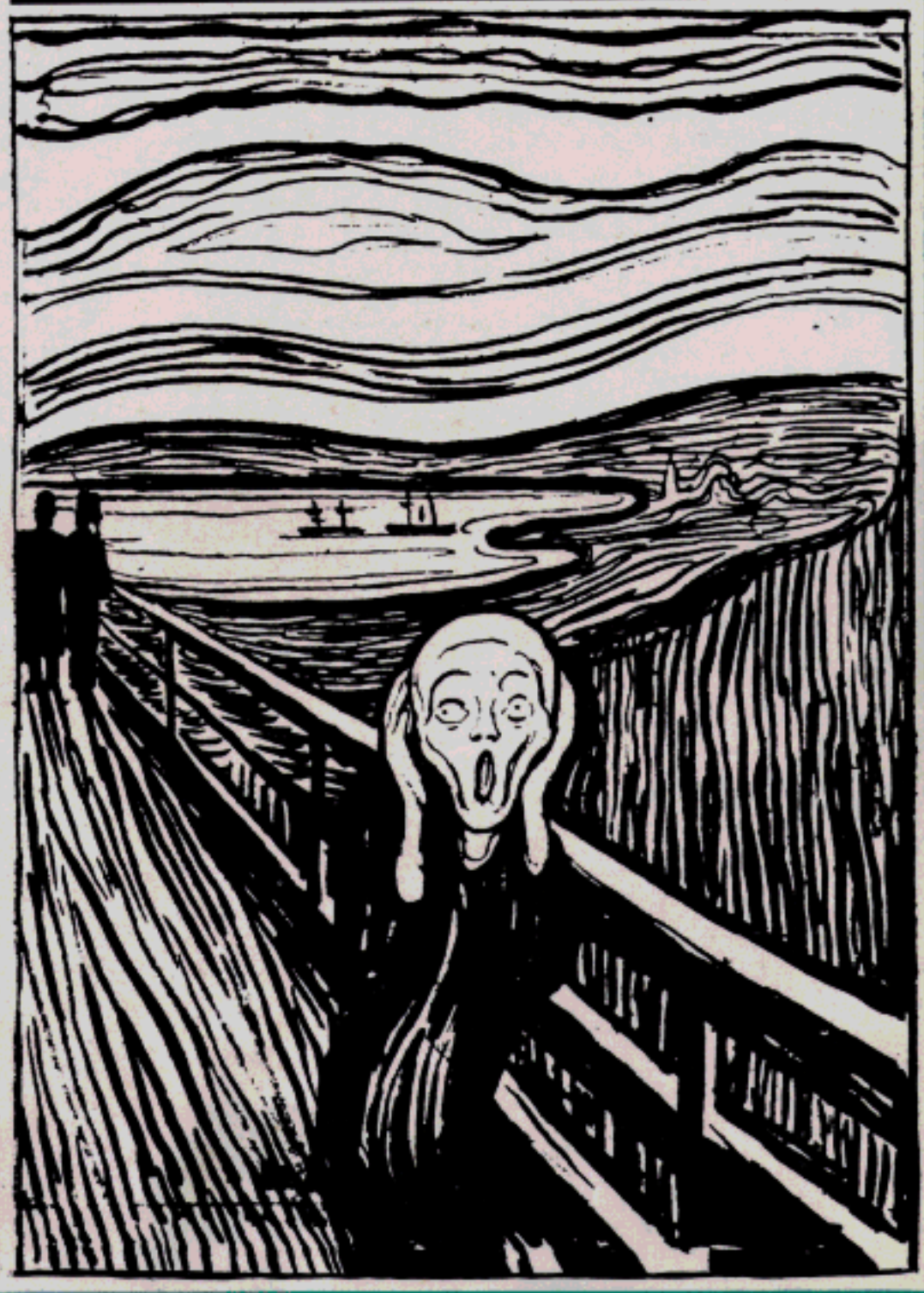
arbitrary action erodes freedom
- the rule of law safeguards it



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PRO VERITATE

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FRONT COVER

DRAWING ON LEFT-HAND SIDE BY DAVE GASKILL. BY COURTESY OF THE RAND DAILY MAIL.

VOORBLADFOTO

TEKENING VAN LINKERKANT DEUR DAVE GASKILL GOEDGUNSTIGLIK DEUR DIE ..RAND DAILY MAIL" VERSKAF

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EDITORIAL

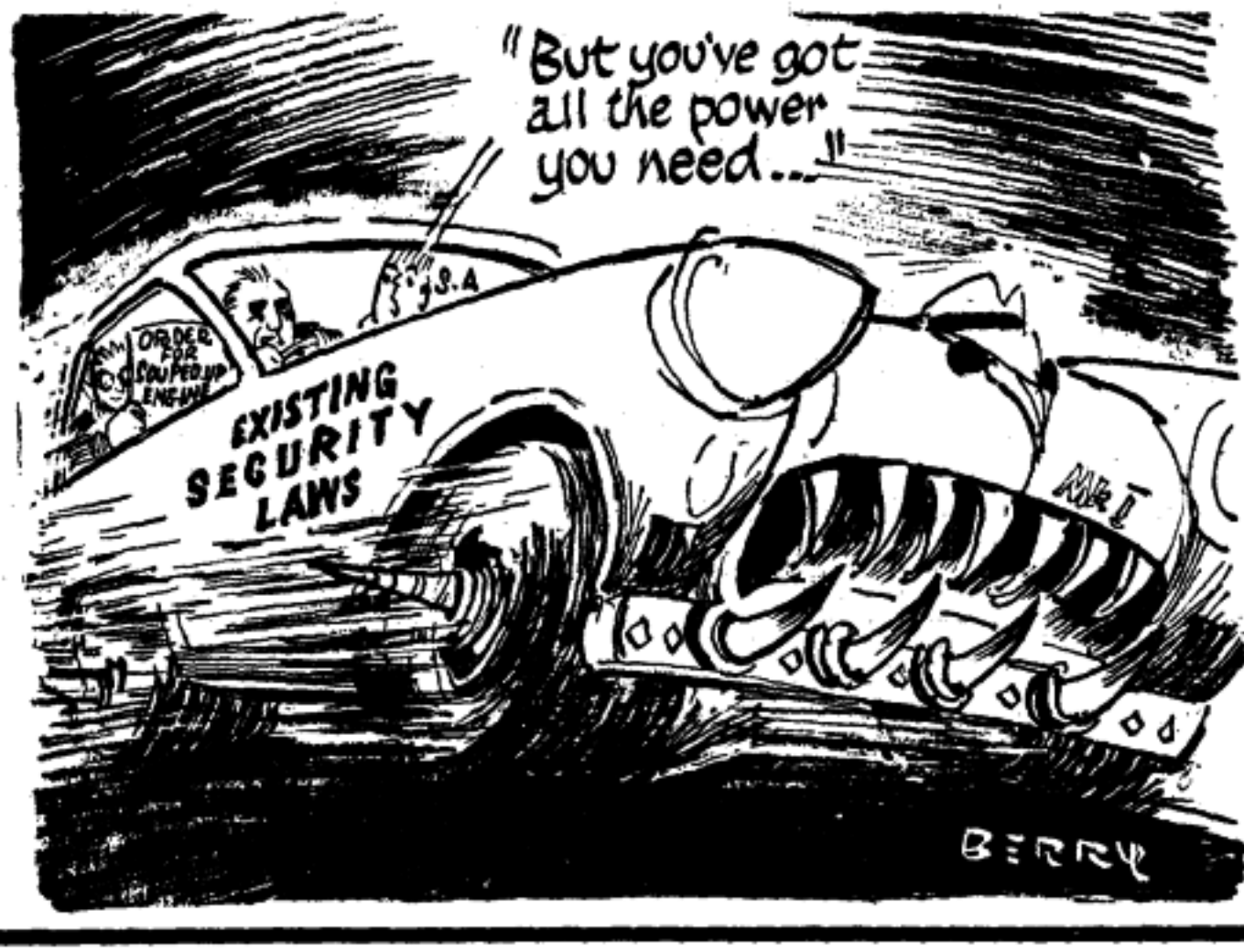
THE SECURITY OF APARTHEID GRINDS TO A HALT...

The Riotous Assemblies Act and the Affected Organizations Act bring to the fore with a shock the following vitally important questions regarding the bounds of authority and power of the government over the lives of private persons and organizations. Is it justifiable in the eyes of God to prohibit through the use of police violence a gathering of two or three Christians when Christ has promised that where two or three have come together in His name there will He be in the midst of them. Would not the freezing of the funds of an 'affected' organization and the prohibition of financial support from abroad be a violation of the universality of the Church if such an organization were working for the coming of the Kingdom of God in the political sphere as well?

Regarded from the point of view of the Gospels the core of the problem is that the life of the people of South Africa has now been placed finally and completely under the control of the government in an all-embracive sense—in the private sector, the financial sphere, the sphere of the Church, in the social sphere and in the sphere of organizations. The purpose of the legislation is to put an end to certain gatherings even of two people only, and even on private property which, according to the government, are a danger to the state; and further to put an end to foreign financial aid for certain groups if such groups are active in the 'political' field. Since the term 'political activity' has not been more closely defined, it means that any church or group of Christians which is fulfilling its generally-accepted evangelical prophetic role within the political sphere as well, may be regarded as a threat to the security of the state, and hence its activities could be stopped.

Apartheid the Supreme Security

Seen from the theological point of view this legislation means that the security of the country *according to the*



—The Star

interests and ideology of the National Party, has become the highest norm, the final authority and the 'god' of South Africa. Everything which threatens the apartheid policy of the government is dangerous to life and the state. The main concern is the peace, stability and order of the compulsory apartheid system. Any organization or group which queries that type of 'security' and which rejects or works for true security, even if this is the security expressly mentioned in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, is no longer acceptable, but by the power of this legislation is to be rooted out.

The purpose of the legislation in general is to *intimidate* people and thereby to avoid a challenge to the false ideology and spurious security, and not to permit of the establishment of a society based on the Gospel of Christ. A government, however, which relies on fear and violence in its legislation, is itself the victim of fear and loses its perspective in relation to the overall situation. But because structural or systemic violence calls forth revolutionary violence, the government and its supporters must realise that it is its enforced apartheid policy and its ideology of race classification and discrimination which has become a real threat to the state over the past 25 years. The only answer for the government in this appalling situation is to turn back again to the Gospel of reconciliation, justice and love.

With the enactment of these laws the day of decision has dawned for everyone, including all church groups. Those, including the Christian groups, who by way of expressed disapproval, or silent acquiescence or even by a kind of resigned acceptance, do not support the present system, can no longer simply be allowed to carry on their activities, no matter how praiseworthy they may be according to Gospel criteria. The implication of the legislation is that the government can compel compliance—everyone must either accept the system or be prosecuted.

Crucifixion the outcome of Political Conflict

For the government and its supporters to profess Christian belief in such an attitude means that Christian belief has degenerated over the years into a vague theoretical consolation, and the promise merely of a life to come in the hereafter. But Christ's Kingdom must come on earth—even in the field of politics, and if this does not eventuate, then is Christ truly betrayed and rejected. The crucifixion of Christ was that moment in the history of the world when political authority refused to accept the final authority, content and sovereignty of the Kingdom of God even in the political sphere. The government can continue in this fashion, but it must come to realize that it can do so only in violating the Gospel of Christ and thereby bringing about its own downfall.

The question may be asked whether the situation is really so serious and if the imposition of the two laws is so drastic. If one considers that the legislation is really the climax of a long series of ideological laws over the past 25 years, one realizes that the end is in sight. The end of basic freedoms, justice and peace which God wants to allow in South Africa, has come, but what is more, the end of the apartheid system cannot be far off since such a

HEAVY HANDED By Bob Connolly

—Rand Daily Mail

compulsory totalitarian scheme of things cannot survive unrestrained.

A state has just so much security as its citizens have. If the security of the people in general is threatened with deprivation of their God-given basic rights, the state which has brought about this situation will be threatened to its very depths. *There is only one way in which to ensure the security and welfare of the state, and that is to offer all its citizens, who are its main constituent, the security of their inherent rights and privileges.* If, as is the case in South Africa, a person's very basis of life is taken away through the medium of apartheid, no power politics, political violence, legal totalitarianism or intimidation, can make him into a happy and contended person—because his basic way of life, his security and peace are undermined in cruel fashion.

The only glimmer of light which remains is the question whether a section of the people and the Church of Christ which is big enough to bring about meaningful change, will oppose the government fully when it comes to the application of the laws.

According to his dream the 'image of Nebuchadnezzar' (totalitarian power of the state) was built up into a mighty structure which controlled the whole of life, but a stone (the Kingdom of God) became detached, and developed into a huge rock which crushed the image, and filled the whole earth. (cf. Daniel 2).

★

REDAKSIONEEL

APARTHEIDSEKURITEIT LEI NA DIE EINDE...

Die Wet op Opvoerige Byeenkomste en die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies bring met 'n skok die volgende lewensbelangrike vrae oor die perke van die gesag en mag van die regering in privaatmense se lewens en organisasies na die oppervlakte. Is dit voor God gewettig om die byeenkoms van selfs twee of drie Christene met polisiegeweld te verbied, terwyl Christus belowe het om teenwoordig te wees? Sou die bevriesing van die fondse van 'n „geaffekteerde" organisasie en die verbod op finansiële steun vanuit die buiteland nie 'n verkragting van die universaliteit van die kerk van Christus wees, as so 'n organisasie onder meer 'n organisasie sou wees wat werk vir die koms van die Koninkryk van God ook op die politieke terrein nie?

