RASSEVERHOUDINGE

'n Vurige pleidooi word in die inleidingsartikel van die nuutste Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese tydskrif (Jan. 1973) gelewer om die aksent in die N.G. Kerk se bemoeienis met die probleem van rasse- en bevolkingsverhoudinge te verskuif. Prof. P.A. Verhoef van die teologiese kweekskool te Stellenbosch vra dat die klem voortaan op die *praktiese implementering* van die kerk se beginsels in die konkrete situasie sal val. Hy is oortuig dat die kerk met die bevindinge van die Gereformeerde Ekumeniese Sinode te Sydney in Augustus 1972 aan die einde van 'n lang en moeisame pad van *prinsipiële besinning* gekom. Alhoewel die kerk die prinsipiële besluite nog officieel moet goedkeur, is hy oortuig dat daar nou voortbeweeg moet word.

Hy skryf onder meer dat dit tot die taak van die kerk vorentoe behoort „...om nog meer aandag te gee as tevore aan alle vorme van diskriminasie en sosiale onreg, om as kerk en familie van Ned. Geref. Kerke op die voorpunt te bly in die bediening van die versoening—sowel vertikaal as horisontaal—in die bevordering van die koinonia ...”

Oor „Swart Teologie” skryf Prof. Verhoef verder: „Die Swartman in Afrika het ontwaak tot die besef dat hy 'n identiteit het, en dat hy hierdie identiteit alleen kan verwesenlik in die weg van radikale verwerping van elke vorm van blanke oorheersing en selfs goedgebedoelde paternalisme.” Hy sien dit as 'n deel van 'n „bevrydingsbeweging” wat nie gestuit kan word nie.

Prof. Verhoef sien die oplossing van die probleem daarin dat „ons saam met ons swart mede-christene ons gemeenskaplike probleme moet probeer oplos”. Die tyd is verby dat die blankes „in alle opsigte die lakens uitdeel”.

—*Roelf Meyer*



Wie nie die noodsaaklikheid van nuwe kerkstrukture wil insien nie, ontken daarmee feitlik die gemeente en die wêreld en bly in individualistiese vroomheid en goedgeoene vassteek.

Ds. J.J.W. Gunning — *Weekbulletin*, 9.3.73

In Londense Times geskryf

BUTHELEZI VOEL STEEDS 'N ,1948-KAFFER'

LONDEN—Ondanks sekere veranderinge voel hy hom in 1973 nie minder 'n „kaffer” as in 1948 nie, het hoofman Gatsha Buthelezi Saterdag hier in the Londense Times geskryf in 'n oorsig oor die 25-jarige bewind van die Nasionale Party in Suid-Afrika.

Volgens hoofman Buthelezi het baie min die afgelope kwarteeu gebeur wat sy hart verbly het. Die stryd om mense-regte en waardigheid duur onverpoos voort in Suid-Afrika.

Die onwettige stakings deur 60 000 van sy mense sal aange-teken word as 'n groot mylpaal in hierdie stryd.

—*Die Burger*, 28.5.73.

S.W.A. BLACKS WANT UNITY TOP CLERIC

WINDHOEK—Bishop Leonard Auala, South West Africa's most influential religious leader, yesterday claimed that most of the territory's northern homeland leaders were merely paying lip service to the Government's separate development plans.

The bishop, whose Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church has 350 000 members, said: "The moment the leaders get the chance they will vote for a federal system of government".

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 11.4.73.

APARTHEID APPALS ME—US STAR

Stan Smith, rated the world's number one tennis player, said today he was "so appalled by apartheid at close quarters I will have to give careful consideration to coming here again".

He went to Soweto to conduct a coaching clinic and found what he saw of life there "frightening".

"It looked to me like a huge concentration camp. I know we have our Harlems and I've seen discrimination in the communist countries, but the stark division of Black and White here makes it appear worse."

—*Star*, 24.4.73.

CHURCH AWARD FOR COURAGE

LONDON—The Right Rev. Colin Winter, Bishop of Damaraland, has instituted a new award, the Order of Bernard Mizeki, to honour Anglicans who have shown outstanding courage.

The founder member of the order is Mr. David de Beer (24), former diocesan secretary of Damaraland, now under banning orders in Johannesburg.

"I have long felt there should be some way of honouring people in my diocese who, by courage or fine example, have proved themselves in a particularly difficult area", Bishop Winter said.

Bishop Winter said Mr. de Beer was "one of the new young South Africans prepared to put their knowledge where it is needed. He is a young man of outstanding courage".

He explained that Bernard Mizeki was a Christian missionary murdered by his own people in Rhodesia at the turn of the century. He was against hatred and race prejudice and strongly believed in non-violence.

—*Star*, 18.2.72.

This award was conferred upon Dave de Beer at the evening service in St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg on Sunday, March 25, 1973.

THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION—WILGESPRUIT REPORT

We observe with great concern that the Wilgespruit incident, its consequences and the reaction of the church to the Prime Minister's threats have demonstrated most patently how inseparable the Government and the white church in South Africa are.

