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## INHOUD • CONTENTS

### Redaksioneel

GOD SE BOODSKAP AAN DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT 1

### Editorial

GOD'S MESSAGE TO THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE 3

DAAD VAN TOEWYDING AAN CHRISTUS EN DIE ARBEID  
VAN DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT 5

ACT OF DEDICATION TO CHRIST AND THE WORK  
OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE 6

### Schlebusch/Le Grange Commission report

BEFORE YOU JUDGE THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE 7

VERKLARING DEUR DR BEYERS NAUDÉ NAMENS DIE RAAD VAN BEHEER  
VAN DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT 28.5.75 7

STATEMENT BY DR BEYERS NAUDÉ, DIRECTOR OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE  
MADE ON 28.5.75 ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT 7

VERKLARING DEUR DR BEYERS NAUDE EN PROF. C. GARDNER NAMENS  
DIE RAAD VAN BEHEER VAN DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT 29.5.75 9

A STATEMENT FROM DR BEYERS NAUDÉ AND PROF. C. GARDNER OF THE  
BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, 29.5.75 9

STATEMENT BY THE S.A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 10

NEWS ITEMS 10

DIALOGUE OVER 'HAMMANSKRAAL AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION'  
— FINAL PART 15

SUBJECT TO AUTHORITIES — Ulrich Duchrow 19

INTER-TERRITORIAL MEETING OF BISHOPS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA  
— 22nd - 24th APRIL, 1975 (PRESS RELEASE) 25

### VOORBLAD / FRONT COVER

'n Botsing tussen staat en kerk: Die Christelike Instituut is deur die regering tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar op grond van die aantygings van die Schlebusch/Le Grange-kommissie se verslag. / A State-church clash: The Christian Institute has been declared an affected organisation by the government on the basis of the allegations of the Schlebusch/Le Grange Commission's report.

### AGTERBLAD/BACK COVER

Erkenning: Die voorbladskets van die boek "Black Man's Burden Revisited". / Acknowledgment: The front cover drawing from the book "Black Man's Burden Revisited".

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# GOD SE BOODSKAP AAN DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT

Dit bly 'n uiters gewaagde saak om te probeer uitspel wat God se boodskap en wil in 'n bepaalde saak is, maar 'n Christen kan en moet vra na sy leiding op grond van die evangelie en die spesifieke historiese gebeure. Die regering het met die bekendmaking van die Schlebusch/Le Grange-verslag besluit om die C.I. tot geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar, wat beteken dat die C.I. nie meer enige fondse van buite S.A. mag bekom nie. Wat is God se boodskap deur al dié onstellende gebeure aan die Christelike Instituut, die kerk in die algemeen en ook aan Suid-Afrika?

### die C.I. sonder veel krag

Die eerste wat deur die C.I. besef moet word, is dat hy min krag in die situasie het. Die regering het sy heerskappy nie op *reg* of op Christelike beginsels gebaseer nie, maar op geweldvolle *mag* wat hy willekeurig handhaaf. Voortaan mag daar geen twyfel by die kerk van Christus in Suid-Afrika bestaan dat hy nie op enige fundamentele punt met die regering sal kan verskil sonder die gevaar van vervolging nie. In die verlede het dit ook sporadies gebeur soos bv. met die verskuiwing van die „Federal Seminary” en die inperking en/of deportering van predikante, maar dit het nou heeltemaal duidelik geword dat die kerk óf kompromie móét aangaan, óf vervolg gaan word.

Die posisie van min krag ook wat finansiële middele betref, is egter in ooreenstemming met Jesus Christus en sy evangelie. Christus het terwille van ons „arm geword” sodat ons „deur sy armoede ryk kan word” (2 Kor. 8), en Paulus het nie op die krag van die vlees vertrou nie sodat hy Christus „kan ken en die krag van sy opstanding” (Fil. 3). Vir die „swak” kerk is God se belofte dan altyd daar dat „wat swak is by die wêreld, het God uitverkies om wat sterk is, te beskaam” (1 Kor. 1).

Die oorweldigende, oorwinnende krag van die kerk en ook van die Christelike Instituut, as deel van die kerk, lê in sy profetiese getuienis van die almagtige Christus wat alle terreine in staat en in kerk opeis vir sy geregtigheid. Indien die regering in S.A. Christene beperk en kortwiek om hulle taak te vervul, is dit nie maar slegs 'n verskil van opinie

tussen die regering en die C.I. oor die sogenaamde deelname van georganiseerde Christene aan „politiek” nie, MAAR IS DIT 'N BEPERKING VAN DIE BOODSKAP VAN BEVRYDING EN GERECHTIGHEID VAN JESUS CHRISTUS. Toe Paulus Christene in die naam van die regering vervolg het, het Christus aan hom gevra: „Waarom vervolg jy My? (Hand. 9).

### 'n nuwe lewenstyl

'n Tweede saak wat uit die eerste voortvloei, is dat dit moontlik is dat God deur hierdie aksie van die regering aan die Christelike Instituut wil sê dat sy lewenstyl moet verander, dat hy nie op veel inkomste moet staatmaak nie en dat hy sy taak deur armoede en vervolging heen moet voortsit. Miskien mag dit onbelangrik klink, maar dit kan moontlik wees dat dit ook God se boodskap aan die ryk en magtige blankes van S.A. is. DIE BLANKE SAL IN DIE KRISIS WAARIN S.A. REEDS OP SOVEEL TERREINE VERKEER, DEUR DIE SITUASIE GE-DWING WORD OM SY POLITIEKE MAG EN SY KAPITALISTIESE RYKDOM MET DIE MAGTELOSE EN ARM SWARTE TE DEEL. Die aksie wat die regering teen die C.I. op tou gesit het, sal, hoe paradoksaal dit ookal klink, nog op homself terugslaan.

'n Derde aspek van die saak is dat die Le Grange-Kommissie die regering en sy gesag as die hoogste gesag in S.A. handhaaf. Die verslag sê dat die kommissie „beoordeel die Instituut se optrede teen die algemeen aanvaarde beginsel dat *die hoogste gesag*, wat uit die juridiese spruit, *in die Staat beliggzaam is ...*” (kursivering bygevoeg). DIT IS 'N VERLOËNING VAN DIE KONINGSKAP VAN CHRISTUS IN STAAT EN IN KERK. Christus en sy evangelie is ook in die juridiese en politieke sfeer die hoogste gesag en sy Goddelike reg moet ook dáár as finale gesag geld. Die regering se optrede en vervolging van die C.I., op grond van die verslag, volg dan dieselfde beginsel wat die verslag gehandhaaf het, nl. dat die regering as finale gesag op grond van sy arbitrêre wil, die C.I. vervolg.



## geen saak teen die C.I. bewys nie

Wat nog erger teen die beginsel en optrede van die regering vloek, is dat die wyse waarop die C.I. beoordeel is, ook onchristelik en onbillik was. Die kommissie het van leuens gebruik gemaak en selfs die ergste daarin was dat hy die leuens doelbewus bo die waarheid verkies het om die C.I. te veroordeel. Die kommissie het verkies om nie die geskrewe en verklaarde standpunte van die C.I. te glo nie, maar om liever in die geheim duistere, teenoorgestelde motivering en bedoelinge te aanvaar en oor die vermeende, onbewese en selfs onge-toetste sogenaamde feite 'n oordeel te fel. Erger nog: Hulle verklaar in die verslag dat hulle die getuigenis van mnr. Fred van Wyk, 'n gewese staf lid van die C.I. en een van die direkteure van Pro Veritate, wat onder eed voor God verklaar het dat hy die waarheid praat doelbewus verwerp, en hulle het besluit om eerder leuens te handhaaf. Deur die verslag so te aanvaar en om die C.I. op grond daarvan te vervolg, beteken dat die kommissie en die regering „god” probeer speel het in die lewe van mense. Wie Christus wil volg, sal dié optrede absoluut moet verwerp.

Wat nou hieroor in S.A. belangrik is, is dat die Christene en die kerke 'n keuse sal moet maak wat die verslag en die regeringsaksie betref. Indien iemand egter neutraal of buite die dispuut probeer bly, beteken dit alleenlik maar ondersteuning van die status quo.

Die aantyging word gemaak dat die C.I. 'n bedreiging vir die veiligheid van die staat is. Daarvoor kan geantwoord word dat in soverre as wat die evangelie van Christus 'n bedreiging vir die ongeregtigheid in die staat is, is die C.I. ook 'n bedreiging vir dit wat in stryd met die evangelie is. Die vae aantygings sonder enige bewys toon die gebrek aan enige werklike saak wat teen die C.I. ingebring kan word, of dat daar ooit enige *prima facie*-saak teen die C.I. was. Die C.I. het ook by monde van sy direkteur verklaar dat die C.I. gewillig is om enige aanklag teen hom in 'n ope hof die hoof te bied.

Miskien pas 'n aanhaling van Calvyn in die situasie: „Dit is nie die gereformeerde Christene wat die aanhangers van wanorde is nie, maar dis juis hulle wat die hernieuwe order, wat God graag wil sien heers in die godsdienste sowel as in die samelewing, wil vasstel. Die ware oproepmakers is hulle wat godsdienstige en sosiale wanorde verleng deur dit te beskerm: dit is die reaksionêre konserwatiewes wat deur hulle ongeregtigheid en geweld onwaarheid verkondig en weier om na waarheid te luister.” (*La Pensee Economique et Sociale De Calvin*, André Biéler, Geneva 1961, p.80).

## die getuigenis vir geregtigheid moet voortgaan

Ten slotte moet die hele saak in perspektief gesien word. Dit gaan ten diepste nie hier om 'n dispuut

tussen die Nasionalistiese regering en die Christelike Instituut, of selfs nie om die voortbestaan van die Christelike organisasie nie. Dit gaan om dit waarvoor die C.I. staan en probeer arbeid, nl. God se geregtigheid wat in kerk en staat gehandhaaf moet word en wat op soveel kardinale terreine van die lewe van die mense verloën word deur die handhawing van die huidige beleid en sisteem wat veel smart en lyding aan die een kant, en verryking en voorreg aan die ander kant, ten koste van die magteloses, tot gevolg het. Al sou die C.I. miskien lank nie meer bestaan nie, sal die verlange en strewe na bevryding en geregtigheid in S.A. onder dié sisteem nog bestaan, omdat dit onmoontlik is om die beeld van God waarna die mens in geregtigheid en vryheid geskape is, finaal te onderdruk, al is dit deur 'n bose sisteem. Buitendien het Christus sonde en ongeregtigheid individueel en kooperatief in die samelewing oorwin en roep hy onderdaan en regeerder, ja, almal in S.A. na sý geregtigheid, vryheid en liefde in kerk en in staat.

Die C.I. gaan, indien moontlik, voort in die Naam van sy Heer — en dit hang grootliks van u ondersteuning af — maar die vraag is nou wat die kerk oor die algemeen in S.A. gaan doen: gaan hy toelaat dat die huidige geweldvolle sisteem so ontwikkel tot 'n moontlike bloedbad, of gaan hy homself volkome gee vir Christelike verandering op 'n nie-gewelddadige wyse, al sou dit ook lyding tot gevolg hê? Dit is die boodskap en toets van die kruis — om jouself te probeer red en te beveilig, of om Christus na te volg, al eis dit goed en bloed. Soos telkens in die geskiedenis, vergelyk maar byvoorbeeld die tydperk van die belydende kerk in Duitsland, is die uur nou ook daar vir die Christene in S.A. om na vore te kom en Christus as enigste Koning en gesag in kerk en in staat te bely.

„Wat die wêreld van Christene verwag, is dat Christene helder en duidelik in die openbaar sal getuig, en dat hulle hul veroordeling van dit wat verkeerd is op so 'n wyse bekend sal maak dat daar nooit twyfel, nie die geringste twyfel in die hart van die eenvoudigste mens sal kan opkom nie; dat die Christene van abstraksies sal wegkom en die bloedbevleete aangesig wat die geskiedenis vandag aangeneem het, sal konfronteer. Die eenheid wat ons benodig, is die gemeenskap van mense wat vasberade is om duidelik te getuig en om persoonlik op te offer. Moontlik sal die Christendom daarop aandring om vir eens en vir altyd die deug van getuigenis en verontwaardiging, wat lank terug sy kenmerk was, agter te laat. IN DAARDIE GEVAL SAL (CHRISTELIKE) PERSONE NOG LEWE, MAAR DIE CHRISTENDOM SAL STERF.”

