



PRO VERITATE

TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF TRANSFORMATION

Andrew Prior

GEDAGTES OOR VERSOENING EN APARTHEID

C.J. Labuschagne

SIMULATION - THE POOR AND THE RICH

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RACISM AND US - THE CHURCH'S CALLING

Gabriel Setiloane

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'n Mens wil nie te gou begin juig nie maar kan tog 'n mate van optimisme verskoon word oor wat lyk soos flikkeringe van 'n nuwe gesindheid in N.G. Kerkgeledere, veral dan na aanleiding van 'n paar verreikende besluite wat deur die pas afgelope Algemene Sinode van 1970 in Pretoria geneem is.

Dit is asof die ou gees van selfversekerdheid oor die onbetwisbare korrektheid van die N.G. Kerk se amptelike standpunt, veral dan t.o.v. die omstrede rassekwessie, geleidelik begin wyk voor 'n gees van vraende ondersoek en bereidheid tot werklik objektiewe navorsing; of die ou gees van summiere veroordeling van andersdenkendes, selfs in eie geledere, besig is om plek te maak vir 'n houding van groter verdraagsaamheid en broederlike tegemoetkomingheid.

Ons verwys veral na die aanstelling van die sg. Landman-kommissie, met opdrag om 'n deeglike studie te maak van die hele rassekwessie en die Kerk se standpunt daarteenoor duidelik te omlin. En dan ook vanselfsprekend na die nuutste besluit oor die sg. „C.I.-aangeleentheid”.

Wat die Landman-kommissie betref, is dit verblydend dat die leidliede van die N.G. Kerk nou uiteindelik die noodsaaklikheid ingesien het van 'n werklik objektiewe bestudering van 'n onontwykbare probleem en die dringende behoefte aan duidelike en ondubbelsinnige leiding van die kant van die Kerk. Dit kan alleen gesien word as 'n bewys van veel groter openheid as wat tot dusver bespeurbaar was, en van 'n nederigheid en gewilligheid tot 'n eerlike soeke na die waarheid wat die N.G. Kerk tot eer strek.

Hierdie selfde opregtheid van bedoeling het gestraal uit die Algemene Sinode se ernstige reaksie op die Versoekskrif tot die Sinode deur 34 lidmate uit 19 gemeentes wat ook nog steeds lede van die omstrede Christelike Instituut is. (Die bewoording van hierdie Versoekskrif wat ongetwyfeld die harte

van baie sinodegangers geroer het, word elders in ons blad afgedruk).

In wese kom die Sinode se besluit daarop neer dat die hele „C.I.-aangeleentheid” verwys word na sy Permanente Kommissie vir Aktuele Sake vir deeglike ondersoek in die lig van die Heilige Skrif en, daarbenewens, dat 'n *ad hoc*-kommissie van drie man in die lewe geroep word met opdrag om dringend in te gaan op die besware en geestesnood van die betrokke lidmate. Van die kommissie word dan verwag dat hy die Breë Moderatuur so spoedig moontlik met aanbevelings sal dien, en van die Breë Moderatuur dat hy hom daardeur sal laat lei en sy uiteindelijke besluite oor die hele aangeleentheid aan die kerklike publiek bekend sal maak.

Deur hierdie besluit word die C.I. nou uiteindelik gegun dít waarvoor hy sewe jaar lank (sedert sy ontstaan) reeds pleit: toelating tot persoonlike verhoor van sy betrokke lede, 'n onbevooroordeelde Skrifondersoek van sy standpunt en openbaarmaking van die bevindinge. Oor hierdie aansienlike stuk vordering, al het dit so lank geduur, kan daar slegs diepe dankbaarheid wees. 'n Etterende swaar is oopgesteek en die Liggaam van Christus kan uiteindelik slegs daarby baat.

Verdere rede tot dankbaarheid is dat die sinodale besluit daarop neerkom dat die einde van 'n lang en moeitevolle pad nou uiteindelik in sig is. Die aanstelling van die *ad hoc*-kommissie verleen nou 'n dringendheid aan die hele aangeleentheid wat verdere uitstel en afstel onmoontlik maak. Nou begin dinge end se kant toe staan en die opheffing van 'n toestand is in sig wat vir sowel die N.G. Kerk as die C.I. al hoe meer onhoudbaar begin word het.

Alhoewel dit nog 'n moeilike stukkie pad mag wees wat voorlê, is dit tog asof daar al hoe meer lig daarop begin val.

THE FORGOTTEN VOICE

Among all the clamour that has been caused by the decision of the World Council of Churches to give financial support to “liberation movements” one small but highly significant voice seems temporarily to go unheeded by the Church in South Africa: the voice of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches from Nairobi which spoke so clearly (and ominously) to especially the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa.

At Nairobi there was hardly any sensationalist talk about revolution and violence. And yet the firm stand on Scriptural ethics and the unequivocal condemnation of any division within the Church on racial grounds as being contrary to the true nature of the

Church, coming so unanimously from such a vast body of concerned Churchmen, were in themselves very little short of revolutionary.

In the long run, Nairobi may still prove to be of greater significance for the Church in South Africa than even the controversial WCC decision, if only because the powerful N.G. Kerk is still, however precariously, affiliated to the WARC and because the language spoken at Nairobi was so undeniably and incontrovertibly the language of the Bible.

Others may, for reasons of their own, choose to disregard and forget the voice of Nairobi. We are still hearing it loud and clear and shall be returning to its message in due course.

MAKE PEACE NOT WAR

The Civil Rights League arranged a conference on conscientious objection to military service last month. This subject has been particularly relevant in the United States since the Vietnam war and is now important in South Africa.

- * It is important in the United States because new considerations have been introduced into the debate on war by the threat of nuclear warfare. The norms for the 'just war' are no longer cogent for this kind of total war. Hence the validity of war *per se* is questionable today. But those who can still justify war, see a distinction between fighting in *any* war and fighting in *particular* wars. The arguments used to defend America's participation in Vietnam are so questionable that the draft resisters refuse to become political prostitutes and sell themselves to the Vietnam war machine.
- * And it is important in South Africa for three reasons:
 - * First political prostitution takes on a different colour here. Only a small section of our people undergo military training. If this training is the defence of South Africa all citizens of razorable age should be trained.
 - * Secondly because members of Jehovah's Witnesses are presently being detained in detention barracks for their pacifist views. Their detention is not justified as their freedom of conscience ought to be respected.

- * Thirdly, and most importantly, the matter is raised by those who have responded to the WCC decision. It is raised as an implication of what was said in opposition to the WCC decision. Those churches responding to the decision opposed violence in all its forms. This involves them in clarifying their position on war and hence their attitude on the sale of arms to South Africa. It also inevitably involves them in stating their attitude to pacifism and by implication to military training and conscientious objection.

Some countries have subtly tried to evade the problem by giving their War Offices the new name of Defence Departments. South Africa's 'Defence' Budget is R271 000 000. Much of this money would be far better spent by feeding the starving people in our land; by housing the homeless; by educating all people of all ages to live in a modern complex world and especially by investing in a Peace Budget where money will be set aside and people will be trained for peace so that God's shalom may be actively promoted. Blessed are the peace-makers ...

As the report written by a working party on 'Violence in South Africa' for the British Council of Churches says: "This ethic of total love in the struggle against every form of evil has never been corporately embraced by the church. Historically, it has not been tried, politically it has not been put to the test".

AACC SUPPORTS WCC DECISION

In a unanimous resolution, the committee commented on the recent announcement that the World Council of Churches (WCC) would make grants to support organisations representing oppressed racial groups and organisations supporting victims of racial injustice.

The full text of the resolution reads:

"The Executive Committee of the All Africa Conference of Churches, meeting in Lome, Togo, September 21-23, 1970, supports the efforts of the World Council of Churches to establish programmes to combat racism. We are aware that representatives of African churches which are members of the Council were fully involved in the decisions taken at the Uppsala Assembly and at the Central Committee in Canterbury, urging the WCC to take concrete steps to find ways to deal with racism.

"Churches and individual Christians in Africa have already assisted victims of racial discrimination.

"The recent WCC action to support organisations representing oppressed racial groups and those supporting victims of racial injustice are therefore

seen by this committee as being in the spirit of the WCC programme to combat racism.

"The committee welcomes the revolution in the thinking of donors, in being prepared to trust people who are taking radical action against racism.

"We hope that all churches will continue to work to reconcile those divided by barriers of race and injustice".

During its meetings the committee also approved of the setting up of an Africa Christian feature service. This service, which would be editorially independent of any particular church, would syndicate feature articles by professional African writers about current African situations. The writers would be urged to look especially for the presence or absence of Christian participation in present-day African society.

It was reported that the service was specially intended for African periodicals but also be sold outside Africa. Editorial offices would be established in Nairobi, and the service would have correspondents all over the continent.

SIMULATION---

THE POOR AND THE RICH

betty pagett

This article is an exercise in simulation. Simulation means empathy. Empathy means standing in somebody else's shoes.

This article then attempts to make one understand the development issue from the position of the Third World. The issue is the growing social and economic gap between the more prosperous nations of the Northern Hemisphere and the less prosperous nations either in the Southern Hemisphere or in Asia. We will deal with the issue by looking at the way nations trade with one another and by examining trade practices in relation to social and economic problems.

This issue may be considered a part of the wider, more inclusive issue of development. "Although development can legitimately be studied as if it were distinct from other human processes, in the final analysis its goals are the goals of existence itself: to provide an opportunity for men to live fully human lives". (Dennis Goulet, 'That Third World,' Center Magazine).

Through a look at the widening gap between 'developed' (sometimes called rich) nations and 'developing' (sometimes called poor) nations, you are asked to become involved in the social, economic, and personal implications of being a part of the Body of Christ today. The church is an expression of a historical, incarnate faith that calls people

from all nations to be brothers to each other.

We offer this article as part clarification of some of the issues we promised previously to explore. In our December issue we will place the second part of this article i.e. the actual simulation exercise, together with an assessment of it by an economist.