Vanuit die evangeliese oogpunt beskou, is die kern van die probleem dat die mens se lewe in Suid-Afrika nou op alle terreine, in die privaatsektor, op finansiële gebied, op kerklike gebied, op sosiale gebied en op die terrein van organisasies finaal en volkome onder beheer van die regering geplaas word. Die doel van die wetgewing is om sekere vergaderings, selfs van twee persone en ook op private eiendom, wat volgens die regering „staatsgevaarlik" is, stop te sit en om buitelandse finansiële ondersteuning van sommige groepe te laat staak as sulke groepe aktief in die „politieke" veld is. Omdat die term politieke aktiwiteit nie nader omskryf word nie, beteken dit dat enige kerk of groep Christene wat sy algemeenerkende evangeliese profetiese rol ook op die politieke terrein vervul, as 'n bedreiging van die veiligheid van die staat gesien kan word en dan ook in sy aktiwiteit gestuit word.

Apartheid is hoogste sekuriteit

Teologies gesien, beteken dié wetgewing dat die sekuriteit van die land *volgens Nasionaal Party-belange en -ideologie* die hoogste norm, die finale gesag en die „god" van Suid-Afrika geword het. Alles wat die

—The Star

apartheidsbeleid van die regering bedreig, is lewens- en staatsgevaarlik. Dit gaan ten diepste om die vrede, stabiliteit en orde van die geforseerde apartheidsisteem. Enige organisasie of groep wat daardie tipe „veiligheid" bevraagteken, verwerp of werk vir ware sekuriteit, selfs al is dit vanuit die evangelie van Jesus Christus, is nie net meer onaanvaarbaar nie, maar kan met die mag van dié wetgewing gestuit word.

Die doel van die wetgewing in die algemeen is om mense *bevrees* te maak en om gevolglik nie die vals ideologie en nagemaakte sekuriteit uit te daag en vir 'n samelewing te werk wat op die evangelie van Christus gebaseer is nie. 'n Regering egter wat op vrees en die geweld van sy wetgewing staatmaak, word self deur vrees oorheers en verloor perspektief in die situasie. Omdat strukturele of sistemiese geweld egter slegs revolusionêre geweld uitlok, moet die regering en sy ondersteuners besef dat dit die geforseerde apartheidsbeleid en sy ideologie van rasse-klassifikasie en diskriminasie is wat 'n wesentlike bedreiging van die staat oor die afgelope 25 jaar geword het. Die enigste antwoord vir die regering in dié skrikwekkend situasie is om na die evangelie van versoening, geregtigheid en liefde terug te keer.

Die oomblik van beslissing het vir almal, ook alle kerkgroepe, met dié wetgewing aangebreek. Diegene, ook die Christelike groepe, wat nie die huidige sisteem deur goedkeuring, stilswye of gelate aanvaarding steun nie, kan nie meer sonder meer toegelaat word om met hulle werksaamhede, hoe lofwaardig volgens evangeliese maatstawwe dit ookal mag wees, voort te gaan nie. Die implikasie van die wetgewing is dat die regering nou elkeen kan dwing om die sisteem te aanvaar, of vervolg te word.

Die kruisiging as gevolg van politieke botsing

Vir die regering en sy ondersteuners om nog die Christelike geloof in so 'n regeringsoptrede te bely, beteken dat die Christelike geloof slegs 'n vae, teoretiese troos en belofte vir die lewe hierna geword het. Christus se Koninkryk moet egter hier kom, ook in die politiek, en as dit nie gebeur nie, word Christus wesentlik verloën en verwerp—die kruisiging van Christus was die oomblik in die wêreldgeskiedenis toe die politieke owerheid nie die finale gesag, inhoud en heerskappy van die Koninkryk van God ook in die politieke sfeer wou aanvaar nie. Die regering kan so voortgaan, maar hy sal moet besef dat dit alleenlik kan gebeur deur die verkragting van die evangelie van Christus en dat dit ook sy ondergang sal beteken.

Die vraag kan gestel word of die situasie werklik so ernstig is en of die aanname van die twee wette so ingrypend is. As 'n mens daaraan dink dat dié wetgewing feitlik die klimaks is van 'n lang reeks ideologiese wette oor die afgelope 25 jaar heen, besef jy dat die einde in sig is. Die einde van die basiese vryheid, geregtigheid en vrede wat God ook aan ons in Suid-Afrika gun, is in sig, maar dan kan ook die einde van die apartheidsisteem nie vêr weg wees nie omdat so 'n geforseerde, totalitaristiese bestel nie onbeperk kan voortbestaan nie.

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—Rand Daily Mail

'n Staat het net soveel sekuriteit as wat al sy bewoners het. As die sekuriteit van die mense in die algemeen bedreig word deur 'n ontneming van hulle basiese Godgegewe regte, sal die staatsbestel wat dit veroorsaak ten diepste bedreig word. *Daar is slegs een manier om die veiligheid, sekuriteit en orde van die staat te verseker en dit is om al die bewoners, wat die heel belangrikste element van die staat uitmaak, sekuriteit deur middel van hulle regte te bied.* As 'n mens se lewensbasis, soos in Suid-Afrika deur apartheid gebeur, weggeneem word, sal geen kragpolitiek, polisie-geweld, wetstotalitarisme of vreesaanjaging hom gelukkig en tevrede kan maak nie—want sy basiese lewensorde en lewensekuriteit en lewensvrede is op 'n wrede wyse ondermyn.

Die enkele ligstraal wat moontlik mag oorbly, is die vraag of 'n gedeelte van die bevolking en die kerk van Christus, wat groot genoeg is om betekenisvolle verandering te bewerk, die regering voluit sal teenstaan sodra hy die wet gaan toepas.

Volgens sy droom was die„beeld van Nebukadneser" (totalitêre staatsmag) opgebou tot 'n geweldige struktuur wat die hele lewe oorheers het, maar die klip (die Koninkryk van God) wat losgeraak het, het 'n groot rots geword en het die beeld vermorsel en die hele aarde gevul (vgl. Daniel 2).

★

frans kocks

DIE SKRIF OOR SKEIDING OF INTEGRASIE

Jacobus Frans Kocks het die volgende preek op 12 Desember 1971 in die Ned. Geref. gemeente Vereeniging-Suid, waar hy die leraar is, gelewer.

Omdat die situasie, volgens hom, nou nog moeiliker geword het, is dit sy begeerte om die preek te publiseer. Hy sien dit as 'n beroep in die naam van God op al die stemgeregdigdes in Suid-Afrika om die wil van God in die rasse-sfeer te doen.

Skrifgedeeltes: Gen. 13:5-12, Lukas 6:31.

> „... skei jou tog van my af; gaan jy links, dan sal ek regs gaan, en gaan jy regs, dan sal ek links gaan ..."
>
> „En soos julle wil hê dat die mense aan julle moet doen, so moet julle ook aan hulle doen."

ALGEMENE INLEIDING

Omdat die leraar van hierdie gemeente glo dat die huidige rassebeleid in Suid-Afrika nie kan slaag nie, en wel in dié sin dat veral die blanke Afrikaanssprekende as 't ware hoogstens sal kan bestaan, daarom het hy met die huidige beleid nie vrede nie—al is dit waar dat hy in 1948 en sedertdien om die invoering en instandhouding van hierdie beleid gestem en minstens aanvanklik selfs gepleit het. Volledigheidshalwe verstrek ons die vernaamste redes waarom ons oor die huidige beleid so negatief oordeel. Ten eerste word die druk van buite af al hoe swaarder, en ten tweede word die blankes *verhoudelik* al hoe minder. Laasgenoemde faktor weeg o.i. die swaarste. Om 'n eenvoudige beeld te gebruik: as mens klippe op 'n plat dak bly pak, sal hy later nie net kraak nie, dog ook ineenstort.

In 'n *preek* is die toekoms van die blankes as groep natuurlik nie as sodanig ter sake nie, en hierdie waarheid geld beslis ook van 'n bepaalde volk of volksgroep. Nogtans glo ons hierdie uiteensetting dra daartoe by om onse goeie trou buite kyf te stel.

Reeds het ons die aandag daarop gevestig dat 'n predikant tans deur minstens party mense as 't ware skeef aangekyk word as hy iets sê of verkondig wat die blankes en veral die Afrikaanssprekende blankes in 'n minder gunstige lig stel. Ons kan en moet dit met vers en kapittel aantoon as dit nodig is.

Liefde moet skeiding of integrasie bepaal

Dis nou teen hierdie agtergrond dat ons die huidige rassebeleid aan die Bybel wil toets. En dan is dit dadelik uit onse teks duidelik dat die skeiding van rasse nie as sodanig of sonder meer sondig is nie; omgekeerd is ook die vermenging van rasse nie van huis uit verkeerd nie. M.a.w. soos mense in dieselfde huis of aparte huise mag woon, so mag ook volke of volksgroepe t.o.v. lande of gebiede maak.

Dit was derhalwe beslis nie uit die bose toe Abraham teenoor Lot voorstel dat hulle die land verdeel nie. En daarom staan Lot ook nie skuldig omdat hy dit so aanvaar het nie. Dit is waar dat Lot selfsugtig gehandel het deur as jonger man én as mindere die beste te kies. Maar die feit dat hy sy geleentheid misbruik het, beteken beslis nie dat hy die geleentheid nie moes gekry het nie. En in alle geval het sy selfsugtigheid nie ongestraf gebly nie, vir so ver hy en sy dierbares later uit die mooi landstreek moes vlug.

Ons herhaal: die Bybel verbied nie die segregering van rasse nie, so min as wat die Bybel die integrering van rasse gebied. Wat die Bybel wel gebied, is die *liefde;* en wat God in sy Woord verbied, is die haat en die nyd.

As ons die skeiding van rasse probeer deurvoer omdat ons ander rasse of ander kleurgroepe haat, doen ons verkeerd—en dan bly dit verkeerd, ongeag watter mooi oorweginge ons origens aanvoer.

Maar so min as wat Abarham Lot gehaat het toe hy die verdeling van die land aan die hand gegee het, en so min as wat Lot uit 'n afkeer van sy oom daartoe ingestem het, presies so is dit goed moontlik om hele volkere te skei en aparte gebiede te laat bewoon sonder dat dit uit 'n verkeerde gesindheid opkom. Die vraag is naamlik net of dit uit die liefde opkom en ook volgens die liefde behartig word. Immers moet ons volgens die deel van die teks wat as die Goue Reël bekendstaan, ander behandel soos ons deur hulle behandel *wil* word, en nie noodwendig soos ons reeds deur hulle behandel word nie.

Ons aanvaar nou ongetwyfeld almal dat Abraham ook in belang van Lot die verdeling van die land voorgestel het, en nie net omdat hy self na vrede en voorspoed gesmag het nie. Dit blyk ook uit die feit dat Abarham sy kleinneef later te hulp gesnel het toe dit nodig was.

So is dit ook heeltemal moontlik dat ons as blankes ook die „nie-blankes" se voordeel soek deur gebiedskeiding voor te staan en deur te voer. En dat minstens tal van voorstanders van die gebiedskeidingsgedagte so oor die saak voel, kan o.i. nie ontken word nie. Dit is in alle geval 'n eis wat aan én die integrasioniste én die segregasioniste gestel word.

Soos alle Bybelkenners weet, weet alleen die heilige God hoedanig 'n bepaalde mens of 'n bepaalde groep mense ingestel of gesind is, en daarom kan geen leraar met sekerheid sê of die aanhangers van 'n bepaalde beleid goed of sleg *gesind* is nie. Alleen maar moet daar teen 'n verkeerde gesindheid gewaarsku, en tot die regte gesindheid opgevorder word. Ons hoop dis glashelder dat ons dit hiermee doen.

Die volgende vraag is of daar in Suid-Afrika wel volgens die liefde te werk gegaan word, m.a.w. of daar nie teen die bepaalde *metode* beswaar is nie. Mens mag ander mense en dus ook ander volke of volksgroepe nie behandel soos jy nie deur hulle behandel wil word nie. Dus mag jy ook nie 'n metode teen of teenoor ander aanwend as jy nie self aan so 'n metode onderwerp wil word nie.

Kom ons kyk nou of Abraham se metode wel goedgekeur kan word. Was dit billik, of was dit 'n slenterslag of bedorgstuk? Onteenseglik was dit heeltemal billik, en dit word deur Lot se reaksie aangetoon. Hy aanvaar dit dadelik en sonder bedenking. Ons lees immers nie dat hy na sy oom gekyk het asof hy sy voorstel wil bestry nie. Nee, hy kyk na die land, na die gebied wat verdeel word. En die voorstel is so billik dat dit moontlik is om die beste deel te kies. Ook ons as lesers wat meer as 3 duisend jaar in 'n ander land en in 'n ander bedeling leef, ook ons voel dit dadelik aan dat Abraham hier verstandig en grootmoedig optree, nie waar nie?

En eintlik eer ons Abraham ook om sy optrede nie waar nie? Immers is die land hóm toegesê, sodat Lot *wetlik* geen aanspraak op 'n deel het nie. Maar Abraham neem nie net dít in ag nie. En hoewel dit geskiedenis was dat die land sýne geword het, was dit nie vir hom deurslaggewend nie.

Die Christendom is nooit in S.A. toegepas nie

Kom ons pas dit nou op die omstandighede in Suid-Afrika toe. Feitlik die hele land is deur die blankes in besit geneem en mak gemaak. Dit kan nie ontken word nie. So staan dit beslis ook in die kronieke opgeteken.

Die besitreg en/of die geskiedenis is egter nog nie die wet van die liefde nie. Die vraag is steeds of die metode sodanig is dat mens dit ook self sal wil ondergaan. En dan ook of die ander party of partye tevrede is.

Hoe word die huidige rassebeleid in ons vaderland toegepas? Deur billike verdeling, of dan deur oorlegpleging waarin *alle* groepe dieselfde seggenskap het? Die antwoord is ontkennend. Weliswaar is daar rade wat die „nie-blankes" verteenwoordig, en daarvoor is ons dankbaar. Ewe waar is dat hierdie rade *aangehoor* en ook *in ag geneem* word. En dit stem tot groter dankbaarheid.

Maar nie al die lede van al die rade wat die nie-blankes verteenwoordig, word deur die mense wie se spreekbuis hulle is, aangewys nie. *En dit is met die eis van die liefde in stryd.* Daarom moet hierin verandering kom!

