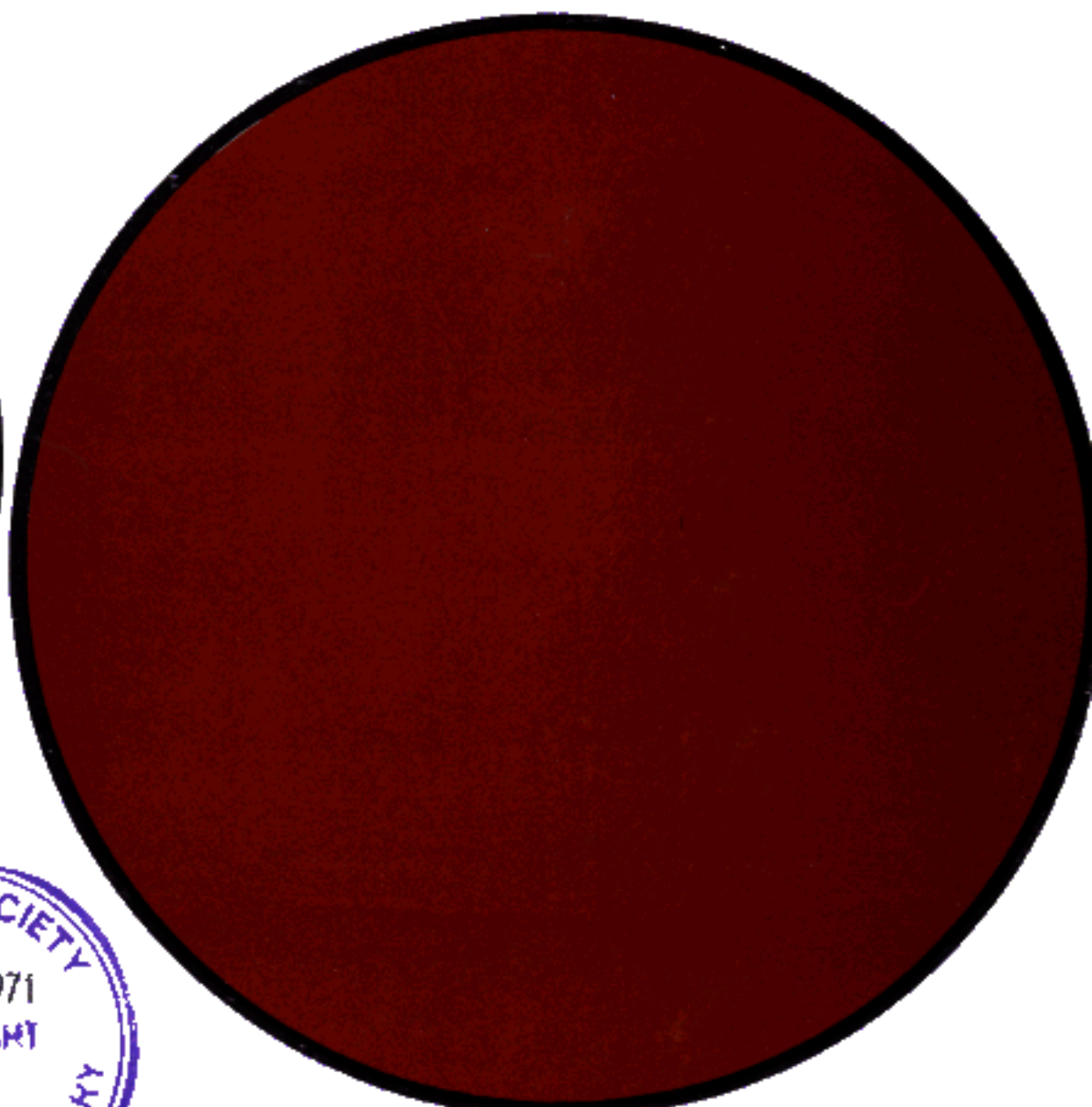


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VEDIANT

November 71

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**DANK EN SEËNWENSE**

MET DIE WOORDJIE DANK, dek die vlag seker nie die lading as daarmee aan die uittredende redakteur van Pro Veritate, *dr. W.B. de Villiers*, waardering betuig word nie. Onder sy redakteurskap het die blad metrasse skrede vooruitgegaan, veral in intekeningsgetal. Dat hy gemis sal word, is gewis. Met sy skerp-sinninge-opmerkings het hy 'n mens aan sout laat dink. Sout wat op die verkeerde (of regte!) plek, in die oë, erg brand, maar op die regte plek, oor die voedsel, heerlijk smaak gee.