* * * * *

EVERYDAY WE USE sugar, coffee, cocoa, rice tea, vegetable oil. And everyday you are exposed to the problems of population explosion, hunger in America and abroad, and decreasing US foreign aid. Perhaps we can gain some new and critical perspectives of our world by putting the shopping cart and the daily newspaper together.

DEVELOPMENT - BREAD + DIGNITY

How can we define "development"? It is more than economic prosperity, but certainly economic change is basic to development. "Developing" countries understand development as "bread + dignity," or in U Thant's words, "economic growth + social change." We will deal with underdevelopment in the developing countries and one way it is caused and continued.

When we divide "developing" and "developed" countries by economic differences, we are also aware of many other divisions: East/West, North/South, white/non-white, colonial powers/colonized states, rich/poor (take a look at the maps again).

Racism and the economic drain on certain countries by other countries were part of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonialism (and continue to be part of our economic and political institutions into the twentieth century). The struggle to deal with these issues will be a central aspect of the relation between developed and developing countries in the future.

GHANA IN A CORNER

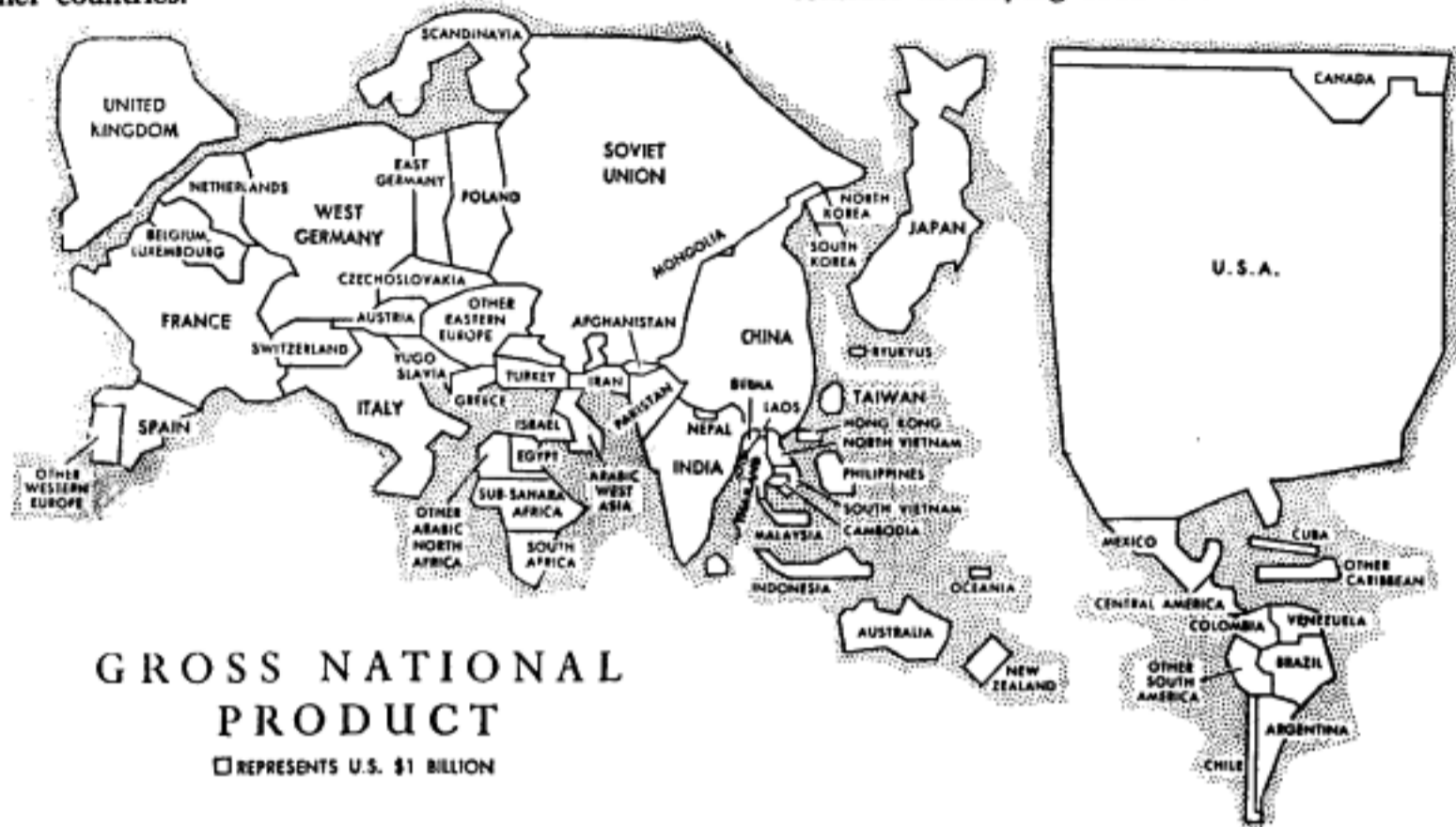
To begin our story, let's look at Ghana in West Africa, whose economy is dependent on one raw product, cocoa (an unprocessed product like cocoa or coffee beans is called a primary commodity). Sixty percent of Ghana's foreign exchange earnings (which is the money to buy things like tractors and other manufactured goods from other countries) comes from cocoa. Raw cocoa beans enter the United States duty free, and companies buy them for cake mixes, drinks, candy bars, etc.

The first problem for Ghana is that the price of her raw cocoa beans is determined by the developed nations such as the United States. The price fluctuates greatly; the variance in price has been as much as 15 cents a pound within a season. When a country sells thousands of pounds of one product, each penny a pound that the price drops makes a big difference for that country. A stable national income is impossible. Also, as Ghana increases production through improved farming methods, the price per pound goes down because of the increased supply. She profits less and less the more cocoa she grows.

Ghana also faces problems in shipping raw cocoa beans to the US. Ninety-three percent of the world's shipping is owned by the developed countries, and freight

Study these specially drawn maps comparing countries by their gross national product and by population. The maps are designed so that the graphic size of a country is represented in relation to its population and economic productivity (gross national product) in comparison to other countries.

Write down some of your reactions before beginning to read. Look on both of the maps for the United States, the Soviet Union, France, which we might consider *developed* countries, and for Indonesia, Ceylon, Brazil, and Ghana (part of Sub-Sahara Africa), which we might consider *developing* countries.



charges are unreasonably high. Insurance for the cargo is also handled by the developed countries.

All this makes Ghana's self-development difficult, but the story isn't over yet. If Ghana wanted to grind the cocoa beans before exporting them, there would be a 10 percent duty to pay to get ground cocoa into the US. If Ghana wanted to make candy bars, there would be a 15-20 percent import duty. The problem of tariff barriers is a major factor in keeping Ghana from diversifying her economy and processing or manufacturing goods that would bring a more stable income.

So by buying raw cocoa beans as cheaply as possible with trade unfavorable to Ghana, by charging high shipping and insurance fees, by preventing markets from developing in other than raw products through high tariffs on processed goods, the United States as a developed nation makes money at the expense of Ghana as a developing nation - just one of many examples of how the rich nations exploit the poor.

We could repeat this story in relation to many other countries

and their raw products. Asia, Africa, and Latin America export 90 percent of the world's primary commodities (sugar, coffee, other food and non-food products). The poor countries' share of the profits of world trade has dropped from one third to one fifth in the past ten years. As the map shows, developing countries represent two thirds of the world's population and only one tenth of the world's wealth.

FOREIGN AID MYTH

What about foreign aid? It does not begin to compensate for the loss in trade, and in fact from 50 percent to 100 percent of all aid is returned to the giving countries in the form of various kinds of payments for services and loans. Also, aid is regulated. For instance, the United States requires that large amounts of its aid to other countries be spent in the US. In addition, 80 percent of its aid to other countries in the form of military assistance.

Loans are made on increasingly difficult terms and the number of loans is being reduced. Thus, while some countries like the US increase their gross national product and

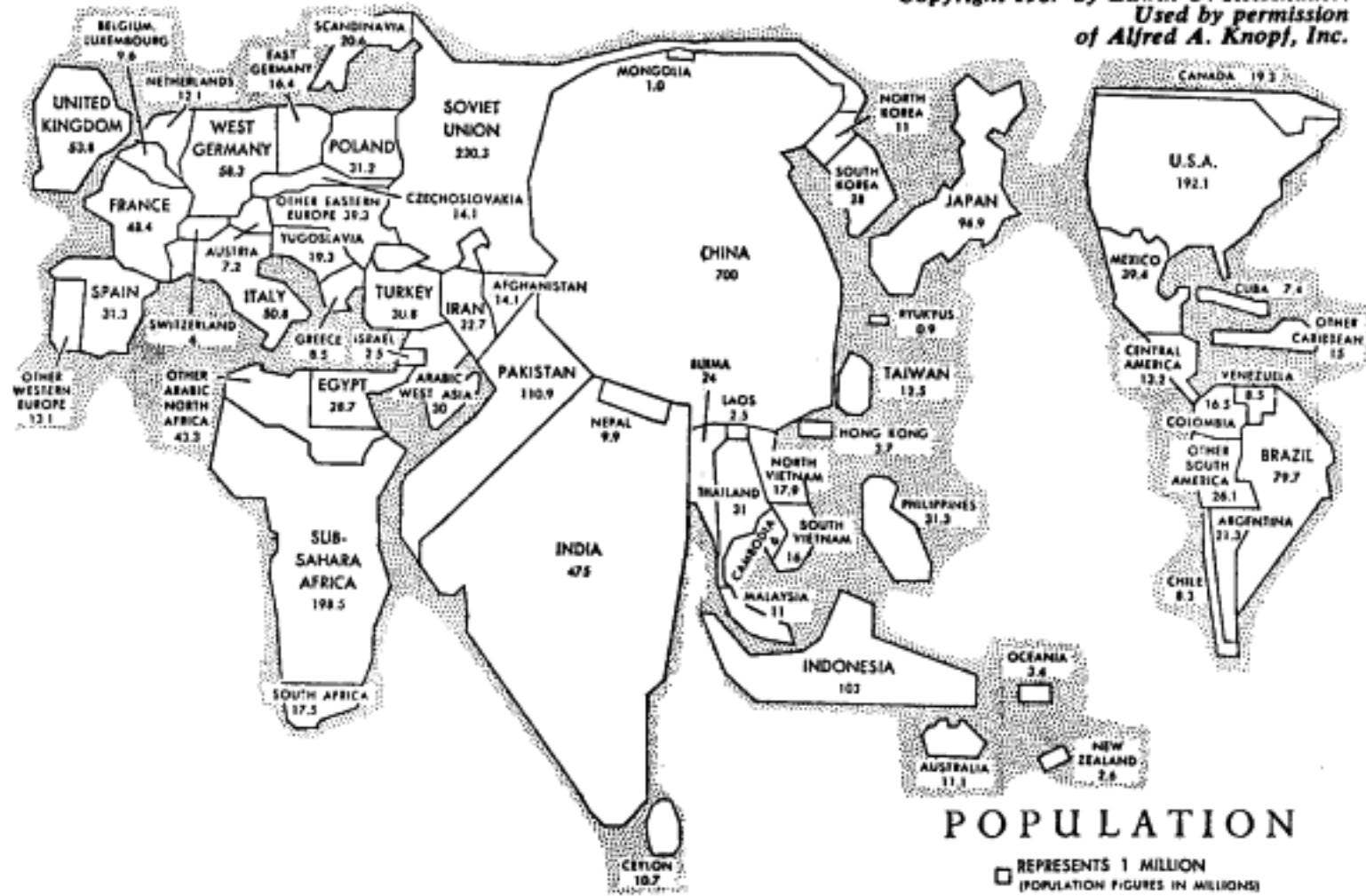
their wealth, the capital available to poor countries is decreasing.