Wat egter nog minder gebillik kan word, is die feit dat die nie-blankes en/of die rade wat namens hulle optree, nie gelyke seggenskap met die blankes het nie. Raadpleging is goed en mooi, maar raadpleging is op verre na nog nie samewerking of billike inagneming nie. En daarom deug die huidige rassebeleid nie.

Iemand het glo by geleentheid gesê die Christendom is nie toegepas en *on*geskik bevind nie, maar dat die Christendom nog nooit *toegepas* is nie. Ons glo dis waar, ook in Suid-Afrika. Daarom is dit nie net onse plig om die skeiding van die rasse en rassegroepe in Suid-Afrika volgens die Bybelse maatstaf te bewerkstellig deur aan die verskillende rasse of groepe gelyke seggenskap te gee nie—dis ook onse geleentheid om te bewys dat so iets moontlik is en dat die Christendom eintlik die antwoord op alle vrae en die oplossing van alle probleme is—nie net tussen enkelinge nie, dog ook tussen gesinne, gemeenskappe en volkere of rasse.

Dit beteken natuurlik nie dat al die mense moet saamkom en saambesluit nie, maar wel dat elke groep self sy leiers aanwys en dat daar beplan en beraadslaag moet word, totdat die verteenwoordigers van al die groepe of rasse *tevrede* is en dus ook almal van harte en met ywer saamwerk.

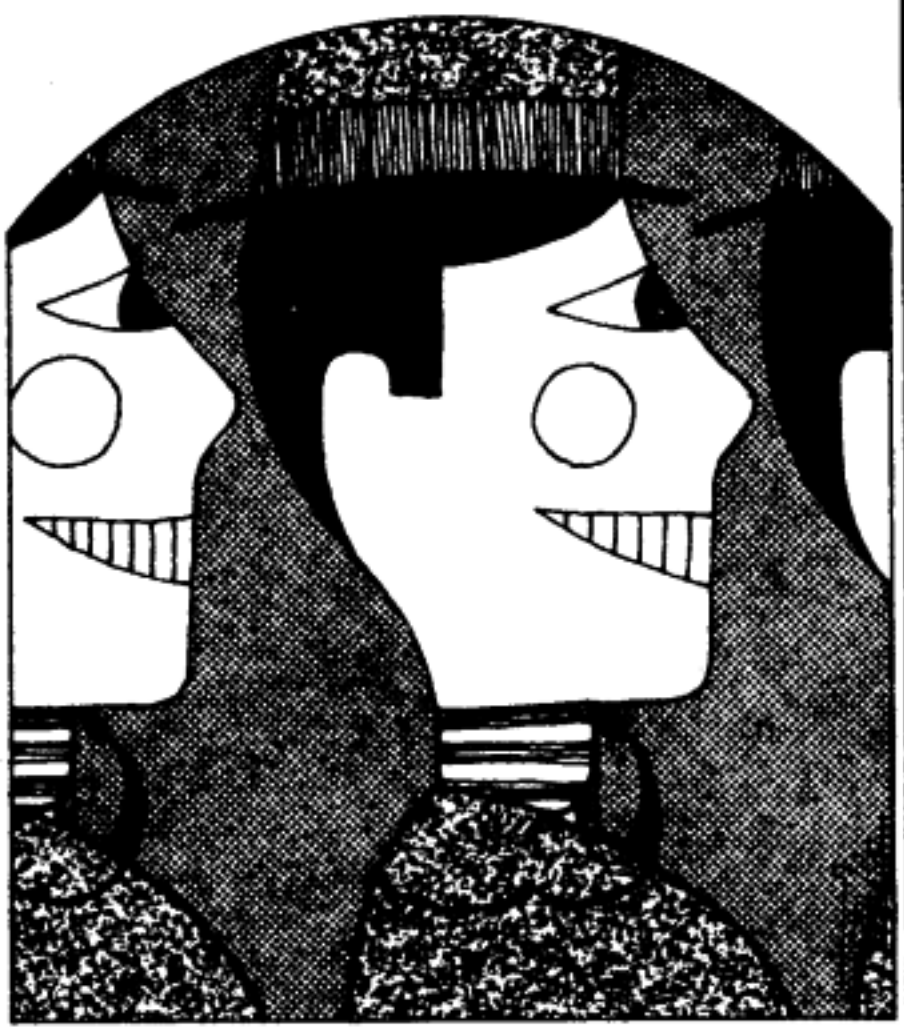
Sê U dis onmoontlik? Dan antwoord ons dat ons dit nie vooraf kan bevind nie: die ervaring is immers 'n beter leermeester as die oordeel, nie waar nie?

Maar in alle geval is nie die moontlikheid vir 'n Christen die deurslaggewend nie, dog die wil van die Here soos uit sy Woord blyk, m.a.w. nie die vooruitsig nie, dog wel die voorskrif. En al sou die gebruik van die regte metode meebring dat die blankes veel meer grondgebied moet afstaan as wat tans die voorneme is, sal die prys betaal moet word: omdat die metode reg is.

En daarom durf die Christene in Suid-Afrika en veral onder die blankes beslis nie langer wag nie: ons moet *bid* dat die rasse-skeiding volgens Abraham se voorbeeld en volgens die Goue Reël deurgevoer moet word. Maar dis beslis nie genoeg om te bid nie: ons moet ook *getuig* m.a.w. die kiesers probeer *oorreed.* Let wel: nie geweld gebruik nie, want dis met Gods Woord in stryd.

En wat het ons nodig om volhardend te bid én volhardend te getuig? Net die geloof in die Here Jesus Christus as die persoonlike Verlosser en Heiland!

★



peter randall

education for social change

This talk was given recently to the Roman Catholic Church, Pretoria Archdiocese Justice and Peace Commission by Mr. Peter Randall, a staff member of the Program for Social Change, which followed the Spro-cas Project.

1. Christians need to be involved in the never-completed quest for social justice. The injunctions laid on us by the gospel make this clear: Do unto others ... and love your neighbour (where "love" is active, not passive).

2. Christ was/is deeply concerned for life on all levels: people who are physically disabled (the sick, cripples); economically deprived (the poor); restricted in their freedom (those in prison); alienated from society (lepers, the mentally disturbed, prostitutes).

3. While the gospels focus on the situation of the individual and how his plight can be relieved, today sociology, economics, psychology, political science and the other disciplines give us insight into the forces that shape our society. It would be irresponsible if, with these aids, we still confined our concern merely to providing relief for the individual rather than seeking to understand and to change those forces and structures in society which cause deprivation and suffering and other forms of social injustice. In other words, the Christian should now be involved in structural social change—i.e. the fields of education, economics, politics, law, and the social institutions like the church—as much as in individual redemption, the salvation of souls and individual acts of charity. This concern is frequently denigrated with the label "social gospel", but obviously the gospel must speak to us in our social context, and as disciples of the son of *Man,* we have a social responsibility which we cannot escape.

4. What is the nature of the social change in our specific existential social setting that we as Christians should be seeking? One can begin by enunciating certain principles and then testing our society against them. These are all principles which flow from a Christian understanding of man, justice and society.

   For example:

   4.1 all children should have equal opportunity to be educated to their full potential—this implies that the state should institute as rapidly as possible a system of universal, free and compulsory education for all race groups. The present reality in South Africa is that only whites are in this favoured position, while they also receive a grossly discriminatory per capita expenditure although they are already the most advantaged and privileged section of the population. The aim here obviously is that we should strive for an elimination of the racial discrimination on which our education system is based, and for the institution of universal free and compulsory education. The achievement of these aims would obviously bring other social changes in their wake.

   4.2 There should be equality of economic opportunity. But in South Africa the bulk of

the labour force—African workers—are denied effective collective bargaining machinery, are excluded from certain occupations simply because of their race, are inadequately provided with technical and vocational training, are discriminated against in the taxation system, receive grossly inferior incomes as compared to whites, and do not enjoy the same occupational and geographical mobility that even white foreigners have. Blacks—African, Asian and Coloured—are discriminated against in entrepreneurial opportunities—group areas, inter-provincial mobility for Indians, township regulations, credit facilities etc.

4.3 All people should enjoy the right to secure a happy family life. But influx control regulations, and the system of migrant labour which encompasses about 6 million Africans make a mockery of this basic right.

4.4 Every adult citizen should have an opportunity to participate effectively in government at all levels, local, regional and national. The position in South Africa is that the black majority have been systematically denied any effective participation in central government, with their participation in regional and local government confined largely to meaningless puppet bodies.

the root cause of injustice

5. These are merely some examples of the seemingly endless catalogue of social inequities based on racial discrimination in contemporary South Africa. It is silly simply to blame the Afrikaner nationalist government for this state of affairs, although it has perfected techniques of domination over the years through manipulation of the economic, educational, legal and political systems over the past quarter century.

The root cause of our social injustice is the monopolisation by the white group as a whole of the instruments of power, a monopolisation in which white capitalists and entrepreneurs, white trade unions and white management have actually worked in concert with white government, with differing degrees of enthusiasm and energy. The entire decision-making machinery in our society—government, education, defence, censorship, wage-regulation, collective bargaining, the interpretation and execution of white-made laws, to mention only some examples—is maintained by the whites, acting in what they see as their own best interests. No wonder then that white incomes are more than 12 times as high, on average, as black incomes, and are rising faster than black incomes, thereby enabling whites to cushion themselves without loss of comfort to the increased cost of living; no wonder that infant mortality rates are much higher for blacks than for whites, and that life expectancy rates are much lower; no wonder that Soweto looks as it does, and the northern suburbs of Johannesburg as they do.

It is possible to talk of a basic underlying consensus amongst whites to maintain the basic features of this society, characterised as it is by fundamental patterns of discrimination and inequality.

Having sought for generations to gain entry into this white-controlled decision-making network, via the franchise (the ANC started making its patient and moderate demands as long ago as 1912), via trade unionism, via the Church—it was inevitable that blacks should lose patience with white intransigence, with white hardness of heart towards black suffering, with constant and systematic white rejection. And so we have Black Consciousness, Black Theology, the caucusing of black homeland leaders to present a unified front to the white power structure, and other manifestations of the movement towards a black solidarity and the creation of a black-controlled network to counter the white-dominated one. The spectre of two mobilised race groups on a collision course, which may be the outcome of the present dynamics, is the perennial South African nightmare.

This is inevitably a highly generalised and over-simplified overview of our society, but I believe that in its essentials it presents something of the basic truths of our situation, even although all sorts of subtle nuances are overlooked. I believe that it is the sort of view an objective outsider—not someone brought here by the Department of Information, for example, or the S.A. Foundation or SAFTO—would come to.

6. Obviously in a situation where the basic patterns of domination, discrimination and inequality are so firmly and historically entrenched, the challenge of change, which the Church must face to be true to its calling, is a complex and difficult one, but one which we cannot evade. To put it in its starkest terms, we must either prepare for and accept fundamental change or be destroyed by it.

My preceding analysis will, I think, have indicated what I mean by fundamental change—i.e. change which deals with the root problems in our society, which revolve around the issues of land, wealth and power. Mixed sporting teams, the removal of

whites only signs, and mixed banquets at the Carlton Hotel—desirable as these things may be—do not begin to touch on the real issues, although they may play a softening-up role on white attitudes. But the basic issues still remain virtually untouched, except for the vocal demands being expressed by black leaders like Buthelezi, Mangope, Matanzima and Sonny Leon, ironically enough operating from platforms created by the white government to justify its exclusion of blacks from the major political system. Apart from these men, who enjoy some protection because of their positions, all significant black protest and political leadership has been rigorously silenced. We must not forget that the prime exponents of black politics are banned, or imprisoned on Robben Island, or in exile.

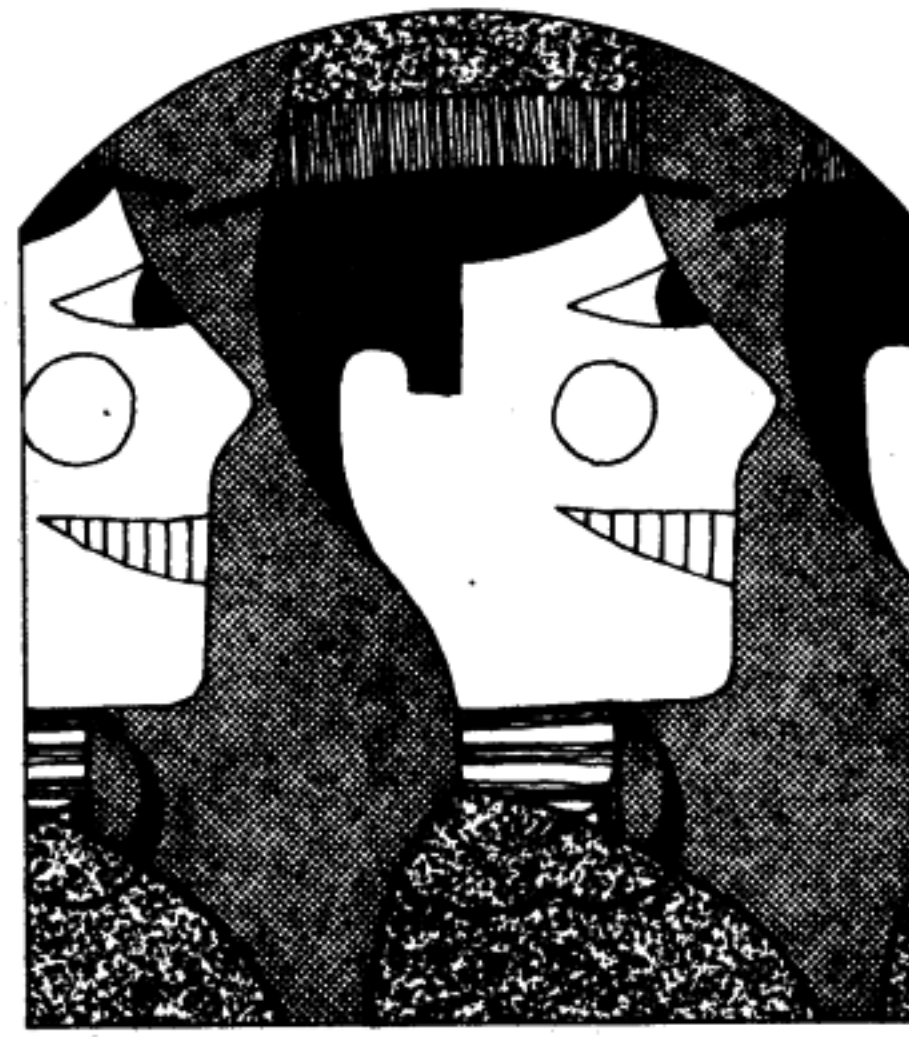
7. How then, given this situation, do we begin to approach the problem of education for social change?