Hy word die seën van die Here in sy nuwe werkring toegebied. Waar hy die partypolitieke arena betree, word gehoop dat hy in besonder die wysheid en krag van die Heilige Gees sal ondervind. 'n Bedienaar van die Goddelike Woord in dié arbeid, sal baie vra. Hier kan nie nou daarop geantwoord word nie en daar sal met 'n enkele opmerking volstaan

moet word. Daarvoor is begrip as hy God daar op die markplein en in die wetsaal, in die poort en in die raadsaal wil gaan dien, want daar, ja juis daar waar die beslissinge oor die lewe en lotgevalle van mense en nasies val, daar wil God gedien wees!

'n Laaste woord van dank ook vir dit wat hy nog vir oulaas vir hierdie uitgawe gedoen het. Ons reken steeds op sy bekwame steun in die toekoms! Mag die Here, Jesus Christus, se rykste seën op hom, sy eggenote en hulle gesin rus!

★

Waar *br. Mark Collier* onlangs vir 'n tydperk vertrek het, word ook groot dank en waardering vir sy aandeel aan Pro Veritate in die verlede uitgespreek en daar is dankbaarheid dat hy steeds sy deel bydra!●

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## VAN DIALOOG TOT DIENS

JESUS CHRISTUS, die gekruisigde, wat leef en oor almal regeer, is die waarheid (Joh. 14:6). Dit is Hy wat die wil van God en die geskiedenis in homself byeenbring. Die mens, volk of staat wat hom mis, mis gevolglik die wesenlike sin van sy bestaan.

Die teologie was nog altyd dié invloed wat die gewetens van volkere gevorm het. Dit beteken dat 'n skewe of halwe teologie rampspoedige nasionale of internasionale gevolge sal hê!

Die wese van die teologie is die getuienis vir Christus en sy evangelie. Hy het gekom om vir die waarheid te getuig (Joh. 18:23) en so moet elke gelowige ook sy roeping verstaan (Joh. 17:18) - Pro Veritate, Vir die Waarheid. Dit is ook wat ons, onder sy genade, wil kom doen.

### NEUTRALITEIT

Die waarheid, Christus, word egter nie in 'n vakuum verkondig en gedien nie. Dit moet in November 1971 verkondig word. Wie die evangelie nie in hierdie tyd en tydsgewrig, in die situasie van die dag met sy probleme en geleenthede, verkondig nie, verkondig nie die evangelie van Jesus nie (Martin Luther)! 'n Kerk, met die vleesgeworde Woord as boodskap, wat in die maatskappy swyg, is 'n contradictio in terminis! Neutraliteit of afsydigheid teenoor krisissituasies in die hede beteken eenvoudig dat die gelowige sy Koning as vêr en afwesig beskou.

Waarmee is ons betrokke? Primêr met die Koninkryk van God in Christus. Pro Veritate is 'n getuienis- en gespreksblad oor sy koms in ons situasie.

*Dialog* is die woord van die dag, maar daarmee is hier nog nie wesenlik begin nie. Die agtergrond van ware dialog is om deur die Woord aangespreek te word en om deur die werkinge van Sy Gees, te antwoord. Met dié agtergrond ontmoet ons mekaar met 'n oop gemoed as medemense, sonder aansiens des persoons.

*Konfrontasie* moet egter op dialog volg. 'n Onderdaan of regering wat nie voor die Koning buig en nie Sý wil doen nie, staan in die weg van Sy Ryk en moet met Christus gekonfronteer word (Filip. 2:9-11).