## GOD'S MESSAGE TO THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

It remains an exceedingly vexed question to try to spell out what God's message and will may be in any given matter, but a Christian can and must ask for His guidance based on the gospel and the specific historical events. With the publication of the Schlebusch/Le Grange Report the government decided to declare the C.I. an affected organisation and this means that the C.I. may no longer obtain funds from abroad. In the light of all the disturbing events the question arises: What is God's message to the Christian Institute itself, to the church in general and to South Africa?

### the C.I. has little power

The first thing which the C.I. must realise is that in this situation, it has but *little power*. The government has not based its authority on *right* or justice or on Christian principles, but on the *power* of violence which it wields arbitrarily. From now on there can be no doubt within the Church of Christ in South Africa that it may not differ from the government on any fundamental issue without exposing itself to the danger of persecution. In the past this happened in sporadic fashion as e.g. with the moving of the Federal Seminary and the banning and/or deportation of ministers, but it has now become only too clear that the church must either compromise or face persecution.

This position of little power — as regards financial measures also — is however in accord with the gospel of Jesus Christ. For our sakes Christ "became poor" so that "through his poverty we might become rich" (2 Cor. 8), and Paul refrained from relying on the power of the flesh that he might "know Christ and the power of His resurrection" (Phil. 3). God's promise is thus always there for the "weak" church, the promise that "What is weak in relation to the world God has chosen to shame that which is strong" (1 Cor. 1).

The overwhelming, the victorious power of the church and also of the Christian Institute, as a part of the church, lies in its prophetic witness of the almighty Christ who claims all spheres of state and church for his own — for his justice. If the government in S.A. curbs or restricts Christians in the

fulfilment of its task, then it is not merely a difference of opinion between the government and the C.I. as to the so-called participation of organised Christians in "politics" BUT IT IS A LIMITING OF THE MESSAGE OF LIBERATION AND JUSTICE OF JESUS CHRIST. When Paul in the name of the Government persecuted Christians Christ asked of him: "Why do you persecute me? (Acts 9).

### a new life style

A second matter which flows from the first is the possibility that God through this action of the government wants to tell the Christian Institute that its life style must change; that it must not be concerned about having a large income; and that it must carry on with its task through poverty and persecution. Possibly this sounds unimportant; nevertheless the possibility exists that this is also God's message to the rich and the powerful whites of South Africa. THE WHITES IN THIS CRISIS WHICH INVOLVES S.A. IN SO MANY DIFFERENT SPHERES MAY YET BE COMPELLED TO SHARE THEIR POLITICAL POWER AND THEIR CAPITALISTIC RICHES WITH THE POOR AND POWERLESS BLACKS. The action which the government has set in train against the C.I. may (however paradoxical this may sound) recoil upon itself.

A third aspect of the matter is that the Le Grange Commission upholds the government and the authority of the government as the highest authority in S.A. The report says that the Commission judges the Institute's action against the generally accepted principle that the *highest authority* flowing from the law, is embodied in the state ... (italics added). THIS IS A DENIAL OF THE KINGSHIP OF CHRIST IN CHURCH AND STATE.

Christ and his gospel constitute — in the legal and political spheres as well — the highest authority and his divine right and justice must be valid there as the final authority. The government's action and persecution of the C.I. on the basis of the report, then follows the same principle as that upheld by the report, viz. that the government as the final authority by virtue of its arbitrary will, will persecute the C.I.



## no proved case against the C.I.

What shows up in an even worse light this principle and this action is that *the manner* in which the C.I. was judged, was also unchristian and unfair. The Commission made use of lies and the very worst aspect of this was that it deliberately preferred the lie to the truth in judging the C.I. The Commission elected not to accept as true the written and declared standpoint of the C.I., but rather to accept obscure and even diametrically opposed motivations and meanings — and this in secret — and to base its judgment on these alleged and unproven facts which were never put to the test.

Worse still, they declare in the report that they emphatically rejected the evidence given by Mr Fred van Wyk, an ex-member of the C.I. staff and one of the Directors of Pro Veritate, who had declared under oath before God that he spoke the truth; the Commission rather preferred to accept lies. In so presenting their report and on that basis persecuting the C.I. indicates that the commission and the government tried to "play god" in the lives of the people. He who would follow Christ must reject this absolutely.

What is at the moment important for S.A. is that Christians and the churches must make a choice in regard to the report and the action of the government. If anyone, however, wants to remain neutral, or keep himself aloof from the dispute, means nothing less than support of the status quo.

The allegation is made that the C.I. is a threat to the security of the state. To that accusation the reply may be given that insofar as the gospel of Christ constitutes a threat to the injustice perpetrated by the state, to the same extent is the C.I. a threat to that which is in conflict with the gospel. The vague allegations without any proof shows the absence of any real case which can be brought against the C.I., and even no prior *prima face* case against it. The C.I. also declared by way of a statement from its Director that the C.I. is willing to answer to any charge brought against it in open court.

Calvin makes it crystal clear that it is the conservatives themselves who want to retain the *status quo* of an unjust regime and who are the real trouble-makers. "It is not the reformed Christians who are the instigators of disorder. In fact they are the very people who want to establish the new order which God wills should reign in religion as well as in society. The real trouble-makers are those who spread religious and social disorder in the very act of protecting it. It is the reactionary conservatives who by their injustice and violence promote falsehood and refuse to listen to the truth" (*La Pensee Economique et Sociale De Calvin*, André Biéler, Geneva 1961, p.80)

## the witness of justice must continue

In conclusion, the whole matter must be seen in proper perspective. It is basically not a matter of dispute between the Nationalist government and the Christian Institute or even of the continued existence of this Christian organisation. The whole point is this: What the C.I. stands for and works for viz. God's justice which must be maintained by both church and state and which are denied in so many cardinal spheres of the lives of men by the upholding of the present policy and system which has brought in its train so much sorrow and suffering on the one hand, and enrichment and privilege on the other at the cost of those without power.

Even if as may happen, the C.I. does not continue to exist for much longer, the desire for and the struggle for liberation and justice in S.A. under this system will continue because it is impossible that the image of God in which man is made in justice and freedom be finally subjected, even through an evil system. Moreover Christ overcame sin and injustice both individually and collectively in society and he called both subjects and rulers, yea, all people of S.A. in church and in state to his justice, liberation and love.

The C.I. will if possible go forward in the Name of the Lord — and this depends largely on your support and that of others — but the question now is what will the church in general in S.A. do? Will it permit the present violent system to develop into a possible blood-bath or will it commit itself completely to Christian radical change on a non-violent basis even if this brings about suffering. This is the message and the test of the cross — to try to save and secure yourself or to follow Christ even if such a course demands your property and your blood. As so often in history (cf. e.g. the period of the confessing church in Germany,) the hour has come for the Christian in S.A. to come forward and to confess Christ as the only King and authority in church and in state.

"What the world expects of Christians is that Christians should speak out, loud and clear, and that they should voice their condemnation of evil in such a way that never a doubt, never the slightest doubt, could rise in the heart of the simplest man. That they should get away from abstractions and confront the blood-stained face history has taken on today. The unity we need is a fellowship of men resolved to speak out clearly and to sacrifice personally. Possibly Christianity will insist on losing once and for all the virtue of witness and indignation that characterised it long ago. IN THAT CASE (CHRISTIAN) PEOPLE WILL LIVE AND CHRISTIANITY WILL DIE."

## **DAAD VAN TOEWYDING AAN CHRISTUS EN DIE ARBEID VAN DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT**

„Ons wy ons toe aan U, o Christus, Bevryder, Verlosser en Koning oor die ganse lewe, en ons verwerp alle vals aansprake van opperste heerskappy van nasionalisme, totalitarisme en geskeidenheid in staat en in kerk. Ons bely voor U dat ons medeskuldig is vir die onreg in Suid-Afrika.

Ons bely dat ons aan u geregtigheid, in ons samelewing getrou wil bly en daarvoor wil arbeid in 'n stelsel wat veel onreg en lyding veroorsaak. Ons wy ons opnuut toe aan die beginsels en aksie van die Christelike Instituut „om die kerk van Christus op alle moontlike maniere te dien”, en verwerp alle vals aantygings en weerstaan in Christus se Naam alle pogings om ons getuienis en arbeid te stuit, al sou dit ook vervolging en lyding tot gevolg hê.

Ons wat swak is, vertrou op U om ons te lei en te bekragtig sodat ons in woord en daad getrou aan U en u werk, ook in die werk van die Christelike Instituut, in die krisisuur van Suid-Afrika sal wees.”

*Johannesburg, 1.6.75*

# **ACT OF DEDICATION TO CHRIST AND THE WORK OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUUT**

"We dedicate ourselves to You, O Christ, Liberator, Saviour and Lord over the whole of life, and we reject all false claims to final authority of nationalism, totalitarianism and division in state and in church. We confess before you our own share in the guilt for the injustice in South Africa.

We confess that we want to remain faithful to your justice in our society, and that we want to labour for it in our system which causes much injustice and suffering. We dedicate ourselves by way of renewal to the principles and action of the Christian Institute "to serve the Church of Christ in every possible way", and we reject all false allegations and we shall resist in Christ's Name all endeavours to obstruct our witness and work, even if this dedication shall result in persecution and suffering.

We who are weak, place our trust in you to guide and strengthen us so that we may remain faithful in word and deed to You and to your work, including the work of the Christian Institute, in this crisis hour of South Africa."

*Johannesburg, 1.6.75*



# **SCHLEBUSCH / LE GRANGE COMMISSION REPORT :**

## **before you judge the christian institute**

Before assessing the validity of the Schlebusch-Le Grange Commission's various judgments, South Africans should understand very clearly indeed that:

- The "accused" were not presented with formal charges and were thus unable to prepare an adequate defence.
- They were not aware of all the evidence presented to the commission and were thus unable to try to refute all this evidence.
- They were allowed only the most limited form of legal representation, with their lawyers functioning only to protect them from incriminating themselves in terms of existing legislation.
- They had no opportunity to present a defence case, to call defence witnesses, to cross-examine the witnesses for the "prosecution."
- The commission operated in secret. There was no question of justice being seen to be done.
- The members of the commission were expected to accuse, prosecute, defend and judge.
- The members of the commission were all politicians, albeit with most members having a legal background.
- Commission members were operating in the highly subjective area of political ideology and they were expected to perform the extraordinary task of objectively judging what amounted, by their own definition, to their political opponents.

Under these circumstances one can hardly blame members of the Christian Institute for being unwilling to give evidence to the commission.

And, under these circumstances, one cannot take seriously the commission's findings that the C.I. is a danger to the State, that it supported violent change in South Africa and that it was working towards a Black-dominated socialist system achieved by way of a race conflict.

If the Government acts on the basis of these findings, it will do further violence to the rule of law. It will also damage its own image at a time when it is making such positive international progress.

— *The Star*, 29.5.75.

## **verklaring deur dr. beyers naudé namens die raad van beheer van die christelike instituut, 28.5.75**

Volgens persberigte het die verslag van die Le Grange-kommissie aantygings teen die C.I. gemaak wat ons daartoe verplig om dit te verwerp:

1. Met betrekking tot die gebruik van geweld as 'n middel tot sosiale verandering soos berig, is die aantyging dat die C.I. die gebruik van geweld in die verborge verkondig terwyl hy in die openbaar daarteen gekant is, volkome onwaar. Die aangeleenthede en aktiwiteite van die Instituut was altyd vir almal oop en daar is geen teenstrydigheid tussen private en openbare beleid nie. Die Instituut het geen geheime nie en het Christelike verandering sonder geweld konsekwent bepleit.

2. Dit word beweer dat die Instituut die oogmerke van die Wêreldraad van Kerke steun t.o.v. „gewelddadige optrede teen die Republiek in die vorm van hulp aan terroriste-organisasies”. Die C.I. bepaal sy beleid in ooreenstemming met die evangelie van Jesus Christus en doen dit onafhanklik. Die C.I. het nooit die gewelddadige omverwerping van die regering gesteun nie.

