# PRO TATE



By die poskantoor as nuusblad ingesh

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#### PRO VERITATE

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EDITOR: R.A. MEYER V.D.M.

#### CONTENTS

EDITORIAL/REDAKSIONEEL: THE HAVES AND HAVE NOTS DIE BESITTERS EN ARMES	1
WEIGHED AND?/GEWEEG EN?	3
"CHRISTELIKE" ONDERDRUKKING IN S.A.	8
SOS ON SOCIETY	10
AGITATORS UNDER EVERY PULPIT?	14
CITIES IN TROUBLE	15
SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE GOSPEL 5	18
POLITICS AND THE CHURCH: REVOLUTION?	20
LETTER TO THE EDITOR: BLACK OR CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY?	25
BOOK REVIEW: SOCIAL CHANGE	23
STEM UIT DIE VLAKTES	13

#### DIE BUITEBLAD

,HIERUIT KEN ONS DIE GEES VAN DIE WAARHEID (PRO VERITATE - VIR DIE WAARHEID) .....

AS GOD ONS SO LIEFGEHAD HET (DIE KRUISSIMBOOL). BEHOORT ONS OOK MEKAAR LIEF TE HE (DIE HAND EN DIE FIGUUR - DIE KLEUR WISSEL ELKE MAAND).

(1 Joh. 4:6, 11).

PRO VERITATE appears on the 15th of every month.

#### THE COVER

'BY THIS WE KNOW THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH (PRO VERITATE - FOR THE TRUTH) .....

IF GOD SO LOVED US (THE CROSS SYMBOL). WE ALSO OUGHT TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER (THE HAND AND THE FIGURE - THE COLOUR CHANGES EVERY MONTH).'

(1 John 4:6, 11).

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#### THE HAVES & HAVE-NOTS

" ... He looked for justice and found it denied, for righteousness but heard cries of distress. Shame on you! you who add house to house and join field to field, until not an acre remains, and you are left to dwell alone in the land." (Isaiah 5:7-8).

The right of possession, the necessity of owning land, the basic requirement of homeownership, etc., is an age-old question, but still one of the fundamental problems of the policy being followed in South Africa. At the moment it has again come to the fore in a razor-sharp way.

#### MATANZIMA, BUTHELEZI AND ALEXANDRA HOSTELS

Kaiser Matanzima has said that if the Transkei does not receive additional territory, the repatriation of more people to the Transkei, which is already choking, will be opposed. With reference to the Prime Minister's declaration that no more land than that provided for in the Native Trust and Territories Act of 1936 would be transferred to the homelands, Chief Buthelezi and all six members of the Executive Council responded strongly. They labelled the whole matter as "nothing less than a deception of the black people" and not even "a sugar coating around the pill". (More detailed reports appear elsewhere in this issue).

In Johannesburg a fierce storm is raging about the Alexandra hostels into which will not only black workers of the northern suburbs be forced, but as a result of which, among other things, married couples will be forced either to live apart or to seek shelter elsewhere.

Examples of this kind about the life-struggle for possession and basic human liberties in South Africa can be piled up. In the Northern Transvaal voices are grumbling, on the Rand the Coloureds have made demands, etc., etc.

#### OWNERSHIP HAS GOD-GIVEN VALUE

The strongest of testimonies must be given against undermining the black man and dispossessing him of ownership, which is a basic gift of God to man. The development of individual personalities is closely connected with individual ownership. A person must be free to own

#### BESITTERS EN ARMES

"... en Hy het gewag op reg, maar kyk, dit was bloedvergieting; op geregtigheid, maar kyk, dit was geskreeu! Wee hulle wat huis aan huis trek, akker aan akker voeg totdat daar geen plek maar is nie, en julle alleen grondeienaars in die land is." (Jes. 5:7-8).

Eiendomsreg, die noodsaaklikheid van grondbesit, die basiese vereiste van eie wonings, ens., is 'n oeroue vraagstuk, maar tog een van die wesenlike probleme van die beleid wat in Suid-Afrika gevolg word. Op die oomblik tree dit weereens vlymskerp na vore.

#### MATANZIMA, BUTHELEZI EN ALEXANDRA-"HOSTELS"

Kaiser Matanzima het gesê dat indien die Transkei nie meer grondgebied ontvang nie, sal geweier word om meer mense na die Transkei, wat reeds wurg, te laat repatrieer. Na aanleiding van die eerste minister se verklaring dat nie meer grond aan die tuislande oorgedra sal word as waarvoor in die Naturelletrust- en Grondgebiedwet van 1936 voorsiening gemaak word nie, het hoofman Buthelezi en al ses die lede van die Uitvoerende Raad hard gepraat. Hulle het die hele saak as "niks minder as 'n bedrieëry van die swartmense nie" en nie eers "'n suikerlagie om die pil" nie, bestempel. (Elders in die blad kan vollediger berigte gelees word).

In Johannesburg woed 'n fel stryd oor die "Alexandra hostels" waarin die swart werkers van die noordelike woonbuurtes nie net ingedwing sal word nie, maar waardeur onder meer getroude mense of gedwing sal word om apart te woon, of om elders 'n heenkome te soek.

Voorbeelde van dié aard in Suid-Afrika oor die lewensworsteling om eiendom en basiese mensevryhede kan opgestapel word. In Noord-Transvaal is stemme aan die brom, aan die Rand het die Kleurlinge eise gestel, ens, ens.

#### **EIENDOM HET GODGEGEWE WAARDE**

Teenoor die sloping en onteiening van die swart man van eiendom as 'n basiese gawe van God aan die mens, moet ten sterkste getuig word. Die ontwikkeling van individuele persoonlikhede hang nou saam met individuele eiendom. 'n Mens moet vry wees om eiendom, genoeg grond, eie huise

15 MAY 1972

belongings, enough land, his own home (Alexandra), etc. Wherever this gift of ownership has been outraged, as for example in the Roman Empire, it has been the cause of a cultural collapse. Cultural life can develop only where there is a certain means surplus and not where people suffer on the bread-line! The right of ownership is of important ethical value.

#### STEWARDSHIP

It must be remembered in South Africa that ownership is not the absolute right of the white, but must be applied through the idea of stewardship under God's hand for the benefit of everyone, including the black man!

The Bible is not ascetic, not even in regard to ownership, but covetousness is the most direct form of worldly-mindedness. The prophets, in particular, lashed out fervently at egotistical appropriation which made people forget God and trample their neighbour. They were not prepared to compromise in their God-given judgment on the mighty and the rich who misused their power to exploit and enslave the poor and helpless. Where egotism and self-interest triumph, quantity replaces quality and possession becomes the only value.

#### A RICH CHRISTIAN?

In the New Testament it appears impossible to be rich and a Christian if one forgets the poor man.

If we say that we are democratic and not totalitaristic, let us show it by democratizing "ownership" too. This will also confer personal dignity and basic independence on the black man.

Love which

does not provide for the basic needs of a neighbour is mere superficial sentimentality.

#### **EITHER FORCE OR LOVE!**

Sixteen million black people must be pressed into 13% of South Africa in the homelands, the workers in the northern suburbs must be packed into the hostels, but such unchristian legislation will summon only anger, hatred and vengeance. Spontaneous obedience will follow only where a ray of the gospel light shines through a legal system and not where laws are complied with only under compulsion. Under such circumstances further and drastic laws must follow and also more and more force will be applied.

In South Africa violent coercion must be superseded by Christian conviction and love. Happy is the one who can command honest, spontaneous obedience, but woe to a people who have to exact it from their neighbour! 'Whoever cares for his own safety is lost ..." (Jesus) \* (Alexandra), ens., te besit. Oral waar hierdie gawe van eiendom verkrag is, soos bv. in die Romeinse Ryk, was dit 'n oorsaak van kulturele insinking. Kulturele lewe kan alleenlik ontwikkel waar 'n sekere surplus middele is en nie waar mense aan die broodlyn hang nie! Besittingsreg is van belangrike etiese waarde.

#### RENTMEERSTERSKAP

In Suid-Afrika moet onthou word dat eiendom nie 'n absolute reg van die blanke is nie, maar deur die idee van rentmeesterskap onder God se hand ten bate van almal, ook die swartman, aangewend moet word!

Die Bybel is nie asketies nie, ook nie ten opsigte van eiendom nie, maar hebsug is die mees direkte vorm van wêreldsgesindheid. Die profete, in besonder, het die egoistiese inpalming, wat mense God laat vergeet en hulle naaste vertrap, vuriglik gestriem. Hulle was nie bereid om 'n kompromis aan te gaan in hulle Godgegewe oordeel oor die magtiges en rykes, wat hulle mag misbruik het om die armes en magteloses te eksploiteer en te verslaaf nie. Waar selfsug en eiebelang seëvier, vervang kwantiteit kwaliteit en kry eiendom ewige waarde.

#### 'N RYK CHRISTEN?

In die Nuwe Testament skyn dit onmoontlik te wees om ryk te wees én 'n Christen te wees as jy die arm man vergeet.

As ons sê dat ons demokraties is en nie totalitaristies nie, laat ons dit bewys deur ook die "eiendom" te demokratiseer. Dit sal ook aan die swartman persoonlike waardigheid en basiese onafhanklikheid verleen.

Liefde wat nie in die basiese behoeftes van die naaste voorsien nie, is blote oppervlakkige sentimentaliteit.

#### **DWANG ÓF LIEFDE!**

Die 16 miljoen swartmense moet in 13% van Suid-Afrika in die tuislande ingepers word, die werkers van die noordelike woonbuurtes moet in die "hostels" ingewurm word, maar so 'n onchristelike wetgewing sal slegs gebelgdheid, wrok en wraak oproep. Alleenlik waar 'n straal van die evangeliese lig deur 'n wetsisteem straal, sal spontane gehoorsaamheid volg en nie toegewing op wette slegs omdat dit afgedwing word nie. In so 'n toestand sal meer en krasser wette moet volg én ook meer en meer geweld sal toegepas word.

In Suid-Afrika moet gewelddadige dwang met Christelike oortuiging en liefde vervang word. Gelukkig is hy wat eerlike spontane gehoorsaamheid kan oproep, maar weë 'n volk wat dit by sy naaste moet afdwing! "Hy wat sy eie lewe wil red, sal dit verloor ..." (Jesus). \*

# WEIGHED AND ...? WEIGHED AND ...? GEWEEGEN ...? ritate is starting a new coloumn, in English kaans, which comprises NEWE

Pro Veritate is starting a new coloumn, in English and Afrikaans, which comprises NEWS, VIEWS, HAPPENINGS, STANDPOINTS, ETC., AND AN EVALUATION OF SOME ITEMS by various people. This month Rev. Brian Brown (B.B.), a Methodist minister and also in service of the Christian Institute, Mr. Peter Randall (P.R.), the director of Spro-cas, and the editor (R.A.M.) evaluate certains items.

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

#### CALL FOR SUPPORT OF GUERILLA GROUPS

The former English bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, the Right Rev. Edward Crower, who was expelled from South Africa has called on the Church in the world to support guerilla groups operating in Southern Africa.

In a statement, Bishop Crowther (now Assistant Bishop in California) said earlier this month: "The time has gone, if indeed it ever existed, when merely verbal statements from religious leaders deploring the evils of racism in Southern Africa are sufficient.

"I believe that the power of the churches must be employed in support of movements of liberation now struggling for freedom in Southern Africa."

