

# PRO VERITATE



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# PRO VERITATE

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### COVER PHOTOGRAPH

SCENE OUTSIDE THE GREAT HALL, WITS.  
UNIVERSITY AFTER THE NUSAS BANNINGS.  
(PHOTOGRAPH BY COURTESY OF THE  
STAR.)

### VOORBLADFOTO

'N TONEEL VOOR DIE „GREAT HALL”,  
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE WITWATERSRAND,  
NA DIE NUSAS-VERBANNINGS. (FOTO  
GOEDGUNSTIGLIK DEUR „THE STAR”  
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## **governmental violence and christian witness**

A storm is raging around the restriction of the 16 student leaders and the decision of the Board and staff executive of the Christian Institute to support those who decide not to co-operate with the commission on grounds of Christian conscience. This whole issue has various aspects which need to be carefully considered.

### **DEMOCRACY REPLACED BY TOTALITARIANISM**

1. *The government is drawing attention away from the real issues by appointing commissions to investigate various organisations like the Christian Institute. Migratory labour, the enforced and impractical homeland policy; atrocious wage gaps, the disparity in educational opportunities, turbulent human relations, the awakening of black consciousness, the frustrations of the de-humanised Coloured people—these are the real issues that demand an urgent solution in a responsible Christian manner.*

Enforced apartheid has failed in one stronghold after another. In a desperate effort to maintain its policy the government is turning more and more to violence against certain groups in our society. This shows alarming totalitarian tendencies, and a turning away from democratic principles. This government, brought to power by more than half the *white* electorate, is violating the principles of democracy; it is taking to itself the roles of ruler, law-maker and judge. It is fortunate indeed that there are the voices of people like Prof. Mathews (Natal) and Prof. v.d. Vyver (Potchefstroom) to sound the warning about something being seriously wrong when the government tries to assume the function of the court-room (Rand Daily Mail, 12.3.73). We would like to add that the Kingdom of Christ excludes this totalitarianism. The fact that the government wants complete control over every aspect of a person's life in South Africa, has led to the militarisation of people's lives—secret police, administrative legislation as against conscientious legislation, enquiries that have to take place secretly, banning without trial, fear campaigns, threats, etc.

The polarisation between black and white was not caused by the students but by the government's policy of apartheid. It is being strangled by its own policy.

### **RESPONSE TO CONSCIENCE**

2. *The students.* It has been alleged that the student leaders were restricted because they were trying to cause the overthrow of the present order. Although it is not always possible to agree with everything that the students say or do during their demonstrations and actions, e.g. the use of bad language, the real problem must never be forgotten. The present system of enforced apartheid *must be changed* because it is unchristian and causes a great deal of misery, suffering

## **regeringsgeweld en christelike afwysing**

Die styd wat op die oomblik woed rondom die inperking van 16 studente-leiers, die Schiebusch-kommissie en lede van die uitvoerende staf en die Raad van die Christelike Instituut wat op grond van hulle Christelike gewete weier om met die kommissie saam te werk het verskillende fasette wat noukeurig onderskei moet word:

### **TOTALITARISME VERVANG DEMOKRASIE**

1. *Die regering.* Deur sy ondersoek deur middel van 'n kommissie van verskeie organisasies soos bv. die Christelike Instituut is die regering besig om die *aandag van die eintlike probleme af te trek*. Trekarbeid, 'n geforseerde en onpraktiese tuisland-beleid, die gruwelike loongapings, ongelyk onderwysgeleenthede versteurde mense-verhoudings, die ontwakende swart-bewuswording en die frustrasie van die ontmensede Kleurlinge eis dat Christelik-verantwoorde oplossings dringend gevind word.

Omdat gedwonge apartheid in een vesting na die ander misluk, wyk die regering van 'n demokratiese optrede af en pas hy regeringsgeweld wat onstellende totalitaristiese neigings aanneem, toe teen sekere groepe in 'n desperate poging om sy beleid te handhaaf. Die regering wat deur meer as die helfte *blanke* kiesers daargestel is, is besig om die hele beginsel van demokrasie te verkrag. Hy is besig om regeerder, wets-fabriseerder en regter te word. Gelukkig is daar waarskuwende stemme soos dié van proff. Mathews (Natal) en v.d. Vyver (Potchefstroom) wat aantoon dat iets baie ernstig verkeerd is as die regering die funksie van die regsaal oorneem (Rand Daily Mail, 12.3.73). Ons wil byvoeg dat die Koningskap van Christus dié totalitarisme uitsluit. Die feit dat die regering volkome beheer oor elke aspek van die mens se lewe wil uitoefen, het tot die militarisering van die mens se lewe in Suid-Afrika gelei—geheime polisie, administratiewe wetgewing teenoor gewetenswetgewing, ondersoeke wat in die geheim geskied, verbanning sonder verhoor, vreesveldtogte, dreigemente, ens.

Dit is nie die studente wat polarisasie tussen wit en swart veroorsaak nie, maar die regering se apartheid-beleid—sy eie beleid het hom aan sy keel beet.

### **'N KLOPPENDE GEWETE**

2. *Die studente.* Daar word beweer dat die studente-leiers onder andere ingeperk is omdat hulle die bestaande orde omver wil werp. Al is dit so dat 'n mens nie met alles in die studente-betogings en -optrede kan saamstem nie, soos bv. die ongure taal wat gebruik word, moet die eintlike probleem nie uit die oog verloor word nie. Die huidige stelsel van geforseerde apartheid *moet verander word* omdat dit onchristelik is en veel onreg, smart en lyding veroorsaak. Die meerderheid

and injustice. The majority of the white voters choose to maintain this system because they believe that this will safe-guard their own comfort, advantages and enrichment. Perhaps the students are simply more honest in staking their all in the effort to attain right and justice.

If there is a choice between obeying God and obeying a government enforcing a cruel and unchristian policy, then God must be obeyed. Whatever else is said of the students, it must be admitted that they are brave enough to face up to the deadly sickness of the system and to insist on a change of the fundamental ills.

### UNCHRISTIAN METHODS

3. *The Schlebusch Commission.* Members of the Board and executive staff of the Christian Institute have decided that they are not able, on grounds of Christian conscience, to co-operate with the commission. More details about this decision will be found elsewhere in this issue of Pro Veritate. As early as February, 1972, when this matter was initiated, the Christian Institute indicated that it objected to such a commission. This objection has now been confirmed by the unchristian restriction of the student leaders without a fair trial. The government itself admits that no crime had been committed.

It has already been said that the entire manner in which this commission operates is unchristian (Die Vaderland, 12.3.73). Many reasons can be given to prove that no fair "hearing" is possible. The doctrine of the Afrikaans churches says clearly that it is an offence against the ninth commandment to create a possibility for someone to bear false witness and to judge someone rashly (Heidelberg Catechism, qu 112). It is amazing that nobody has as yet been able to show why the Christian Institute should be investigated. There has been no complaint. It is clear that the government has heard the echo of its own propaganda against the Institute and is apparently frightened by it. In addition, this investigation is taking place in secret. It could be said to them, as has already been said to the Broederbond: "For everyone who does evil hates the light, and does not come to the light, lest his deeds should be exposed. But he who does what is true comes to the light, that it may be clearly seen that his deeds have been wrought in God" (John 3:20,21). On the other hand, the Christian Institute has nothing to hide and does not work in the dark in any way whatsoever.

The leading article of Die Vaderland, 13.3.73 suggested that the Christian Institute should disband if it is not prepared to co-operate with the commission. The best answer to that is the one given by an old churchman when asked why he was and remained a Christian. His reply was that he could not do otherwise, because God had changed him. We also want to say that we cannot do otherwise. We have to testify in word and deed for Christ and against injustice because we believe that He has also called us to apply the gospel to

blanke kiesers hou die beleid instand omdat hulle glo dat dit hulle eie gerief, verryking en voordeel waarborg. Die studente is miskien net meer eerlik met hulle gewete om alles op die spel te plaas om vir reg en geregtigheid te werk.

God moet gehoorsaam word in teenstelling met die regering as hy 'n onchristelike en wrede beleid afdwing. Wat ookal van die studente gesê word, een ding is seker en dit is dat hulle dapper genoeg is om die dodelike siekte in die stelsel in die oë te staar en op die noodsaaklikheid van wesenlike verandering te bly hamer.

### ONCHRISTELIKE METODES

3. *Die Schlebusch-Kommissie.* Lede van die staf en van die Raad van die Christelike Instituut het besluit dat hulle op grond van hulle Christelike gewete nie hulle weg oopsien om met dié kommissie saam te werk nie. (Elders in dié uitgawe van Pro Veritate word die redes uitgespel.) Dit is belangrik dat daar reeds in die begin van die saak, Februarie 1972, aangetoon is dat die Christelike Instituut beswaar teen so 'n kommissie het. Daardie beswaar is nou deur die onchristelike inperkings van studente-leiers, wat geen regverdige verhoor gehad het nie, bevestig. Die regering erken nou self dat hulle geen misdadig gepleeg het nie.

Daar is reeds gesê dat dié kommissie se hele werkswyse onchristelik is (Die Vaderland, 12.3.73). Talle redes kan genoem word om aan te toon dat hier geen billike „verhoor” is nie. Die kerkleer van die Afrikaanse kerke sê dan ook baie duidelik dat dit 'n oortreding van die negende gebod is as die hek vir moontlike valse getuienis oopgemaak word en as iemand ligvaardig veroordeel word (Heidelbergse Kategismus, vr. 112). Die verstommende is dat niemand egter nog iets kon aantoon waarom die Christelike Instituut ondersoek moet word nie. Daar is geen klag nie en dit is duidelik dat die regering die ego van sy eie propaganda-stories teen die Instituut opvang en skynbaar daarvoor skrik. Buitendien geskied die „ondersoek” in die geheim sodat daar ook aan hulle, soos ook reeds vir die Afrikaner Broederbond aangetoon, gesê moet word: „Want elkeen wat kwaad doen, haat die lig en kom nie na die lig nie, dat sy werke nie bestraf mag word nie. Maar hy wat die waarheid doen, kom na die lig, sodat sy werke *openbaar* kan word, dat hulle in God gedoen is” (Joh. 3:20, 21). Aan die ander kant geskied die werksaamhede van die Christelike Instituut hoegenaamd nie in die geheim nie. Daar is niks wat weggesteek word nie.

Die inleidingsartikel van Die Vaderland van 13.3.73 sê dat as die Christelike Instituut nie met die kommissie wil saamwerk nie, moet hy ontbind. Daarop moet geantwoord word met die voorbeeld van 'n ou kerkvader. Toe aan hom gevra is waarom hy 'n Christen is en een bly, het hy geantwoord dat hy nie anders kan nie omdat God hom verander het. Ons will ook sê dat ons nie anders kan as om in woord en daad vir Christus en teen onreg te getuig nie, omdat ons glo dat Hy ook ons geroep het om die evangelie op *alle aspekte* van die

*all aspects of life.*

Every Christian has a calling to obey God above all other—even above the government. As true believers we stand by the cross of Christ, witnessing on grounds of our Christian consciences for Christ and his gospel, and against these wrong-doings of the government. We refuse to fall in with these deeds. We declare that Christ and his way must be truly followed, or He will once more be crucified. The government and its supporters who are already persecuting people in an unchristian manner must remember that Christ asked Saul, when he was persecuting the faithful: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4). With all our power we want to join John the Baptist and the gospel of Christ in crying: "Repent ... the axe is laid to the root of the trees; every tree therefore that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire" (Matt. 3).

lewe toe te pas.

Dit is die roeping van elke Christen om God meer as die mens, ook die regering, gehoorsaam te wees. As gelowiges op grond van hulle Christelike gewete vir Christus en sy evangelie en teen dié verkeerde optredes van die regering getuig en weier om daarmee saam te werk, staan ons by die kruis van Christus. Ons verklaar dat Christus en sy weg werklik aanvaar en gevolg moet word, of Hy gaan weer gekruisig word. Die regering en sy navolgers wat reeds mense onchristelik vervolg, moet onthou dat toe Saulus gelowiges vervolg het, Christus aan hom gevra het: „Saul, Saul, waarom vervolg jy My?" (Hand. 9:4). Met alles waartoe ons instaat is, wil ons saam met Johannes die Doper en die evangelie van Christus uitroep:

„Bekeer julle... die byl lê ook al teen die wortel van die bome. Elke boom wat geen goeie vrugte dra nie, word uitgekap en in die vuur gegooi" (Matt. 3).



*The NUSAS eight being kept alive before the general public by fellow students. (Photograph by courtesy of the Star.)*

# ***Black Consciousness***

***Ernest Baartman***

This article is on Black Consciousness. Others refer to it as black awareness. Just the other day I saw a paper on Black Identity. Having lived all my life as a black, I am sure I can be authentic. Let me quickly say that part of that life has been lived as a non-white. What is a non-white? I believe we must first of all get some idea about this negative term. This is an existence with a coloured (any colour) pigmentation but wasting its life trying to be white. This existence crawls on its belly to whites and plays important among its own people. This existence feels honoured when invited to dinner by whites—and allowed to enter through the front door and referred to as Mr. So-and-so. This existence does not live but exists for the comfort and pleasure of whites.