Poor countries have united to tell us what we can do. They stress trade. In 1967, seventy-seven developing countries listed the trade problems that held back progress.

- * There are no international agreements to determine the terms of trade upon which developing countries are dependent.
- * There is a decrease in trade.
- * Tariffs are unfair.
- * There are discriminatory practices in shipping.

The report of the seventy-seven nations stated:

The international community has an obligation to rectify these unfavorable trends and to create conditions under which all nations can enjoy economic and social well-being, and have the means to develop their respective resources to enable their peoples to lead a life free from want and fear Traditional approaches isolated measures, and limited concessions are not enough. The



gravity of the problem calls for the urgent adoption of a global strategy for development requiring convergent measures on the part of both developed and developing countries. (From the Charter of Algiers, Part I, Document TD/35. Available from the UNCTAD office, UN Secretariat, New York, N.Y. 10017).

As we enter the 1970s, technical solutions to development are not the problem. The problem is the lack of political will to change an international trade and aid system that contributes to keeping the poor poor while the rich become richer. Such a system is unjust and no amount of aid or goodwill can lessen this widening gap. To deal with the very human and individual needs of food, shelter, and clothing, we must work with this complex system that either prevents or enables men to have the basic necessities.

BIG BROTHER

What is the role of the United States in this system? Its economic power is immense. For instance, US business controls 85 percent of

the raw materials in Latin America. Its national policy has been to block those trade changes that would help developing countries. In 1964, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was created as an ongoing instrument for bringing about agreements to assist trade and development. UNCTAD has been the clearest channel poor nations have had to tell us about their needs. An interesting question might be asked of Americans at this point: Why has there been so little news coverage of this important UN agency? The US has actively opposed virtually every proposal of UNCTAD.

Look at the role of the US in the 1968 coffee conference: In the interest of diversifying their economies, Latin American countries wanted to have the possibility of manufacturing instant coffee. A factory had in fact been set up in Brazil by US AID (Agency for International Development) funds under the Alliance for Progress. But under pressure from US coffee products manufacturers, the US held up the agreement that would have allowed the developing coun-

tries to have a share in the market. Is it any wonder that developing countries are suspicious of the US will to help nations help themselves?

THE US IS UNDERDEVELOPED

Our definitions of "developing" and "developed" nations are not absolute. Though the US may be developed in some way, it is under-developed in other ways. What about poor Americans? Are there structures increasing the gap between rich and poor in the US just as there are internationally? Poverty in the US is less a general condition than it is a specific problem for certain groups of people, and those people increase in their poverty - the aged, households with female heads, non-white families, and families with no earner. Look at the urban poverty cycle:

The financial problems of our major urban centers are enormous. Nor are the state coffers, which are inevitably controlled by the suburbs, small towns, and rural politicians due to unequal voting representation for urban areas, offering any relief. The

city mayor is usually last in line when state funds are parceled out. Moreover, this financial dilemma is, in a sense, self-perpetuating. As the tax base dwindles, the tax rate rises. The rise in taxes burdens the poor even more in the form of increased rents, and hastens the flight of the middle classes and industry to less burdensome areas. In the process, the quality of city services - education, recreation, transportation, etc. - is dealt a further blow. (From *Poverty Economics* by Herb Gintis, page 7. New England Free Press, .35.)

This cycle includes racial as well as economic injustice. For instance, southern manufacturing jobs grew during 1950-1960 by 944,400 jobs, but only 12,000 of these were taken by black women and none by black men. So the increase in southern prosperity did not assist black development. In the northern cities, industrial jobs are increasing in the suburbs as industries migrate from urban centers. However, housing discrimination in the suburbs prevents non-whites from having access to these industrial jobs.

In the inner city, a host of people prey on the poor and benefit directly from the maintenance of poverty. Lack of involvement in and control of business, political, and social institutions leaves the poor powerless by traditional handles. Here is a whole system of poverty in the US - and one might pursue other systems such as welfare, practices related to migratory workers, etc.

Underdevelopment is part of the US. Our lack of understanding of work, leisure, humanized personal relations, forms of family life, and economic cooperation might indicate we have much to learn from the possibly more developed "developing" countries. We are searching for styles of life and solutions to problems where we need help (pollution, rights of the consumer, food surpluses in a hungry world, etc.). And perhaps the exposure of racism and violence in recent years will encourage us to study our own history and redirect our future as middle-class Americans.

C.I. - N.G.K. LEDE

SKRYWE

AAN SINODE

Weleerwaarde Heer en Broeders,

Ons wil hiermee met die verskuldigde beleefdheid en eerbied teenoor die Sinode, daarby tewens uit die grond van ons harte en opreg pleitend, by u daarop aandrang om tydens hierdie sitting van die Sinode die besluit tydens sy vorige sitting oor die Christelike Instituut van Suider-Afrika geneem het, te herroep. Ons wil voorts by u pleit om tydens hierdie sitting 'n besluit te neem waarkragtens ons, wat hierdie brief onderteken, en ander lidmate van die Ned. Geref. Kerk wat aan die Christelike Instituut behoort of sy doelstellings onderskryf, verseker sal word dat daar vir ons in die Ned. Geref. Kerk plek is; dat ons met vrymoedigheid alle lidmaatsregte en voorregte in die Ned. Geref. Kerk kan geniet; en dat daar, ooreenkomstig die gawes wat aan ons toevertrou is - waaroor ons inderdaad met beskeidenheid praat, dog in die besef dat daar ook op ons die verantwoordelikheid rus om daarmee diensbaar te wees in die Kerk van Christus - van ons dienste gebruik gemaak sal word.

Ons gee aan die Sinode die volgende versekeringe:

1. Ons het geen begeerte om aan enige ander kerk as die Ned. Geref. Kerk, waarin ons gebore is en opgegroe het, te behoort nie.
2. Ons hou die Skrifte van die Ou en Nuwe Testament vir die enige Woord van God en die volkome leer van die saligheid, en ons verwerp alle leringe wat daarmee in stryd is.
3. Ons onderskryf die gereformeerde leer, soos vervat in die Drie Formuliere van Enigheid, met ons hele hart en het dit lief.
4. Ons verklaar dat ons bereid is om ons te eniger tyd aan die kerklike ondersoek te onderwerp wat ons leer en lewenswandel betref, en ons is bereid om ons aan die kerklike vermaning te onderwerp indien dit te eniger tyd bevind mag word, en vir ons aangetoon kan word, dat ons die weg van die Skrif en die belydenis verlaat het.

(Vervolg op bladsy 10)

TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF

TRANSFORMATION

andrew prior

The Kerkbode of 16th September rightly devoted one of its editorials to the W.C.C. decision to give financial assistance to organisations combatting racism. In the same issue Dr. J.D. Vorster, now Moderator of the N.G. Kerk wrote a long article explaining why the W.C.C. reached this decision.

We wish to refer to his article for two reasons viz:

(i) He says, *Net die Christelike Instituut se mense wou nog nie kommentaar lewer nie. En dit kan 'n mens in die lig van die Ulvenhout - besluit begryp*".

The Christian Institute has repeatedly stated its belief in the need for change in our country and its belief in non-violence as the most Christian way of bringing about this change. Both our July and September editorials make this clear.

We plead that though change is long overdue we may yet wake up in time and help guide it peacefully. The W.C.C. decision shows how late it is.

But we are against all forms of violence - the violence of terrorists and the violence implicit in the implementation of our policies. It is this total opposition to violence that points up ambiguities in our own witness and our lack of courage in taking the role of peace-maker seriously. Pacifism does not mean passive-ism. Would that it did!

With regard to Ulvenhout, as we showed in our October issue, this matter has long since been adequately explained. The trouble is that you cannot force people to hear - for them to actually hear, they must first be prepared to listen.

(ii) Secondly, Dr. Vorster concludes the W.C.C. decision to have been inevitable since he believes that they have increasingly flirted with communism over the years and since he sees in their activity a tendency to espouse such issues as "development" and "revolution". He believes this to be at the expense of "conversion". Though we understand them to be saying that this tendency is as a result of their understanding of "conversion" to the incarnated Lord, we believe Dr. Vorster's opinion to be at the kernel of the modern theological problem.

It is precisely for this reason, but also because such emotive words as liberalism, humanism, communism, revolution, etc., are used so freely that we said in our July editorial that such words should be defined when used. Then again in September, after the W.C.C. decision, we said editorially that a careful analysis of issues need to be undertaken so as to discover what Christians outside South Africa are saying about us, what they mean with the words they use, and why they are saying it.

