



the intrigue judas mahlangu.

march • maart • 1976

REGISTERED AT THE GPO AS A NEWSPAPER BY DIE POSKANTOOR AS NUUSBLAD INGESKRYF

pro veritate

PRO VERITATE

CHRISTELIKE MAANDBLAD
MAART 1976
JAARGANG 14 NR. 10.

CHRISTIAN MONTHLY
MARCH 1976
VOLUME 14 NO. 9.

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

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

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

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

PRO VERITATE appears on the 15th of every month.

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'N GROTER LOJALITEIT AS PATRIOTISME

Patriotisme is nie Christelik nie. Die totstandkoming van die Hebreuse nasie as 'n sterk godsdienstige eenheid was noodsaaklik vir die bevestiging van monoteïsme en die profete se begrip van God in die hele voor-Christelike era en vanaf hierdie fondament het Christus die aansprake van patriotisme en nasionalisme van die bladsy van die Heilige Skrif af verdryf.

Jesus het konsekwent geweier om 'n Israelitiese nasionalis te wees en vanaf die begin van die Christelike era by Pinkster word die idee van nasionalisme nie genoem nie. Aan Christene word 'n nuwe begrip van mense as een familie van God gegee en hulle is betrokke met die bevestiging van die Koninkryk van God op aarde. Hulle is 'n nuwe skepping, 'n nuwe nasie, wat hulle etniese of geografiese agtergrond ookal is. Hulle is gestuur om dissipels van al die nasies te maak, om die nasies te wen om Christus en sy Koninkryk na te volg en om nie die evangelie te gebruik om nasionalisme te bevorder deur die valse gebruikmaking van godsdienstige ywer nie.

Om bevry te wees van die slawerny van patriotisme en om vrygelaat te wees in die Christelike wêreldbeskouing, is 'n ramspoedige deel van wedergeboorte om die Koninkryk van God te sien. Dit is as hierdie nuwe volk dat Christene geroepe is om vandag in die wêreld te getuig.

Staatsmanne het dikwels hierdie aspek van die evangelie verdraai of teengestaan terwyl hulle hul met opregte piëteit en beangste uitdrukking op God beroep via Abraham, Mohammed, Christus of die Regeerder om hulle eie nasie te ondersteun. (Dié aan die ander kant het natuurlik dieselfde gedoen.) Maar hulle probeer baie duidelik om God as 'n stuk gereedskap te gebruik vir hulle eie propaganda-masjienerie, eerder as om daarna te soek om verordeninge vas te stel om hulle land tot 'n deel van hierdie ryk te maak.

In elke geslag was daar patriotistiese oproepe wat onhoudbaar is vir 'n volgeling van Christus, wat bo nasies en ras verhewe is. Om boosheid te ondersteun of om doodslag te seën ter ondersteuning van nasionalisme; om nasie teenoor nasie op te stel, of 'n groep teenoor 'n groep; om godsdienstige gesindhede aan politieke druk te onderwerp; om onderdrukking en uitbuiting te ondersteun onder die dekmantel van 'n patriotistiese oproep; of om 'n Christen se gewetensbeswaar teen sulke aktiwiteite te veroordeel, is duidelike voorbeelde van hierdie spanninge. Dis geen wonder dat hulle *hom* doodgemaak het nie.

Dit is teen hierdie agtergrond dat ons beide wit en swart aspekte van nasionalisme in die afgelope maande moet sien.

Vanaf die Suid-Afrikaanse ekskursie in Angola het ons baie oproepe vir patriotistiese reaksies gehad, wat ver-

staanbaar is vir blankes wat gedetermineerd is om in rasse-superioriteit te volhard. Die oproep het ook na die swartes uitgegaan, wat 'n interessante kommentaar op blanke vrees is, aangesien dit belaglik is om ondersteuning van mense te soek vir wie jy aanhoudend gesê het dat hulle burgers van ander onafhanklike lande — die tuislande — moet wees.

Maar dit is skandalig om hierdie oproep van patriotisme in die naam van Christus te maak en dit op die nasionale dag van gebed te fokus. Alleenlik dié wat uiters bevooroordeeld is, kan regtig glo dat die verdediging van blanke oorheersing, swart onderdrukking en diskriminasie sake is waarvoor Christene moet sterwe. Die uitbreiding van Christelike waardes, die proklamering van die Christelike siening van die nie-nasionalistiese gemeenskap is duidelik nie afhanklik van kleur nie.

Dit is die plig van alle mense met Christelike insig om daarop te staan dat hierdie valse aanspraak op Christelike patriotisme ontmasker word. Om met 'n aggressiewe nasionalisme in die aangesig van God wat geen belang daarin het nie en wat in Christus verklaar het dat hulle wat die swaard opneem deur die swaard sal vergaan, te spog, is die toppunt van dwaasheid. Politici wat na wapens gryp om 'n politieke sisteem te ondersteun wat in inperkings en onderdrukking spesialiseer, moet daartoe gebring word dat hulle voel dat hulle alle staanplek in die Christelike gemeenskap verloor het.

Al die gewig van regeringsoorreding, -propaganda en wetgewing is gebruik om die kerke en kerklidmate af te ransel sodat hulle hierdie houding moet ondersteun, maar hulle moet dit ten sterkste weerstaan. Tot op datum het die Angolese insident nie net politieke neerlaag vir die Suid-Afrikaanse regering tot stand gebring nie, maar teologiese neerlaag vir baie Suid-Afrikaanse Christene. Dit is skandelik in die oë van die wêreld.

Die mensdom hou asem op terwyl hulle vandag na die chaos van pressie en konflik in Suider-Afrika kyk, waar elke wêreldprobleem tot uitdrukking kom. Hulle wag vir die Christene om hulle toewyding aan 'n wyer gemeenskap van alle mense in Suider-Afrika te openbaar, 'n lojaliteit aan Christus in mense wat gedetermineerd is om die subkontinent te suiwer van die kwaad van armoede, onkunde, hebsug en onderdrukking en om mense in 'n nuwe siening van die lewe in te lei wat 'n vorm van gemeenskaplike lewe waarin vrede en voorspoed, geregtigheid en vryheid bevestig is. Christene word opgeroep om die behangsels van nasionale en denominasionele rykopbouing af te werp en om te begin om soos volgelinge van Christus te doen en te dink en om najagers van totale nuwe vorm van lewe te wees.

A GREATER LOYALTY THAN PATRIOTISM

Patriotism is not Christian. Throughout the pre-Christian era the establishment of the Hebrew people as a strong religious unit was vital to the establishment of monotheism and the prophets understanding of God, and from this foundation Christ drove the claims of patriotism and nationalism off the pages of holy writ.

Jesus consistently refused to be an Israeli nationalist, and from the commencement of the Christian era at Pentecost the notion of nationalism is not mentioned. Christians are given a new concept of men as one family of God, involved in the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. They are a new creation, a new nation, whatever their ethnic or geographical background. They are sent to make disciples of all nations, to win the nations to follow Christ and his kingdom, not to use the gospel to promote nationalism by the spurious use of religious fervour.

To be freed from the slavery of patriotism, and released into the Christian world view is a cataclysmic part of being born again to see the kingdom of God. It is as this new people that Christians are called to witness in the world today.

Statesmen have frequently twisted or resisted this aspect of the gospel, calling upon God via Abraham, Mahomet, Christ, or the Emperor, with sincere piety and anguished expression, to support their own nation. (Those on the other side did the same thing, of course). But they are clearly seeking to use God as a tool of their own propaganda machine, rather than seeking to enact disciplines to make their country a part of his rule.

In every age there have been patriotic calls which are untenable for a follower of Christ who stands above nations and race. To support evil or bless killing in the cause of nationalism; to set nation against nation or group against group; to subjugate religious attitudes to political pressures; to support oppression and exploitation under the guise of a patriotic call; or to denounce a Christian's conscientious objection to such activities are clear examples of these tensions. No wonder they killed *him*.

It is against this background that we must view both white and black aspects of nationalism in recent months.

Since the South African excursion into Angola we have had many calls for patriotic responses, which is understandable for whites determined to persist in racial superiority. The call has also gone to blacks, which is an interesting comment on white fears, for it is ridiculous to seek support from people you have repeatedly told to be citizens of other independent countries — the Homelands.

But it is scandalous to make this call to patriotism in the name of Christ, and focus it in a National Day of Prayer. Only the utterly prejudiced can really believe that

the defence of white domination, black oppression, and discrimination is a matter for Christians to die over. The extension of Christian values, the proclaiming of the Christian view of non-nationalist community, is clearly not dependent on colour.

It is the duty of all people with Christian insight to insist that this false claim to a Christian patriotism is exposed. To flaunt an aggressive nationalism in the face of a God who has no interest in it, and has declared in Christ that those who take to the sword shall perish by it, is the height of folly. Politicians who resort to arms to support a political system which specialises in restriction and oppression must be made to feel that they have lost all standing in the Christian community.

All the weight of Government persuasion, propaganda, and legislation has been used to bludgeon the churches and church members to support this attitude, but they must strongly resist it. To date, the Angola incident has produced not only political defeat for the South African Government, but theological defeat for many South African Christians. It is scandalous in the eyes of the world.

Mankind is holding its breath as it looks on the turmoil of pressures and conflicts in Southern Africa today, where every world problem is exposed. It is waiting for the Christians to reveal their commitment to a wider community of all people in southern Africa, a loyalty to Christ in people determined to rid the subcontinent of the evils of poverty, ignorance, greed and oppression, and to lead men into a new view of life which promotes a form of communal living in which peace and prosperity, justice and freedom are established. Christians are called to throw off the shackles of national and denominational empire building, and start acting and thinking as followers of Christ, and seekers after a new form of life altogether.

Go forth therefore and make all nations my disciples.

Matthew 28:19

When anyone is united to Christ, there is a new world; the old order has gone, and a new order has already begun.

2 Corinthians 5:17.

There is no question here of Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, freeman, slave; but Christ is all, and is in all.

Colossians 3:11

For though you were once all darkness, now as Christians you are light. Live like men who are at home in daylight, for where light is, there all goodness springs up, all justice and truth.

Ephesians 5:8

A CATECHISM ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

james moulder

The war in Angola and the statement which the South African Council of Churches made at Hammanskraal on 2 August 1974, have raised the question of what conscientious objection is. But although the question has been raised it is not at all clear that our ability to answer it has increased. I will, therefore, first produce substantial extracts from two statements by conscientious objectors; and then I will try to answer seven questions about conscientious objection. And these answers will also amount to a statement, clarification and defence of the kind of conscientious objection which is allowed by South African law and the present policy of the Department of Defence.

A conscientious objector's trial

Philip Ford was a Quaker. In 1979 he was summoned to appear before the Lieutenancy at Guildhall in London. Sir Thomas Davies was the chairman and Ford was on trial because he had failed to answer an earlier summons which had instructed him to appear with his arms.

Davies: Complaint is made that you appeared not with your arms according to summons.

Ford: Here's a summons dated the 7th of February last which I received.

Davies: Received you not one before that?

Ford: Yes.

Davies: Wherefore did you not then appear?

Ford: Before the first summons came I received a summons from the Prince of Peace to march under his banner, which is love, who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them. And being enlisted under this banner I dare not desert my colours to march under the banner-shop of the kings of the earth.

Davies: Do you not pay taxes to the King?

Ford: Yes, and that with a ready mind. I pay tribute to Caesar, that so I may live a peaceable and godly life under his government, and rather than Caesar should want his tribute should search the fish's mouth.

Davies: The King builds ships and buys guns and powder with it.

Ford: When Christ bid Peter pay the tribute for them two, he did not bid inquire what use Caesar would put it to. And as not his concern, so not mine.

Davies: Caesar maintained his armies with it.

Ford: It may be so.

Davies: Do you not pay to the city watch?

Ford: Yes, and that freely.

Davies: Do not you believe that a man may be killed with a halbert?

Ford: I make a distinction betwixt the military power and the civil. The military power's command is,

Go, fire, kill and destroy. The civil power's command is, Go, keep the peace.

Davies: You say you can pay tribute to Caesar. This is a tribute to appear with your arms at the King's command.

Ford: Christ Jesus the Prince of Peace who paid tribute to Caesar gives the word of command to his followers to love their enemies, do good to those that hate them and despitefully use them and persecute them. And your command to your followers is to kill your enemies. So that I choose rather to obey the captain of my salvation than you, whatever he may suffer you to inflict upon me for so doing.

A conscientious objector's anguish

Donald Swann is a Quaker. During the Second World War he served in an ambulance unit. Like Philip Ford he had to appear before a tribunal because of his refusal to submit to combat training and service. As in Ford's case, the tribunal questioned his sincerity because he was not a pacifist. The anguish which this caused him is instructive:

In a tribunal statement I told them: "Christ would never sanction war, and I wish to try and follow him". What would you do if someone raped your sister, they said? I would not go and kill his relatives, I said. But later I worried that I had not answered the question. Would I kick the raper? I think I would, so this seemed violence again- this time from me. Later I thought about that one: it is one thing to kick or to stun a raper, yet another to go and kill him. Yet another to kill his relatives. Yes, my answer was logical. (The Space Between the Bars, London, 1968, page 96):

What is conscientious objection?

In general, a conscientious objector is someone who refuses to submit to combat training and service in his country's defence force. On the other hand, conscientious objectors do not agree what this refusal involves: only some of them are pacifists; only some of them are conscientious non-militarists; and only some of them are civil disobedients.

Why are some conscientious objectors not pacifists?