In the first place one must recognise that education is itself a force for change and that the increasing numbers of Africans receiving some education—rudimentary as it still is for the great majority, with less than one per cent of the intake proceeding to the end of secondary school and fully one quarter leaving school after their first year—despite this, those who receive some education are significantly changed by this fact, and their skills and insights inject new dynamics into the situation. Opinion surveys in Soweto and empirical observations (cf. student "unrest" on black campuses) consistently indicate that the level of dissatisfaction with the status quo increases in direct proportion to the level of education attained.

So assistance in the gaining of education to as advanced a level as possible, whether academic, technical or vocational, for as many blacks as possible is thus potentially a major factor in change. For this reason we must welcome the greater expenditure on African education by the state, the recent proliferation of bursary and scholarship schemes, and the programmes to aid in the construction of African schools.

a re-evaluation of the contents of education

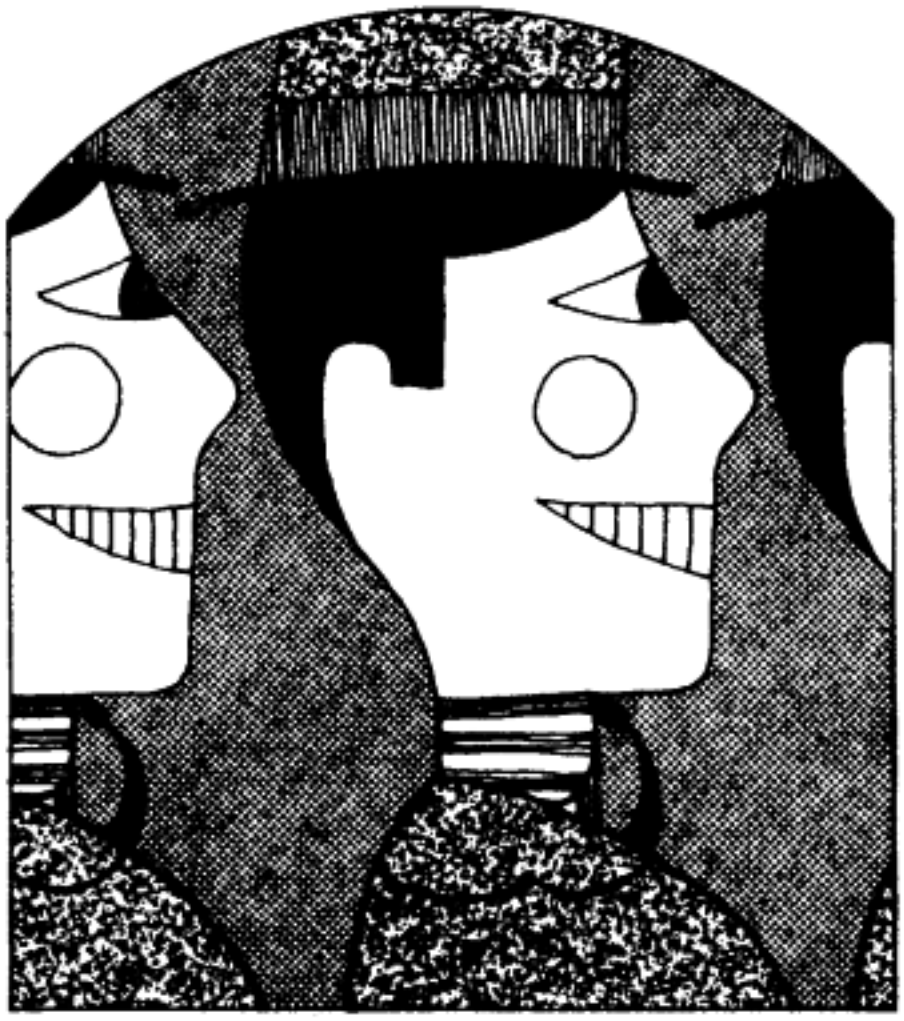
But education is emphatically much more than the provision of physical plant and the seating of more and more bodies in more and more classrooms. Tyrants have always recognised the importance of control of the education system as a means of socio-political control. By controlling the socialisation of the youth, one is in a position to



undergird the status quo or else to prepare for some form of radical change. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Franco saw this. And in our own country it should not be a matter for surprise that the National Party has systematically moved to control every facet of education, both formal (the schools and the universities) and informal (youth programmes, SABRA's jeugaksie, the smearing and damaging of sensitivity training etc.), and to implement its apartheid ideology in and through education.

The content of education is vitally important. It can lead in the direction of unthinking conformity and acceptance of "authority", which is the happy state that autocrats desire, or it can be a liberating process, leading towards free and honest enquiry, critical awareness and honest self-criticism. In my own mind there is no doubt that the latter values should imbue any education system, and that without them the quest for social justice is made infinitely more difficult.

South Africa is probably the only country in which education is used to divide the population, rather than as a means of attempting to achieve a common loyalty and a common nationship. We need to be doing some hard thinking right now about the alternative education system that could be instituted in order to transform our society and in order to cope with a transformed society. Obviously our power to implement such an alternative education system is very limited, but it is vitally important to canvass ideas, to be aware of the various options open to us, to recognise that an



education system is man-made and imperfect and that it constantly needs reviewing and renewing. We need to be thinking about the organisation of education, its control, the physical setting in which it occurs, the content of curricula, the position of teachers, the creative involvement of parents, and so on. We need to take account of the work of A.S. Neill, Ivan Illich and others who are at the frontiers of educational thinking. We are still shackled to outmoded concepts and methods which are leaving the majority of our children—both black and white—frustrated and unfulfilled. Education still seems to be viewed by directors of education, inspectors, headmasters and teachers' organisations as an industry for the employment of adults rather than a process for the enrichment—intellectual, emotional, and physical—of the young.

These are harsh and generalised judgements, but I invite you to consider the authoritarian statements of the Transvaal director of education, for example, or the predominant place given to teachers' salaries and conditions of work at the meetings of teachers' societies. The teaching profession is fragmented into ethnic compartments and any matter remotely "controversial" is generally avoided like the plague. In these circumstances there is little creative debate and less creative experimentation.

In talking of education for social change, we thus have to begin at the beginning, by re-thinking our basic ideas, by critically re-examining our present structures and curricula, by looking with enquiring and open minds at the ideas being generated elsewhere, including other African countries, and by working towards a thought-out model for an education system to fit the demands of our age. It seems to me that such a model should embody the following features, amongst others:

7.1 It will have a liberal—i.e. open-minded, critical, non-dogmatic approach to knowledge.

7.2 It will be participatory—parents, children and the wider community involved in the decision-making process—rather than autocratic and authoritarian.

7.3 It will place more emphasis on the personal fulfilment of people than on the examination system.

7.4 It will place no arbitrary barriers of race, colour or class on the entry of learners into any educational institution provided by the state.

7.5 It will prepare children for the inevitability of radical change rather than for a defence of the existing inequitable status quo.

7.6 It will seek to inculcate attitudes of tolerance and compassion rather than materialism and self-seeking; and critical judgement rather than blind obedience.

7.7 It will attach as much importance to human skills in relationships and empathy as to mechanical and technical skills.

7.8 It will provide for equitable distribution of the resources available for education—money, plant and personnel—among all classes and race groups.

7.9 It will actively counter attitudes of racial and cultural superiority and practices of racial and cultural discrimination.

7.10 All people, irrespective of race, will enjoy the right of free and compulsory education to the same standard.

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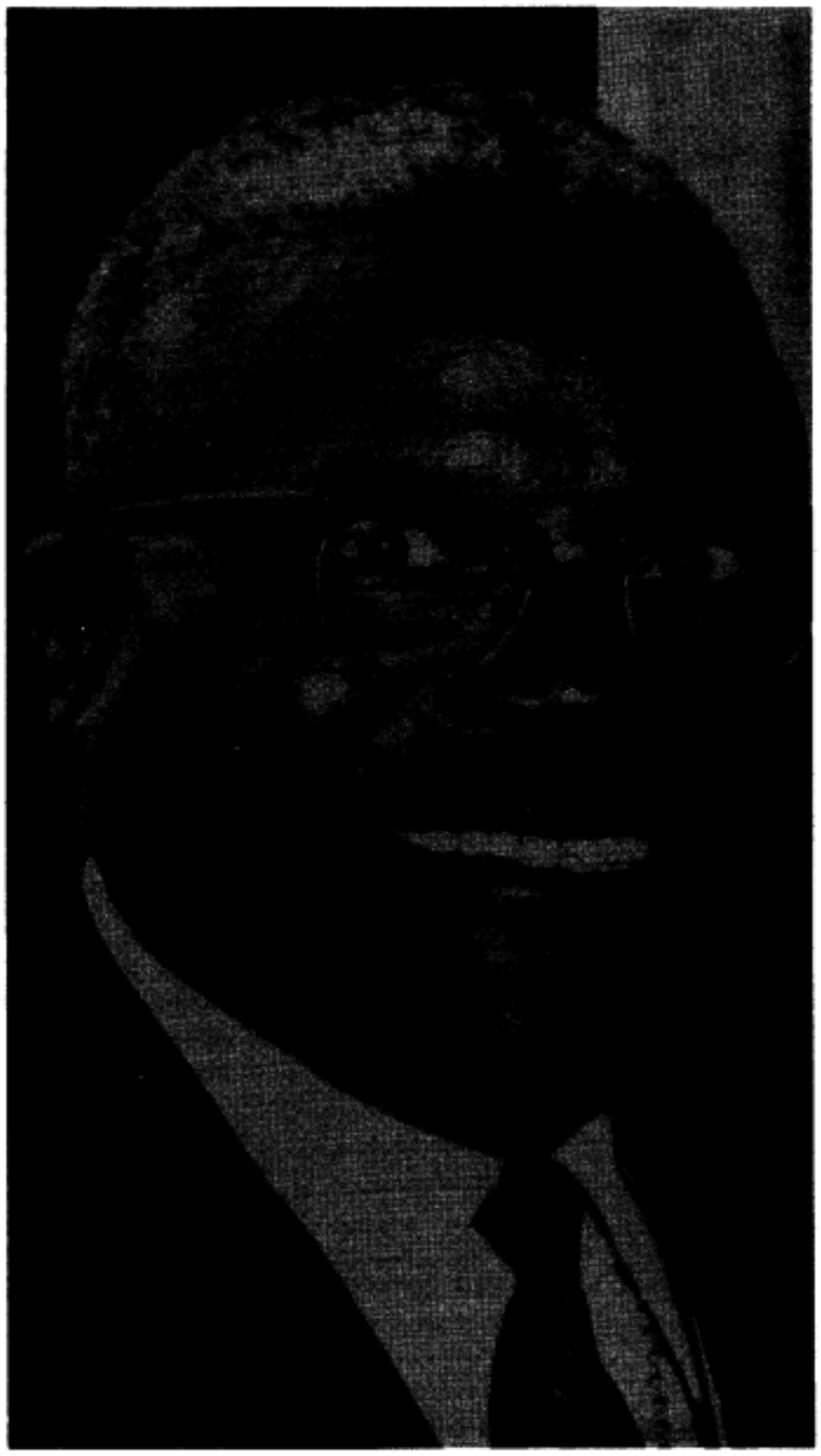


S.W.A. IN DESPERATE STRUGGLE

An interview with Bishop Leonard Auala, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church of South West Africa, where African Christians are speaking out boldly for human rights.

africa acts feature service

"All co-operation requires mutual trust——but the activities of the police are bringing this trust and willingness to co-operate to an end. The Africans have tried to be patient for many years, but they cannot bear it forever. The youth especially are losing their patience in Ovamboland.

"We wish we could preserve peace in Namibia. But the South African Government speaks only of law and order—and enforces it with such an iron grip that peace cannot result ..."

This sober assessment of the current situation in Namibia—the name accepted by the United Nations for South-West Africa and being recognized by an increasing number of nations—was given by a black Lutheran churchman who has played a leading role in the struggle for human rights and justice in his country.

He is Bishop Leonard Auala, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church—one of the two black Lutheran denominations which together comprise nearly half of Namibia's population of some 700,000. Recently he went on a two-month visit to Finland as a guest of the Finnish Missionary Society, which has worked in Namibia for over a century and today has nearly 90 workers there.

In an interview in the Finnish capital of Helsinki, the 65-year-old Bishop repeatedly emphasised the tenseness of the situation in South-West Africa, which is administered by South Africa.

"The South African Government actively hinders all attempts on the part of the Africans to work for their own betterment," he said, "but the Africans will not be satisfied with that.

"The Government has made a mistake in attempting to coerce the people into being on its side. The size of the police force, torture of those arrested for political reasons, and imprisonment of people have all aroused bitter feelings in a large number of people."

He also described another dimension of the problem—among some Ovambo policemen who have been ordered to mistreat their fellow Africans. Many of the policemen have gone to their pastors to complain about being given such instructions and Bishop Auala said he has told white policemen: "You are destroying the Ovambo policemen when you order them to do things like that."