Furthermore the November issue of *Woord en Daad* magazine has also explained, from its point of view, why the W.C.C. made their decision. Pro Veritate welcomes all attempts at clarification and subscribes to the request of the Christian Institute and others that delegates from the W.C.C. be invited to

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dialogue with the churches here in our land so that we may come to know what their understanding of the Gospel is, what the function of the Church is and how they now view the ecumenical movement.

Until such a visit takes place, Pro Veritate will endeavour to begin unravelling some of the issues in order to understand what they may be saying. Starting with this issue, we will publish a series of academic articles by Andrew Prior, entitled 'Towards a Theology of Transformation'. This series will start exploring some of the overseas theological motivation. The first article will be historical and semantic. The next will explain the historical roots of the problematic surrounding a "theology of transformation". This will then be followed up by an article on political theology.

FOR MORE THAN two decades the concept of "responsible society" has determined the nature and scope of ecumenical ethics. This concerned itself with the gradual process of democratisation, attempts to decentralise and spread power within society, to make as many as possible responsible for the important political and economic decisions within society, and to give equal opportunity to all. Over the past decade the situation suddenly changed. With the decolonisation of the third world coupled with far reaching structural changes in many continents the new concept of *rapid social change* gradually replaced that of "responsible society". In Church circles it was no more possible to attempt an analysis of existing social situations with concepts which did not fit the situation. When the turbulent Third World was born a new theological language was needed to talk about it. (cf. *Theologie der Revolution*: Rentdorff & Tödt: edition Suhrkamp 67/68).

WANTED: A NEW LANGUAGE

At the W.C.C. conference held in Geneva during 1966 the two concepts were brought against each other and it became obvious that a totally new language was needed by the Church to talk about problems and strategy in the Third World. For some time preceding the conference and for the period subse-

quent to it, it became clear that the theme of "revolution" has dominated ecumenical social ethics. Yet, this crisis in theology has not limited itself to a discussion of the problems arising from the Third World. The situation in Europe, the U.S.A. and, to a lesser extent, in South Africa has also been brought under the consideration of groups within those societies. Young people in these countries are beginning to realise that when they want to change one particular thing within society they discover that they are confronted with the whole situation which blocks the change. They thus find themselves developing a revolutionary attitude toward the whole established order.

THE POOR AND THE RICH

But the problems posed to Christian theology do not arise only from particular countries isolated from each other. The world of today is sharply divided into rich and poor nations and the gap between them is gradually widening - those who have are improving their lot whereas the destitution of the poor is becoming gradually more acute. In each country there are the privileged who do all in their power to maintain the Establishment as well as the under-privileged who are prepared to do all in their power to undermine it. Total classes and races have discovered that their suffering is not something inevitable or willed by God. With this discovery has arisen a hope for a better life. This hope has not been fulfilled. Industrialisation, the rapid growth of cities, the population explosion have brought forth little hope that living conditions for the mass of people will improve. This development has rather increased the misery and uncertainty of the poor, improved the condition of the rich, and thrown the mass of people into even greater uncertainty. As a result we are standing between a new kind of polarisation. On the one hand we have those whose well-being makes them do all in their power to preserve the status quo and, on the other, those who have every reason for its radical alteration. As a result it seems that the most important problem with which the modern generation must concern itself is that of social revolution. (R. Shaull: *Revolution in theologischer Perspektive*; in op. cit. p. 119).

Christianity is now faced with a wide range of questions arising from these situations. What attitude must the Christian adopt towards revolution? What response can the Christian give to violence? Is there any such thing as a just revolution? It is to help clarify these problems that this paper has been written.

THE CONCEPT "REVOLUTION"

The history of the word:

The word revolution is derived from the Latin word "revolvere". The Latin word has a history dating as far back as Augustine who spoke about the "De revolutione Saeculorum" yet the word as such did not enter the language of the Middle Ages. Words which were used in the Middle Ages and which have something in common with revolution were "seditio", and "rebellio". Other medieval

words were "reformatio", "renovatio" and "restauratio" with the emphasis here being laid on the re-introduction of "old values" and ideas into the present. It is only with the rise of astronomy that the word "revolution" was re-introduced into the scientific language of the late middle ages. Copernicus' principal work "De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium" paved the way for the using of this word in social and political affairs. (Köhler and Griewank).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, a time of accelerated social change, scientists, political theorists and statesmen began occupying themselves with the relationship between the motions of the heavens and sweeping political change. The thought model was that God had introduced the same geometry and harmony into human affairs as in the heavens. Taking this as an hypothesis attempts were made to read the development and destiny of man in the movement of the heavenly bodies.

"The revolutions of the globe we inhabit give rise to the mishaps and accidents of human existence" (Galileo Galilei).

As it began to be used the word had strong connotations of "reformation" i.e. a return to a state of affairs which had once existed. When William III gained power in England this was popularly known as the "glorious revolution" and understood as William simply restoring the old state of affairs. But the word did not long retain its conservative usage. In the 17th century it was being linked with the notion of "transformation" and began to replace the old terms of *mutazione*, *commutatio*, *conversion* and *changement*.

For Marx and Engels the word revolution was given a new significance. For them revolution was to be understood not merely as a political event in which one ruling class replaces another or the overturning of society but a movement which contains the seeds of *emancipation*. Revolution is here seen as a passage way into a new order, a total break in previous economic, social and human relationships and the breaking down of human alienation. Revolution is the victory of the GOOD (the proletariat) over the BAD (the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie) so that the "proletariat recovers its humanity which had been robbed by the bourgeoisie".

Further complications arose as to the meaning of the word "revolution" when it was used in the contexts of "French Revolution" and "Industrial Revolution" in England. The popular notion of considering a revolution as an abrupt severing of all traditional links does not seem to apply to those movements. The French Revolution probably had less effect on society at large than Hitler's grabbing of power in 1933 and the "Industrial Revolution" was not an abrupt but gradual severance of some traditional links.

Towards a definition:

Firstly it is clear that there is no such "thing" as a revolution. One cannot point to a "revolution"

as one can point to a table. Any pointing which does take place is not directed to a "thing" but to a series of events which one then decided to call a "revolution". Although it is possible to consider various movements generally known as "revolutionary" and to abstract common elements it soon becomes clear that disparate elements are more prevalent than similarities.

Events in France, China and Russia which were later termed "revolutionary" are clearly not of the same order as events in America and England which were also called "revolutionary". Even should one talk about the French and Chinese "revolutions" it is clear that as soon as analysis of the words in the different contexts begins it soon appears that we are faced with quite different phenomena. The word "revolution" is entirely contextual and depends for its content upon its definition.

Before providing a definition, however, it will be worthwhile looking at some modern definitions of "revolution".

"An overturning of present sociological relationships in order to create a new order". (Dreyfus).

"The Revolution is, above all, a social fact, implying rapid and fundamental change, in which the relationship of *man to man*, of social groups or classes are affected primarily and the relationships of *man to things* are affected only secondarily". (Perez-Ramirez).

"Revolution is the transcending of the existing Establishment towards an open future. This process of transcendence comes about through the revolutionary spirit". (Tödt)

All three definitions contain, implicitly or explicitly, the notion of rapid social change. The first attempts a sociological definition, the second an anthropological one, and the third philosophical. Whatever their merits none of the given definitions refers to the relationship between a revolution and evolution, restoration, anarchy, lawlessness, a coup d'état and its ideological element. Unless a definition contains reference to all these elements its practical use seems limited. The powerful overtones which the word 'revolution' has acquired in popular usage demand that all these be explicitly mentioned in its definition.

A definition which can help remove much of the ambiguity is the following: A revolution is a deliberate and abrupt change which reaches down to every level in society (juridical, social and industrial) results in a totally new order. This excludes the introduction of notions such as restoration, evolution, anarchy, lawlessness yet allows for the implication of a coup d'état and an ideological element.

THE EVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT

An evolution is not a restoration. Any restoration looks to the past for the pattern of the future whereas revolutions are totally oriented to the future. The revolutionary does not look over his shoulder for his programme of activity but looks at the present to see

how it can be programmed for the future. It follows that a revolution is not an evolution. Evolutions are gradual, they maintain continuity with the past society and culture. Revolutions break all historical continuity, abruptly re-organise all structures in society, and lay the foundation for a new culture. This severance of continuity must necessarily indicate a momentary break in legality. It does not follow that lawlessness and anarchy need be added to the definition to give it logical coherence. A new legal structure may be introduced before anarchy or lawlessness is allowed to develop. This also excludes the notion of violence. While revolutions sometimes begin with violence there is no logical reason why it should be introduced into the definition. Similarly revolutions sometimes commence with the revolt of a small group and result in coups. But a revolution is not a coup although it is generally accompanied by it. A coup d'état takes place when the ruling body of a State is forcefully removed from office and replaced by another whereas a revolution, in our defined sense, must affect the whole of society and not merely one small sector of it. Finally, when we say that a revolution must be deliberate we mean that it is not the result of some natural catastrophe but the result of a powerful and well thought out system of ideas. Nature cannot bring about revolutions, only men can.

RELIGION AND REVOLUTION

The definition which I have offered likewise indicates that the theme of revolution is not something which can be limited merely to philosophical reflection. Because revolution involves and affects the whole man, and not simply one part of his personality, the implications extend throughout every field of human activity. Ideally a full consideration should be seen in the light of anthropology, sociology, ontology, morality, politics, economics and religion. Yet as this study concerns the "theology of transformation" we can make a brief excursus and consider the relationship between "religion" and revolution.

DEFINITION OF RELIGION

By religion in its context I understand the integration of the Church into the Established order and the tendency which this has to sacralize the status quo. Obviously denominational differences within the Christian Churches can become "religious" in this sense just as non-Christian movements or bodies can also be termed "religious".