3. Ons bevestig die stelling van mnr. Fred van Wyk, voorsitter van die Raad van Trustees van die C.I., dat die C.I. geen finansiële hulp van die W.R.K. ontvang nie. Alle oorsese fondse van die C.I. word regstreeks deur die kerke en Christelike liggame uit verskillende lande bygedra. Die feit dat sommige van hierdie liggame ook regstreeks tot die W.R.K. se fondse bydra, is hulle

die onafhanklike aksie, asook hulle steun vir die projekte van die C.I. Ons moet verder daarop wys dat die C.I. bydraes van Suid-Afrikaanse kerke, wat ook lede van die W.R.K. is, ontvang. Baie ander kerke en organisasies in Suid-Afrika, insluitende die N.G. Kerke, het hulp van dieselfde oorsese bronne as die C.I. ontvang. Die feit dat die betroubare getuienis van hierdie getuie summier deur die kommissie verwerp is, is oorfloedige bewys van die bevooroordeelde wyse waarop feite uitgesoek is om by 'n voorafbepaalde oordeel in te pas.

Die C.I. se konsekwente en openbare standpunt was om geregtigheid d.m.v. versoening voor te staan. Hierdie standpunt is altyd deur die Spro-cas II-projek gevolg, 'n feit wat die kommissie se aantyging tot onsin maak dat die beplanners van Spro-cas probeer het om die huidige orde deur rasse-konflik en deur 'n „rewolusie te bewerkstellig”, te vervang met „'n swart-gedomineerde sosialistiese sisteem”. Hierdie ongegronde beskuldigings diskrediteer die bevindinge van die kommissie, soos in die pers weergegee, geheel en al.

4. Radikale verandering is 'n Bybelse begrip—iets wat fundamenteel vir die Christelike evangelie was lank voor enige formulering van Marxistiese of Neo-Marxistiese leerstellinge.

Die gebruik van hierdie soort politieke brabbeltaal is 'n ruwe en onsuksesvolle poging om die C.I. te beswadder.

## **statement by dr. beyers naudé, director of the christian institute made on 28.5.75 on behalf of the board of management**

The Report of the Le Grange Commission has, according to press reports, made allegations about the Christian Institute which I am bound to refute.

1. With regard to the use of violence as an instrument of social change, the reported allegation that the Institute advocates the use of violence in private while publicly opposing its use is utterly untrue. The affairs and action of the C.I. have always been open to anyone, and there is no dichotomy between its private and public policies. The C.I. has no secrets, and has consistently advocated Christian change by non-violent means.

2. Its is alleged that the C.I. supports the aims of the World Council of Churches with regard to “violent action against the Republic in the form of assistance to terrorist organizations”.

We wish to confirm the statement made by Mr. Fred van Wyk, Chairman of the C.I.'s Board of Trustees, that the C.I. does not receive financial support from the WCC. All the C.I.'s overseas funds are contributed directly by churches and Christian agencies from various countries. The fact that some of these bodies also contribute directly to WCC funds is their own independent action, as is their support of the C.I.'s projects. We must further point out that the C.I. has received grants from South African churches who are also members of the WCC. Many other churches have received aid from the same overseas sources as the C.I. has. The fact that the truthful evidence of this witness was summarily rejected by the Commission is ample proof of the biased way in which facts were selected to suit a predetermined judgment.

3. The C.I.'s consistent and public standpoint has been to advocate justice through reconciliation. This standpoint was always followed by the Spro-cas II project, a fact which makes nonsense of the Commission's allegations that the Spro-cas planners tried to substitute the present order with a "Black-dominated socialist system" through racial conflict and by "engineering a revolution". These baseless accusations totally discredit the findings of the commission as reported by the press.

4. Radical change is a biblical concept — one which was fundamental to the Christian Gospel long before any formulation of Marxist or Neo-Marxist doctrines. The use of this kind of political jargon is a crude and unsuccessful attempt to smear the C.I.

5. The nature of the report confirms our previous conviction that those who refused to testify before the Commission were fully justified in their stand.

## **verklaring deur dr. beyers naudé en prof. c. gardner namens die raad van beheer van die christelike instituut 29.5.75**

Die lees van die verslag van die Le Grange-kommissie oor die Christelike Instituut het duidelik getoon dat dit 'n sameflansing is van openlike leuens, halwe waarhede en feite wat uit verband geruk is.

Daarby behandel die verslag slegs idees en oortuigings van die Christelike Instituut en verwante organisasies, en openbaar geen getuienis van enige aksie wat as subversief beskou kan word, of wat ontwerp is om die staat met geweld omvêr te werp nie. Die C.I. is gewillig om enige aantygings in 'n openbare hof die hoof te bied.

Die verslag se sentrale uitgangspunt is „die algemeen aanvaarde beginsel dat die hoogste gesag, wat uit die juridiese spruit, in die staat beliggaam is.” Dit is naakte

totalitarisme wat die Godgegewe reg oor die hele lewe van die mens opeis en wat die C.I. absoluut verwerp.

Ons kan nie die rol van die anonieme teoloë, wat hulleself daartoe geleen het om vir die kommissie se valse politieke interpretasies van relevante teologie gebruik te word, sterk genoeg betreur nie.

Om te probeer om die getuienis van Christene op hierdie wyse te beperk, vorm 'n uiters ernstige bedreiging vir die profetiese rol van die kerk.

'n Toewydingsdiens aan Christus en die werk van die C.I. in sy Naam word vir Sondag, 1 Junie, beplan by 'n plek wat later bekend gemaak sal word.

## **a statement from dr. beyers naudé and prof. c. gardner of the board of management of the christian institute 29.5.75**

A reading of the Le Grange Commission's Report on the Christian Institute reveals clearly that it is a patchwork of outright lies, half-truths and facts taken out of context.

Furthermore, the Report deals entirely with the ideas and beliefs of the C.I. and related organisations and reveals no evidence of any action which could be regarded as subversive or designed to overthrow the State by violence. The C.I. is prepared to face any allegations in an open court.

The central premise of the Report is "the generally accepted principle that the supreme authority which has its origin in the juridical sphere is vested in the State". This is naked totalitarianism which claims the God-

given right over the total life of man, and which the C.I. utterly rejects.

We cannot deplore strongly enough the role of those anonymous theologians who have lent themselves to the Commission's false political interpretations of relevant theology.

Attempting to limit the witness of Christians in this way constitutes a grave threat to the prophetic role of the Church.

A service of dedication to Christ and the work of the C.I. in his name is being planned for Sunday afternoon, June 1st, at a venue to be announced later.



## statement by the s.a. council of churches

The report of the Le Grange (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry on the Christian Institute is rejected by the S.A. Council of Churches. It rests on the same repugnant presuppositions and ramshackle logic we have come to expect from this Commission. We do not believe that the allegations contained in the Commission's Report would stand up in a court of law, and we are convinced that for this very reason the Government adopted this method of dealing with uncomfortable critics. We are also more convinced than ever that the Commission's methods of working in secrecy are totally unacceptable, and that those who refused to give evidence before it were fully justified in their actions.

1. One of the presuppositions of this report is that Christians in South Africa have no mind of their own, but slavishly follow the lead of overseas organisations. For instance, on page 93 of the report, point 6.2.1. states that "the idea of radical change is not of South African origin but is a concept or ideology introduced from overseas ...", one of the main sources of this "ideology" being the World Council of Churches. This is patently absurd. Christians in South Africa do not need to be convinced by anyone outside the country of the need for radical change. Nor is there any validity in the Commission's implication that anyone supporting or having associations with the WCC is a supporter of violence because of the WCC's grants to liberation movements. If this is true, then the SACC and nine major denominations in South Africa -- against which the Government has not yet taken any action -- must stand charged together with the C.I.

2. On this basis, we express our solidarity with and support for the Christian Institute, because if it is judged guilty of the allegations made against it, we must all be said to be guilty. Like the C.I., we are "guilty" of believing in the need for radical change in South Africa (and surely the détente policy of the Government, with

its implication of change, is also guilty on this count); we are also "guilty" of supporting Black Consciousness, and we are "guilty" of welcoming the emergence of Black Theology. We must reject as absurd the finding of the Commission that these things point to the C.I. planning or working toward violent change or racial conflict in our society. In fact the C.I., like ourselves, are working for exactly the opposite -- which explains our implacable opposition to apartheid.

3. We express our support and prayer for the director of the C.I., Dr Beyers Naudé, who has been subjected to the most vicious attack in the Commission's report. We question his being singled out for these attacks, when he is simply representing the views of a strong segment of Christians in South Africa. We believe however, that to be attacked by this Commission can only add to Dr. Naudé's stature. People of this stamp, and there are others in South Africa, who represent the challenge of righteousness in their society, are inevitably despised and rejected by that society. But, like Alexander Solzhenitsyn in Russia, they in fact represent the hope of their countries.

4. We re-affirm that in the name of Christ we stand for, and call for, radical change in South Africa. This call has no violent implications, yet it has brought persecution, intimidation and the threat of destruction to the Christian Institute. We are aware that we stand in danger of the same pressures. In the light of this we can only conclude with a word of encouragement, to both the C.I. and all who stand with it, spoken by our Lord himself: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for so they persecuted the prophets who were before you." (Matthew 5:10-12).

## news items

### VALSE AANSPRAAK

Jare lank het politieke teenstanders van die Regering beweer dat die Christelike Instituut binnelands groot steun geniet. Dit was die reputasie waarop dr. Beyers Naudé se vriende in die buiteland aanspraak gemaak het. Hulle, so is dit voorgestel, is in die posisie om blanke harte te win vir die saak van blanke abdikasie.

Hoe vals hierdie aanspraak was en is, blyk nou weer uit die verslag van die Le Grange- (née Schlebusch-) kommissie, wat bevind het dat die grootste deel van die Instituut se geld uit die buiteland gekom het. Lippehulde hier te lande is nie in bruikbare rande omgesit nie.

Die kommissie kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat die binnelandse steun vir die Instituut minimaal is, terwyl sy buitelandse bydraes so groot is dat die Instituut in die ongemaklike posisie

geplaas word dat hy, om daardie steun te behou, na die pype van daardie organisasies moet dans.

Ons het in die verlede al skerp met die Instituut verskil, en sy buitelandse optrede direk skadelik vir binnelandse verandering gevind.

Die kommissie, wie se verslag eenparig deur lede van die twee grootste politieke partye onderteken is, gaan verder. Hy bevind dat die Instituut 'n politieke liggaam geword het waarvan sekere bedrywighede 'n gevaar vir die staat inhou.

Stappe van owerheidskant word aanbeveel „aangesien sekere wetsbepalings moontlik op die organisasie van toepassing kan wees”. Dit hou klaarblyklik die moontlikheid in dat die Instituut tot geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word, wat sy buitelandse bronne sou laat opdroog.

'n Bewering wat waarskynlik tot vervolging in die howe sal moet lei, is dat Pro Veritate, spreekbuis van die Instituut, „die basiese beginsels, opvattinge en doelstellinge van die Marxisme en neo-Marxisme in vermomde vorm propageer”.

Die Regering sal nou besluit hoe hy gaan optree. Watter stappe hy ook gaan doen, is dit seker dat die Instituut se oomblik van waarheid naby is.

—*Beeld*, 29.5.75.

### THE OBJECTIONABLE C.I. REPORT

Schlebusch / Le Grange one, two, three and four were bad enough. The commission's sixth report, tabled in Parliament yesterday and with No. 5 still to come, is merely a perpetuation of what has been before.

The commission has produced a savage indictment of the Christian Institute and of its affiliated organisation, Spro-cas. But that indictment must be measured against what the commission was and how it arrived at its conclusions. Composed of politicians, it was a secret tribunal, meeting behind closed doors and with those called to testify not knowing whether they were there as witnesses or accused.

It is because of this that the report suffers from a particular deficiency in that the majority of those summoned to testify from the Christian Institute flatly refused to coöperate. As the commission itself notes, this meant that it was unable to obtain possible clarification on various issues.

An especially unpleasant aspect of the report is the concentration on the Rev. C.F. Beyers Naudé, the institute's director. Perhaps the clue to this lies in Mr. Naude's history, which is outlined by the commission. A member of a leading Afrikaans family, himself once a leader of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, a trusted member of the Broederbond ... yet he came to the conclusion that Afrikaner nationalism was at the root of South Africa's problems and stepped off the path of conformity to point the accusing finger. That, it seems, is unforgivable.

In the same strain there is the commission's statement that it finds “illuminating” the evidence given to it by an (unnamed) “expert on communism and its techniques”. On the “Message to the People of South Africa” issued by the S.A. Council of Churches in 1968 and in which the Christian Institute played a formative role, the so-called expert commented: “This document makes nice use of communist tactics, the first step

being to arouse criticism, unrest and opposition within the existing political order ...”

