



junie

1976

june

BY DIE POSKANTOOR AS NUUSBLAD INGESKRYF

REGISTERED AT THE GPO AS A NEWSPAPER

pro veritate

EDITORIAL

"IT IS HAPPENING"

Jesus did not come to found a church. He came to proclaim a way of living on the basis that God was a going concern in human society; that because God was, men could be. God is still the Supreme Happening.

Whilst people theologise, politicise, and conscientise about the role of the church in Southern Africa, God is happening in society. Oppression is happening, and it is the stuff of God to be involved in that too. A new Africa is unfolding before our eyes and Christians must decide to be involved in what is happening or to withdraw from it.

People have been violently oppressed, forcefully deprived of their birthright to be fully and happily human, and they are throwing off that oppression and that violence. Millions of blacks are walking out of the darkness of subservience; millions of whites are about to be freed from the perils of privilege and wealth. The colonialism of the church is being broken; the capitalist basis of society is collapsing and the search is on for a new way of communal living; out of the conflict of political systems and superpower competition Southern Africa is reaching for a social system that is distinctively her own. Though millions do not know it, the kairos time has come, and a new consciousness of what it means to be people and make a society is upon us.

The going may be tough but the road leads away from deprivation, oppression and subservience to fullness, freedom and responsibility. The land is still in darkness, but the promise of an unstoppable dawn moves towards us over the horizon, and brings with it a surge of hope and joy and certainty. With the Spirit of God in their bones the people are reaching for a new life that nothing

can possibly prevent: certainly not a few years in prison.

Those of us in the churches must clearly understand our position in what is happening. The Christian message is about a way of life that God is bringing to mankind, not about a type of religious practice. The churches are not the liberating agency, but the religious part of society that needs to be redeemed. It is only as the churches become aware of their own need for renewal, and struggle for their own liberation, that they become relevant to what God is doing in the rest of society.

In Christ we are given inside knowledge of the truth that makes men free, (John 8.32) and have a vital contribution to make to God's work of salvation, but the power and initiative lie with God. At this crucial time, is the church to be a life-giving part of God's great endeavour in this part of his world, or a religious irrelevancy from which he must rescue men?

Will the church cling to its power, prestige, possessions and prerogatives, or sacrifice them to become identified with the liberation that is happening amongst people? Will the church use its power to preserve a fossilised religious institution, or lose its power in becoming a movement to liberate men into the kingdom of God? It cannot do both.

Many churchmen have already made up their minds: **they will say what God wants and do what Vorster wants.** Most whites are incapable of seeing the difference: they are so indoctrinated that they do not stand a chance of understanding Christianity until blacks show them what is really happening. Like God is happening.

REDAKSIONEEL

"DIT IS BESIG OM TE GEBEUR"

Jesus het nie gekom om 'n kerk te stig nie. Hy het gekom om 'n lewenswyse waarvan die grondslag die voortdurende bewoënhed van God in die menslike samelewing vorm, aan te kondig: dat omdat God bestaan, mense kan bestaan. God is steeds die Allerhoogste Gebeurtenis.

Terwyl mense teologiseer, politiseer en gewetensvrae probeer antwoord in verband met die rol van die kerk in Suider-Afrika, gaan God voort om Homself in die same-

lewing te openbaar. Onderdrukking vind plaas en dit is deel van God om ook daarin betrokke te wees. 'n Nuwe Afrika is besig om voor ons oë te ontplooi en Christene sal moet besluit om betrokke te wees in wat besig is om te gebeur — of om hulle daarvan te onttrek.

Mense is gewelddadig onderdruk, kragdadig berowe van hulle geboortereg om volkome en gelukkig mens te wees, en hulle is besig om hierdie onderdrukking en

hierdie geweld van hulle af te werp. Miljoene Swartes is besig om uit te breek uit die duisternis van onderhorigheid, miljoene Blankes staan op die punt om bevry te word van die gevare van bevoorregting en rykdom. Die kolonialisme van die kerk is besig om verbreek te word, die kapitalistiese grondslag van die samelewing is besig om te verbroekel en daar is 'n soeke na 'n nuwe gemeenskaplike lewenswyse; uit die konflik van politieke stelsels en kompetisie van supermagte is Suider-Afrika besig om te strewe na 'n sosiale stelsel wat kenmerkend haar eie sal wees. Alhoewel miljoene nie daarvan bewus is nie, het die Kairostyd aangebreek en 'n nuwe bewussyn van wat dit beteken om mens te wees en 'n samelewing te skep is besig om vorm aan te neem.

Die voortgang mag moeilik wees maar die pad lei weg van berowing, onderdrukking en onderhorigheid na volheid, vryheid en verantwoordelikheid. Die land is nog in duisternis gehul, maar die belofte van 'n onkeerbare dagbreek is besig om oor die horison na ons toe te beweeg en bring saam met hom 'n opwelling van hoop en vreugde en sekerheid. Met die Gees van God in hulle gebeente is die mense besig om na 'n nuwe lewe te reik wat niks sal kan verhinder nie: beslis nie 'n paar jaar in die gevangenis nie.

Dié van ons wat in die kerke is moet duidelik begryp wat ons posisie is in dit wat besig is om te gebeur. Die Christelike boodskap handel oor 'n lewenswyse wat God besig is om aan die mensdom oor te dra, nie 'n tipe van

godsdienstige deel van die samelewing wat bevry moet word. Dit is alleenlik wanneer die kerke bewus word van hulle eie behoefte aan vernuwing en worstel vir hulle eie bevryding dat hulle relevant word tot dit wat God besig is om in die res van die samelewing te doen.

In Christus word aan ons die volle kennis van die waarheid wat die mens vry maak, gegee (Joh. 8.32) en behoort ons 'n lewensbelangrike bydrae tot God se werk van verlossing te lewer, maar die mag en inisiatief berus by God. Behoort die kerk in hierdie krisistyd en in hierdie deel van God se wêreld nie 'n lewegewende deel van Sy groot strewe te wees nie of is die kerk 'n godsdienstige nie ter sake instelling waarvan God mense moet red?

Sal die kerk bly vasklou aan sy mag, aansien, besittings en voorregte of sal hy hulle opoffer terwille van identifikasie met die bevryding wat onder sy mense besig is om plaas te vind? Sal die kerk sy gesag gebruik om 'n versteende godsdienstige instelling te bewaar of sal hy sy gesag prysgee om 'n beweging te word om mense vir die koninkryk van God te bevry? Hy kan nie altwee doen nie.

Baie kerkmense het alreeds 'n besluit beneem: **hulle sal sê wat God verlang en doen wat Vorster wil hê.** Die meeste Blankes is nie in staat om die verskil te sien nie: hulle is so ge-indoktrineer dat hulle nie bevoeg is om die Christendom te verstaan totdat Swartes vir hulle daarop wys wat werklik besig is te gebeur nie. Soos God besig is om te „gebeur“.



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THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE HELD ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH AT 7.30 P.M. AT EDENDALE LAY TRAINING CENTRE, PIETERMARITZBURG, NATAL.

THE SOUTH AFRICA I WANT

c.f. beyers naudé

A condensed version of an address delivered at the invitation of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Cape Town on Thursday 3rd June, 1976.

The reason for formulating the title in this way is because there seems to be confusion amongst students of English speaking Universities about the South Africa they want. Perhaps this is due to apathy following the actions against NUSAS; or due to the general swing to the right within the White community in South Africa; or due to the loss of hope that white students could make any meaningful contribution to change.

What ever the cause there is no general concensus of opinion amongst White English speaking students about the nature of the South Africa of tomorrow.

Is it to be:

- **A fragmented South Africa** with the White Republic comprising 87% of the area containing 4½ million whites and 11½ million Blacks, surrounded by 8 small economically unviable Black States?
- **A federal state** subdivided into regional areas based on historical, racial, ethnic and cultural differences?
- **A politically integrated unified state** with a qualified franchise given to Blacks and all Whites above 18 years enjoying the privilege of voting, with a guarantee for the rights of minorities?
- **A non-racial society** based on communalism with franchise rights for all and a promise of protection for minorities?

I have no idea which of these four possibilities the community might opt for, so I am forced to state my personal views. It seems to be best to state very clearly which kind of South Africa I do **not** want before I proceed to state my views on the kind of South Africa for which I wish.

THE SOUTH AFRICA I DO NOT WANT

1. I do not want a South Africa **under an authoritarian or dictatorship rule** of any kind — from the left or from the right. I reject in the strongest possible terms any communist rule for our country and any other form of political absolutism which denies the citizens of our country their freedom of political choice.

2. I do not want a South Africa, the **internal security** of which has been endangered to such a degree by racial policies and forms of legislation abhorrent to the vast majority of its inhabitants, that it requires ever-increasing frightening powers of security by such acts as the Terrorism Act, the PISCOM Act

and such Bills as the Promotion of Internal Security Bill. Any form of security which claims to protect the rights and safety of the majority but which in fact imposes the political and military control of a minority over a large majority can never safe-guard true justice and peace and eventually threatens true law and order. The maintenance of law and order which violates the rights of the majority constitutes a serious threat to justice and peace and inevitably leads to injustice and disorder.

3. I do not want a South Africa which, on the basis of a **political ideology**, enforces a political, social and economic system **where separation is seen to be the only salvation of the Whites**. It is this political ideology which has brought into being the concept of bantustans — later termed homelands; motivated the placing of more than a hundred discriminatory Acts on our statute books; forces 1½ million people of the Transkei to face the loss of a precious birth-right; and which estranges a Coloured community of 2½ million people by refusing them the political rights which by virtue of civilization, culture and history they are fully entitled to have. Through such actions we as Whites are increasing the deep frustration, bitterness and polarization between Black and White which could so easily develop into a situation of conflict and violence.

4. I do not want a South Africa where a system of control over the press, publications, and individual protest is being imposed in such a way that independent, critical thought is threatened, suppressed or made suspect. All authoritarian regimes ('communist', 'fascist' or 'christian-nationalist') seek to **control the minds of people** through subtle or brutal forms of indoctrination by enforcibly prescribing what should and what should not be spoken, preached, printed, published, filmed, photographed, televised or screened. Like Russia we are already far advanced on this road of ideological indoctrination, psychological brain-washing and mental control which stand in direct oppositon to the need for academic freedom. In the long run it creates the serious danger of a whole society or groups within such a society (like the Whites in Rhodesia at present) becoming blind to reality to such a degree that the community is unable to recognise what is patently obvious to everyone outside that enclosed and embattled circle. Such a South Africa — which is slowly but inexorably being forced upon us — I do not want.

5. I do not want a South Africa where the ownership of land, the economic wealth, the social privileges and

educational opportunities are controlled by **an elite minority**. All of us are aware of the following situations:

Whereas any White person has the right of ownership of land in any part of White declared South Africa (87% of its present territory); to offer his labour in any part of the country; to enjoy his social privileges in any part of the country; no African has such rights. Whereas the economic advance and income of the country is equally ensured by White and Black, the average income per White is approximately 9 times more than the income per African.

This is but one form of economic injustice which the White community has allowed to develop. This seems to me to be one of the main reasons why increasingly Blacks believe that the capitalist system of free enterprise has failed to solve any of the deeply-felt economic injustices of which the Black community have become the victims. This has stimulated the interest of many Black intellectuals in searching for some form of African socialism or communalism.