The Prime Minister's answer

Charges that Ovamboland citizens have been tortured were placed officially before South African Prime Minister B.J. Vorster on April 30, last when Bishop Auala and seven other black Namibian Lutheran leaders met with the head of the South African Government. The Prime Minister said at that time he would respond in writing to the torture charges and also

complaints about visa refusals and restrictions on movement within South-West Africa.

A first written answer has now come to hand, the Bishop revealed. He said that in September, on his way to Finland, he received a letter from the Prime Minister's secretary.

"When we met the Prime Minister," he said, "we mentioned torture and stated that it is inhuman to strike detainees, to give them electirc shocks, hang them with their heads downwards and kick them.

"We gave him a list of 37 tortured persons. Now, in the letter I have received, it is stated that all of those imprisoned and arrested in 1972 have given sworn testimony that they were not tortured."

On another point, the Bishop related, the Government has admitted the truth of one of the churchmen's claims—that at the beginning of 1972 more than 300 persons were in detention. The Government, in fact, put the figure at 354.

"We also told the Prime Minister that peaceful churchgoers returning from the Anglican church had been shot at," the Bishop said. "His answer was that an investigation showed that five persons died of wounds—which were received when the police opened fire in 'self-defence.' ".

Another complaint of the churchmen, that more than 50 persons had been refused visas or travel permits, "will be looked into," the letter reported.

Under the present circumstances, Bishop Auala said Namibians are counting heavily on help and contact from outside, from the United Nations, individual countries and the churches. He said letters of support from churches in Canada and the United States have "greatly encouraged" the Namibains.

"When the South African Government sees such things, it tries to sever our connections with those churches. However, we must maintain contact with other churches by all possible means until we have won. And Christ will win in the end."

No real reforms after strikes

In late 1971 and early 1972, some 13,000 contract labourers from Ovamboland walked off their jobs in mines and ports and virtually brought the Namibian economy to a standstill. The strike ultimately was settled with promises of improved conditions.

Bishop Auala maintained, however, that there have been no "real reforms," only promises of new facilities and increased wages. Contract workers are now allowed to return to their homes in Ovamboland more frequently than in the past—every two weeks—but they still cannot bring their families to their work areas.

The continued struggle for improved conditions has resulted in numerous meetings—against South African regulations—and a variety of violent incidents and arrests. The Bishop recalled an August meeting arranged by SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization) at the Katatura Township outside Windhoek, when police stormed the area and shot one man.

"For years," he said, "the workers have asked the Government in vain for improvements in their housing conditions and our Church has joined in this plea."

"The compound for about 6,000 men in Katatura is so constructed that there is only one gate in and out. The windows are barred, beds and tables are cast from concrete and the tiny rooms hardly allow movement. The men have requested better beds and better food. The Government promised reforms after the strike but so far they are merely plans."

The number of persons arrested has increased sharply in recent months, Bishop Auala said, with many being held simply to keep them from arranging protest meetings. He doubted if many of those arrested would have a legal opportunity to defend themselves.

"The Government also tries to make sure that some of those arrested are not accepted back at their jobs—for example in schools," he added, noting that many teachers have been dismissed by white officials, in violation of a law which gives Africans on school boards the power of employment and dismissal.

The German Church and government policy

On another subject—the possibility of closer relationships between the two large black Namibian Lutheran Churches and the white, 13,000-member German Evangelical Lutheran Church—Bishop Auala was more realistic than optimistic. He said:

"The German Church's own internal situation, with its conflicts, is far more difficult than the question of joining (with the two black Churches in the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in South-West Africa) ...

"As far as we are concerned, they have always been welcome, but they are not yet mature for membership. The reason appears to be that whereas the pastors would be willing to join, the congregations are not.

"Many of the members of the German Church are supporters of the Government apartheid policy. They find it hard to accept ministers who are opponents of apartheid. It seems that it will be a long time before the white German Church is willing to unite with the other Lutheran Churches of the country." ★

—This interview distributed by the Lutheran World Federation News Service is reproduced by AFRICA ACTS, with acknowledgements.

briewe aan die redakteur:

BESORGDHEID OOR „PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL CHANGE"

Geagte Heer,

As intekenaar op Pro Veritate en op die publikasies van Spro-cas het ek eergister 'n los blaadjie ontvang waarin 'n nuwe Spro-cas-aksie onder die naam "Program for Social Change" aangekondig word. Ek het dit met aandag gelees, want ek deel ten volle die oortuiging hier uitgespreek dat daar in ons land dringend behoefte bestaan aan "change in the direction of a just, free, and non-discriminatory social order in South Africa".

Dit het my egter opgeval dat daar in die hele program van aksie, in tien punte uiteengesit, nêrens duidelik gesê word van watter beginsels hierdie aksie uitgaan, watter ideaal of ideale dit nastreef, of watter soort van "social change" en "radical alternatives" nou eintlik beoog word nie. Ek soek tevergeefs na die geringste aanduiding dat hierdie aksie in die Evangelie van Jesus Christus gewortel is, dat dit die ideale van die Koninkryk van God vir Suid-Afrika nastreef, of dat die maatskaplike veranderinge wat dit beoog, ooreenkomstig die voorskrifte van die Christelike belydenis sal wees.

Miskien het die opstellers van die blaadjie dit nie nodig geag om dit so uitdruklik te sê nie. Immers, die hele Spro-cas-aksie is tog van stapel gestuur deur die Christelike Instituut en die S.A. Raad van Kerke. Is dit nie voldoende waarborg vir die Christelike karakter van wat hier aangepak word nie?

So sou 'n mens kon dink. Maar ek vrees dit is 'n gerusstelling wat al lank nie meer elkeen sal gerusstel nie. My seker nie. Aan die Spro-cas-rapporte het mense meegewerk wat openlik verklaar dat hulle nie in Christus glo nie en dat hulle niks met die Kerk te doen wil hê nie. Sommige van hulle het selfs afsonderlike studiestukke geproduseer wat onder beskerming van, en vir rekening van Spro-cas uitgegee is.

Onlangs vra 'n vriend aan my—hy is professor in die ekonomie aan een van ons grootste universiteite—"Ek sien so-en-so het ook aan die rapport meegewerk. Hy is 'n bekende ateis. Wat soek so iemand in julle gesleskap? Waarom is juis hy gevra om saam te werk?"

Ek kon maar net antwoord: "Moenie vir my vra nie."

Ons het dit ook beleef, Meneer die Redakteur, dat volslae onkerklike mense aangestel is as voltydse amptenare van Spro-cas. Die vraag het hom noodwendig aan ons opgedring watter wesenlike verband daar dan nog tussen Christendom en Spro-cas kon bestaan.

Ons het ook beleef dat hier aan die Kaap 'n openbare "thanksgiving service" gehou is om God te dank vir die "getuienis" van studente wat met die polisie in botsing gekom het tydens die onluste by St. George's Katedraal. In my afsku vir die barbaarse optrede van die polisie by daardie geleentheid staan ek vir niemand terug nie; ek was daardie agtermiddag self ook in die katedraal. Maar om 'n suiwer politieke standpunt en aksie soos die van die studente, hoe noodsaaklik, hoe edel en hoe lofwaardig dit ook mog wees, tot 'n "getuienis" in die christelike sin van die woord te verklaar, is myns insiens ten enemale ontoelaatbaar. Dit grens aan godslastering.

Met ander woorde, ek voel dat ons as C.I. en as Spro-cas so langsamerhand en byna ongemerk op die glibberige paadjie van verwêreldliking beland het: dat dit wat tien jaar gelede as 'n beweging van gelowige Christenmense begin het, nou dreig om al hoe meer 'n louter sekulêre beweging te word wat alléén nog maar sosiaal-politieke oogmerke nastreef. Hierdie tendens is trouens baie duidelik weerspieël in die samevatting van die rapporte, soos deur die Direkteur van Spro-cas te boek gestel.

My vrese en bedenkinge is nog verder bevestig toe ek nou by die lees van hierdie blaadjie bemerk dat onder die "Panel of Consultants of the Program for Social Change" ook die name van twee van ons bekende Sestigers vermeld word. Hul werk as skrywers is hier nie ter sake nie; hul getuienis ten opsigte van die evangelie wel. En nou hoef ek nouliks meer te sê. 'n Mens kan die twee skrywers van baie ander dinge beskuldig as jy wil, maar nie dat hulle ooit die minste sweem van eerbied teenoor die persoon, die leer of die kerk van Jesus in hul werke laat deurskemer het nie. Hulle, en sommige van hul makkers, verteenwoordig by uitstek daardie seksie van die Afrikanervolk wat resoluut en uitdagend die rug gekeer het op die godsdiens en die waardes wat in die godsdiens veranker is. Daarom is dit, op sy sagste gesê, vreemd om hul name te vind onder diegene wat as konsultante moet help om leiding en rigting aan hierdie nuwe program vir maatskaplike verandering te gee.

Ek weet nie hoe ander mense wat ook, soos ek, van die begin af met Pro Veritate en met die C.I. meegeleef het, oor hierdie dinge voel nie; maar wat myself betref, moet dit my van die hart dat ek by hierdie ontwikkeling van sake steeds sterker die gevoel begin te kry dat dit maar

beter sal wees as ek met die hele saak uitskei. Ek probeer sulke gedagtes te weerstaan, want die C.I. word juis op hierdie oomblik aangeveg soos nog nooit tevore nie, en moet tans meer as ooit op die lojaliteit van sy lede kan steun. Ek wil ook graag 'n uitsondering maak vir die blad Pro Veritate, wat nog altyd, van die begin af, 'n vaste koers gevaar het. Maar oor Spro-cas voel ek nie gerus nie, en die C.I. staan vader vir Spro-cas. Alles vaar nog vrolik onder die goeie ou vlag; maar dek die vlag nog die lading? Ek dink nie so nie. Ek dink dit word tyd dat ons die lading ondersoek; en nie net die lading nie, maar ook die bemanning.

Met dank vir plasing.

André M. Hugo.

(Prof. Hugo is 'n lektor in antieke tale aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad).

„P.S.C." EN SPRO-CAS IS NIE ONCHRISTELIK NIE

Antwoord aan Prof. Hugo:

Prof. Hugo se brief is so deurmekaar dat dit moeilik is om bondig te antwoord. Om een voorbeeld te noem: Hy beskuldig die brosjure oor die „Program for Social Change" dat dit nie die ideale, wat die „Program" wil najaag, duidelik stel nie, terwyl hy in sy vorige sin die doelstelling van die „Program for Social Change", nl. „a just, free and non-discriminatory social order in South Africa", met goedkeuring aanhaal.

'n Mens kry die indruk dat prof. Hugo so angstig is om een of ander aanklag te probeer bewys dat hy wilde houe na alles waaraan hy kan dink, probeer inkry. In hierdie brief word nie minder nie as sewe doelwitte gevind:

1. Die P.S.C. („Program for Social Change") self (wat terloops nie 'n Spro-cas-aksie is nie, maar 'n uitvloeisel van Spro-cas, en wat volledig onafhanklik is. Spro-cas se bestaan is in Desember 1973 beëindig).
2. Lede van die Spro-cas-kommissies wat „openlik verklaar dat hulle nie in Christus glo nie". (Na my wete is dit slegs een van die 150 kommissie-lede wat so iets gesê het. Die oorweldigende meerderheid was belydende Christene.).
3. „'n Bekende ateïs" op die ekonomiese kommissie van Spro-cas—miskien sal prof. Hugo hierdie persoon vir ons identifiseer; korrekheidshalwe kan hy ook bevestig dat die meerderheid van die kommissie toegewyde Christene was. AS PROF. HUGO EGTER GLO DAT CHRISTENE NIE MET ENIGE IEMAND, WAT NIE SY EIE CHRISTENSKAP VAN DIE DAKKE AF VERKONDIG NIE, BEHOORT SAAM TE WERK NIE OF VAN SO IEMAND TE LEER NIE, IS HY OP 'N RARE VLAK VAN SY EIE. En dit geld in besonder wanneer 'n mens met die komplekse menslike probleme in 'n studie van die sosiale, politieke, ekonomiese en opvoedkundige implikasies van die evangelie vir ons multi-rasiale en multi-godsdienstige samelewing betrokke is. Ek dink dat dit toepaslik is om hier aan te haal wat ek in die heel eerste dokument, wat deur Spro-cas in Mei 1969 uitgegee is, gesê het:

„It would be presumptuous to suggest that only Christians can find the solution to our problems. We believe that the Spirit of God also expresses itself through people who are not Christians. We do not believe that it is right to suggest that there could be specifically Christian political policies, educational programmes or economic systems. Christians themselves differ on these things. But we do believe that some policies, programmes and systems are closer than others to Christian ethics, and we believe also that it is right to say that these former are more likely to gain acceptance from those belonging to other faiths or to no faith who desire a South Africa based on such values as justice and equal opportunity. It should be clear from this that we would not suggest the imposition of specifically "Christian" policies, if there are any, on a multi-religious society such as ours.

For these reasons we have invited a number of non-Christians to serve on the commission where we have felt that they are likely to accept the basic thrust of the project, and where we know that they have abilities and insights which will assist us in our task. We have been gratified by the response from such people."

Toevallig was prof. Hugo, as 'n lid van Spro-cas se politieke kommissie, toe bewus gewees van hierdie standpunt en dit is ietwat eienaardig dat dit nou eers blyk dat hy dit onaanneemlik vind.

4. Sommige ongenoemde „onkerklike amptenare van Spro-cas". Aangesien prof. Hugo geen poging aanwend om dié persone te identifiseer of om te verduidelik wat hy met „onkerklik" bedoel nie, is geen antwoord behalwe miskien 'n ophaal van die skouers regtig nodig nie. Miskien sal prof. Hugo tog toegee dat sy definisie van „kerklik" en „onkerklik" verskil van ander, wat as gevolg daarvan nie in enige opsig minder eerbare persone as prof. Hugo self is nie.