*Kommunikasie* moet egter die uitvloeisel van konfrontasie wees. Gemeenskap, kontak, eenheid en verbinding moet bereik word (Ef. 1:10, Gal. 3:28). 'n Individuele Christen is geen Christen nie (Pascal) en dieselfde geld vir 'n kerk. Omdat daar geen innerlike onsigbare vader, burger, eerste minister of gelowige is nie, is ook dié eenheid sigbaar (1 Kor. 12).

Kommunikasie op sigself mag egter nie verheerlik word nie, anders verstar dit tot heillose onvrugbaarheid. Saam moet gedien word, in eenheid te midde van verskeidenheid, waar al die stemme in die koor in 'n mooi harmonie onder die hand van die Meester saamvloei.

### ANTWOORD GOD!

Pro Veritate wil meehelp sodat daar dialog tussen God en mens, moderne mens, vierde mens, eendimensionele mens, God-is-dood-mens, apartheidsmens en mondige mens kom. God's *dialog* beteken dat die Woord vlees geword het. *Konfrontasie* waar Christus onder die las van die sonde uitroep: My God, my God, waarom het u my verlaat, en *kommunikasie*, waar Hy getuig: Vader, in U hande gee Ek my Gees oor, lei tot vrugbare *diens* met sy opstanding en hemelvaart waar hy die magte oorwin het en regeer! Van dialog tot diens!

Nou kan die gelowiges hierdie pynlike sirkelgang van die blye evangelie aan 'n wêreld in 'n helse greep van verlorenheid, honger, oorlog, diskriminasie, terrorisme, apartheid en liefdeloosheid verkondig.

Gods's dialog roep ons tot 'n antwoord; („Antwoord My!” Miga 6:3). *Hy vra:*

*Gee julle vir hulle iets om te eet! (± 30% van die mense in Soweto, Johannesburg bv., leef volgens verslae onder die broodlyn).*

*Besoek die gevangenes! (Matt. 25). (Talle, wie ken die getal?, word sonder verhoor in Suid-Afrika in bittere eensaamheid vasgesluit en ingekerker).*

*Betoon meegevoel met die mishandelde as mense wat self 'n liggaam het! (Hebr. 13:3). (47 het reeds onder eed getuig van beweerde marteling vandat aanhouding sonder verhoor begin het).*

*Leef in kontak met mekaar! (1 Joh. 1:7, Handeling 2, Gal. 3:28, ens.). (Volgens beleid is die einddoel van die regering om die land volgens rasse-groepe in 8 of meer onafhanklike state te verdeel, waarvan ± 4 miljoen wit Afrikane 87% van die grondgebied van Suid-Afrika ontvang en aan ± 16 miljoen gekleurde Afrikane alleen 13% toegewys word)*

*Betaal 'n regverdige loon! (Luk. 10:7, 1 Tim. 5:18). (Volgens die nuutste statistiek bv., is die gemiddelde loon v.d. wit Afrikane in een afdeling van die samelewing, ±20 keer die gemiddelde loon van die swartes. Die Christelik boodskap egter is nie na verdienste nie, maar na behoefte!)*

*Verkondig die evangelie! (Matt. 28:19). (Volgens*



verslae is 2/3 van die wêreldbevolking nog nie gekersten nie, terwyl die sendingsaak 'n finansiële sukkelbestaan voer. In S.A. is egter hierdie jaar 316½ miljoen rand vir die leër en 104 miljoen rand vir die polisie bewillig, terwyl die grootste hofgebou in die wêreld in Johannesburg pryk! (Sunday Times, London). Daagliks is oor die onmenslike „paswette“ 1 732 aanklagte in 1968-69 bv., hanteer.

### ONTWAAK!

'n Magdom geld en arbeid - waarvoor? Vir eie beveiliging en gerief? Het Christus nie gesê dat hy wat sy eie lewe wil red, dit sal verloor nie? (Matt. 16:25). Met God se vrae aan ons, kan ons nie anders nie as om uit te roep: In God se Naam, Suid-Afrika, ontwaak!