In his statement, made before the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, Bishop Crowther also called on the UN to convene a special conference on March 21 next year (anniversary of the Sharpeville incident) to plan a course of action against apartheid and racism.

Meanwhile, the British Council of Churches' International Affairs Department this week expressed "grave concern" at the increasing evidence of the "attack by the South African government on the work of the church in South Africa and Namibia".

--EPA

In calling for further support of the "movements of liberation now struggling for freedom in Southern Africa", Bishop Edward Crowther continues to

Pro Veritate begin 'n nuwe rubriek in Afrikaans en Engels wat NUUS, OPVATTINGS, GEBEURE, STANDPUNTE, ENS., EN 'N BEOORDELING VAN SOMMIGE ITEMS deur verskillende persone weergee. Hierdie maand beoordeel ds. Brian Brown (B.B.), 'n Methodiste predikant en ook in diens van die Christelike Instituut, mnr. Peter Randall (P.R.), die direkteur van Spro-cas, en die redakteur (R.A.M.) 'n paar items.

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

damage the image of moral authority of the Church. The ongoing assertion of such spokesmen is that a commendable end, the eradication of racism, justifies the means, the encouraging of movements which advocate violence. The Christian obligation remains to overcome evil with good, and neither expediency nor a sense of impotency must alter this standpoint.

With so many voices now lending their "moral", verbal and financial support to these liberation movements, I see the danger of their becoming not martyrs in an ideological race war, but pawns in the hands of international bodies. Neither side in the conflict stands to gain, only the armchair advocates of violence.

B.B.

#### IMPATIENT AFRICANS SPURN WHITE ALLIES

White liberals in South Africa have fallen on hard times. For two decades they have been harassed and hounded by the Nationalist Government; now they find themselves being publicly denounced as well by the new "black consciousness" (or black power) movement in the country.

The exponents of "black consciousness" in South Africa accuse the white liberals of having had an inhibitory, if not downright paralysing, influence on the antiapartheid struggle. They accept that the liberals want a democratic South Africa, but they say they have persistently advocated methods that thwart the achievement of this end.

"Black consciousness" is a recent manifestation in South Africa. It has revealed itself in the Bantustans, in the Church (in the form of a "black theology" movement), and particularly among black students, who broke away from the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) to form the South African Students' Organisation (Saso), open only to "blacks"—that is, black, coloured, and Indian.

The young leaders of Saso are the most articulate exponents of black consciousness in the country. They have explained why they believe it is necessary to sever their connections with white liberals.

For example, Mr. Steve Biko, former Saso presi-

# geweeg en...?

dent, has said: "Even those whites who see a lot wrong with the system make it their business to control the response of the blacks to the provocation. No one is suggesting that it is not the business of whites of liberal opinion to oppose what is wrong. However, to us it appears as too much of a coincidence that liberals—few as they are—should not only be determining the modus operandi of those blacks who oppose the system, but also leading it, in spite of their involvement in the system.

"To us it looks as if, in fact, their role spells out the totality of the white power structure—the fact that though whites are our problem it is still other whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem.

"They tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a race one. Let them go to Van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this. We believe we know what the problem is and will stick by our findings ...

"We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate ... This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced down our throat by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the Saso message and cry becomes very relevant—black man, you are on your own."

Mr. Biko's argument—that all whites, however liberal they may be, are too involved in the economic exploitative system in South Africa to be accepted as genuine allies of oppressed blacks—has wounded many liberals, angered others, but been accepted by some as part of the inevitable course of events.

One of those who has been angered is Mr. Alan Paton, the author and a former Liberal Party president. Writing in Reality, a "journal of liberal opinion", he says: "Pride in white skin and pride in black skin are for me both vulgarities, but while the first is inexcusable, the second is not, and contains elements not vulgar at all."

#### Paton continues:

"...I asked Miss Masekela of the December symposium, who said that white liberals are a major stumbling block in the way of black liberation, what should white liberals do? Should they leave the country? Should they keep silent for ever more? Should they go north to be trained as guerilla fighters? Or should they just lie down and die?

It would be wrong to conclude from this exchange of views that the white liberal in South Africa is bowing himself out of the political scene: with power so effectively in white hands, the while liberal's voice is still important. But, clearly, the initiative in the struggle is slowly passing into other hands. Apartheid

# weighed and...?

has created black consciousness, a movement that aims at changing the whole character of the political struggle in South Africa.

Stanley Uys

——The Guardian

The overall aim of the Spro-cas 2 programmes—the Special Project for Christian Action in Society—is "to support black initiative and to help writers respond creatively to black initiative".

This aim rests on a number of assumptions about South African Society, which become relevant in the light of the analysis by Stanley Uys.

- \* Real change—i.e. a radical redistribution of power and wealth—will come about ultimately as a result of black initiative, since the whites as a group feel that they have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Any change initiated by whites is likely to be essentially marginal (mixed sporting competitions, employing blacks as "train marshallers" etc.)
- \* Whites can react to black initiative in various ways. Fear, hostility and a feeling of being threatened are uncreative reactions. Defensiveness, such as is often displayed by white liberals in the face of a growing black consciousness, is also essentially unhelpful. An open acceptance of black initiative can be creative and can help to facilitate possibilities for black initiative to express itself.
- \* Ours is a divided society and the needs of black and white are at present very different. To attempt to work meaningfully for change without recognising this, is to run the risk of becoming irrelevant. So the Spro-cas project is divided into Black Community Programmes, running parallel to each other under black and white staff respectively.
- \* At the same time there is an inevitable association between the races in South Africa, and this fact finds expression continually. Ultimately we shall not be able to escape our common destiny.

P.R.

#### LIBERTY

Soweto leaders have criticised the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, now before Parliament, as a proposal calculated to "reduce women to the status of children". If the Bill is passed, Black women of all ages will have to get permission of their fathers or guardians before they marry. The secretary of the Transvaal YWCA, Mrs. Ellen Kuzwayo, said: "It will set back the progress of African women a decade. It's high time the Government thought of us as adults. Adult White women are able to make their own choice. Why can't our women do the same?".

—— Race Relations News

#### FROM JUNK TO JESUS

Known as the "Jesus Revolution", youngsters are abandoning eastern and other esoteric cults to follow a path of pure Christ-worship; as one put it: "We're quitting junk for Jesus, man!"

A year ago a group of young people in Johannesburg decided it was time to look homewards for a panacea to ease tormented souls. "We couldn't find it in alien religions", a young girl said, "so we tried Jesus, and found the inspiration we sought. Now we're spreading the message."

It has now spread to Cape Town and Durban. The headquarters of the Jesus Revolution is in a basement

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of Eastgate building; the entrance is in Twist Street, between Bok and Leyds streets (in a service lane). It is known as the "Invisible Church". The new head-quarters is going to be in a basement church in Hill-brow.

Members of the Jesus Revolution have dedicated themselves to helping young people caught in the network of drugs, drink and self-destruction.

——Johannesburg Sentinel

#### MIXED TENNIS

For the first time in history Black and Coloured South African tennis players took part in the country's national championships. Seven African men and women participated.

---- Race Relations News

#### INTEGRATION

For the first time in the history of the Transvaal the Johannesburg City Council and the city's Coloured Management Committee had a joint ad hoc meeting at local government level.

——Race Relations News

#### DEAN TRIAL OUTCOME COULD SHARPEN CHURCH-STATE CONFRONTATION

Although expressing satisfaction and relief at the successful outcome of the appeal against his sentence under the Terrorism Act by the Dean of Johannesburg, Gonville ffrench-Beytagh, some English-speaking churchmen in South Africa have expressed fears that the church-state confrontation in South Africa could be sharpened.

The feeling is that in future the government will no longer resort to the courts if it wishes to take action against churchmen, but may use its powers of banning and house-arrest—which cannot be tested in courts—to silence churchmen of whose actions it disapproves.

The names of Father Cosmas Desmond and the Rev. Basil Moore—under house arrest and a banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act respectively—are mentioned in this connection. Recently black officials of the University Christian Movement suffered a similar fate, being banned and confined to remote magisterial districts.

The most explicit statement on a possible sharpening of the church-state confrontation was made by the Rev. Theo Kotze, Capetown director of the Christian Institute: "I feel that this will sharpen the church-state confrontation, because the dean's trial has underlined the very serious fact that in this country

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which calls itself Christian, it is possible for a clergyman who acts in obedience to the Gospel to be detained and tried and found guilty under the Terrorism Act".

"Therefore the church must ask: If such serious action was taken against the dean and then he was proved innocent, what evidence the state has against other clergymen and church workers it has acted against, but who have never been brought to trial?".

--EPA

#### THE DEAN ... AND MORE PRESSURE?

IMMEDIATELY after the sigh of relief about the outcome of the Dean's trial (and that of Jacobsen) one must brace oneself for the future. Will there be a stronger public opinion and outcry against harsh, unchristian measures (e.g. detention without trial) and will parliament return to a normal situation from the "undeclared" state of emergency in South Africa? Alternatively, will more extensive use be made of the government's extraordinary powers rather than

allowing matters to be taken to court?

A very urgent warning must be remembered: the greater the power, the greater the temptation to be godlike. Against this power no education or culture can prevail. The demon of power can be overcome only by the stronger One, Jesus Christ. Therefore the most important thing that can be done at any time against the evil effects of the power motive is the spreading and deepening of true Christ-discipleship (love, justice). The power and so-called hope for "freedom" by the method of revolutionary violence must be denounced absolutely—but that this method is non-Christian must surely be clear to everyone.

#### ANGEL OF LIGHT!

In "Christian" South Africa the most dreadful thing, however, is the desire for power in a Christian disguise. We must beware of the cunning of devilish power taking the shape of an angel of light and thereby hiding the One (Christ) who alone is capable of driving out the spirit of evil!

But we in South Africa hope, because Christian faith, love of God and love for one's fellow man act as political factors, inasmuch as they work against the misuse of political power, and this is for the good of all people.

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After the Dean's trial we must remember that only a strong Christian public opinion will be able to influence and change South Africa for the better. Public opinion must, however, be pure otherwise it will become powerful in the worst sense of the word and will again lust for might (anarchy); it must be strong or it cannot compete in society where power is decisive (pessimism); it must be united otherwise it will not have power to influence the course of history in South Africa (disintegration).

#### SIGNIFICANT OUTCRY

The public outcry after Timol's death was the most significant since Sharpeville and some people believe that this may have influenced the outcome of the Dean's appeal. The authorities know this power of public opinion and therefore—to look to the future—they may try to control public opinion more and more by exerting stronger pressure on the press! (The S.A.B.C. has already indicated this vaguely in its current affairs commentaries on the Dean's trial, Timol's enquiry and the press generally, 27.4.72).

#### MILITARIZATION AND BRAINWASHING

We could then expect not only more militarization of the life of the whole nation, but also state-controlled public opinion which, when implemented successfully and totally, would make future polls a farce because one party would control the propaganda media and would brainwash absolutely. This has already been successfully done in South Africa by creating an image of communism in "being for change", "being against the government", "standing up for the rights of the black man", etc., which is a totally different thing from real Communism outside South Africa.

#### "DO UNTO OTHERS ..."

After the Dean's trial, the sigh of relief must change for everybody in South Africa to a sigh of hope that God's will will be applied in the situation. One can only hope that everybody will work together for the good of South Africa under the banner of Christ's message "do unto others as you would have them do unto you ..."

R.A.M.