A pacifist is someone who is convinced (a) that it is possible to settle international disputes by peaceful means; and (b) that it is always wrong to use any kind of force whatsoever to attain one's goals. Some conscientious objectors are not pacifists because they hold neither of these convictions. They do not believe that it is possible to settle international disputes by peaceful means because they share the pessimistic convictions about human nature and sin which are embodied in Genesis 3:1-4:16 and the Epistle of James 4:1-2. And, like Donald Swann, they are not convinced that it is always wrong to use force; or that anything is gained by ignoring the difference between what happens in a war and what happens when one person is violent in defence of himself or of someone else.

Why are some conscientious objectors not non-militarists?

A conscientious non-militarist is someone who refuses to submit to any kind of military service whatsoever. Some conscientious objectors are not non-militarists because, like Philip Ford, they recognise that they cannot control their country's budget; and, therefore, that they cannot avoid making a more or less direct contribution to the strength and efficiency of their country's defence force. More positively, some conscientious objectors are not non-militarists because they are not convinced that they ought to try to separate themselves from all the anguish, ambiguity and suffering which arises from a war in which their country is embroiled.

Why are some conscientious objectors not civil disobedients?

A civil disobedient is someone who aims to bring about a change in the laws or in the policies of his country's government by public, non-violent and conscientious acts. Some conscientious objectors are not civil disobedients because, like Philip Ford and Donald Swann, they simply wish to remain faithful to Christ and to his example. In other words: their refusal to submit to combat training and service is motivated by religious, and not by political, considerations.

Does South African law allow conscientious objection?

Section 67(3) of the Defence Force Act stipulates that an officer who has to register people for military service

shall as far as may be practicable allot any person, who to his knowledge bona fide belongs and adheres to a recognised religious denomination by the tenets whereof its members may not participate in war, to a unit where such a person will be able to render service in the defence of the Republic in a non-combatant capacity.

In other words: someone who is a member of one of the historic peace churches such as the Quakers has legal grounds for an application to be exempted from combat training and service. On the other hand, the Minister of Defence has

declared that it is his Department's policy to grant all applications under section 67(3). And in the first six months of 1974 applications from at least two persons who do not belong 'to a recognised religious denomination by the tenets whereof its members may not participate in war' were assigned to non-combatant units under this section of the Act. (Hansard, volume 53, 1974, reply to question 20).

Should section 67(3) of the Defence Force Act be amended?

Yes. Unfortunately, conscientious objectors disagree about the form which the amendment should take. Some conscientious objectors believe that it should be amended so as to make it possible for someone to be exempted from any kind of military service whatsoever. I believe that it should be amended so as to bring it into line with the Minister's interpretation which allows someone to be assigned to a non-combatant unit even if he is neither a pacifist nor a member of one of the historic peace churches.

Is this a catechism on conscientious objection?

No. This is nothing more than my own answers to some of the questions which are generated by conscientious objection and war. On the other hand, the churches need to prepare a catechism of this kind to help its members deal with Peter Shaffer's dilemma:

Over and over I returned to the apparent truth that an absolute non-aggressive position seems unattainable by Man without tangible loss of warmth and cherishable humanity — (what warm man will spare the Ruffian with the Pistol threatening his beloved?) — and yet a relative, 'human' attitude which permits retaliating under extreme provocation inescapably leads to horrors unenvisaged and unintended at the start of it: witness Hiroshima at the end of the Second World War. (Shrivings, London, 1974, an extract from a note on the play).



A HORRIFYING PEACE

I should like to speak of God not on the borders of life but at its centre, not in weakness but in strength, not, therefore, in man's suffering and death but in his life and prosperity.

The religious act is always something partial, faith is always something whole, an act involving the whole life. Jesus does not call men to a new religion, but to life.

During these years the Church has fought for self-preservation as though it were an end in itself, and has thereby lost its chance to speak a word of reconciliation to mankind and the world at large ... The day will come when men will be called again to utter the word of God with such power as will change and renew the world. It will be a new language, which will horrify men, and yet overwhelm them by its power. It will be the language of a new righteousness and truth, a language which proclaims the peace of God with men and the advent of his kingdom.

—*"Letters and Papers from Prison"*
Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

CATCHING THE CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

In all his letters to his various readers, the apostle Paul never urged them to go out and convert unbelievers. The slogan, "each one bring one," has its roots in the nineteenth century, not in the first. The mission proclaimed in the New Testament is the mission of God to the world in Jesus Christ; the church believed that its "mission" consisted in co-operating with this "divine mission." In the name of God's mission, the church claimed the world for Christ.

The contemporary meaning of "claiming the world for Christ" cannot be a return to medieval metaphysics and the confusion of the power of the church with the contagious power of the freedom of Jesus. The meaning of that claim now is simply that the whole world may be seen with the Christian's perspective. He need not ask nor expect the world to understand itself as he understands it. Since he has acquired this perspective in connection with a freedom which is contagious, he should be content to let this contagion work its own way in the world, without his taking thought for the morrow, especially the morrow of the church.

—*The Secular Meaning of the Gospel"*
Paul van Buren.

STRATEGIES OF CHANGE

A continuation of the study on Change from last month's Pro Veritate.

Are you a change maker? Many a preacher, teacher, youth leader, committee member or plain ordinary human has become frustrated because it seems his work has no effect. Earnest people seeking to change churches, organisations or societies feel disillusioned because they try so hard but 'nothing ever happens'.

If this heartbreak is to be avoided it is necessary to consider the strategies of change, which are designed to make a person say one of four things:

1. **I ought to change** comes from using the ordinary rational process of instruction and persuasion through preaching and teaching, to lead the hearer to say: I ought to do something about it.
2. **I can change** comes from actually experiencing a changed situation. It is no longer a matter of conjecture: 'Something is happening'. It can be an actual, an imagined, or a contrived experience.
3. **I must change** is the response to pressure, when a person comes to realise it is in their own interest to change. 'I must do something — but now!'
4. **I am changed.** This is to **make** the change, to **create** an alternative way, to **be** different. 'We've done it!'

With this framework in mind we can examine each method in more detail.

* * * * *

1 I ought to change: change based on teaching or preaching:

Giving people good advice or wise instruction seldom succeeds in changing them: it takes an experience with a built-in punch to make folk move.

The purpose of reasoning is to make a path in peoples' minds for them to walk on when they are ready; or to knock the props from beneath an untenable attitude; or to provide a theoretical background for an emotional response that is taking place.

Not many people are converted by preaching, but they often feel they *ought* to be, and that is the method. Talking is not enough, but preaching, teaching, writing, lecturing, or just plain chatting can communicate the ideas men need to 'change their minds!' When men know what they ought to do or be, they have a reasonable ground to move on to when the pressures prove it is in their interests so to do.

2. I can: change based on experience.

First hand experience is a major instrument of change, and it can come in one of three ways.

2.1 Actual Experience

No description can compare with an actual experience, from a kiss to a kick, and this fact is a boon to change makers. Thousands of people have been opened to a different approach to race relations by something they have read or heard, but never changed until they met a member of another race who epitomised what they had been taught. "I never would have believed it" they say. Five minutes face to face meeting between the right people, or in the right circumstances, can do more

than years of argument.

Whites will never understand how blacks feel and think when they hear it from other whites: it must come from blacks. Blacks will never believe that whites can be free of racism until they meet them. People who live through situations in which creative love can destroy fear, doubt, pessimism, and hate are capable of changing their attitudes: it is a risk in which trust can grow. Participation beats persuasion.

2.2 Imagined experience

Some experiences can only be imagined. You cannot experience malnutrition, ignorance, or deprivation unless you live there, but it is possible to set a powerful experience in someones' mind through their imagination, and to inspire change in this manner. The parables of Jesus have been doing it for 2000 years.

Imagination can be conjured up by stories, factual accounts, recordings, films, or pictures. It can use role plays, drama, novels, or good conversation over the supper table.

It can provide factual knowledge of what it is like to live in another persons shoes, express the experience of powerlessness and depravity.

It can be used to prepare for the future. It can arm people to deal with persecution and fear, or it can present a positive picture of where we are going.

Most people simply lack the imagination necessary to visualise the positive and healthy application of black power and white service to make a new world. They are dominated by the negative "ghastly contemplations" of Nationalist propaganda and desperately need the constructive contribution of Christ-based hopers and workers before they can respond to change.

We all know that our economy is staggering, our morale is shaken by politicians who preach fear and violence, our population divided and disunited, and our churches lacking in vision and courage.

Have you ever paused to think of the fantastic effect if all of us had a proper education, a decent living wage, a stake in rule, and a faith that was relevant to daily living? Use your imagination. A picture in the eye of the mind can be the first step to putting it into practice.

2.3 Contrived experience:

This strategy means deliberately devising a situation in which people undergo a life-changing experience. Such situations can let people feel the impact of wrong: or prompt positive results. It is better to illustrate the method with examples.

At the opening of a whites-only Opera House, a party of people appeared in evening dress — but wearing black masks. On the anniversary of Sharpeville a field of white crosses was planted at a public meeting in Johannesburg. Seeking to persuade a reluctant church council to raise the caretakers wages, someone piled some purchases on a table with the notice 'This is all your church cleaners wages will buy in a month'. Seven men walked from Grahamstown to Cape Town ...

A white confirmation class were met by their minister, who

gave to those with dark hair a notice to wear round their necks which read: DARK. Others wore notices saying 'NOT SO DARK'. A large poster on the front door read 'NOT SO DARK ONLY' and assistants directed those with 'DARK' labels to the back door. During the talk there were comfortable chairs for the NOT SO DARK but the DARK were crowded together on some backless forms in one corner — and told to sit up straight. The attitude adopted to the one group was warm and friendly, and to the other distant, domineering and patronising. Refreshments were served to some in good china on trays with much food, whilst the others got a jug and three cracked cups between them. Is it surprising that tensions were high, and that when the time came to evaluate the experience the members had revealed a high degree of alertness to change discrimination.

Such demonstrations are limitless. They need careful planning with the right people in the right places and the resolve to follow them up.

3. I must: change based on pressure:

This strategy is designed to make it too uncomfortable for people not to change, and it means crowding in until people realise that it is in their own most urgent interest to change their attitudes, their laws, and their life.

The correct use of democratic processes can bring much pressure to bear, and it is a fact that many who complain about the need for change in churches, for example, have never had the sense or the courage to use the votes and the powers that are available. It means clearing objectives, canvassing for votes, visiting those in power, and being quite convicted about your objective.

Pressure must be applied to leadership, and many structures are designed to prevent this from happening. 'We don't want to bother the Bishop'. But if the leadership of an organisation is to feel the pressures that are felt at the lower levels, the channels must be cleared to enable those pressures to be transmitted. Democratically elected leaders are often those who will offend most people least, and they are usually surrounded with traditional rituals that isolate them from trouble. These hierarchical layers must be pierced, and leaders be made to feel uncomfortable and be brought under constant pressure, if change is to be achieved.

Critics jeer at the hypocrisy of Christians, but it is their predilection to 'Niceness' that prevents change in their church. It needs guts, organisation, and much faithful support if a group of people are going to break through the benign barriers to the establishment. Change needs obedience more than prayer.

Fundamental change in South Africa cannot be won by small white pressure groups; it is black pressure that holds the power for change, and when these initiatives are taken they need the utmost support. Radical pressures are required in order to achieve a moderate change, whether you are dealing with the stipends paid to ministers, a change in the Prayer Book, or a new Christian social order.

Keep it going until it is heard; win the co-operation of as many colleagues and sympathisers as you can; undermining the weak points of the power structures is often more effective than direct confrontation of their strong points; the use of the emotions can sometimes release tremendous powers to break a barrier which a hard intellectual attack cannot dent; and no power on earth can equal that of spiritual strength. Those who know they are right, those who know they are being led of God,

go to battle in the exuberance of faith and the redemptive power of love, confident that in Christ's name: 'We shall overcome'.

4. I Am: this is the strategy which simply makes the change:

The most effective agents of change in any situation are those who have already changed. Some people have hacked out their own ground for living and made a new style of life which is beyond the crisis. A person who is liberated liberates others; a group which is changed changes others; a committee which acts makes action; a church which serves is alive; a country whose citizens are free spreads freedom.

Thus in every circumstance deep consideration should be given to ways in which change can actually be enacted. Some people talk about 'wanting to know people better' — others invite them home for supper. Some talk about the problems of raising wages: others raise them. Some moan in private: others go and approach the people concerned. Some say: 'Something ought to be done about it'; others do something. Some say 'I wonder'; others go and find out.

Changed people are change-makers.



Go to the people,
Live with them,
Learn from them,
Love them,
Start with what they know,
Build with what they have.

But of the best leaders,
When the job is done
the task is accomplished,
The people will all remark,
"We have done this ourselves."



CHRIST COMES IN CHANGE

In the secular city, a church divided along ethnic, racial, or denominational lines cannot even begin to perform its function. Such a so-called church is not a breakthrough point into the future but a bastion of the past, and as such it is not a church at all. It is not a part of the eschatological community. *Jesus Christ comes to his people not primarily through ecclesiastical traditions, but through social change.* He "goes before" first as a pillar of fire and then as the presence which moved from Jerusalem to Samaria to the end of the earth. He is always ahead of the church, beckoning it to get up to date, never behind it waiting to be refurbished.

The real ecumenical crisis today is not between Catholics and Protestants but between traditional and experimental forms of church life ... There are both Protestants and Catholics who support and encourage innovations in church structure. Here leaders in the established traditional forms must learn to appreciate the value of the innovators and maintain communication across the newly threatening abyss.

— "The Secular City"
Harvey Cox.

FREEDOM IN OUR COUNTRY

The Christian Centre in SWA/Namibia has a part to play in the struggle to realise a true and Christian freedom in our time, and plans to have conferences later this year on the theme of the Church and Freedom. The following comments were made at a recent discussion in Windhoek between Tauno Hatuikulipi — Director of the Christian Centre in SWA/Namibia, Jorgen Lissner — staff member of the Lutheran World Federation, Geneva and Dr. Lukas de Vries — President of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA/Namibia.