I do not want a South Africa where, despite pious promises and assurances that discrimination will be removed and injustices of this kind will disappear, very little is happening to prove these assurances.

THE SOUTH AFRICA I DO WANT

What then is the South Africa which we do want?

1. The South Africa I want is one where the **permanency** of the millions of Africans outside the homelands, plus all the Coloureds and Indians, should be recognised as an integral part of the Republic of South Africa. This recognition should be given, even if all the homelands (voluntary or otherwise) accept independence of some kind.

2. The South Africa I want is one where the principle that harmonious human relationships, peace and order could only be ensured by the enforced political, educational, social and economic separation of people of different races and colours, is rejected. Once this ideological illusion is shattered a **new freedom** will emerge to consider other options which Whites in general are too afraid to mention in public.

3. The South Africa I want is one where the removal of all forms of discrimination is undertaken without delay. The time is past when Whites could decide the destiny of Blacks without full and equal participation by **Black political representation**. A forum should be created where such political leadership of the Blacks should meet with the White political leadership to plan a joint future for all the inhabitants of the Republic, and where the legitimate aspirations of the Blacks and the fears of the Whites could be faced by all. It is only out of such **open confrontation and frank discussion** that a policy, acceptable to the majority of Blacks and Whites, can emerge. The sooner we as Whites begin, the more time will be given for debate, reflection and decision; the longer we wait, the lesser the opportunity for such negotiations and the greater the possibility of events outside our control deciding our future.

4. The South Africa I want is one where **the pass law system is repealed** and where a healthy and proper system of the flow of labour, property ownership and labour rights is thrashed out between Black and White, to a consensus of opinion.

5. The South Africa I want is one in which a system of **free, equal and compulsory education** should be available for all children; where state-subsidised universities should be open to students of all races; and where the same principle should apply to schools but where, as an interim measure, parents should be free to choose whether they wish their children to

attend multi-racial schools or not. Such a system would immediately start breaking down many of the existing barriers of ignorance, estrangement and prejudice which have strangled the vast potential of educational and human advancement in our midst and be the beginning of a new era in our history.

6. The South Africa I want is one where we as Whites take seriously the criticism and **feelings of the Black community towards the present capitalist system** and where an **in depth study** is participated in by Black and White on capitalism, socialism (with special emphasis on African socialism) and the concept of economic justice. It is not enough to praise the system of capitalist free enterprise or to warn against a Black socialist (or even Marxist) system. It has to start with an admission of the failure of the capitalist system to procure economic justice for our country; critical appraisal of the weaknesses inherent in all economic systems — capitalist, socialist and marxist; and to **evolve a system** which will bring about a more equitable sharing in economic wealth and distribution of goods than has been the case up till now. Only in this way could South Africa hope to face victoriously the onslaught of communist ideology in the economic as well as other spheres of life. Nothing less could meet successfully the legitimate demands for economic justice for all.

7. The South Africa I want is one where the whole student community, Black as well as White, separately as well as jointly, prepares itself for **responsible participation in the changes** which I have indicated above if we wish to avoid an open conflict of violence and bloodshed and bring about meaningful peaceful change. It would require that you as students should decide quite clearly what kind of South Africa you wish to live in and live for; decide whether you could make some contribution — however small — to the establishment and furtherance of such a society; thirdly you should be quite clear in your own minds that change is not going to occur overnight and that extensive sacrifices in standards of living, economic comforts, social privileges and cultural opportunities would have to be made by you if you wish to make a meaningful contribution to the future of our country. You will have to face the fact of increased government action against you — as the Black students and scholars of our country have to face day by day.

I need not stress to you the urgency of the situation or the lateness of the hour in emphasising the need for non-violent action to bring about meaningful change. I do need to point out, however, that the ever-growing powers of the government are such that it will become increasingly difficult to state, stage or participate in any meaningful protest. More and more it becomes a matter of a choice of conscience by individuals who are willing to pay the price and face the consequences of such a moral choice. Therefore my urgent plea to you today is contained in this one last thought:

If you truly love your country, then decide now — once and for all — what kind of country you wish to give yourself to and then commit yourself to see to it that you have a share in the way such a country is being created and being built — even if it eventually has to be built from the ashes of a society which had destroyed itself through its own blindness, its avarice and its fear. For whatever is going to happen in between, one thing I know:

A new South Africa is being born — a South Africa in which I wish to live, a South Africa in which I wish our children to live, a South Africa in which I wish to give of myself to all the people of our land.

COURAGE FOR THE FUTURE

t.s.n. gqubule

The Black Sash recently celebrated 21 years of witness in South Africa. The Rev. T.S.N. Gqubule of the Federal Theological Seminary addressed their Service of Intercession in Pietermaritzburg.

I have agreed to speak on the subject you suggested: 'Courage for the future'.

You seem to have some idea of what the future has in store for you! If I read between the lines correctly your idea seems to be that the future is going to require of you something very different from the present state of affairs, so much that in order to meet the requirements of the future you must have courage.

If I read the signs correctly, when I scan the horizon of the unknown tomorrow, it seems as if the future is going to demand more courage from the whites than it will from the blacks. Therefore, I want to address myself particularly to the whites.

Make no mistake the lines are clearly drawn between whites and blacks, and it is the whites who have so drawn the lines and, therefore, created the polarization which they now fear. Everywhere the whites have put up signs marking out certain places and entrances for "whites only" and they have put up others for what they call "Non-whites". **The whites must now have courage to remove those signs.**

What we have done is to refuse to be called by the negative appellation — "Non-whites". We have insisted that we are nobody's negatives — we are positively **Black**. We have done no more than substitute the word "Black" for all those people whom the whites call "Non-whites". Now the whites are worried about this Black-White polarization which they have created. They say the Coloureds and Indians are not black. They fear that Africans, Indians and Coloureds will get into a black laager over-against whites.

At the same time they fear to incorporate Coloureds and Indians into white society and give them equal privileges with whites. What shall we do with these white fears? The whites must make up their minds: They must either:

1. Assimilate Coloureds and Indians fully and completely into white society and privilege

OR

2. They must create an open, non-racial society for all inhabitants of South Africa.

I do not know how you see the future. But I am quite sure that the way forward is not along the lines of discrimination based on skin-colour whether you call it apartheid, separate development or segregation with justice. So I appeal to you to have the courage of campaigning against these "whites only" signs and lead us into the freedom of a non-racial society.

I want to suggest three areas in which you could test your courage. As a Christian I begin with:

I The Church:

The church is the sort of society whose creed is colour-blind and knows no barriers. It is a community that is above language, above class, above culture and standards of civilization, above colour. The Christian's loyalty to Christ ought to be greater than his loyalty to race, or language or group. As Christians we ought to have the courage to open the membership of all churches and church organizations to all people; to open opportunities of service and leadership to all people; and to accept the ministrations of all priests and ministers on grounds of qualification and fitness for the job.

Then we will not bother who baptizes and confirms our children, who marries or buries our people, who visits us when we are sick or gives Holy Communion. Even the Nationalist government gave the black Anglican Dean of Johannesburg a licence to marry whites as well!

II EDUCATION:

The next area that calls for real courage on the part of all of us is that of Education. By providing differentiated education to all our people we are losing the rich benefits which our different cultural groups could contribute to the national heritage. You can not provide separate but equal educational facilities. You can provide equal educational facilities to all South African children only if you make all educational facilities available to all our children. If, as we have been told from the highest authority, the policy of the country is now to move away from discrimination based on skin-colour, then the educational policies of the country need a radical revision now. If, as a national policy, we are to move away from discrimination, then, I take it, we are to move in the direction of a non-racial society.

If our future lies in a non-racial society, then we must begin now to re-educate all our people — Black and White — for life in a non-racial society. This will mean undoing all the mental, spiritual and emotional harm done by years of differentiated education on the tender lives of our children. The irony of it is that **when you positively create Bantu Education you also negatively create White Education whose products are lamentable misfits for a non-racial society.** If you educate your white child to be a master to a black person by virtue of his race, you are not preparing him for life in the South Africa of the late '70s.

If we are to educate our children for a non-racial society then:

- All schools will have to be thrown open to all races with necessary adjustments in syllabuses and attitudes. Let parents choose the medium of instruction for their children.
- Appointments to jobs, promotions and wages paid would have to be on qualification and merit with no reference to race.
- All people will have to be ready to work under and above a person of any race.

Two things should be done immediately:

- **Abolish tribal barriers in black universities.** Any black student should be free to go to any black university. After all with whites there is no limitation on which universities should be attended by the English, Germans, Dutch, Italians, Greeks, etc., who form the South African white population.
- **Open all South African universities to students of all races,** especially at the postgraduate level. This can be done immediately without any disruption. The attempt to provide a particular type of education for a particular group at a particular university is contrary to the principle of "Universality" which is implicit in the concept of a university.

By establishing tribal universities for blacks you make every South African university a tribal university robbed of all the richness that would come from a cosmopolitan university community.

III POLITICS:

The area which demands the greatest courage and the greatest largeness of heart from the whites is the area of politics to which I now turn. In this area the whites and their successive white governments have had absolute power. The all-white parliament makes laws for all people in the country — black

and white. Although blacks have no share in the making of these laws they have to obey them and pay the taxes imposed by an unrepresentative government. Yet I was told by a white history teacher at school that "Taxation without representation is tyranny".

The Statute Book is full of discriminatory legislation. It will be an act of real courage on your part to undo this mess which you have created and to rebuild the wealth of goodwill you have destroyed.

The ruling clique has entrenched itself in this monolithic position by massive violence and military power. Because they have been so violent they see everybody else as being violent or threatening violence to them.

Everywhere in the country there is talk of violence and communism. We do not want violence or guns or communism. All we want is the right to move and make our homes anywhere in this country, the right to a proper education; we want equal pay for equal work; we want equal taxation so that we may derive equal benefits; we want to have a share in the law-making and decision-making bodies of this country; we want freedom of association and security of life with our wives and children. We want no war, no violence, no communism. **I would prefer to die extending the area of freedom and justice for all the people of this fair land rather than die defending apartheid. Where should your sons be rather dying? On the borders defending apartheid or within South Africa fighting for justice and the extension of human rights to all South Africans?**

If you have any love for South Africa and any love for your children then you must fight against apartheid and the discrimination which is its corner-stone. The greatest service you can render to this country of ours is to stand on your feet and strive courageously for the removal of discrimination based on skin-colour and the granting of equal opportunities in every sphere of life to all the peoples of this land.



BLACK COMMUNALISM

The Black Peoples Convention met in Mafeking on May 30 and 31 1976 and accepted the following statement embodying principles of Black Communalism. Pro Veritate would be glad to receive comments from its readers.

B.P.C. adopts Black communalism as its economic policy and Black Communalism can be defined as an economic system which is based on the principle of sharing, lays emphasis on community ownership of land and its wealth and riches; and which strikes a healthy balance between what may legitimately be owned by individuals and what ought to be owned by the community as a whole.