## **"Who am I?"**

It is painful to wake up to one's own identity. Yet there is a joy about it that words cannot explain. There is an inner liberation that no one can take away; that no one can destroy.

Black Consciousness begins when the black man asks the question, "Who am I?". He asks the question about himself, in relation to his neighbour and his environment and most of all, in relation to his Creator, Saviour and Guide. I shall avoid the assumption that man must start at the point where he is, first of all, conscious of his relationship with God. Admittedly this must take the pride of place in a fully conscious man. Nevertheless this is not where all or even many people start. Even in child development God comes virtually last, i.e., conscious awareness of God.

Black Consciousness in this country means oppressed people being aware of all that stands in the way of freedom. It is the black taking God seriously and reverently. He respects God's creation and His gifts. He yearns after these gifts and strives to make them his own. No longer is he going to respect man more than God. Jesus came to set man free. God

created us free. He even gave us the freedom to reject Him but we have to bear the consequences of that decision.

## **The achievement of the Church**

Black Consciousness is both a 'NO' and a 'YES'. It says "no" to all those things that stand in the way of black humanness. These are essentially evil. This must lead us to the question, "After all this time, what has brought this new awareness about?"

Two things in the main have brought this about. The first is the church. Listening to a lot of young blacks one may get the impression that it is the church that is against Black Consciousness. The church through its preaching and work has helped the black man realize that he is a man. Not all streams of the church have done that in this country. Yet it is no lie to say that the church has made her contribution.

When she preaches and teaches about God, as our Father, then it implies a sharing in the common sonship for all men in this country. When she preaches about Jesus nailed to a cross for the sin of the world, then it suggests a common brotherhood in sin for all people, black and white. When she teaches about the God who provides, then surely He provides for all. The Church has taught these great lessons. She may not always have practised what she preached but she has, at times, courageously said these things. In many of our churches these are contained in long paragraphs of long statements. Unfortunately many of these statements have remained in the pages of official documents of the denominations, usually neither known nor fully understood by the members.

The church is the first to receive criticism and rejection from the awakening black man. This is understandable when you realize that she has preached in word and refuted this in action. Even where she has tried to practise she has met with opposition from other Christians.



*Rev. Ernest Baartman is one of the General Secretaries of the Christian Education and Youth Department of the Methodist Church in S.A.*

The second factor is that of racial discrimination in this country. Some people call it racism. Even before we look at this let me say I know that racism is something that goes beyond the borders of this country. Those who suffer through this sickness are also trying to find remedies. I am going to concern myself with the situation in which I find myself as a black man.

When I say racism has helped the black man wake up and try to find himself, I am in fact saying, you cannot talk about Black Consciousness without referring to white racism. This country has for a very long time existed on the standards, values, laws, know-how, and even ignorance, of whites. The black man has been the one who has had to do most of the adjusting. This has cost him a lot. The highest price he has had to pay has been the denial of his blackness.

All that is good, kind, loving and human has been associated with the white man. In his state of uncertainty, of blindness, of being lost, the man has tried to become like the white. I remember that at school precious time was wasted in speech training. Speech training was trying to get me to sound like the English man. Even now you meet the products of that school ever trying to sound correct and to sound English. To speak English well and have a good command of the language was a feather in a black man's cap. I do not know how many Blacks have reacted to being complimented on "speaking English so well" after having opened your heart and baring your soul to a congregation and the only thing they can say is "You speak such good English, even better than some of us".

The South African way of life is heavily loaded in favour of whites. Wherever you go you are constantly reminded that the white is superior and therefore entitled to better treatment. From an early age one can see this feeling of superiority among young white people. This is not just a few white people, but almost

all whites. Some of them do not even know that they have this superiority feeling because they are separated from blacks. They are shielded from the black man's thinking. You then get people saying, "I did not know". How could they? The black man sooner or later had to begin to question this display of superiority which inevitably is displayed arrogantly.

### **The white man is not the norm**

The black man now rejects this arrogance. He rejects that the white man is the yardstick to humanness. Just as it has not been proved scientifically that the Black man is the equal of the white man, so has it not been proved humanly that the white man is half as human as the black man. However, the Black, because of his humanness, sees the white man as a human being and longs to treat him as another human being. The white man makes this very difficult. Through his whole attitude he is making it difficult for the black man to love him. This is the difficult demand of Black Consciousness—"TO LOVE THE WHITE MAN." We cannot hate fellowmen. God created us in love because He loved us, He so loved us that He chose the way of love that goes through bitterness, sweat and blood. He chose death. It is difficult to love whites. It is costly to love whites, yet the black man must. The life that the whites seek to destroy through hatred must be rebuilt in love.

The black man has seen the white man making strides in technology and science. He has been left behind in ignorance. No more is the black man going to stand in admiration of the white man's skill but he is going to demand those same skills. He is going to demand to be given the opportunity to gain those skills.

The black man must demand that which is going to help him develop the potential in him. He must help the white man develop the humanness in him so that he can develop to his fullest. At this point whoever cares to think through this consciousness must realize immediately that as long as this country depends on the potential of whites only, she will never find her rightful place in the world. This awareness is directed at the development of whites also. It is the black man who has to struggle to understand and make others understand him.

Black Consciousness must not be a tirade against whites although they need to see and hear what their behaviour does to blacks. It must also be a strong word of censure to black people who have despaired. Psychologists and Psychiatrists may feel that you do not censure people who despair—but you try and help them get over that and catch a glimmer of hope. I am neither a psychologist nor a psychiatrist, therefore I can censure blacks who have given up.

They are called to love themselves and stop wasting their lives, their time and God's time trying to be white. They are called to help their black people become the people God created them to be. They must help whites by refusing to be treated as things and they in turn

treating whites as things.

Recently in one of the Natal papers a white man, I suppose one of those authorities who knows blacks, insisted the term Bantu was the right one. He went on to say that when blacks speak of themselves, they use the term abantu. You see this "authority" who probably has a Ph. D. in some study of black people knows nothing about the usage of the term abantu. If whites understood the term abantu as I understand it they would be the first to refrain from using it. I am certain parliament would sit through the night changing acts or getting bills through.

### **Reject white man's image**

Black people must learn to do things for themselves. They must stop depending on the good heart of the white man, in other words, on handouts.

Handouts may alleviate the immediate suffering but it never eliminates that suffering. The giver is made to feel he has done his good deed for the day. He may even unintentionally be using the sufferer for his own salvation. There may be good reasons for having the poor around. This in a way destroys the giver as well.

Handouts destroy the receiver. They leave him without the desire to try to reach a better state. His pride is destroyed. His dignity is destroyed. He may end up as a beggar.

Black Consciousness is demanding the change that we bellow from our pulpits, Sunday after Sunday. It says to the black man, you are black and you are beautiful. You are black and your blackness is something to be proud of. Reject the white man's image of yourself, accept the new image as revealed through Jesus Christ. Cone has written, "The new black man does not transcend blackness but accepts, loves it as a gift of the Creator". St. Paul says, "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature".

Black Consciousness demands of the black man to come into a new relationship with whites. This relationship must be based on love and mutual respect. "To love the white man means the black man confronts him as a THOU without any intention of giving ground by becoming an IT." This must lead to conflict if the white man insists on meeting the black man as an IT. It is not easy to become a THOU after leading the life of an IT. *This is where many people mistakenly think Black Consciousness is another term for separation. Black Consciousness advocates unity. It seeks to reconcile man to God and man to man, the black man to the white man.* To speak of unity is to make certain demands on the black man. The first for me is to be a man. Therefore unity is a man uniting with another man, a unity of equals. This is very difficult for the black man. It is even more difficult for the white man. Terms like unity, integration only begin to assume some meaning when man is speaking to man. You immediately rule out the sin of the HAVES and those with power, namely paternalism. I do not wish to

appear to be treated as an equal through the grace of the white man.

### **We have a stake in this land ...**

If there is going to be separation it is just a temporary withdrawal. To assess the situation, to find the black man's role and to work out the terms of unity. South Africa is for all of those who have their home here. It is still big enough for all of us. Black Consciousness says we have a stake in this land, we have a stake in the way we run this land, we have a stake in the way you use the environment, we have a stake in the social concerns in this land, therefore we are not pulling out of anything. We may withdraw but separation is not for the black man.

There are many reasons why Black Consciousness must point to unity. I can think of two at the moment. Firstly the Gospel directs us all to unity. Those in Christ must be one in Christ. This was Christ's own prayer. Unity is the command of the Gospel. I can do no other but to obey. Let me make this very clear. Today those who work for unity among the blacks do so in the face of growing opposition. The majority of these in the church still speak of unity but this majority is slowly but surely being whittled away. We constantly pray that the day must never come when every black man will say, "I shall have nothing to do with the white man". The angry ones are already saying it. They will continue to say it until attitudes change and behaviour changes. This must happen and it must start happening now. You see we do not have all the time in the world. Time is not ours. Time is God's, we can use it. Time is not on our side, it can never be on the side of evil. The forces of evil may use time but that is not to say it is on their side.

Secondly, we need to see Black Consciousness directing us to unity. How can I see and measure my blackness if not against whiteness? It is easy to be black among blacks but it is very difficult to be black among whites. You, no doubt, have heard the great speeches, the courage displayed by blacks outside a meeting where whites are. Those same qualities seem to melt away in the presence of the whites. Blacks are quick to defend whites when other blacks ask pertinent questions. Some of you must have seen how black demands are watered down by other blacks—the so-called reasonable black.

Blacks must wake up and work towards a solidarity that supports and sustains them. They need to form groups for support wherever they are. These groups are not for the purpose of hindering work but making sure blacks made their own contribution. They need power from God—the power to love and be able to go through this trying time.

Whites must listen, listen and listen again. We are not asking their help or approval. They need to learn to wait and take suggestions from blacks.





# Die Lewe van die Sendingwerker 1

## David Bosch

*Baie mense dink dat dit maar slegs 'n pakkie is wat afgelewer moet word as hulle die evangelie verkondig. Gevolglik kan hulle dikwels dan ook nie begryp waarom die Here dan nie „hulle werk seën” nie en dan word dit aan die ondankbaarheid van die swartman toegeskryf. In Suid-Afrika beleef ons ook op hierdie baie belangrike gebied 'n krisis, nl. dat die swartman die „evangelie van die witman” begin bevraagteken en sommige draai reeds al hulle rug daarop. Waarom? Die witman aanvaar oor die algemeen nie die swartman as volledige mens net soos hyself nie en gevolglik gee hy homself nie as „broeder” en „dienskneg” (soos Christus) aan die swartman nie.*

*Hierdie tema word treffend deur prof. David Bosch in drie artikels, waarvan die eerste in hierdie uitgawe verskyn, uitgewerk. Die artikels is, in 'n effens gewysigde vorm, oorspronklik as lesings by 'n kursus in praktiese sendingwetenskap aangebied. Die kursus is vir blanke N.G. lidmate wat aktief in die kerk se sendingaksie betrokke is, gereël.*

Die sendingwerker *self* is 'n baie belangrike deel van die sendingtaak. Vir ons is dit heeltemaal vanselfsprekend dat die Here mense gebruik om die evangelie oor die hele wêreld te versprei. En tog, as ons goed daaroor nadink, is dit glad nie vanselfsprekend nie, maar eintlik 'n wonder. Dit sou dalk veel meer geslaagd gewees het as Hy sou besluit het om liever *engele* met die verlossingsboodskap uit te stuur. Of as Hy sou besluit het om Homself direk, of deur middel van drome en gesigte, aan die heidene te openbaar.

Hy het egter besluit om *nie* engele of drome te stuur nie, maar mense soos ons, swakke, feilbare mense. Paulus sê: „Ons het hierdie skat in erdekruike”. En dis presies wat die geval is! Die „skat” is die evangelieboodskap, oneindig kosbaar, onbetaalbaar. Maar *ons* wat die skat dra, is brosse, breekbare erdekruike, eintlik nie veel werd nie. En tog het God dié skat aan die erdekruike toevertrou. Hy het dit gewaag!

### LOTE EN NIE SLEGS KANALE NIE

Hierdie „erdekruike”, hierdie mense deur middel van wie die Here sy sendingwerk doen: is hulle

slegs „instrumente”? Dit is 'n beeld wat ons nogal dikwels gebruik. Ons noem onself dan ook graag 'n „kanaal”, en dink daarby aan 'n waterkanaal of - pyp, wat net sy inhoud onbelemmerd deurgee. Ons is „instrumente” in die hand van die Here wat deur Hom gebruik word om presies te doen wat Hy van ons verwag.

Eintlik is hierdie egter nie heeltemal korrekte beelde nie. Die Nuwe Testament praat daarom ook nie van die sendingwerker as „instrument” of „kanaal” nie. Daar word ons „lote” genoem. En 'n loot is iets anders as 'n kanaal. 'n Kanaal gee net deur wat hy ontvang het, heeltemal onveranderd. Maar 'n loot absorbeer eers *self* die voedingskrag uit die wortel en stam, hy maak dit eers deel van homself, hy laat dit op hom inwerk, hy laat homself verander en vernuut, en dan gee hy daardie voedingskrag in nuut verwerkte vorm déúr na die vrugte toe. Die loot is nie bloot kanaal nie; hy is self betrokke by die proses van vrugdra.