#### MENSE IN DIE KERK

Die kerk—dit is die plek waar mense, om Christus' wil, mekaar vrylaat sonder om mekaar los te laat, en mekaar vashou sonder om mekaar te bind.

Prof. dr. H. Berkhof, "Voorlopig" — Weekbulletin

# weighed and...?

#### GEREFORMEERDE SINODE OOR ANTI-RASSISMEFONDS

Elke geval van diskriminasie, aldus die sinode, wat politieke en sosiale regte en vryhede van groepe in die samelewing verkneg of uitsluitend afhanklik stel van die heersende magte, is in stryd met die evangelie. Diskriminasie op grond van religie, huidskleur, taal- of leefgewoontes is, so spreek die sinode dit uit, "een van die roepende sondes van hierdie tyd, waardeur die menslike lewe ernstig versteur word en miljoene onvoorstelbare leed aangedoen word".

Die sinode het besware teen die feit dat die antirassismefonds uitbetalings doen aan vryheidsbeweginge wat geweld nie afwys nie. Die kerke kom daardeur voor die vraag te staan of hulle verantwoordelikheid kan dra vir die politieke doelstellings en metodes van die bewegings. Die sinode het die gedagte uitgespreek dat hy voorkeur geen an kerklike ondersteuning van die bewegings en groepe wat langs 'n nie-gewelddadige weg wil kom tot opheffing van politieke en sosiale regsongelykheid.

---Gereformeerd Weekblad

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#### ZOELOES PRAAT HARD OOR GRONDEISE

'N VERKLARING waarin die Regering se houding oor die kwessie van grond vir die Bantoetuislande in sterk taal veroordeel word, is gister deur die Uitvoerende Raad van die Wetgewende Vergadering van Kwazulu uitgereik ná sy maandelikse sitting op Nongoma.

In die verklaring, wat deur hoofman Gatsha Buthelezi opgestel en deur al ses lede van die Uitvoerende Raad onderteken is, word kommentaar gelewer op die Eerste Minister se verklaring van vroeër vandeesweek dat die Regering nie bereid is om meer blanke grond aan die tuislande oor te dra as waarvoor in die Naturelletrust- en -Grondwet van 1936 voorsiening gemaak word nie.

"As dit is wat met afsonderlike ontwikkeling bedoel word, sal baie van ons dit liewer nie wil hê nie, want op sy beste kom die Eerste Minister se aanbod nie eens op 'n suikerlagie om die pil neer nie," is onder meer gesê.

#### BEDRIEËRY

"As dit waar is dat die Eerste Minister nie langer bereid is om meer grond aan ons oor te dra as dié wat ingevolge die Naturelletrust- en -Grondwet van 1936 aan ons beloof word nie, vrees ons dat baie swartmense sal dink die hele saak is niks minder as 'n bedrieëry van die swartmense nie.

"Die belofte van grond in die Naturelletrust- en -Grondwet van 1936 is gemaak lank voordat die huidige regeringsbeleid van aparte state geformuleer is.

"Dit is onrealisties, sowel met die oog op die totstandkoming van onafhanklike state as op die swart bevolking, om te dink dat ons ooit onafhanklik kan wees, d.w.s. onafhanklik in die sin waarin ons swartmense die woord verstaan.

"Hierdie verklaring (van mnr. Vorster) is die grootste onthulling van wat met afsonderlike ontwikkeling bedoel word. Ons meen dat dit nêrens ter wêreld anders vertolk kan word as niks meer of minder as 'n groot bluf vir die swartman nie."

——Die Burger

#### "...NO MORE REPATRIATES"

Paramount Cheif Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, this week raised a fresh issue in his dispute over land with the South African Government. "Unless we receive the disputed land," he told me, "we will oppose the repatriation of our people outside the Transkei to our already overburdened country. They will become stateless."

Caroline Clark

---Sunday Times

# weighed and...?

#### EDUCATING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

One of the most difficult aspects of teaching religion today is the question of social justice—and yet most of us realise that we have a very important duty to do so. It is for this reason that the Justice and Peace Commission is organising a seminar EDUCATING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE to be held in Durban on July 5th, 6th and 7th this year. All those who are in any way involved in Christian education either as priests, teachers, parents, members of lay organisations will be very welcome to attend and we do hope to have at least 100 participants.

The planning for this seminar has been going on since November 1971 and assisting the Commission members are Mrs. Jean Poynton, who has had wide experience in designing educational events, and Mr. Ben Khoapa, who is the Director of Black Community Programmes for SPRO-CAS; Mr. Ken Smith and Father Dominic Boardman of the Catechetics Commission have recently joined the Committee. There has been a strong emphasis on making the whole course as practical as possible, with much time for group discussion and making concrete plans as well as direct experience of various educational methods and techniques. One session, PER-CEIVING—BEHAVING—BECOMING will be on how learning takes place. Another major emphasis will be sharing of concerns, experiences and resources in teaching social justice.

To give a clear outline of the Church's teaching on social justice, we have invited Archbishop Hurley and Bishop Donal Lamont (former President of the Rhodesian Catholic Bishops Conference and a dynamic champion of justice). To give an overall view of the problem in South Africa as well as the movements for change we have invited Peter Randall, the Director of SPRO-CAS (Special Project for Christian Action in Society—the major body working for coordinated social change in the country). With a view to seeing the practical problems in the school setting, Mr. Chris Hurley (Headmaster of Thomas More) and Mr. Rex Pennington (Headmaster of Michaelhouse) will address the seminar: with a view to gaining information about the different syllabus approaches of the major Christian churches, national education heads of the main denominations have been invited to prepare a special programme for one evening-Father Paul Nadal has been invited to talk about our own new high school syllabus as part of this programme.

The seminar will be non-residential and will start each day at 9.00 a.m. and finish at 9.30 p.m., excepting for Friday when it will end at about 5 p.m. Teas, lunch and supper will be provided. The overall cost per person will be R10 for the three days. (It is hoped that no-one will be prevented from attending for financial reasons so assistance in this regard is available.)

Those who are interested in attending the seminar should write for application forms or further details to:

The Secretary, Social Justice Seminar, P.O. Box 1991, DURBAN.

> ——Commission for Justice and Peace Archdiocese of Durban

## ,,CHRISTELIKE" ONDERDRUKKING IN S.A.

Dit is noodsaaklik om in Suid-Afrika met die swart man in dialoog te tree. So dikwels gebeur dit dat daar nie net namens die swartman besluite geneem word nie, maar dat hy selfs voorgeskryf word hoe om oor die situasie te dink. Ds. Sol Selepe, wat in die N.G. Kerk as leraar opgelei is en op die oomblik met die Teologiese Korrespondensie-kursus vir die "African Independent Churches Association" (AICA) behulpsaam is, het hier as oortuigde swart Christen sy sieninge oor "wit" Suid-Afrika neergepen.

DAAR KAN GEEN twyfel bestaan dat daar in Suid-Afrika baie swart sowel as baie wit Christene is nie. Dit plaas die Christelike samelewing in hierdie land in 'n baie interessante posisie. Dit kom my byna voor asof daar 'n terugkeer na sommige toestande, wat in die vroeë eeue van die Christelike tydperk bestaan het, mag wees. In daardie dae was die lede van die kerk meestal die minder bevoorregtes en in sy eie voorwaartse beweging het die kerk met hulle vir geregtigheid en vryheid saamgestry.

#### VERSKIL VAN MENING IN KERK

Een verskil wat van groot belang is, moet egter opgemerk word. In daardie dae was die kerkleiers deur 'n heidense gemeenskap gekonfronteer. Soos wat die kerk vooruitgegaan het, het hy besef dat hy sy lewe teenoor dit, wat heeltemal verskillend was, moes ontwikkel.

Dit blyk dat die stryd om geregtigheid en vryheid in hierdie land teen sienswyses, wat sterk deur Christene gehandhaaf word, is. Dit is byna onmoontlik om ooreenstemming tussen Christene te vind juis oor Christelike beginsels wat die kerk se pogings om die lewenslot van tenminste die helfte van sy lede te verbeter, behoort te beheers. Een deel van die Christelike gemeenskap is besig om op alle moontlike maniere te probeer bewys dat die Christelike geloof die huidige toestand van rassediskriminasie handhaaf.

Deur God se genade het die kerk in Suid-Afrika vooruitgegaan en hy moet aanhou om te vorder, maar sy vordering word jammerlik verhinder deur hierdie gebrek aan ooreenkoms by homself oor die plek wat die helfte van sy lede in die politieke paradys behoort in te neem.

#### CHRISTELIKE OPLOSSING VIR SUID-AFRIKA

In ons land oorheers bevooroordeelde oorwegings

oor ras, nasionaliteit en kleur en op hierdie manier word die nasionale oordeel benadeel.

Ek is daarvan oortuig dat ons as Christene morele moed wat deur liefde, geduld, verdraagsaamheid en takt versterk is, benodig om medeburgers binne en buite die kerk op te voed en te oorreed om die Christelike benadering van die ingewikkelde en lewensbelangrike sake waarvoor ons te staan gekom het, te aanvaar en te ondersteun. Die Christene behoort deur die kerk die beskermers te wees van die etiese beginsels waarop die maatskappy gebou moet word. In hierdie opsig sou enige onverskilligheid aan hulle kant hulle aan 'n klag van ontrou teenoor die Groot Meester blootlê.

My pleidooi hier is dat ons as Christene nie ons verantwoordelikheid moet vermy nie, maar bewustelik en moedig bevestig wat ons glo 'n Christelike oplossing vir nasionale sake is.

#### BEVOOROORDEELDE BELEIDE

Ek is nie voornemens om die voortreflikhede of gebreke van beleide soos assimilasie, apartheid, voogdyskap, ens., te bespreek wat nou deur die verskillende leiers van wit openbare menings geborg word en wat hulle as praktiese pogings aanbied om die eise van swart mense vir aktiewe deelname aan die aangeleenthede van ons gemeenskaplike land, Suid-Afrika, te bevredig nie. Ek sal my bepaal by 'n kritiese ondersoek van verskeie neigings wat hierdie beleide ernstig benadeel, nieteenstaande die meriete waarvoor hulle woordvoerders aanspraak maak nie.

#### A. AANSPRAAK OP UITSLUITLIKE EIENDOMSREG VAN SUID-AFRIKA

Die luide geroep van die meerderheid wit Suid-Afrikaners dat hierdie 'n witmansland is en ten alle koste so behou moet word, word oral gehoor. Blykbaar moet dit tot in ewigheid so wees. Dit sou miskien meer korrek wees om te sê tot die oordeelsdag, want daar wag 'n onvermydelike ramp vir Suid-Afrika indien wit oorheersing ten koste van ander en groter groepe van die gemeenskap bevorder word. As 'n reaksie op hierdie bewering het swart nasionalisme alreeds sy teeneis in die slagspreuk "Afrika vir die swartes" ("Africa for Africans") verklaar.

Wat moet Christene dan in hierdie warboel van aansprake maak?

Christene moet hulle medeburgers, aan albei kante van die kleurskeidslyn, die volslae vrugteloosheid en verkeerdheid van dié uitsluitlike bewering van die kant van enige deel van ons Suid-Afrikaanse nasie laat insien. Gelukkig begryp, of begin sommige van die leiers van beide wit en swart Suid-Afrika hierdie saak anders begryp.

Die Christen moet poog om 'n menslike maatskappy, wat so gelukkig is soos wat dit vir mense moontlik is om te wees, op te bou.