In adopting this policy B.P.C. notes:

1. That Black communalism as here defined is a modified version of the traditional African economic life-style which is being geared to meet the demands of a highly industrialised and modern economy.
2. The sharing envisaged will not necessarily be monitored by the State for the benefit of the State itself, but may well be either between groups of individuals or specific

17. In all cases the State shall specifically protect the interests of workers against exploitation and unsatisfactory working conditions.
18. Trade unions comprising the workers within certain crafts shall be encouraged and recognised and shall enjoy a particularly privileged relationship with the department controlling labour.
19. Wages and salary assessments shall be periodically reviewed by a special tribunal consisting of representatives of trade unions and the department controlling labour.
20. Village stores shall be owned by the communities they are intended to serve.
21. Organisation of small time commerce e.g. drapery stores, grocery stores shall rest in the hands of district commercial councils operating on behalf of specific geographic communities in consultation with the department controlling commerce.
22. Such commercial councils shall seek to generate profits for the development of the communities they serve.
23. The State will on its own participate in finance institutions in competition with private enterprise through the formation of a National financial corporation which shall run a National bank with branches and an Insurance House with branches.
24. The State financial institutions shall operate a developmental loan policy for the assistance of co-operative, community and individual enterprises provided that there shall be a differential interest charge for private and community enterprise.
25. The State through its department controlling commerce and industry shall at all times restrict importation of goods only to those categories and levels that are essential for complete existence and shall encourage local production of goods which can be sustained from natural resources and industry within the country.
26. The State shall also operate its own importation programme through a National Corporation in competition with privately owned import houses so that imported goods can reach the people at minimal and acceptable prices.
27. The State shall control the marketing of locally originating produce and goods intended for both internal and external marketing so that such produce and goods can be available for internal consumption at minimal prices and external consumption at advantageous prices.
28. All public transport shall be controlled by the department responsible for transport such that the State through its various organs participates maximally in intra — and inter-town, inter-provincial as well as national and international transport.
29. There shall be no provision for private ownership of public transportation for anything beyond intra provincial transportation except by special licence, provided that all railway, harbour and airway transportation shall be owned completely by the State.
30. The State shall allow a fair competition between privately owned and State owned mass media enterprises except that all radio and television stations will be owned either wholly or jointly by either the State or the communities and provided that all postal and telegraphic services shall be in the hands of the State.

communities within the State or all the communities comprising the State.

3. As in the traditional outlook referred to above, sharing shall imply not only the sharing of property and wealth, but also sharing of services and labour which must result in the systematic division of labour which will manifest itself in the economic system of the country.

In practical terms Black communalism implies that:

1. Land is a God-given gift to the people comprising a nation and therefore it shall be owned by all the people with the State being entrusted with its control.
2. All industry which involves direct exploitation of the land e.g. mining- forestry shall be owned by the State.
3. Family units shall be allocated land for dwelling purposes.
4. Such plots which have been allocated to family units may neither be bequeathed, transferred or otherwise disposed of without prior consultation with the State, provided that the State will however consistently protect the interests of the family units concerned and their future generation.
5. Land allocated for private agriculture, commerce and industry shall be rented by the persons or concerns concerned from the State.
6. Organised societal and religious groups e.g. churches, sport groups shall be allocated land according to their reasonable need and shall also be required to rent such land from the State.
7. All agricultural activity shall centre around the formation of co-operatives which shall be entrusted with the responsibility of spear-heading agriculture in consultation with the department responsible for agriculture.
8. Rural life shall be reorganised such that more economically manageable villages shall be established whereby basic essential services can be made available to the village and in turn the peoples' agricultural activity can be jointly organised.
9. It shall be the duty of the State to assist such villages and co-operatives in marketing their agricultural products for both internal and external consumption.
10. The State must play a leading role in the planning and development of industry and commerce.
11. Industries whose products are of strategic importance to the nation shall be owned by the State e.g. manufacture of arms and armaments.
12. Industries which are of vital importance to the economy of the nation shall be owned by the State e.g. major corporations, major finance institutions.
13. Community initiation and ownership of industry shall be encouraged where this can be easily and productively organised.
14. Privately owned industry and commercial undertakings shall be allowed to operate without State assistance and within the framework drawn up by the State department responsible for commerce, industry and trade.
16. Salaries paid by employers to their employees in private industry and commerce as well as in co-operative, community and State-owned enterprises shall be carefully supervised by the State to lay specific minimums for specific categories of undertakings.

BISHOP COLIN WINTER, AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NAMIBIA

john osmers

Background

For some years now the Anglican and (black) Lutheran Churches of Namibia have been in the forefront in speaking for the oppressed in their country and attacking flagrant violations of human rights by the South African authorities. Three Anglican Bishops of Namibia have been refused permits to remain in their diocese. Bishop Mize was deported in 1968 after eight years in the territory. He resigned and was succeeded by Bishop Winter, who was deported in 1971. At the wish of his people he has remained Bishop-in-exile and has established a house near Oxford, England, for Namibians in Europe. He has been active in supporting SWAPO. Bishop Wood, whom he chose as his assistant to continue his work in the Diocese has been notable for his public protests and court action against South African authorities for their illegal floggings (though tribal authorities) of SWAPO activists or supporters. Bishop Wood was deported in 1975 and has planned to serve the large number of Anglicans in Ovamboland from Angola. The present vicar-general who exercises Bishop Winter's authority in the Diocese has been priested only recently, and it seems clear that he has been appointed over the heads of senior priests because of his sympathy with the concerns and ideals of the Bishop-in-exile.

Namibia and South Africa

Observers today notice a difference of attitude towards Black liberation between the Anglican Church Leaders in South Africa, and the Anglican Bishops in Namibia. After his deportation Bishop Winter was expected quietly to resign, and let another take his place. But this he has not done. It is certain that his continued defiance of the South African authorities while in exile and his open support of SWAPO has embarrassed the South African Bishops just as he continues to embarrass the South African Government at home and abroad.

The difference between the South African and Namibian Bishops has been noticed and remarked on by a deputation of Canadian Anglicans sent out by Canadian General Synod in 1975 to make an on-the-spot investigation of the Church in an apartheid State. In their report they comment that they found the Church "deeply enmeshed in the racist complicities of Southern Africa ... an over-riding note of white paternalism debilitates many in the Christian community. Others more sensitive and calculating are unprepared to move or stand out for fear of alienating their fellow whites. Only in Namibia through the leadership of the Bishop-in-exile, Colin Winter and of Richard Wood, assistant, did we find the moral will and courage to stand up and be counted, and to clearly identify themselves with the black majority of Namibia."

The identification of the main-line Churches with the interests of the white minority has been obvious for a long time and has been high-lighted by their attitude towards the World Council of Churches Special Fund of the Programme to Com-

bat Racism.

While loudly voicing opposition to grants to liberation forces, they have never opposed the escalating South African defence vote and recruitment for military training. For decades the Church leadership has been out of sympathy with the aims and methods of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress before and after their banning in 1960. They have based hope for change in a change of heart in the white electorate, African Trade Unions and the so-called 'Homelands' policy, thus showing a reluctance to face any radical change from the present violence of the status quo.

The divergence in attitude between the South African and Namibian Bishops has recently been high-lighted by Bishop Winter's forbidding two leading white Anglican Churchmen from accepting appointments as honorary chaplains of the South African defence force. Archbishop Burnett replied at the time that the Church may be expected to serve both sides in a conflict, and this was interpreted by the press as a rebuke to Bishop Winter, though the Archbishop did not deal with the specific issue of Anglican priests in Namibia having specific connection with the South African defence force. One thing however is certain: the Archbishop, while accepting that Anglican priests be appointed as defence force chaplains may not and would not support Anglican priests being appointed to the military wing of SWAPO.

Prophecy and Pastoral Care

Namibian Anglicans, through the action of the South African Government, have been deprived of the care and over-sight of Bishops for almost a year. The South African Bishops are rightly concerned about pastoral care in one of the dioceses of the Church of the Province. In February the Archbishop and Bishop Makhetha, suffragan Bishop of Lesotho, made an extensive visit to the Diocese to assess the situation of the Church there. They were the first Anglican Bishops to visit Ovamboland for some years, and did so with the co-operation of the Southern African Government and South African Defence force, visiting zones presently on a war footing and carefully screened from the outside world.

The South African Bishops are to meet the Namibian Bishops in the third week of April (April 26-31) this year at Mazenod, near Maseru Lesotho to discuss their report. They will want to see that proper episcopal pastoral care be recommended for Anglican Namibians.

But a large question remains. Are the South African Bishops also motivated, albeit unconsciously, by a desire to eliminate what some have seen as a prophetic voice, which by implication accuses them of "white paternalism, calculated caution, and unwillingness to stand up and be counted and to identify themselves with the black majority" of South Africans?

Is the South African Government now subtly using

Christian leaders to eliminate prophetic voices which are being heard too clearly in South Africa as well as in Western Europe by those concerned for black liberation?

It is probable that South African Bishops will make a decision on Anglican Church leadership in Namibia next month. Bishops Wood and Winter are, it seems, to be confronted by colleagues who have not in the past concealed

their opposition to Bishop Winter remaining Bishop-in-exile.

Bishop Winter comes to Lesotho with a clear conscience and continued willingness to be at the disposal of black Namibians to voice their agony and work for their release. What support may properly be given him by concerned Christians in Lesotho, where the meeting will take place, by others in South Africa concerned for black liberation, and the wider fellowship of Christ's Church?



**RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS
AT MAZENOD, LESOTHO FROM 26-30 APRIL, 1976**

This session of the Synod of the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, noting the Resolution taken by the Diocese of Damaraland at its October 1975 Synod in which the Diocese expressed a desire to retain the ministry of both Bishops Winter and Wood makes the following statement:

1. The Bishops wish to place on record their appreciation of the courageous stand against injustice taken by the two Bishops.
2. The Bishops have not discussed or called for the resignation of Bishop Winter as Diocesan Bishop. This Bishop of the Diocese alone has authority to withdraw the commission of the Bishop Suffragan Bishop Wood.
3. They assure the Diocese of Damaraland that they are deeply concerned about its welfare. They believe Provincial Standing Committee should continue its present financial assistance and if possible increase it, bearing in mind the need of the other poorer Dioceses. They will also endeavour to make available personnel to assist especially in the matter of Education and Evangelism. They find themselves in a difficult position in seeking to minister in any significant way to a Diocese not having a

resident Bishop or Vicar-General with access to the whole territory, and they reiterate their condemnation of the actions of the South African Government by which this situation has been brought about.

4. The Bishops deplore the injustices perpetrated by the present authorities in Namibia and express their deep sympathy with the victims. They urge the South African Government to open dialogue with the Leaders of SWAPO and other Namibian bodies representative of viewpoints opposed to those of the present regime before all the people of that territory are overwhelmed by the misery and sufferings of war. They further believe that there can be no final solution which does not have the acceptance of the international community.
5. They would emphasise that in such a complex situation as obtains in Namibia it is important to remember that obedience to the Gospel will be differently interpreted in all sincerity by different Christians.
6. The Bishops state their unequivocal belief that the identification of the Church with any one political party or programme is inconsistent with their understanding of the Gospel.