In other words, any and all criticism of South Africa-as-it-is is unpatriotic, revolutionary, communistic and dangerous. That is the real burden of what the commission is all about.

It could be laughed off as an absurdity were it not that the report will undoubtedly be used by the Government as a launching pad for far-reaching arbitrary administrative action against the institute, Mr. Naudé and his fellows.

In the absence of the full record of the proceedings and the names of the accusers, we reject the findings of the No. 6 report as we did with the previous reports.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 29.5.75.

### C.I.: STAAT MOET OPTREE

Na die verdoemende verslag van die Le Grange-kommissie oor die doelstellings van die Christelike Instituut kan sterk optrede teen die organisasie verwag word.

Dit is noodsaaklik dat hierdie verslag in die regte perspektief gesien word.

Die besware teen die Christelike Instituut mag nie gegrond word op die feit dat hulle 'n politieke drukgroep is wat teen die heersende beleid in Suid-Afrika te velde trek nie.

Die feit dat hulle die Regering tot 'n val wil bring en hulle aanbied as die pleitbesorgers vir 'n geïntegreerde staat was kan lei tot 'n swart meerderheidsregering, is ook nie 'n grond vir staatsoptrede nie.

Selfs sy skeefgetrekte ideologie en ewe skeefgetrekte teologie is sy eie goeie reg.

As opposisie-groepe, hoe fanaties ook al en hoe versperrend ookal vir die NP-beleid, bloot op voorgenoemde gronde vervolgsou word, is die demokrasie aangetas. Dit is gewis nie die motivering van die Le Grange-kommissie nie.

Die aanbeveling dat hierdie organisasie as staatsgevaarlik beskou moet word, berus op die bevinding: dat dit langs die weg van 'n radikale omverwerping van die bestaande orde, deur middel van 'n rassestryd en met die finansiële steun (90 p.s. van hulle inkomste) van vyandiggesinde revolusie-aanhitters van die buiteland, 'n swart-oorheerste Sosialistiese stelsel in Suid-Afrika wil bevorder.

In dié sin is dit 'n staatsgevaarlike organisasie. En dit is die reg en plig van enige demokratiese staat om drasties teen so 'n organisasie en sy doelstellings op te tree.

Dit sou skromelike pligsversuim en verraad teen al die mense van Suid-Afrika beteken as die staat nie sy gesag hier duidelik laat geld nie — al sou so 'n stap deur valse propaganda ons beeld in die buiteland, en ook by sommige in ons eie land, kan skaad.

—*Die Transvaler*, 29.5.75

### LEAVE THE SMEARS TO THE NATS

This week's announcement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, that an internal security commission will be created next year means only one thing: a new burst of McCarthyism looms for South Africa.

After the bitter experience of the past two-and-a-quarter years it cannot be otherwise — for the concept for this ongoing probe of security matters emanated from the Big Brother investigator, the Schlebusch-Le Grange Commission.

As we noted yesterday, the latest Schlebusch-Le Grange report, on the Christian Institute, merely perpetuates what has gone before — and the idea will now be carried into the future. That will mean more secret trials without benefit of a judge, with the record never available for public scrutiny. It will mean the summoning of witnesses who will not know if, in fact, they are really accused or what "charges" they face.

They will only find out, as they have done with Schlebusch-Le Grange, when the commission's "findings" are issued — and will then be the victims of character assassination, generalisation and innuendo. Yet that will only be part of it for the Government will again be certain to make use of the "findings", however lacking in quality or reason they may be, as an excuse for arbitrary action against individuals or organisations.

The United Party has blundered enough by its involvement in what has already been done. The party itself, and the cause of justice and democracy for which it says it stands, have suffered aplenty from its role in Schlebusch-Le Grange. Let the UP now not make the same mistake: it must distance itself immediately and without equivocation from what Mr. Vorster proposes. Likewise the Progressive and Reform parties.

If the Nationalists want to embark on organised smear — and administrative punishment — let them be seen to be doing it on their own, without the connivance of the opposition.

— *Rand Daily Mail*, 30.5.75.

### **GOVERNMENT CURBS ON CHURCH BODY**

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, announced in the Assembly today that the Christian Institute of Southern Africa has been declared an affected organisation from today.

*A recommendation that it be declared an affected organisation had been approved by the State President, Dr Diederichs, on May 28 and a proclamation was published in the Government Gazette today, he said.*

The effect of the Christian Institute being declared an affected organisation is that its funds from abroad will be cut off from it. The Le Grange Commission which investigated the CI found that more than 80 percent of the institute's funds were obtained abroad.

Making his announcement, which had been expected in political quarters, the Minister told the Assembly it had emerged from a factual report instituted in terms of clause 8 of the Affected Organisations Act which had been laid down before him that politics was being engaged in, by, or through the CI with the aid of, or, in co-operation with, or in consultation with or under the influence of an organisation or person abroad.

#### **Well done**

"It was consequently decided to recommend to the State President that the CI be declared, in terms of the Act, to be an

affected organisation," he said.

After the Minister made his announcement, Mr Horace van Rensburg (RP, Bryanston) called out: "Well done UP, you helped them."

Mrs Helen Suzman (Prog., Houghton) interjected to the United Party MPs: "There you are. I hope you are satisfied."

#### **No surprise**

Reacting in a statement immediately afterwards, Mrs Suzman said: "This step has come as no surprise. Once the UP had given the Government the green light by signing the Le Grange Commission report, which recommended action against the CI, it was more than obvious that the Government would eagerly seize the opportunity to put out of action one of its most forthright critics.

"The CI has long been the target of the Nationalist establishment and the Government has taken full advantage of the golden opportunity to try to crush the institution."

Mrs Suzman said she could only hope that the Government's voracious appetite for punishment would be satisfied with the decision to declare the CI an affected organisation and that no further measures would be taken against it or any of its office bearers.

"It is to the everlasting shame of the official Opposition that it has collaborated in this heinous act," Mrs Suzman said.

#### **Terms**

In terms of the Affected Organisations Act of 1974 a body can be declared an affected organisation if the State President is satisfied that politics are being engaged in, by or through the organisation with the aid of, or in co-operation with, or under the influence of an organisation or person abroad.

An affected organisation or its office bearers may not ask or canvass for money from abroad on behalf of the organisation.

Money such an organisation received from abroad before it was declared an affected organisation may not be transferred to any other body or person.

Within a year of the body being declared an affected organisation the money can be donated to a welfare organisation designated by the Minister. Such a body must not be an affected organisation itself.

The Act also provides for the appointment of a Registrar of Affected Organisations. Penalties of up to R10 000/five years imprisonment and R20 000/10 years imprisonment on a second offence are provided for.

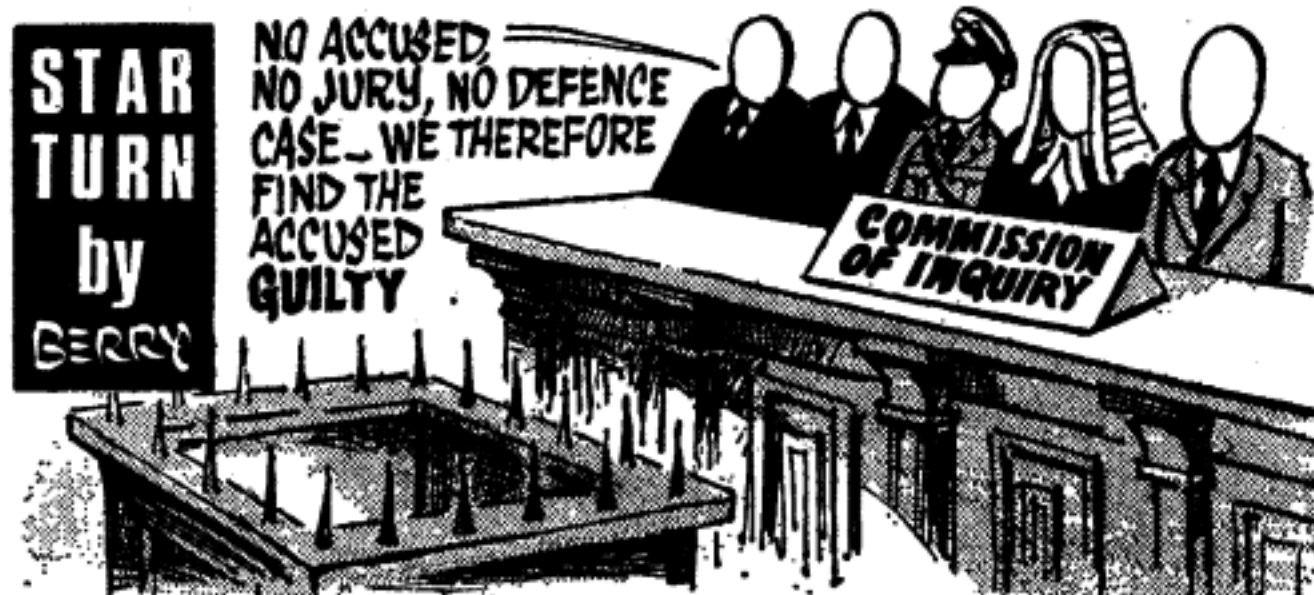
— *The Star*, 30.5.75.

### **BISHOPS JOIN PROTEST OVER REPORT ON CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE**

Roman Catholic bishops have joined the protest over the Le Grange Commission's attack on the Christian Institute.

The Board of Bishops, which has been meeting in Pretoria, warned that the commission's report could sound the death





knell of détente, and that without radical change no détente was possible — “only violence.”

The bishops said through a spokesman that on the basis of Press reports they shared the fears of the leading Dutch churchman, Professor Jan Verkuyl, who warned earlier that the report would endanger détente.

“Dr Naudé and the Christian Institute stand for a South Africa of radical change from the apartheid-separate development image,” the bishops said.

They were striving to save the country from violence.

In London, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Michael Ramsey, yesterday warned the South African Government that allegations made against Dr. Beyers Naudé, without open and public trial, were creating a “shocking impression..”

Lord Ramsey said: “Dr. Naudé has my deep respect and affection as a Christian of integrity, devoted to non-violent progress in South Africa.”

Strong reaction to the report came from the Evangelical Lutheran Churches, who said the money donated to the Christian Institute was given with “no strings attached,” by the World Council of Churches and the British Council of Churches.

The Rev. Christiaan Krause, senior executive of the United Evangelical Lutheran Churches, said from Hanover, Germany he was quite prepared to divulge full details of the money donated to the Institute.

A spokesman for the National Council of Churches in the United States said the report “seems to be setting the stage for repressive action by Mr. Vorster. It amazes us that the voice of Christian conscience speaking out against apartheid should be considered a threat to the security of the State.”

In Cape Town, Dr. J.D. Vorster, former moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, said he fully agreed with the commission’s findings.

He added that Dr. Naudé “has no following whatever among members of our church,” and that the commission’s findings bore out the conclusions arrived at by the general synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk when in 1966, at Bloemfontein, it decided to reject the institute.

— *Rand Daily Mail*, 30.5.75.

## UP MEN SLAM CRITICS OVER CI REPORT

CAPE TOWN — The United Party’s members of the Le Grange Commission reacted yesterday to sharp criticism by the smaller opposition parties of their role in the Christian Institute report.

Both the Progressive and the Reform Parties have accused the UP of failing on the rule of law by not insisting that any suspected offences should have been dealt with by the courts.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, said that the UP had given the government “another blank cheque” to take arbitrary action against the Christian Institute.

Yesterday the UP members of the commission, Mr Lionel Murray and Mr Bill Sutton, claimed in a joint statement that their attitude had remained consistent throughout the inquiry and had been to oppose any executive action at the discretion of the Minister.

They said, too, that to read only the CI report in isolation of the commission’s other reports, could lead to incorrect conclusions.

“In the final report on Nusas, the UP commissioners clearly stated their opposition to executive action restricting the movement and activities of individuals at the discretion of the Minister.

“That attitude has relevance to all the reports of the commission and remains consistent throughout,” they said.

Mr Murray and Mr Sutton added that the report on the activities of the CI “reflects in our opinion the evidence made available to the commission.”