DIFFERENCE 1: SENSE OF HISTORY

Following Girardi (Concilium: June 1968) we can point out that religion and revolution are two diametrically opposed ideologies. The area of conflict is centred around three main points. Firstly, the revolutionary ideal is opposed to the religious ideal. The revolutionary believes that he moves with the sense of history and that secular history has an immanent finality which man can and must bring

about and towards which he can direct his hope. He believes in progress and the fact that man's golden age is located, not in the past, but in the future. The religious man, however, believes that the meaning of history must be sought in its transcendent future. Time is the place where man prepares himself for his eternal destiny and the solution to all problems will be found, not in time, but on the other side of it. The temporal order has no value in itself but receives its value from the eternal order. Between earth and heaven the revolutionary would choose earth and the religious heaven. From the religious perspective it follows that the State has the well defined role of defending the faith and directing man towards his eternal destiny. A close alliance between politics and religion, throne and altar, flag and cross is the result. Ultimately, secular authority received a divine and sacred character.

DIFFERENCE 2: HISTORICAL INITIATIVE

The second area of conflict between the religious and revolutionary perspectives is, what Girardi calls, the conflict of historical initiatives. For the revolutionary, man's greatness lies not in the respecting of the given order of nature or society but in transforming it. Man's attitude towards the world is not of consent and acceptance but of freedom and creation. Man must take the initiative in transforming and creating a better world. The religionist however, sees God as the one who takes the initiative in the world. If God is the creator and author of human history this excludes man from being a creator. The basic attitude of the religious man is not one of initiative but of docility and conformity to the established order which he will term either 'providence' or 'the will of God'. The religionist's attitude to authority falls into the same pattern. If the established order of nature or society is "God-given" then it becomes sinful or blasphemous to oppose authorities within society. This might go so far as engendering a distrust for democratic societies which might undermine the sacral character of authority. While the revolutionary can find it easier to adopt an aggressive attitude to social and political ordering, the religious man will oppose and brand as subversive any attempt to overthrow it.

DIFFERENCE 3: WORLD VIEW

The third area of conflict touches upon the opposing views of the world. The religionist sees the world as the work of God and therefore as something ordered, complete and ultimately good. This static world view finds its expression in the immobilism and conservatism of the political and social spheres. The revolutionary, on the contrary, sees the world as dynamic, changing and open to continuous improvement and development. The dynamic nature of the world implies the conviction that there is nothing immutable or sacred in the world and that it is often completely legitimate to contest and overthrow existing political, social and economic structures.

(*Vervolg van bladsy 6*)

Ons het oor die afgelope jare diep onder die besef gekom dat daar ingrypende meningsverskille bestaan tussen ons en die meerderheid van die ampsdraers en lidmate van die Ned. Geref. Kerk, veral oor eku-meniese-, rasse- en politieke aangeleenthede. Dit alles het egter geen afbreuk gedoen aan ons gehegtheid aan die gereformeerde leer en ons liefde vir die Ned. Geref. Kerk nie. Ook het daar, by alle meningsverskille wat daar tussen ons en die meerderheid van ons mede-lidmate in die Ned. Geref. Kerk bestaan, geen verskil tussen ons ontstaan wat betref ons gemeenskaplike besef dat ons, as volgelingen van Jesus Christus, tot 'n heilige lewenswandel, in onderworpenheid aan sy geboorte en in vertroue op sy beloftes, geroep is nie.

Dit is vir ons ook ondenkbaar dat daar, vanweë die standpunte wat ons verloor bogenoemde sake huldig, vir ons geen plek meer in die Ned. Geref. Kerk sou wees nie. Ons pleit by die Sinode om dit aan ons en aan almal wie se oë op die Ned. Geref. Kerk gerig is, te toon dat daar in die Kerk, wie se Hoof Christus is, genoeg ruimte is sodat ook óns ons plek daar met vreugde en vrymoedigheid kan inneem, en sodat ook óns dienste gebruik kan word ooreenkomstig die gawes wat aan ons toevertrou is.

Ons wil beleefd versoek dat die Sinode hierdie getuienis en pleitstuk van ons in ontvangs sal neem en sal behandel asof dit, ongeag alles wat daaraan voorafgegaan het, ons enigste versoek, die uitdrukking van ons enigste begeerte en verlange is; dat die Sinode die opregtheid, waarmee ons uit die grond van ons harte pleit, sal aanvaar, dat die Sinode, ter wille van die erns waarmee ons pleit, nie 'n procedure sal volg wat 'n besluit oor ons versoek sal vertraag nie, maar desnoods 'n buitengewone procedure sal volg om aan ons die sekerheid te gee wat ons so vurig begeer, terwyl hy die feit in gedagte hou dat ons nou al vir jare lank soos onwelkome gebrandmerktes in die Ned. Geref. Kerk verkeer; dat die Sinode, indien hy dit mag nodig ag, ons sal ontbied om persoonlik voor hom te verskyn - 'n geleentheid wat ons van harte begeer en wat ons hiermee selfs beleefd versoek.

Ons ag dit haas oorbodig om die Sinode te verseker - maar by wyse van herhaling van ons opregte en vurige begeerte om van ons geestelike tuiste in die Ned. Geref. Kerk verseker te word, wil ons dit tog doen - van ons gebed dat God u tot 'n besluit mag lei waarin daar, in geen onsekere taal, bevestig sal word dat ons, ten spyte van ons bekende standpunte nog in die Ned. Geref. Kerk welkom is en gebruik kan word.

Met die verskuldigde hoogagting, en met toebidding van die seën van God op al die verrigtinge van die vergadering,

U broeders in Christus,

(*Geteken deur 34 ondertekenaars uit 19 Gemeentes*).

GEDAGTES OOR VERSOENING EN APARTHEID

Dr. C.J. („Cas“) Labuschagne is 'n oud-leraar van die Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk in Suid-Afrika 'n gewese dosent van Ou-Testamentiese tale aan die Universiteit Pretoria en tans lektor in Ou-Testamentiese vakke aan die Universiteit Groningen.

1. Per definisie sluit hierdie twee begrippe mekaar uit. Apartheid is in wese gerig op 'n voortsetting van gebroke verhoudinge, vervreemding en vyandskap tussen rasse en mense. Versoening is gerig op die opheffing van gebroke verhoudinge, vervreemding en vyandskap (Kol.1:21; Rom.5:10).
2. Apartheid staan nie alleen lynreg teenoor versoening nie, maar staan as 'n dwarsboom in die pad van versoening. Dat apartheid versoening kan teweegbring is 'n leuen. Versoening soek in die eerste plek 'n werklike en lyflike konfrontasie van die teenoor mekaar staande partye (vgl. Mat. 5:24 en Ef. 2:13). Apartheid vermy prinsipiëel elke konfrontasie en maak so versoening onmoontlik.
3. Apartheid gaan daarvan uit dat versoening tussen die verskillende rasse in 'n geïntegreerde samelewing nie realiseerbaar is nie, daarom is dit in wese defaitisties en beteken dit 'n verloëning van die versoeningswerk van Christus. Versoening daarenteen streef na die realisering van daardie nuwe wat God die mense deur Christus skenk (II Kor. 5:17; Kol. 3:11). Apartheid beteken 'n miskenning van hierdie nuwe.
4. Apartheid word voorgehou as dié weg tot vrede tussen rasse, waardeer hierdie ideologie, aangedien as alleensaligmakende evangelie, in werklikheid as anti-evangelie in konkurrensie kom met die Evangelie wat vrede alleen via versoening realiseerbaar ag. Vrede sonder versoening is 'n skynvrede en in wese 'n stuk bedrog. Daarom stuur apartheid juis deur sy versoeningsloosheid af op 'n onvermydelike rasse-oorlog.
5. Apartheid is gebaseer op, beklemtoon en stimuleer dit wat rasse en individuele mense van mekaar skei en geskeie hou en doen daarby 'n beroep op die laagste instinkte soos vrees, agterdog, vooroordeel en selfhandhawing. Versoening daarenteen beklemtoon en stimuleer dit wat mense aan mekaar bind en verenig deur 'n beroep te doen op wedersydse begrip, verdraagsaamheid, openheid en selfverloëning.
6. Apartheid, as 'n produk van 'n geperverteerde christelike antropologie, berus op 'n waardering van die medemens wat volledig verbygaan aan dit wat God deur die versoening in Christus aan die mens gedoen het. Versoening berus op die erkenning dat God in Christus inderdaad soveel aan die mens verander het dat hy 'n nuwe skepping is en dat wêreldlike maatstawe vir die beoordeling van die medemens nie meer geld nie (Hand. 10:15,28; II Kor. 5:16; Kol. 3:11).
7. Apartheid probeer om te ontkom aan die eis tot bekering en verandering van hart en gesindheid in die intermenslike verkeer. Versoening stel as eerste en vernaamste eis juis hierdie bekering en verandering van hart en gesindheid.
8. Apartheid wortel in ongeloof en in 'n totale gebrek aan geloof. Versoening waag dit om die weg van die Evangelie te bewandel in volle geloofsvertroue.
9. Apartheid word toegepas en kan alleen deurgevoer word met gebruikmaking van geweld. Versoening kom tot stand langs elke ander weg behalwe langs die weg van geweld.

SPRO-CAS REPORTS.....

Sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa

SPROCAS PUBLICATIONS PROGRAMME:

ADVANCE ORDERS AND QUERIES should be addressed to:

Sprocas,
P.O. Box 31134,
Braamfontein,
Transvaal.
Tel. 724-0346/8 Johannesburg.

WHAT IS SPRO-CAS?

The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society was set up to examine South African society in the light of Christian principles and to make recommendations aimed at achieving a new social order.

Spro-cas consists of six expert commission on economics, education, law, politics, society and the church, comprising nearly 150 leading South Africans from many different walks of life. These commissions began operating in the middle of 1969 and their work will be completed by mid-1971 with the publication of far-reaching reports.

SPRO-CAS PUBLICATIONS PROGRAMME

A. SPRO-CAS OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS

These booklets which will appear between November 1970 and January 1971, will contain selections from the large number of working documents prepared for the six commissions, loosely grouped around four central themes. Each paper makes a valuable contribution to thought about South Africa's problems and possible solutions to these.