WHY DOES IT NEED A WAR IN NAMIBIA?

bishop-in-exile colin o'brien winter

What is taking place in Southern Africa today can only be termed as a freedom struggle in which 27 million non-free black people, the remaining victims of colonial rule, are seeking those basic human rights and dignity which are so readily taken for granted in Europe and America. Today, war is being waged in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The objects are the same: it is a fight against racism and cruel economic exploitation by whites of blacks. What we are witnessing in Southern Africa is the end of a colonial era which has been marked by cruel suffering.

Why does it need a war to bring about change? Whites, who have lived for centuries in luxury, benefitting from the evil fruits of black economic subjugation, find it hard to change course. The slightest attempts to ease the Apartheid laws in Namibia's capital, Windhoek, have met with a vicious white backlash. Young white thugs recently beat up couples attending a multi-racial dance, a rare occurrence in the nation's capital city. Rather than share, whites will fight.

The belief still persists that somehow the white man can outmanoeuvre the black. Having bamboozled the United Nations

and held off all attempts by that body to obtain a just solution, Pretoria's white politicians really believe that they can do it again. Only they will decide what future Namibia will have, not the world body. So they have assembled their own "independence" committee in Windhoek, for what are called constitutional talks. The delegates are mostly pro Pretoria collaborators. SWAPO, the strongest and most effective political party, recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity, have rightly boycotted these talks which are aimed primarily at securing the continued economic and political grip by the whites over the blacks.

The talks in Windhoek still lumber on but nothing basically changes: blacks will be kept in barren reserves, will be allowed out as hired labourers on white terms. Change, if it comes at all, will come at a snail's pace determined by the whites.

The talks are doomed to failure, first, because a Namibian army of Liberation is already committed to the total liberation of the country and is massing for the final push. Only total freedom will satisfy the blacks: Racism and exploitation must go.

The talks will not satisfy the United Nations either. South Africa has been an illegal occupier and has no right to propose anything pertaining to the future of a free Namibia. The thief has no say in the re-allocation of stolen property. He has one function only: to give back that which he has stolen. "We believe South Africa has robbed us of our country", was how a Namibian patriot, Herman ya Toivo, expressed it.

Can the blacks win their war of independence? Certainly they think so and so does the rest of the world. What happened in Mocambique and Angola will happen in Namibia. The leaders of South Africa know it too. Yet, as I write this, Prime Minister Vorster is pouring troops and arms into this illegally held territory. *Why do the whites hold on?*

Why does white controlled South Africa still try to cling to an underpopulated and barren territory of 318 000 square miles, flanked by two sprawling deserts, when her occupation has been declared illegal by the International Court of Justice (Hague 1971), by the United Nations (1972), and the weight of world opinion?

Fear is the primary reason. Vorster is said to have told U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim, in 1972, that Namibia is South Africa's Achilles heel. It is a buffer zone holding back a determined African subcontinent increasingly committed to the removal of racial oppression. Remove it, and the freedom fighters, who today are storming the white frontiers of Rhodesia and Namibia, tomorrow will set their targets on Pretoria.

Obstinacy is the second reason. In Namibia and South Africa, whites enjoy one of the highest standards of living, but the price in black suffering defies description. Nearly one million blacks a year come before the courts on Pass "offences" — "crimes" which if committed by whites are not crimes at all. The hundreds of racist laws which daily assault the black person's dignity and deny him basic human rights, remain for the most part unchanged. Blacks (and whites) are detained without trial as South Africa lurches nearer and nearer into a totalitarianism. More and more the whites are being manipulated by the government to such a degree that those who question the basic policies of the apartheid system soon find themselves facing charges of treason. The whirligig ultimately destroys all who stand in its way — no one is immune; not even Anglican bishops! Such obstinacy, after years of patient negotiations and pleading by blacks, has now given way to armed struggle.

Prime Minister Vorster holds the key as to whether the

inevitable transition to black majority rule in Namibia will be a peaceful one implemented under the auspices of the United Nations, or a bloody war. In 1972 I asked him publicly to learn from his own nation's history as follows:

"At the turn of the century the Afrikaners were a minority group in South Africa. History records that you were exploited and your land appropriated when gold and diamonds were discovered in South Africa. You felt you had a just cause and you were prepared to fight to the death for the right to be free men in your own country. Your people withstood, in a long and bloody campaign, the greatest power in the world at that time, and you won the admiration and respect of those who fought you for your bravery and dedication to the cause in which you believed.

It seems to me ironic and tragic that you cannot look into your own history and learn lessons which would cause you to avoid the mistakes you are now making in your attempt to suppress the African groups within your own country and within Namibia.

The life surge which is now in Namibia is the desire of a people to be free from state laws which have reduced them to virtual slavery, and have restricted them from free travel in the land of their birth. These laws have been superimposed by you upon an unwilling majority in this land. You must know that the vast majority of the blacks in this country groan daily under the indignity of apartheid, reject totally your concept of Bantustans, yearn to live and develop as free men and will never lie down under your laws which now oppress them.

The abolition of all racist legislation will one day be effected. Justice based upon the worth of every soul in the sight of God will one day be granted to this territory."

Can Vorster free himself from his own doctrines of white domination or will he, like Hitler, choose the bunker? That is the choice he faces today in Namibia.



If a situation arises when the duly constituted authorities oppose justice and truth to the extent that their destructive acts affect the very basis of authority, one cannot see how one should condemn those citizens who unite to defend the nation and themselves, by legitimate and appropriate means, against those who take advantage of their power to lead the country into ruin.

Pius XI, in his encyclical *Nos es muy*, addressed to Mexican bishops on 28 March 1937.

ALL IS SAID BUT NOT DONE

cedric mayson

As committees, secretaries and delegates prepare for the 1976 church assemblies and conferences in South Africa, PRO VERITATE considers the factors which prompt a last attempt to win support for the Christian influence in the struggle for Africa.

The churches have nothing more to say about the situation in Southern Africa. They have said it all. Now they must act.

Year after year churchmen have delivered sermons, passed resolutions, and appointed committees about race matters and they have made their point. People know that most churches believe apartheid is unchristian. The Government knows it, white members know it, blacks know it, the whole world knows it. But what can the church do about it?

Relevance

The South African way of life familiar to most white people takes place within the institutions we know so well: Government, schools, churches, political parties, supermarkets, transport, holidays, hospitals, newspapers — and 'the box'. This is the life we politicise about, legislate for, worship in, and live out. It means something — to 20% of the population.

To most of the people it is meaningless. Blacks have no vote, inadequate schools and transport, minimal medical aid, restricted opportunities, suffer pinching poverty, and are cast into a political vacuum since their political organisations were banned 15 years ago.

When the churches speak in terms of white western institutions, modulated not to offend the Minister of Justice, their message is quite irrelevant to 80% of the population.

If the church is to be effective in 1976 it must move outside the institutions and concepts of white westernism into the areas of life which most people actually inhabit. It is in an engagement with those suffering and struggling to throw off the yoke of oppression like the Israelites of old, that the churches will find credence, not in armchair theologising, and the gentlemanly exercise of ecclesiastical politics.

Africa suffers. Christ suffers. Whilst the primary object of the church is to protect itself from suffering it cannot be a channel for the liberating work of Christ. Loving people means being involved in *their* struggle.

Black Leadership

The key to a relevant church in Africa is in the hands of black Christians. Many churches have strong black representation on their governing bodies, but the blacks are frequently manoeuvred into a position of subservience, over-awed by white expertise, outflanked by white use of church machinery and manipulative political skills, bemused by a welter of western languages, and subjugated by a flood of sentimental bonhomie which suffocates the life of the Spirit.

Most white churchmen are ignorant of this, for whilst paying lip-service to non-racialism they act within the apartheid system, presume white superiority, and assume the silence of the black majority means consent, whereas it is the product of despair and disillusionment.

The wisdom of black Christians is only heard when put into white terms for white people by interpreters conscious of white susceptibilities, by which time it is an enspirited as warm watered-down beer.

The time has come for blacks to occupy the positions of real leadership in the churches, and to exercise their faith, skills, and numerical weight to enable this to happen. Some whites will not understand and will resist, but they must be withstood and overcome for the sake of Christ. **The Church in the new Africa can no longer creep along under white leadership. She needs blacks with gifts and graces in positions of power, and in the majority in positions of power, and she needs them now.**

Their wisdom must be expressed in the preaching of the church; their priorities must control the finances of the church; their human-ness must transform the fellowship of the church; their sins and weaknesses must stir the strength and prayers of the church; and their endeavours must be backed with the solid support of the church.

Whites can only understand the task of the church in Africa, and make themselves fit for a non-racial Christian society, by seeking black leadership in Christ. *And blacks must stand up and be it.*

(Of course, they must be well chosen. Too many blacks have striven to exemplify the worst in their white teachers, succumbing to the ecclesiastical rat race, shrouding their vision and softening their voice in order to curry favour from the very people they set out to change. The most conservative supporters of white western capitalistic civilisation have black skins. Some seek prestige in white circles, some think that Christians are like that, and others are just plain scared of being themselves).

Revolution, not Reformation

Christians claim that apartheid is theologically false, has no basis in scripture, is in direct disobedience to Christ's call to men to come together, and cannot work. Separate development was supposed to enable men to live happily together — and we have a racial war on our borders. Thirty years of such 'development' has forced thousands from their homes, without their consent, restricted the lives of millions, produced fear and hatred, flooded our prisons with people who are not criminals, and indoctrinated a whole generation, until 'development' has now produced the ultimate disintegration of 'independent' homelands.

Such a world cannot be knocked into a new shape: it must be turned upside down (Acts 17.6) and renewed. Liberation does not mean easing the prisoners chains: it means taking them off. Apartheid cannot be reformed: it must be rejected.

When the South African Government banned the African National Congress and its fellow Congress Movements a decade and a half ago, they deliberately prevented a solution

by political negotiation and moved the country into a revolutionary situation in which black aspirations could be crushed by force.

'Those who make pacific revolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable' — John F. Kennedy.

The Church must act within this revolutionary situation if it is to serve Christ in the world: it cannot counsel gentle, gradual reforms in a situation which precludes them.

The churches must throw away the pious religious role in which the Nationalist Government offers them security, and become involved with the real issues and the real battle of Christ: with oppressed and oppressors, with prisoners and jailors, politicians and strikers, revolutionaries and propagandists, soldiers and conscientious objectors, trade unionists and students, people blown up by landmines and the victims of indoctrination. That is, to become part of the Christian revolution.

25 million blacks below the Zambesi are forging their freedom, and seeking Christian liberation. They are the best educated, most highly skilled, and most evangelised blacks on the continent. They are well aware of the mistakes made by some black brothers to the north, and some white brothers to the south, and are determined to fashion a truly Christian society out of the turmoil in the sub-continent.

Most of their leaders are either ordained ministers or lay leaders in the church: they are neither racists nor communists. They do not seek the extermination of the white man but a man's position alongside him in a non-racial country. From every quarter in the black community, from IDAMASA, through SASO and the ANC comes the plea for the church to be involved in Christian leadership in the new society that is coming. Will the church respond?

Violence

The church can never advocate violence that leads men to kill: it believes there are other ways of solving human problems. But the debate about violence is not an academic discussion about what might happen: a violent situation already exists. The prison gates are clanging; propaganda is twisting minds; guns are firing; landmines exploding; Mirages arming.