As ons onself nou só sien - as lote en nie slegs as instrumente of kanale nie - kan ons ook begin verstaan dat die sendingwerker self 'n belangrike faktor in die

sendingwerk is. Hy kan alleen deurgee wat hyself ontvang het, sy eie gemaak het, verwerk het.

## SLEGS ÉÉN AANKNOPINGS PUNT

Al is dit gevaarlik om dit só te stel en al is dit vir misverstand vatbaar, wil ek daarom tog waag om te sê: Die sendingwerker staan in 'n sekere sin in die middelpunt van die sendingwerk. Hendrik Kraemer, die bekende Nederlandse sendingkundige, het in een die bekende Nederlandse sendingkundige, het in een van sy boeke die vraag bespreek of ons in ons sendingwerk by een of ander aspek van die heidense godsdiens kan aanknoop om die evangelie aan die heidene te bring. Is daar so 'n aanknopingspunt? Nadat hy die saak van alle kante bespreek het, sluit hy af met die woorde: „Eintlik is daar maar één aanknopingspunt. En dit is die persoon en houding van die sendingwerker self”.

Ons dink gewoonlik dat die belangrikste aspek van ons sendingtaak die vraag is wat ons gaan sê as ons by heidene kom. Dit is egter nie die belangrikste nie. Die belangrikste is: wat ons *is*, wat ons *houding* is. Ons besef gewoonlik nie watter rol *vertroue* in ons sendingaksie speel nie, en dink dan dat ons maar net die regte *woorde* moet sê, dan sal alles regkom. Dis egter 'n ooreenvoudiging.

Ek wil dit daarom waag om te sê dat ons grootste sendinggeleentheid *nie* daar buite in die swart dorpe op 'n Sondag is nie, maar eerder in ons daaglikse omgang, van Maandag tot Saterdag, op ons strate, in ons huise, in ons kantore. As ons dáár, ten opsigte van dié swartmense met wie ons daaglikse kontak het, nie hulle vertroue kan wen nie, sal ons dit Sondag in die swart dorpe ook nie kan doen nie.

Die feit is dat elkeen van ons harder praat deur wat ons *is* as deur wat ons *sê*. Natuutlik is die sê belangrik om te weet hoe ons die boodskap moet bring. Ek sal die laaste een wees wat wil sê dat dit *nie* belangrik is nie. Maar dan wil ek nogtans met alle stelligheid beweer dat die dinge wat ons *sê* alleen kan slaag op grond van wat ons *is*.

In 2 Kor. 2:17 skryf Paulus: „Ons is nie soos baie wat *handel dryf* met die woord van God nie”. Die woorde „handel dryf” moet ons eintlik vertaal met „smous”. Paulus spreek hom uit teen dié mense wat „smous” met die woord van God. Hulle is mense wat hulle boodskap op goedkoop wyse opdring aan ander, soos die tradisionele rondloperismous wat sy ware wil afsmeer aan elkeen wat hy teenkom. Paulus waarsku ons teen so 'n goedkoop-maak van die evangelie, teen 'n opveiling, 'n argumenteerderij, 'n stryery - dinge wat ons dikwels doen op só 'n wyse dat dit heeltemal in stryd is met die aard en karakter van die evangelie wat ons verkondig. Dan lyk ons alteveel soos 'n bleskop wat 'n haargroei-middel aanprys. Die een wat met die evangelie „smous” (sendingsmouse) se lewe en voorkoms en gedrag is alte dikwels nie in ooreenstemming met die woorde wat hy preek nie.

Dit alles onderstreep opnuut dat ons optrede teenoor die swartman 'n wesentlike deel van ons sendingaksie is, en dat die regte *optrede* moet voorafgaan aan die regte *woorde*. Laat ons in hierdie verband let op die voorbeeld van ons Here Jesus. Vir 'n tydperk van dertig jaar het Hy Homself daar op die strate van Nasaret en Kapernaüm voorberei vir 'n bediening wat slegs drie jaar sou duur. Tog fouteer ons as ons sou meen dat sy eintlike bediening slegs drie jaar geduur het! Sy hele lewe was 'n bediening - die eerste dertig jaar eerder deur te *wees* as deur te *preek*. Maar juis op grond van wat Hy dertig jaar lank *gewees* het, kón hy drie jaar lank verkondig. Dit geld ook van ons. Alleen op grond van ons Christenwées, ons sendelingwées, kan ons in staat gestel word om ook verstaanbaar te gaan verkondig.

In 'n land soos Suid-Afrika is elkeen van ons in 'n sekere opsig 'n sendingfaktor. Dit geld vir elke blanke, óók die ongelowige, want die meerderheid swartmense beskou die blankes almal op een of ander wyse aan die Christendom verbonde. Die Christendom is immers die *witman* se godsdiens. Die meerderheid swartmense beoordeel dus die evangelie ooreenkomstig dit wat hulle by die blankes sien. Elke blanke in Suid-Afrika is dus 'n faktor vir die sending ... of 'n faktor daarteen. Elkeen bevorder die sendingtaak ... of dwarsboom dit. Daar is geen neutraliteit moontlik op hierdie punt nie. Elkeen is positief besig met die uitdra van die evangelie ... of negatief. En hy wat *meen* dat hy neutraal kan staan, staan eintlik reeds ... negatief!

Iemand het by geleentheid gesê: „In Suid-Afrika staan 'n witman se liefde vir God op die spel elke keer as hy 'n nie-blanke naaste in nood ontmoet”. Wat hy daarmee bedoel het, is min of meer wat ons probeer stel het: dat ons gedrag en optrede teenoor ons swart medemense 'n positiewe of negatiewe sendingboudskap is.

Dit is ook wat die apostel Paulus bedoel het toe hy aan die Korinthiërs geskryf het: „Julle is ons brief, geskrywe in ons harte, geken en gelees deur alle mense ...” (2 Kor. 3:3). Ons is geen private briewe, wat iemand alleen en eenkant in sy kamertjie sit en lees nie, maar *ope* briewe, openbare kennisgewings, vir almal ter insae, soos plakkate op straathoeke.

As kinders het ons dikwels gesing:

„Lees die wêreld die Bybel, die Bybel in my?”

Hierdie liedjie druk dieselfde gedagte uit, nl. dat ons lewe 'n brief van Christus moet wees, vir die wêreld om te lees.

Ons moet onthou dat die Christelike godsdiens vir die swartheiden iets heeltemal vreemds is. Ons weet dat die tradisionele swartman sy eie godsdienstige voorstellings en oortuiginge het. Hoe moet hy nou die nuwe en vreemde voorstelling begryp en oorneem? By wyse van die woorde alleen wat ons aan hulle preek? Nooit! Ons woorde alleen sal die heiden nooit oortuig en vir Christus wen nie, al is nos argumente ook *hoe* goed opgebou. Nee, dit is eerder só dat Christus



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nie in die eerste plek tot hom kom deur middel van my woorde nie, maar deur middel van myself, sy dienskneg. Hy leer Christus ken uit wat hy in my *sien*, nie soseer uit wat hy uit my mond *hoor* nie.

Die silwerdoek of projeksieskerm wat by rolprent-vertonings gebruik word, kan help om hierdie belangrike saak vir ons duidelik te maak. Die beeld word vanuit 'n onsigbare hoek op die silwerdoek geprojekteer en word daarop lewendig. Niemand kyk na die projektor nie, hulle kyk na die silwerdoek. So is dit ook met ons. Christus self bly onsigbaar op die agtergrond, maar vanuit die onsigbare moet sy beeld op óns geprojekteer word, in ons lewens gestalte aanneem, sigbaar word, totdat ander nie óns nie, maar Christus in ons mag sien. Ons moet „van gedaante verander” word na die beeld van Christus (2 Kor. 3:18), ons moet „gelykvormig” gemaak word „aan die beeld van sy Seun” (Rom. 8:29), totdat ons, by sy wederkoms „aan Hom gelyk sal wees” (1 Joh. 3:2).

Maar gebeur dit in die praktyk? Ons preek tot die swartman oor die liefde van Christus, oor vergewensgesindheid, oor Christelike erbarming, oor hulpvaardigheid, oor geduld. Maar as die swartman hierdie dinge nie in ons sien nie, wat baat dit alles? Watter beeld kry hulle dan van ons Christus?

### 'n PAPPEGAAI-EVANGELIE?

'n Probleem wat dikwels in die sending voorkom, is dat ons bekeerlinge gaandeweg leer om net so mooi en vroom soos ons te praat. As ons hulle hoor preek, getuig, bid, ens., dan wil ons sê: „Pragtig! Daar rus groot seën op ons werk.”

En natuurlik: dikwels is dit inderdaad die geval, maar soms is dit alles meer skyn as iets anders. James Wilkie, 'n Skot wat in Zambia sendingwerk doen, vertel in die *International Review of Missions* (July, 1966) oor sy ondervindinge na sy aankoms daar: „On

our first coming into the church here, we were deeply impressed by its evangelical character, and the strength of its evangelical preaching ... And then we found that the preaching is almost entirely the recital of set formulae learned from our predecessors, bearing almost no relation to the everyday life of the people ...”.

Dit is die tipe ding wat gebeur as ons sendingwerk uitsluitlik bestaan uit woordprediking. Al wat die mense van die evangelie weet, is wat ons met ons monde verkondig. Hulle neem dit alles van oor, sê dit agter ons aan, maar omdat hulle in ons lewens nie 'n verband tussen ons woorde en ons lewe sien nie, lê hulle ook in hulle eie lewens nie daardie verbande nie. Die gevolg is dat die Christelike godsdiens soms uiters vlak sit. Daarom het ons ook soms teleurstellings by swart Christene met die vroomste getuienisse en gebede. Op „onverklaarbare” wyse val so 'n Christen miskien in 'n ergerlike sonde, en dan gooi ons ons hande in die lug van moedeloosheid want dit lyk vir ons of alles misluk het. Maar is die basiese fout by hulle te soek - of by ons, wat so 'n verskraalde woord-godsdiens aan hulle gebring het?

So het hulle dikwels die mooi woorde en sinne en preke en gebede van ons oorgeneem, maar dan as iets wat los staan van hulle eie innerlike lewe. Dit is immers soos dit vir hulle by ons ook gelyk het - reg of verkeerd! Die godsdiens was 'n soort los „laag” bo-op, wat jy netjies kan afhaal van die onderlaag sonder om dit te versteur, want die twee „lae” ráák wel aan mekaar, maar is nie wesenlik met mekaar verbind nie.

### DIE LAS WAT ONS SAAMDRA

Nou sal ons miskien om onself te verdedig sê: „Maar ek leef wel Christus voor die swartman uit; ek *het* hulle lief, ens., ens.”. Ek twyfel vir geen oomblik dat ons dit altyd eerlik en opreg bedoel as ons soiets sê nie. Maar laat ons daarna in sy wyer verband kyk: Ons is nie enkelinge wat geheel-en-al as enkelinge op 'n Sondagmiddag na die swartman gaan nie. Nee, ons kom by hom as verteenwoordiger van 'n bepaalde groep - die groep mense wat 'n wit vel het. As ons nou by hom kom, het hy klaar vooropgesette idees en oortuigings oor ons - reg of verkeerd - en hy beoordeel ons ooreenkomstig daardie idees. Hy sien ons nie as mnr. of mej. So-en-so wat vanmiddag die evangelie aan hom bring nie, maar hy sien ons in die eerste plek as verteenwoordiger van die heersersklas in Suid-Afrika, van dié wat méér besit as hy en voorregte het wat hy nie het nie. Hy ken die blanke eintlik net in die baas-kneg-verhouding en onbewustelik meen hy dat 'n mens nou ook in daardie verhouding teenoor hom staan.

'n Mens kom dus nie as enkeling by hom aan nie; jy dra 'n „vrag” met jou saam. En nou is dit belangrik: Voordat hy die evangelie waarlik uit jou mond kan hoor, moet hierdie „vrag” eers afgelaai word. Hy moet jou eers as méns raaksien, en nie bloot as verteenwoordiger van 'n bepaalde groep of klas nie.

As jy by hom kom, dan sien hy nie net vir jou raak

nie, maar baie ander blankes ook: Die een wat hom Maandag by die werk gevloek het, die een wat hom Donderdag uit die sypaadjie gestamp het, die een wat hom Vrydag 'n hongerloon betaal het - of: Die een wat hom elke dag vriendelik groet, wat dankie sê vir die koppie tee wat hy aandra, wat 'n mens-tot-mens gesprek met hom aangeknoop het. Hy moet jou nou eers „uitsorteer“, jou êrens „plaas“ of „inpas“, jou as spesifieke mens, téénoor die ander, raaksien.

Die omgekeerde is natuurlik ook waar: u moet ook eers leer om *hom* as mens raak te sien en nie bloot as verteenwoordiger van sy bepaalde groep of klas nie. Want jy kom ook by *hom* met jou vooropgesette idees aangaande hom. As spesifieke mens is hy vir jou aanvanklik vaag en onomlynd; hy is vir jou deel van 'n groep, die swartmense, en (nog) nie 'n bepaalde mens met 'n eie persoonlikheid en eie probleme nie. Hy moet dit nog eers vir jou *word*. Met ander woorde: Jy moet nog vir *hom* „mens“ word en hy vir jou!