Die gees van selfsugtige eksklusiwisme word weer duidelik in 'n neiging om beskawing as die alleenbesit en -produksie van witmense te beskou. Daarom die pleidooi dat swartmense volgens hulle eie aard in die sogenaamde Bantoestans moet ontwikkel. Hierdie selfsugtige aanspraak ignoreer die feit dat die Westerse beskawing sy historiese ontwikkeling aan talle antieke en moderne bronne te danke het.

Om die beskawing te beskerm, moet swartmense, nieteenstaande enige nadele waaronder hulle mag ly, ook besef dat dit hulle taak as individue en as gemeenskapsgroepe is om te strewe om erkende standaarde van beskawing te behaal om hulle sodoende toe te rus om die voorregte van beskawing te ontvang en geniet.

#### B. DIE GEES VAN OORHEERSING EN MEERDERWAARDIGHEID

'n Herhaalde toon in baie van die gedagtes oor rassevraagstukke is dié van die aangenome reg van wit om swart te oorheers. Selfs die voorstanders van die beleid van Christelike voogdyskap, met sy klem op ontwikkeling, is gewoonlik stil oor die kwessie van die toekenning van gewone burgerskap aan dié swartmense wat die nodige kwalifikasies besit. Hoe voortreflik voogdyskap ookal mag wees, word dit aan die kalg blootgestel dat 'n lewenslange toesig oor die beskermde persoon aangeneem word asof alle gekleurde mense, kragtens daardie feit, 'n voog nodig het, terwyl die witman kragtens sy wit kleur vanselfsprekend vir voogdyskap toegerus is.

Kortom, die kardinale swakheid in die verskillende rassebeleide wat ons deur die wit politieke partye aangebeid word, is dat hulle so besmet is met lewenslange heerskappy (ekonomies, polities of andersins) van wit oor swart.

Die gedagte van wit oorheersing of Herrenvolk moet verdwyn. Dit is eenvoudig net nie waar dat alle wit mense "beter" as alle swart mense is nie.

#### C. SAMEWERKING WORD BUITE REKENING GELAAT

Een versperring van die bevordering van die vooruitgang van swartmense is die gebrek aan samewerking

tussen wit en swart in die belange van die land as geheel. Soos sake nou staan, word dit in die algemeen van swartmense verwag om sonder opmerking of beswaar die krummels wat van hulle heer se tafel val. aan te neem. Hierdie houding ignoreer die natuurlike neiging in die mens om die dinge waaraan hy help skep het, soveel te meer te waardeer. Tog word sulke basiese aangeleenthede soos raadpleging en 'n nasionale byeenkoms verwerp. Christene aan albei kante van die apartheidsskeidslyn moet hard werk vir die verwesenliking van samewerking tenspyte van die sterk stroom daarteen. En laat dit erken word dat volle samewerking alleen kan bestaan waar alle groepe van die gemeenskap die geleentheid gebied word om volgens hulle persoonlike vermoeëns in die wetgewende, sowel as die uitvoerende en administratiewe werksaamhede van die land te deel!

#### D. NIE-ERKENNING VAN INDIVIDUELE PRESTASIE

Hoewel die kelm op die vooruitgang van die massa onontwikkelde mense voortreflik is, word dit dikwels die verskoning om aan individue die voorregte en verantwoordelikhede van die beskawing te weier, terwyl hulle daarvoor toegerus is. Hierdie houding ignoreer die historiese feit dat dit deur God se voorsienigheid is dat vooruitgang deur individue gekom het en dat dit heelwaarskynlik so sal aanhou.

Mag ons dit waag om te hoop dat die krag en geld wat wit Suid-Afrika aan afsonderlike rasse bestee, anders aangewend mag word sodat stand kan kom? \*

#### REGISTRAR FOR THE FEDERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa is well known as the centre for training African, Coloured and Indian candidates for ordination in the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. The present Registrar has, for family reasons, decided to relinquish the post. Letters of application must be received before 30th June 1972, and full details will be provided in reply.

Qualifications are a good knowledge of office administration and bookkeeping, with preferably some experience in general administration. A house is provided, and the starting salary is R2400.

We ask those who have the training of the ministry at heart to consider, if they are qualified, whether they should apply for the post, or, failing that, whether they can bring the matter to the notice of another suitable person.

Further information is available on request. Please write to the President, Federal Theological Seminary, Private Bag 308, Alice, C.P.

# SOS ON SOCIETY One of the most significant testimonies yet on love One of the most significant testimonies yet on love or of the most significant testimonies yet on love or of the most significant testimonies yet on love or of the most significant testimonies yet on love or of the most significant testimonies yet on love

One of the most significant testimonies yet on love and justice in South Africa was issued, under the title "A Call to Conscience", by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, recently held in Pretoria.

Here the full text of this remarkable statement is published. What more need be said?—South Africa S.O.S.—consider and practise before it is too late!

- Brethren in Christ: We invite you to-day to share our thoughts on the life of man in our beloved country. As servants of God's people we are deeply concerned about the quality of that life: all that makes it truly human and Christian; all, too, that is dehumanizing and out of harmony with the mind of Christ.
- 2. When a young nation begins to grow, physically and materially, its aspirations grow with it. If a nation as a whole is to taste fulfilment, those who are privileged must recognize and respond to the very basic human desire even of the underprivileged to share all the fruits of prosperity. Those who have little, will always want more. And those who have must learn to share more with those who are less fortunate. It is time we in this country gave our full attention to this fundamental prerequisite of proper human advancement.
- Only last year in Rome, the World Synod of Bishops again declared the Christian's duty to work for social justice in the public life of his community, of his nation and of the world community. We believe, with the Synod, that such commitment and action are essential to living the life of the Gospel.
- 4. Jesus Christ told us that we are judged by our behaviour to our brothers, spiritual or material, personal or social. So, wherever citizens are capable of influencing their own destiny through active participation in community and national affairs, they are bound to carry their Christianity fully into public life. This means that, in the human situation, there must be an involvement of all Christians, and an involvement in all situations. This is a truly active and meaningful expression of brotherly love.
- 5. The Synod itself said of this love: "(It) implies an absolute demand for justice, namely a recognition of the dignity and rights of our neighbour." (Justice in the World, II.) Let us also remember that Pope Paul's theme for the year is that if we want peace we must work for justice.

- 6. Your bishops have addressed you several times on social and interracial justice. They have also repeatedly referred to documents of the Popes and of the Second Vatican Council on their issues. Regrettably there has been little significant response. But we can try again. We can renew with greater vigour and urgency our efforts to do our share in creating a just, stable and peaceful Christian society in our country.
- 7. As one step in that direction, the Justice and Peace Commission of the Bishops' Conference will publish a series of discussion programmes. Parishes, church associations, religious communities, priests' councils and pastoral groups, youth movements and schools are urged to use these programmes for study and action.
- 8. There are many sincere Catholics of all shades of political opinion who wish to do their best to help to solve our complicated social problems. But they are uncertain of the true demands of justice and Christianity in the situation. The doubt causes indecision and even despair, while time passes and others suffer terribly. It is our earnest hope that what we say here, and the discussion programmes to follow, will be a help to decision. It is not our purpose to dictate in these matters, but to enlighten and inform Christian consciences. Each decision will then be all the richer for being based on personal responsibility.

#### I-RELIGION AND POLITICS

9. The first question we must ask ourselves, in the light of what we have said, is whether the Church is entering party politics. Our unequivocal answer is "no". We are simply showing greater concern for the demands of the Gospel in social life. To this extent we are sharing in a radical renewal of the Church and all its members-radical in the sense that what the Popes and the Vatican Council II have said immensely develops our idea of the Church and what it should be doing. It is necessary to distinguish between party political action and the concern for justice in human relations which the Church must promote under any political system. It is our express desire to keep party politics out of our pulpits, Church schools,

study circles and associations. Only the insincere or mischievous could describe as political our defence of the poor in their essential rights to family life, work, a living wage and participation in public life. These are matters of primary justice, of rights written by God into human nature from the beginning, before political parties were born. (Justice in the World, introduction)

#### II—OUR WITNESS

10. Our witness to social justice must begin at home if it is to be credible. Unless it does we shall not speak with conviction and we risk compromising our integrity and Christian character. Nor must we be arrogant or self-righteous, but act as humble followers of Christ, confessing our hope that we ourselves may be converted to the fulfilling of the divine plan. (Justice in the World, part III. The Churches Witness.) The Church in its institutions is liable to conform unconsciously to social convention. We must study the wages we pay, the conditions of work we offer and the distribution of personnel and funds. We must show that the Church is not content to exist in a state of privileged protection, but that like Christ, it has a special commitment to the poor, the outcast, the oppressed and the unfortunate. Individual members of the Church must be aware of their obligation in justice to pay a living wage; and employees must not forget their duty to give an honest return of service.

#### III-LOVE AND UNITY

11. The social situation here gives us serious misgivings. Legislation and conventions divide even those who are called to live and work together and to share the same bread in Christ. We are thus prevented from knowing one another. A social gulf separates us as Christians and humans, causing ignorance of one another, resentment and suspicion. In collaboration with other Christians and all who are willing to work with us, we must do everything in our power to stop this fragmentation of brotherhood and love.

#### IV—WORLD PROBLEMS

12. The next point we must stress in our programme of Christian social re-education is our need to see our own problems in relation to the world community and international justice. Recent Popes and the Bishops' Synod have often referred to the following issues in particular:

- The existence of affluence side by side with poverty and starvation;
- The reluctance of many peoples to recognize the oneness of the community of man;
- The menace to peace where injustice prevails;
- \* Materialistic attitudes that increase our desire for more and more possessions and status and which endanger the human race and its physical environment. Status-seeking and agressive materialism are the cause of evils to be found under both capitalist and socialist economies: evils that have caused wars, revolutions and the rise of atheistic communism.
- These evils affect members of all race groups, and much could be said about them, but our chief concern for the moment is with interracial justice.

#### V-CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

- 14. The problems we face must not make us lose hope or energy. Moral courage and a sense of human dignity and vocation are essential to Christian witness. St. Paul has told us: "There is nothing I cannot master with the help of the One who gives me strength." (Corinthians.)
- 15. White Christians in South Africa must use for the benefit of the whole community the broad opportunity they have to participate in local and national affairs, in trade unions, professional and cultural associations, the Press and other social contacts.
- 16. Africans, Coloureds and Asians, though severely restricted, are learning from their very deprivation to explore what avenues are open to them to promote their own advancement. They are demonstrating new and praiseworthy vigour in discovering their own dignity and identity, and in shaping their own future. It is the responsibility of Christians to ensure that the inspiration of their faith is not lacking to these new and powerful stirrings.

#### VI—THE FAMILY AND MIGRATORY LABOUR

17. When we consider specific points in our social system needing reform, one of those most urgently demanding attention concerns the disastrous effects of migratory labour, especially on

the family. While the system of short term migratory labour may be helpful to young men from rural areas in Southern Africa to make a start in life, long-term migratory labour has disastrous human consequences. The dehumanizing effects of prolonged migratory labour can be seen throughout the world, but it is particularly serious here, where about one-and-a-half million men, around half of the main African male labour force of the country, are obliged to live more or less permanently separated from their families. It is the common experience of mankind that such enforced separation leads to the breakdown of family life, and an increase in prostitution and homosexuality. We therefore welcome recent indications that more men will be allowed to bring their wives with them to their place of work.