Commenting later, Mrs Suzman said the two UP commissioners had conveniently forgotten that by the time the UP came to light with the “devious” minority report they referred to eight student leaders had been “living the twilight lives of banned persons for nearly two years as a direct result of the ‘urgent action’ recommended by themselves and their fellow members on the Schlebusch Commission.”

### Unanimous

The report on the Christian Institute, she said, was also unani-

mous and nowhere did it refer to the UP's objections to executive action.

"It simply states that certain activities of the CI constitute a danger to the State, considers that 'certain statutory provisions may apply' to the institute, and recommends that 'the proper authorities give the necessary attention to the institute'.

"Quite clearly this constitutes an open invitation to the Government to use all the ferocious powers of executive action it has under statutes like the Affected Organisations Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act.

"What a defender of the rule of law the United Party turned out to be," Mrs Suzman added.

— *Rand Daily Mail*, 30.5.75

### WRK NIE OOR CI VERBAAS

LONDEN — Dr. Philip Potter, sekretaris-generaal van die Wêreldraad van Kerke (WRK) het gister uit Geneve aan Die Transvaler gesê dat hy geensins verbaas is dat die Christelike Instituut (CI) al hoe meer deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering „geteister” word nie.

Hy verwag dat die Regering die CI sal aanhou „teister” tot so 'n mate dat dit later nie meer sal mag funksioneer nie.

„Die CI is in 1963 in die lewe geroep as 'n klein liggaam wat bestaan uit 'n paar baie besorgde Christene van alle rasse en kerkverbande met die doel om vir rassegeregtigheid te werk in 'n gemeenskap wat verknoel (bedevilled) word deur apartheid.

In die afgelope paar jaar het die CI hard geworstel om die gewetens van Suid-Afrikaners gevoelig te maak in hul stryd om betekenisvolle en 'n vreedsame verandering te bring in die midde van groeiende onderdrukking en geweld deur die apartheidsbewind van Pretoria.

„Die huidige stap om die Christelike Instituut verder te teister is 'n duidelike aanduiding van die feit dat die sogenaamde détente met onafhanklike Afrika hand aan hand gaan met groeiende onderdrukking van alle organisasies (forces) in Suid-Afrika wat vrede en geregtigheid in die land wil laat geskied.

„Ek is seker dat baie kerke oor die hele wêreld en Christene hul eensgesindheid met die Christelike Instituut van dr. Beyers Naudé sal te kenne gee en alles in hul mag doen om te verseker dat die instituut mag voortgaan met hul universele (ecumenical) taak,” het dr. Potter gesê.

— *Die Transvaler*, 30.5.75

### WILL THE UP NEVER LEARN?

The Le Grange Report on the Christian Institute, as we have already noted, raises many more questions than it answers. One question in particular defies any rational answer. How on earth could the commission's two United Party members put their names to such a report?

Mr Lionel Murray and Mr Bill Sutton explain that their party's stand on strong-arm Government action against bodies

like NUSAS and the CI is well known, and has remained consistent throughout all the Schlebusch-Le Grange reports. Well, to us it doesn't seem all that consistent: more of a late flowering after the indignation and internal UP ructions following the NUSAS bannings. But let that pass; in any case it would have done no harm, and perhaps a deal of good, for the UP men to have restated their position in this latest report. They could easily have added a minority recommendation urging that if action is taken against the CI or its leaders, it should be judicial action only. And as strongly as the UP members evidently felt that the CI is a danger to the State, so much stronger the case for producing proper evidence in a proper court of law. By its default the UP has again left the way clear for arbitrary punitive action, again done itself no credit.

Well, so much for the last report. A similar test of conscience still faces the UP when it comes to taking part in Mr Vorster's proposed internal security commission. Details of this body's exact functioning are still awaited, but the UP's choice ought to be quite clear.

If it is going to be a bona fide watchdog to review administrative actions and yet proposed new security laws, well and good. But if it turns out to be just a kind of permanent Le Grange Commission—politicians sitting as a court of law, considering the gravest kind of allegations—then no party professing a belief in the proper role of the judiciary ought to associate itself with it.

— *The Star*, 30.5.75.

### „KERKRAAD KAN NAUDÉ TUG”

KAAPSTAD — Die NG Kerkraad van Parkhurst-Johannesburg kan nou op kerklike vlak teen mnr. Beyers Naudé, die direkteur van die Christelike Instituut (CI) optree, het dr. Koot Vorster, Assessor van die Algemene Sinode van die NG Kerk, gister hier op navraag bevestig.

Dr. Vorster sê hoewel mnr. Naudé sy status as NG-leraar deur eie toedoen verloor het, beskou hy homself glo nog as lidmaat van die NG Kerk in Parkhurst waar hy woon.

Hy sê die Sinode van die NG Kerk het die CI in 1966 heeltemal afgekeur. Die Staat het pas die CI as 'n Staatsgevaarlike organisasie met politieke doelstellinge gebrandmerk.

'n Kommissie van ondersoek na die CI het bevind dat die organisasie die breinkind van mnr. Naudé is en dat hy die CI gestig het as gevolg van sy persoonlike gewete ten opsigte van Christelikheid.

Dr. Vorster sê dat dit vir hom as kerkleier lankal 'n uitgemaakte saak was dat die CI 'n politieke organisasie is.

Hy endosseer nou weer die hele bevinding van die Kommissie van Ondersoek na die CI.

• Dr. J.H.P. van Rooyen, predikant van Parkhurst, het gisteraand gesê dat hy die verslag aangevra het en eers nadat hy en sy kerkraad dit deeglik bestudeer het sal daar besluit word of daar opgetree word teen mnr. Beyers Naudé, „'n getroue lidmaat van sy kerk”.

Hy wys daarop dat dit onbillik sal wees as Parkhurst sou optree teen mnr. Naudé en die NG gemeente Randburg-Suid tree ook nie op teen mnr. Roelf Meyer, redakteur van Pro Veritate nie.

— *Die Transvaler*, 30.5.75

Die Christelike Instituut het die verslag van die Le Grange-kommissie verwerp as 'n „sameflansing van openlike leuens, halwe waarhede en feite wat uit verband geruk is”. Die CI is gewillig om enige aantyging in 'n openbare hof die hoof te bied, volgens 'n persverklaring deur die Instituut.

Die rol van die anonieme teoloë, wat hulself daartoe geleen het om vir die kommissie se „valse politieke vertolkings van relevante teologie gebruik te word,” word sterk betreur.

Volgens die persverklaring sal 'n toewydingsdiens aan Christus en die werk van die CI, wat in Sy naam gedoen word, Sondag gehou word op 'n plek wat nog bekend gemaak sal word.

Volgens mnr. Roelf Meyer, redakteur van Pro Veritate, kan die CI alleen 'n gevaar vir die staat inhou, in soverre die evangelie van Christus 'n gevaar vir die ongeregthede in die samelewing is.

In antwoord op die bewering dat die CI 'n politieke organisasie is, het mnr. Meyer na bladsy 19 van Pro Veritate van Mei 1975 verwys. Wat die uiterlike orde betref, verskil die taak van die kerk en staat daarin dat die regering die uiterlike politieke orde moet vasstel, maar die Christene (kerk) moet, volgens Calvyn, die norme volgens die evangelie vir die politieke orde vasstel.

— *Beeld*, 30.5.75

The director of the Christian Institute, Dr Beyers Naudé, said today its activities would be severely curtailed now that it was deprived of income from abroad.

He said about three-quarters of its budget was financed by individual churches overseas, apart from separate projects.

“But I believe local support will enable us to continue, though on a much more limited scale,” he said.

“We can function effectively on a budget of R200 000 a year. Even if this is cut by half we shall be able to continue with the major part of our work.”

#### WCC denial

Dr Naudé said the Government's declaration of the Institute as an “affected” organisation constituted an attack on the body of Christ.

In Geneva, the World Council of Churches has emphatically denied that it has ever given money to the Institute.

The only gift was in the mid-1960s when funds were sent for the defence of Dr Beyers Naudé.

A WCC official said: “It goes without saying that we cannot accept a charge that we support “violent action” against the South African Government.”

— *The Star*, 30.5.75.

## DIALOGUE OVER ‘HAMMANSKRAAL’ AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION — FINAL PART

*The first part of this dialogue between Rev. Douglas Bax and one of his friends appeared in the April issue of Pro Veritate. After the anonymous friend had written to Rev. Bax about the Hammanskraal resolution he replied to it. His friend again replied to Mr. Bax's argument and the final letter was written by Rev. Bax. This month we publish the two final letters.*

### WAS THE RESOLUTION NOT AIMED AT WHITES?

Dear Douglas,

I admit that my letter to you was somewhat fierce! I am so deeply concerned to try to move the minds of white Christians that when I think an attempt has misfired I am upset. That was the case with the resolution which I

criticized. It seemed to me to misfire. The fact that it was applauded by many Blacks is, strangely, not really important, because it is not their minds that we are trying to change.

1. “Justice”. I still find this difficult. Obviously you could not include a long definition. But there was need of something. Or it might have been better not to use that word.

2. “Justum bellum”. The traditional list of rules for a just war are not theological, even if the motive for proposing them was theological. It is quite possible to maintain, for example, that defence of an ordered society is a “causa justa”, even though the society itself is riddled with injustice. The key seems to be that the anticipated consequence of fighting (and winning) the war will be better than that of not fighting it, and this is precisely what those who so fervently fight for the present South Africa maintain. I don't think you have made



your case for "selective conscientious objection" until you have tackled that particular question.

To maintain that the Whites have initiated the war is not directly true, and if it is indirectly true (as I agree) then to be convincing you must put your statement in a form which shows this. Not to have done so was probably the fundamental weakness of the wording.

3. "fundamentally unjust, etc." I find it difficult to give a meaning to the word "fundamentally" in this context. All societal injustice and discrimination must be structurally part of the social system, and in that sense fundamental. The English social structure was structurally unjust throughout the past several centuries, and therefore, presumably, "fundamentally" so. I do not see how a society can be anything in any major respect without being fundamentally that thing. Our society has a peculiar form of injustice, in that it is imposed by parliament through legal enactments on the basis of the Population Registration Act, and I wish this had been stressed.

4. "force" and "violence". I admit my over-simplification—I was aware of it even when I wrote—and I have always felt that Calvin (among others) relied too optimistically on governmentally-approved agencies. But I strongly maintain that the word "violence" should be avoided as much as possible, except in clearly defined and special contexts. I was concerned to pass on to you the feeling of many who read the resolution, in this instance. One must recognise that the maintenance of order is itself a legitimate function of all governments, and is essential. Of course I don't think that that which is experienced by Blacks in this country only "seems" to be violence; I was making a linguistic point. What they experience is a violation of their humanity, and I should think that forceful violation is equivalent to "violence".

Without any further detailed comments, I will just say that my real regret is that, in my opinion, the resolution has not done what you wanted it to do. It has provoked discussion, but not on the right themes. Very few people, certainly very few white people, look upon the border incidents as part of the struggle of the Blacks in South Africa. Government propaganda has been almost completely successful in preventing that judgment of the situation. That was why I emphasised that any resolutions which are to be publicized must be so framed that the readers "hear" what you want them to hear. For instance, I think the reference to the suffering of Afrikaners was gratuitous and unnecessary. It would have to be supported by a detailed analysis if it were to be listened to seriously instead of being reacted to emotionally, and obviously you could not include such an analysis. Therefore it should have been omitted.

It seems to me that we have got to make people think. That means keeping them cool (mentally, not at heart!). We have got to make them react with a "Yes ... yes ... wow!" In doing so we are following the excellent example of not only the prophet Amos but also our Lord himself. We are aiming at people who are all

poised to reject what we want to say. It dooms us to failure if we stimulate rejection by our choice of words.

I have assumed throughout that you were hoping to be heard by the White Christians. I know what the Blacks think—but we are not aiming at them. When I said that this was the worst resolution the SACC had promulgated, I had in mind its effect, and specifically its effect on the Whites, not its intention. After all, intentions achieve no ends. That is too often overlooked. I think it was Aldous Huxley in "Means and Ends" who pointed out that the means employed determine the ends achieved, and that these may be quite other than the ends we would have wished to achieve.