Hatuikulipi

Gentlemen, you are welcome, and I am going to ask Mr. Lissner for some introductory remarks to get our discussion going.

Lissner

Thank you. I have not come to give guidance to anybody, but to share some thoughts that I have, firstly on the subject of Church and freedom in general, and secondly on the experience of my own country where this whole theme became very real.

For Christians the most fundamental freedom is the freedom we experience through our faith in Jesus Christ. Through his redeeming death on the cross and his triumphant resurrection we are freed from the bondage of sin and set free to a ministry of love here on earth.

But, freedom as we understand it does not mean that we have no loyalties or commitments. On the contrary. Jesus Christ set us free by committing himself to a human existence here on earth. Likewise, freedom means that we are free to commit ourselves to Christ and our fellow men.

And commitment can only be freely given; it can never be forced out of us. Commitment lives by voluntariness, and is killed by coercion.

We are free to commit ourselves to Jesus Christ — we cannot be forced to follow him. We are free to commit ourselves to a partner in marriage — a marriage cannot be built on anything but love freely given. We are free to commit ourselves to other persons in friendship — friendship cannot be extorted from others. We are free to commit ourselves to a community or nation — you cannot build up a community or shape a nation on loyalty extracted at gun-point.

But loyalties in human relationships can be wrongly confined. Loyalty to Jesus Christ does not mean persecution of the adherents of other living faiths. Loyalty to your wife does not mean inconsiderateness towards other women. Loyalty to friends does not mean disregard of strangers. Loyalty to community and nation does not mean enmity towards other communities or suppression of other nations.

Christ has set us free to commit ourselves and to form loyalties. But whatever our loyalties may be, we are always to subject them to judgement in terms of God's plan for humankind, in the light of the redeeming love revealed in Jesus Christ.

In this light then we can say that a faith that leads to persecution of others is no faith. A marriage that leads to cosy isolationism is not based on Christian love. A friendship which draws sharp lines between friends and foes is not a genuine friendship. A community and a nation that fosters hatred and alienation towards other communities and nations is itself sick to the bone.

As Christians we are freed from such false loyalties — all our earthly loyalties are ultimately to be decided *and formed* by our paramount loyalty to the Creator and our saviour Jesus Christ.

Lack of freedom

After these general remarks let me turn to a concrete experience in the life of the church and nation to which I belong. My home country is Denmark, a nation of five million people in Scandinavia. Virtually everybody in my country belongs to the Lutheran Church in Denmark.

In 1940 our country was invaded by armed forces from Hitler's Germany and for the following five years we experienced acutely what lack of freedom means. We were subjugated by the German military machine, our radio and newspapers were censored, our human rights and civil liberties were crushed. The Jewish people in our midst — many of them Danish citizens for centuries or decades — were arbitrarily arrested and sent to concentration camps for no other reason than that they belonged to the Jewish race.

In the face of these harsh realities, the Church became one of the few places where it was still possible to speak the truth. From all the pulpits in the 2 000 churches in my country there came a resounding NO to the persecution of the Jewish People. A resounding NO to Nazi Germany's trampling of human dignity and Christian values.

The point here is that loyalty towards an alien power was extorted from us at gun-point. We were forced to live by rules and values that contradicted everything in our Christian faith. Therefore we were forced to choose between obedience to God and obedience to this government. In the face of the inhuman policies of Nazism, we had no choice but to obey God.

De Vries

I think there is one difference between the situation in Denmark at the time of the Nazi occupation and the South African and Namibian situation. After a while it could be seen that the Nazi government was no longer a Christian government. But here we have a slightly different situation in that the SA government claims that it is a Christian government.

Lissner

I question whether you can call a government Christian at all, because governments are made up of human beings who may or may not be Christians.

You are up against a Government that is supposedly made up of Christians and uses Christian language, and I think this in a sense makes your struggle more acute. You have both a struggle to realise a human society and a church struggle between two different concepts of Christianity; this makes it

even more important that the church should speak out and clearly state what the Gospel says. The spiritual power of the Word is something that is vested in the Church, and if we do not use it we are burying our talents.

Hatuikulipi

In our situation one often hears of people who have different ideas about what the church should do. People of one view will tell you that Christ never attacked the Roman regime which occupied the Jewish country in his time. If you attack injustices in the structure, they say, you are a politician and no longer a Christian.

Lissner

My reaction would be that only in exceptional circumstances can a Christian attack the government as a whole. We must realise that we need government to regulate human interchange. Our basic task is to point to Jesus, to challenge each individual act of Government in the light of our faith. One can find a number of instances where Jesus protested against individual acts of the Pharisees. They were a group of power-holders of his time who, like the Nazi Government and the South African Government as I understand it, claimed to have some kind of spiritual foundation for their ideology. If you look towards Luther's Theology and the doctrine of the two kingdoms it is very clear that both kingdoms, both the secular

realm and the spiritual realm belong to God. Weekdays and Sundays belong to God. Both our social life and our spiritual life are under God's judgement.

De Vries

In his preaching and his struggle for the freedom of the Jewish People, Jesus Christ first concentrated on reconciliation between God and man. And the second thing was to realise the freedom which comes through reconciliation in the life of Jesus Christ. Though Jesus stood under the rule of Pontius Pilate, he at the same time proclaimed the truth of the coming Kingdom of God.

So I would say that the task of the Church in any country, and also in our country, is to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of God, and to realise the Kingdom of God in this world. Jesus said to his disciples that as he was with them and living with them the Kingdom of God was already there. So we should take up the task given us by Jesus Christ who gives us his Holy Spirit to go on with his work. If the Church is to be the Church, then it must be the changing element — realizing the Kingdom of God.

One of the most important things we have to do is to warn governments and institutions which are hindering the coming of the Kingdom of God. This is the greatest warning that we can give, that they are fighting against Jesus Christ.

SERVANT PRIESTS

The South African Council of Priests, a Roman Catholic body founded to exchange problems and relate to the hierarchy, met recently at Hammanskraal. Their statement is profound and exciting.

In the face of him who is the Truth and who has sent us to bring the good news to the poor; we the members of the South African Council of Priests wish to identify ourselves more closely in our attitudes and life-styles with the poor and oppressed in Southern Africa. We resolve to find ways and means of sharing our lives, our talents and possessions with others. As priests we cannot be of service to men if we remain strangers to the lives and conditions of men. The gospel of Jesus Christ urges us to direct our ministry primarily to all those who live in sub-human conditions or suffer inhuman treatment at the hands of their fellowmen. Jesus Christ came to save the whole man and to create a new Adam — a new man in a new society.

Christianity therefore, unlike socialism and capitalism, which despite their antagonism to each other, share a common belief in materialism, is concerned with the whole man. So we priests are concerned with the development of the whole man, spiritually, socially, emotionally and intellectually.

Jesus Christ liberates us from sin and the consequences of sin, e.g. sickness, death, injustice, hunger, exploitation and slavery. We therefore dedicate ourselves to work and spiritually struggle for liberation from sin and its consequences. Jesus Christ challenges us to choose between God and mammon.

Therefore, we as priests ought to be concerned about the growth of industrial capitalism and the plight of the working class. We need to witness to Christian concern that people or groups of people should be sacrificed for the sake of profit. Jesus Christ will judge us according to what we have done to the least of his brethren and we admit our failings towards him and his brethren in our blindness to their needs and our deafness to the gospel call. **When people are paid unjust wages in industry and domestic service, it is he who is hungry and thirsty. When people are detained without trial, it is he who is in prison and not visited. When people are unwelcome in our homes and barred from public places, it is he who is a stranger and not welcome. When people are stripped of their dignity and remain unprotected, it is he who is naked and not clothed.**

As priests we consider it our task to make people aware of Christ's presence in these circumstances in Southern Africa and to educate them i.e. "lead them out" of their situation of slavery to the freedom of the children of God. We call upon our brother priests to take whatever steps they can to respond to this gospel call in their own situation. Aware of our human weakness we formally resolve to examine our actions in the light of this at each meeting of the South African Council of Priests.

C.I. NEWS



NUUS

C.I. ALIVE AND WELL

The great publicity given to the witness of the Christian Institute is mainly due to our Prime Minister and his colleagues who have taken many opportunities to spread the news of C.I. Sheltering behind Parliamentary Privilege, the Schlebusch/Le Grange Report produced its strange blend of half truths and pseudo-theology, and this too has given us the opportunity to print a statement of our real beliefs in reply, which may be expected shortly. Neither Beyers Naudé nor Theo Kotze are left alone by Press reporters, so there has been publicity in plenty.

In other spheres we plan the work ourselves. There are constant calls on all staff members to undertake preaching or speaking assignments in all types of circumstances, and the response from all sections of the population is invariably one of keen interest and support.

Many of the C.I. groups with which we began life in the early 1960's had a life of less than ten years, although some of those original groups still meet, but in these past months there has been a resurgence of group activity. Multi-racial C.I. groups of different types meet periodically from Cape Town to Louis Trichardt, and from Durban to Pretoria.

Eating seems to be a C.I. thing — but then it has New Testament support for this prominence. The Cape Town office provides lunches daily; the Natal office is sharing in the quest for a non-racial restaurant; and most of the many activities in the Transvaal seem to include food and drink.

The Reconciliation Courses run by the Cape Staff have now invaded the other provinces too.

Lastly, this brief report must mention some of the new life in the Transvaal, where our members and workers are involved in many different ways. Several of these are courses in the Pretoria area using different topics from social surveys to Bible Study, as instruments of change, and an evaluation of these will be possible by our next issue. It is an interesting story, spreading from the plush white suburbs of the capital city, to the grim conditions of Winterveld where over a quarter of a million people live in poverty and squalor.

The financial response varies from large donations, through such things as film shows in Johannesburg, to the letter included elsewhere in our columns.

An important policy decision has also been made as far as staff members are concerned. There is to be a concentration on activities which involve in-depth work for change, rather than merely a surface association in good works; and a major consideration when invitations are received will be whether they can be productive of change — and if so how.

IMPRESSIVE BOARD MEETINGS

A newly relevant Christian Institute is coming into being. This is the basic impression made by the February 1976 Board Meetings in Johannesburg.

The response to Government action in 1975, which prevented us from receiving funds from overseas, has been a considerable increase in giving from local sources, an increase in membership, a reassessment of our activities, and a reconsideration of our structure.

Structural Changes

Dr Beyers Naudé, our National Director, is being released from various activities to concentrate upon his prophetic role, and be free to visit the members and activities in all Regions of the country more frequently.

C.I. work in the Transvaal has been separated from the National work, Oshadi Jane Phakathi has been appointed Transvaal Regional Director from April 1st, and a strong interim Transvaal Committee has been appointed. The staff in Diakonia House has also been reorganised on these lines.

Natal Region is also in for a new lease of life with a renewed committee, and Cosmos Desmond in the Director position.

The Cape Region, with Theo Kotze still in his chair, has assimilated the various staff changes reported previously, and is now well on the way with its programme for 1976.

Thus the reorganisation clears the channels from the top down.

New focus on membership

At the other end, it is opening new opportunities from the membership up. C.I. has been through different stages in its life, and the emphasis now is strongly upon our membership. There is a quickening of interest and activity in some places, as our reports show, and there have also been three resignations which, though regrettable, yet serve to highlight the positive stance we have taken despite the pressures around us.

One challenge presented to our members which is arousing interest is that of living "an alternative life-style". Everyone in our country, black or white, has been nurtured in racial isolation, impressed by their social distinctiveness, economic environment and psychological responsiveness. C.I. members are aware of this, and reject the theory, but in practice they are trapped in the life-styles of apartheid and its degrading influences. How to break out in practice? That is the experiment on which we are launched: fearful, fascinating and fun.

Another challenge before us is the **growth of membership**. For over ten years the Christian Institute has grown gradually without any major attention being given to this aspect of our work. Many people are associated but not actually members; others would like to be but have never been asked; and there is no reason why we could not add another 5 000 members to our roll by Christmas. The Regional Committees will be working through it but this is something for each one of our members to take to heart and to their friends and relations.

A healthy tension

The last impression of the Board Meetings is that of a continuing healthy tension between different points of view. Some, of a *prophetic frame of mind*, work in terms of visions that would 'turn the world upside down'; others are in oppressed situations and would rather walk one small step at a time. Some are strongly black and others subserviently black; some are dominantly white and others obsequiously white. We even have some who are just human beings: men and women: old and young: high church, low church or barely church.

Thus the Board is a picture of the membership, and between these tensions of different backgrounds, attitudes, and responses, there is forged a movement which is widely based and sometimes rather untidy, but seeks to be more effective in the cause which is Christ's.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

The changes in our structure necessitate amendments to the Constitution which are being worked on in the Cape Region, and will be sent to all members for consideration in the next C.I. News.

Apart from alterations to the National and Regional structure, and some wordy wizardry to make it sound more like a religious movement than a business company, consideration is being given to a restatement of our aims, membership, and functions.

One strongly favoured expression of the aim reads: "The aim of the C.I. is to serve Jesus Christ as Lord; to seek the rule of his Kingdom on Earth; and to serve his church in its servant vocation as his Body in the life of Southern African society".

For the full final formulated proposals: watch this space!

POLLEY AND KLEINSCHMIDT BACK

James Polley and Horst Kleinschmidt, who were released from detention as our last C.I. News went to press, were both at the recent Board Meeting, and looking and sounding well. James is back at his task in Cape Town University, and Horst is assistant to the C.I. Director in Johannesburg.

A NEW REGION?

In view of the growth of our work, and the fact that the financial response has been good, preliminary consideration is being given to dividing the Cape Region, and establishing an Eastern Cape Region. This would cover the Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, East London, Border, and Ciskei Regions, and possibly that country-to-be beyond our borders: the Transkei. Traditionally and currently, this is a most influential part of the country which needs a strong C.I. base but much depends on the financial response from our members.