18. A country claiming to be Christian cannot countenance the humanly destructive effects of this labour system, nor can it remain indifferent to life in compounds and in hostels where men and women are denied a full human existence. There can be but one answer to this situation, and that is to work to eradicate the evils of the system. This problem should form an important subject for discussion and action among us.

#### VII—EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

- 19. Literacy is accepted as a prerequiste for modern social life. Thus there should be equal opportunity for all in this country to attain complete literacy, irrespective of race. What cogent argument can be advanced for making education compulsory and free for some and not for others? Modern states accept their duty to educate all their people by placing an equitable burden on all taxpayers in proportion to income.
- 20. Opportunity for higher education should not be on grounds of race or economic position. Deep frustration begins with half-education. The African in particular is continually being told that he cannot assume responsible positions without proper education and development, while the necessary opportunities are not sufficiently available to him. To make educational opportunities readily available to some sections of the population, while others are restricted or impeded from them, is to create artificial feelings of superiority and inferiority.

#### VIII—WORK AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

21. What we have said of education applies also to

- opportunities in skilled work and public services. It is wrong to deny a person deserved promotion on grounds of race, religion, sex, class or political opinion. Job reservation and lack of opportunity in skilled work are forcing not only adults but more particularly energetic youths to idleness and despair, to gangsterism and violent attitudes.
- 22. The Church has a serious duty to champion the right of the masses to a living wage. It is urgently necessary in our country that a minimum wage enabling families to live above the poverty datum line be secured for all workers for whom it is not laid down at present. Employers can do much to improve the workers' lot. Government regulations can be helpful. But it is universally recognized that the best means of securing a living wage and suitable working conditions is the registered trade union, with the legally recognized right to negotiate, which unhappily is denied the African worker in particular.

#### IX-DISABILITIES UNDER DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION

- In many ways the poorest members of our mixed population are the least protected. There is no unemployment insurance required by law for those who earn least. Pensions are below the subsistence level. There is a lack of care for the aged, the deprived and the handicapped. There is a serious and critical shortage of housing. Recreational and cultural facilities that would make life more human and tolerable are inadequate. Resettlement camps have shown how people are uprooted and moved in a heartless manner. Policing in townships and hostels and on trains urgently needs improvement. The innocent and poor have little protection against violence, exaction of bribes, abuse of the hire purchase system and similar practices. In addition to all this the "pass laws" inflict on them a most grave and quite unnecessary burden.
- There is in all this a deplorable failure to protect ordinary human rights, and a carelessness and indifference about the needs that conflicts with the spirit of Christianity.

#### X-THE FRANCHISE AND THE RULE OF LAW

 In a democratic society the franchise is indispensable to any discussion of human rights.
 South Africa depends on Africans, Asians and Coloureds for 75 per cent of its labour force, yet it denies full citizenship and franchise to them.

- 26. Whatever may happen in the homelands, common justice requires that South Africa face up to the question of granting citizen rights to all who in practice reside permanently in the Republic and have no other country.
- 27. We are deeply troubled by the memory of many people who have been detained, banned, silenced or restricted, without public trial, or who have become the object of suspicion and harassment because of their Christian concern for neighbours of a different race. All that we know of many of them is their struggle and protest on behalf of the voiceless who suffer under discriminatory legislation and way of life, and this deserves our sympathy and praise. It is also our duty to express our concern for the welfare of political detainees. We support those who believe a judge to be the proper authority to determine the humanity of detention conditions.

#### CONCLUSION

- 28. The problem of South Africa has many dimensions and many faces. It runs through our history and threatens our future. The record shows that we have failed to cope with racialism and reduce discrimination. But a bold and sustained effort is not beyond us, even at this stage. While the evil exists, no one may rest. The greatest evil of all would be to disregard its existence. When justice demands it, a Christian must have the courage to act, though what he hopes to achieve may change his whole way of living.
- We must seek this courage in joint action with all people of good will. We must welcome the efforts of other Churches and organizations and work with them as far as we can. We must do our best to support programmes of reflection and action supplied by agencies of our own Church, bearing in mind the importance of the programmes that will be made available shortly. But ultimately the source of strength in these difficult and tangled situations is Christ alone-Christ who gave himself in word and example, in love and self-sacrifice, that all men might share with him the life he shares with the Father in the Spirit. To receive this life and strength from Christ we need prayer; the prayer of the community and of the individual; the prayer of the Mass and the Sacraments; the prayer of humble heart-to-heart communication; the prayer that expands into fraternal concern for our brothers and eager collaboration with them. Let us seek in such prayer a formation of conscience that will make us aware of our Christian vocation and capable of following it without fear in the name of Christ. \*

### STEM UIT DIE VLAKTES howard eybers

#### ek ken hulle

EK KEN HULLE EK KEN DIE BRUINMENSE, LIEWE MENSE IS HULLE.

IN MY KOMBUIS WAS SKOTTELGOED OP.

IN MY TUIN TREK GRASSIES UIT.

DELIVERY BOY WAT MY GROCERIES AANRY.

STRAATVEER EN JOHNNY WAT MY ODD JOBS DOEN.

MEVROU, AS DIT JOU SIENING IS SLAAN JY DIE BAL VÊR MIS. 'N DRUPPEL IN DIE OSEAAN IS AL WAT JY RAAK SIEN.

HET JY GEWEET DAT DAAR OPGEVOEDE BRUINES IS?

#### emigrante

NOG 'N HONDERED VAN MY MENSE EMIGREER VANDAG.
OOR DIE WYE, BLOUE OSEAAN NA KANADA EN AUSTRALIË.
VREEMDE WÊRELDE
WAT NET IN MY DROME BESTAAN DROME VAN PRAGTIGE PARKE,
WYD EN VRY
WAAR MY KINDERS MAG HARDLOOP,
SING EN SPRING
IN WIND EN SNEEU EN SONNESKYN
WAAR GEEN BORDJIES IS NIE
WAAR NIEMAND SAL KEER NIE.

O LAND VAN MY DROME HIER KOM EK, EK KOM. MY ANDER BROERS EN SUSTERS WAG VIR MY WAAR HULLE SO TEVREDE IS. EK SOEK NA IETS, EK SOEK AL BAIE LANK; DIS OOR DIE HORISON SO VAAG DAT WAG VIR MY.

IN DIE SKEMERLIG GLIP TAFELBERG SAGGIES WEG. DIE AFSKEID IS SO SWAAR VAN VRIENDE, LAND WAT EK SO INNIG LIEFHET ... MAAR ...

AG WAT IS EEN SOUTERIGE TRAAN TEEN AL DIE DIEPE WATERS VAN DIE SUGGENDE, RUST'LOSE TAFELBAAI, WAT SAGGIES, DROEWIG FLUISTER VAARWEL MY VRIEND EN VREDE VIR JOU SIEL.

#### AGITATORS under EVERY PULPIT

#### Africa Acts Feature Service

THE LATEST ROUND of deportation orders served against churchmen by the South African Government will remove three remarkable men from South West Africa. They are the Right Rev. Colin Winter, Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, Mr. David de Beer, his diocesan treasurer, and the Rev. Stephen Hayes, a worker-priest who earns his living as a printer's proof-reader in Windhoek, capital of South West Africa.

None of them have hesitated to express their views about the oppressiveness of apartheid in South West Africa, which South Africa has administered since the first World War but where its presence has now been declared illegal by the World Court.

#### COLIN WINTER

Bishop Winter, a 43-year-old Englishman, appeared in the headlines last year after two Lutheran Church leaders in South West Africa, Bishop Auala and Moderator Gowaseb had written an open letter to Prime Minister Vorster protesting against South Africa's apartheid policy and asking for their own country's independence. Though his own Anglican Church was not one of the petitioners, Bishop Winter supported the Lutheran appeal.

Three months later, in his address to his own Synod, Bishop Winter said, "as an Anglican bishop, I reject apartheid on Biblical grounds; on humanitarian grounds for the endless suffering it is causing the poorest in our community ..."

#### CRISIS SITUATION IN SWA

He said then that a crisis situation existed in South West Africa and called for a conference between the leaders of the Church and the State.

Not many weeks later, some 13 000 Ovambo people working in South West Africa's industries and administration stopped work in protest against the Government's labour contract system— and the crisis was a reality. The strike forced the South African Government to change the contract labour system and abolish the South West Africa Native Labour Association, but the 13 000 striking Ovambos were forcibly repatriated to their "homeland" in the north of the country.

#### NO CHARGE

Bishop Winter was accused then of helping to start the strike, a charge which he has strongly denied. He said last in February 1972 when his expulsion was announced that there was not a single charge against him or the other deportees which a court of law in South West Africa could uphold.

He said that the Church had repeatedly warned the Government about the suffering caused by the migratory labour system, which was followed by the breakup of family life and an increase in alcoholism and prostitution. All he had tried to do was to persuade the Government to abandon its policies, which could only lead to greater confrontations and bitterness.

#### SHIFT OF BLAME

"The Government has not been able to silence me," he said, "and I will not remain silent as long as there are injustices in this country." He thought the Government had tried to shift the blame from itself following the Ovambo strike "by looking for agitators under every pulpit."

David de Beer and Stephen Hayes, the other two men ordered to leave the country by March 4, were joint editors of a magazine called "Ikon", published by an ecumenical fellowship called CHURCH, which has members in South Africa and South-West Africa. The magazine, whose South African staff have already suffered from the attention of the South African police, has made no secret of its attitude to apartheid and its enforcement.

#### BLACK POWER

In its most recent issue there was an article by Stephen Hayes on Black Power and Black Theology, which pulled no punches for black or white readers and certainly not for the South African Government.

"If the blacks say to whites, 'We don't need you'—then white liberals (who have given so many multi-racial parties so the blacks can meet the whites) feel terribly upset," he wrote. "If whites are needed at all, they are needed because they are people, and not because they are white. In reality, it is the whites who need the blacks.

"In Southern Africa, white and black live under a common system of oppression, and it is not only the blacks who are oppressed. But it is the blacks who have to suffer the worst of the oppression, and it is the blacks who are most acutely conscious of the oppression. The initiative for liberation therefore lies largely with the blacks, and they must liberate the whites as well as themselves.

Cont. on page 17

PRO VERITATE

# JUSTICE CITIES ENVIRONMENT

#### SCIENCE AND LIFE

Urbanization in South Africa has just started, in comparison with some other countries, but we, too, have a "great trek" from rural areas to the big towns and already Hillbrow in Johannesburg is the most densely populated area in the world. To control society in future means to control cities. This part of the report of the Working Committee on Church and Society of the World Council of Churches looks at some urban questions.

#### I CITIES IN TROUBLE

URBANIZATION is a world process that has different characteristics and potentials in every country. Theoretically cities can grow indefinitely. The population of a country can become 100% urban and still its cities will continue to grow in absolute numbers as a result of natural increase. On present trends, we can expect to see several human agglomerations of 20, 30, 40 or more million inhabitants by the year 2000. The problems they will pose to developed economies will be quite different from those that will confront developing economies. While developed countries are mainly concerned about the quality of the environment (traffic control, urban government, deterioration of the housing stock, racial discrimination and increased management costs), developing countries are mainly worried about unemployment and underemployment and the supply of basic housing and other essential urban and community services.