1. ANATOMY OF APARTHEID (November 1970)

Contains papers which are basically analytical of South African society in its different aspects, although the writers also make a number of important recommendations for change. The list of contents is as follows:

The Present Political Position:
Report of a sub-committee of the Political Commission.

The Factors Underlying Apartheid:
Mr. L. Schlemmer, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal.

Some Aspects of Culture and Apartheid:

Mr. Andre Brink, the writer.

Modernization and Apartheid:

Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert, sociologist at Stellenbosch University.

The Economics of Separate Development:

Mr. Robin Siedle, economist.

2. SOUTH AFRICA'S MINORITIES (December 1970)

The non-Black groups in South African society are described in terms both pungent and scholarly by literary men and social scientists:

Coloured People:

Dr. M.G. Whisson of the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town.

Indian People:

Mrs. Fatima Meer, sociologist.

Afrikaners:

Mr. W.A. de Klerk, writer.

The English-speaking Whites:

Mr. C.O. Gardner, of the Department of English, University of Natal.

Professor H.W. van der Merwe, Director of the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-racial Studies, contributes an introduction in which he defines the concepts numerical and power minorities.

3. DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS (January 1971).

Future Political Implication of Present Policies:

Mr. L. Schlemmer, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal.

Some Thoughts on the Common Society:

Mr. Alan Paton, writer.

The Plural-State System:

Dr. Denis Worrall, of the Department of Political Science, University of South Africa.

The Relevance of Contemporary Radical Thought:

Dr. R. Turner, of the Department of History and Political Science, University of Natal.

4. SOME IMPLICATIONS OF INEQUALITY (February 1971)

Poverty:

Professor H.L. Watts, Director of the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal.

Malnutrition:

Professor J.V.O. Reid, of the Medical School, University of Natal.

Distress in the Reserves:

Dr. A. Barker, of the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital, Nqutu.

B. THE REPORTS OF THE SPRO-CAS COMMISSIONS

The reports of the six commissions will, it is anticipated, be released simultaneously in English and Afrikaans between February and July, 1971. The first to be published will probably be those of the Church Commission (provisional title: *The Disordered Church*) and the Education Commission (provisional title: *Education Beyond Apartheid*). The reports will appear independently of each other.

The contents of the Church report will include:

Introduction

The Disordered Church in South Africa

Attitudes and Motives
Fellowship and Unity
Problems of Structure
The Mission of the Church

The Relationship between Church and State

The Effects of Apartheid on the Church of Christ

Recommendations

The Education report will include:

Introduction

The Acceptable Society

Moral Education

Unacceptable Principles in South African Education

Unacceptable Practices in South African Education

Recommendations

Patterns for the Future

Conclusions

Christian National Education:
an appendix

C. CO-ORDINATED REPORT

A composite, co-ordinated report drawing on the work of all six commissions will be issued during the second half of 1971, as will a report by the director of the project on the whole Spro-cas undertaking. These reports will also appear in both official languages.

Selling Price of the occasional publications will be 50 cents per copy, and of the Spro-cas reports R1.00 per copy, with generous discounts for bulk orders. A deposit of R10 will secure copies of all twelve publications.

The publications will be uniform in size and format, and will carry a distinctive 'family' design.

MORE OFFICIAL RESPONSES TO THE WCC

BAPTIST UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

"The Assembly notes that the Baptist Union of South Africa is not and never has been a member of the World Council of churches, basically for theological reasons.

"The Assembly expresses its strongest condemnation of grants made for any purpose by the World Council of Churches to movements whose declared aim is to overthrow the elected governments of Southern Africa by violent means. The Assembly also rejects the use of violence as a solution to racial problems.

"In dissociating ourselves from the action of the World Council of Churches, we do not thereby imply any lack of concern, on our part, in the sociological needs and racial problems of our country. On the contrary, we express our deep concern wherever prevailing attitudes condone injustices.

"The Assembly notes with approval the Prime Minister's withdrawal of his request that South African Churches which are members of the World Council of Churches should withdraw from that body. It is a long-standing Baptist conviction that the state has no place in deciding matters of conscience for religious bodies".



METHODIST CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa, a member of the World Council of Churches, takes exception to the action of the World Council of Churches, taken without prior consultation with the member Churches in South Africa, in making funds available to organisations whose aim is to bring about political change by violent means. At the same time Conference freely acknowledges our own shortcomings in seeking a solution of the problem of racism which apparently prompted the World Council of Churches to act as it did, and reaffirms our condemnation of a system which denies to the majority of its people the fundamental rights of human dignity and social justice.

Conference accordingly resolves:

- (i) to pledge ourselves to seek true unity between the races in our Church and nation;
- (ii) to continue our membership of the World Council of Churches;
- (iii) to request the World Council of Churches to consult with the South African member Churches on this whole issue;
- (iv) to hold in suspense our contributions pending the outcome of such consultations.

DECISION

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Members present at the Transvaal Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends held on 20th September 1970 at Johannesburg agreed to the following statement about the World Council of Churches action on racism:

"According to the recent statement on Southern Africa by the World Council of Churches Executive, the funds given by the World Council to 19 anti-racist organisations are to be used for effecting change peacefully. However, it seems to us that assistance to some of the organisations designated can be seen as directly or indirectly supporting violence. We feel that such money should not have been given without the acceptance of responsibility by the donor for its use, and such responsibility does not appear to have been accepted by the Council.

"In discussing the possible use of funds for military purposes however, it must be said that such activities are not the only kind of violence. The daily disruption of people's lives by such things as forced removals, break up of family life due to the pass laws, and denial of job opportunities, can also be classed as violence. We can understand that those who suffer in this situation and those outside who identify with them, may feel constrained to react violently.

"We too are often driven to near despair by the by the increase of inhuman legislation and the apparent hardening of attitudes in our country. But, as members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), having a corporate testimony against all war and any kind of violence, we condone neither military activities nor repressive legislation. We believe that our task is to work for a creative solution by peaceful means. We admit that we can be charged with not having found the way to such a solution, and that the action of the World Council is a condemnation of our failure. This challenges all Christians in South Africa to work unremittingly for a just society which will express our belief in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

"We feel that it would be regrettable if member or affiliate churches of the World Council were to withdraw because of disagreement on this issue. We believe that they should remain within the Council and work for greater understanding and reconciliation between all men".

THE BANTU PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF S.A.

1. The General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa notes that the World Council of Churches has recently made grants from specially contributed funds to certain organisations to aid them combat racism and help the victims of racial injustice in Southern Africa, as well as other parts of the world. The money is given only to be used for educational and medical assistance, although certain, but not all, of the organisations are committed to the use of violence to achieve their ends. No check on the actual use of the money is planned.

2. Violence makes reconciliation very difficult. We as a Church do not believe that violence is the way to gain relief from racism and to achieve justice for our people in South Africa, but we equally abhor the violence that is daily done to our people physically and spiritually. In saying this we acknowledge with sorrow our failure adequately and consistently in the past to protest against the acts of violence done to our members, which violence has the effect of mocking God through the physical and spiritual violence and indignity done to His children, made in His image, in the following among other ways: -

- (i) by the harsh laws which discriminate against the vast majority of our church membership on grounds of race and colour alone;
- (ii) by the collapse of the family life of so many of our people through the effect of the increasingly widespread insistence on the system of migratory labour and through the wholesale removals of our people, without adequate discussion, from towns and villages long established with the consequent breakdown of church and social life;
- (iii) by the fact that the violence in our national life results in more executions being carried out legally in South Africa than in the combined total of published executions in all other countries of the rest of the world.

3. It is in this context that

- (a) Assembly records its gratitude to the World Council of Churches for the considerable assistance made available in the past for many worthwhile projects in this and other lands; but
- (b) expresses its concern with the recent decision of the World Council which appears to support some of those who advocate the way of violence as the way to combat racism and to relieve the victims of racial injustice; and at the same time
- (c) expresses its disagreement on the grounds of its Christian faith with the policy of the government of South Africa whose implementation of "separate development" can only be seen as a major direct cause of the excess of violence within our country, which scandalises most of the rest of the world.

4. Assembly does not wish to withdraw from the World Council of Churches, because it wishes its

voice to be heard in the councils of the churches, since it is members of our church who know the full extent of the suffering through violence.

5. Assembly recommends that the grant for 1971 to the World Council of Churches be held in reserve, pending the opportunity of discussion with representatives of the World Council of Churches and to correspond immediately. Assembly therefore asks the South African Council of Churches to invite representatives of the World Council of Churches to visit South Africa in the near future that such discussion may take place.

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MORAVIAN CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Synod of the Moravian Church in South Africa (Eastern Province) met from 29th September to 1st October, 1970, in the Transkei and discussed also the decision of the WCC to grant financial assistance for educational, social and medical purposes to what it styles as anti-racist or liberation movements, and the reaction the Prime Minister felt obliged to take in order not to neglect his duty;

- (i) The Synod welcomed that the Prime Minister wants "to give the Churches every opportunity to discuss the matter" and hopes that he will stand to his word and allow the Churches concerned to consider thoroughly the intention of the WCC and the questionable means and to make representations to the Government.
- (ii) The Synod condemns strongly any kind of terror which becomes at present a threat to mankind throughout the world and feels that the actions of the WCC might encourage such violent actions. But it acknowledges the statement of representatives of the South African member Churches of the WCC "that it is in response to an unjust racial situation that the WCC has taken this action".
- (iii) The Synod resolves not to withdraw from the WCC at present and not to contribute anything until WCC has changed its policy toward supporting subversive organisations. In this respect the Provincial Board is to write a letter to the WCC via SACC. The Synod deplores in no uncertain terms the Government's action in declaring its ultimatum on what drastic measures it would take against the member Churches of the WCC before they had even been given enough time to negotiate with the WCC on its decision and the implications for Churches in South Africa.
- (iv) The Synod emphasised that the Church's primary task is to proclaim and to work for reconciliation also in seemingly impossible situations. We recognise our short-comings in this regard. But we trust in Jesus Christ, His forgiveness and the power of His love, truth and spirit which renews hearts and actions and will ultimately triumph.