Audited Accounts at Last

First, our books were removed for examination by the

Schlebusch Le Grange Commission; then our financial year was altered by the Registrar when we were declared an 'affected organisation' and prohibited from receiving funds from abroad. Throughout this period we were unable to present full accounts but we are glad to report that audited accounts for the years 1973, 1974 and 1975 have now been presented to the Board and are available for inspection at any of our regional offices.

Fund Raising

Out of the welter of information in these financial statements it is clear that there was a good response from South African sources after our overseas support was cut off. However, we are now entirely dependent on contributions from our local members and friends and the Regional Committees have been put on their mettle to produce the funds to continue their work. The National Office would like to hear their plans by April 15th.

BUT HELMUT DID

Dr Helmut Wiegert spent many years in South Africa as a student at Stellenbosch University, lecturing at Rhodes University and later in teaching mathematics at Inanda Seminary in Natal. He was increasingly identified with those who are oppressed, and it was in seeking to assist two of the students that he was drowned in March 1974.

The Christian Institute has just received a legacy from him, part of which will be used as a Scholarship to assist African education, and the remainder for a special Christian Institute project.

No formal obituary could match the words sent to his parents by his pupils.

To send you messages of condolence would be meaningless,
As we need such messages as much as you do.

In this case we share a common grief over a common loss,
Your beloved son, Helmut, was,
Our beloved Friend, Dr Wiegert.

A quiet compassionate companion,
He gave part of himself in everything he did,
And, as if that was not enough,
He gave his life

Trying to rescue our girls from drowning,
This is just too much for us.

An average white South African
Would never have chosen
To stay in the country with Africans,
To say nothing of enjoying their company,
And sharing their ups and downs
But Helmut did.

He gave up all the luxuries which are open to a white man in our country.

He put up with despising looks from other whites,
As he talked in a friendly way to Africans
Possibly fellow teachers, in the streets of Durban,
All this and more, done not for gain,
But for the benefit of the deprived race,

Now, when we have lost him so suddenly,
The least we can do is,

To thank you for having borne a Son to Africa
Because this is what he has been,
A Son of Africa.

NEW REGIONAL DIRECTORS APPOINTED

The first Director of the new Transvaal Region is to be Mrs. OSHADI JANE PHAKATHI. Oshadi has worked for the Christian Institute for the past five years during which she became well known in the Transvaal and in many other parts of the country. She has also visited Europe and Canada, and is just completing a further training course on Christian Social development in India. Although her home is in Pretoria, she will operate from the Transvaal Regional Office in Johannesburg.

COSMOS DESMOND has been appointed Regional Director in Natal, and will shortly take up residence with his family at the C.I. Office in Boom Street- Pietermaritzburg. Cos is also well known throughout the country- although for five years he was banned from any travelling, and his book 'The Discarded People' was banned altogether. Amongst his many accomplishments is the ability to speak Zulu which will be particularly useful in his work in Natal- which, as any Zulu will tell you, is a province of Zululand.

PARLIAMENTARY INTERNAL SECURITY COMMISSION BILL

This meeting of the Board of Management of the Christian Institute has taken note of the proposed legislation for a Parliamentary Internal Security Commission. This Bill comes as no surprise as it is a logical outcome of the powers given to the Schlebusch Le Grange Commission. It is also in line with numerous other forms of legislation which claim to be concerned with peace and order but which in fact promote tension and disorder and violate the Christian concept of justice.

It is a political measure which seeks to increase the fear and insecurity amongst white voters so that they will permit, excuse and expect the government's use of totalitarian powers to subjugate the majority of our citizens who have no legitimate means of political expression. As a result it subverts rather than promotes the real security of our country which we so deeply desire.

Johannesburg, February 21st., 1976.



APPLICATION FORM FOR MEMBERSHIP OF CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

Please enrol me as a member of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa.

I enclose the amount of (minimum R1 p.a. per person) as my subscription.

Name:
(Prof Dr. Rev. Mr. Mrs. Miss).

Address:

Postal Address:

Date: Tel No.:

Church:

This legislation will inevitably lead to a process of moral disintegration and the corruption of relationships of trust between individuals and groups. The state of suspicion thus created destroys the very basis on which any stable and secure society should be built and maintained, and for these reasons we totally reject this Bill.

As Christians in South Africa we share in the responsibility and in the guilt for this destructive process, which has already caused untold suffering. We foresee that injustice, oppression and the erosion of human freedom will increase. Through the times of peril which lie ahead Christians are called upon to accept suffering as the price of obedience to God's demands for justice and reconciliation.

We build our hope and trust for the future on God's promise and commit ourselves to continue to pray and work for justice and Christian liberation in Southern Africa.

Many readers of **Pro Veritate** in this country and abroad have expressed the desire for more news of the **Christian Institute**. Many members of the **Christian Institute** who receive the occasional issue of **C.I. News** are not subscribers to **Pro Veritate**.

We have therefore printed **C.I. News** as an inset to **Pro Veritate** this month, and sent it to all **C.I.** members.

TO PRO VERITATE, P.O. BOX 31135,
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REACTIONS TO THE PROPOSED NEW C.I. STRUCTURE

As a small contribution I enclose R50 with best wishes.

— *Grahamstown*

It would seem that decentralisation would be all to the good as long as keen and energetic regional committees can be set up.

— *Port Alfred*

The advance of C.I. ideas could be more rapid in a region where more money is available for getting these ideas to the people. How can the resources of different regions be equalised?

The appeal to the ordinary mind of ordinary people must be made in the simplest language to reach them. For instance (Pro Veritate, January, editorial: Soft Feet and Strong Voices): "From start to finish the gospel is about something happening in human society: a kingdom (Look it up!)" will reach more readers than: "the reality in which personal salvation and ecclesiology must find relevance."

— *Simon's Town*

I am in receipt of your letter re proposed Structural Changes received today. Please note that I hereby tender my resignation from the Christian Institute. Kindly do not send me any further communications as from this date.

— *Kimberley*

I like your new proposals very much, as far as I understand them. I have just one suggestion which is difficult to explain in writing, but I will try. I feel that the early Christians avoided direct confrontation with the Roman Empire as far as possible. They just went ahead with loving God and His sons and daughters. I would propose that the Christian Institute avoid head-on confrontation with our government *as far as possible* and concentrate on building a loving and just S.A. I realise that sometimes confrontation cannot be avoided. May God bless you all and your work.

— *Addo*

I agree in principal to the decentralising of the C.I. There are, however, certain points in your notice which are not clear to me.

You evidently expect tensions between committee members of the C.I. Why is this? You quote 'blacks and whites' as one of the reasons. I can understand this possibility but still find it difficult to believe between members. Please explain what the whole paragraph about Life Style means- related to everyday terms. (In simple language please.)

— *Durban*

I believe the structural changes proposed are excellent, but believe the success of the decentralisation will depend very much on implementing the strong links between national and regional leadership. It could happen so easily that an operational gap, or even a gap in content, develops between the 'head office' and the 'regions'. The responsibility of the national Board would ensure that the likelihood of this happening is avoided.

— *Johannesburg*

RAVAN PRESS

A SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF PRO VERITATE

Books drastically reduced

As a special offer to readers of *Pro Veritate*, Ravan Press is prepared to supply the following books at drastically reduced prices. This offer is for a limited period only.

The Trial of Beyers Naudé: Christian Witness and the Rule of Law — edited by the International Commission of Jurists, preface by the former Archbishop of Canterbury and introduction by Sir Robert Birley. Usual price R5,75. Special offer to PV readers: R3,00.

Management Responsibility and African Employment in South Africa: a report by a panel under the chairmanship of Dr. Beyers Naudé, and including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi and Prof. L. Schlemmer. An investigation into a large multi-national corporation in South Africa. Usual price R2,50. Special offer to PV readers: R1,00.

Payment must accompany order to take advantage of this special offer.

Just Out!

Encounter with Age, by Dr. A. Borowitz and Hilary Semple. Chapters include Growing Old in Western Society; Change, Adaptation and Anxiety; Coping with Change; Groovy Living for the Old; Doctors and Disasters. R2,40

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Church and Nationalism in South Africa, edited by Prof. Theo Sundermeier, with contributions by Dr. Beyers Naudé, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, Prof. Johannes Degenaar, Chief Mangope and others. R2,70

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Muriel at Metropolitan, M. Tlali — R2,95
autobiographic novel of a black woman in Johannesburg's commercial life.

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Being-black-in-the-World, essays R1,50
by Prof. N.C. Manganyi

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TO OUR READERS OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Greetings!

It is a great encouragement to us to have your interest and support. As you know, arrangements have been made for offices in the rest of the world to conduct PRO VERITATE and CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE business where subscriptions and membership are concerned, because we are not allowed to receive money from beyond our borders.

However, if you wish to correspond regarding any other matter we shall be very glad to hear from you at P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein, 2017, South Africa.

RADICAL TWITTER OR THE JESUS THING?

john vincent

John J. Vincent examines six basic factors in a strategy for radicals seeking new life within the churches.

Liberated churchmen are notoriously bad at politics. All too easily, we get "rubbed out" because we need the bones of a strategy, for the sake of the future as well as the present.

- *We must stay within the Churches.* We must study how Francis, Wesley and others "did their own thing" and formed groups round them, and still remained within the established churches. We must not lose our ties with the "holy, catholic, universal Church": for we are as much of it as the old churches are ... or more so.
- *We must fight a long and thorough theological battle.* We have to communicate the total reorientation of motives, intentions, hopes and schemes which a new theology of radical Christ-centredness and radical humanism/secularism implies. We have to sort out the Jesus-thing from the humanist-thing, as well as the Jesus-thing from the old God-thing. But above all, there is a massive ecumenical, theological task on our hands, to get a new, radical Christianity thought through.
- *We must create solid and irremovable pieces of committed new-style church.* Where we can, we must use the old church's personnel, money and buildings, for in most cases the old church does not really know what is right to do with them anyway. All too often, the radicals twitter, do their thing for a bit, and then disappear, leaving the Churches' personnel, money and buildings still tied to the old expectations, loyalties and controls. We must set to work, "liberate" bits of old church, here and there, and stay with them to keep them liberated. In most churches, the authorities don't touch you, so long as you are doing a job — and staying put. This does not meet the need for more free-wheeling, itinerant ministries, but sometimes even they can be grafted on to the most unpromising plant or situation.
- *We must organise and politicise.* We are not creating polarisation — we have been forced into it. In the sixties, the denominational renewal groups filled us all with great renewal ideas. We now need such groups in all the churches to do the serious sustained and sustaining job now required. Above all, for the sake of the younger men, we need to create new structures, associations and pieces of work built exclusively around the new concepts and the new men. We must start building for ourselves, from the bottom up, and face the fact that only our persistent existence will make some of the old establishments give up opposing us, so that in the end we and the things we have created may have their rightful place in the Church's total life today.
- *We must get allies wherever we can.* I used to have a naive notion that all that was needed was to get on and do the Jesus-thing, and the world and the church would understand and accept what was done. But experience has shown that the rules and techniques of the world count for just as much in the church as they do in society. Too many times, I have seen the right man or the right thing "done down", either by faint flattery or, more often, simply by carrying out the rules, which just did not have room for the new man or the new thing.

So, let us say: Do the Jesus-Thing. That is what you were made for. But it is important also how it looks from outside, *who* sees it, *who* will stand by it, *how much money* individuals back it with, *how many* people will stand up and be counted for it. It is undoubtedly true that Christians function as much on who knows who, who scratches whose back, who puts their money where their mouth is, and what it all looks like from the outside — as do pagans.

This realisation is a kind of liberation for me. I was brought up to think that the Christian functions, thinks, feels, and relates to others in a different way from others. I now see that that is pure baloney. He doesn't function differently at all. All the petty jealousies, vanities, deceits, ganging-up, lettings-down, all the implicit or explicit blackmails, all the "one law for the powerful and one law for the rest" which apply in "the world" apply equally in the church. And this is a liberation because it does mean that the distinctiveness of the Christian existence is not in some kind of imaginary intrinsic superiority or "change", but rather in the way that the Christian, as much a fouled-up bag of contradictions as the next man, can operate significantly and for the wholeness of others in the world, even while at the same time he is still battling away with his brethren.

- *We must keep in dialogue with the Establishments.* The experience of many people from many churches is that this sort of in-fighting and deception almost invariably happens when the older men, or the establishment, are confronted by the younger men, or radicalism. It would be childish to say that truth is always on one side or the other. But sociology has exposed how people function when their total world-view and *raison d'être* is threatened by anything or anyone radically new or contradictory.

Psychology has shown us how misunderstanding, alienation, fear and irrational hostility follow each other as surely as night follows day.

What we have failed to deal with in the church is the simple fact that differences create enemies, and that Jesus does not tell us not to have enemies, but rather to love them, which means try to treat them as we would have them treat us.



What a wonderful power is in the direct appeal which disregards the temporary climate. I wonder is it the case that the man who has the audacity to get up in any corrupt society and squarely preach justice or valour or the like *always* wins?

—C.S. Lewis.



People are desperately needing an alternative to present materialism which leads nowhere. Only Christianity can provide the need. But it must be an authoritative, firm Christianity, which knows its own mind and does not shirk present-day issues.

—"Urban Churches in Britain"
K.A. Busia.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

CALL FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION

gatsha buthelezi and beyers naudé

The 'Investment Debate' is widely known in Europe and the USA. Great pressures have been brought to bear upon investors supporting Companies working in South Africa, either to withdraw altogether, or to lobby for increased wages and improved conditions.

Concerned South Africans, whilst agreeing that it is immoral for investors to grow fat on profits that belong to black workers, have been aware of the limited effect that the whole Investment Debate has had, and have sought to put more teeth into the matter.