#### WE KNOW WHAT WE DON'T WANT ....

But both developed and developing economies, will have to ask themselves: if we haven't learned to live in cities and to manage cities of 1, 2 or 4 million people, how can we expect to learn to live in human agglomerations of 10, 20 or 40 million people? Cities are man-made artificial environments built to perform certain cultural, social, economic and political functions. They reflect the structure of a society. Different socio-political systems produce different settlement patterns in response to different national objectives and different forms of control of their productive capital and human resources. In a world which is urbanizing rapidly and which is already 50% urban we still don't know what sort of cities we want. The people are more certain about the conditions they don't want to find in the cities they live in than about the environment they want to have.

Employment, urban services, housing, schools, cultural activities, adequate transportation, playfields and parks, all are objectives clear to define but, even if we could afford them, how can we combine them so as to create an environment of quality? The cities we build now will be needed by our children and grand-children but how can we plan them so as to incorporate the ideas and values and institutions that will be necessary in an ever-changing world?

#### SYSTEMS FAILIED

The underdeveloped city is and will be a crucial problem of the developing world. What is an underdeveloped city? Basically a city which is largely self-built with perishable materials, where unemployment and poor urban services affect the lives of an increasing number of families, where social tensions and squalor appear side by side. It is the city built with insufficient human and capital resources.. It is the city of socio-economic systems which have failed, or have not yet been able to create the basic conditions for an adequate life.

Urban problems cannot be isolated from the problems of rural development. The rapid process of urbanization that we witness in developing countries is the result of high rates of natural population increase and of the migrations from rural to urban areas. In developing countries the population, especially the urban population, has a tendency to concentrate in relatively small areas of each national territory reflecting the disequilibrium in the levels of development and the uneven distribution of opportunities and resources that exist in each country.

#### KEY QUESTIONS

Urban areas are not prepared to deal with the fast demographic and physical growth that is taking place and that is expected. Urban economies have not been able to ensure employment and basic services for a large proportion of the urban population. The costs of providing the new urban population with minimum housing and services are so enormous that few or no developing countries will be able to provide them, at least in the foreseeable future. The following key questions have to be asked: Which socio-economic

system is the most convenient for countries in the present phase of development of developing countries? How have the following key decisions been made, and how should they be made?

- (a) the creation of preconditions for a more comprehensive solution in the future;
- (b) the definition of a strategy that will make a better use of the limited resources at our disposal to provide urban solutions which includes the decisions that will affect the spatial structure of nations in the future;
- (c) the control of the development of land (which may often involve public ownership of this land) where the future expansion of cities is to take place;
- (d) the implementation of urban reform—a concept that goes beyond simple changes in the urban and suburban land tenure systems and land uses, to include new systems of urban government and public investment, new methods of popular participation and essentially a change in the power structure that controls decisions affecting the dynamics of urban growth and the internal structure of cities;
- (e) the evaluation of the technology that should be incorporated in the future construction of cities, as the type of technology will affect what are the first social, economic and political priorities.

#### RECOMMENDATION

We believe that Christians will want to be involved in the attempts to make the urban environment a really human environment for the large numbers who live in cities. As they are concerned with the quality of life, they will want to know about future urban trends. We therefore recommend an international study (of perhaps seven or eight countries) on comparative urban policies and their relationship to other regions of the country in the framework of national development efforts. We see this as a sharing of experience between nations, e.g. between Africa and Latin America. Such a study could therefore include case studies of selected countries. It might include such matters as national, regional and local policies, the requirements of urban reform, comparative legislation, the proportion of investment resources in different sectors, the costs of urban development and redevelopment, and the way all these affect the total environment of city dwellers.

#### RESOLUTION

Local churches should study the opportunities of using their resources (in land or financial investments) to help the poorer sections of the urban community—by for example providing land for housing and public services, or helping in the housing of low income groups (through technical assistance, housing cooperatives, etc.).

#### II SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ENVIRONMENT

Mankind, through technology, has vastly increased human powers of dominion and stewardship over the earth. But within existing social structures nations and groups within nations use technology to dominate and exploit other nations and groups. Another consequence of such employment of technology is the increasing gap between rich and poor peoples.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Justice and human dignity require increased economic and technological development among some people in the world and among particular groups within nations. Such developments require changes in appropriation of the world's resources, not as a condescending grant from some to others but as a basic human right. They also require changes in the distribution of political and economic power.

Economic and technological development has characteristically meant increased use of natural resources and increased pollution of the environment. We already see the approaching exhaustion of some valuable resources; and increasing pollution threatens human life and health, immediately in some places and ultimately everywhere. There is already discussion of the desirability of a zero growth rate in global economic production. The proposal is debatable. If it is persuasive, it means that justice will require wealthy societies to moderate, halt, or even reverse their rates of consumption and pollution in order that other societies may accelerate economic growth. Even if it is not persuasive, the evidence is overwhelming that economic growth alone, without redistribution of power and resources, will not bring justice. Recent indications that weaker countries, by pooling their efforts, can demand higher prices for their products, as in the case of oil, are small, yet encouraging signs of change in a favourable direction.

#### LIMITS TO WORLD!

Population growth increases the demand upon economic production. While no one knows precisely how many people the earth can support, there is a limit; hence overall population growth of the earth must inevitably stop at some point. The number of people that the globe or any area on it can sustain depends partly upon how much they consume and pollute. A society that needs economic development for human well-being finds its efforts frustrated if population growth outruns economic growth. However, developing countries rightly protest when wealtheir countries use "the population explosion" as a pretext to avoid their own responsibility for social justice. Actually population growth in industrialized societies, where per capita rates of consumption and pollution are high, is no less urgent a problem than in developing countries. In both cases population growth presents problems that humanity cannot avoid.

#### CHURCH CELEBRATES ....

These considerations require man to reconsider the meaning of human life and community. Societies, heedless of responsibility toward other men and future generations(1), have measured their success in terms of high consumption and growth in the gross national product; but the judgement upon such insensitivity is evident. Economic development, to a degree, is a necessity for human liberation; pursued excessively or made an idol, it is enslaving. A society, freed from both economic privation and idolatry, may offer its members a higher quality of life than most men know today. The Church, in particular, can testify that man, who lives by bread, does not live by bread alone. This testimony the Church celebrates sacramentally in the breaking and sharing of bread.

We recommend: that the Church and Society Department commission an investigation of:

- (a) the issues raised by the consideration of the finite limits to the earth's physical resources and of the growing pollution of the environment, taking account of the earth's finite capacity to absorb it;
- (b) the arguments for reduction of economic growth in developed countries; and
- (c) the implications of these findings for social justice, especially on the international scale.

Cont. next month

(1) There are differences of judgement among us about man's ethical responsibility for posterity. To some, a concern for future generations is a fundamental ethical responsibility: to pollute their world or rob it of resources is to be ethically callous. To others a concern for the distant future reveals a lack of confidence that ignores the ability of future generations to look out for themselves.

We agree that man has responsibility for leaving a good earth to generations which follow, with a diminishing responsibility for generations of the distant future. Likewise we agree that we sometimes face difficult conflicts between immediate and long-range human goods. Some of the theological and ethical dimensions of these issues are discussed in a paper by Prof. Thomas Derr.

#### AGITATORS (cont.)

#### FREEDOM

"If whites are to have anything to do with this process, they must join it as brothers, as equals. They must not see themselves as bold crusaders, out to liberate the blacks, and expecting them to be grateful. They can only participate if they recognise that they too are oppressed, that it is their own freedom they are fighting for.

"But this is difficult, because the whites fear freedom more—they fear freedom for themselves and for others. And the oppressor fears freedom most of all, because he knows, deep down, what he has done to the oppressed, and he fears what he has created.

"For the oppressed, be they black or white, a black or white theology is not needed. A black theology is one which is based on the internalisation by the black oppressed of the image of the white oppressor, and its only hope of salvation is that he should seek to become like the man who is oppressing him.

"Against this, the Christian gospel is the good news that Christ comes to destroy all oppression, that he lifts the yoke of the oppressor, and sets men free. His promise is to destroy every rule and every authority and every power—be that power black or white. Power is a penultimate thing: it is a means, not an end in itself. And it is something which is ultimately to be destroyed." \*

### 'Relevant Gospel' 5 (cont.)

speak of the love of God realistically in relation to such a world as we have and as we produce it is to express one's reverence for man as he is in the light of man as he might be. But in the light of Christian faith it is far more. It is to dare the claim that what man might be already exists". (38)

Cont. next month

- (36) Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 129.
- (37) Colossians 3:11 and Galatians 3:28.
- (38) Jenkins, op. cit., p. 112.

#### 'Relevant Gospel' 5

# SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS of THEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Brian Johanson, Professor of theology at the University of South Africa, Pretoria, goes into three possibilities for the future of traditional values in South African society and in this part of his address evaluates revolution, amongst other things.

#### THE CHURCH IN S.A.

IN PURSUING THESE social implications of this theological anthropology into particular aspects of human relations in South Africa, we are concerned primarily with their relevance to the Christian church. The conclusions which will be drawn give rise to the conviction that the church in our country must consider again with utmost seriousness the meaning of Jesus Christ for its understanding of the men, women and children of this land. They reflect some of the ways in which Christians are affected, and affect others in their social life by the views of man which they hold.

But, because the church is not a structural entity over against society, or even an independent abstract element super-imposed upon society, but is a community within society comprising Christian men and women, this larger society is also involved in our conclusions.

This double commitment in which Christians find themselves is the occasion of frequent ambiguity in our society, and invokes the censure of those who cannot understand the reason for the tension. This is usually because they have succeeded either in separating in their minds the responsibilities of the church from those of society, or on the other hand have succeeded in totally identifying them. But a Christian facing the issues to which we will refer must inevitably find himself in a conflict of interests, a conflict which is most easily and often resolved by compromise or immobility. The fact that a Christian cannot choose which society to belong to, whether the church or the "nonchurch", since he is compelled to be in both has resulted in the development of remarkable powers of adaptation which enable him to survive in the thick of hopeless contradictions.

#### TASK TOTALLY TOWARDS WORLD

Yet the Christian community neither can, nor

wishes, to issue mandates to society. It can offer pointers by its example and doctrine, which would, by indicating its own position, point further to the direction in which it considers society as a whole should move in order to be healthy and just. In this way the task of the Christian community is to be understood as making known to the world that which is also potentially true of the world, but which the world does not yet know. It is thus the witness to a reconciliation already accomplished, a new creation already achieved, but which is still to come. The church's task directs it, unconditionally and totally towards the world. What the church is inwardly and privately is absolutely incidental to what it is outwardly and publicly. Its commission is decisively towards society, not away from it. Consequently the concern of the theology here must be with South Africa, and not a mere abstract realm of metaphysics, nor with a doubtful world of "the church", as though that were the place where theology should be practised. Its concern is with the concrete society which constitutes both the church and our country.

#### OPTIMISM OR PESSIMISM?

As we face the problems of our society there is an apparent, and strange optimism amongst many. There are those that assume that the answers to our human problems are all already found, in principle if not in detail. The theological and political formula is virtually perfectly framed, and all that is required is that it be executed as expeditiously as possible. But there is on the other hand a profound pessimism which despairs of seeing changes which are regarded as both necessary and ultimately unavoidable.

It is difficult to gauge the depths of the optimism and to estimate to what extent it amounts to whistling in the dark. It is difficult too to evaluate its ultimate content, but it is closely related to an inviolable concept of man in society. This concept must be held to be inviolable, because to once allow the validity of an alternative anthropology would immediately call into question many of our social assumptions, proposals and enactments.