Suid-Afrikaners besef te weinig hoe fel omstrede die onlangse besluit van die Wêreldraad van Kerke ook in oorsese kerklike kringe is. Om slegs 'n klein aanduiding te verskaf van die tipe hartgrondige sielsondersoek wat tans in die buiteland aan die gang is, plaas ons hieronder (met har verlof) uittreksels uit 'n persoonlike brief van mej. Hebe Kohlbrugge van die Generale Diakonale Raad van die Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk aan drs. Boudewyn Sjollema, direkteur van die onlangs gestigte Buro vir die Bestryding van Rassisme van die Wêreldraad van Kerke. Ons glo dat ons Suid-Afrikaanse lesers haar argumentering insiggewend sal vind - asook die groot verskil tussen haar beweegredes en die wat nog steeds besig is om soveel emosies in Suid-Afrika gaande te maak.*

1. IN CANTERBURY* is besluit: „aan organisasies van onderdrukte rasse-groepe of organisasies wat slagoffers van ongeregtheid op rassegebied help, en wie se doeleindes nie strydig is (in die Engels: not inconsonant) met die doeleindes van die Wêreldraad.” Sonder tussensin lees ons: „organisasies wie se doeleindes nie strydig is met.” Dit is heelwat anders. As hierdie verandering nodig was, dan moes dit op verantwoordelike wyse geskied het. Só voel ons om die bos gelei. Of lees ons verkeerd?...

Dit is heel duidelik dat daar woordeloos oorgeskakel is van „organisasies wie se doeleindes” na „doeleindes”. Die vraag waarom daar nie geïnterresseer is teen Canterbury nie maar nou wel is hiermee altans ten dele beantwoord.

2. Dat die Wêreldraad van Kerke 'n buro instel om die stryd teen die rassisme aan te knoop en, by die eerste daad wat deur die buro onderneem is, hierdie daad nie begelei is deur 'n woord wat vir die gemeente begryplik is nie, ag ek 'n growwe fout. Hierdie fout is des te erger omdat julle op hierdie wyse aan die oer-euwel van die rassisme - die antisemitisme - swyend verby kon gaan. Één woord oor die huidige antisemitisme in die USSR en julle daad het geloofwaardiger geword. Deur die weglating van die feit word die daad in plaas van 'n evangeliese appèl 'n politieke set ... Die geloofwaardigheid van hierdie daad is tot niet gemaak deur nou te handel asof daar geen antisemitisme in 1970 sou bestaan nie

3. As julle die Aborigenes in Australië genoem het (en gehelp het), dan was dit eenvoudig oneerlik om niks te sê oor die Krimtartare nie. Waarom staan julle nie agter Grigorenko en die menigte in Rusland wat hulle lewens gee vir hierdie reeds sedert honderd jaar aanwesige rassiediskriminasie nie? Dit het gegaan teen blanke rassisme. Is die Russe nie ook soms blank nie? As die WRK nie naas sy verdrukte broeders kan staan nie, is die uitdeel van geld aan bevrydingsbewegings weer eens 'n set.

4. In Suid-Afrika hethierdie saak groot beroering te weeg gebring. Ook baie Bantoes is onthuts. Hulle vrees dat hierdeur baie onheil op hulle hoofde kom. As 'n dergelike verskerping van die situasie oorlog sou veroorsaak, dan weet hulle dat hulle die gelag sal moet betaal. Die verskerpte nervositeit in Suid-Afrika is onmiskenbaar. Miskien moet 'n mens dit

nie vermy nie, moet jy dit aanvaar, selfs 'n uiteindelijke bloedbad - maar dan moet dit nie so truukagtig („stunterig”) gebeur nie, dog politiek ernstig deurdag, en dan mag die evangeliese appèl nie heeltemal ontbreek nie - juis nie vir Suid-Afrika nie.

5. Daar word hopelik besef dat daar deur hierdie daad die èn-èn, wat tot nou toe moontlik was, verander is in 'n òf-òf.

Tot nou toe kon ons die Mosambiek-Instituut ens. help via die projektelys van die WRK. Dit het openlik dog stil gebeur en het hulp aan B. Naudé (die Christelike Instituut) nie verhinder nie. Nou sou die èn-èn vir Suid-Afrika lewensgevaarlik wees. Daartoe het ons nie die reg nie. Ons is immers almal kwesbaar en mag nie sommer iemand anders in 'n noodposisie plaas nie. Dit is dus nou 'n òf-òf. Dit beteken geen geld meer vir die Mosambiek-Instituut ens., geen geld meer vir julle buro. Beide gelyktydig sou verraad wees teenoor Beyers Naudé en hy en die syne is ons eerste lojaliteit - nie vanweë die feit dat hy blank is nie, maar vanweë sy geweldlose verset tesame met vele nie-blankes. Dit is dus vir ons nie die onaanvaarbare argument van die Evangeliese Lutherse Kerk nie, maar 'n kwessie van lojaliteit. Ook hier weer: waarom nie die truukagtigheid („stunterigheid”) vermy nie? Of was dit nou juis die clou? By kerke kan daar tog nooit sprake van 'n clou wees as die appèl geheel en al ontbreek nie.

Wie wind saai, waai die warrelwind. Julle het gekies vir verset met geweld. Welke plek geweldlose verset nou nog het is vir geen Christen meer duidelik. Nogmaals: ek weet dat Suider-Afrika reg het op ons hulp, maar deur die wyse waarop dit nou deur die WRK gedoen is, het die kind saam met die badwater verdwyn.

6. Waarskynlik sou dit alles nie gebeur het nie indien die Wêreldraad hom gehou het by die ou reformatoriese kerkbeginsel: apostolaat-diakonaat. Dan kon julle, ingevoeg in die diakonaat, in alle stilte .. uiters doeltreffend gewerk het vir Suid-Afrika en ander verdrukte groepe. Hoe graag sou ons julle dan wou gehelp het!

Nou het daar egter 'n eie buro met groot lawaai gekom, met \$200 000 - nou moes daar iets aanskouliks gebeur en dit het nou ook gebeur. Stil deurgaande werk het, volgens ons, op die lang duur meer resultaat en waaragtiger resultaat. Dan sou julle vermoedelik oor meer en beter informasie beskik het en sou die keuse van die groepe wat steun verkry het, waarskynlik effens anders uitgeval het.

7. Ten slotte moet ek nog sê dat as julle werklik iets wou doen vir dié deur ons geskonde bevolkings-groepe: één inset, één daad - daar baie moontlikhede was. Ons sou almal 'n inset toegejuig het, maar hierdie bepaalde een lyk goedkoop.

Vir al die genoemde sewe redes distansieer ons ons van hierdie daad van die Wêreldraad.

* *Vry uit die Nederlands vertaal.*

* Waar 'n vorige vergadering van die Uitvoerende Komitee van die Wêreldraad van Kerke plaasgevind het.

RACISM AND US - THE CHURCH'S CALLING

gabriel setiloane

ALL OF US have been involved in the confrontation of Christianity with Racism at some level, be it local, national or international - ecumenical. Of course, some of us have not only been burdened with this load of Racism from our birth, but have studied it consistently as it affects the parts of the world that we come from, and even claim that it has been the vehicle of God's calling us into the ministry of His word and Sacraments. Thus, we have learnt that Racism presents not only a dilemma and agonising challenge, but also an opportunity. A sense of frustration bordering on madness encompasses us, therefore, when the Church, at any of the above levels, not only denies that the extirpation of Racism is basic to the spirit and Teaching of the Scriptures and its Calling, but label us "liars", "communists", "rebel rousers" or even tries to paternalise us into inaction and submission when we declare it.

As far back as 33 years ago, Prof. Edgar Brookes, once a Senator, a man whose Christian insights and convictions cannot be doubted, could not find words more fit to describe the role the Church was playing in this issue in South Africa than the indictment of the prophet Micah against the false prophets and priests of his day:

Its priests preach for hire,
Its prophets divine for money;
Yet, they lean upon the Lord
and say

"Is not the Lord in the midst
of us?

No evil shall come upon us"

(Race Problems in S.A.).

Rev. Gabriel Setiloane, a South African by birth, was formerly the Youth Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches, is now lecturing in England.

Then, in 1937, "Apartheid" was not that land's official declared policy. The indictment of Edgar Brookes stands today equally against the whole Church of Christ in the world. We are the ones who still cry "Peace, peace when there is no peace" and when the fire of Racism threatens to burn up the whole world.

I must hasten to add that I do not think that every one of us in the Church is consciously a Racist, nor do I think that every one of my white brothers is. However, the way the Church has soft-handled the issue of Racism throughout history speaks much louder than any accusation anybody could raise. We have to admit that in as much as we have not done what we ought to have done, we are racists: Harold Wilson, Britain's ex-Premier, is a man who can control himself and his temper quite effectively. (I must now admit that since living in Britain and having a better view of the human material there available, I appreciate him much more than I used to). But once he was caught off guard and lost his temper rather badly. It was when in a Commonwealth ministers' meeting Kaupwepwe the Zambian Vice-President, discussing his handling of the Rhodesian UDI called him a racist. Equity, and fairplay, those much vaunted qualities of the privileged White world, will say it was unkind of Kaupwepwe. But he was speaking from an existential experience of the effects of Racism. I suggest that the Church is in the same position as Harold Wilson was under Kaupwepwe's charge. What court of the Church in the world today is not overweighted on the white side? For this reason Racism has not been felt the issue that it is by the Church. The people who make decisions determine policy

and pass projects, good and well-meaning as they might be, and many are! have not experienced the effects of Racism: at best they are starry-eyed academicians. Ecumenical documents speak about 'the incipient nature of Racism'. They mean this very thing. Let us look at it.

THE SERPENT, RACISM:

The trouble with all the monumental Church documents on the subject of race is that everybody deals with it as somebody else's problem, and not their own. Except for peripheral admissions here and there that the Church has not done sufficiently, we have treated it as someone else's concern. We have passed the buck to the Governments, industry, the school systems and oh! so many others. For instance, reading the Notting Hill report "The Race Race" by John Vincent one would think there was no Racism in Britain. When the last British election campaign was installed, none of the contesting parties felt the race problem in Britain, say nothing of in the world, as an issue strong enough to require inclusion on its election manifesto. But, it was when Enoch Powell dug it up out of oblivion that the campaigning heated up, and meetings became interested, the skin heads came and some were punched up. This is exactly how the white dominated world and its white dominated Church have dealt with the question of race: swept it under the carpet, and said it is not an issue: "Is not the Lord in the midst of us? No evil shall come over us". (!!)