Two men who have thought a great deal on the subject are Chief M. Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr. C.F. Beyers Naudé, who have raised some of the fundamental issues involved, and proposed a National Convention.

A radical redistribution of wealth, land and political power is essential for the establishment of a stable and moral society in South Africa.

In South Africa for over a century capitalistic paternalism has produced the conclusive evidence which makes us reject government by minority elite. Men have been consistently dehumanised, the many blatantly crushed to produce wealth for the few, and the whole of society designed to protect and intensify this naked exploitation of man by man.

We are convinced that this capitalistic endeavour is doomed. It will fail because the selfishness of South Africa's White elite is already unrealistic and cannot survive in today's world. It will fail because the needy millions of South Africa require for themselves the liberation they witness amongst their brothers in neighbouring states. It will fail because no "concessions" can relax the grip of capitalistic control enough to enable the oppressed masses to discover and express their own dignity and self-respect in our land.

Within this framework we must respond to the following statement by the Hon. M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

"... In the economic framework of the country, the economy of the homelands is interwoven with that of the Republic and it stands to reason that the development of the homelands cannot be carried out at a pace which would have a detrimental effect on the economy of the country." "

If the Homelands exist to make labour available to maintain the cash economy and standard of living of the elite (Black-White or both) and to establish an economic buffer zone of homeland economies to protect the central economy and provide benefits for the favoured few, we can come to only one conclusion. Foreign investment in the central economy is devoid of all morality.

It is equally evident that attempts to increase the responsibility of employers and investors within this system will do nothing to produce the radical redistribution of wealth and power which are the essential prerequisites of justice and peace. Nor can professional economists in theoretical debate produce a relevant solution. Progress depends on realising the priorities and power locked in the wisdom of the Black man who has suffered and will survive to make the real contribution to the new society which he is seeking.

Whites in South Africa have denied Blacks access to the central parliamentary decision-making process. They have imposed on Blacks a divide and rule policy as though the Blacks of the country have no right to speak on issues of national importance. The question of investment in South Africa is one such issue. We call for a National Convention in which the Blacks in South Africa can speak for themselves on the matter of foreign investment.



WHAT CAN WE DO?

It is the constant question of people who want to work for change, but find themselves hemmed in by the intimidation of customs and cops, the fears and fancies of folk, or busy-ness.

Next month's PRO VERITATE will contain some factual reports and practical proposals.

BLACK "DAUGHTER" CHURCHES TAKE INITIATIVE

revelation ntoula

Whereas before the middle of 1973, the mention of the N.G. Kerk "family" provoked thoughts of apartheid and all that it stood for, the trend today has changed radically.

Although the White N.G. Kerk, particularly in Black minds, is still inextricably identified with the Nationalist Government and its policy of separate development, the opposite has become true with its Black "daughter" churches, the N.G. Kerk in Africa (African), Sending Kerk (Coloured), and the Reformed Church in Africa (formerly Indian Reformed Church).

Developments which emerged in mid 1973 when 100 Johannesburg African ministers publicly denounced apartheid, seemed to have changed the public attitude towards the Black churches in general.

Before this surprise declaration (which was first published by EcuNews), people outside the N.G. Kerk appeared to make no distinction between the attitude of the "mother" church and her "daughter" churches when it came to the country's race laws. They were all seen as collaborators in the implementation of the apartheid policy. This led to Blacks in general, having a low regard for those Blacks who belonged to this church.

Apartheid Church

The uneasiness experienced by Blacks belonging to the N.G. Kerk family as a result of this stigma, has been echoed by outspoken ministers such as Ds. Sam Buti, Scriba of the N.G. Kerk in Afrika. He constantly complained of the hardships of Black members of the N.G. Kerk family from Black circles. "We are constantly accused of belonging to an apartheid church which oppresses the Black people," Ds. Buti told a multi-racial meeting in Johannesburg last year.

In White circles however, especially at civil service level, Blacks belonging to the N.G. Kerk, it was generally accepted, received preferential treatment once their church affiliation was established by White officials.

The 1973 anti-apartheid declaration which sent some shock waves through the mother church, was followed by hush-hush meetings between leaders of the African church and the White N.G. Kerk. Subsequent reports revealed that the Black ministers who had stressed that their rejection of apartheid was based on theological grounds, were uncompromising.

This move which brought much focus on the N.G. Kerk in Afrika, was further emphasised at the general synod of the N.G. Kerk in Afrika held in Worcester, Cape, last June.

Rejection

This gave emphatic endorsement of the rejection of apartheid, laws forbidding mixed marriages, migratory labour and mixed worship. Of far reaching consequence was the synod's decision to join the S.A. Council of Churches, a body which is regarded with hostility by the N.G. Kerk.

Another blow came when the synod overwhelmingly committed itself to unity with the four N.G. Kerk family members. They asked for a single synod of the churches instead of the present Federal Council which recognises the autonomy of each of the four churches.

This synod was followed by meetings between the three Black churches who seemed committed to the idea of unity. It became clear from these informal meetings that the Black churches were set on a head-on collision with the separatist policies of the mother church.

Of great importance was the February 1976 meeting of ministers and evangelists of the N.G. Kerk family at the Stofberg Theological School, at Turfloop, Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal. The meeting whose theme was "Church Unity", was attended by about 170 clergymen. They represented the four churches in South Africa and also had a delegate from Malawi.

Without exception, the Black delegates rejected all forms of apartheid and called for a united church of the N.G. Kerk family. They stressed that their contention was based on theological grounds. They also indicated that they were prepared to go it alone if the White church was reluctant to join in the unity.

A representative from the White church, on the other hand, made it clear that organic unity of the N.G. Kerk family was impossible. He based his argument on socio-political-cultural differences which he said had to be safeguarded. A compromise suggestion by him that an ecumenical synod representing the interests of each of the four churches be considered, was unanimously rejected by representatives from the Black churches, who included White ministers now belonging to the Black churches.

A meeting of top ranking officials from all four churches in Pretoria this week, is believed to have been prompted by occurrences at Turfloop. Clearly the pace at which the three Black churches are moving, is worrying to the N.G. Kerk, and it is generally believed that one of the objectives of the Pretoria meeting is to try to control the haste from the side of the daughter churches.

As one senior Black clergyman said, the insistence of the Black churches that the N.G. Kerk be asked to denounce apartheid could put the mother church in a precarious situation with far-reaching implications.

Implications

Against this basic dilemma facing the White church, the three Black churches whose birth was a direct result of the separatist policy, seem determined to push on in the line they have chosen. The difference does not appear to have an immediate solution.

While the Black churches refuse to deviate from the path they have taken, and claim that their unreserved rejection of apartheid and all it stands for, is purely based on theological considerations, the White church is equally strongly clinging to the policy which a representative said was based on "practical considerations."

As the tug-of-war continues, the image of the Black N.G. churches according to one senior minister of the Black churches, is improving tremendously in Black communities. People are beginning to see the Black N.G. churches no longer as collaborators, but as institutions of hope.

"EcuNews"

UNDERSTANDING MORATORIUM

*An Interim Report by the
South African Council of Churches Task Force*

1. To us moratorium means renewed commitment to mission and evangelism through *rejecting* structures that create or perpetuate dominance-dependency relations and *becoming* more self-reliant within the total fellowship of the Church Universal. Therefore our South African Churches, too, must stringently examine the hidden as well as overt nature of their internal structures and their relationships with one another and with Churches (mission boards, missionary societies) overseas and take appropriate action.
2. These structures and relationships have developed within the context of a divided society and a divided world. Consequently our churches bear wounds and scars of division — between rich and poor, black and white, donor and recipient, clergy and laity and between denominations — scars and unhealed wounds which often make mockery of our claim to be the sign and instrument of "God in Christ reconciling the world to himself".

MORATORIUM means withdrawing "overseas" missionary personnel and funds from churches in Africa, to enable them to establish their own identity and integrity, and accept responsibility for their mission.

- To discover an authentic African form of Christianity which can in turn enrich all the Christians of the world.
- To encourage African churches to leave the dependent attitudes many have adopted.
- To help African churches establish their own priorities in their work for Christ and to become fully missionary churches themselves.
- To enable the traditionally missionary — sending churches in other lands to re-examine the nature of their mission and their future partnership with other churches.

3. Each church has to make its own analysis of its dependence for money and/or personnel on resources outside its own membership or similar dependencies internally and, in the light of that analysis, develop its own programme for achieving greater self-reliance and authenticity.
4. However, the churches also need to share their probings and their findings, and to help one another to implement the — probably painful — "growing-up" process.

Our responsibility

1. We covenant to bring before our own churches the challenge to move away from dominance-dependency relationships and structures whether internal or external and to move towards such forms of communion and community as will enable them to use and strengthen the particular gifts God has given them and to share these gifts with the worldwide fellowship of the People of God.
2. The questions we therefore put to our churches are as follows:
3. Does dependence on personnel and/or money from outside our own membership or from one part to another hinder us from full and effective participation in God's mission to reconcile all men and the whole creation to Himself in Christ?
4. If so, in what ways and to what extent?
5. What can we do, separately and in partnership with other churches, to outgrow dependence that hinders mission and to grow into self-reliance and inter-dependence (mutuality) that promote mission?
6. In raising these questions we must sound a note of urgency. The deepening conflict in Southern Africa demands a radical renewal and strengthening of the Church as the Body of *Christ*.
7. We must discard obsolete goals, especially the goal of institutional self-preservation; and we must give absolute priority to becoming communities that are actively engaged with God in the struggle for His righteousness in the whole of life, social as well as personal.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE MORATORIUM DEBATE BY SOME CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE MEMBERS

Most South African churches are supported by money and men on the spot. They are autonomous organisations with an inter-connected racial structure of the "mother-daughter" or "multi-racial" pattern, in which the conditions of the mission

societies to the north do not apply.

But there are many ways in which the principles prompting moratorium are particularly relevant, with additional pressures applied by the apartheid system.

White Christians, because of the power they wield as white people in South Africa, and because of their inherited racial and paternalistic attitudes, are often blind to the realities of the Southern African situation, and a barrier to the purposes of God. Because of their circumstances, and supported by some black people who are similarly indoctrinated, they are preventing most blacks from discovering and proclaiming the good news of Christ in ways relevant to Africa.

How do the South African churches exhibit their dependency on false criteria?

Most of the main churches depend on apartheid structures. They separate local congregations on racial grounds, see nothing wrong in it, desire no change from it, and make no moves to alter it. Everything is done on a racial basis including representation on church councils, the training and deployment of ministers, and the payment of stipends. Most churches are structured to keep ordinary church members apart.

Many churches perpetuate a dependency on white leadership as is seen in the preponderance of whites in senior positions, and the contrast of "missionaries" with "indigenous church leaders". Christianity is identified with white westernism, and an uncritical acceptance of the political power structure. Blacks are looked upon as objects that whites must convert, some of whom may even "come over" on to "the white side". White church members accept without question the manipulation of white economic structures to give them money that is earned by black labour. Most do not question the use of restrictive legislation, injustice or "legalised violence".

Many blacks exhibit a shameful dependency on whites, bowing and scraping to white church people, scrambling after "white" money, moaning and criticising with friends but refusing to stand up straight and confront error with whites — or "white blacks".

Most churches retain white control of monies; pay whites more than blacks; run expensive schools for whites only; and pattern themselves on a western capitalistic type of church in which wealth and social position take preference. It is all done paternalistically "for others good".

There is a "religious organisation syndrome" amongst blacks and whites which concentrates on maintaining organisation instead of spreading Christian truth. Indeed, it runs from any proclamation or action which might bring the organisation into disrepute with the secular power.

There is widespread rejection of "liberation theology", or "black theology", which is simply an attempt to rediscover the basic essentials of the gospels beneath the European culture and thought forms in which it has been handed on, a vital exercise if we are to win the *nations* of Africa for Christ (Matt. 28:19).

True Christian involvement is not of white against black, but of Christian for non-Christian, and includes a commitment to Christian liberation in the political and social spheres. Christian mission is not something which happens to individuals without any reference to their environment: it is a battle to liberate men from greed, injustice, oppression and ignorance in their relationships and their organisation, as well as their souls. Dependence on individualism robs churches of their true activity as the Body of Christ.

Finally, even churchmen who are concerned for Christian change have a dependency on "gradual development" and

"token activity" which is a denial of the radical act of repentance and the definite decision to follow a new way of life. We stumble on, paying lip-service to concepts we must acknowledge but have no courage to follow, talking of faith but living in fear, expending our energies on matters which do not make one jot of difference for the Kingdom, repeatedly turning our heads from the suffering of our fellow man, yet claiming to be light for the world in Christ.

Such an examination may seem brutal and disturbing, but it is necessary if the church is to recover its initiative and authenticity in a continent and a world which rejects it as irrelevant.

How can Moratorium be used as a strategy to alert the church for better mission in South Africa today?

1. *A Moratorium on black finances.* This would involve the withdrawal of black participation in the finances of white-controlled churches as far as stipends are concerned, to raise their own funds and pay their own men; to maintain an independent stand relative to "missionary funds"; for a period of three years. It is possible that white church members would be constrained to examine church funding also.
2. *A Moratorium on secondment to government agencies.* The withdrawal of manpower from employment in the "Defence" Force as chaplains paid by the State, replacing them with ministers paid by the church to minister to all involved in such struggles. The refusal to second men to work in apartheid institutions such as the Homeland Governments, other than in exceptional circumstances which clearly warrant ministry in a compromising situation. The refusal to accept restrictions on radio services. The support of conscientious objectors.
3. *A Moratorium on Marriage Officers.* The withdrawal of all church marriage officers from the compromising situation where they must make a racial classification of those wishing to marry; and their replacement by the Continental system of a civil marriage in Court, followed by a church marriage if desired.
4. *A Moratorium on White Church Schools* — by opening them to all races, in obedience to Christian convictions, or closing them as an elitist embarrassment to the Gospel.
5. *A Moratorium on uni-racial congregations* — by adopting a definite policy to enable the integration of specific congregations, and regular planned meetings in all congregations to enable the contribution of black Christians to be heard.
6. *A Moratorium on the erection of church buildings* which can only be used as places of worship once a week; and a moratorium on the erection of *all* church buildings unless consultations have been made with all churches within five miles.
7. *A Moratorium on Only Talking* by calling a National Assembly of Churches and Christians to work out ways and means to establish the principles and enact the practice of Christian liberation in the society of Southern Africa.