This concept of man is pragmatically defended as the necessary presupposition for our "traditional way of life". This fervent desire to immortalise tradition is a wide-spread and age-old phenomenon. Its appeal is to

arche-typal patterns of life which have come to be regarded, and so entrenched, as normative. Yet, valuable as traditions can be in the stabilising of a society, it is precisely at this point that they become extremely dangerous for a society. Pannenberg writes in this connection: "It belongs to the nature of tradition to preserve styles of life and thought from the past as being significant and authoritative in the present ... In the long run this sort of awareness of tradition is incapable of handling man's actual contemporary experience ... Where tradition becomes a rigid system, its restrictive shell must be burst open by the growth of the life within".(36)

#### TRADITIONAL VALUES

There are three possibilities for the future of traditional values in a society.

The first is simply that when they no longer have the power to sustain the present patterns of life, or have lost their significance through the re-evaluation of their sources, they simple die of their own accord.

The second is the more hopeful. Under the stimulus of a genuine openness to the future they can be transformed, and so become genuine tradition, developing with the development of the people. This is where the Biblical combination of tradition and promise is so important. While the New Testament is uncompromising in its denunciation of tradition that is entrenched as an exclusive way of life, and even of salvation, it offers instead a tradition that is "open to the future in an unlimited way".

The third possibility is the most sinister, because if neither of the first two come into operation, this is ultimately inevitable. In a society which refuses to allow dead traditions to die, and therefore refuses to accept the openness of God's promise fo the future, there is revolution. Revolution is not the mere chaos of undisciplined and power-hungry people. Revolution rests on an appeal to values that are claimed as even more primordial than the traditions which sustain the status quo. Were not the French nobility deeply committed to the traditions which made their way of life so rich and comfortable? Yet the masses found an appeal in something even more basic; the right of every man to be a man. Does the Russian revolution of our own century not point to the same conclusion? The lessons of history are clear: Traditional values must be capable of change.

#### DIFFERENCES ORDAINED BY GOD?

One of the fundamental principles of a great deal of thinking in our country in relation to man in our pluralistic society rests on the fact that there are differences. Both theological and popular thought frequently assumes therefore that these differences, as they exist today, are ordained by God, and that it is therefore the Christian's duty to preserve them.

Certainly the phenomenon of difference is an observable fact which is both absolute and relative. The differentiation between man and woman for example is absolute, and is necessary for the preservation and propagation of the human race. The difference between one male and another, however, is relative, but none the less real, and in the goodness of God is likely to remain so. The probability of an absolutely uniform society of identical men occurring is fortunately nil. But differentiation is in its very nature a changing and developing feature of life. One generation differs from another; urban populations differ from rural; a man in his old age differs from himself in his infancy. There is the constant possibility of becoming differently different, in time.

#### ONLY ONE SPECIES OF MAN!

The basic fallacy in the appeal to difference is therefore, in its assumption that differences as they now exist must at all costs be preserved. They are regarded as virtually sacrosanct, and any attempt to change the differences is regarded as almost criminal. They must therefore be entrenched. But the differences that are found in this multiple society are decidedly temporal, often recent in origins, and inevitably, changing. Features such as the shade of skin colouration, the forms of language used, the type of entertainment enjoyed, habits of home life and methods of discussion, do certainly point to differences which may be more marked in some cases than in others, but on what grounds can they be regarded as final? This certainly cannot be sustained from the Bible-for example the ancient story of creation recounts how each was made "after his kind", or species. But there is no hint of more than one species of man! Neither can it be sustained from the New Testament, where it is expressly stated that in Christ there "cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man", and again, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus".(37) The force of this argument is obviously not that the differences between these types do not exist, but that amongst Christian people they do not count. Men are no longer classified according to these criteria.

#### FEAR CAUSES TRADITIONALISM

There are then strong reasons for re-examining the appeal to tradition, and for a readiness to let them change in the interests of the future. It is probably true to say that the more afraid people are of the future, the more desperately will they cling to tradition. Perhaps this is why young people are not nearly as interested in tradition as such, as the older people. A Christian, however, can never live in fear of the future, for that would be in direct contradiction to his declared faith in the God of the future, who is and remains, the God who is love. David Jenkins comments: "At the very least, to

Cont. on page 17

# CONTROVERSY III Reader's Digest and W.C.C. REVOLUTION?

Dr. A.H. van den Heuvel

In March and April the first instalments of Dr. van den Heuvel's answers to the Reader's Digest articles questioning the actions of the World Council of Churches were printed. Nowwe publish the third part of the debate. For more details, readers are referred to the sub-heading in the March issue.

#### NO ECCLESIASTICAL UNITED NATIONS!

THE READER'S DIGEST does not like the World Council of Churches! In the following article that is made abundantly clear. It dislikes the WCC enough to sacrifice even the minimal standards of professional journalistic ethics. Facts are distorted, incidents invented, people no longer with us maligned, impressions given without support and all of that in the language of the sneering political pamphleteer.

The Reader's Digest attacks the WCC, and from its presuppositions it should. If the WCC is to be judged as an ecclesiastical United Nations, and if it is only justified when playing the champion of the North Atlantic community, then it should be condemned. But the stated purposes of the WCC have always been the restoration of the Christian faith in a modern society. The Reader's Digest reduces both to elements in cold war politics. No wonder it has to distort, to malign and to invent.

#### TWO-THIRDS OF THE WORLD

The Reader's Digest wants the Christian Church to be the champion of Western Society, of which it regards the USA as both the sanctuary and the bulwark. The world is divided between the USA and the USSR; the "two-thirds" world apparently does not exist for the Reader's Digest. If churches size up the situation differently, discovering their essential unity in six continents across political boundaries, the Reader's Digest gets awfully nervous. If American Christians dare to criticize their own country, the Reader's Digest cries wolf. And if Russian Christians do not criticize their country much, it gets more furious still.

In order to help the reader follow the argument closely and weigh his own position in this debate, the whole Reader's Digest article is commented on paragraph by paragraph.

#### READER'S DIGEST

Has this "ecclesiastical United Nations become just another platform from which communism seeks to flay the free world?

#### THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The World Council of Churches is not an ecclesiastical United Nations. It is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

It is dedicated to the restoration of Christian unity. It prays and works for the renewal of the Life of the Church. It provides the churches with an international fellowship for mutual correction and mutual enrichment. It allows the churches to speak to political and social issues if there is sufficient agreement. It enables the churches to know each other's convictions, needs and struggles and where possible to help each other on both material and spiritual levels.

The WCC works in the open. Its theological work is published, so are its endeavours for renewal. So is its work of Inter-Church Aid. So are its social programmes for development partnership and racial justice.

The WCC does not exist to make propaganda for one social or political system. It couldn't, because it has in its membership Christian churches in the USA, in Latin America, in Africa, in Eastern Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East and in Western Europe which are engaged in continuous discussion about the form of an international and national responsible society. The WCC—contrary to the Reader's Digest—is interested in enlarging this discussion.

#### R.D.

WHICH WAY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES?

#### wcc

A prayer contained in the message of the Fourth Assembly of the WCC held in 1968:

"God, our Father, you can make all things new. We commit ourselves to you: help us

- to live for others since your love includes all men,
- to seek those truths which we have not yet seen,
- to obey your commands which we have heard but not yet obeyed,
- to trust each other in the fellowship which you have given to us,

and may we be renewed by your Spirit through Jesus Christ, your Son and our Lord. Amen."

#### (Uppsala Report, page 6)

#### R.D.

An event rated by the World Council of Churches as among its most important milestones occurred at the Council's Third General Assembly in New Delhi, India, on November 20, 1961. It was the reception of the Soviet-approved Russian, Rumanian, Bulgarian and Polish Orthodox churches into full membership in the WCC. After years of Soviet abuse of the Council as a "facade for Western imperialism," the Kremlin was allowing its state-controlled churches to join this ecclesiastical United Nations.

#### WCC

To speak of the "Soviet-approved" Russian, Rumanian, Bulgarian and Polish Orthodox Churches betrays a gross lack of knowledge of the churches in Eastern Europe. In these countries churches are tolerated, not approved. They have gone through 50 years of struggle with the Communist Party in their country but their faith has not withered. All serious students of their recent history, carefully ignored by this article agree that they have shown a resilience which has amazed both their governments and their fellow Christians. Anybody who has visited them has seen that in spite of hardship they have given a witness to their faith, often humbling for Christians who live in luxury and freedom.

The communist governments on the other hand have never stopped criticising the WCC as a Western organisation. Students of Eastern Europe know that until this very year, several communist observers have described the Council as a dangerous organisation in the hands of Western imperialists. The Reader's Digest and Pravda, although coming to opposite conclusions, have used the same arguments, because each tries to understand the Council from its own political presuppositions.

#### R.D.

Jubilant WCC leaders forecast a great Christian advance. To them it meant that the Council was on its

way to becoming, at long last, truly "ecumenical"—a word which in the WCC lexicon means "the whole household of faith, embracing all races, all nations, all branches of the Church."

#### WCC

Of course the WCC leadership was happy with the full membership of all Orthodox churches! The Orthodox themselves were especially grateful. The WCC provided the fellowship in which they could meet each other; now they could begin to work together with those churches with which unity had been broken in AD 451, after the Council of Chalcedon, a process which has since been set in motion. Dr. Alivisatos from Greece, Arhbishop Athenagoras of Thyateira, Metropolitan Hazim of the Lebanon and Professor Küppers of the Old Catholic Church—none of whom could be called pro-communist—all expressed their joy over this new step.

Of course the Council was still a long way from full ecumenical membership—because the Roman Catholic Church was at that time represented by only two or three observers.

#### R.D.

To ensure that nothing would mar the historic moment, no speeches were allowed when the Eastern churches were voted in. The ballot was secret, and nobody challenged the new members' statistics when they claimed a total membership of 70 million, a patently inflated figure, but one that assured them outsize representation in the assembly and on committees deciding WCC policy. The occasion was one for rejoicing, not for heeding such dour predictions as that of the Cincinnati Enquirer, which warned that receiving these churches would only give "international communism yet another platform from which to assail the free world."

#### WCC

The Reader's Digest is wrong. Speeches were allowed, and two American churchmen explained why they abstained from voting: Archbishop John of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America and Bishop Beky of the Hungarian Reformed Church in America. However, the East European application was overwhelmingly accepted 142 votes to 3 and with 4 abstentions. The Reader's Digest remark about a "secret ballot" is misleading. Since the WCC leadership was clearly in favour of accepting the Eastern European Churches, a written ballot assured the freedom of any delegate to vote against the application.

The WCC never questions statistics, not even of national churches which report the quasi totality of the nation as belonging to the church. In recent books estimates of the membership of the Orthodox Church in Russia vary from 20 to 40 million, thus making it still

one of the largest national churches known anywhere in the world.

In the subsequent Fourth Assembly the Russian Church had 35 delegates out of a total of 707 delegates. (All Russian churches put together had 48 delegates, compared with 160 for the American churches). In the Central Committee there are 7 Russians out of 120 members (in comparison with 20 Americans). In the Executive Committee there is 1 Russian out of 20 members, compared to 3 Americans. On the staff of the WCC there is 1 Russian out of 315 members.

N.B. The reader should not think that the WCC is very happy with this situation. We would like the Orthodox churches in general to have a much more adequate representation. I just give the illustration to show the bias of the Reader's Digest article.