I have never studied sociology or politics, and I should very much like to know what would constitute a "just society". One feels that the phrase must have a describable meaning. "To each man his due" does not help, because one then has to decide the weight of the factors determining his "due"; e.g. his contribution to the well-being of the society, his physical, mental and emotional needs, penalties for misdemeanours, and so on. In particular the tension between individual freedom and enforced equity is, to me, insoluble. *Quis custodiet custodiet?* The ancient English idea that each man has certain "natural rights", and that the courts of law exist primarily to see that he gets them, is workable only in a culturally uniform and structurally stable society. It is an idea deeply ingrained into my being, but other people have forced me to recognise that it is not applicable in modern complex societies. I don't think Christian propagandists have really thought deeply enough about this problem. Of course our society is appallingly unjust, especially to Blacks, but what would be just? The young African states are not notably just. It seems to me that we can only fasten on manifestly remediable injustices and tackle the situation piecemeal, believing that to put right what we are sure is wrong will, under God, lead towards the real goal even though we cannot define that goal at this stage.

*As ever,*  
—Anon.

## A PROPHETIC WITNESS AGAINST EXPLOITING THE WEALTHY CLASSES

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter. I shall try to deal with the points you made.

You were upset because you felt that the Hammanskraal Resolution had misfired as an attempt to move the minds of White Christians. Your reason seems to be that, as you say later in your letter, it provoked people into an emotional response so that they did not "keep their cool" and *think* about the issues it raised.

I agree with you that tactics are an important consideration in the wording of such statements. But there

does come a time (and we felt it to be such a time) when repeated tactful statements have shown themselves to be futile and when the situation has become so urgent that it demands the kind of straight talking that will inevitably provoke many people.

After all, do you really suppose that we can begin to move any class of people who have a privileged and comfortable place in society at the expense of others to think in radical biblical terms about the defence of that society without upsetting them deeply? When the very structure of the society deprives the Blacks of wealth and well-being and siphons them off into the pockets of the Whites, can you expect any large group of Whites (whether or not they call themselves Christians) to be other than angry when the defensibility of that structure is called in question? Is that not being extremely ingenuous?

Furthermore, is it not being quite unbiblical? Did the prophets of the Old Testament not inevitably provoke the anger of the wealthy classes in Israel when they condemned their oppression of the poor? Did Amos, whom you quote as an example, really elicit a "cool" reaction? Or was the reaction to him not "Kick him out of the country!" (Amos 7:12f.)? (Shades of all the clergy who have been deported from South Africa for being too critical of our society!) And did Jesus not show us finally that the well-off, including the most religious among them, are quick to shout for the blood of the men who calls into question the status quo while it provides them (as they think) with their financial and political security (John 11:48)?

#### **Unreserved worship of Caesar?**

It is true, and perhaps on the basis of these examples sociologically inevitable, that individual Christian ministers and congregations reacted very negatively, and some even hysterically, to the Hammanskraal Resolution. But not all the negative reactions were emotional: some, such as that of the Anglican bishop of the Transkei, were reasoned responses which showed that these men did think over and "consider" the issues as the Resolution had invited Christians to do.

Moreover, even as regards the most hysterical reactions and the most Machiavellian theological responses, was it not best that these should be brought out into the light of day by the Resolution so that those who expressed them were made more conscious of where their own deepest loyalties actually lay? Or, even if they themselves remained obdurately unconscious, so that other Christians should be moved to think again by their example?

To take one instance, a congregation in Klerksdorp which claims to be Presbyterian went so far as to protest vehemently that it was wrong "to involve the Church in contentious and political issues". (Can you hear John Calvin turning in his grave at such a denial of the universal sovereignty of the Word of God?) Then, with a really frantic beat of the patriotic drum, it went on to declare: "It is the God-given duty of every South African to be

willing to fight to the death!" Now surely even if the authors of such a statement remain eternally blind, other Christians saw not only the heavy, unconscious irony of a statement which makes a vehement protest against something which it then goes on immediately to do but, much worse, the profound denial of Christ involved in such unreserved worship of Caesar which excludes the Church from asking any questions on the basis of the gospel whenever Caesar bids Christians fight, die and kill on his behalf.

Surely then these other Christians were made by the very emotion of such responses to reconsider where their own deepest loyalties lay and to think out anew their own positions between the Hammanskraal Resolution and such Klerksdorpian theology.

I would argue that by the very furore it aroused the Hammanskraal Resolution in the end made far more people aware of, and think about, the issues it raised than it would have otherwise. If it had gone so far out of its way as to ignore all possible provocation it would have been ignored, like 95% of other Church statements are, by the rank and file of Christians and the general public. That would have accomplished nothing.

What is also important is that we do not exaggerate the amount of negative reaction there was from the Church. It is true that a rash of individual ministers and one or two congregations almost immediately and without much thought issued a spate of negative reactions which received a great deal of publicity. But these were not the important reactions from the Church. Much more important were the later reactions of the regional and national councils, synods and assemblies of the member Churches of the SACC; and these were, quite surprisingly in fact, generally sympathetic and positive toward the Resolution. Indeed the only significant negative reactions on a regional and national level came from four officials of the Presbyterian Church who purported to be speaking on behalf of their denomination, the Executive Council of the small, all-White Baptist Union and the Algemene Sinode of the White N.G. Kerk. However, the four officials of the Presbyterian Church acted quite unconstitutionally and their statement was later rejected by the Executive Commission of their Church, and none of the other three Churches are members of the SACC. It was admitted that the Executive Council of the Lutherans had not even read the full Resolution before making their statement. The Baptist Church has a doubtful Church-State theology and among the "English-speaking" Churches always makes the most reactionary noises. And the national pronouncements of the N.G. Kerk always tend to reflect the Nationalist Party (indeed sometimes the *Herstigste Nasionale Party!*) at prayer. Little else could have been expected from the Baptists and the N.G. Kerk in any case. But that does not mean that some individual dominees like Dr Hennie Pretorius and other members were not more open to what the Resolution said.

Against these negative reactions must be weighed the very positive noises that issued from the Anglican Arch-



bishop, the Council of the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, Archbishop Hurley, the United Congregational Church's General Assembly, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Transvaal, the Anglican Provincial Standing Committee, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA, the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa and the Tsonga Presbyterian Church. Nearly all of these in fact backed the Resolution fully, and some even stated that it did not go far enough!

### Only noises against status quo?

These positive reactions involved both Blacks and Whites. Yet while I understand your feeling that it is only White reaction that is important because it is their minds that need to be changed, I do not really agree with you. I think this fails to take into account the extent of the massive disillusionment with the Church that exists among the educated Black population of our country precisely because the Church makes so much noise about opposing the status quo while at the same time in practice allowing its sons to be used by the State for the enforcement of that status quo.

Now to deal with your numbered points:

1. I disagree. Everyone has a good rough idea of what the word "justice" means!

2. I do not understand what you mean when you say that a list of rules is "not theological" if you grant that their motive is theological. It is the motive that makes them theological! If you had said that they were in your opinion bad theology I would have understood what you meant but I would have disagreed that this is true, especially in relation to Calvin and Barth but also in relation to the medieval theologians generally.

It is certainly possible to maintain that the defence of an unjustly ordered society is a "just cause" against an attack from foreigners who are merely concerned to conquer territory for themselves and not to re-order the society more justly. But in our case the attackers themselves are (Black) Rhodesians and South Africans. Of course one may still argue that revolutions which aim at the ideal of a more just society have in the event often affected merely the replacement of one set of oppressive rulers by another, without alleviating the actual injustice under which the bulk of the populations suffers. On that basis one can then further argue the probabilities in a specific instance. However, this would be an argument against joining in that particular revolution and *not* an argument against the Hammanskraal Resolution, because the Resolution was *not* an argument that Christians should fight on the side of the revolutionaries.

It is true that the N.G. Kerk Professor, J.A. Heyns, did interpret the Resolution in this way, in order to provide the Minister of Defence with some theological ammunition in the debate on the Defence Amendment Bill in Parliament; but the ammunition was blank. It involved a very elementary theological error in failing to distinguish between "the theology of revolution" and a Resolution that "deplores violence as a means to solve

problems" and calls on Christians to consider *withdrawing* their military support from the side which is guilty of initiating the conflict in order to help promote "radical and peaceful change". Such an error could not have been made without a good dose of prejudice and Nationalist ideology in the tinting of Prof. Heyns's theological spectacles!

You will grant that a Christian must have very realistic reasons for believing that a specific revolution will in the long run actually alleviate more suffering than it will cause, (and that it is the only way to change the status quo), before giving it his support. Does it not therefore equally stand to reason that a Christian must be confident for as realistic reasons that the continuance of the status quo will cause less suffering than the state of affairs after a revolution would before agreeing to die, and worse to kill, in defence of the status quo? But if the latter is a very doubtful proposition, as it surely is in our case, was the Resolution not right to call on Christians at least to "consider" the matter?

3. Frankly, I think you are playing with words here. The Resolution did not say that injustice was built fundamentally into our social system (although that is true as well) but that our social system is "fundamentally unjust and discriminatory"; and "fundamentally" here clearly means "to a fundamental degree". No economist, sociologist or political scientist would deny that while an element of injustice can be found in every society some societies are fundamentally unjust in the degree of discrimination they practice while others are much less unjust. In our country it is both that the injustice is of an extreme degree and that the majority of the population suffer from it. As you yourself later concede, "our society is appallingly unjust."

4. As you admit that your point was merely a linguistic one and an oversimplification we are basically in agreement here. Though we did touch on the matter in the third sentence of the Resolution, I agree with you that a clearer distinction between the force legitimately used by the State in its rule and the violence of unjust rule could have been made.

Finally, I also agree that what you call "the reference to the suffering of the Afrikaners" was bound to cause an emotional response, though I do not think that it was for that reason gratuitous. Perhaps we should have attached a reference to something like Dot Cleminshaw's statistical analysis showing that the rations in Dimbaza are measurably worse than those given to the families of the Boers in the British concentration camps! But would this really have evoked a less emotional response?

We also did try to make clear by the reference in the Resolution to the violence of English imperialism that we were by no means pointing fingers at the Afrikaners only, and that all of us share in a common guilt.

Yours sincerely,  
Douglas



# SUBJECT TO AUTHORITIES

ulrich duchrow

*Dr Duchrow who is the Director of the Department of Studies of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva, recently gave the following lecture (here abbreviated) to a public meeting organised by the Christian Academy and FELCSA (Federation of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa) and held in Diakonia House.*

*The topic and contents constitute one of the most important arguments for both church and state in the situation which exists in South Africa at the present moment, as the idea is widely held that the Church*

*should refrain from "meddling in the politics of the state", both having their separate realms in which to work. Those who hold this wrong and thoroughly misleading idea usually rely on the Epistle to the Romans (chap. 13) and the writings of Luther (the doctrine of the two kingdoms) for support. Here Dr Duchrow shows what Romans 13 really said and what Luther really proclaimed.*

*If the Church accepts these facts and implements them seriously, it might bring about a metanoia in South Africa.*

## PART I THE REAL AUTHORITIES

That the "Devil can cite scripture for his purpose" appears from the Gospel according to St. Matthew (Chapter 4) when "Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted," (as every Christian down the ages has been tempted in his daily Christian life). While it would be an anachronism to suggest that the Epistle to the Romans was so used (since the famous letter had not at that time yet been written) it is nevertheless interesting to consider what a rich field of biblical texts it would have provided for the particular type of insidious argument Satan used, his method being to quote out of context thereby attaining "his purpose" of misleading his hearers by distorting the words so plausibly as to deprive them of their original meaning.

Let us in beginning this exegesis of Romans (Chapter 13) examine the famous Pauline letter in the broad context of the dominant biblical themes: "God is Love" and "Salvation through Christ" and since this single chapter cannot be isolated, but must be considered in relation to the whole letter, let us briefly summarize the chapters which precede it omitting Chapters 4 and 9-11 which are concerned with the promise made to Abraham, with Israel and Christianity.

After the greetings and salutations of Chapter 1, Paul points out that those who sin while condemning it in others cannot excuse themselves. There is salvation neither in Judaism nor paganism *per se*. There will be sorrow and suffering for the one who sins; there will be glory and honour and peace for the one who obeys God, be he Jew or Gentile. For God treats all alike. He is no respecter of persons. Not the hearers of the law but the doers of the law shall be justified—(a text which sounds strange to Lutheran ears). The "new mankind" in Christ is the theme of Chapter 5 followed by the pronounce-

ment of the doctrine of justification by faith, not by works but purely by grace, a gift of God. Through obedience we are freed from the bonds of sin and are able to surrender our physical bodies as instruments of righteousness. We become instead the slaves of righteousness and have our reward in sanctification leading to eternal life.