It is submitted that these are realistic issues on which to focus the emergence of a Church which is relevant to the dynamics of the situation now appearing in this part of God's world called South Africa.

APARTHEID, THE CHURCH, AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

anthony m. tanby

A Presbyterian minister, long resident in South Africa but now in the United States, comments on the implications of liberation theology in the context of the present South African scene.

The Republic of South Africa is a varied land with approximately 21 million inhabitants. 17 million of these are classified "Black", and 4 million "White".

White Nationalist Government policy stipulates that the only way to ensure peaceful coexistence is for Whites and Blacks to "develop" separately in their own Government-designated areas. This ideology is more commonly known as "apartheid", and is rigorously enforced at almost every level of society. It touches the Church's life and witness at many highly-significant points.

Alan Paton suggests that apartheid requires of its adherents a rejection of one's fellow man who has been born, who lives, and who will die in the same country as oneself; and total apartheid is a device whereby such rejection and so-called "justice" can exist together. The former Moderator of the N.G. Kerk, Dr. J.D. Vorster asserts that the policy of separate development is "a policy of fairness and righteousness to all concerned"! Total apartheid is love of one's neighbour, provided he does not live next door.

Black acts directed towards change are seen by the South African Government as "violence and terrorism", whilst similar acts perpetrated by Whites, directed towards the entrenchment of the régime, are called "law and order".

Numerous intimidatory means are used by the Government against those who raise critical voices. There is Government criticism of clergy who use their pulpits for "political" purposes. The State-controlled radio belittles aspects of the Church's life or message, without any opportunity for the Church to reply. There is severe censorship of books, magazines, recordings, and films considered "undesirable" by Government-appointed officials. The Church is specifically denied access to detainees under certain Government Acts, making virtually impossible the implementation of our Lord's injunction in Matthew 25:36, 43.

There is a formidable array of measures deployed to deal with "subversive" elements: Deportation; passport removal; questioning; summary arrest; incommunicado detention, and interrogation by the Bureau of State Security; and banning orders which prohibit freedom of movement. No reason is ever given for Government punishment, and legal representation is forbidden.

These dehumanising *external* pressures lead to *internal* pressures in society and the Church. Of these, the starkest is fear, which assumes many forms: (i) Racial fear. (ii) Fear of "failure" in the White, Western orientated Churches. (iii) Fear of controversy. (iv) Fear of ostracism, isolation, rejection, and the loss of identity, very common amongst the clergy. (v) Fear of those in authority.

Another pressure generated is prejudice. The average White sees those of other races in terms of stereotyped definitions, based on assumptions arising from the past, false anthropology, and popular fallacies.

The Church is by no means immune from such preconceptions, and has even been guilty of originating them. For many people, the Church sometimes seems to take on the role of a conspirator against those very changes in society required by the Gospel. Most White Christians, whilst paying lip-service to the need for such change, are nevertheless content and anxious (because of fear, guilt, and prejudice) that the basic *status quo* should be maintained.

There can be little doubt that the entire apartheid-syndrome tends to deaden any sense of the community of mankind and the fundamental fellowship of all Christians in Christ, irrespective of colour, race, or sex. This consequently renders them unaware of their need to serve each other as brothers. Apartheid fosters a false, unchristian sense of White supremacy, with Whites seeing themselves as the agents of God's will and the interpreters of His providence for other races.

Many of those who are disturbed by conditions in South Africa and who feel the need for change, have a sense of powerlessness and despair which gravely inhibits their work and effectiveness as Christians. The vicious totalitarian circle repeats itself with sickening regularity.

Theological Crisis

The Church in South Africa is in the midst of a theological crisis — a crisis of faith. Do White Christians really believe what they say when they are sitting with full bellies in their comfortable churches; and are they prepared to act upon it when it is reduced to the bare essentials of sacrificing for their Black brethren? Are they willing "to put their body where their mouth is"? The majority of White South Africans will have to reply "No", for the simple yet appalling reason that they are not prepared to give up the affluence and comfort they enjoy because of "cheap Black labour".

The oppressor-mentality reduces everything and everyone to the status of an object to be invaded, dominated, manipulated, and repressed. For the oppressor, "to be" is "to have". Every creature comfort or pleasure I enjoy as a White in South Africa is acquired through exploitation of the Black man, who is denied any part in the blessings he has himself helped to bring about. Worst of all is the self-denigrating outlook of the Black, part subservience, part dependence.

Paternalism will end and solidarity will begin, it seems, when the White stops making pious and sentimental gestures and utterances, and risks himself in a genuine act of love. "Violence is *initiated* by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognise others as persons". Yet it is "precisely in the response of the oppressed to the violence of their oppressors that a gesture of love may be found".

There is a hidden, structural violence built in to a status quo created and preserved for the advantage of a small minority. The degree to which the exploiting minority resists changing of the structures is the determining factor in whether or not widespread physical violence will be employed. A false antithesis, prevalent in much White thinking exists between the options of being either a fomentor of conflict or an agent of

reconciliation. Much of what passes for "reconciliation" is phony, covering up conflict and avoiding confrontation; and is offered to the Black man on the White man's terms.

The historical and humanistic task of the oppressed is to cease identifying with the oppressor and idealising him as their model of "manhood" — and then to work with him towards their own liberation together with that of the oppressor. This idealising of the White man by the Black, coupled with the White man's desire to maintain his supremacist identity, has without doubt contributed towards the precluding of a wide rise of Black consciousness in South Africa. Freedom, for most Blacks, would require them to jettison this image and replace it with a fearsome autonomy and responsibility. For the Whites, freedom for the Black man would, at the very least, represent the disappearance of most of the luxuries associated with "the South African way of life". The dehumanising effects of unfreedom are felt by oppressor and oppressed alike.

Some Black writers believe that Blacks have a right to exclude Whites and refuse any further dialogue with them. The main concern now is understanding themselves and, in the course of that task, helping Whites to understand *themselves*. The reason for Black rejection of apartheid is much more profound than that they want integration: they reject that too since integration is so often interpreted in the light of the White man's exploitative values. Black culture implies freedom on the part of the Blacks to innovate without recourse to "White" values as their point of reference. The real reason for Black rejection of apartheid is that unless Blacks insist on their blackness, they are going to lose identity in a world of White nihilists.

Liberation Theology

Archie LeMone, commenting on the meeting of traditional theology with Black theology, says: "Liberation theology ... cannot, as an act of creation, be intruded upon. It has been created and shaped by history, not tradition ... Past theological treatment of the oppressed condition of Blacks ... was filtered through a European mind". The theological necessity and expression of liberation belongs to the Third World, and little further communication is possible with the "European".

A different slant is given by Herzog when he says that "theology can no longer be taught apart from being directly involved with the oppressed, identifying with them"; he talks of "... the battle together with the oppressed for survival". He also asserts that liberation theology is essentially an outgrowth of the Biblical perspective "... since it is through His Word that the Lord liberates the poor and the Church. Christian solidarity with the oppressed is solidarity through the oppressed Christ, the Christus pauper."

Yet others believe that social order in South Africa depends on co-operation between the races and provided pressure is brought to bear on Whites through organised conflict which does not threaten their entire existence, Whites are more likely to compromise rather than risk losing everything they have.

Genuine reconciliation between Black and White must mean open acknowledgement of differences, the open recognition of antagonisms, and a deliberate seeking out of those issues whose trend is to divide rather than to unite. For this reason, the religious community — one of the few remaining platforms for the promotion of peaceful change left standing in South Africa — is able simultaneously to be the agent of reconciliation as well as the fomentor of conflict. The requisite quality to be embodied by White and Black Churches is "revolutionary non-violent love".

It is therefore in the context of costly grace (Bonhoeffer) that we must understand the Biblical view of reconciliation in South Africa today. "When Jew and Gentile, Black and White, begin to live on the basis of this reality, raising theological rhetoric to political reality — *that* is sanctification, the subjective appropriation of divine liberation".

Loyalty and Obedience

Probably the main question, however facile it may appear, is a question of loyalty and obedience. In "Love and Justice", Reinhold Niebuhr writes: "Neutrality in a social struggle between entrenched and advancing social classes means alliance with the entrenched position. In the social struggle, we are either on the side of privilege or of need". The Gospel of Jesus Christ declares that all authority is given to Him (Matthew 28:18-20); and Christians betray their calling if they give that highest loyalty, due to Him alone, to any group or tradition, especially where that group or tradition is demanding self-assertion or the preservation of its separate "identity" at the cost of other, less-privileged groups. Yet it is incredible how often in the Church "the law of the land" is put above "the law of Christ". This is exactly the position with most white clergy today.

Christ is Lord, and South Africa is part of His world and therefore stands under His judgement. If we seek a compromise between Christianity and the "traditional South African way of life" we allow an idol to usurp the place of Christ. Our duty is to live in accordance with the Christian understanding of man and community, even where this is contrary to the laws and customs of our country. Father Régamey, a French Roman Catholic priest, indicates that in the face of "the established order" of our days, "the most radical and urgent task of our time is to prepare men for eventual refusals to disobey". Movements towards change, however, are hampered by the South African Government, and also by many Blacks who would sooner remain under the domination of the present Pharaoh than step forward into an unknown future.

If White Christians and White Churches continue to be no more than a pale and pious reflection of their surrounding affluent culture, then they do not deserve to survive. The basic choices they will have to make will undoubtedly place the White Churches in a minority position: but maybe that is what we need. (A Confessing Church of South Africa?)

Nevertheless, "now in Christ Jesus you who were once afar off have been brought near in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in His flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that He might create in Himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end" (Ephesians 2) 14-16).



BELIEF AND POLITICS

A revival of Christian belief in the dignity of man as a child of God would have an electrifying effect on world politics. Nothing is more urgent than the task of converting this secular State to an acknowledgement that we are God's people and He is supreme over all. Only as we are able to kindle an awareness of God's reality and our dependence upon His love shall we be able to stir the social conscience to right standards of political judgement.

George Thomas.

letter to the editor.

Geagte redakteur,

U artikel in Pro Veritate is seker tereg en insiggewend. Maar tog kom die verloop van sake soos dit op die sinode plaasgevind het nie sterk genoeg na vore nie. Wat was in werklikheid die geval?

Na die hartstogtelike toespraak van Ds. Cas Mak en die nugtere pleidooi van Prof. Plomp het die voorsitter en visevoorsitter hulle houding heeltemal gewysig. Die voorstel tot verbreking was deur hulle medeopgestel, maar nadat hulle die beskrywing van die situasie in Nederland gehoor het, was hulle oortuig van die noodsaaklike uitstel van 'n beslissing tot die volgende sinode.

Verbluffend was daarna die anti-Nederlandse gees wat deur Ds. Visser aangevuur is en die hele sinode vervul het. Ook die slottoespraak van Prof. T. van der Walt het dit nog verder aangewakker. Hierdie jong professor was beledig deur die

onhartlike ontvangs van Ds. van der Linde en homself op die Nederlandse sinode. Wat laasgenoemde betref is die oorsaak duidelik te vinde in die onjuiste vermaning wat deur Dr. van der Linde uitgespreek is. Hierdie vermaning het nie alleen sy doel gemis nie, maar was selfs erg beledigend vir almal wat op die sinode aanwesig was – insluitende die verontrustes. Hierdie toespraak het die hele opening bederf en dat Prof. van der Walt dit nie besef het nie verbaas my baie.