5. 'n „Thanksgiving Service" in Kaapstad. Waarom dit by die aanval op Spro-cas en die „P.S.C." bygesleep word, is nie duidelik nie, behalwe as prof. Hugo nie die versoeking kon weerstaan om terselfdertyd 'n veeghou teen die studente in te kry nie.
6. Die finale Spro-cas verslag, „ A Taste of Power", wat ek geskryf het en wat prof. Hugo so minlik as bewys van „die glibberige paadjie van verwêreldliking" beskou. Aangesien daar weereens geen poging van prof. Hugo is om te verduidelik wat hy met hierdie maklike etiket bedoel nie, is dit moeilik om daarop te antwoord. Miskien sal diegene wat tog die saak verder wil opvolg, moeite doen om bv. na die laaste hoofstuk van „A Taste of Power", veral p. 94 te kyk, waar ek—sonder twyfel onvoldoende—probeer het om die Christelike basis vir die verslag aan te dui.
7. André Brink en Breyten Breytenbach (die twee sestigers op die paneel van die „P.S.C."). Prof. Hugo kon miskien genoem het dat die merendeel van die 14 lede van die paneel welbekende Christelike leiers, predikante sowel as lidmate, is. Tog skyn dit dat hy iets verkeerd beskou met enige assosiasie met mense buite 'n spesifieke knusse kraaltjie. Die „P.S.C." is *nie* spesifiek Christelik nie, maar dit beteken nie dat dit *on*christelik is, of dat Christene dit nie ten volle kan aanvaar nie. As prof. Hugo nie daarvan hou nie, is hy volkome vry om hom nie daarmee te assosieer nie, maar as 'n Christen behoort hy nie vry te voel om beswaddering en insinuasies, wat volkome ongevraagd is, toe te voeg nie.

Prof. Hugo kan sy gemoed tot rus bring. Beide die „lading" en die „bemanning" word baie deeglik ondersoek deur die Schlebusch-kommissie, waarvan elke lid sonder twyfel luidkeels sal wees in sy betuigings van die Christendom.

—Peter Randall

(Mnr. Randall is een van die staflede van die „Program for Social Change" en hy was die direkteur van Spro-cas.)

letters to the editor

THE POLISH CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS FREEDOM

The article "To obey or Disobey?" published in the November issue of "Pro Veritate" contains in its sub-chapter "under Communism" inaccuracies which verge on mis-representation.

Statements which attempt to describe in a couple of paragraphs a very complex situation are generally to be avoided because so often they can result in a misleading simplification. Had your Author known that in Poland the Catholic Church:

1. is FREE to give religious training to children;
2. is running a Catholic University (Lublin) attended by thousands of students;
3. is NOT being hampered in any way in the exercising of its pastoral duties;
4. performs the role of Opposition in so far as pastoral letters—occasionally bitterly opposing the Marxist doctrine—are not being censored by the Government;
5. has percentage-wise the highest proportion of vocation for priesthood amongst the European countries;

he might have thought twice before wording the relevant paragraph as he did.

V. Ledochowski

REFERENCES TO EVANGELICAL GROUPS IN RUSSIA

I am glad to have had the opportunity of reading the response to my recent article in your journal which came from Mr. Ledochowski.

There are of course always dangers in brief generalizations and I am happy to accept the correction your correspondent offers. Being a passing illustration only of church/state relationships, I did not go into this particular matter in depth. Others have done so with varying conclusions resulting. My reference would be primarily not to the Catholic or Orthodox Churches, but to the evangelical groups, and more specifically those in Russia itself. The sources for my observation are numerous, but I could mention the works of the Rev. Michael Bordeaux and a film which would seem to be a valid documentary entitled "The Bitter Cup". However, I do agree that there is always yet another point of view to be heard.

Brian Johanson

theodore simpson

BLACK THEOLOGY - AND WHITE

It is becoming increasingly common for theologians in South Africa to speak both of 'Black Theology' and 'White Theology'. What precisely is meant by these expressions is very often far from clear. However the very expressions indicate a feeling that there is emerging a black/white polarity in theology, as elsewhere. Obviously this is an important issue which must be taken into account in connection with the projected schemes for training black and white candidates for the ministry together which are beginning to be discussed in certain circles. It is in the hope of clarifying some of these issues, particularly in view of the suggestion that the training of blacks and whites ought to be done together, that this paper is offered.

BLACK THEOLOGY:

I wish to begin by taking a brief look at the major concerns of black theology as I see them. It was in the United States that black theology first began to appear. Black theology was seen as the response of the Christian theologian to the phenomenon of black power as this began to find expression in the United States in the 1960s. This movement emphasized the importance of black people emancipating themselves from white oppression by whatever means they themselves thought to be necessary. It represents a claim by blacks to the right to determine the means necessary to secure liberation from oppression. It does not acknowledge the right of whites, whether Christian or not, to lay down conditions for the black struggle. The black man claims the right, as an adult, to think and act for himself. It is seen as essential that the black man free himself from all paternalistic attempts to soften his anger or to limit the scope of his action. The black man has to rediscover his own humanity through making his own decisions over against the 'white establishment'. Black power is the black man's attempt to 'affirm his being' over against the white power which dehumanizes him.

Hence, if blacks are liberated, it will be the blacks who do the liberating, not the whites. The white 'liberal' fails to understand this. He wants progress without conflict. Hence his offer of 'integration' must be rejected because it represents an attempt to force the black to conform to white norms, and enables him to make progress only at the expense of the sacrifice of his integrity and self-assurance as a black. All too often this 'liberal' attitude has been that adopted by the churches, with the result that the black intellectual community has become increasingly suspicious of Christianity and of the Church.

Those black theologians who have moved into the area of 'black theology' have given an enthusiastic and positive response to this kind of thinking. The black search for freedom is identified with the promise of liberation given in the gospel: 'For freedom, Christ has set us free' (Galatians 5.1). The power structure of white

racism is identified with those demonic and destructive principalities and powers which Christ has come to conquer (Mk I 12ff; 3.27). It is emphasized that although Christ has won the decisive victory over such powers it is nevertheless still necessary for us to join in the struggle and to become Christ's instruments for the extension of the Kingdom (2 Tim. 1.10' Eph. 1.22; Heb. 3.8). It is sometimes also claimed that this struggle is waged for the good of the whites as well as of the blacks, since the man who enslaves another enslaves himself.

Of course, the gospel is a gospel of love. But love is not possible except between equals and where there is mutual respect. Unless blacks are free to take the initiative, to make their own judgements and decisions as mature Christians, there can be no 'Love' between the racial groups. To suppose otherwise is to devalue love, and so to sentimentalize it that the message of love and brotherhood paradoxically becomes the tool of an oppressive society. Love is understood simply as submission and meekness in the face of injustice. It is in line with this false devaluation of the gospel that salvation is interpreted exclusively in other-worldly terms and distorted into a promise of a better life beyond the grave which will compensate for the agonies and sufferings of this life. So Christianity becomes the 'opium of the people' offering a promise of heavenly rewards for earthly submission.

I should like to say that I am totally in agreement with this kind of thinking. The message of Jesus to those in a situation of oppression is not, as is often said, that they must meekly submit to injustice, but rather that however unfavourable the circumstances they must always seek to gain the initiative, and so assert their dignity as men and as the children of God. If you are compelled to undertake forced service and to go one mile, then go two. Do not allow the oppressor to retain the initiative even when his power and control may appear to be absolute. If a man overpowers you and steals your cloak, then you must steal back your own dignity by giving him your shirt as well. Never leave the initiative in the hands of the oppressor. Never allow him to force you into a relationship where he can control and dominate you.

It may be that I am aware, as many here are not, of the way in which the working classes in England became alienated from the Church precisely because the Church did not stand by them in their struggle for social justice and equality in the last century. Just the same platitudes about meekness and about the heavenly rewards for submissive behaviour were uttered by priests and ministers, while only the brave and exceptional few asserted the right of the working man to shape his own destiny. Strike action was condemned as unchristian, while sweated labour and abject poverty remained unchanged in spite of the pious exhortations to greater kindliness among employers delivered from pulpits. Only the Christian Socialists saw that the gospel demanded a revolution in society, and they, I regret to say, were voices crying in the wilderness.

Perhaps the heart of the matter is to be found in our attitude towards confrontation and reconciliation. The 'liberal' (in the pejorative sense), insists on reconciliation without seeing that true reconciliation is impossible without confrontation. Christians must recognize the right of every man to confront another, to stand before him as a man and demand recognition of his own humanity. Only then will he be able to go on and to speak of the possibility of reconciliation.

At the same time however we must recognize that the emphasis in black thinking in this country has now switched from 'black power' to 'black consciousness'. This, as I see it, is not so much a rejection of the idea that blacks must use their own 'black power' in order to achieve liberation, but rather a widening of the concept of what it means to be black and a demand that this black experience be taken seriously. To be black is not only to be oppressed. It is also, in South Africa, to be part of a community which has its own culture and traditions, its own world-view, its own pattern of family and social behaviour. I would like at this point to refer to the contents of what a Black said some time ago. He said that Blackness is a life category that embraces the totality of our daily existence. It determined the circumstances of our growth as children and the life possibilities open to us. It now determines where we live, worship, minister and the range of our closest life-associates ... It is our only experience of life and this fact determines the hermeneutical setting for the Word of God which is designed to save us within the context of our real situation.' He rightly stresses the difference between the kind of theology which emerges when black Christians start to take their total black experience seriously and the earlier attempts at 'indigenization'—attempts (mainly by white theologians with some anthropological training) to produce a version of Christianity which incorporates 'insights' culled from a rather artificial reconstruction of African culture. It is the living contemporary black experience which is the context for the new kind of black theology which is emerging. In South Africa this experience embraces African culture and tradition—and it is not surprising therefore that books like John Mbiti's *African Concepts of God* are widely read and appreciated. But also this black experience includes the experience of being in a situation of oppression, which is common to all black groups, African, Coloured and Indian. It is this total contemporary black experience which forms the creative context out of which black theology is beginning to emerge in South Africa today.

WHITE THEOLOGY:

In contrast to black theology there is also emerging a concern about so-called 'white theology'. Unfortunately 'white theology' is an ambiguous expression which can

be interpreted in at least two radically different senses. Some black theologians speak of 'white theology' in an extremely hostile and disparaging way. What they mean by 'white theology' is precisely the kind of theological thinking noticed earlier – the recommending of submission and meekness in the face of oppression, the promise of heavenly rewards for this submission, and the misinterpretation of love in terms of reconciliation without confrontation. In other words, 'white theology' in this sense is really *pietism*. For the sake of clarity it is best to use this expression in preference to 'white theology'.

Pietism lays stress on the individual conversion experience at the expense of the social dimension of the gospel. It has blunted the force of righteous anger against the abuse of power and privilege by teaching a false ethic of love and reconciliation. It is essentially a destructive and dehumanizing force in so far as it emphasises personal guilt and self-distrust in a way which inhibits action and destroys self-confidence and self-acceptance

Pietism has enslaved whites as well as blacks, and has had the effect in South Africa of preventing white Christians from seriously examining their relationship with the black community. A typical slogan is that it is wrong 'to bring politics into religion'. A refreshing example of this kind of thinking is to be found in the remark of a minister to a white South African congregation that John the Baptist deserved to have his head cut off for mixing politics and religion. Pietism reduces God to the God whom I experience in a 'religious' context. His lordship over the whole world, his power over all things as Creator, Redeemer and Governor of all are virtually ignored.

However, there is a demand in certain quarters for 'white theology' in a different sense of that expression. That is to say, it is emphasized that it is as necessary to work out the implications of the gospel for white society as for black. The needs, concerns and problems of whites today in South Africa should be taken as seriously as those of blacks. Above all, we should try to formulate a theology which will enable the white man to escape from the dehumanizing effects of the materialistic and selfish society which he has created. This is a society in which things are more highly valued than people; in which a man is valued only according to his ability to produce something which someone else wants to buy; in which millions are enslaved in dreary and unrewarding jobs in factories and offices in order to fulfil the demand for more goods at less cost.

I believe myself that the demand that we formulate a 'white theology' is a legitimate and important demand. A reappraisal of the values of white society by the Church is long overdue. In my view, the problems and needs of white society are such that the only logical solution to them is to be found in the direction of Christian Socialism. The joint ownership of industry by management, employees and shareholders is essential if the human factor in the industrial process is not to be lost sight of. The total resources of the nation must be geared to the widest possible distribution of education, medical care, adequate housing, goods and services among all the peoples of this country. All peoples must be brought to share as fully as possible in the benefits of the new society emerging as a result of technological development and change. Here one may refer to the 'Theology of Transformation' propounded by the Dutch theologian Dr. J. Verkuyl in *The Message of Liberation Today*. We must regain control over the processes of industrialization and urbanization or they will control and destroy us.

BLACK THEOLOGY AND WHITE THEOLOGY:

We are now in a position to take a rather broader look at black theology and white theology in South Africa today. The first thing I want to emphasize is that it is misleading to think of black or white theology as *parts* of theology. Black theology is simply *theology,* but theology done in response to the needs, pressures, hopes and fears experienced by the black community. It cannot be undertaken without a secure grasp of biblical studies, or without a good basic understanding of the Christian theological tradition, and it cannot be done outside the context of the total theological enterprise of the Church, the reflection of the Church upon its own history and experience. If we forget this, then what will emerge may be 'black', but it will not be theology. But the black man will address to this tradition new questions. He will bring to it a new experience, and he will therefore discover in it things old and new which have been forgotten or neglected. In the same way the white man will undertake the same task from the point of view of white experience.