Chapters 7 and 8 have important bearing on the later chapters 12 and 13 and reflect an historical dialogue with the Hellenistic Jews. Paul crosses swords with those who say that we can achieve justice either by reason alone or by reason supported by the law of the Old Testament. In the ordinary sinful man the mind which is the instrument of knowing good and the will which is the instrument of striving towards that good "is at war with his lower nature bringing him into captivity to the dominion of sin which is in his members. Oh wretched man that I am who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" It is not lack of knowing (ignorance), it is not lack of will (irresolution) which characterizes the normal human mind, it is an inability to put that knowing and that will into effect, of implementing them unto the manifestation of good. Who then shall deliver him?—the work of the Holy Spirit in man, in those who live by faith according to the Spirit setting aside the bondage of the flesh, secures him release from the shackles of sin and gives him life and peace, and the power to implement the good—at least initially.

### Blind obedience to government?

Liberation through the spirit of Jesus Christ for the implementation of the good is substantiated by concrete example in chapters 12 and 13. I quote the first two verses of Chapter 12. "I appeal to you therefore, breth-

ren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship (the writer prefers the original rendering "rational worship".) Do not be conformed to this world, but transformed by the renewal of your mind that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable and perfect." (Romans 12:1-2).

The generally accepted interpretation of Chapter 13 is that blind obedience to those who are in power is demanded of the Christian. But a careful reading of the two verses I have quoted seems to present a diametrically opposed interpretation, viz. that the non-conformist mind of Christians liberated for the purpose of implementing the good; the mind renewed and ready to serve God, not in the old way mechanically obeying a set of rules, but in the new way in newness of spirit; this new mind has the task of proving, of testing, of being critical, of evaluating each concrete case, to ascertain what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable and perfect. We find too that this motif of the introductory verses runs like a scarlet thread through the text of the chapters which follow.

"Be not conformed to this world but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind," as the Authorized Version has it. Reading Chapter 13 in the light of some little knowledge of the Greek language and the Roman historical background, you will find no inconsistency. Skipping verses 1 and 2 for a moment and picking up the thread again in verses 3, 4 and 5 which provide the link with the verses previously quoted from Chapter 12, we find the following: "For rulers are not a terror to good conduct but to bad. Would you have no fear of him who is in authority, then do what is good and you will receive his approval, for he is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain; he is the servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer."

This is a clear reference to the scarlet thread which permeates the whole letter to The Romans. Later on we shall discover what these authorities are but for the present let us note that Paul comes to the conclusion that there are some institutions which support the good and punish the bad, and this is exactly in line with what he said before, that God judges according to good and bad, and the renewed mind, the liberated mind of the Christian is asked to find out, to evaluate, to prove what is good and acceptable and perfect. He writes these verses on the basis that he has found something which promotes the good but resists and punishes the bad.

Verse 5 of Chapter 13 provides the second link to the introductory verses of Romans 12; it reads: "Therefore one must be subject, not only to avoid God's wrath (The Greek text reads: "not only because of fear of punishment"), but also for the sake of conscience. The word "conscience" in Greek is more or less a synonym for the word "mind". In chapter 7 we read of the renewal of the mind, of the intellect, (Greek, "nous"), previously in bondage and captive to sin. Now verse 5 of Chapter 13 says that you as Christians, with your minds renewed

through the mercy of God, through the Spirit of God active in you, you know why you are doing good. You know that you must obey the law (do good) for two reasons: to keep from being punished and further not merely observing the law because of fear (which is the common motive) but because you know that you should. Again there is a clear link with the introductory verses of Chapter 12, namely that because of the mind renewed in Christ Jesus, knowing what is good after critical evaluation, the Christian is asked to do this good and also to support the institution which is doing or promoting the good.

#### **Who are the governing authorities?**

Coming now to the subject of "institutions", the first verses of Romans 13 make what appears to be a very general statement: "Every person be subject to the governing authorities." In the Greek version the word "exousiai" is used, meaning "governing authorities". Exegetical analysis has shown that the use of this word is comparable specifically with "officials of the public service" rather than with the English word "authority" in the singular or the German "Obrigkeit", i.e. "government" in general, a view which is supported by reference to Paul's next "concrete example"—the "public finances". Paul is speaking here of very specific things in terms of Roman Law. Roman Law is divided into two parts: (1) public law, and (2) private law; public law again being sub-divided into (i) the institutions of public justice, and (ii) taxes and finances for public welfare. You know, of course, that Roman Law did not come to an end with the Roman Empire, but has been re-instituted time and again, and this legal code was certainly known to writers of the Middle Ages in general, and to Luther in particular who made reference to it in this same context.

So then, Paul here refers to the Roman Public Law, an important point in that if you apply the text of Romans 12 and 13 to situations occurring at a later stage, the exhortation must be put in this form: "The Christian liberated towards implementing the good has one specific duty—to evaluate critically what is good and what is bad in public institutions and to act accordingly in relation to and to support that which is promoting good, i.e. the public good, and on the other hand to eschew what is hindering or hampering the public good, firstly in terms of justice and secondly in terms of public welfare and finances.

The list of concrete examples would necessarily have to be amplified in modern times because now we have a public education system, a public health system, and a public transport system. The economy is very much a matter of public control and so on—these are merely examples.

Reverting again to Paul I would anticipate an objection that is often raised. One is asked to bear in mind the nature of the public institutions in the days of the Roman Empire. It was the time of the mad Emperors



who persecuted the Christians and one might draw a parallel with our modern dictators. It was to this kind of authority that Paul adjured the people to subject themselves. Here I would remind you that Paul was proud of his Roman citizenship. He was not prepared to be pushed from pillar to post, but knowing his rights and privileges in terms of the regulations under the Roman system, he made his famous demand: "I appeal to Caesar".

From what we know of Paul and of Roman Law it is clear that this argument that Paul urged us to subject ourselves to irresponsible dictators is not valid and to lend force to my line of reasoning, I give you one further example. There is a letter extant from the time of the persecution of the Christians in which Pliny, a provincial governor, writes to the Emperor saying that he is perturbed by the receipt of anonymous accusations against a sect called Christians, and that as a Roman governor he is in honour bound under the Roman Law not to act on anonymous accusations but must abide by the clear rule of law.

Paul draws a conclusion from Romans 1-7 which all too often is overlooked in traditional interpretations of this Letter. This conclusion I would emphasize. It reads: "Owe no man anything, except to love one another; for he that loveth his neighbour has fulfilled the law." In other words love is the implementation of what the Spirit enables us to do; it is at the same time the fulfilment of the law. It is essential that the whole passage be seen firstly in the critical aspect of our task of proving, evaluating and testing what is good and acceptable, and secondly as a kind of constructive approach to our endeavour to love our neighbour.

One other aspect of Christian action in the public field must also be emphasized. Paul does not say that individual Christians must go it alone or hold aloof in the field of public welfare and public interest. He does say they must find out what other individuals and bodies are doing to support those secular organizations and institutions which are striving for the public good, justice and welfare.

### **The confusion about the "two kingdoms"**

I turn again from Paul to Luther although a very long period of time separated them and many important events had occurred in the interim. As far as I understand him Luther is in full concurrence with what I have said here in regard to Paul. He had had the benefit of the whole historical sequence of events to substantiate his appraisal and all the opportunities which the momentous period of history offered to the Christian community of discovering what might be the will of God in relation to the many public and social institutions. The most wanted way in which to speak of Luther is in terms of his teaching of the "two kingdoms" or the "two realms" whatever the phrase may be. This, as you know, is a confused field of research. I shall handle the subject as briefly as I can.

Two different aspects of this teaching which are usually jumbled together should in fact be distinguished and treated separately.

One is a contradictory dualism in the doctrine of the two kingdoms by which whilst God wants to establish His Kingdom of justice, peace and love fulfilled, there is a kingdom of evil which involves the Kingdom of God in conflict. The other aspect often described as the kingdom of the "two regiments" postulates that God in opposing the powers of evil, has various ways of working towards the establishment of His Kingdom. The former might be described as antithetic dualism, the latter as a complementary multi-dimensional aspect of God's actions.

Luther on several occasions referred to more than two ways in which God can counteract evil and promote salvation and the Kingdom of God. In the first way what is involved is that God can act against evil powers and establish good by tackling the roots of evil in mankind itself, the spirit of God Himself striving against the evil spirit in human beings. It is the Spirit of God Himself that Luther calls the "Spiritual Regiment". ("Regiment" is here used in its archaic sense of "rule": "government"; "power"). *IT IS NOT THAT THE CHURCH IS CALLED THE SPIRITUAL KINGDOM IN CONTRADISTINCTION TO THE STATE AS THE WORLDLY KINGDOM.* This differentiation cannot be attributed to Luther; it was a product of the Middle Ages which had, so to speak, divided the world into two powers, clerical (church, priests) and temporal (kings, princes, nobility). *Luther opposed this mediaeval concept because he believed that only the Spirit of God Himself, the Holy Spirit of God, could overcome the roots of evil.*

According to Luther the second way in which God can overcome the evil powers is by using human beings as his instrument—not only the government, but also the church as a secular institution, all co-operate in this work of God—the church and the government, and social, economic and family institutions, all linked together into what is called the "worldly Regiment" of God in contradistinction to the Spirit of God Himself fighting against the evil in human beings. These two methods which God employs to fight the evil powers are referred to as "the two kingdoms".

The Church is thus in very concrete terms involved in public life, in social, economic and professional spheres, and in secular life in general—to illustrate which I quote from the writings of Luther. Firstly a passage from the sermon: "That you should provide Schooling for Children". He explains to parents the benefits of schooling and points out what good work an educated child can do later on if he enters one of the professions, particularly the ministry. So qualified the child (now adult) can in co-operation with God's spirit do his part in struggling against the roots of evil, death and the devil. He continues further with regard to a second field of Church responsibility: "Moreover he does also great and power-



ful works with regard to the world, viz. he teaches all social and public institutions and professions, how they should behave in their offices and institutions in order that they act in justice before God." He then enumerates examples of other offices in which human beings work and in conclusion says: "To say the truth, temporal peace which is the highest good on earth in which all the other temporal goods are also included, is as a matter of fact, the fruit of the correctly administered preaching office of the Church and where this goes there is no violence, war or injustice."

You may not know that Luther was, as far as I am aware, one of the first critics of "multi-national corporations". He wrote a book entitled "Vom Wucher" (about usury) deprecating the "Fuggers", a German merchant family, founders of the first multi-national bank, which showed monopolistic tendencies: they set out virtually to buy the whole kingdom. He called upon the authorities to take over private financial monopolies since the government, he said, was responsible for ensuring that money be used for the benefit of the common man. It was the duty of the government to see to it that no private interests such as this "bank aristocracy" were capable of harming the common people since, according to early social and political theory, public institutions were responsible for the common weal. To quote once more: "Although I am too humble to give advice to the Pope or to rulers of the world in such a case, and although I know that they might not listen in any case, still it has to be made known what is good and necessary, and what it is the duty of the government to think and to do, namely what is best for the common people (des gemeinen Volkes) for whom as the government they are responsible ..."

Let me give you one other short passage from a writing on the subject of the "Just War". It asserts that in a righteous cause people may use violence; if the cause is unjust they may—equally—object to participation on conscientious grounds. So Luther advocates, not pacifism, but eclectic conscientious objection. Again like Paul, he urges an honest evaluation of each specific case.

He writes in this book on a matter of great importance with regard to understanding government and the type of preaching office of the Church in respect of public institutions. He writes further: "Where a noble or prince does not take care of his office or mandate, but thinks that he is prince, not because of his people, but because of his nice blonde hair and blue eyes, as if God had made him a prince in order to enjoy his power and through it build up good for himself and gain honours, this kind of prince of public authority belongs to the pagans, and what is more, he is a fool. For this type of office-bearer may well start a war, (that is, use violence,) ... and just live according to his own arbitrary decisions." Against this type of office-bearer "God acts in that other people also have fists; there are people on the other side of the mountain also, and in this way one sword can prevent the other from getting the upper hand. A reasonable prince does not look for the advantage to himself."