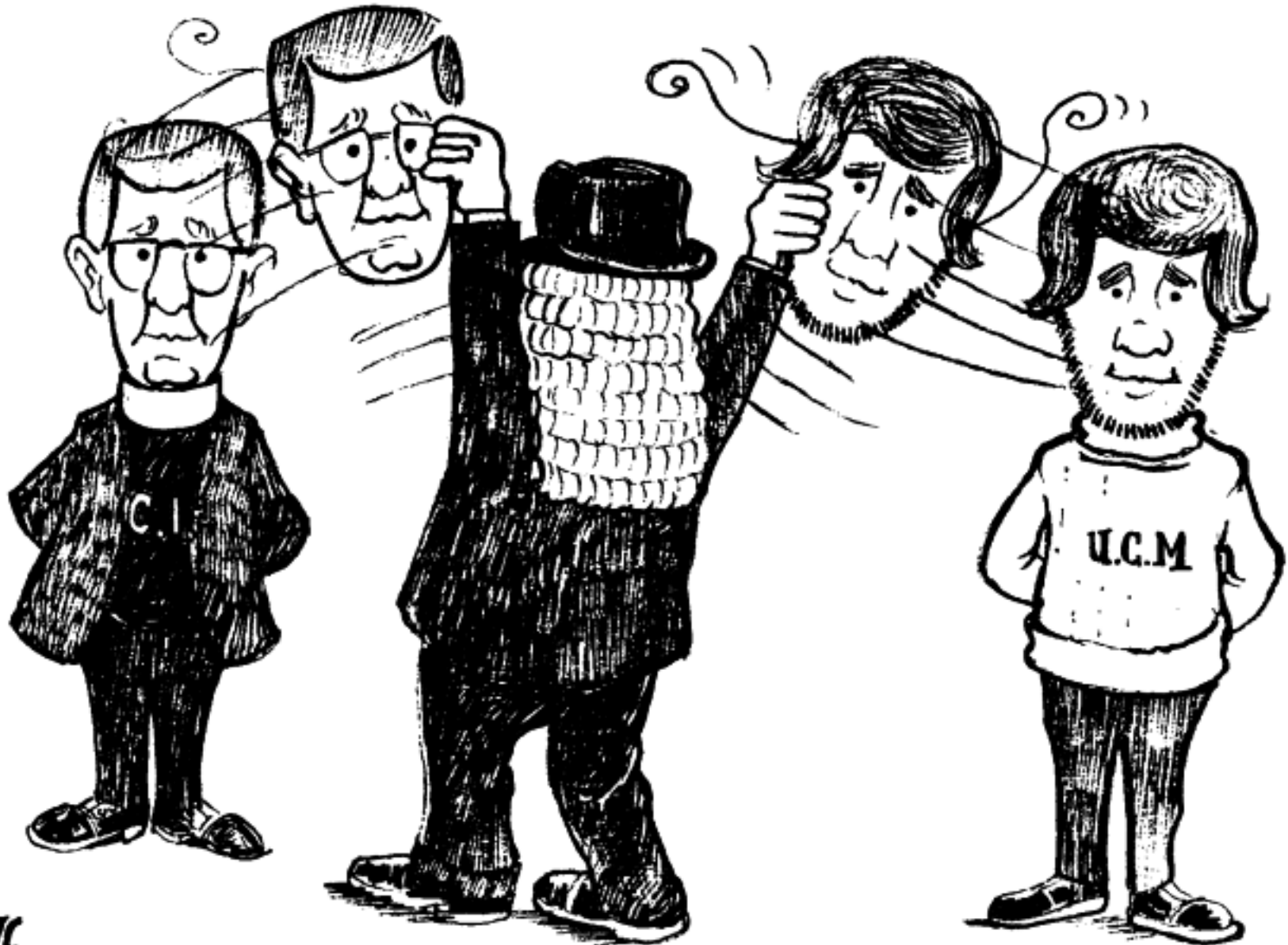
In elk geval is die anti-Nederlandse gees wat deur die hele Suid-Afrika waai 'n baie pynlike saak vir alle Nederlanders.

Gelukkig waai daar nou in Nederland ten opsigte van steun aan die terrorisme 'n enigszins ander gees, maar of dit enige invloed sal hê betwyfel ek baie.

Die verbreking van die korrespondensie word dan ook 'n ontstellende en onheilspellende gebeurtenis wat nog lank sal nawerk.

'S'

From the Cape Times 1.3.1976



GROEN '76

"The Schibusch Commission ripped the mask off such organizations as the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement." — The Prime Minister.

A NATIONAL CONVENTION ON CHRISTIAN CONCERN FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

A RESPONSE BY WHITE CHURCHMEN

Request for black leadership

1. With deep interest and joy we welcome the speech of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at Jubaleni Amphitheatre, Soweto, on March 14, 1976. It is a courageous and reconciliatory call to a revolution in attitudes which warrants a positive response.
2. We realise that the kind of response required in these circumstances is not easy for the majority of white Christians, whether clerical or lay. They have not been prepared for it by a church which, through historical circumstances, has too long neglected the social and political implications of the Gospel. It is only in the last generation or two that the Christian conscience, at a significantly wide spread level, has begun to stir in this direction.
3. The Chief's astute call is the true recognition by a Christian layman that God summons Christians to a new involvement and commitment in these days of portent. God is calling his people to Christian liberation, that is, to an acceptance of the law of love, not only between individuals in limited communities, but also between communities themselves, between races, nations and classes. Black liberation, and the consequent liberation of whites, which blacks fervently desire, are fundamental activities of this law of love.
4. We do not believe that the Church can be defended by retreating into traditional practices, or by concentrating on its own internal affairs, or in the futile endeavour to persuade the establishment to apply apartheid kindly. Such attitudes have largely destroyed the credibility of the Church. The Gospel of Christ is vital in our age. The Church of Christ will regain its vitality as it commits its manpower and resources to obey the gospel initiatives to bring life in all its aspects, personal and political, into harmony with the standards of His Kingdom.
5. All Christians are called to devote themselves to set all men free in all ways through the truth of Christ in this subcontinent. In this critical hour we recognise that Christians are called to act in decisive repentance, and to move into the stormy areas of political, economic, and social life with the gospel imperatives of justice and reconciliation for all people. They are summoned to give themselves to a fundamental change in our public life, exposing evil, and following Christ through the turmoil of events where he makes himself known. A new understanding of Christian social life is at hand.
6. The leaders of Southern Africa desperately require the true insights of the Christian gospel in daily affairs as they seek the narrow road to life. These insights could well be expressed in a National Convention on Christian concern for Southern Africa. We are confident that the Black Christians of our land, with true prophetic vision, will take the initiative to which they have been urged, that all of us might follow.



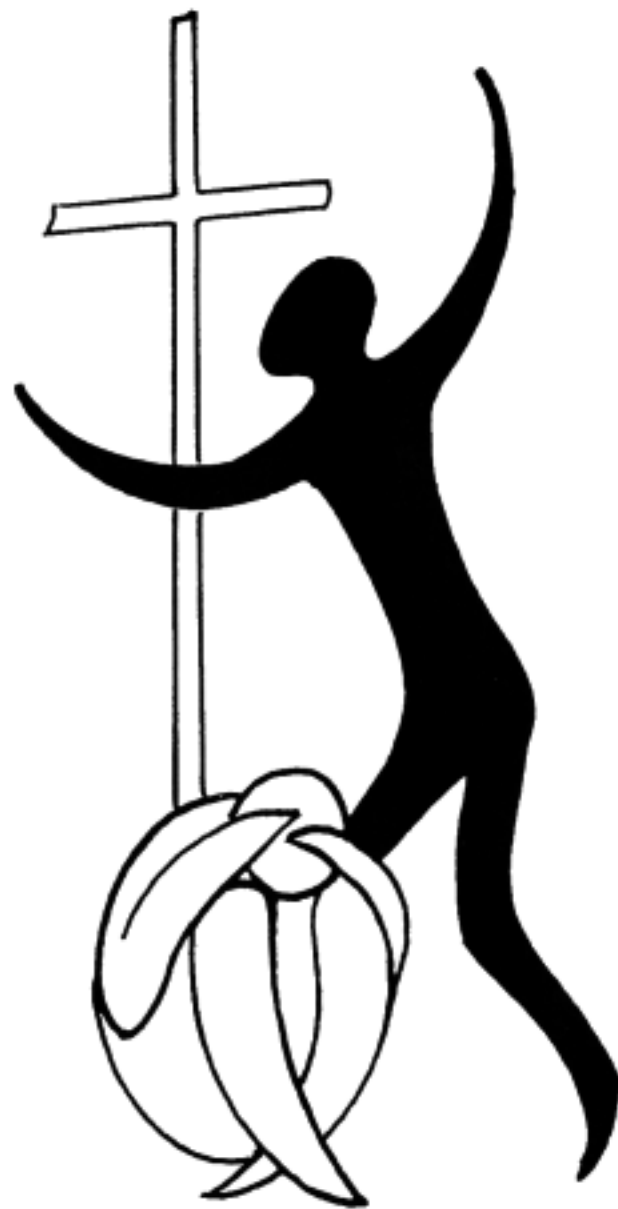
timothy bavin



denis e. hurley



c.f. beyers naudé





With acknowledgment to THE STAR

march • maart • 1976

REGISTERED AT THE GPO AS A NEWSPAPER BY DIE POSKANTOOR AS NUUSBLAD INGESKRYF

pro veritate

SUPPLEMENT

PRO VERITATE

CHRISTELIKE MAANDBLAD
MAART 1976
JAARGANG 14 NR. 10.

SUPPLEMENT

CHRISTIAN MONTHLY
MARCH 1976
VOLUME 14 NO. 9.

THE TIME IS NOW

The time is NOW for Southern Africa. From every quarter comes evidence that one of those crucial moments of history is upon us when pressures come to a climax, fundamental change occurs, and humanity moves off in a new direction.

Uhuru, which yesterday was a remote rumble of drums on the equator, now beats on our borders. Detente is revealed as a sham; apartheid is unworkable and rejected by many; no frantic effort to perpetuate the status quo can prevent the hinges of history from opening a new chapter.

South African white politics is already a reaction to various black initiatives, without a black face in Parliament. There is no defence against uhuru because 19 million blacks will not fight to maintain their own oppression by 4 million whites. Homeland 'independence' is a propaganda ploy that fools neither the outside world nor the majority of blacks. The laws of separate development require constant amendment because blacks were made by God to be human and cannot be legislated for as things. The country is at peace because blacks want peace- despite the provocation of the Government pressures and indignity of white attitudes. For how long?

Crisis looms because white leaders are dazzled by their own propaganda and cannot see the reality ahead. Black leaders are denied a national forum where they can share thoughts, plan strategies, and elect leaders. We are in mortal peril because there is no structure in South Africa for the real leaders of all the people to meet.

For this reason PRO VERITATE is giving publicity to the speech delivered by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in Soweto. This is an authentic voice of concern, couched in terms that both

white and black can hear, spelling out the inevitability of fundamental change, holding out the reconciling hand of brotherhood to both black and white for a peaceful solution even at this eleventh hour, and making certain positive and practical proposals.

He spoke with a truth it is time for South Africa to hear.

- It is time for whites to listen to the authentic voice of blacks- instead of the propaganda issued by white politicians and broadcasters *about* blacks.
- It is time for the church to *act* for Christian liberation instead of merely talking.
- It is time for black Christians to stand up and boldly give their *insights and positive proposals* for Christian liberation in Southern Africa.
- It is time for white Christians to listen, to follow, and to *respond*.
- It is time for all who are seeking liberation to *unite* to be rid of oppression, injustice, and all that bedevils our society.
- It is a time for *meetings of the nation* to be convened at which the fundamental issues can be debated in an atmosphere free of white domination and racial tension.

Despite the persecution that will ensue if the white government persists in its repressive activities, it is time for black and white Christians to walk out of the darkness of fear and oppression, into the daylight, because they know there is peace and justice and reconciliation ahead.

Editor

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

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

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

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

PRO VERITATE appears on the 15th of every month.

EDITOR: Cedric Mayson

“IN THIS APPROACHING HOUR OF CRISIS”

“A MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM BLACK SOUTH AFRICA”

Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, March 14th, 1976

Umntwana Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi:

My dear Sons and Daughters of Africa, I greet you in the name of Mother Africa, and in the name of Freedom.

I dare say that this is perhaps the most important of my yearly pilgrimages to Soweto, if we look at it in the context of the present political climate in Southern Africa.

Last year, on the 22nd of January, I issued a friendly warning to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster that if we as Blacks did not reach fulfilment through his policies as appeared to me to be the case, that we would have no option but to resort to unrest and possible civil disobedience. I did so with all the responsibility in the World, as I sensed the euphoria that pervaded the whole of White South Africa, as a result of the Prime Minister's so-called Detente policy.

I made it quite clear that when I spoke as I did, it was because I was hoping that violence could be warded off, as a result of my warnings, but there is not even a ripple in the pen as far as the sharing of power and decision-making by all South Africans, is concerned.

Detente fails

My brothers and sisters today we meet in what is no doubt one of the most dramatic moments of South African history. We have been through 150 years of white domination, and have been subjected to 66 years of oppression. This has been perpetrated against us in the name of Western democracy, and Christian Civilization, by White manipulation of the Houses of Parliament.

Despite all this length of time today the very foundations of Apartheid Society have been shaken. 10 years after Prime Minister MacMillan's, "Winds of change" warning, who can deny today that these winds of change are blowing not North or West of us, but right on our borders?

Prime Minister Vorster's detente policy has not succeeded. Not only has it not succeeded but White South Africa has burnt her fingers in Angola. The pace of events and the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa is gaining momentum, to the extent that the Country's all-White Parliament cannot dictate events in Namibia for very much longer. Mr Vorster's influence in Zimbabwe has proven to be less influential than his Black counterparts.

Every hour of the day, the time is drawing nearer, when we will see White South Africa's enemies encamped on South Africa's borders.

Kaffir forgets his place

I know that the Prime Minister, if I am to judge by his past attitudes, is going to think, with many White South Africans

that I am speaking as I do because I am a kaffir who has forgotten his place. This thought makes many White South Africans mad, as there is nothing they loathe as a kaffir who has not been successfully kept in his place. A place not assigned for us by the Almighty, but which our White Countrymen have assigned for us for generations through the only power they have used to maintain the status quo, which is through the barrel of the gun. Many White elections have been fought on the basis of who can best keep the kaffir in his place.

What precluded the Prime Minister from consulting me about his so-called detente policy, in the light of my contacts in Black Africa? I think it is about time the Prime Minister and White South Africa as a whole, realise that they cannot expect support from Black South Africans in their White struggle to maintain a position of white dominance in Southern Africa. Mr Vorster did not bother to consult a single black leader on his detente initiatives. If he thinks he can disdain Black opinion in this way and then hope that Blacks will offer themselves to be cannon fodder, I think that this is a grave mistake. He has excluded Blacks from the National decision-making machinery of the Country and in this way he has excluded us from the responsibility of making his foreign policy effective.

Majority rule

South Africa has a place in Southern Africa, it has a very important role to play in the Continent of Africa. History now demands, however, that what is South Africa's rightful place should be determined by the majority of the people of this Country.

It is still not too late to call for a White change of heart. I believe this not because I think that Whites are going to have a sudden spasm of benevolence towards blacks. I believe that now the Whites can see the writing on the wall and can realise that the Country must move towards majority rule.