The church must act meaningfully with people already involved in violence. It may be misunderstood, persecuted, deserted, crucified, or even reborn — but it cannot opt out of the violent revolutionary situation and remain part of the Body of Christ.

The Church cannot condone the violence done to thousands of innocent human beings by the savage apartheid legislation, and when law and order are put at the service of violence and injustice the church must object, demonstrate, identify, and suffer. It must declare the judgement of God on such iniquity, whether committed by the Security police in a backroom, a clerk at a counter, a bulldozer driver biting his blade into the homes of God's children without their consent, or pious politicians voting the legislation through. And it must stand alongside the victims until they are free, justice done, and reparations made.

Whilst the Church permits its ministers to wear the uniform and accept the pay of a South African Defence Force committed to the establishment of white supremacy the churches cannot be a credible expression of the Christian voice in Southern Africa. The war on our borders is a civil war with men on both sides who were baptised in the South African churches, and confirmed according to its rites: it is the duty of

the churches to send men to minister to them all. Massive doses of fear-producing legislation have forced white churchmen to think of this issue in white terms, instead of Christian terms. Let them ask black Christians.

Nor can the church avoid suffering under violence itself. Wherever in the world a confrontational situation exists as it does here, there are Christians who refuse to acquiesce in the activities of their rulers, and suffer punishment from them. Divine obedience leads to civil disobedience in these cases, and the Government is determined to use all its violence upon those who refuse to bow to its substitution of the principles of the gospel by the principles of separate development.

Such violence is claimed to defend 'security' and 'order'. Assaulting opponents (who have no legal recourse from your action) in an attempt to order your own security is clearly such a negation of Christianity that no-one can possibly defend it. The long list of violent legislation, culminating in PISCOM and the Promotion of Internal Security Bill can only ensure that ultimately the whole apartheid structure will be totaaly and utterly crushed.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation does not mean persuading people to ignore the challenges of life and forget their differences: that is conciliation. Reconciliation presupposes alienation. It means bringing the differences into the open through a process of confrontation; examining them together in the light of Christ; deciding upon the right course of action and following it. There may be concensus on a common action, a balance of complementary forces, or a continued dialogue in which peaceful change can take place.

It is people that are reconciled, not policies or ideas. Jesus never suggested that we would always agree with one another, but he did insist that we could love one another, and when people are reconciled they can face one another openly and honestly and deal with their problems profitably.

Jesus himself was intensely partisan. 'He identified with the poor and outcast with those on the margin of society, and he attacked their oppressors, the Pharisees'. This openness was the only way to the reconciliation he sought.

Church people are often too nice to desire this confrontation which leads to reconciliation, and for this reason churches are frequently riddled with feuds and tensions, and prone to divisions. If such confrontation prompts a group of whites or blacks to move away from the church body it will not be without precedent. Jesus made demands upon a rich young man — and watched him walk sorrowfully away. He let him go.

In the clash of motives and opinions within Southern Africa, reconciliation is only possible when there is an open honesty between groups, and the real issues are revealed and clarified. Within the churches black and white must reveal their true feelings to one another, and the experience of the values of black consciousness are essential to both black and white. Whites will not be able to know themselves until they see themselves through black eyes.

Nor can men know real reconciliation in positions of oppression and subservience. Liberation is essential to reconciliation, and without the liberation of blacks into positions of true equality in the church there can be no reconciliation.

Out of these discoveries may grow real Christian brotherhood on which a Christian society can be built. Once

the church has obeyed and experienced its way into liberation and reconciliation, it will have the right to be involved in the struggles in society at large, exposing the real issues in Christian terms, and throwing its weight into the heart of the battle.

Action

In this context, the Church can take actions that will speak more loudly than all the words it has spoken in the past. Where can we expect the Church, purged of its subservience to secular authorities, finding new leadership in black wisdom, and gathering the harvest of white expertise, to be engaged?

1. It will put its own house in order. No more dilly dally about racial differentiation in stipends, pensions, ministerial training, elitist schools, representation, or any other sphere.

2. It will refuse to support the structures of racism. A reconsideration of chaplains, marriage officers, radio broadcasts, and ministry in the "independent" homelands will redefine the church involvement in these spheres.

3. It will champion the poor, oppressed, and imprisoned. It will restructure its Reports, Agendas and Budgets to ensure that its priorities lie with people.

4. It will expound liberation and black theology in the light of the gospel of Christ. These mighty concepts need the contribution of the historic churches to rescue them from Government misrepresentation, save them from corruption by political machinations, and spread their positive witness with the utmost clarity to the whole church.

5. It will make a non-violent liberation programme possible. Since the church seeks liberation but abhors violence it must produce complementary pressures from its own criteria to bring radical change and establish a competent infrastructure for the new society. This will include the support and succour of those involved in the struggle at all levels.

6. It will make the post-liberation situation governable. Nothing can stop the emancipation of South African blacks from their subservience, and whites from their imprisonment in the jailors chair. Our theological basis for this belief is backed by historical, political, economic and military

convictions. But enormous problems will have to be faced as blacks move into a dominant position in a multi-racial South Africa.

Whites, totally indoctrinated for a generation, will suddenly find the whole basis of their lives undermined, and could easily become quite ungovernable. Positive teaching in the Churches **now** will lay foundations in mens' minds for new life to be built upon **then**. The Christian leaders they abhor **now** will be the only ones to whom they can turn **then**.

The Church can also prepare for another vital role in the reconstruction. It is a fairly simple matter to rescind wrong laws, but to build a free society that conquers poverty, ignorance and disease, and transforms a nation of deprived and inhibited blacks and whites into a people truly knowing the fullness of life is a desperately difficult thing to do. And a task after the churches own heart — provided they accept their present responsibility.

7. It will be prepared to die. Although churchmen have declared with authoritative profundity that the Church is the Body of Christ many have never really believed they could trust him with it and have spent most of their lives protecting it themselves. Jesus made it very clear that his work did not depend upon money, buildings, and organisations — in fact, he frequently saw these as a peril, and his followers have certainly found it so down the centuries. Persecution produced liberation, and liberation produced celebration.

A renewed church in Africa will almost certainly know this too, both in the battles that come before liberation and those that come afterwards. It will suffer increasing attacks upon its personnel and property from Government, and will lose the protection of the State. It can expect to lose the support of some influential, wealthy, traditionalist, frightened members. Some of its ministers will lose their privileges and their status; premises will be lost through reclassification; funds will be affected; ministers and members will be imprisoned or interned. The closer it comes to the purpose of Christ in South Africa today, the more temporal power the church will lose.

But it will be a movement of God amongst the people that will be light to all the world.



ON VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTION

Structural violence shows itself when resources and powers are unequally shared and are the property of a restricted number who use them not for the good of all but for their own profit and for the domination of the less favoured.

When a system, says Thomas Merton, without resort to overt force, *compels* people to live in conditions of abjection, helplessness, wretchedness that keeps them on the level of beasts rather than of men, it is plainly violent. To make men live on the subhuman level against their will, to constrain them in such a way that they have no hope of escaping their condition, is an unjust exercise of force. Those who in some way or other concur in the oppression — and perhaps profit by it — are exercising violence even

though they may be preaching pacifism. And their supposedly peaceful laws, which maintain this spurious kind of order, are in fact instruments of violence and oppression.

When violence is institutionalized in this way then law and order are put at its service. Structural or institutionalized violence therefore characterizes a system which results in exploitation and lack of freedom and deprives the oppressed of their livelihood or of a worthwhile human life. If people are starving, when this is objectively avoidable, then violence is committed and if that starvation is an effect of the existing social and financial system, then we have structural violence or alternatively violent structures. The adjective is as applicable in this case as it is to certain weapons of war.

— J.G. Davies
"Christians, Politics and Violent Revolution.."

The Papers of the Black Renaissance Convention, held at Hammanskraal in December 1974, have just been published by Ravan Press.

They are compulsory reading for anyone who would find their feet in the flood of new pressures sweeping through Southern Africa today.

Pro Veritate is glad to print the Foreward by Thoahlane Thoahlane as a review and introduction to the book itself. The papers themselves include:

Introduction — Rev. S.P. Mkhathshwa

1. The Educational World of Blacks in South Africa — G.M. Nkondo
2. The Christian Challenge of Black Theology — Dr. Manas

Buthelezi

3. Towards the Practical Manifestations of Black Consciousness — Mafika Pascal Gwala
4. The Black Women in South Africa — Dr. Fatima Meer
5. Black Consciousness and the Economic Position of the Black Man in South Africa — S.M. Motsuenyane
6. The Labour Situation in South Africa — Harold Nxasana and Foszia Fisher
7. Social Communications (Mass Media) Among a Developing People — Rt. Rev. Mandlenkosi A. Swane
8. Black Consciousness and the Black Church: An Historical-Theological Interpretation — Prof. James H. Cone

THE BLACK RENAISSANCE CONVENTION

— Thoahlane Thoahlane

The Black Renaissance Convention came at a time when the attention and the minds of the black people in the country were being constantly applied to the question of the survival of the basic tenets of Black Consciousness. With the passage of time from the beginning of the exposition of Black Consciousness, it had become quite clear that the powers-that-be were losing patience with the exponents of Black Consciousness especially in view of the critical stance taken by these people with respect to the policies of separate development as a whole. This had been made evident by the spate of bannings in 1973 and 1974 and the large-scale detentions of SASO and BPC leadership towards the end of 1974 and 1975. At the time of the Convention, about 40 people were reported arrested or detained without any indications of when they would be charged.

This kind of climate marked the beginning of a re-examination by the Black people of where they stood, vis-a-vis the direction to be taken by them, especially at a time when authentic black expression of the people's aspirations in the political, economic and social spheres was at such a low ebb.

These days, we the Blacks of South Africa insist, like other Blacks in other parts of the world, on speaking for ourselves. The insistence is part of a larger national conviction, that only we ourselves are competent to interpret the Black experience — that it is we and we exclusively who are capable of feeling and thinking and acting in our own best interests.

Cultural creepy-crawlies

The Whites in our country live *over there*, inhabiting, as it were, another world. Alienated and insulated from us, they cannot possibly feel, along their blood, what it actually means to be Black in this country. Small wonder, therefore, that their

literature about us, that falls thick on library shelves, generally depicts us merely as so many cultural creepy-crawlies.

Cultural creepy-crawlies: interesting and exotic; a dark and menacing presence haunting the frontiers of Western civilisation. The complexity of our 'human veins' is a reality far beyond their grasp, beyond the reach of their ethnic imagination.

A complex reality, indeed, whose depths only we can fathom.

The Black Renaissance Convention was 'a convention of the Black people by the Black people for the Black people'. It was an occasion for us to come together 'to re-examine our cultural heritage in the light of modern and contemporary developments' and in terms of our 'singular existential experience'.

In an attempt to present a cross-section of the thinking within black circles, a number of individuals were invited to read papers. As it will become apparent, no attempt was made to restrict or confine speakers to a specific theme. Hence the wide range of subjects to be found in this volume. But significantly, in spite of the wide thematic range, the speakers were unanimous in their demand for a radical re-reading of the Black experience. All of them felt that the urgent need was to move away from the colonial pathology of submitting ourselves to White judgement toward recognising our own autonomous and sacrosanct identity.