Dit alles is 'n moeisame en langsame proses wat stap vir stap onder die leiding van die Heilige Gees opgebou moet word. Daar is 'n massa wantroue om af te breek - wedersyds! Baie sal afhang van jou takt en geduld. Dit gaan weinig baat om hom oorhaastig „in te klim“ met 'n geestelike boodskap. Dan lyk ons sendingpoging alteveel na 'n tref-en-trap-ongeluk, na 'n smousery.

Wat nodig is, is eerder 'n langsame proses van fondament-lê, van vertroue wen. Ek het gehoor van 'n blanke geestelike werkster in die Transkei wat saam met haar tolk huisbesoek gedoen het. Die tolk het telkens begin met 'n uitvoerige uitvra na die gesondheid, die welstand van die kinders, ens., voordat sy die gesprek in die rigting van die Bybel gestuur het. Maar die blanke werkster se houding was: „Ons moenie ons tyd mors met gesprekke oor kinders en die weer nie; ons het gekom om met hierdie mense oor hulle siele te praat“. Ek vrees dat, as ons hierdie soort houding aanneem, ons weer gevaar loop om smouse te word, wat so spoedig moontlik van hulle opgeveilde handelsware ontslae wil raak ....

As die mense nie agterkom dat ons in hulle persoonlik belangstel - hulle probleme, node, kinders, armoede, werkloosheid, kwellinge, vrese, bekommernisse, ens., nie - sal hulle ook nie „hoor“ as ons oor Christus praat nie. Ons voel miskien dikwels, soos die geval wat ek sopas genoem het, dat 'n besigwees met hierdie dinge „tydmors“ is, dat ons so gou moontlik „by die kern wil uitkom“. Ek meen egter dat ons met al hierdie dinge óók met die kern besig is.

#### ALMAL OP SENDINGVOORPOSTE

Oral - nie net Sondagmiddag daar in die swart dorpe nie - is ons briewe van Christus, ook in ons daaglikse lewe. Ons dink dikwels sendingwerk is dit wat sendelinge in swart dorpe of tuislande doen. Dit is egter maar 'n klein deeltjie van die totale sendingaksie. En die groot beslissing val nie dáár nie, maar eerder op ons strate, in ons huise, winkels kantore, fabriek. Dit is

die strategiese plekke! Daarom is ek so bly om te weet dat ook Bantoesakeamptenare, polisiemanne en onderwysers in swart skole sendingwerk doen. *Hulle* is die manne op die voorposte, in die strategiese plekke!

In 'n mindere of meerdere mate is ons egter almal op voorposte. Daarom is elkeen van ons se optrede en begrip van sulke groot belang. *Een* verkeerde daad vernietig *meer* as wat 'n tienduuisend mooi woorde opgebou het. Ons dade praat harder as die sendeling se luidspreker in die kampongs en swart dorpe. Ja, ons dade roep so hard uit dat die mense soms nie kan hoor wat ons *sê* nie. Aan die ander kant: Ons (regte) dade kan ook geslote deure oopmaak en verharde harte vermurwe, soos blyk uit die volgende gedig van Beatrice Cleland:

„Not merely by the words you say  
Not only in your deeds confessed,  
But in the most unconscious way  
Is Christ expressed.

For me 't was not the truth you taught,  
To you so clear, to me still dim.  
But when you came to me, you brought  
A sense of Him.

And from your eyes He beckons me  
And from your heart his love is shed,  
Till I lose sight of you and see  
The Christ instead”.



#### A PRAYER FOR RACIAL HARMONY

*O Lord Jesus Christ who were sent of our Father  
To set all captives free,  
Send down upon us, your frail servants and brothers,  
Your promised Holy Spirit,  
That this land beloved of us and of you,  
May be redeemed from the sin of shameful division and discord.  
Come deliver us  
From the captivity of fear and greed that keep us apart.  
You, who died for us while we were yet sinners,  
Lead us to die to our pride and selfish ambitions  
And the easy complacency with injustice in our land,  
To the lust for power and mastery over others.  
Teach us Lord to acknowledge none but you as "Master" and  
"Baas".  
Lord save us from servility and the agony of despair  
At the relentless cruelty of our circumstance,  
From our vicious treatment of one another,  
And the anguish of bitterness, resentment and hatred.  
Lord your prophet of long ago foresaw the day  
When the lion and the wolf shall lie down with the lamb:  
Give now to us the day when men black and white  
Shall stand side by side and  
Together fall down at your feet.  
In you only Christ Jesus, by the power of your Spirit,  
Can we love our God and one another as you have loved us,  
That joy, peace and harmony may rule our land.*

# ***Whither Black Theology?***

***Alphaeus Zulu***

*This paper was given to seminarians at their 1972 Intersem Conference. The theme of this Conference was "Growing Together in One Theology".*

That a deep gulf separates white and black Christians has been shown most clearly in the attitudes of average Christians wherever the issue of Black Theology is raised. Many white Christians feel threatened, while to most black ears it sounds like music. Frequently, the white Christian reacts in fear not for himself but, he will say, for Christian theology itself. Often, the black man likes the sound for no explicitly theological reason but simply because for him it carries the implication that he too can be a man and have something of his own.

## **What is Black Theology?**

It must be borne in mind at the outset that not all theologies need be Christian. If people desire very seriously and trust certain objects, their struggle to understand and speak of such objects will be their theologies.

The first mark of Black Theology is that it is Christian theology because it attempts to understand and to speak of God the Father of Jesus Christ. Its second mark is that it represents the black man's effort to understand and describe the significance to, and relevance for, black people of the God "whose glory shines in the face of Jesus Christ." In the world as we know it today, Black Theology is beyond the understanding of the average white Christian because it derives from the black man's experience which is the convex side of white experience and few white men ever identify sufficiently with black to be able to fathom these depths. Another mark of Black Theology is that it represents a symbol of the black Christian's awareness of himself as a human being and an object of redemption, in the sense of liberation, by the love of God in Jesus Christ's death and resurrection.

For many years, the black man's conception of the Kingdom of God has been utopian, in the sense that for him it had already come in its fullness. The deception probably entered through the heroic struggles of white people in missionary situations, for whom it was important to exhibit to the best of their ability, the Christian character as they presented it to their converts. That they communicated at the same time the white man's cultural and racial superiority meant for the black man simply that his hope of salvation lay in his being as white as the missionary in every respect but colour. The missionary's repeated expression that colour was of no account before God confirmed the misconception in the black Christian's mind.

The black man was deceived also by another factor in white/black relations. When most white people hated to relate to blacks as to human beings, the only white persons known to black men intimately were missionaries and liberals whom they regarded as typical. The Black man has been slow in discovering that western civilisation is basically a selfish civilisation. As a result he has spent time and energy talking to white people and begging them to be faithful to what he considered true to type, the image of what a Christian should be according to the teachings of missionaries. While it is true that individual black men have known the white man to be as sinful as other human beings, the great awakening for masses of black people happened at the time of the second world war. Since then, black people everywhere in the world have sought freedom from white domination. New states have emerged and black governments have replaced numerous white colonial powers in many places.

In the United States of America, black people were a minority and had to find a way of expressing their identity. The early sixties saw the flowering of Black Muslims. They identified Christianity with the white man and therefore as an instrument of oppression because it was the religion of the slave-master and oppressor. They proclaimed Allah as the God of black people. They promised liberation to black people if they adopted the Muslim religion and its discipline. One of them wrote: "The Christian religion is incompatible with the Negro's aspirations for dignity and equality in America. It has hindered where it might have helped; it has been evasive when it was morally bound to be forthright; it has separated believers on the basis of colour, although it has declared its mission to be a universal brotherhood under Jesus Christ. Christian love is the white man's love for himself and for his race. For the man who is not white, Islam is the hope for justice and equality in the world we must build for tomorrow".

While Black Muslims taught and organised there was a great deal of activity also on the political front. The sit-ins, the freedom marches and a vast civil rights movement helped to build up a new solidarity among black Americans. Out of all this emerged the Black Power Movement which was fundamentally the black man's assertion of himself as a free and responsible human being. Christianity came increasingly to be regarded as the white man's religion and Jesus Christ

was described as the white man's God and Saviour.

This short historical sketch enables us to see a further mark of Black Theology, that it is the committed black Christian's response against the charge of Jesus Christ's irrelevance for black humanity. Black Christians accepted the responsibility for describing, from their own black experience, the significance of Jesus' revelation of God.

### **The Goal of Black Theology.**

The purpose therefore of Black Theology is to lead black people to see that when white people treat blacks as less than human; when they exploit and are unjust to black men, they are being unfaithful to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Black theology seeks to help black men understand that in proclaiming release for prisoners, recovery of sight for the blind and the liberation of broken victims, the Christian's God aims in fact to set the black man free of white man's fetters. Black Theology says when Jesus Christ told John's disciples that the poor hear the good news (Matt, 11:5) he meant that the poor were being led to understand that they were free like other men and that it was not necessary for them to suffer humiliations. They were being inspired to reject their poverty and to live the abundant life.

The black theologian is not unaware of the problem of helping black men to become free. He knows that the black man is enslaved by his own thinking and attitudes even more effectively than by his enslavement to any power outside himself. He knows how the white man's laws, education, wealth and privilege serve to confirm in the black man's consciousness, the helplessness which already frustrates him. James Cone described the darkness of the black man's situation in these terms:

"By white definitions, whiteness is "being" and blackness is "non-being". For black people to affirm their being in this situation is to live under sentence of death. They know that whites will kill them rather than to permit the beauty and glory of black humanity to be manifested in its fullness ...

To breathe in white society is dependent on saying Yes to whiteness ... As long as blacks let white define the limits of their being, black people are dead. "To be or not to be" is thus a dilemma for the black community: to assert one's humanity and be killed or to cling to life and sink into non-humanity" (see Liberation pp. 35-36).

Some black leaders have attached opprobrious terms such as "pig", "devil", "whitey" to whites in an attempt to awaken in black consciousness the sense of freedom from white domination. The theological effort of black Christians to unravel the revelation of God in Jesus Christ has been described as Black Theology so as to establish its independence of white tutelage and so give it credibility to blacks who have become or are becoming free from psychological domination.

### **Black Theology and the Church in South Africa.**

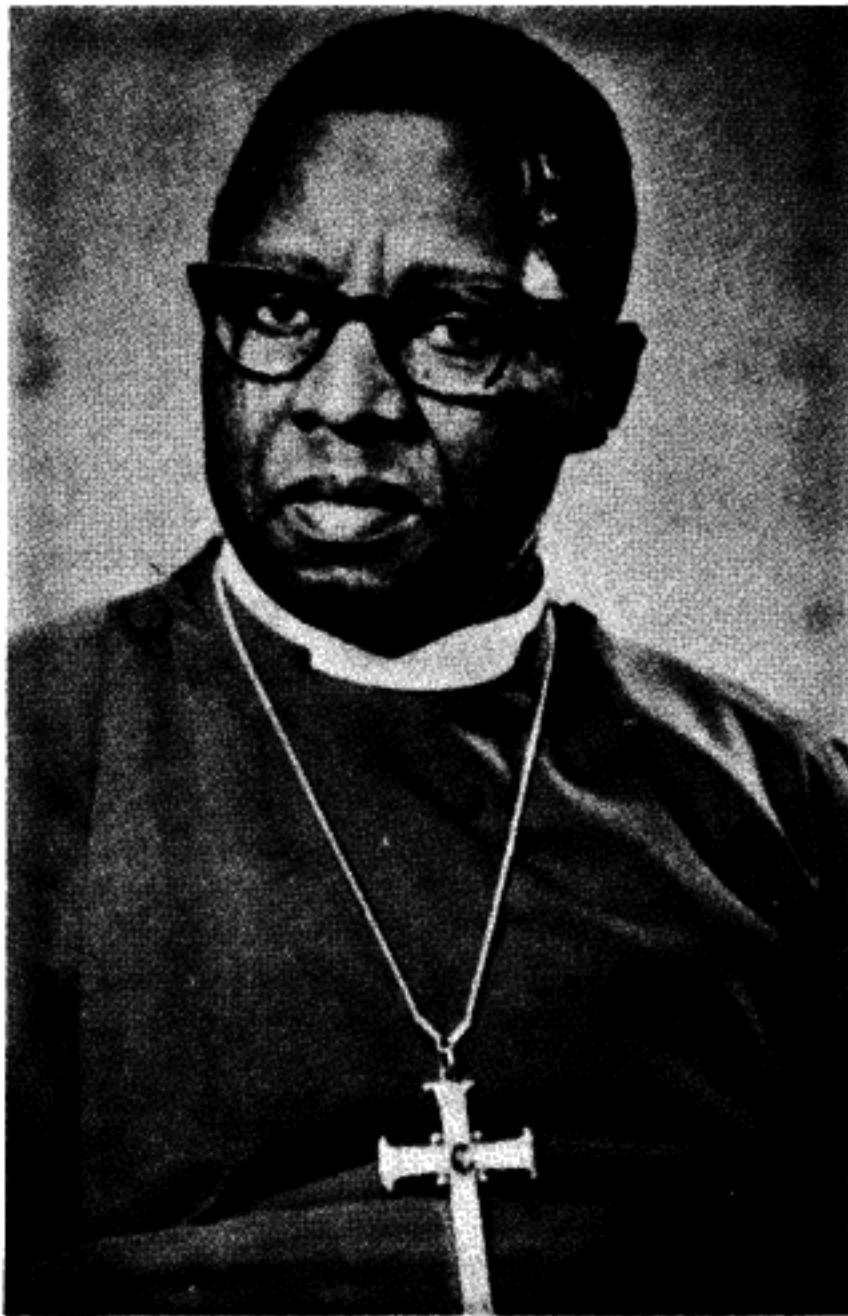
The military power by which whites conquered the black people of South Africa serves still to enable them to dominate over blacks in spite of their smaller numbers. The first principle of white legislation is to control blacks so that they can always be in subordinate positions. It is for this reason that they must receive an unfair deal in the allocation of land, education, employment and wages. This too is the reason for the creation of numerous Bantustans condemned for all time to be dependent upon white South Africa economically so that the black areas will virtually be huge dormitories for labourers in white industry.