Looking at the work of the Church on this matter, Prof. Robert Nelson, one of us and once Faith

and Order Study Secretary of the World Council of Churches, is right when he declares: "The words of men, the rhetoric of churches, statements of the World Council of Churches have but a limited potency. It is easy to prepare and speak them, especially when many people give mental assent to them. But with respect to the much condemned sin of Racism words can only decry and diagnose; they cannot cure". (The Race Race by John Vincent p. 40).

Dr. Visser't Hooft, who in his day gave quite some attention to this question confirms him: "We have believed too much in persuasion by declarations and not been sufficiently aware of the irrational factors in the situation ... "We have insisted too little on the very considerable sacrifices which have to be made if racial justice is to prevail". (ibid. p. 41).

And, that is the evidence of a man who for about thirty years was the guide and pilot of the Protestant section of the Church in the world.

Not only academically perceiving, but existentially experiencing the frustrations raised by racism in our world today, and recognizing the props used to entrench it, economics, politics, culture and underdevelopment, sometimes even Christianity, the Black People especially in the United States have launched their campaigns of reparations, Black Development, and even Black Power, to withstand White Power, and Black Theology. Of course, all these can be rationalized and legalised from a Christian standpoint. However, while understanding and myself accepting this stand, I have always felt that the issues involved here lie much deeper than £.s.d. and the "Almighty Dollar". Thus I agree with the statement of the WCC Central Committee of last year August that, whereas "There can be no justice in our world without a transfer of economic resources to undergird the redistribution of political power and to make cultural self-determination meaningful" the concept of reparation is inadequate. "Reparation" in the year of Jubilee in the Old Testament was not merely a matter of the transfer of material goods and wealth - - -

Biblically, reparation is clearly a symbol of the restoration of broken community. The community is more important. One can understand how my black brothers across the Atlantic, subjected to a life of ignominy, squalor and misery in the midst of plenty, can easily grab hold of it as an important step towards the solution of the race issue. As they say, "Materialist Western man only feels and understands when spoken to via the shrine he worships at; materialism". Still, to me and many in my land and others, the most telling sin of Racism is that it has robbed me and mine, of something more dear than all the gold and diamonds of the world, something no amount of money can make amends for, viz: My personhood - the quality of being MAN, which I can only attain in communion, within the fulness of my being, with other people. I am not comforted, but feel further exasperation in my Christian Conscience, at the converse of that coin i.e. that he who in pompous and empty pride deprives me of my "HUMAN-HOOD", my God-given MAN-HOOD actually denies himself the same fulfilment, as he can only find his humanhood in communion with me. This is the point of my objection last year, when I was being paternalised for what I have "suffered". As a Christian, I am concerned about Racism not because of myself and my children, although indeed, I bear in my character, mind, body and soul, the scars it has inflicted, especially within the so-called fellowship of the Church; my sorrow and agony of soul is because of my White brother and his children, who in refusing communion with me denies himself and the fulfilment and the attainment of our common God-given, Christ-confirmed Personhood.

Thus, you see, friends, why we who stand on the receiving side of this Racism feel so deeply about it. We know how much it negates, (not for us only for whom the barriers "Net vir Blankes" are displayed everywhere, but for you who display them, for you must keep them propped up) everything that we have been taught in the Christian Faith about regeneration, and sanctification, about fellowship and communion, about the unity of man in

Christ, about Christian brotherhood under the fatherhood of God, about God Himself and His love for all men. It turns all Christian talk into empty gibberish and a pack of lies. That is why the Gospel gets distorted: In South Africa the Independents seek a Black Messiah and in the United States, there is the phenomenon of Black Theology, in Britain, our people seek the comfort of their souls in drunkenness of the Holy Spirit preached by Pentecostalism and Glossolalia. The Christ of the White man and the Theology of the West are found inadequate to their needs unto salvation. As Paul writes to the Romans: "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you". (2:24).

HOW CAN THE CHURCH GRAPPLE WITH RACISM?

Two pre-requisites stand out even before we can try to fight Racism. They are the qualities which are needed for the building of deep and honest fellowship anywhere, anyway. Yet their absence renders any Christian venture in this field useless. They are *honesty* and *trust* with one another. The much-boasted-about Protestant teaching about the "Priesthood of believers" "whereby one is a priest to a fellow Christian" is built on these two pillars. That doctrine has not yet been lived in our Churches. In 22 years of service in the Church of Christ, the one point at which my white brothers are an enigma is here. They can never bare themselves and honestly present themselves to a Black man. I know that there is the question of culture and upbringing involved here, but we have to observe that "maintaining one's respectability and dignity", though a cultural virtue, means a denial of fellowship, dishonesty, and a lack of trust in others, perhaps even a lack of trust in God, who is able to keep all that we entrust to Him through others. That is why we find these statements of the Church on race, high-sounding and hollow. It may be that the more liturgical, historically episcopal churches with a strong tradition of the Confessional, are better than we are here. I hope that at the Confessional the believer casts away all respectability and strips his soul bare before God, through

the priest. We have no priests to confess to, God's absolution must come to us through our fellow believers. Therefore is it essential in this matter of race, that the white man be honest and entrust his soul to the Black man and vice versa. For it is only in that fellowship of honesty and trust, as we forgive, even as we have offended against one another, that we shall know the forgiveness and love of God. Failure to do this, loads us with a guilt worse than hell-fire, especially when mouthing Christian imperatives is our daily occupation: hence the apostasy, the rejection of the faith, and the opting out of the church and society, and a total lack of confidence in everything that is called Church or Christian among the people.

SOME THINGS WE HAVE TO DO:

1. In Education

Two World Conferences before the Rose Report on *Colour and Citizenship* have dealt with this question of how we educate people in a pluralistic society: they are the Church and Society Conference, in Geneva, 1966, and the World Council of Christian Education Institute of Nairobi, 1967.

The point made by both these conferences, which, by the way had been seen much earlier by Ezekiel Mphahlele, a South African, now in the United States, in his book "*The African Image*", is that racist attitudes are propagated through literature and educational material we employ. The stereotypes of Black people held by the Whites have been transmitted through literature, the cinema, the newspaper and now the TV I can give examples. *Time Magazine's* section on "The World" Do you know anything about "Step-n-Fetch-it"? Anyway the most pernicious are children's books because they catch them young when they are pliable in mind and body and have an adhesive intellect.

The authors of the Rose Report also stress the urgent need for new materials for teaching English in Primary Schools. They point out that many teachers higher up the educational scale use history and geography books that perpetuate the image of the coloured man as a primitive savage. They parti-

cularly recommend that the Churches conduct their own inquiry into textbooks currently in use, then publish their findings, in terms of the suitability of these books for education in a multiracial society, together with a list of recommended books for the guidance of headmasters. (*Colour & Citizenship* by E.J.B. Rose from a digest by Jonathan Power p.17). And this is a secular report, so called. It is now two years old almost. It would not be unkind to ask of our British brethren what our sister church in Britain has done about this so far.

2. The Church and the New World Society

Before the advent of science and technology, it was the Church which spoke about the one world to which we all belong. The ideal Christian Community transcends the barriers of race, nationality and colour. This even the Apartheidists in my country will acknowledge. The problem arises when we have to act to realize this ideal. As I see it, we need nothing short of a second conversion (if we have had the first) to attain proper attitudes in this matter of race. Attitudes, i.e. people's total view of the world, individually and co-operately, are a sphere of activity of religion and moral outlook. This is the area of the Church. We, the Church, have failed in our duty if the operational philosophy of life and accepted morality of a people (ideology, if we want to call it that) is below the standard required by the Teaching of Christ. These things are so because we have not preached, I mean really preached, not only by word of mouth, but by life, precept, prayer and devotion unto death, the Truth of Christ as regards the New Society. The world has not yet heard the Gospel, on this issue. "The hungry sheep look up but are not fed". We have fed them the pseudo-gospel. "And how shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard?" (Rom. 10:14).

WE CAN DO IT.

And yet we can do it. We can convert the world. We can change the attitudes of people throughout the world at rock-bottom towards a healthier regard of MAN and acceptance of his universal brotherhood in the Fatherhood of God.

We can:- We, who have opened up the mysteries of space and have put man on the moon; who have delved the deeps and chartered the waves so that even babes are no longer afraid of their terrors; who have turned deserts into blooming gardens and have penetrated the insides of human personality so that we can tell why he thinks as he does, when he started to do so, and the factors that make him do so; we, who can change him and make him think better thoughts. We can do it if only we had the will. We have the knowledge and the technical skill to change the attitudes of the world towards better race relations. We even have the material resources to do it with. What was it? 35 million dollars only to put three men on the moon for a few days. Hard luck it failed.

We can do it. What is needed is a conversion in ourselves, a change in our sense of values, so that we can direct the God-given talents and resources of man, the keepers of whose souls we are, to the promotion of life, community, and fellowship. Those are Christian terms. As I see it the world we live in requires the manning of a *World Wide Campaign Against Racism* towards the building of one world society and community bound together in love and Christian fellowship. Perhaps this is an idea for our World Conference in Denver next year. We Methodists have the ability, the power and the means to set such a campaign in motion. We have set other ideas in motion in Christendom, before, and have been praised for it. If only we had the zeal and vision, the unselfish and *all-consuming* love for all MAN that we in our founders the Wesleys, Asbury, and Coke, we would do it, and inherit the still, unfulfilled blessing of Livingstone: Unfulfilled because no one has come who deserves it yet; no one has dared to love so widely yet:

"May heaven's richest blessing
come down

On everyone, American, English
or Turk,

Who will help to heal
This open sore of the World!"

(on Livingstone's Grave,
Westminster Abbey).