Underlying all the papers is a passionate plea for the development of unblinking self-confidence in the shaping of our destiny. As one reads through the papers one gets a strong sense of this destiny as a supremely precious Black condition, a special quality of life the denial of which constitutes an evil worse than death. Black South Africa is called upon to work as never before for the achievement of this quality, everywhere and all the time — in factories; in banks; in the mass-media; in

the schools; in the Homelands; as well as in Church.

Bringing together

The most important aspect of the Black Renaissance Convention must surely be its success in bringing together the various sectors of the black community in spite of disagreement about strategies for the way ahead. The Convention happened at a time when the gap between young and old was widening and when the difference was growing in political thinking between those who believe in the politics of complete non-collaboration with the present system and those who believe there is value in the politics of participation through the Bantustan system.

The debate between the two viewpoints, joined by and large by the rest of the conference, showed how sensitive the black community has become to its manipulation by the powers-that-be through the Bantustan policy. This takes on an historical dimension in that there had been no previous indication of the people's attitude to such questions at any broadly representative conference.

At a broader level, the Black Renaissance Conference was a call to the Black Community to take upon itself the trusteeship role over its own affairs. It had become evident that the exponents of Black Consciousness were right in proclaiming the Black man to be on his own. Clearly it was time that the entire community shared ideas on ways and means of creating a better world for themselves in the country of their birth. The myth of the notions of despondency and dependence usually associated with the Black man had been exploded both inside and outside the country and it was time this Black Community of South Africa stopped philosophising about Black Consciousness and began to practically implement programmes that would lead them to a more self-reliant level of consciousness. This had to happen in the fields of labour, education, culture, women's leadership and broadly in the political sphere.

Political football

The term "Renaissance" ordinarily denotes a re-awakening by a people. In this instance it cannot be ascertained to what extent this re-awakening has been successfully sparked off by the Black Renaissance Convention. The value of a soul-searching conference of this nature is often not in the immediate sense of good resolutions being passed but more in provoking thought and asking the right questions. It cannot be denied that, as an oppressed community, the South African black community shows signs of lethargy and apparent resignation to being the political football of white politicians. Too much is said for them, about them and to them but very little by them. Often it escapes the minds of the Blacks in the country that any oppressive system will only succeed to cow down people only to the extent to which the oppressed allow it.

Informing the volume, which brings together in a single place a number of perspectives, is a committed and self-assured Black intelligence. There is also, radiating through and through, our indomitable will to survive, anchored on a faith in the ultimate validity of our struggle.

To Blacks, this volume should be both instructive and resolutely encouraging.

It can only be hoped that there will be creative thinking and valuable follow-up to the papers read at the conference. It is

not often that Blacks meet and certainly it would be sad if nothing concrete comes out of this rare kind of meeting. Ironically, the paper by Mr Pascal Gwala which perhaps is the most hard-hitting and carries the greatest indictment of the Black people, nevertheless is likely to provoke the greatest soul-searching by Blacks. This in itself is a necessary step towards a meaningful renaissance. We can only hope that the process will go on towards completion even many months after the conference. It is in helping this type of process that the need for a book of this nature has been felt.

Black Renaissance (R1,95)
Ravan Press,
P.O. Box 31134,
80 Jorissen Street,
Braamfontein.



A JOB TO PROMOTE A NON-VIOLENT COMMUNITY?

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation, a movement committed to non-violence both as a way of life and as a means of building a world community, is now accepting recommendations and applications for a staff position in its international secretariat. Persons applying for this opening should be, in the first place, committed to non-violence in theory and in practice. They should be ready and able to work in some collective style, and as part of an international team. Reasonable fluency in written and spoken English is expected, and other language skills such as German, French, Spanish, Italian — are desirable and appreciated. Clerical skills are also necessary.

We welcome applications from persons with experience in the peace movement at local, national and/or international levels. And we especially encourage applications from people with experience or skills in such areas as non-violence training, campaign organising, administration, journalism, or fundraising.

The position is open to anyone regardless of sex, race, religion, age, or marital status. Basic salary is adequate, with adjustments according to need.

The present staff also lives collectively, and we hope that new staff members will be willing to consider living collectively with continuing staff members.

The IFOR office is located in Brussels, Belgium. The position is open immediately, and we'd like to fill it no later than 1 August 1976. Final confirmation of employment will be made after ca. three months of co-work. Period of employment is open to discussion, but a 2-3 year commitment is desirable. Applications, containing curriculum vitae and a personal letter describing reasons for interest in and qualification for the work, and including date and period of time available, should be sent to:

International Fellowship of Reconciliation
35, rue van Elewyck
1050 Brussels, Belgium
Tel. (02) 648 6524

BLACK CREATIVITY AS A PROCESS OF LIBERATION

manas buthelezi

African Bank Celebration, Cape Town, March 21st, 1975

This day on which we celebrate the launching of the African Bank has a significance beyond itself. In the final analysis what is of paramount importance is not the matter of the setting up of the African Bank as such, however economically significant and historic this may be, but what the existence of this bank tells us about what has happened and is happening to the soul of the black man whose creative forces have been lying almost dormant for three centuries.

In a sense the last three centuries can be rightly called the dark ages of the black man's spirit of creativity. It was a time during which many a black man largely only saw himself as a victim of political circumstances. He waited and hoped that the outward circumstances would change before he could activate the creative forces within him. He allowed the outward circumstances to set the pace and time table for the manifestation of the creativity of his spirit.

Now we have realized that we can no longer wait. We can no longer wait for circumstances and the people to change before we can do the job that needs to be done. We can no longer wait for dehumanising laws to change before we can involve our people in self-help projects and processes that will in a therapeutic fashion enable them to become aware of their worth and potential as human beings, an awareness that defies the adverse legal outward circumstances.

We can no longer wait for constitutional conditions of racial polarisation to change before taking upon ourselves to lay a black foundation of racial harmony in South Africa. In short we can no longer wait to take initiatives of positive action even when we find ourselves beset by negative outward circumstances.

The African Bank is an instance of the black man's creative and positive action under the economic circumstances where there is no equal sharing of wealth in South Africa. It is a penultimate step taken by the black man before South Africa has decided to move towards the ultimate solution of its problems.

It is therefore fitting that I should use this celebration of the African Bank as a point of departure in sharing with you my thoughts on the topic "Black Creativity as a process of Liberation"

Liberation of History

Literature of the 19th century especially is full of statements that have denigrated the Black man. It was argued for instance that the colonisation of Africa was a God-sent blessing because left to her devices Africa would not have the incentive for progress and creativity. This was used to explain why the African did not invent the wheel.

Even in school African history was merely a footnote in the teaching of European history. May I add that even today in our schools the basic assumption is that significant South African history began in 1652. It was and is tacitly assumed that before Europe came to Africa, Africa was standing still.

That is why today in our schools we need a teaching of history that reflects the black man's perspective. Before this

can happen, we must raise black historians who are creative enough to rewrite South African history in the light of the black man's historical presuppositions. You know, for instance, that it is a contentious issue as to whether the so-called Bantus had always been in what is today known as South Africa. I believe that the black man had always been in Africa including South Africa. He was free to move up and down its length and across its breadth at and during times chosen by him. But, you see, I am no historian. I cannot speak with authority. That is why we need our own historians.

We need our own historians who will tell the story of our own lives in the historical drama of South Africa. We need black historians who will treat the factor of the black man not under the item of the racial problems of South Africa but under the item of the heroes who have helped build South Africa's skyscrapers and helped make South Africa the world's largest gold producer.

There is a limit to which somebody else can tell your own story. It would take a genius of a man to tell your story exactly as you would tell it. There are not many of such men around. That is why we need our own narrators and interpreters of historical development.

There is a sense in which our liberation is inseparable from the liberation of truth about our past, present and future. Many people understand liberation as only referring to physical and political domination. Liberation has also something to do with the liberation of the spirit. When the black man begins to create concepts about his life, destiny, and aspirations, that would be part of a process of his liberation.

As long as somebody else creates concepts about your life and its impact on him that is a sign that you are still in bondage. Let me illustrate my point. As long as somebody else says to you: "You are black, you are black," blackness as a concept remains a symbol of oppression and of something that conjures up feelings of inferiority.

But when the black man himself says: "I am black, I am black", blackness assumes a different meaning altogether. It then becomes a symbol of liberation and of self-articulation. Self-articulation is the setting loose of the chains of the spirit. Just as the setting loose of iron chains is accompanied with disturbing noise, self-articulation cannot happen without creating its own impact. It inspires some and disturbs others depending on whether they see it as guilty spectators or as people who experience being introduced to a new lease of life.

Black Consciousness

That is why the phenomenon of Black Consciousness has been greeted with such a mixture of public reaction. To some black consciousness is self-articulation. It is a black man's attempt to create a world of concepts about himself.

To others black consciousness is a threat to South Africa's peace of mind. If this is the case we should not be surprised. It belongs to the nature of novelty to be threatening to the status quo. Creativity as a process of liberating the mind to create and interpret concepts about the self is always threatening to those

who exist outside the self. You will remember what happened to those scientists who introduced a revolutionary idea that the earth rotates on its own axis as it revolves around the sun. When one of them was forced to recant he said: "I recant, but she continues to revolve."

If black consciousness threatens perhaps the only thing a black man can do is to say "I am sorry for the inconvenience this is causing you. But I continue to be myself and to be my own interpreter".

Yesterday I was more fortunate than most of you to see the cow whose meat you are going to eat this afternoon. I saw it while it was still on the truck and while it was tied to a post by means of a very small rope. Each time it tried to get itself loose. As much as I was looking forward to eating its meat, I could understand its creative struggle for liberation. It desperately tried to get itself free. If it has succeeded in breaking the rope and running in freedom towards me I am sure that I would be scared by its freedom even though from the cow's point of view it would see its freedom as a positive thing.

The point I am trying to make here is that a creative struggle for liberation always carries with it an element of threat depending on where you stand in relation to it.

If for instance the African Bank became so successful and attractive that people withdrew their moneys from other banks and invested in it, it would certainly become a threat to other banking institutions. But that would not mean that black

people are not entitled to exercise their own creativity in setting up such self-help projects as the African Bank.

Creative effort

In the Bible we read that man was created in the image of God and given domination over the rest of creation. Man's creative effort to subdue nature through technology is an expression, however partial, of God's divine image in him. Technology and art are just some of the examples of human creativity, man creating after God.

It is only recently that the black man has drawn full implications of the fact that he too was created in the image of God. The so-called Black Theology is an important theoretical context of this realization. Black Theology is thus another example of the creativity of the black man's spirit.

It is a recent discovery on the part of the black man to realize that he is entitled to interpret the Bible in the light of his own experience and presuppositions. For the first time the Bible has become an open book in the sense of being a liberating factor by enabling the black man to think creatively about his spiritual existence. As soon as you begin to think creatively there is set in motion the loosening of the truth about your existence and destiny. In a sense you become a free man with an open future. That is why black creativity is a process of liberation. It is a way of establishing a prophetic presence.



letter to the editor:

WHITHER THE CHURCH?