Because human beings have the knack of choosing between moral values, regarding some more important than others, white South Africa believes and teaches that their survival is the primary virtue and it must accordingly be Christian to sacrifice all other values to gain it. In this way white privilege is given a Christian sanction. For this reason all whites enjoy privileges denied to all blacks. Some Christian leaders, Synods, Assemblies and Conferences have protested; opposition parties in parliament, liberal white organisations and individuals, have shouted curses and condemnation of unjust discriminatory legislation. But all the noise has not stopped a single white person from benefitting from what he tells the world is evil. All whites enjoy superiority of privilege with the consequent superiority of living.

All this has become terribly nauseating to intelligent young blacks. In South Africa, as in other lands where Christians discriminate against others on grounds of colour, the victims reject the Christian religion because it is the white man's—the oppressor's, religion

A serious anomaly in South Africa is that it is the young Christian who has taken interest in Black Theology. For Black Theology in South Africa to remain Christian it is important that black people who are mature in their understanding of Jesus Christ should seek to describe the place of belief in him from the point of view of the black situation. If mature Christian blacks do not engage in this task, Black Theology can become a science describing such other gods as happen to be the ultimate desires and hopes of those who concern themselves with this study.

The seriousness and urgency of the process of the dehumanization of the black man in South Africa and the increasing awareness of his identity by the young blacks has caught black clergy, ministers and theologians napping. They have been content with the dissemination of the results of the white man's theologizing. Because the experience which has given birth to Black Theology is unknown to white theologians so that many of them deny its validity, the majority of black ministers have tended to accept the judgement of the white theologian.



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And yet the challenge is crucial for Christianity in black communities. It is committed black Christian theologians alone who can hope to convince blacks who have discovered themselves that Jesus Christ is Saviour even of the South African blacks.

#### **Observations.**

Black Theology is not put forward to solve every problem. It will not make every black man Christian. Like all theology it can give rise to numerous heresies and is therefore a dangerous exercise. Some exponents of Black Theology give the impression that theology should be the handmaid of the black revolution and that this revolution necessarily must be violent. There is also the ambiguity of phrases which describe God as being "for blacks and therefore against whites". Another difficult expression is that "blacks are oppressed *because* they are black".

It is true that the Bible shows that God does come in judgement when communities fail to repent and obey his laws. Joel, for example, speaks of the day of the Lord as one of a "mighty destruction from the Almighty" and a "day of darkness and gloom". And Amos describes God's judgement in even sterner terms. The idea is echoed also in the New Testament.

Black Theologians however, need to guard against equating "God being on the side of the oppressed" with "the oppressed being on the side of God". *According to the Bible, there is no merit in being oppressed or poor.* It is by God's gracious love that he takes their side and acts for their liberation. God's righteousness denies everybody the prerogative of assuming the role of God's agent for punishing the wicked. No theology can give sanction for a freedom which allows people to do what they please. If it did it would bless tyranny. According to Jesus Christ, no one will ever know when the day of judgement comes or its manner of coming—whether from the west or east.

For this reason, Black Theology to be Christian theology must always be the effort of people who believe in Jesus Christ as the "Word which God spoke, speaks and will speak". It must be the work of the man who believes and therefore hears the Word of God and sees it in events around him.

There is need too for the black theologian to bear in mind continually that he is *using the terms "black" and "white" as symbols for oppressed and oppressor.* It is perfectly conceivable that the black people of the world can, after obtaining their liberation, proceed to become oppressors of White people because it is man who disobeys God and not his colour.

Finally, some black theologians seem to equate human love with God's. They say if God is on the side of the oppressed he cannot at the same time love the oppressor.

At this point, the black man is in danger of exalting one sin—that of oppressive discrimination—as above all others, and sending to heaven those who do not commit it and to hell those who do. According to the Christian revelation of God the white man's sins against the black man are the fruit of the white man's failure to observe Jesus' one commandment, namely, that his followers should love one another as he had loved them. (John 15:12)

Black theologians need to look again and again at Jesus Christ's revelation of God. If the white theologian's description has been deficient because it did not relate God to the circumstances of the oppressed black man, they ought not to be surprised. The white man could see God only from his own position and circumstance. If God knew that he was doing when he made white and black men, it must be the duty and privilege of the black theologian also to make his contribution from his own situation. Neither theologian can claim the right to know God perfectly. Neither has the right to use the term Christian to describe other theologies. Jesus Christ is the only foundation for Christians. Black as well as white men share in the disobedience of man and neither can speak or act as if he has no responsibility for the evil that is in the world.



# TUISKOMS

## James Ravell

...As vriende van ons moet teruggaan na Suid-Afrika, sien ons altyd met veel belangstelling uit na hul impressies van hul tuiskoms, hul eerste indrukke van die kontrasterende vaderlandse realiteit na 'n kortere of langere verblyf in die buiteland. In die onderstaande artikel word 'n neerslag gegee van drie sulke eerste impressies. Die egpaar, M. en G., was vir ongeveer drie jaar in die vreemde. Vroeg-Januarie van 1971 het L. ons besoek as onderdeel van 'n vlugtige groepstoer deur Wes-Europa. 'n Persoonlike reaksie as afronding volg op die slotreël van L. se skrywe ...

6/2/'71: Ek kan nog nie praat nie—rus net en probeer besef dat ons terug is. Dis soms moeilik. Ons is vandag maar 'n week hier en soms voel dit asof ons nooit weg was nie. Dalk is dit die plaaslewe wat my so laat voel. G. is in Pretoria by sy ouers en ek hier by myne ... Ek hoop dat dit nog tot my sal deurdring dat ons tuis is. Dis so moeilik om iets te sê, want alles voel nog soos 'n droom.

9/3/'71: Intussen gaan dit nogal dol hier met ons. Ons bly baie lekker by G. se ouers en word tot die grond bederf met tee in die bed soggens. Ek hoef so af en toe tafel te dek, verder niks. Daar is nog verbasend veel van ons goeie vriende oor in Pretoria en ek weet nie of ek so WIL dink nie, maar dit lyk vir my asof hulle ook nie meer alles sluk wat die regering opdis nie. Maar alles is so *verskriklik* propagandisties en eenzijdig (in)gestel, dat as jy nie 'n bewuste poging aanwend om dinge self uit te dink nie, dit maar baie maklik is om te glo dat alles so goed gaan as wat dit klink ...(M.)

9/3/'71: Dis heerlik om weer terug te wees in die warmte en sonskyn en om ou vriende en die familie weer te sien, maar jy word gedurig geskok deur baie dinge ... Die mense is op 'n eienaardige manier selfvoldaan en onverskillig teenoor die lot van die geestelikes wat gedeporteer, aangehou en ondersoek word—om maar te swyg van alle ander gedetineerdes. Die hele situasie is, om die waarheid te sê, nogal deprimerend

en verward, maar ek meen tog dat daar tans veel meer roering te bespeur is as 'n paar jaar gelede ... (G.)

15/1/'71: Ons vertrek 1.30 uur vanaf Rome, sit en dut oor die Sahara en steek die ewenaar om 7.00 uur oor. 'n Gratis nie-alkoholiese drankie om 8.00 uur op Brazzaville-lughawe. Die tropiese hitte vorm 'n vennootskap met slapeloosheid en pak my.

En dan—Home James!

Land dieselfde middag op Jan Smuts. Ons ondervind moeilikheid by die doeane. Jy probeer die werklikheid van segregasie ignoreer en jou geestelik daarvan isoleer, maar dis daar man, dis daar—harde feite—dis daar soos die gragte van Nederland. Dit staar jou in die gesig, vang jou vol teen die bors. Dis walglik en tog geen droom nie. Jy betree 'n Hitchcockfilm en word een van die slagoffers.

Passasiers met voorgeskrewe pigmentasie stap verby die groen kennisgewing en jý (die ander) word die doeane-beampte se teiken.

Sy oë en woorde deurboor jou; jy's iets wat die kat binnegesleep het.

Jy voel verkleineerd en jy merk die sadisme in sy oë.

Jou mede-passasiers met wie jy nog lugtig sit en skerts het pas tien minute gelede, sus hul gewetens deur gerieflik in ander rigtings te kyk, soos die man in die bus wat sy oë sluit, want hy verdra nie dat 'n vrou moet staan nie.

Die menslikheid van 'n lugwaardin red ons uit die verleentheid, net as die uitpakkery moet begin. Sy neem waar dat die betrokkenes lelik verstoord en amper briesend is. „Dankie, dame!”

Een van ons groepslede los 'n ironiese „Home, sweet home” en jy voel vreemd in jou geboorteland.

Die swaard van Damokles hang weer oor jou en jy koester stille wense ...

Moet vryheid dan net maar 'n opiumdroom bly? Sal die massas dan nooit ophou om as blote pionne op die



heersers se politieke skaakbord te dien nie? Is 'n vry, nie-rassige samelewing alleenlik 'n Suid-Afrikaanse hallusinatie?

Wat aanvanklik as verbygaande fases voorgekom het, het normes van leefwyse aangeneem.

Wonde heel, littekens bly.

Waarom, waarom moet jou medemens sulke huige-laars wees? Het hulle dan g'n gewetens nie? Hulle besit die kiesreg: die mag om die ommeswaai teweeg te bring.

Dis ontstellend hoe voldaan jou medelyers kan word—marionette op 'n enorme verhoog; beoefen hulle eie laakbare versie van diskriminasie onder die ander onderdrukte.

Hoe lank nog sal hierdie politieke, sosiale en intellektuele prikkeldraad voortduur?

Is daar werklik geen uiteindelijke oplossing vir ons land se tussenmenslike problematiek nie?

Moet wanhoop en oorgawe dan die enigste hoop wees?

Verbitterd, sê jy; jy praat die waarheid ... (L.)

... Die gevoelsmatige beskrywing van jou tuiskoms het ek sommer prima gevind. Dat jy verbitterd is oor die onreg en onmenslikheid aldaar, vind ek gesond, of, soos die inlanders hier te lande dit pleeg uit te druk, sindelik. Dis die onderdrukkende situasie wat ten grondslag van die regmatige verbittering lê. Dis die ontsegging van fundamentele menseregte en vryhede gesanksioneer deur 'n onverbloemde rassistiese staat en wettekompleks wat die bittere gevoelens opwek. Om te verwag dat die direkte slagoffers van so 'n mensonterende sisteem nie verbitter moet wees nie, is eintlik om te vra dat mense slawe moet wees ter wille van die maghebbers. (Quislings, ou sielsbroer, tref jy oorgenoeg aan in enige staatsbestel waar daar verdrukters die lakens uitdeel.) Gevolglik sê ek saam met Ezekiel Mpahlele dat verbittering onder die lyers onder die inhumane Apartheidsbeleid legitiem is, en menslik, en menswaardig. Want dit toon aan dat hulle gees en gevoel en intellek nie gekapituleer het voor die duiwelse stelsel nie. Mense moenie kla oor ons bitterheid nie; hulle moet liever daadwerklik meewerk aan die proses wat as doel het die finale uitbanning van die hooforsaak van dié verbittering, en dit is die onbeskaafde Apartheid.

Aan die ander kant, moet ons ook sorg dat verbittering nie ontaard in vrugtelose frustrasie en doellose jeremiades, of bandelose dronkenskap of verslawing nie. Intendeel, die gevoelens van bitterheid moet steeds lei tot die doen van grootse dinge *ten spyte* van die bekrompe en sielododende omgewing. Ek wêét dis 'n moeilike opgawe, maar, soos die wêreld-befaaamde Afro-Amerikaan, George Washington Carver wie se ouers slawe was, dit gestel het: self-pity is no basis for living ...

## A Golden Era in S.A.?

John Plaatjes

"We have no oppression and injustices in this country"—Rev. Nico van Loggerenberg.

Reading this statement in a strange land, ten thousand miles away from my own dear country, brought tears of joy. My first reaction was to shout: Glory be! At long last the miracle we have prayed for, begged for, suffered for, staked our happiness and good names on, has come to pass. Now isn't that just wonderful news: South Africa, my beloved country, free from injustices and oppression.

And why shouldn't I be happy, I thought. And why should I doubt this statement? I've had the honour and privilege of worshipping in a church where Ds. van Loggerenberg was the preacher, and I must confess I rather enjoyed his message and was blessed by it. So why shouldn't I believe this declaration coming from him?

Yes, for a few glowing moments I felt an indescribably joy, like a man awakening from a bad dream, to find the welcoming rays of the sun streaming in through the window. And my imagination immediately started working overtime.