It is this single principle that is central to any question to do with Southern Africa's politics. This is the burning question in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mocambique, and Angola. It was the burning question in every other African State.

Black hand of friendship

I realise what I am doing here today, by saying these things as I do but they have got to be said. If they were not said, I would not be responsible. I am offering a Black hand of friendship to the Whites of South Africa, probably for the last time. Yes, it is a Black hand, but it is still a hand of friendship.

Our White Society is a sick Society. South Africa's malady is the refusal of the Whites to share power with Blacks. Whites in

this Country can do only one thing to help themselves and they can do only one thing to help us to help them. They must be prepared to share power. This must be said and it falls to my lot to say this today.

The Apartheid Society nurtured with a plethora of discriminatory laws for more than a quarter of a Century, which we Blacks despise, has already been overtaken by history. In this eleventh hour, in this last hour, some things need to be said in this Country. They need to be said by Blacks and they need to be said very clearly and in unequivocal terms.

It is my experience that Whites do not in fact look into the future. The future they are creating is too horrible to contemplate. We Blacks can look into the future. In the Black future there is hope, there is liberation and there is the realisation of human dignity.

Hope

We Blacks are concerned first and foremost with liberation. We want to be free from oppression. We want to be free from the stigma of being unworthy of full Citizenship and unworthy of having a real vote in the Country of our birth. We want to be free to be equal to all other men. We want to be free to participate in majority decisions about the future of our Country and our common destiny with other South Africans.

We disdain the political role into which the White minority power elite has relegated us.

We have no Black administration other than those provided by a frightened Government who will not allow us Blacks to compete with them for positions as members of Parliament on merit, in the Constituencies of South Africa.

We have no choice but to live where the Whites say we must live, do the work which the Whites say we can do. We cannot choose where to live. Our children are not free to pursue their own lives and choose their own careers.

I sympathise with you my Brothers and Sisters because just like you, I am not free. Like you, I do what I can. Together we suffer oppression. Together we must throw off the yoke of oppression.

The whole World must be told that we despise what some people euphemistically call 'Separate Development' or 'Separate freedoms', which we know to be nothing more no less than White Baasskap. South Africa is one Country, it has one destiny and one economy. Those who are attempting to divide the land of our birth, are attempting to stem the tide of history. They have not got the strength to hold history back. History will triumph over apartheid. Nowhere in the World have minorities prevailed against the majority indefinitely. The minority in our Country have already lost their grip on reality. They cannot succeed for very much longer.

We will not perpetuate oppression

White policy in South Africa has for decades been leading to the present position in which:

1. Political treachery stalks the land. Treachery by the Government, secret police, bribery, manipulation, detention without trial. Banning of people, banning of organisations are political treachery as far as the majority of South Africans are concerned.

2. Constitutionally and institutionally the politics of constructive reconciliation is not possible in our Country if the Government persists in its headlong plunge into political stupidity.

3. The machinery of oppression which is the most subversive element in our Country does not make it possible for the Black majority of the Country to play a positive role in

the corridors of power.

Since 1910 successive governments have planted seeds of destruction in our Country. We Blacks do not believe that our Society can be defended morally or theologically, or militarily. The majority of Blacks will not find it in their hearts to die on the Country's borders to defend a system which is morally repugnant, dehumanises them, and mocks God Almighty for creating us Blacks, also in his image.

When we Blacks look at Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, we desire to take our place with our Black Brothers in their new World.

We, the majority of Blacks, are primarily concerned with our liberation. We are concerned with our liberation not because we want to exploit the white elite in the way in which they have exploited us for generations. We have seen enough oppression in this land we love. We will not perpetuate oppression. We want to live in peace, and to pursue policies which will bring peace in our land, as well as peace between the States of Southern Africa.

Revolution inevitable

I know that many of my White Countrymen will interpret these words as if I am advocating a revolution. In the words of the late Senator Robert Kennedy:

"A revolution is coming — a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough; Compassionate if we care enough; Successful if we are fortunate enough but revolution which is coming whether we will it or not. We can affect its character; we cannot alter its inevitability".

It is entirely up to White South Africa whether the revolution that is unfolding will be peaceful or bloody.

Black responsibility and Black Contributions to peace can only come after liberation in South Africa. This liberation is not possible within the context of apartheid Society.

Homelands rejected

I challenge anyone to prove to me that the majority of Blacks want the so-called independence which is offered to our Reserves now called 'Homelands'. The people who have elected me have given me no mandate to opt for of the so-called Homeland. They have toiled for generations to create the wealth of South Africa and do not want to abandon their birth right. They intend to participate in the Wealth of the land.

No single Black leader will dare go to his people to decide the independence issue on the basis of a referendum. Some people are prone to mis-assess the Black political scene. Because there is conflict among Black groups they believe that there is not an underlying Black Solidarity when it comes to the question of liberation.

No room for divisions

My brothers and sisters, you know as well as I do, that there is no room for division among ourselves when it comes to the question of liberation.

The divisions that appear to be among us are only debates about the methods which should be employed in order to liberate ourselves.

The vast majority of Blacks are united in their opposition to apartheid and its consequences.

Beyond any divisions which appear to be present in Black Society, there is a unity based on a deep-rooted Black Nationalism. It is a reality which political theoreticians cannot verbalise out of existence.

The bricks of black Nationalism are many and varied. There are ethnic groups, there are tribes, there are trade unions,

drama Societies, Black Church groups, Student Organizations, cultural groups and many others.

We are not afraid to say what we think of government policies. Some of us have never been afraid to say so, and no one can accuse us of trying to cash in on the present fluidity in the Southern African political situation.

Therefore we tell the Prime Minister today that the policies of his Government are unacceptable to us, we tell him that he will never persuade the majority of us to accept his policies because we all know that

the government's economic policy is designed to perpetuate the privileged position of Whites.

The Government's social policy makes humiliating assumptions about the Black man's dignity.

The Government's political policy is the moat around besieged white self-interest.

The Government's foreign policy pursues ends which support apartheid and discrimination.

National Conventions

We want to go beyond negative criticisms of the Apartheid Society we so despise, to provide alternative policies for our Country.

I believe it is essential that we hold a series of representative National Conventions representing all shades of black opinion.

I have called for a Black National Convention on economic matters, to take place in August, if all goes as planned.

It is warranted to call for a National Convention on the so-called Homeland Independence issue.

I also call for a National Convention on South Africa's Foreign Policy.

Let us do for ourselves what Mr. Vorster's White Parliament does not do for us. It is now time for the Blacks of the Country to recognise that in the divide and rule policy of the government, no provision is made for Blacks to enter into the decision-making process on crucial national issues which affect the majority of the people.

We must therefore act unilaterally in defining South Africa's policies. It is the policies we Blacks define that will be heard and heeded by our Brothers in Africa as well as in many other quarters of the World.

I am hoping that we will invite international Speakers to these Conventions. We will hear their wisdom. We will then close our doors and go into a Black caucus where we will deliberate among ourselves.

It is high time the privileged in this Country heard the voice of the under-privileged. They have failed to do this so far. It is this willful persistence in social and political stupidity which produces despair and anger, which in turn create racial tension.

I see very serious problems arising in the very near future if the Government's policies result in a Black majority rejecting the contributions from the White minority. It is good that black Nationalism born in 1912 in Bloemfontein with the founding of the African National Congress, has had a fillip with the emergence of black consciousness. This dignity must receive the dignity it deserves. It is my hope that the operative majority in this Country will be a Multi-racial majority.

Church

I do not believe for one moment that God created men to be divided among themselves. There was no apartheid in the garden of Eden, and there is no apartheid in Heaven. Why

should there be Apartheid in between?

Let the Church in South Africa support the move of the majority in their movement towards constructive unity. The Church has in the past only paid lip service to this ideal. Some churches have not even done that much. Black Christians must recognise that they have to take the lead at National level. There may be protests from some White Churchmen, when they hear what I have said today about the Church, but my answer is that the Church is rapidly losing credibility among Blacks. If Churches are convinced that they have acted properly, then they have only convinced themselves. The Church has not been effective in its support for the Black liberation struggle, although outstanding individual Churchmen have witnessed. It is time for Black Christians to take the lead in this matter.

The Church must take active steps towards reconciliation in this country before it is too late. There will be no true reconciliation until the Blacks are liberated. The Churches must act with conviction and what is more they must act in public.

Let the people be free. Let the land be free and let the Church be free.

History overtakes Apartheid

I have in the past called upon the Whites to come to their senses. The Whites are politically underdeveloped and they need assistance. The federal formula I offered them was a compromise proposal and I must say with considerable emphasis that such reconciliatory offers will be increasingly difficult to offer in the Southern Africa which is now emerging.

South Africa will never be the same again. I implore the Whites to turn away from the kind of future the Government's present policies are creating. I implore the White Government to release Black political leaders who are now withering in jail. My brothers and sisters, when I lie awake, thinking about you and your suffering, I know that thousands of you get up in the dark to get on crowded buses and trains to go to a menial job for a pittance. Most of you work without security and social benefits, and are denied real trade Unions. I know you are exploited. I know you feel anger because there seems to be no hope of improving your circumstances.

My message to you is that history has overtaken apartheid. There *is* hope for the future. Justice *will* prevail, and you *will* be given the opportunity of participating in the building of a better South Africa.

My message to you, however, is that there is no magic formula to change the present Racist Regime, into a garden of Eden overnight. The sweat of the Blackman built the economic wealth of South Africa which is denied to the Sons and Daughters of South Africa. It will be by the sweat of the Blackman's brow that a new future will be built.

I appeal to your sense of realism to act constructively. We do not build a better South Africa by doing something in the future. We build a better South Africa in what we do *now*.

Inkatha or Inkathas

We need to organise ourselves into a disciplined body, to support each other, plan with each other and act with each other.

We cannot wait until the Parliament in Cape Town falls before we achieve that dignity which comes from self help and from making the best of the miserable mess we find ourselves in. Blacks in every corner of the Country are shrugging off the dependency mentality and this philosophy has been expressed in the formation of Inkatha YeNkululeko YESIZWE.

In Inkatha people are getting together. It is a movement of

ordinary men and women in ordinary walks of life: such as you see here today. As this movement gains momentum we will produce a ground swell which will bring about change in South Africa.

There can be no reconciliation between a Master and a Servant, between a Lord and Serf. Reconciliation is a concept which applies only to equals. Equality in dignity is achievable now.

Inkatha is enabling the ordinary man and woman to articulate their positions, to formulate solutions to their dilemma and seek answers to their questions.

I hope my Colleagues in other provinces will use their limited political dispensation to make Inkatha proliferate throughout South Africa.

Inkatha has grown phenomenally during the past year. It is continuing to grow and will continue to grow steadily.

Black oppression has no ethnic boundaries

Some people might think that when I talk of freedom and liberation I am thinking of the Zulus as distinct from my other African brothers in South Africa. This is far from being the case. There is no Zulu freedom that is distinct from the Blackman's freedom in South Africa. Black oppression has no ethnic boundaries. We have a common destiny as Black people. We have indeed a common destiny even with our White Countrymen who have rejected this idea for several generations. These are the implications of a just and non-racial society.

In KwaZulu we have founded Inkatha, a National Cultural Liberation Movement, because we have learnt that it is no use to wait for others to come and help us in our predicament. In helping ourselves we are taking an important step on the road to liberation. We hope that our brothers throughout the length and breadth of this land will get out from the Apartheid strait-jacket and set up Inkatha. We are quite prepared to assist if there are problems about this, because we believe that Black Brotherhood will in due course become a reality in an all-embracing South African Inkatha.

We need not wait for the collapse of the White man's Parliament for this development to grow.

Inkatha plainly declares itself to be an instrument of liberation. If others have difficulty in the activities of Inkatha let them form their own Inkathas. We are prepared to cooperate as it seems absolutely vital in our struggle for liberation, for every organisation which emerges among Blacks to make possible unity with other Black Organisations. Division has thwarted our freedom struggle for far too long.

There is nothing to stop us having a number of Inkathas which can join together in a National movement towards liberation. The era of action has dawned in Southern Africa, and no one, and not even military might can snuff it out. This is the challenge we face my brothers and sisters.

INKATHA is not peculiarly Zulu: it is a Constitution of the type which has emerged in Black Africa to meet the deficiencies of the Westminster type Constitution. A democratic system with the stamp of mother Africa which has Consensus as its core.

All responsible leadership is faced with National questions which must be handled at the National level.

I have always known that we need structures which span rural and urban areas and which span Provinces. This kind of structure now exists in the form of Inkatha.

Africa needs you my brothers, Africa needs you my sisters.

Yes, Africa needs you and me. This may be Africa's finest hour. The time has come for you to organise and act.

White breathing space

It seems to me most unfortunate that as we face this greatest challenge, we have also to lose some of our brothers and sisters through a balkanisation which can only give White domination a breathing space and further prolong our people's suffering. I say these words not in a spirit of castigation. I respect my brothers in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana, far too much to attempt to do this. This is a lament, because my heart bleeds for who knows what lies in store for them, or for us, in this ideological separation imposed on us by the White minority power elite through their unilateral parliamentary decisions.

These are not words of condemnation but words of deep sorrow. It will only be tragic if the path they are treading is never trodden by the majority of Blacks after them. Mr. Vorster's stand seems to spell a life of perpetual destitution and step-children status for black people within their so-called "independence", confined to 13 per cent of South Africa's surface area. I hope it will never be too late for us as brothers to save one another from the political wilderness where there can only be want, insecurity and desperation.

God Bless Africa
God Bless all her Children
Strength in the struggle
Hope for the future
Power is Ours
AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!
MATLA! ARONA!



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A SPRETTI ADPOSTER

ADOLF HITLER
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