Met reg kan gevra word of daar dan niks gedoen word nie. Eerlikheidshalwe moet geantwoord word dat veel hulp wel verleen word, maar met die erns van ons lewe moet ook getuig word dat in hierdie geval barmhartigheid goedkoper as God's geregtigheid is (vgl. 1 Kor. 13). En niemand ontvang filantropie, armsorg, afskeepgawes in plaas van geregtigheid nie. Iemand het gesê: „While one man is unfree - no man is truly free!“.

Laat dit *hic et nunc* getuig word dat ons geen

verbintenis met „kommunisme“ of sg. „ondergrondse bewegings“, ens., het nie. Alleenlik die evangelie van Christus is ons boodskap. As opgeleide evangeliedienaar in die N.G. Kerk en as Afrikaner is ons medeverantwoordelik vir „ons“ land en „ons“ mense, ook in die regering.

### VREESLOOS

Daarom nooi ons u: Konfereer saam, konfronteer saam, kommunikeer saam, dien saam en bid saam: „Laat U Koninkryk kom“. Met sy genade sal ons dit vreesloos, soos Hy beveel het, doen! (Matt. 10:28). En laat ons dit gou doen, want „as ons vertoef tot môrelik toe, dan sal ons skuldig staan!“ (2 Kon. 7:9).

M. Niemöller het in Duitsland getuig:

Hulle het eerste gekom om die kommuniste weg te neem en ek het nie getuig nie, omdat ek nie 'n kommunist was nie. Toe het hulle gekom om die Jode weg te neem en ek het nie getuig nie, omdat ek nie 'n Jood was nie. Toe het hulle gekom om die vakbondlede weg te neem en ek het nie getuig nie, omdat ek nie vakbondlid was nie. Toe het hulle gekom om die Rooms-Katolieke weg te neem en ek het nie getuig nie, omdat ek nie 'n Katoliek was nie. Toe het hulle my weggeneem ... en teen daardie tyd was daar niemand meer om te getuig nie!●

## PEACE AND VIOLENCE

OUR MAIN THEME this month is peace, and amongst other articles we carry the challenging sermon delivered by the Rev. C.F.B. Naudé, director of the Christian Institute, when he conducted the televised service which opened the recent Peace Week in Holland. We also give a description of the background to the Peace Week. Nearer home, we have disclosures of recent events in South West Africa and Mocambique, thoughts on freedom for white South Africa, and the views of a black African on religion and culture.

### CRISIS!

South Africa has moved steadily deeper into crisis with the recent distressing events concerning the Security Police and the Dean of Johannesburg. Serious questions must be considered: does the government have unlimited power? Has the situation now become so precarious that one no longer knows if the subject may even be discussed without a so-called 'law' being transgressed, with the danger that one might be arrested and detained, somewhere, without trial?

The gospel of Christ will have to check the government squarely and speedily, since God recognises power only in terms of his justice and love in Christ. A government has potens, but not potentia (Ter Schegget). It has power, but may not claim un-

limited power, because that would be changing its democratic election to dictatorial predestination.

### BEAST OF THE ABYSS

We agree that communism and terrorism must be fought. But why does the government want to justify the unchristian means, (detention without trial e.g.), by the end (to fight communism and terrorism)? The answer is that it has an unchristian basis, namely that people are primarily and basically different from one another and therefore they must be kept separated. The result of this belief is that it's policy must be implemented by hook or by crook!

The government stands in the service of God, and consequently must govern according to the gospel without making laws which assault the lives of people. Romans 13 declares that God commanded the authorities to punish the evil-doers. If a government deviates from God's will, it becomes itself the evil-doer, the beast of the abyss (Revelations 13).