The churches which have always seen themselves as the conscience of society (including the Government) and paying lip service to their Christian ideals have seen fit today to listen to the Government's instruction to clean their "den of iniquity".

Has the Government become the conscience of the churches? When the Government, in perpetration of its iniquities—slaughtering black people at Sharpeville, endorsing black people out of the fertile areas of the Country except those blessed with the comfort of the cold, concentration Camp-like hostels that harbour sodomy, homosexuality, prostitution—things worse than the notorious sex liturgies and performances witnessed at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, the church stood idly by and paid lip service to their believers.

Today the church is being called upon by the very Government that perpetrates these iniquities to clean up its (THE CHURCH) "den of iniquities" and the church is too ready to listen and, actually investigate the activities of Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre just in case there may be some truth in the Government's allegations.

An interesting question becomes "what motivates the church to jump so quickly, and in fact go Cap-in-hand to the Government for an extension of the three week ultimatum?" Is it a genuine suspicion that the Government (WHICH STANDS AT OPPOSITE SIDES TO THE CHURCH) in its value judgement, might be right? For the Wilgespruit executive together with the S.A.C.C. executive to accede to an investigation of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre is to beg the question which makes their violent denials of the Government's allegations nonsensical—nonsensical because they disbelieve and believe the Government at the same time. Or are the churches acceding to the demand of investigating themselves and possibly they will find themselves guilty, because of self protection motive and desire for self-perpetuation even at the expense of their principles? If so, then they (THE CHURCHES) are not Christian for Christ did not betray his principles, but was rather prepared to die and died for his principles. Let the church be banned (or what ever "action" the Prime Minister intends) if only for the truth and if the Government is sincere, let it clear its own "den of iniquities".

—*The Mamelodi group of the Christian Institute—(Black Members)*.



WHOSE FACES ARE RED, NOW?

G'N PASPOORT VIR GEWESE NUSAS-MAN

DURBAN—'n Gewese onder-president van Nusas, mnr. Horst Kleinschmidt, wat nou 'n voltydse organiseerder is vir Sprocas—Special Program for Christian Action in Society—se aansoek om sy paspoort te hernuwe, is van die hand gewys.

Mnr. Kleinschmidt was een van die uitvoerende beamptes van die Institute of Race Relations en het verlede maand bedank omdat die Institute besluit het om wel getuienis voor die Schibusch-kommissie af te lê.

„Ek het op 8 Maart aansoek gedoen om hernuwing van my paspoort om 'n kerkkonferensie in Wes-Duitsland by te woon”, het mnr. Kleinschmidt gesê. „Ek het 'n brief ontvang, gedateer 27 April, waarin ek meegedeel word dat my aansoek deur die Minister van Binnelandse Sake van die hand gewys is”.

Geen redes vir die stap is verstrekk nie.

Mnr. Kleinschmidt, 27, is ook die redakteur van Sprocas se bulletin, „White Liberation”, berig Sapa.

—Die Vaderland, 3.5.'73.



AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

7th May, 1973.

Dear Dr. Mulder,

You have seen fit to deprive us of our South African passports, thus restricting our normal freedom of movement. You refuse to disclose the reasons for this.

We are clearly guilty of no crime nor of any subversive activity. We have pursued every channel open to us to discover the reasons and to secure the return of our passports. We have made personal representations to your department. Our member of parliament has taken up the matter. And our sponsors the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa have made representations on our behalf. The only response has been of the order of: The Honourable the Minister does not see his way clear

The only avenue open to us now is to make public our protest at your arbitrary restriction on our freedom. In common with the rest of the free world we do not believe that any state has the right to withhold a citizens passport unless clear and good reasons are given and the citizen is guilty of certain clearly defined offences.

We recognise that the restrictions placed on us are only a pale shadow of those imposed on the majority of our fellow citizens through the operations of the influx control system—or those who have suffered the fate of banning.

Your action however has given us a deeper insight into the effects of such arbitrary restrictions on our fellow countrymen and a deeper sympathy with their aspirations and hopes.

Yours truly,

Peter Randall and Horst Kleinschmidt



INSTITUTE MEN LOSE PASSPORTS

The passports of three White staff members of the Institute of Race Relations were withdrawn by the Department of the Interior recently.

They are Mr. John Kane—Berman, a research assistant, Mr. Robin Margo, an archivist and researcher, and Mr. Clive Nettleton, assistant to the director of the Institute, Mr. Fred van Wyk.

None of the three has been given reasons for the withdrawal..

Mr. Margo and Mr. Kane—Berman are past presidents of the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand - Mr. Margo in 1967 and Mr. Kane—Berman in 1968.

Both were Rhodes Scholars and studied at Oxford after they graduated from Wits. Mr. Margo read political sociology and philosophical logic and Mr. Kane—Berman completed a degree in politics, philosophy and economics.

Mr. Nettleton was vice-president of Nusas in 1969 and runs the Institute's youth programme.

- Rand Daily Mail