#### R.D.

One especially beaming man at New Delhi that day was Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, now general Secretary of the WCC. A heavy-set, hearty man with an expansive friendliness and a stubborn devotion to his aims, Blake first roiled U.S. public opinion in 1954 when he wangled official government permission to bring to the Council's Second Assembly at Evansion, Ill. A delegation of Czech and Hungarian theologians. Heading the delegation was Dr. Josef Hromadka of Prague, a hostile critic of everything American, who, at the convention's close, returned behind the Iron Curtain to launch malicious attacks on America.

#### WCC

The Reader's Digest would have liked to keep the Eastern Europeans out of the United States. Happily the American churches and the American government did not operate on such a position of fear. Dr. Blake did not have to "wangle" anything; The East Europeans were accepted as fellow Christians and behaved that way. Dr. Hromadka taught in Princeton Theological Seminary during the war. A critic of the USA? Yes, but no less so than of his own country. And as far as malicious attacks are concerned, judge for yourself. In 1967 Hromadka wrote in his memories: "How could I forget that the United States of America is the country of Abraham Lincoln and F.D. Roosevelt. Anybody who has observed the American citizen from close quarters, in his private life as well as in his family and civic life, cannot but feel a certain admiration and closeness. There is something spontaneous in him, an absence of convention, which tends to hold back too much the people of the Old Europe. During my time in the USA, I have seen the signs of authentic humanity."

#### R.D.

One of his mildest descriptions of the United States was "a nation of gangsters."

#### WCC

The phrase: "one of his mildest descriptions of the United States was 'a nation of gangsters'" does not

sound like a phrase Dr. Hromadka would ever use. But since the article does not give a reference it is hard to disprove.

Hromadka was politically a socialist, theologically a rather conservative Barthian, but above all a single-minded Christian always struggling for the deep truth of any situation. He may have made errors of judgement, but he always remained a gentle and kind Christian leader. His criticism of the role of the USA in Vietnam was firm but never exceeded in tone or content what many of his American fellow Christians have said also.

Of course the Reader's Digest does not quote his famous letter to the Soviet Ambassador in Prague after the 1968 events. In that letter Hromadka spoke out most forcibly against the location of Soviet troops on Czech soil. Since it documents the full inner freedom of Dr. Hromadka and the liberty in which criticism in the ecumenical movement is also directed towards the East, the Reader's Digest leaves it out.

R.D.

Then, in June 1956, Blake arranged for a visit to America for a covey of Russian churchmen led by Boris Dorofeyevich Yarushevich, known as Metropolitan Nikolai, the second-ranking prelate of the Russian Orthodox Church. Nikolai's venom toward the United States had been made plain earlier in East Berlin, where he delivered a diatribe on U.S. action in Korea, citing as incontrovertible facts such alleged U.S. atrocities as "executions without trial and inquisitions secret and public; dreadful tortures of victims—the cutting off of ears and noses and breasts, the putting out of eyes, the breaking of arms and legs, the crucifixion of patriots, the burial alive in communal graves of women with children at their breasts, the scalping of Korean patriots for 'souvenirs'."

An interesting paragraph indeed. Metropolitan Nikolai described American action in Korea in the same sort of terms as the Reader's Digest describes communist actions everywhere. It is the language which has been used to describe war actions everywhere. It has been used for the Russians in Eastern Europe, for the Dutch in Indonesia, the Indonesians against their Chinese compatriots, the Ibos against the Hausas, the Portuguese against the African population of their colonies, the British against the Indians, the French against the Algerians, and for the Americans in Vietnam.

wcc

I have read enough about wars and seen enough of one in my own country not to be amazed at such descriptions over and over again. But I do not see why this should plead against Russian Orthodox membership in the WCC. To my mind, it is a great thing that there is one place in the world where Russians and Americans can transcend their stereotyped descriptions of each other, discuss their different evaluations of history, and celebrate a unity which goes much deeper than their abhorrence of the alleged crimes of which their nations may be guilty.

Cont. next month

#### `TOWARDS SOCIAL CHANGE'



#### Africa Acts Feature Service



AN ALTERNATIVE FOR APARTHEID?

FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS, a group of Christians in South Africa has been studying apartheid with one main idea in their minds: how to change it. Sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Spro-cas) has involved experts in many fields and from most of South Africa's divided races, in formulating a plan which could be held up as a positive, and Christian, alternative to apartheid.

The reports of the Study Project's various commissions are now appearing, in English and Afrikaans. None of them will arouse more comment in South Africa and outside than the report of the Spro-Cas Social Commission, "Towards Social Change". (Published by Spro-cas and printed by the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, Johannesburg.)

A great variety of South Africans took part in the Commission's early meetings, but in the end it was realised that the report would have to be entrusted to social scientists. Fourteen of them signed the first chapter of the report, "Social forces and change", and individuals among them contributed further chapters.

#### STRATEGIES: DISORGANISED VIOLENCE

Lawrence Schlemmer, a senior research fellow in the University of Natal, writes a vital chapter on "Strategies for Change". He proposes two major strategies, one to bring about change among whites and one to create a power base for change among black South Africans, with whom he includes the Coloured and Indian communities, who are also crippled by apartheid.

It is from the various black communities, says Mr. Schlemmer, that decisive pressures for change must ultimately come, and for everybody's sake the ultimate pressures need to involve as little disorganised violence and unrest as possible.

#### PEACE?

"Powerlessness and relative apathy account for the civil peace which the country experiences today. Powerlessness and a common sense of dissatisfaction, and a feeling of deprivation in relation to what is hoped to be achieved, as a legitimate right, could account for a violently different situation in future years."

People who are, understandably, embittered may be pleased with this prospect, he says. They need to consider the probable violence of any counter-reaction from whites. Even though change would probably follow the intervention of outside powers in South Africa, if there were a bloodbath, Mr. Schlemmer believes that those who are prepared to see this situation develop, whether carelessly, selfishly or knowingly, are guilty of cardinal irresponsibility.

#### NO EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE?

"This includes the majority of whites, as well as some blacks, and also those responsible for shortsighted security measures which contribute so much to the hopelessness of the black political situation."

Instead, Mr. Schlemmer wants to encourage those who are working to advance organised black political development. He rejects the hopes that are placed in slow evolutionary change towards a more equitable society, and says, "We have to accept the alternative

path of change via bargaining and conflict along racial lines, and from a Christian or humanitarian standpoint we have a duty to do what we can to encourage processes which are likely to make it possible for the conflict to be contained and as constructive and peaceful as possible."

#### **GREATER POWER TO BLACKS**

He then lists nine ways through which greater power has to be generated in the black communities. They include:

- higher levels of literacy among the rural and urban common people, as a means to greater political awareness;
- greater unity in black communities, which are divided by the terrorising effect of criminal gangs, small clique loyalties and the sheer struggle for personal survival;
- experience for ordinary black people of working together in community organisations where they learn to accept group goals at the expense of their personal ambitions;
- black bourgeois who have reached the fringes of the white community have to be helped to identify more closely with their own communities and to offer them their skills:
- the Coloured and Indian communities need to have the notion dispelled that they, in contrast to Africans, have a hope of being fully and officially accepted by whites;
- higher educational standards have to be reached, and more skills gained, "so that fewer and fewer black workers are easily replaceable labourers with little intrinsic bargaining strength".

#### POWERLESS AUTHORITY?

Many African nationalists have criticised the participation of black South Africans in those councils and authorities which have been created for black groups, because they are virtually powerless. Mr. Schlemmer believes that the scope they offer to the exercise of political leadership and the involvement of ordinary black people in political activity has value of its own, and he thinks that the Urban Bantu Councils, the Coloured Representative Council and the Territorial Authorities in the African reserves should be used to the full in this way.

"Recent statements by the Chief Minister of the Transkei and by the Chief Executive Officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority have attracted widespread attention," he points out. "Their respective roles might be powerless in a direct way at the moment, but these represent probably the most significant political developments since the early sixties.

"The concern of both these leaders with living and working conditions of rank-and-file Xhosas and Zulus is most encouraging and it seems clear that the political institutions of separate development could become mouthpieces for the expression of the interests of thousands of voiceless blacks in both rural and urban areas."

#### STORY MAGAZINE

Mr. Schlemmer has ideas about the ways in which the power strategy could be taught. He points to the flair in the black Press for dramatic reporting of crime and scandal stories and suggests that the same techniques could be used for stories which would help black South Africans to see themselves more realistically.

"If someone were to launch a photo-picture story magazine with incidents from real-life situations in South Africa, drawing the line at anything dangerously political, it would also be constructive and perhaps fewer blacks would waste their money on magazines of the crime/romance/voodoo type."

#### TEACHERS' POWER

He writes about the "veritable army of more than 50 000 African school teachers" who sometimes find it difficult to relate to ill-educated members of their own race. If a "popular" ideology could break down the status barriers that white-collar Africans have erected themselves, their leadership could be a source of real power.

Outside the cities, Mr. Schlemmer sees the urgency of increasing the productivity of the African reserves. "As long as an adequate living cannot be made off the land in the reserves, there is likely to be an overall surplus of cheap unskilled labour in Southern Africa."

The development of the reserves, therefore, will increase the bargaining power of the city worker. But it is obviously also needed for its own sake. People in the rural areas need the chance to play a part in development and change as much as those in the towns.

All these ways of establishing a power base for South Africa's black people may be able to use money, and even training, from outside, says Mr. Schlemmer. But the work is the role and task of black people themselves.

#### BUTHELEZI!

The next questions are: Will they hear what the report "Towards Social Change" has to say, and are they ready to act on it? Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the redoubtable Chief Executive Officer of the Zululand Territorial Authority, was one of the signatories of the report. The answer may lie with him, and with other South Africans like him. \*

#### BLACK or CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY?

E. Lynn Cragg, Firmount Road, Somerset West.

Dear Sir,

It is interesting to read of Black or African Theology, and one should welcome the attempt to find points of contact between Christianity and African thought, to express Christian ideas in African terms and to recognise some revelation of God in Africa as well as in Israel or Greece. But it needs to be remembered that Christianity is not just a vague religiosity or a general belief in God, but is a historical religion and as a matter of historical fact sprang out of Judaism and Hebrew religion, not from European or African, white or black roots. The Old Testament with its record of the revelation of God through Israel, and its preparation for the coming of Christ as a Jew in the Jewish nation and religion is the root of the Christian doctrine and religion in a way in which no other history or religion or people can ever be.

With so much talk of "white" religion or "black" religion it should be remembered that the New Testament is fundamentally Hebrew, with some Greek and less Roman influence, and that while Christianity in its development has taken on Greek or Roman forms, it has never been influenced by the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic ancestral beliefs of the white people. Christian theology should never be "white" or "black", it is fundamentally Hebrew, through which God's unique revelation came to prepare the way for Christ, and in its scope it is meant to be universal however much African, European or Indian thought may be pressed in to make it intelligible to this or that people. \*

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#### **CHURCH-STATE CONFRONTATION**

Amendments to List of Persons: Pro Veritate, April 1972

#### Corrections

1965 John Aitchison Anglican divinity student Banned. The first banning order expired in 1970. A new banning order was served in 1971 (eleven months later).

1971 Rev. R.J.D. Robertson Presbyterian, East London Raided by Security Police. In 1970 passport refused; in 1971 restricted passport granted.

1971 Mr. Georg McArthur Elder of Bantu Presbyterian Church (Church of Scotland sent him) Went overseas and visa refused to return.

#### Deletion

1971 Rev. Z.I. Malukazi Organiser, African Youth Christian Movement Visited by Security Police re connections with UCM, NYA, NUSAS and Christian Institute. \*