Sir,

Following the peace-consultation held during April by the Northern Cape and Western Transvaal Council of Churches in Mafeking where all churches, white and black were invited, we must say that a church divided along ethnic, racial or denominational lines cannot even begin to perform its function. It was hoped that this consultation would bring together people across the mentioned lines, so that they may be able to relate with each other on burning Christian issues.

Whites will never understand how blacks feel and think when they hear it from other whites; it must come from blacks. Blacks will never believe that whites can be free of racism until they meet them. This is a view held by many people who feel that we cannot just stop at saying that 'whites are bad', 'blacks are stupid' without doing something about the situation. If the Church cannot incorporate this in its mission, it may be true that it lacks vision and courage.

We had brilliant speeches from Mr. Letlhaku, Dr. Kistner, Messrs Makubire and Manthata and Revv. Butterworth and Ngakane. We thank these men of great vision. Though sons of our system, they think across the lines I have mentioned above.

A change in the hypocritical structure of our Christian life needs obedience more than prayer. Christians must remember that they are the forces of God-given activity on this planet.

They are the hands, feet, minds, eyes of Christ as he leads the World with His Spirit to the manifestation of the Kingdom of Heaven.

A suggestion has been made at this consultation that Blacks pull themselves together, and whites do the same to evaluate the roles they must play to make Christ alive in this world. Whites and blacks have different existential experiences which serve as no help for these groups to find truth together. If each group can find its own truth, the ground may have been prepared to get to the truth Christ wants us to reach.

Lack of interest in an enterprise such as the Council of Churches, is not because of an ecumenical crisis between Catholics and Protestants but between traditional and experimental forms of Church life. The former have too long neglected the social and political implications of the Gospel.

Whether we are in White RSA, Bophuthatswana or Rehoboth people who make policies that affect our everyday life are our Christian brothers, with whom we sometimes share a seat in Church. Is their Christianity going to end at the Church door after the service, or is it going to go out to the frontiers of our everyday life — from the kitchen to the war at the border?

*T.E. Mkuchane
Mafeking*



WHY THE GOVERNMENT FEARS THE C.I.

The Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice and many other Government spokesmen continue their attacks on the Christian Institute. We are apparently so dangerous that whole Acts of Parliament have been passed to deal with us, and Comissions and Courts spend months investigating us.

It appears that we may be banned, summonsed, charged, interned, smeared, or attacked at any moment. In the eyes of authority the Christian Institute represents a major threat.

Incredible!

The Christian Institute has only a dozen full-time executive staff in the whole of South Africa. Twelve! Its membership is a few thousand!

12 v. 30 million and the Government is afraid? 3 000 members mean dire peril to 3 000 times ten thousand?

Nonsense!

The Christian Institute has no power at all.

- **The WITNESS is powerful.** We witness to a living God who men know through Jesus Christ, and that God is judgment on oppressors and hope for the downtrodden. He is the Lord and Liberator of men. Where Government policies are opposed to Scripture their practices and proposals are threatened by the God to whom we witness. He has the power — and the glory: and the Government know it and fear him. The Witness is indestructible.
- **The CHURCH is powerful.** The Church is the Body of Christ, which as Paul reminds us, has many members, and the Christian Institute is part of the Church of Christ. It is a small member, often a rather uncomfortable, weak, sinful member, but part of the Church nevertheless, and

to attack the Body of Christ is a fearful, crucifying thing for any Government to do. God is not mocked.

- **HISTORY is powerful.** There is a march of liberation and progress written on the pages of history which every Afrikaner knows full well for it is written in his own history. The onward march of God's purpose in history is an indelible part of Christian theology; the promise of an unfolding new life, the hope of things to come on Earth as in Heaven are testimony to the fact that no elitist minority group on Earth can hold society back. To try and stop history is a fearful thing indeed, and action against the C.I. is a diversion to take men's awareness away from what is really happening.

* * * * *

No-one is afraid of a powerless little group like the Christian Institute. It is the things we believe in that are so powerful, and when they hear the testimony many others are encouraged to stand up for the truth also.

If Government is so troubled about us, and so sure they are right, let them throw away their uncivilised cowardly weapons of physical violence, and tackle us on the ground of our beliefs.

Everybody knows that we represent no physical violent danger to South Africa. Everybody knows that, despite our failings, we seek to follow the Prince of Peace, Justice and Love.

Let the Government attack us on the things to which we bear witness, on the things we really are, not on artificial grounds developed for political purposes. Let them challenge our theology, our understanding of the Scriptures, our belief in the Lord of History at work in his Church and South Africa today.

They dare not.

That is why they are afraid.



- Readers of PRO VERITATE who are desirous of being linked more closely with the work of the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE may contact any of the following:

Oshadi Phakathi
P.O. Box 31134,
Braamfontein,
2017
TRANSVAAL

Theo Kotze
1 Long Street,
Mowbray,
7700
CAPE PROVINCE

Cos Desmond
250 Boom Street,
Pietermaritzburg,
3201
NATAL

Horst Kleinschmidt
P.O. Box 13077,
UTRECHT,
Holland.

AGAPE — THE LOVE FEAST THAT KEEPS US IN THE FAITH

theo kotze

Thursday is Agape time in the Christian Institute in Cape Town. An average of twenty people gather at lunch-time to share in a rich fellowship of love and commitment to all who are suffering. Probably, over one hundred members of the C.I. meet together in this way.

It is a meal which for FIVE YEARS has been central to the life and witness of the C.I. in Cape Town.

At crisis moments, such as we have experienced in recent years, over two hundred C.I. members in Cape Town have at one time shared in the Agape meal.

Agape is the word used in the New Testament for self-giving love. In ancient times it took on a concrete form in the "love feast", which emphasized a commitment to one another and to all others who were suffering for the faith.

Bread and wine are shared as all sit in a circle and the meal concludes with the passing of the peace.

The following quotations from the liturgy used on these occasions serve to illustrate the focus of thought and prayer:

Intercession for the sick, the sorrowful, the distressed, the lonely: *Jesus said: 'Come unto me all you who labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest' (Matt. 11:28).*

In the light of this we remember the loving, caring ministry of Christ to all in trouble. His healing of the sick. His comfort of the sorrowful and the distressed. His abiding presence with the lonely.

We are repentant for our carelessness, our insensitivity, our judgmental attitudes, our lovelessness.

We commit ourselves to be more sensitive to the needs of others, to care more deeply and to love more tenderly.

Intercession for the Church:

Jesus said, 'Your light must shine in the sight of men, so that, seeing your good work, they may give praise to your Father in heaven.' (Matt. 5:16).

In the light of this we give thanks for the liberating light the Church of Christ has brought to the world, especially in education, human dignity and social service.

But we are repentant for our dismal failures: our involvement in war; our unreadiness to change what needs changing; our lovelessness.

We commit ourselves to strive to be true to the highest we have learned from the Church and to be true to Christ in striving to build up the Church so that we may all be able to live more fully and see more clearly.

Intercession for the unity of the Church:

Jesus prayed, 'May they all be one, Father, as you are in me and I am in you, may they be in us, so that the world may believe.' (John 17:21).

In the light of this, we are repentant for the anti-Christian divisions in the Church: divisions along historical, national, confessional and racial lines even within the particular denominations.

We are especially sorry for our part in this. But we give thanks for the great men and women and organisations in the Church, searching passionately, and with creative vision for the unity of the people of God in all the world.

We commit ourselves to strive to share fully in working for the re-union of the Church. In our personal attitudes and relationships; in our leadership within our own denominations; in our participation in the work of ecumenical bodies; so that all men might be saved.

Intercession for the Government of our country:

Micah said, 'This is what Yahweh asks of you, only this, to act justly, to love tenderly, and to walk humbly with your God.' (Micah 6:8).

In the light of this we are repentant for unequal treatment of persons of different race; bannings without trial; deportations without conviction of any crime; detentions without trial; other arbitrary actions.

We are repentant for the enforced separations of people black from white; husband from wife; parents from children.

We pray for those who dare to claim that this loveless injustice is doing the will of God.

We confess with shame that we have all in some measure been party to this. But we give thanks for the provisions of housing for the under-privileged; the care provided for the aged, the orphans, the handicapped; the restraining of, and protection against crime; the creative social structures for stability.

We commit ourselves to strive to oppose injustice, prejudice, discrimination, and inhumanity, and to show in our dealings with others, the liberation of true justice, love and human respect.



NOTES ON CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE NEWS



- Now that the backlog caused by the Schlebusch Commission and then the Affected Organisations Act has been overcome, we have a **Financial Statement** available at the end of every month.
- Dr Naudé's assistant, HORST KLEINSCHMIDT, left the country without warning during April, and although we regret his absence, we respect his decision. He is now in Holland, where he has been appointed by the Dutch Churches as a consultant on African affairs. The Christian Institute has appointed Horst as its honorary representative in Europe.
ILONA KLEINSCHMIDT applied for a passport as soon as she heard where her husband had gone, but has so far received only the constant refrain: "Come back next month." Baby daughter ZINZI unfortunately needs further treatment for her illness.
- The S.A. Council of Churches Consultation on MORATORIUM received little support when it convened at Hammanskraal on 18 May. Of the eleven delegates, **none** came from the main historic churches. Only the C.I. had responded to the S.A.C.C.'s request for comments, and we agreed to prepare a further document providing facts for action to complement the booklet to be produced by the S.A.C.C.
- Plans are being laid for a C.I. Seminar later this year on "Christianity, Capitalism and Socialism".
- Cape Town members did the hard work to produce the draft for the new Constitution reported in this issue.
- Namibia features strongly in recent reports and plans from the Cape Region. Several Seminars have been held, and a whole series of events are planned in conjunction with the churches and the Christian Centre in Windhoek.
- Natal Region has been taking a look at itself since the arrival of Cos Desmond, the new Director, and plans to undertake **no** major community development or social welfare projects. It sees its task as providing support for its members involved in such actions, particularly in the conscientising aspects of the work.
- The Rev. Mashobada Mayatula has joined our Transvaal staff as a Field Worker: he is a minister of the African Independent Churches, past-President of the Black Peoples' Convention, and ex-detainee. One of his main concerns is a new project — Iziko la MaKrestu — which plunges to the heart of the relationship of Christianity and African religion, in this period of rapid social change.
- Sebata Kgomo — covering a number of educational and community development projects in the Pretoria area — has our Regional Director, Oshadi Phakathi in the consultant's chair.
- One of the projects underway in the Transvaal Region is an enquiry into the basic positive question: "What sort of South Africa do you want?" Amongst the groups being set up to produce ideas and actions are black groups, white groups and mixed groups. The main channels of enquiry are: political, economic, educational, and ecclesiastical.

The Annual General Meeting of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa will be held on Friday, September 17th at 7.30 p.m. at the Edendale Lay Training Centre, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.



PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUTION FOR C.I.

The Annual General Meeting of the Christian Institute will be asked to approve a revised Constitution this year. The full draft is being sent to all members for consideration and comment before August 31, 1976.