I pictured the blessed land of my birth as God's own country—what with its great physical beauty—it's blue skies, majestic mountains, hills and valleys, its incomparable climate; a land that makes your heart want to sing every time you think of it; a land worth crying for and dying for: South Africa, our lovely land, our native land, where all used to be bright and free and filled with sunshine. The mere thought or mention of the name brings tears to the exile's eyes.

I saw the radical change in the faces of the people on the streets, the buses and trains and thousands of homes—as if a gigantic shadow had just been lifted from everything and everybody, bathing them in glorious, enchanting light—the kind of light they knew as children. Have you ever looked upon the face of a man who just heard that the sentence of death hovering over him, had been expunged? Have you seen the face of a mother who welcomes back a long-lost son from banishment or imprisonment? Have you understood the look on the face of a man after he got back his title-deed for the little house from which he was expropriated by legal decree?

I saw old men, returning to reclaim their lost properties, weep as they hugged and kissed the ground of their fathers, now rightfully restored to them. Their afflictions were forgotten in their great happiness.

Gone was the hunted look of the man in the street; the negative, suspicious gaze of rejection in the eyes of the privileged majority group. The fear that had

haunted everybody vanished into thin air, for women no longer went down to pistol practice in the afternoons and did their own baby-sitting and washing and cooking.

Music came back into people's lives. Songs and laughter rang in the most unlikely of places, and strangers exclaimed: What a happy people! Public places, after all these years, became "public" in truth—public libraries for instance. Coloureds and Blacks were able, for the first time, to listen to the National Symphony Orchestra in the Public City Halls of the country. String bands, brass bands and concert groups sprouted everywhere. Sounds of joy resounded deep into the night and the streets and places of entertainment in towns and cities became alive again. Once more the hotels became internationally famous.

What was so remarkable was the plummeting of the crime rate. It came down almost as fast as the barriers that had been erected to keep folks apart. In the public parks where the boards of ill repute came down, I spotted four children of different ethnic groups playing hopscotch together. A white man was sharing a bag of fish-and-chips with the father of one of the children, and laughing at their antics. Strangers were smiling at one another in the elevators and offices and nobody thought it strange to be greeted by someone with a different skin colour. Gone was the Sahara of impotent non-communication among people sharing the same country, made after the same image of the God they all believed in.

The traditional white beaches were still "white" but nobody seemed to mind when the "non-whites" were invited back to their traditional picnic and beach areas. There were no "incidents" and the prophets of doom became laughing-stocks.

Once more poetry flourished as the poets sang the praises of the new regime. Beautiful novels came out of mouldy drawers, and the arts were effectively revived.

In the mornings I saw well-fed, well-clad children of all colours, singing and dancing their way to school, now that education had been made compulsory for every child. They seemed to have forgotten their hunger, deprivation and the sighing of their parents. Now that the "Public" libraries were open to them, the tykes could be seen fearlessly carrying books under their arms in the afternoons. And they taught their fathers and mothers to spell and read and write. Education became a truly universal thing. Universities opened again and students have settled down to their studies. Our educational institutions soon attracted exchange students and lecturers from all over the world, like they used to.

One of the most astounding revolutions is taking place in the fields of public relations and communications. The advent of TV in South Africa was a timeous and blessed event to help usher in the Renaissance of South Africa, as the writers of history will call it one day. The S.A.B.C. and S.A.T.V.C. have emerged from their cocoons and are now reaching tens of millions on

the African continent. The media of the printed word has never before seen such a rapid expansion. The increase of readership has been commensurate with the growth of literacy among the millions. The economy had never before seen (or heard!) such a boom. Multi-cultural youth conferences are being held regularly in the major colleges and universities, as arranged by the resuscitated Student Christian Movement. Christian leaders have emerged from the shadows of house arrest, banishment and enforced obscurity and are pitching in to help rebuild human relationships. The damage is great — tremendously great — but I am glad I saw so many come forward to help in the mammoth task of reconstruction.

In his last Day-Of-The-Covenant speech the Prime Minister was quoted as saying, inter alia: "When I speak of the Nation of South Africa, let it be clearly understood that I speak of everybody under our glorious South African sun — whether you are of European or Asian descent, whether you are of indigenous offspring, or whether your fathers came from any other part of the world.

"Now that terrorist activities have faded away into the bush; now that we have successfully removed the last of those contentious laws from our Statute Books that have offended and brought suffering upon so many of our peoples, I appeal to you all to make this country the envy of other nations. We are fortunate indeed to have such a great country with such potential. We are a unique people with a unique past. We have often been misunderstood, but let us misunderstand one another no longer. We have fifty years to catch up with the rest of the world. LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER."

I saw a happy people, free at last from the bugbear of fear and mistrust. Groups of all races and backgrounds were praying together and attending "reconstruction seminar programmes". Affluent whites went all out to help eradicate poverty once and for all, for South Africa is a rich country. All groups were free to bargain for the jobs of their choice and training, and the decent wages they received allowed them to raise their heads again in a society free from restrictions and discriminations. With the added monies to their budgets, many of the displaced are saving up for that glad day when they can buy back their homes, which, according to government decree, should revert back to their former owners.

South Africa is back at the world's conference tables. The next Olympics, I hear, will be held on a thousand-acre spot between Johannesburg and Pretoria.

Good news! — "No oppression and injustice" — when that day comes I hope to return to my beloved, my own dear country ...

"You ask me why I weep, dear brother? I weep, because it was only a dream!"

# ***Non-violence in Martin Luther King***

***Tony Johnston***

*In South Africa the apartheid policies are upheld by violence. At the borders the guerilla fighters are also using violence in an attempt to change the situation. It might be of benefit to take a good look at the power of non-violent Christian action for change in South Africa.*

*Here Fr. Tony Johnston, O.M.I., Director of Studies at the (R.C.) St. Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara, Natal, explains the stand of a leader who took a non-violent stand. He studied in Rome where he made a detailed study of Martin Luther King. In this article his intimate knowledge of King and his writings is clearly seen.*

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Shortly before his assassination, Martin Luther King wrote: "I would rather be a man of conviction than a man of conformity. Occasionally in life one develops a conviction so precious and meaningful that he will stand on it till the end. This is what I have found in non-violence".

The man Martin Luther King was above all a man of conviction—a rare quality in our age of compromise and cheap grace. From his teens, he began his search for non-violence. To appreciate the measure of the man and the meaning of his conviction, we must follow him through the main events of his life. This is what I intend to do briefly in this article.

## **WORRIED STUDENT**

King was never an abstract academic. He learned not so much from words as from words fed by the blood of experience—the personal experience of racial hatred and racial segregation. As a student for the ministry, his main concern was for the problem of social evil, which led him to question the nature of man and God. So we find the young Martin deeply interested in theology and social ethics.

Like all students genuinely seeking the truth, he often altered his intellectual position. He began as a strict Protestant fundamentalist, then swung right over to Liberalism, then came back towards neo-Orthodoxy, and finally aligned himself with personalism and especially, Paul Tillich. When his Liberal bubble burst, he became depressed by the awareness of man's corrupt nature, and the glaring reality of social evil. In this state, Nietzsche's philosophy nearly crushed him. "I had almost despaired of the power of love to solve social problems", he wrote, "The turn-the-other-cheek and

the love-your-enemies philosophies are valid, I felt, only when individuals are in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations are in conflict, a more realistic approach is necessary."

Then King discovered *Mahatma Gandhi*. It was like a vision of light exploding in his mind. Gandhi's concept of satyagraha (truth-force or love-force) and his method of non-violence lighted the path for him to follow.

By the end of his studies for his doctorate, he had achieved a synthetic view of man's attempt to eliminate social evil. He rejects the utopian idea of man's capacity for good, the cult of inevitable progress. He equally rejects the pessimistic view that man can do nothing but wait submissively upon God to act. Both these attitudes are wrong about man because they are wrong about God. The Liberal places his trust in a purely immanent God, and so minimizes man's sinfulness. The Fundamentalist believes in God as wholly Other, and man as totally depraved: God does everything, man nothing. This is superstition, not faith, says King. True faith is faith in God as a loving Father, who gives his children abundant blessings, especially the gift of freedom. Must man accept becoming a "co-worker with God": man filled with God through Christ, and God operating through man, can cast out evil from our individual and collective lives.

With this theological vision, King rejected any purely other-worldly religion or unrealistic submission to injustice, and saw the Christian's task as a non-violent resistance to social evil.

## **TEST BY FIRE**

As a 26-year old Baptist pastor in Montgomery, Alabama, King settled down to his ministry. He did not seek leadership, it sought him—but he was ready! In Montgomery, one of the most irritating forms of colour discrimination was found on the city buses. These had a segregated white section up front, and if this section was full and more whites boarded the bus, then the Negroes in the seats immediately behind the reserved section were obliged to stand up in order to accommodate the surplus white passengers.

One evening, a Negro seamstress, Mrs Rosa Parks, refused to surrender her seat to a white man. She was arrested and jailed for this 'crime'. After a long history of countless indignities in Montgomery, this was the last straw. A dynamic reaction followed among the Negro population: a total bus boycott was suggested

and a leaders' committee formed, with King unanimously elected as chairman. To everyone's amazement, the boycott was a fantastic success—hardly any Negroes rode the buses.

In his speech to the protestors, King did not mention non-violence as such, but spoke of love as their regulating ideal: "If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people—a black people—who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization'". Later a newspaper letter compared King's protest to Gandhi's efforts. This caught the popular imagination, So King from then on spoke explicitly of non-violence as the technique of the movement.

But the city council would not give in. They adopted a 'get-tough' policy, and King himself was jailed—for exceeding the speed-limit! As the protest dragged on, King began to waver. His life and his family were often threatened. One night he reached crisis point: "With my head in my hands, I bowed over the kitchen table and prayed aloud. The words I spoke to God that midnight are still vivid in my memory. 'I am here taking a stand for what I believe is right. But now I am afraid. The people are looking to me for leadership, and if I stand before them without strength and courage, they too will falter. I am at the end of my powers. I have nothing left. I've come to the point where I can't face it alone.' At that moment I experienced the presence of the Divine as I had never experienced him before. It seemed as though I could hear the quiet assurance of an inner voice saying: 'Stand up for righteousness, stand up for truth; and God will be at your side forever.' Almost at once my fears began to go. My uncertainty disappeared. I was ready to face anything". His intellectual concept of a personal God had been transformed into a living reality.

Three nights later, his home was bombed. An infuriated mob of Negroes gathered around the house, the police lost control and a race riot seemed inevitable. But King calmly appealed to the crowd to continue their efforts with non-violence, and they dispersed. Later that same evening, he was horror-struck when he realized that his wife and child could have been killed by the bomb-blast. Feelings of anger and bitterness welled up within him, and he found himself "on the verge of corroding hatred". But he was able to conquer this violence of spirit. The concept of non-violence had been transformed into a commitment to a way of life.

### POSITIVE RESISTANCE OF LOVE

A year after the protest began, the Negroes returned to the buses on a desegregated basis. Non-violence had achieved the dream. How did King present non-violence during these events?

The terms he used are significant: he spoke of "the way of non-violence—the non-violent move-

ment—non-violent resistance". Passive resignation to the evil situation is impractical and immoral because it is a tacit approval of the oppressor's actions, giving him the false impression that he is morally right. On the other hand, violence is also impractical—it is a descending spiral ending in the destruction of all. It is immoral because it seeks to humiliate and annihilate; it is based on hatred and destroys community and brotherhood; it never brings permanent peace. Violence creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers. King never gave a definition of what he meant by violence, he simply defined it by what it did, by the dynamics of violence.

Non-violent resistance provides a synthesis of these two alternatives. Non-violence is not passive non-resistance, it is *active* non-violent resistance to evil. It is passive physically, but strongly active spiritually, i.e. it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the other, but to persuade him that he is wrong. It resists the forces of evil, but does not attack persons.

Non-violence is not something essentially negative; it seeks *positively* to co-operate with the forces of good. It aims to win the friendship and understanding of the opponent, to foster genuine intergroup and interpersonal living—in short, it seeks to create *community*. To achieve this goal, various means are used: non-co-operation, boycotts, protests, etc. But these are, and always remain, simply the means to attain the positive goal of non-violence: the redemptive community.

Intimately connected with both the end and means of non-violence is what may be called its mystique, which King learnt from Gandhi: *the willingness to accept suffering without retaliation*. This suffering may include abuses, beatings, jailing, even physical death. What justification can be given for demanding such an ordeal of people? King's answer is deceptively simple: *unearned suffering is redemptive*. He quotes from Gandhi: "Suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears which are otherwise shut to the voice of reason." Suffering is in view of ultimate community.

*But the transforming power of suffering is realized only when large numbers assume it.* To be effective, non-violence must be organized into a movement which involves the masses. The capacity of a whole people to suffer for the sake of freedom and justice will eventually wear down the oppressor. Paraphrasing Gandhi, King urged his followers to say to their oppressors: "We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force". By soul force, King meant the *power of love*.

Here we have arrived at the heart of King's non-violent ethic. Non-violence avoids not only the external physical violence, but also internal violence of spirit, i.e. hate and bitterness. This is its ultimate strength. Evil extends itself by a chain of hate and violence; this chain reaction can only be broken by the power of love expressed in non-violence.