These examples, constituting a very rough summary of the vast practice and teaching of Luther himself, should nevertheless suffice but I would like to conclude this little exposition of Luther by once again drawing attention to the parallel between Luther and Paul. The main point is that, although this is denied by modern German theologians, *the Christians—not only the individual Christian, but the Church as a whole, and particularly those who hold the office of preaching,—is in terms of critical evaluation and in terms of constructive encouragement and support, concerned with the question of public justice, public economic justice, public justice in law, public welfare; it is concerned in fact with every human activity which involves a relationship with the neighbour.*

This highlights the parallel with Paul although it has been elaborated in the light of historical events.

## PART II THE REAL LUTHER

I would like to proceed now to a brief review of the events that caused Luther's critical and constructive approach to be distorted by what may be called a kind of "blind obedience Lutheranism". The main socio-historical reason for this development is that the German Lutheran churches and, as a matter of fact, the whole of northern European Lutheranism after the time of the Reformation, entered into a period of absolutism in which not only the prince had absolute power in public affairs but was even the head of the Church (Landes Kirchentum).

A study of this specific issue had already appeared about ten years previously. Melancton who may be regarded as the first ideologist, and who drafted the Augsburg Confession, the accepted statement of the Lutheran faith, wrote in his Apologia (Art. 16): "You just have to accept governments as you accept rain and snow; they come and they go like natural orders ..."

This has to do with his re-establishing of the concept of the Eternal Law, a concept current in the Middle Ages and reaching back to Greek ideology, but opposed by Luther, who said that *the real law, the challenge of God, comes to us in the concrete needs of the people around us ... not by any kind of eternal law which normally can be distorted at the whim of the people; real law, he said, was implicit in the concrete historical needs of one's neighbours.* That is where you encounter the Law of God, and that is what stimulates the critical evaluation and constructive action we have discussed.

Melancton also expounded theories about the eternality of political structures in accordance with natural laws, and these ideas fell on fertile soil in the 19th century following other socio-historical developments. First of all there was the so-called Romantic Movement—romantic philosophy and romantic art—as an expression of life. This movement influenced German history, the German church and theology. "The orders

of creation unfolding in a historical process was one of its basic concepts. It is important that we realize that early 19th century German history was dominated by fear with regard to the French Revolution. You find that in nearly all the expressions of Church culture. In a sense the Romantic Movement tried to re-establish old German values and to give ideological ratification to the power of the anti-revolutionary status quo. This can be seen in the struggle for a return to the agrarian type of life over against the industrial type of life; or in the contraposing of the aristocracy over against the bourgeoisie, the throne over against the altar, where the church upholds the king or emperor in his divine office against the evil penetrating from the west.

These elements add up to something less than the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms so characteristic of Luther but which by the beginning of this century had vanished from the scene. In latter days only certain elements of it have been used to validate certain interests, such elements including (1) the orders of creation; and (2) blind and undiscerning subjection to authority (cf. Romans 13). Somehow these elements become incorporated within the ideologies for supporting the coalition of the church with power groups in society.

#### **Enforcing "law and order" or establishing "control of power"?**

It is interesting to note that this kind of development is not true of all Lutherans everywhere. In a recent survey, documents from other countries were examined and in the American material we came upon something rather nice that I would like to share with you.

At the very time when this type of theology here is saying: "Human beings are sinful; therefore we need a government strong and forceful in administering law and order," the Lutheran Americans are saying: "Human beings are sinful and as sin has the most terrible consequences if it really gets a grip on people in power; therefore we must organize control of power in the best possible way in order to fight against sin among men." Whereas in the socio-historical movement we have described, the German Lutherans shifted their direction towards establishing a government for enforcing law and order, the United States on the same grounds developed a rationale for the establishing of control of power.

In the 19th century pietism appeared as another element in the European situation. I should rather say 'neo-pietism'—sometimes referred to as the revivalist movement—which maintains somewhat ambiguously that whilst the Christian faith is concerned with the spiritual salvation of the people, the secular and political spheres have nothing whatsoever to do with the basics of the Christian faith. Nevertheless the social responsibility of the people once they are converted, involves the duty of making their way into and carrying out their good deeds in those same ghettos where the church institutions do their charitable work.

This represents a breakaway from Luther's doctrine. When Luther expounds the meaning of the liberation of Christians for others in neighbourly love, he first of all defines the responsibilities of public institutions, social institutions and secular institutions, and then—almost as an after-thought—he mentions charitable work. From the 19th century on pietistic (or revivalist) Lutheranism reaches the ghettos of charitable church institutions, and withdraws from the fray of public and socio-secular institutions. Some branches which developed from this group hold a "one kingdom" doctrine maintaining that the Church is there for the sole purpose of saving souls—and the rest is a matter of secular government, quite apart from the Church. This doctrine had an important bearing on the question of missions. From an examination of documents on missions in the colonies, it appeared that they (the missions) gave the same kind of naive, unconscious or self-interested support to the colonial powers and did not really work for the common welfare of their people who were exploited by the businessmen and also by the colonial government. We have interesting documents from South West Africa and The Rhenish Mission corroborating this kind of attitude.

#### **The "iron god" of the inner spiritual private person**

Let me now turn to another important socio-historical and scientific development of the 19th century which greatly influenced the church and theology of that time and continues to do so to-day. I speak of the ascendancy of the natural sciences. Technologists were much impressed by what they called the "deterministic" (or autonomous) laws, referable not only to physics but to the field of human history and economics, and thence to the whole question of imperialism and racism. Late Lutheran liberal philosophic thought applying the autonomic laws to all events and human acts including such diverse things as hostility between races, the superiority of one nation over another, capitalism, neo-darwinism and the theory of the survival of the fittest, maintained that such acts and events were causally determined. Nevertheless these things are intangible and theologians went on to say that in relation to Jesus, to love, and the Sermon on the Mount, what the Bible is concerned with is the inner person and inter-personal relationships. This kind of dichotomy is ubiquitous be it Sunday/Monday, inside/outside, individual/community, private/public. The motivating force of Christianity is confined within the limits of a type of inner spiritualized salvation, whereas the public, economic, communal and other aspects are left to a kind of "coercive God". The law was understood as a coercive law, and imperialist wars were regarded as legitimate according to the liberal Lutheran theologians and theoreticians of the late 19th century.

It is interesting to note that both these developments from confessionalist, pietistic Lutheranism and liberal Lutheranism of the late 19th century are really a kind of idolatry of the "iron god", the God of Love being limited to the inner spiritual private person. One could trace this



development in many historical events, but to be brief, let us consider only how this combined development brought about the catastrophe of the Third Reich when a great majority of German Lutherans accorded legitimacy to race pride inimical to the Jews of that time, and likewise accorded blind obedience to Hitler whom they regarded as a pious and faithful ruler in the so-called "Ansbacher Ratschlag" against the Barmen Declaration formulated under the influence of Karl Barth. It is also interesting to note that simultaneously the Norwegian Lutherans drew a contrary conclusion from the doctrine of the two kingdoms. They argued from the doctrine of the two kingdoms that the Church should resist the Nazi Government then established in Norway, a conclusion which they reached from a study of the full text of Luther writing "on public authorities and the extent to which we should be obedient to them". This is the title of this basic book and this is why I have added a question mark to the title of this little lecture "Subject to Authorities?"—in order to demonstrate to you that actually, if you look into the history of Lutheran political theology or Lutheran political theory, it is essentially the historical conditions which have determined the way in which these theories of theology have been framed.

In the history of Germany after Luther one must acknowledge that these elements of the two kingdoms whether read in the context of Romans 13 or the doctrine as a whole, have largely been used as an ideology rather than as theology—an ideology that is, in the social sense of the word, for the purpose of concealing undefined interests behind a pious formula taken from theological traditions of high repute. In all fairness I must add that looking at Church history of the present day, it is clear that this transgression is not confined to Lutherans alone. What I am now saying is one of the most basic of all Church problems—if you look at Church history and the life of the Church universally—and we are at present making a study of this question: "The Identity of the Church and its Service to the whole Human Being") — *you find that the Church as a whole normally reflects no more than the social pattern in which it exists. It reflects, so to speak, the identities of the world* — and I could quote many examples from our study—a subject already clarified by what I have said about the use of the doctrine of the two kingdoms in the 19th and 20th centuries. *The traditional theological elements are taken to render legitimate the current interests of the most powerful groups in those churches and/or societies.* And the interesting thing is that if you make an inter-denominational study—which we have done in Mexico and Chile and other places—then you find your choice of confession or denomination or tradition is immaterial and irrelevant because given the social structures, especially if they be class structures, these same are reflected in the church whatever the denomination may be. In every tradition you find the same kind of development—the traditional elements of theology (which once would have mirrored faithfully the meaning of Jesus Christ) are distorted and twisted to provide an ideology to cover the real interests

of those in power in the church and outside of the church.

### **Conclusion: no silence in the face of injustice**

Now let me conclude with a summary of what I have said in regard to Romans 13 and to Luther. Firstly, Romans 13 lends support only to those who want to implement the good after a careful evaluation of the institutions, organizations and practices concerned—that is to say, only those who want to implement the good by supporting and co-operating (even if it be financially) with those institutions and forces in a given society which are striving for public justice and welfare. And secondly, with regard to Luther, only those can claim to follow Luther who help to shape public and economic institutions in a way which serves the common good of the people, and who are ready even to die for the witness of truth and justice. And because Luther can put the case better than I, I close with one further quotation from an exegesis of and preaching on John 19 in which he gives an account of Jesus before Pilate. He writes—

"With this story Christ has shown and taught us not to be silent over against persons in authority and landlords, but to warn and criticise them because of their injustices. Because it makes a big difference between these two: suffering injustice and violence and to be quiet about it. You may suffer injustice and violence but you should not be silent about it because a Christian is expected to give witness to the truth and even to die because of the truth. As we are now expected to die for truth and justice we consequently have to confess truth and justice freely and publicly because princes and persons in authority prefer that the whole world be criticised if only they remain uncriticised. Yet one also has to criticise them and those who have the office of preaching the word of God are obliged to tell them where they do injustice and where they fail although they pretend that if one criticises persons in authority the consequence will be revolution."

(*Wochenpredigten über Johannes 16-20 (1528/29 WA 28, 369).*)



# INTER-TERRITORIAL MEETING OF BISHOPS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA — 22ND - 24TH APRIL 1975

## press release

A meeting under the Chairmanship of the Most Rev. Archbishop J.P. Fitzgerald, President of the S.A. Catholic Bishops' Conference, took place at St. John Vianney Seminary in Pretoria from 22nd - 23th April, 1975. More than a dozen Bishops represented eight Catholic Bishops' Conferences in the Southern African region: Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Rhodesia, South Africa, South West Africa and Swaziland.

The meeting in Pretoria was a local application of the Universal Synod of Bishops which met in Rome in May 1974, when it was decided among the delegates of Southern Africa that they should meet locally to discuss the present situation of the Church in Southern Africa.

The meeting in particular discussed frankly the present situation in these territories of Africa from which the representatives came, and assessed as carefully as time permitted the fears, hopes, needs and plans of the Church in this context. We discovered a basic and very substantial unity binding us all together not only in the same faith and mission, but also and importantly in facing the same problems, in pursuing the same opportunities.

The reports of the delegates reflected three different forms of experience:

1. The experience of the Church in African countries that have recently achieved independence (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland).
2. The experience of countries in the process of having new African regimes established (Mozambique and Angola).
3. The experience of countries on the threshold of a crisis of political and social change (Rhodesia,

South West Africa and South Africa).

Against the background of these forms of experience the delegates referred the following aspects of Church policy:

- (a) The need for overall planning by Bishops in regard to pastoral priorities.
- (b) The fall-off in clergy and religious personnel and the need for recruitment of local personnel and training relevant to the local situation.
- (c) The need for deeper and more relevant Christian education of laity with "conscientisation" in regard to social responsibility.
- (d) The need for the promotion of a stronger sense of Christian community aimed at more intense living of Christian life according to the Gospel, the involvement of Christian laity in all aspects of social life and the emergence of strong Christian leadership.
- (e) The need for "localisation", that is, adaptation to local culture and circumstances in regard to forms of worship, methods of evangelisation and promotion of ministry and leadership.
- (f) The evaluation of the influence of Marxism on liberation Movements.

The representatives at the meeting will report back to their Bishops' Conferences. A continuation committee was elected to plan a similar meeting in 1976. Archbishop J.P. Fitzgerald is the chairman and Archbishops dos Santos (Lourenco Marques) and Morapeli (Lesotho) are members. The Secretary is Very Rev. Fr. A.D. Scholten, O.P.