PRO VERITATE publishes below the NAME, AIMS, BASIS, MEMBERSHIP and FUNCTIONS section of the new Constitution. These clauses spell out very clearly the idea of the Institute as it is now part of the Church of Christ; dedicated to the struggle for Christian liberation in Southern Africa; involved in activities to achieve this end; and open to any person who wholeheartedly supports its aims.

1. Name

The name shall be: THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, hereafter called the Christian Institute or the Institute.

2. Aim

The aim of the Christian Institute is

- to witness to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord
- to seek the coming of His Kingdom on earth
- to serve the Church in its vocation as the Body of Christ

3. Basis

The Christian Institute is based upon

- the self-revealing activity of God in history — creating, suffering, judging, redeeming, witnessed to in Scripture, acknowledged and celebrated in the fellowship of the Church Universal, and experienced through sharing in His mission in the world — to reconcile all persons and things to Himself in Christ. (Col. 1:17)

4. Membership

Membership shall be open to any person who wholeheartedly supports the aims of the Institute and is prepared to help carry out its functions on the basis set out in the Constitution.

Comment: This open membership suggestion still keeps adherence to the Christian basis of the Institute.

5. Functions

The primary function of the Christian Institute as a particular instrument of the Body of Christ, is to support and promote whatever activities and relationships might strengthen the Church's role in the struggle for Christian liberation in southern Africa.

In particular:

- 5.1 to develop working groups, however small, of people who are trying to anticipate what a 'new South Africa' conformed to the will of God would be like; to understand more clearly what this means; and who are therefore seeking to express through their own life-styles, relationships and situations, the ethical demands of the Gospel;
- 5.2 to help such groups to become working models of Christian community — that is, to grow in
 - penitence and healing
 - joy and thanksgiving, confession and commitment
 - sharing and simplicity of life
 - solidarity with the poor, the suffering and the oppressed
 - care of the earth and concern for the common good
 - active listening to the Word and Spirit
 - love of all others as much as of themselves.
- 5.3 to help such groups to relate to one another for encouragement, mutual assistance and, where appropriate, joint action;
- 5.4 to develop and maintain functional structures of communication within the membership, and between the Institute and the wider community;
- 5.5 to develop, maintain and contribute to a continuing public debate in which the biblical witness to God's demand for social righteousness is brought to bear on the policies and actions of the authorities;
- 5.6 to undergird this public debate with such non-violent action for social change as is deemed relevant and necessary;
- 5.7 to appoint and maintain such national and regional committees, officers and staff as are required;
- 5.8 to raise and administer the necessary funds and other resources for the Institute's work.



VERKLARING OOR BESLUIT VAN DIE SINODE VAN DIE GEREFORMEERDE KERKE IN NEDERLAND i.s. STEUN AAN DIE WERELDRAAD SE PCR FONDS

Vir die jonger (swart) N.G. Kerke sal die besluit van die Sinode van die G.K.N. as 'n teleurstelling kom in dié opsig dat daar nie genoegsaam gehoor gegee is nie aan die gees van die beroep van ds. E.T.S. Buti en die ander afgevaardigdes van die drie jonger N.G. Kerke verlede jaar tydens die samesprekinge in Nederland naamlik om die PCR-program van die Wêreldraad van Kerke te bly steun totdat definitief bewys kon word dat die bydrae van hierdie fonds in werklikheid geweld ondersteun.

Aan die ander kant dwing die besluit van die G.K.N. se Sinode die NGK om nou duidelik te sê waar die N.G.K. staan ten opsigte van sulke omstrede sake soos gemengde huwelike, gesamentlike aanbidding, die be-eindiging van rasse-diskriminasie op alle vlakke en die regering se rasse-beleid. 'n Gewelddige verantwoordelikheid rus nou op sowel die GKN as die NGK om sonder versuim tot 'n diepgaande gesprek met die drie jonger N.G. Kerke (en ook met die GKSA indien dié kerk wil meedeel) waar dié sake openhartig bespreek en tot 'n ooreenstemmende besluit geraak moet word. As 'n mens let op

die besluite van die jongste Sinodes van die NGK in verband met hierdie omstrede vraagstukke sal dit 'n ingrypende verandering van standpunt vereis om gehoor te gee aan die besluit en die versoeke van die Sinode van die GKN.

Alles sal afhang van hoe gou die gesprek op gang kan kom en wat daaruit gaan voortkeur. In ons huidige gespanne rasse-situasie is die tydsfaktor van beslissende belang. Enige onnodige vertraging kan nie alleen die drie jonger Kerke vermeen nie maar kan ook daartoe lei dat ontwikkelinge in Suid-Afrika die uitslag van sulke uitgerekte samesprekinge kan inhaal en verbystek en daardeur grootliks irrelevant kan maak.

— *Beyers Naudé*



REVEREND REVELS

... sharing their meals with joy ...

When clergy meet across the colour line in the fellowship of Church Synods, Conferences and Assemblies, some talk as if these "magical moments" are sufficient to justify our boast of the Church being One and Undivided. The talk revolves around how natural and harmonious it all is. Why, the heavens neither collapse nor murmur in disapproval. It all goes to show how ridiculous the apartheid society is!

But there is a terrible superficiality in these multi-racial gatherings and this kind of evaluation. In a real sense it is nothing more than hypocritical window-dressing.

A few years back the Church could at least claim to be the pace-setter in these multi-racial "breakthroughs". Nowadays the commercial world, without anything of the expressed constraining love of Christ, is doing the multi-racial thing far more often (and if 5 star hotel setting is the criterion) more lavishly!

Aware of both the infrequency of these Church meetings and the shallowness of the fellowship, some clergy are questioning the need to perpetrate this annual window-dressing operation.

Surely the response is not to question the validity of these annual parades, but to cultivate meaningful Black and White relationships outside of the Synod/Conference atmosphere. **A meal remains one of the most significant ways of building relationships and establishing trust. Meals are much needed means of grace in our sick and divided society.**

Certain Black and White clergy in Johannesburg are currently sharing together over meals in a home so as to create a basis which will hopefully be conducive to open and constructive dealings in the official gatherings of the Church. It's all so easily done, so beautiful in it's results, so necessary for growth and unity.

Perhaps our One and Undivided Synods of tomorrow will only be possible if there is multi-racial fraternising and challenging today.

SOME ETHICAL PROPOSITIONS FOR

AN ECUMENIZING CHURCH

margaret nash

— from 'Reflection' at the conclusion of 'The Ecumenical Movement of the 1960's' by Dr. Margaret Nash.

1. For the institutional church now beginning to recognize itself as a minority belief-group over-identified with the affluent sectors of the world's population, the primary question is that of a life-style demonstrably and convincingly open to the renewing and unifying will of God for all mankind and therefore to the regenerative and transformative work of the Holy Spirit. The essential marks of the church, traditionally located in preaching the Word, apostolic succession, Bible and sacraments, now emerge as solidarity with Christ in his messianic work and suffering incurred through participation in his struggle against the demonic powers of alienation at work in the world. Concern for institutional preservation and extension and for the unification of institutional segments — ecclesiastical ecumenism — is valid only while expressing and serving the vocation to live pro-existent, *huper pantos*.

2. The criterion of faithfulness to a particular tradition will be much less that of conformity with the past as expressed in credal formulation and liturgical order and more that of whether the living community functions as the subject and bearer of its religious history; that is, whether in the experience of those outside its fellowship and of oncoming generations the traditioning of the good news of Jesus Christ effectively mediates awareness of and evokes response to the active presence of God in the world.

3. Christian humanism requires a renewed sensitivity to the implications of individuality, imagination, creativity and the need of persons to participate as social beings; and hence a new grappling with the problem of personal significance in a world population of billions, and new attention to the principle of subsidiarity whereby decision-making may effectively be decentralized without loss of the element of structure needed for responsible decision-making. Church order and conciliar relations will have to embody a new balance between the authority of the whole and the freedom of each part and will have to seek constantly for new ways of expressing the relation between the demands of authority and the requirements of freedom.

4. Since all human activity must be seen as subject to the "eschatological proviso of God" and no group or value-system be acknowledged as THE subject and bearer of human history, the church has to work with and stand over against all forms of human striving for the establishment of peace and justice. It has always to mediate the memory of suffering — understood both as universal human experience and as uniquely focussed in the passion of Christ; and such mediation requires that the church spend and be spent even to the risk of death, in the hope of being raised to new life.

5. While to faith there is that in the tradition which is final, not all that pertains to the tradition is final. Discernment of what is final depends on existential commitment to living by truth known and thereby experiencing and learning to recognise the anonymous and pseudonymous presence of God in persons and activities outside the tradition. Denominational history and religious history in general tend like all histories to

be the record of what has triumphed, to be the story of the human victors; and intra- and inter-traditional analysis and reflection centred on the successful and divorced from the praxis of a life lived in and for the world lead to alienation and idolatry. An ecumenical ethic giving due weight to the demands of the future will focus on what is universal in the tradition, on the "traces of suffering" which though weak images are strong enough to deny our nothingness and become the traces of judgement and salvation. The Judaeo-Christian tradition points from itself and beyond itself to exodus as the necessary way to *katallage*, that bringing into peaceful relationship and embracing of the other-as-other that is the unique creative power of *agape*. Agapeic structuring of human consciousness through the theological and liturgical-ethical and celebrative life of a covenant-community interacting constantly with the wider human family is the crux of Christian ecumenical obedience.



IT GROWS DARK

by Phyllida Trimming

Father
we have strayed
we made a covenant
and we have not been faithful
we wander in the wilderness
of Sin
we worship gods of our own
making
we are slaves to the gods
of comfort, possessions and pleasure
we stand at the entrance,
Lord God,
to Canaan
or
to Sheol —
Teach us Thy way O Lord.
Teach us Thy way.

'Now write down this rule of life and teach it to the Israelites; make them repeat it, so that it may be on record against them. When I have brought them into the land which I swore to give to their forefathers, a land flowing with milk and honey, and they have plenty to eat and grow fat, they will turn to other gods and worship them, they will spurn me and break my covenant; and many calamities and disasters will follow. Then this rule of life will confront them as a record, for it will not be forgotten by their descendants.'

PRO VERITATE

CHRISTELIKE MAANDBLAD
JUNIE 1976
JAARGANG 15 NR. 1

CHRISTIAN MONTHLY
JUNE 1976
VOLUME 15 NO. 1

SUBSCRIPTION payable in advance. Surface mail, SA and SWA - R3; airmail - R4,20. Cheques and postal orders to be made payable to Pro Veritate (Pty) Ltd., P.O. Box 31135, Braamfontein 2017. Price per single copy - 25c.

OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: Africa and the Far East: Please contact Ms. Muriel D. Bissell, P.O. Box 214, Lusaka, Zambia.

The rest of the world: Please contact Pro Veritate, c/o The Administration Department, G.D.R., P.O. Box 14100, Utrecht, The Netherlands. The Christian Institute, an "affected organisation" by Government decree, cannot receive money from outside South Africa.

PLEASE NOTE: The Editorial Staff of Pro Veritate are not responsible for opinions and standpoints which appear in any article of this monthly magazine other than those in the editorial statements. Printed by Zenith Printers (Pty) Ltd., 80 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein 2001.

PRO VERITATE appears on the 15th of every month.

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