Yet this does not mean, in my view, that there is an unbridgeable gulf between white theology and black theology. I would like to suggest in fact that there must always be a relationship of dialogue between them, and for the following reasons:

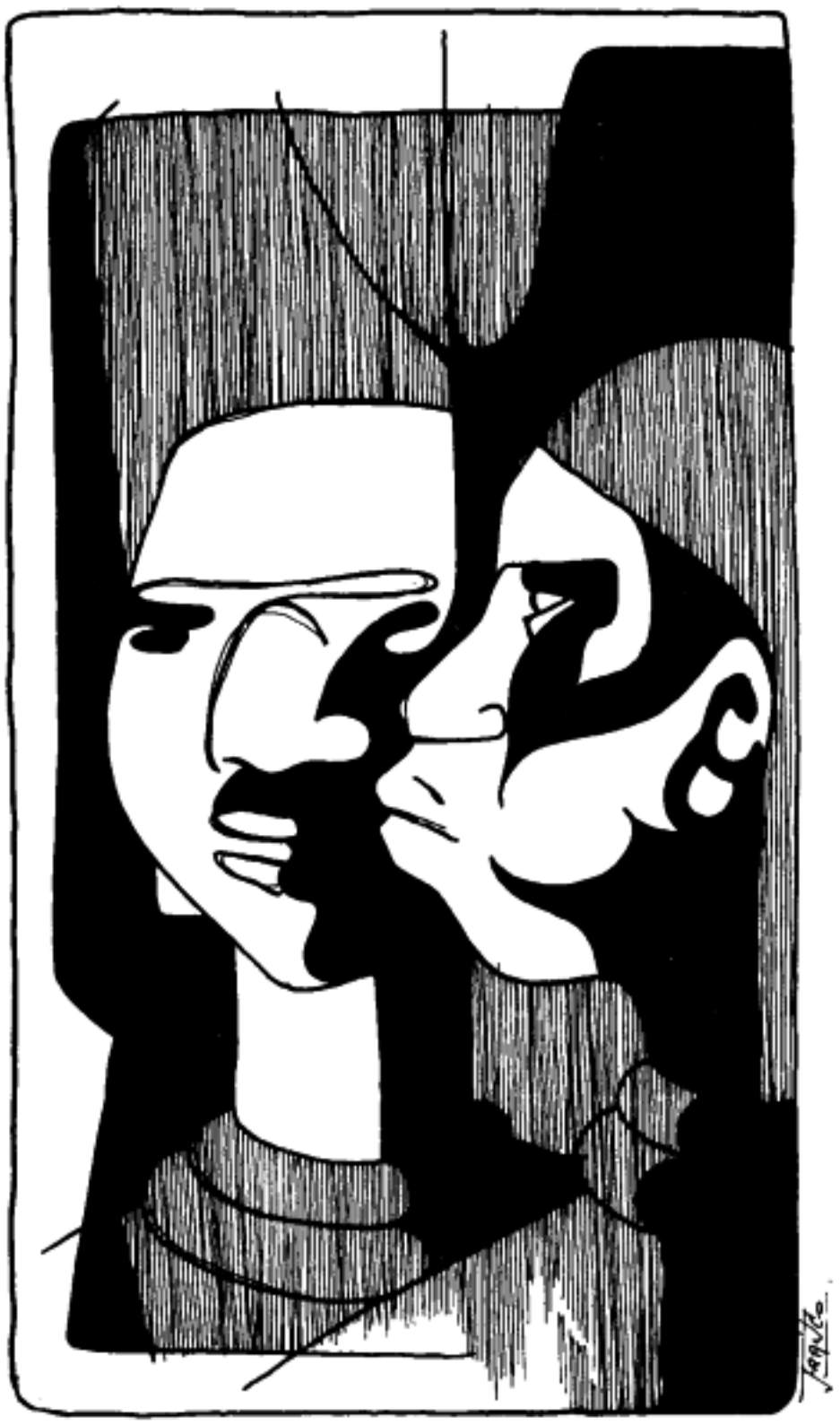
1. We cannot do Christian theology at all except from within the living tradition of Christian experience and practice. Theology is, as I have said, the attempt of the Christian community to reflect upon its own history and experience. We are all part of that community, both black and white. We have the same Lord. We find our faith in him through the same scriptures, the same sacraments, the same experience of acceptance and liberation which he comes to bring.

2. The technical resources needed for creative theological work are to be found in the critical and historical study of the Bible and of the Christian tradition in the original languages. The methods used in this study, and the tools needed to pursue it, are the same for black and white. Blacks and whites may be led to interpret the tradition differently because they start from a different *point d' appui.* But in the search for truth we have common ground both as men and as Christians.

3. Many of the concerns of black theology and white theology overlap. The search for a more meaningful concept of human existence than that furnished by the rat-race of a capitalist and racialistic society is common ground. Both blacks and whites are victims of this situation, though in different ways. The whites are victims because they have been corrupted by the desire and possession of wealth, power and privilege. The blacks are victims because they are exploited by white corruption. In the circumstances it is the blacks who must liberate the whites from their own corruption rather than vice-versa. The poor man, potentially, has a freedom of thought and action which the rich have lost—as the gospels so often remind us. It is black liberty of spirit which alone can rescue the white man from his preoccupation with secondary concerns and his deification of the false idols of power and wealth.

4. On the other hand, I think it should also be evident that the immediate problems and concerns of white Christians and black Christians are not precisely the same. It is at this point that I would like to mention briefly the problem of joint theological study and preparation for the ministry. In view of what has already been said, it will be apparent that there could be both advantages and disadvantages in training men from all racial groups together. There is a considerable area of common concern and interest—scholarly research into and study of the Christian tradition, concern for the liberation of all men from the dehumanizing forces in our society, the repudiation of pietism and the rediscovery of God's Lordship over the whole of life—these are just some of the tasks which would be better done together than separately, and where blacks would have a distinctive and important contribution to make to the whole theological enterprise.

Against this, however, it must be said that in practice integrated training could also easily mean that white concerns and problems would become the focus of attention and that black experience would not be taken sufficiently seriously. Whites have a way of stealing the initiative in these things. White administrative competence often works at the expense of genuine black participation and leadership. Far too many whites have unconscious assumptions about the supposed superiority of a white culture which is politically and technologically in the ascendant at the present time in South Africa, and are all too ready to dismiss blacks as incompetent and superstitious simply because the worldview and the values of blacks are different from their own. If a joint study programme were to be set up, it would be disastrous unless there was built into the programme a recognition of the right of black students to claim at least as much attention for black concerns as white. There would need to be a considerable amount of parallelism built into the structure, particularly in such areas as doctrine, ethics, worship, field training, missiology and church and society. The relationship between the two learning groups would have to be that of dialogue (and occasional confrontation!) rather than an integration achieved only on white terms and at the expense of the reality of the learning experiences of the black student. I therefore believe it would be right to



think in terms of the 'twinning' of white and black seminaries, even if they were on the same campus, and even if they shared the same buildings, rather than their integration into a single educational programme.

5. Finally, I would like to say a few words about the presuppositions which underlie the kind of approach to theology which I have taken for granted in this paper.

   Much damage has been done by the Reformation (and Counter-Reformation) rejection of the idea that grace complements nature and does not contradict it or destroy it. We must recognize that the first thing about man is not that he is fallen, but that he is made in the image of God. Christianity fulfils, completes, and corrects the aspiration of the natural man towards the good life and the good God. There is no reason why black, and specifically, African, experience should not be regarded as the prologomenon to the gospel just as much as Greek philosophy, or current Western psychology or philosophy. Hence I would agree with Tillich that there must always be a dialogue between the Christian tradition and the world. The world, whether black or white, formulates the questions and sets the terms of the debate. It is our job as Christians to try to respond to these questions and to engage in this debate, not to abstract ourselves from it in the interests of a so-called 'pure theology'—which is in fact nothing other than a sterile abstraction. Unless the gospel speaks to me in my situation, white or black, privileged or oppressed, then it will not be part of my life.

   In this connection it is important never to forget that Christ was not a modern Western man, or an ancient Greek philosopher, or for that matter a contemporary black Christian. He is neither black nor white, and therefore both black and white. He is a particular man, living at a specific time and place which are not our time and place. Yet he is also universal Man, the man for all seasons and all peoples, a man in whom I discover my true humanity as white or black, in whom I rediscover the meaning of my own whiteness or blackness. It is a man to whom we turn, and not primarily to any particular theological system which presents this man to us in a particular way. As a man he speaks to us all and makes us more truly ourselves. Unless our theological teaching helps our students to discover this then it will not be an instrument of the liberating power of the gospel, but will have become one of those demonic and destructive powers from which Christ himself comes to deliver us.★

(Mr. Theodore Simpson is the principal of St. Peter's College at Alice.)

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WEIGHED AND ...?

STATEMENT BY THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE ON THE "POLICE STATE" BILLS

The Christian Institute Board of Management, at its routine half-yearly meeting today, reaffirmed the Institute's role as a body of followers of Christ, committed to a Christian witness of love and reconciliation in a Society characterised by racial inequalities and divisions, institutionalised violence and the misuse of authoritarian secular power.

In debating the future of the Christian Institute, the Board took note of the terms of proposed legislation to be introduced in the House of Assembly on Monday, as reported by 'Die Transvaler' (16.2.1974), an official organ of the Nationalist Party.

Since the terms of the proposed new legislation have now been disclosed, we regard it as our urgent duty to comment thereon. The legislation seems to be in two parts, which are closely interlinked.

Firstly, it seems that it is proposed to create quasi-legal machinery to investigate, register and control certain unnamed groups. The Minister of Justice, it appears, will have the power to appoint an "investigatory official" to examine the activities of a "suspected political organisation", with powers of entry, search and interrogation. As a result of his examination the Minister can apparently appoint a committee of enquiry composed of magistrates. It is proposed that severe penalties will be incurred by those who obstruct the investigatory official (R600,00, or one year, or both). On the grounds of the committee's report, the Minister may classify the organisation as "affected". An affected organisation will not be able to solicit, request or receive any monies from abroad. The Minister may also appoint a "Registrar" to "Keep an eye" on such organisations.

Secondly, it is proposed to amend the Riotous Assemblies Act to restrict even private gatherings, even of two people. A radio announcement will evidently be regarded as sufficient warning. Merely for the Minister or a Chief Magistrate to "fear" that feelings of racial hostility will be incited at a meeting, of whatever nature, will be sufficient reason for it to be forbidden, and indeed for the prohibition to be extended throughout the country. Police will be empowered to set up blockades to prevent attendance at such meetings and they will no longer be required to issue the customary warnings before resorting to force to disperse any such meeting.

In the light of the proposed legislation the Board makes the following comments:

1. The curb on organisations receiving financial assistance from anywhere is a denial of the universality of the Christian Church. We are all members of the same body and no secular authority should have the right to prevent one member from assisting another where there is need.

2. While we cannot regard the C.I. as a "suspect political organisation" it would be naive in the extreme not to see this legislation as inextricably connected with the Schlebusch Commission, which has been investigating the C.I., among others.

3. The C.I. has never made a secret of its commitment to fundamental social change in South Africa in line with the principles of the Gospel. The C.I. is committed to peaceful change. The Government itself, however, endangers peaceful change, which becomes increasingly impossible when the State takes ever more power to suppress, to intimidate and to control the lives and activities of those individuals and groups committed to change.

4. This proposed legislation now removes all doubt that South Africa is a police state. It is a further step in the process of totalitarianism illustrated by the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the new bill on censorship, and the systematic use by successive Ministers of Justice of powers arbitrarily to ban, to restrict, and to confine those whom he regards as political opponents.

5. We note that the original recommendation of the Parliamentary Select Committee (later the Schlebusch Commission) to set up a permanent tribunal of enquiry composed of members of Parliament has here been amended in the sense that the "Committee of Enquiry" will be composed of Magistrates. The quasi-judicial appearance of such a committee must not blind us to the fact that real effectiveness lies with the Minister and the quaintly-named officials he will appoint. They are given wide and totally unacceptable powers. This is in fact yet another manifestation of authoritarian, administrative control which helps to clarify the motivations of those

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who refuse to co-operate with the Schlebusch Commission.

6. We view with abhorrence the yet further invasions of the citizen's privacy and of his rights of association envisaged in the proposed amendment to the Riotous Assemblies Act. The removal of customary and traditional safeguards against abuse of police violence bodes ill for our society.

7. Through this proposed legislation the clash between church and state, between the Christian conscience and the misuse of secular authority becomes yet more apparent and clearly defined. There can be no doubt that the State would not hesitate to use its proposed new powers to interfere in and obstruct the perfectly legitimate activities of Christian individuals and groups seeking to work out the implications of their faith in the socio-political sphere.

8. In view of the serious implications for Christian witness in South Africa, the C.I. calls urgently on all church leaders in the country to express their forthright condemnation of the proposed legislation and to announce unequivocal resistance to any further attempt by the State to encroach on and restrict the activities of the followers of Christ. It calls on individual Christians to prepare themselves for the pain and suffering which may be the consequence of their resistance to the unacceptable demands of Caesar. We further call on the opposition parties to resist the passing of the proposed legislation with every force at their command.

9. Despite this proposed legislation, the C.I. reaffirms its calm faith in the wisdom and the providence of God, and its sure knowledge that the efforts of rulers to thwart His will are ultimately futile and doomed to failure.

Issued by the Board of Management of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 16th February, 1974.

Present at this meeting were:

Dr. C.O. Gardner (Chairman)
Dr. C.F.B. Naudé (Director)
Ds. Mofokeng
Mrs. E. Hudson
Mrs. R. Elliot
Rev. J. Francois Bill
Rev. M. Maasdorp
Mrs. M. Moor
Mrs. M. Malherbe
Mr. A.B.C. Xaba
Prof. Calvin Cook
Rev. J.C. Gwambe
Rev. C. Mayson
Rev. Theo Kotzé
Ds. Roelf Meyer
Rev. Brian Brown
Mrs. Jane Phakathi
Mr. H. Kleinschmidt
Mr. Peter Randall
Mr. E. Mbatha

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MANAS BUTHELEZI BANNED

Dr. Manas Buthelezi has been banned! He is restricted for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. He may not attend any social gathering, which means that he can only see one person at a time. He cannot be quoted. He is not allowed to attend "any gathering of pupils or students assembled for the purpose of being instructed, trained or addressed" by him. The banning orders in his case do not restrict him to a specific area.