The love of one's neighbour-enemy is obviously not meant in an emotional or affectionate sense, but is expressed in the New Testament by the word 'agape'. Agape is understanding, redeeming goodwill for all men. It is the love of God operating in the human heart. God loves man for his own sake, not simply for man's good qualities, and because man needs God's love. So agape in man is disinterested love; entirely neighbour-regarding concern for others; meeting the other's needs. As King illustrates: "Since the white man's personality is greatly distorted by segregation, and his soul greatly scarred, he needs the love of the Negro".

Agape is not weak, passive love; it is love in action, seeking to preserve and create community; it is a recognition of the fact that all life is interrelated, all men are brothers. "When I am commanded to love", says King, "I am commanded to restore community, to resist injustice, and to meet the needs of my brothers".

During 1955, non-violence was tested by fire in Montgomery, and found to be true. This local trial is of universal importance.

## REVOLUTION

Then King joined his father as co-pastor in his home town of Atlanta, Georgia, where he retired into the background. For five years he followed events rather than lead them, even though he was president of the



*The late Dr. Martin Luther King.*

Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Meanwhile, the racial scene was very active. Student protest suddenly erupted. The students introduced the "sit-in" technique, which consisted of taking a seat in a white facility, and refusing to move when ordered, or to fight back when attacked. They began to stage sit-ins at segregated lunch counters, and within days, this technique spread like wild-fire among the Negro youth. Sit-ins were staged at department stores, supermarkets, theatres, and were soon supplemented by stand-ins, church kneel-ins, and mass marches. King immediately grasped the importance of student involvement, and so he stepped forward as a spokesman and symbol of the movement, urging the students to remain non-violent, and helping to form the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee.

Another important phenomenon was the emergence of the "Freedom Riders", who took integrated bus rides through the South. The whites reacted to this protest gesture with ferocious violence. Here again, King helped with the organization of the rides.

King in no way initiated any of these developments, he merely gave his support. He was waiting for the right psychological moment, and this came in the late summer of 1962 when an opening was presented in Birmingham, one of the most segregated cities of the South. King and his aides drew up a detailed campaign, known as "Project C" ("C" for *Confrontation*), which began with small groups of demonstrators and gradually built up to a crescendo of mass protest.

King faced criticism from all sides for the "untimeliness" of this campaign. The unkindest cut of all came from a published statement by eight clergymen, to which he replied with his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail". As the campaign progressed, the police became agitated and launched into excessively violent attacks on the marchers. Then King made two astonishing strategic decisions: he disobeyed a court order which had forbidden the protest to continue, and brought in children and teenagers as active demonstrators. The result was a city whose jails were overflowing, and a situation of confrontation and tension that became intolerable.

Consequently, negotiations were opened by the white community, and an agreement for desegregation was reached. Seven years later, in 1969, Arthur Shores, the first ever Negro counsellor in Birmingham, said: "What has happened to the racial climate in this city is as profound as it is unbelievable".

How did King present nonviolence after that? He no longer spoke of the nonviolent movement, but of a "nonviolent revolution". We heard very little of non-violent resistance, but much of "nonviolent direct action" which created a situation of "constructive, non-violent tension" by organizing itself into a "nonviolent army". Extremist militants who are not satisfied with nonviolence have failed to understand that "militancy is also the father of the nonviolent way".

He then saw the power of love not only as a moral answer to social evil, but also as a "powerful and just weapon" for social change. Nonviolence is a militant methodology employed to bring about a revolutionary change. King was making the explosive suggestion that a social revolution can be founded on nonviolence. However, non-violent direct action was meant to supplement—not replace—the process of change through legal channels.

The direct action included sit-ins, marches, massive displays of civil disobedience — all seeking to "create such a crisis and foster such a *tension* that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue".

But was it not morally wrong to cause tension in society? "I have earnestly opposed violent tension," King answered, "but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth". Furthermore, the nonviolent demonstrators did not create tension, they simply brought to the surface the hidden tension that was already there. But granted this, it could still be argued that their actions, though peaceful, had to be condemned because they precipitated violence. King replied that such reasoning was quite illogical: "Isn't this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber".

Nonviolent direct action does not just excite people; such a movement would be no more than a revolt. By tension and confrontation, it creates a social movement that *changes* people and institutions — this is a true *revolution*. The nonviolent revolution is a sword that heals, gaining the equality and justice of the oppressed, and the confidence of the oppressor.

## BLACK POWER

The Birmingham campaign saw King shifting the emphasis in his presentation of non-violence. The last five, action-packed years of his life witnessed a further shift. By then he was a mature social leader, recognized throughout the United States and known the world over. He was the main speaker at the "Freedom March" on Washington in 1963, when he made his famous 'I have a dream' speech. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and selected as Man of the Year by Time magazine, he seemed to have reached his peak. But the assassination of President Kennedy cast a shadow over King.

Violence in the Northern ghettos grew in intensity, until the long hot summer of '65 in Watts decided King to go North. He moved into a Chicago slum and began to concentrate on economic equality. The most significant phenomenon of this time was the Black Power movement which was inspired by disillusioned Negro youths, who spearheaded the race riots. Black Power

challenged King's non-violence at its very roots.

King faced the challenge head-on. "Non-violence is power", he says, "but it is the right and good use of power". He spoke of "non-violent pressure" and even of "non-violent coercion". This seemed to be a far cry from his earlier terminology, but he had simply accepted the sad reality: "The Negro is now convinced that white America will never admit him to equal rights unless it is coerced into doing it".

Was not Black Power, then, the only answer? For King, Power was the ability to achieve purpose. It was the strength to bring about social, political and economic change. Understood correctly, power and love are not mutually exclusive: "What is needed is a realization that power without love is reckless and abusive, and that love without power is sentimental and anaemic". If Black Power expressed this realization, then King was for it. He also accepted it as a legitimate cry of disappointment by the black man and a psychological call to manhood.

But ultimately he felt that he had to reject Black Power as it actually existed. It was based on despair and the conviction that the black man can't win. Hate and violence lead to despair, the very contradiction of a revolution which is based on hope. Secondly, Black Power was a belief in black separatism: this was suicide in a multi-racial society, since no group could make it alone. Finally, the most destructive feature of Black Power was its call to retaliatory violence.

Black Power theorists claimed that they employed violence only in self-defence. King accepted the right to defend one's house and one's person when attacked, but he could not accept a social revolution founded on self-defence. It is impossible to maintain the distinction between defensive violence and aggressive violence. However, the greatest weakness of a violent demonstration is that it is ineffective—it does not confront the primary evil. A demonstration is aimed at exposing and focussing attention upon a social injustice. Violence obscures this aim because attention is focussed on the violence and not upon the real issue.

Ultimately, violence is unable to appeal to conscience. Black Power advocates said this was irrelevant, but King insisted that power and morality go together. Gandhi was the first to show that the chain of social evil could be broken by mounting a revolution on hope and love, hope and non-violence. Power and love go together. King urged his followers to use all their creativity in learning how to develop power. *Violent power destroys community; but non-violent power restores and creates the redemptive community—the goal of Christianity.*

King did stand on his theological-social conviction till the end. He was able to make non-violence relevant and effective in changing situations. By his commitment to non-violence, he lived out Matt, 5, 44-45: "But I say to you, love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father

who is in heaven".

Beyond colour, race and religion, King must be seen and confronted finally as a man who bypassed cerebral centres and attacked the archetypal roots of man. His grace, like Gandhi's, grew out of a complicated relation not to oppression but to the ancient scourges of man, to pain, to suffering, to death. Men who conquer the fear of these things in themselves acquire extraor-

dinary power over themselves and over others. "A man who won't die for something," King has said, "is not fit to live". By resurrecting that truth and flinging it into the teeth of our fears, by saying it repeatedly and by living it, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., has taught us, all of us, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, not only how to die, but also, and more importantly, how to live.

## ***The D.R.C. and Sydney***

***Sol Selepe***

I wish to continue the discussion of the Sydney resolutions of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod which I started last month in *Pro Veritate* and say how I, as a black man in the D.R.C., see them.

The main point of the first resolution is: *love and justice are the harmonious and guiding norms for race relations*. The second resolution reads as follows:

"True love among men requires that we accept our neighbour, regardless of his race or culture as created in the image of God, respect him in his person as God's creature, and be willing to put ourselves in his place in order thus to understand how we should behave towards him in personal and social relations."

In the second resolution the core is: *acceptance of the neighbour regardless of race or culture*.

In a society where love and justice are the guiding norms for race relations, it means that those who love and are just will unconditionally accept the direct object of their love and justice. One cannot love and practice justice and at the same time reject the very object of love. True love requires that the object of love be accepted irrespective of race or culture. Love in the New Testament has at least three aspects and all of them are crucial. These aspects are:

the love of God,

the love of ourselves, and

the love of our fellowman.

The love of God is crucial. Without love of God, both the love of ourselves and of our neighbours can become twisted and false. Thus love of God is to be committed not to getting power or authority over others. It is to be committed to good human relations and the freedom of all people. It is our love of God which gives content both to our love of ourselves and of others.

The great commandment of Jesus is that we should love others as we love ourselves. This implies that we should love others irrespective of their race or culture.

It also means then that the things we need for ourselves are the very things we should desire for others as well.

### **LOVE IN ACTION NEEDED**

If the whites in this country want to be treated with dignity as unique individuals, then this is how they should treat the Blacks. If the whites in this country want freedom from hunger and oppression for themselves, then they should be prepared to join with the Blacks in their struggle against poverty and oppression. And if they want Blacks to accept and value them as people, then they must accept and value Blacks as people.

Thus the Christian way of love entails a total way of life and not the so-called "South African way of life". True love is not simply warm feelings which might exist between people. It is this but only in the context of our commitment to the God of truth and mercy and justice and righteousness and peace.

The love which should characterise the Christian Church, then, is a real relationship of a fulfilling give and take between people. It is also a relationship which is based on a searching for God's way of peace, freedom, justice and humanity in the world and particularly in South Africa. It is a way of life which is determined to root out the discord of hunger, disease and poverty.

With the New Testament teaching on the church as a sharing, caring and loving community, it is hard for me to understand how that which calls itself the D.R.C. Church, is hardly a community at all, but an organization in which the very rich and very poor are present and in which, while there is some charity, the charity is not marked by a longing for fellowship and friendship between the givers and the receivers.

It is difficult for me to understand how the D.R.C. can be marked by racism, snobbery and deep racial divisions.

No wonder the world of the black man in South Africa can see a dualism between confession and practice in the D.R.C. and can see no hope in it as a means of throwing off their shackles. Our equality in Christ, our neighbourliness and brotherhood—these still have to manifest themselves in the D.R.C.

# **The Internal Situation in S.W.A.**

**Clemens Kapuuo**

*The following address was given by Mr. Clemens Kapuuo of S.W.A. at the annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg on January 16-19, 1973. One realises that the situation in S.W.A. is very tense, but the contents of this article clearly shows optimism. It is re-assuring to see that there are people who have a clear goal and a positive aim in mind.*

The people of South West Africa are confronted with the race problem in the same way as the people in South Africa. We have political parties like the political parties in South Africa and in other parts of the world; but in our country we succeeded in uniting the majority of the political parties into one body called the National Convention. *The National Convention* represents the following political parties:-

The South West Africa Peoples Organisation  
The National Unity Democratic Organisation  
The South West Africa National Union  
The Rehoboth Volksparty  
The Voice of the People and  
The Namib African Peoples Democratic Organisation

## **A CONSTITUTION FOR FUTURE GOVERNMENT**

All these political parties together represent the great majority of the people of South West Africa. It is the view of the National Convention that all major issues in South West Africa and all issues at international level should be handled by the National Convention. A Committee was formed at the last meeting of the National Convention. Each of the political parties I have mentioned was asked to nominate three representatives to become members of the Committee which will draft the Constitution. The Committee has to give a report to the National Convention on the 15th February, 1973. The Committee was given another important task of doing research into the Constitution of the future Government of South West Africa and to give a report to the Convention on a date to be fixed by the Convention. The National Convention welcomes all political parties in South West Africa irrespective of race or colour to become members; but *political parties which stand for Apartheid and the denial of the rights of one race by another are not allowed to become members of the Convention.*

I regret to inform you that the political parties in South West Africa which have not yet joined the Convention are the White political parties; but we earnestly want the White political parties to join the Convention so that the Constitution for the future Government of South West Africa can be made by both Black and White.

The door is open for our White brothers to join the National Convention.

Another point which I should like to make is that the majority of the people of South West Africa are optimistic about the future and believe that the liberation of South West Africa would be brought about by increased international pressure and the determination and unity of the people of South West Africa. That is why the National Convention is regarded by us as a major step in the right direction. The National Convention is opposed to the creation of the so-called Homelands for the Black people in South West Africa on a tribal basis because the system is in conflict with the policy of the National Convention.

## **WE ARE OPPOSED TO "HOMELANDS"**

The National Convention wants to have South West Africa as one country and is opposed to the splitting up of the country into small tribal units. We want the United Nations to take over South West Africa and to prepare the people for selfgovernment and independence. The South African Government created Homelands with legislative councils in some areas of South West Africa e.g. Ovamboland and Okavango but the members of the so-called Legislative Councils were appointed by the Government and were not elected by the inhabitants of the areas concerned.