As Manas Buthelezi is a dedicated confessing Christian working for Jesus Christ and His Kingdom, the only conclusion we can reach about the banning order is that this is a persecution of the body of Christ and therefore of the Lord Jesus Christ himself. When Saul persecuted the Christians in the early days, Christ challenged him: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4). Therefore, we would like to call on those who are responsible for this cruel banning to turn from their evil ways and be converted to Jesus Christ, The Lord, Saviour and Liberator.

It must be abundantly clear to all that this action taken by the government of South Africa is yet another indication that there is no acceptance of true difference of opinion and opposition in the present system even if this is on the basis of Christian beliefs. No one is safe or can experience any security in South Africa if his opposition to the nationalist government is meaningful and relevant. The Gospel is always a threat to an insecure state and to people ruling through violence and living in fear—Christ was crucified because he challenged a reign of force by the transforming love of God.

Over the Christmas season and beyond we would like to say to Manas that before God he is still a free and liberated man and that nobody can ever take way the presence of Christ from him because His name is Immanual (God with us). He may be banned by men, but the Gospel assures him that God loves him and he is not "banned" by God.

C.I. News December 1973

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Buthelezi Ban Challenge:

'PROVE HE'S SUBVERSIVE'

ADDIS ABABA—Chief Gatsha Buthelezi last night issued a challenge to the South African Government—and to anyone—to prove that his first cousin, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, had been subversive in any way.

News of the restriction on Dr. Buthelezi reached the Ethiopian capital just as Chief Buthelezi had completed a successful appearance on behalf of Black South Africa at the African-American dialogue. It could not have arrived at a worse time.

"I am anguished by the banning order on my first cousin and by a spate of banning orders," the KwaZulu chief councillor said.

"My cousin is a pastor and eminent theologian and he has done his duties within the perimeters of his calling.

"I challenge anyone, including those who have banned him, to prove that he is subversive in any way."

DIFFICULT

The b nning order he said made it difficult to convince people outside South Africa that there was any possibility of resolving the problems of the country without violence.

While in Addis Ababa, he has convincingly put his point of view against violence and the Government action against his cousin is nothing less than a slap in the face.

The Lutheran World Federation has expressed its shock at the news

In a statement issued from its Geneva headquarters the federation said it "strongly protests the South African Government's action and will work towards its reversal."

COMMISSION

The statement said the young African theologian and pastor "who in addition to the significant role he plays in his own country holds a leading position in the International Lutheran Fellowship serving as the only representative of Africa in the nine-member commission on studies.

"Manas Buthelezi is known not only in his own country where he is director of the Christian Institute in Natal but on an international scale as an articulate and brilliant spokesman in the Christian task of reconciliation."

—Daily News, 8.12.73

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LUTHERANS ASK: RECONSIDER DR BUTHELEZI BAN

GENEVA—The powerful Lutheran World Federation (LWF) has issued a strong protest over the banning of its only African representative, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, and called on the South African Government urgently to reconsider its decision.

The protest was signed by the LWF president, Dr. Mikko Juva, a Helsinki University theologian, and Dr. Andre Appel, general secretary of the federation in Geneva.

It was handed to a member of the Geneva-based South African permanent mission to the United Nations for transmission to Pretoria.

The LWF, which serves 88 member churches with a total membership of nearly 55-million, says the banning strengthens the fear that there is an official inclination to persecute Christians for their witness.

It also calls on member churches, through prayer and any appropriate representation and action, to work for the lifting of the ban.

The South African Government's move against Dr. Buthelezi represents a double tragedy for the Lutherans.

The banning occurs on the eve of the 25th Anniversary of the adoption of the United Nation's universal declaration of human rights. Moreover, it robs the LWF of their last direct personal link with Lutherans in South Africa, for Dr. Buthelezi was a member of the LWF's decision-making study commission which meets outside South Africa.

The Lutherans, whose staff applications for visas to visit South Africa have all been turned down over the past year, see the Government's move as part of a policy to isolate them from their South African members.

The sense of shock at the banning is spelled out in the protest statement issued from Geneva.

It says: "This young African theologican and pastor, who in addition to the significant role he plays in his own country, holds a leading position in the international Lutheran fellowship serving as the only representative of Africa on the nine-member commission of studies. The LWF strongly protests against the South African Government's action and will work towards its reversal."

Factor

"He has made clear in his preaching, his teaching and his writings the inescapable implications of the Christian Gospel and the effort toward true conversion of man according to the Gospel.

Dr. Buthelezi was not a staff member of the LWF but director of the Christian Institute, in Natal, and it is his association with this body—now under attack from the South African Government—which is thought to have been a factor in his banning.

The president and general secretary of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in South Africa have also issued a strong statement condemning the banning.

—Rand Daily Mail, 10.11.73

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PERSVRYSTELLING VAN VERKLARING VAN PREDIKANTE OOR APARTHEID

Die Broederkring van predikante van die Ned. Geref. Kerk in Afrika, het by die kampterrein te Emndeni, Johannesburg op 16 November 1973 vergader om te besin oor koerantberigte wat onlangs verskyn het i.v.m. ons verwerping van Apartheid.

Die vergadering het o.a. die volgende besluite geneem:

1. Die vergadering herbevestig sy vroeëre besluit dat hy die beleid van Apartheid totaal verwerp omdat dit nie met die Woord van God versoen kan word nie.

2. Ter herbevestiging van hulle geloof in Jesus Christus, besluit die vergadering eenparig dat elkeen van watter

hoedanigheid, toestand of staat hy ook al mag wees, verplig is om hom aan die owerhede te onderwerp, aan hulle eer en eerbied te betoon en hulle gehoorsaam te wees in ALLES WAT NIE STRY HET MET DIE WOORD VAN GOD NIE. (Art. 36, Nederlandse Geloofsbelydenis) maar sodra enige regeringsvorm iets aanvang wat met die Woord van God bots, is dit die Christen se plig om hom aan Gods Woord en Wil te onderwerp, vergelyk Hand. 5:28-29: *„Ons moet aan God meer gehoorsaam wees as aan die mense".*

3. Dat al daardie dinge wat onregverdigheid en onbillikheid bevorder, op 'n christelike manier teegewerk behoort te word, omdat dit maatskaplike misstande, klassestryd en rassenyd veroorsaak. Daarom vind 'n mens dat by een deel van die volk 'n wrok of haat ontstaan teen die ander deel.

Die teewerking moet alle vorms van geweld en bloedvergieting vermy want Jesus Christus se bloed is vir eens en altyd vergiet en geen ander bloed sal sake hoe ookal oplos nie.

4. Die predikante-broederkring het met leedwese kennis geneem van 'n bewering (volgens koerantberigte) dat 'n moontlike skeuring tussen die Ned. Geref. Kerk in Afrika en die Ned. Geref. Kerk kan plaasvind.

By die vorige vergadering van 10 Okt. 1973 het hierdie vergadering besluit dat hy teen Apartheid is omdat dit nie met die Woord van God versoen kan word nie.

5. Ons glo nie dat die verklarings van 10/10/73 en hierdie een die verhouding tussen die N.G.K. in Afrika en die N.G. Kerk sal kan vertroebel nie wat die gesindheid en finansiële hulp betref nie. Maar die Kring glo dat hulp van watter aard ook al wat die N.G. Kerk aan die N.G.K. in Afrika aanbied, nie met die doel om Apartheid (deur N.G. Kerk in Afrika) te ondersteun nie, maar om die Koningkryk van God in hierdie wêreld te bevorder. Matt. 28:19.

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SCHLEBUSCH: OVERSEAS MEN LISTEN

Several foreign observers, among them Mr. Niall MacDermot, QC, secretary general of the International Commission of Jurists, attended the trials in Pretoria today of Christian Institute members who allegedly defied the Schlebusch Commission.

Mr. MacDermot, who arrived in South Africa yesterday, was a Cabinet Minister in Mr. Harold Wilson's Labour government.

Other eminent foreign visitors included the vice president of the British Council of Churches, the Rev. E. Rogers, and the Rev. P. Sandner, Africa Secretary of the German Evangelical Church, from Berlin.

The White section of the public gallery was full to capacity.

—Pretoria News 14.1.74.

REV KOTZE PLEADS NOT GUILTY

The Cape director of the Christian Institute, the Rev. Theo Kotzé, was charged in Pretoria today for allegedly defying the Schlebusch Commission. He pleaded not guilty.

Mr. C.P.J. Prinsloo, secretary of the Schlebusch Commission, read a lengthy letter to the court which had been handed to the commission of inquiry by Mr. Kotze. It contained his reasons for withholding testimony on the activities of the Christian Institute.

Implied

Mr. Kotzé said the mere fact that the activities of the Christian Institute were being investigated with other organisations, implied "guilt by association".

To justify his stand he made frequent extracts from the Bible. A Christian had a greater responsibility to obey the laws of God than the laws of his country, if the latter differed from the rules laid down in the Bible.

Furthermore, the letter stated that the Government itself had prejudged the issue. By saying that there was a prima facie case for investigation, the Prime Minister had placed pressure on the commission of inquiry and it was common knowledge that the Government was opposed to the activities of the Christian Institute.

Mr. Kotzé said he could come to no other conclusion than that the Government was trying to use the commission for political gain.

In the letter Mr. Kotzé said he also objected to the fact that no accusations were made against persons called to testify that they had no right of defence and that the hearings were held in camera.

—Pretoria News, 14.1.74

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A CONSCIENCE IS SHOWING

The fact that some anonymous individual or agency felt constrained to pay Mrs. Ilona Kleinschmidt's fine rather than see her go to jail for her defiance of the Schlebusch Commission is illuminating. For what this surely amounts to is the payment of conscience money.

Mrs Kleinschmidt herself had gone to elaborate lengths to ensure that no friends or members of her family thwarted her attempts to make this further gesture of principle. So it seems most likely that the fine was paid by someone whose own conscience was disturbed by the prospect of this young woman going to jail for her principles, or who found the prospect politically embarrassing.

Either way, the act highlights the issue involved perhaps even more strikingly than Mrs Kleinschmidt's imprisonment would have done. For it reveals an acknowledgement within our society that there is something fundamentally wrong somewhere along the Schlebusch line. If it was a political group that felt it would be embarrassed by Mrs Kleinschmidt's going to jail, then that group must have realised that a substantial section of public opinion would have thought it wrong—and would have laid the political blame somewhere. To that extent the payment of the fine would amount to an admission of political guilt.

We have no proof of where the money came from, and since this is unlikely to be forthcoming we can only leave the public to draw its own conclusions. But one thing must be said. If there are bad consciences in the political sphere about the Kleinschmidt case or any of the other consequences of the Schlebusch Commission's activities, then it is a sad commentary on our political morality that these are being kept anonymous. If there are public figures who feel this way about the issue, then it is in the national interest that they speak out publicly.

—Rand Daily Mail, 30.11.73

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SCHLEBUSCH 'DISCLOSURES' CAUSE ALARM

The Schlebusch Commission has expressed concern that it may be prejudiced if proceedings before it are disclosed, a Pretoria Regional Court heard yesterday.

In a surprise move at the beginning of the second day of the trial of the regional director of the Christian Institute, Rev. Theo Kotzé, the prosecutor, Mr. A.A. Erasmus, brought an application for the case to be postponed. The application was granted and a date set for February 20.

Mr. Erasmus said it had come to the attention of the chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations that in terms of an order made by the magistrate Mr. G.J.V. Jordaan, the secretary of the commission was called upon to answer certain questions relating to witnesses before the commission and evidence given to it.

Mr. Erasmus said these circumstances had caused concern to the commission as it felt it might be prejudiced if proceedings before it were disclosed.

It was envisaged that legal opinion would be sought concerning the order made by the court.

In terms of the order the order the secretary of the commission, Mr. C.P.J. Prinsloo, was asked under cross-examination by Mr. J.C. Kriegler, SC, on Monday whether any members of the Security Police or the Bureau of State Security had given or placed any evidence before the commission.

Protection

Mr. Erasmus said it was intended to find out whether the court had in fact been a competent court, allowed to make such an order.

He said if the court was found not to be competent, it would not be able to offer protection to Mr. Prinsloo and he could be prosecuted in terms of Section 10 of the Commissions Act for divulging what had occurred before the commission.

Accordingly Mr. Prinsloo was also entitled to protection in terms of Section 212 of the Criminal Procedures Code.

Opposing the application Mr. Kriegler said there were two reasons upon which the State relied.

In the first instance it was discomfiture on the part of the commission—which was neither part of the proceedings, nor a witness.

The main objection in this regard was that the identity of witnesses and evidence before the commission were being disclosed.

He pointed out that during cross-examination on Monday he had gone no further than trying to establish whether a notification by the Prime Minister that members of the Security Police and the Bureau of State Security would give evidence before the commission had been carried out.

He had not tried to identify the witnesses any further than that.

Secondly, Mr. Kriegler said the fact that Mr. Prinsloo's position was being jeopardised was mentioned.

Absurd

He said this supposition was "fanciful in the extreme," and the suggestion that Mr. Prinsloo would possibly face prosecution verged on the absurd.

"Both reasons are devoid of substance for another reason: Evidence is already on record and has already been given."

Mr. Kriegler said Monday had not been the first time this line of cross-examination had been followed; in an associated matter during November last year the same type of evidence was given by Mr. Prinsloo.

He also pointed out that Rev. Kotzé would be affected by any further postponement as he had come from his home in Cape Town last year with his attorney and was ready to start the hearing, only to have his case postponed from day to day for a week before the Monday date.

In his judgment Mr. Jordaan said the State presupposed the court had erred in its ruling.

He said he had been under the impression both parties agreed the court was competent in this regard, but it seemed not, if this aspect was being challenged.

Rand Daily Mail, 16.1.74

without reconciliation and justice
there is only confrontation