Another bad point about the creation of Homelands is that the Black people are removed from lands on which they have been living long before the coming of the White man to South West Africa e.g. Otjohorongo, Ovitoto and Otjimbingue Native Reserves. These areas are now regarded by the Government as White areas which must be vacated by the Black people. When the



inhabitants of Otjimbingue Reserve complained to the Government about the scarcity of water in their Reserve, the former Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr van der Walt, told the inhabitants that the Reserve was going to be de-proclaimed and the Government saw no reason why they should develop an area while the inhabitants were going to be removed.

New inhabitants are not allowed under any circumstances to settle in the Reserves which have been earmarked for removal.

The inhabitants of the above Reserves are not allowed to bring in livestock from outside the Reserves.

An African woman who lived in the town of Omaruru until she became blind asked for permission from the Superintendent of the Reserve to be allowed to settle in the Otjohorong Native Reserve to be taken care of by her relatives. Permission was refused on the grounds that the inhabitants who were already in the Reserve were going to be removed to a new Homeland - a semi-desert area between South West Africa and Botswana. Her relatives ignored the refusal of the Superintendent and brought the blind woman into the Reserve without permission. She is now in the Reserve and has up to now not yet been arrested.

Another African woman who became aged in Windhoek asked for permission from the Government to go and stay with her relatives in the Otjohorong Native Reserve. Permission was refused because the Reserve was going to be de-proclaimed. She is now staying with her relatives on a White man's farm in the vicinity of Okahandja in South West Africa.

If the Government sincerely thinks that the creation of the Homelands is to the advantage of the Black people, why does it not create Homelands for the three White groups in South West Africa; for example,

a Homeland for the Afrikaners  
a Homeland for the English and  
a Homeland for the Germans?

### DEPRIVATION OF LAND

The land question is the other important issue in South West Africa on which we shall ask for legal advice from lawyers in South Africa, South West Africa and overseas whether to proceed to the World Court at The Hague or to other Courts.

While South Africa signed an international agreement to uplift to the utmost the material and the moral wellbeing of the inhabitants of South West Africa, she deprived the Black people of about 90% of their traditional lands and sold these lands to the White farmers from South Africa. The result was that the people who were removed from their lands are now landless or live in semi-desert areas. These people suffered material and financial loss. The question is whether or not these people have a legal right to demand compensation.

We hold the view that the South African Government did not have the right to sell our traditional lands without our consent. We do not claim the whole of South West Africa but we think there must be a fair distribution of the land among the people of South West Africa.

We want the *contract system* in South West Africa to be abolished because it separates men from their families. The people in their country must be free to seek work where they want. In some compounds people are treated like children in that they are not allowed to be outside the compounds after twelve o'clock at night. If they are found by the police outside the compound after that time they are arrested.

The wages under the contract system are very low. The cash wage is on the average about R10.00 per month on a farm and R15.00 per month in a town.

One of the functions of the National Convention is to unite the different tribes and to encourage them to get used to one another so that they can work together in the interest of South West Africa as a whole. Our argument is that charity begins at home.



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# **WEIGHED AND...? GEWEEG EN...?**

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

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



## **DRAMATIC SEQUEL TO GOVERNMENT BAN ON NUSAS LEADERS**

### **CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE SHOCK BOYCOTT MOVE**

#### **Refuse to testify before Schlebusch Commission**

**Members of the Board of Management and executive staff of the Christian Institute—the next organisation to be investigated by the Schlebusch Commission—will refuse, at the risk of heavy fines or jail sentences, to give evidence before the Commission or to co-operate in its inquiry in any way.**

Their stand is fully backed by the board of the institute. The board has passed a resolution affirming its support for those of the board and staff executive "who decide that in conscience they cannot co-operate with a Commission of Inquiry which they consider, by its constitution and mandate, to be a denial of the democratic process and judicial procedure."

A letter informing the Commission of the institute's decision was handed to the Deputy Secretary of the House of Assembly, Mr. P.J.G. Venter, by the regional director of the institute, the Rev. Theo Kotzé, in Cape Town on Friday.

Dr. Naudé said yesterday: "I wish to make it quite clear that this is not a political decision. It is rather a matter of deep moral conviction on the part of the staff and board members who have taken the decision, and I deeply respect such a stand."

#### **THE LETTER**

The letter handed to the Commission read:

"During the meetings of the Board of Management of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, held over the weekend of March 2-4, the pending investigation of the Christian Institute by a Parliamentary Select Commission was discussed.

"A number of board and executive staff members stated that they could not in conscience participate in this investigation. The Board of Management resolved as follows:

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

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



"1. That the recent action taken against student leaders by way of arbitrary banning orders confirms our initial impression that the thinking behind the appointment of the Parliamentary Select Committee is calculated to permit punitive measures being taken under the guise of democratic procedure.

"2. That we reaffirm our conviction that the investigation of any organisation should be undertaken through a judicial commission which can ensure impartiality, the right of defence to accusations made, the right to face one's accusers and the upholding of the due process of law.

"3. That we fully support those of the board and staff executive who decide that in conscience they cannot co-operate with a Commission of Inquiry, which they consider by its constitution and mandate to be a denial of the democratic process and judicial procedure.

"4. That while we confidently affirm that we have nothing to hide, we also affirm that there is much to preserve by way of our Christian heritage of fairness and the evidencing of justice, which such a Parliamentary Commission palpably erodes."

Mr. Brown said that if an impartial judicial commission had been set up to inquire into the activities and objectives of the Christian Institute, its members would not have hesitated in co-operating with it fully.

The Schlebusch Commission, appointed as a Parliamentary Select Committee and changed into a commission, is made up of ten Members of Parliament—six Nationalists and four from the United Party.

It was set up to inquire into the report on the activities of four anti-apartheid organisations—the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement.

The first investigation was into Nusas, whose members gave evidence before the Commission when called on to do so. The Commission's interim report on Nusas, released last week, resulted in the Government banning eight student leaders.

—*Sunday Times, 11.3.73.*

## HUL GEWETE

Lede van die bestuursraad en die senior-personeellede van die Christelike Instituut het besluit om nie getuienis voor die Schlebusch-kommissie af te lê nie.

Die Instituut het nog altyd die klem op die Christelike deel van sy benaming gelê, hoewel almal met selfs die elementêre kennis van die organisasie bewus daarvan was dat hy sedert sy stigting eintlik maar eenvoudig 'n politieke aksiegroep is.

Nou blyk dit dat die Instituut nie langer sy politieke aard probeer verberg nie.

Na die Nusas-uitspraak het die Instituut se lede blykbaar geskrik en om die een of die ander rede is hulle besorg om voor die kommissie getuienis af te lê. Daarom wil hulle hul nou graag as martelare voorstel wat deur hul Christelike gewete verhinder word om voor 'n kommissie van die aard te getuig. Die deursigtige optrede is daarop gemik om wêreldwye steun te verkry, maar al die wavrage telegamme en boodskappe wat uit talle lande aangedra gaan word, sal nie Suid-Afrikaners daarvan weerhou om die optrede van die Christelike Instituut te beoordeel soos persone uit een stuk doen nie, naamlik dat die Christelike Instituut weghardloop van 'n indringende ondersoek na sy sake.

—*Transvaler*, 12.3.73.

## HOW TO SUPPRESS OPPONENTS

It is now quite clear what role the Government envisages for the permanent commission on internal security. This commission will be expected to set up as targets a selected range of opponents who will then be potted like clay ducks—without the Government having to bother the courts. The Prime Minister admitted as much at the weekend.

He said that the "tendency" to shift the responsibility of state security decisions on to the shoulders of the judiciary should be ended. "In future", said Mr. Vorster, referring to the use of a committee of parliamentarians to provide justification for Nationalist retribution, "we will always act this way". In the light of this, we can anticipate ever-more bannings and house-arrests as the Government sets about silencing, once and for all, the more effective and implacable of its critics. Black people, particularly, can expect no mercy if they fail to be properly subservient to White Power; what has happened to the leadership of SASO is just a foretaste.

When the Government receives the report it requires it will feel free to take action. It is all very cosy and, as Mr. Vorster says, it relieves the courts of such a burden. The fact that lives are going to be wrecked unjustly is beside the point.

We can expect one significant change in method of operation when the security commission gets going. Its reports are unlikely to be released to the public. The Government must have realised by now that it is a mistake to reveal how little evidence it requires to suppress opposition.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 12.3.73.

## FREEDOM IS IN DANGER—ACADEMICS

Senior academic lawyers yesterday warned strongly against a Parliamentary takeover of the functions of the courts.

At the weekend Mr. Vorster said Parliament—and not the courts—had the responsibility for acting where State security was threatened.

But the deans of the law faculties of the universities of Potchefstroom and Natal, together with other leading law professors, said the judicial functions of the courts must be kept apart from the functions of Parliament and the executive.

The dean of the Potchefstroom law faculty, Professor J.D. van der Vywer, said: "The executive should not usurp the functions of the judiciary.

"I can see no good reason for this rule to be broken except when there is a state of war."

He said if the Government felt the situation justified the executive's taking these powers, "then there is something seriously wrong, because South Africa is not at war".

While it was the executive's function to see that law and order were maintained, it was not for them to see that criminals were punished.

Prof. Tony Matthews, dean of the University of Natal's faculty of law, said the history of punishments meted out by parliaments was such an unhappy one that if the Prime Minister's idea was followed, South Africa would be losing yet another aspect of freedom.

Prof. Marius Wiechers, professor of public law at Unisa, said Parliament would be doing something bad if it took over the functions of the courts.

"Parliament's role is to make laws, but surely it is for the courts to decide if there is a transgression of those laws?"

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 12.3.73.

## WITNESSES CALL TO END SECRECY

Eleven people who gave evidence to the Commission of Inquiry into Nusas called yesterday for the lifting of the veil of secrecy which has surrounded its findings. They want the public to judge the evidence.

The 11 Commission witnesses who made the call were Professor John Dugard, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand; Father Dale White, an Anglican priest; Mr. Adam Klein, Mr. P.C. de Beer and Mr. Taffy Adler, student backers; Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, a Spro-Cas organiser; Mrs Josie Adler; Mr. Clive Nettleton; Miss Gail Levy; Mr. John Kane-Berman and Mr. David Adler.

They signed this petition for publication in the Sunday Times today:

"We were all subpoenaed by the Commission of Inquiry which last week delivered its interim report on the National Union of South African Students. The Commission met in secret. Its regulations prevented us from disclosing—on pain of six months' imprisonment or a fine of R200—anything about its methods of procedure or about what transpired when we appeared before it.



We firmly believe, however, that it would be in the public interest if we could disclose information about the procedures employed by the Commission.

Whatever reasons there might ever have been for keeping the proceedings secret can no longer apply: we for our part would be willing to see publication of all that transpired and we call on the Government to give the public the full record of what did happen, and not merely its report, and to let the public judge."

—*Sunday Times*, 11.3.73.

#### DURBAN SET FOR HISTORIC CONGRESS

The eyes of Christians throughout the nation will be focussed upon Durban from March 13th to 22nd as the South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism opens in that city. Delegates and Christian leaders from ten African and three overseas countries will descend upon the famous holiday resort for what promises to be a historic event in the life of the South African church.

The Central Methodist Church will be the venue for the daily meetings.

Michael Cassidy, Programme Chairman of the Congress, reports that over 100 speakers will be giving leadership in the Congress plenary sessions, seminars, panels, workshops and symposia. Major position papers will be delivered by such outstanding speakers as Dr Billy Graham, Rev. Leighton Ford, Canon Michael Green, Canon Douglas Webster, Bishop Festo Kivengere, Rev. Tom Houston, Bishop Alphaeus Zulu, Rev. David du Plessis and others.

As part of the Congress outreach, there will be a major public rally at Kings Park Stadium on Saturday, March 17th. This will be addressed by Dr Billy Graham. This will be Dr Graham's first visit to South Africa.

—*S.A. Congress on Mission and Evangelism*, 2.2.73

#### CRY OF RAGE OVER BANNED POETRY

The banning of "Cry Rage", a volume of protest poetry by two Coloureds, has caused a storm in literary and education circles.

The collection—by James Matthews and Gladys Thomas of Cape Town—was described last night as some of the finest of Black writing to come out of South Africa.

Mr. Peter Randall, director of Spro-cas (Special Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society), which published the volume, said about 5 000 copies had already been sold—almost the entire first edition.

"Though we won't be able to proceed with a second edition as planned, there are enough copies already circulating to ensure that it is read."

"Cry Rage" was banned by the Publications Control Board last week.

#### EXPLOSIVE

Mr. Peter Randall described the ban on "Cry Rage" as "futile and irrelevant". "Cry Rage" expressed—to those who could still hear—the profound hurt and anger of Black South Africa, he said.

"The banning will not remove these feelings; it will merely ensure that next time they will be more explosive and more angry."

Mr. Jonathan Paton, chairman of the anti-censorship Pasquino Society and a university English lecturer, said the Publications Control Board had silenced a work which should have been read by all White South Africans.

"Its message is a desperate cry of protest against injustice—in the simplest, most human terms. The poems are right at the root of South Africa's consciousness, but Whites don't like being told the truth."

Four other Spro-cas publications, apart from "Cry Rage" have recently been similarly affected.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 12.3.73.