If a government becomes a terrorist, an intimidator, a murderer, as in the case, for example, of the Third Reich in Germany, when six million people were liquidated, what is then the believer's responsibility? These questions have prompted us to carry the stimulating article by Prof. Verkuyl.●

# FREEDOM

## FOR WHITE SOUTH AFRICA ?

Dr. E.H. Brookes

*We take pleasure in reproducing hereunder by kind permission of the University authorities, the full text of an address delivered at the Graduation Ceremony of Rhodes University by one of the wisest of living South Africans, Dr. E.H. Brookes. It provides much food for thought and comes at a time in the history of our country when it is most needed.*

I FEEL it a great honour to have become a graduate of Rhodes University, and I want to express simply and humbly my gratitude for this high distinction. It is, if possible, an even greater honour to be asked to give the Graduation Address. I have, as you might expect, devoted some anxious moments to the choice of my subject. I have decided to speak on Freedom, personal as well as academic and political. This is a subject which can never be uncongenial in this University, with the history which it has had.

But before I discuss freedom I want first to speak to you this evening of virtue not sufficiently preached nor effectively practised - the virtue of hope. Whether the South African predicament or the human predicament in general be considered, hope is an urgent necessity. Hope makes action possible. Despair leads to drift, or to immersion in the passing and superficial pleasures of life, or to that grim and loveless action which has the waft of death about it. There are those whose philosophy it is to face the world with a calm and resolute despair. One cannot really face the world with that feeling. It belongs to an isolated academic tower, not to the highroads of life. I for one do not greatly care for popularity, even among the unpopular, nor do I desire distinction among that avant-garde which is so far ahead that it has lost touch with the army. Few religious people have so great a sense of self-righteousness as is possessed by despairing intellectuals. Few of the orthodox have quite the pitiless persecution tendencies of the heretics. For myself, I am glad to be an ordinary man, walking with ordinary men behind the banners of courage and hope, intending to *do* something with the human situation, however complicated and frustrating it may be. Let us take courage therefore and march on. So long as one valiant man is left, hope cannot die.

I have associated the South African predicament with the world predicament, and they have much in

common. In particular, both call for true freedom. Perhaps I may be pardoned if this evening I dwell mostly on South Africa. "Aha!" some of you will be thinking, "he is coming to his usual theme, freedom for Africans, freedom for Coloured persons, freedom for Indians". On the contrary, my address this evening will be on the topic of freedom for white South Africa; for white South Africans are prisoners - prisoners who have forged their own fetters and are adding chains of their own devising. Whoever is or is not free in South Africa, the average white man is in chains.

The first freedom which I desire for you, my fellow-countrymen and fellow-graduates, is one which no Government can prevent you from grasping. It lies in your own hands. Doubtless you need the grace of God to achieve it, but not the grace of the Cabinet or of Parliament. They can neither give it nor take it away. No liberation is so great - and I speak from deep personal experience - as the gift of seeing every human being simply as a human being, not as a member of any race or group. A study of the social structure of Victorian England, where people of colour were almost unknown, shows how deep and wide was the gulf between the "toffs" and the people. It was surmounted by Sam Weller in his relationship with Samuel Pickwick, but even Mr. Jaggery could not talk in a natural and friendly way with Joe Gargery. How much Victorian England lost through this. How many Victorians, moreover, failed to see the simple human person behind the feminine clothes. I am no excessive lover of mini-skirts, but when I look, in photographs of the time, at the faces of the Victorian women whose skirts swept the ground and whose dresses completely hid their natural contours, I see something of the dumb miseries of slaves in them, and could find it in my heart to thank God even for the ascending hem-line.

With some people again, religion is the limiting thing. Catholics who think of their fellow-men as

schismatics first and men afterwards, Protestants who fail to see Catholics as Christians but only as followers to the Scarlet Women, Christians who look down upon Jews, agnostics who look down upon Christians - all of us impoverish ourselves by the barriers which we build to protect not faith but our own self-importance and self-righteousness. The worst and silliest of these divisions is the way in which we who are pink cut ourselves off from those who are brown. (I use the terms "pink" and "brown" advisedly; they have not the same emotional overtones as "white" and "black"). The other differences have something to do with social class, religious faith or intellectual outlook. This and this only is determined by shades of complexion. This and this only cannot be changed. No conversion, no promotion, no academic achievement can alter it. If a man in this country is brown, few of us who are pink will ever trouble to discover whether he has the soul of a poet, the skill of an artist, or even the domestic virtues. He suffers, of course, but I am concerned with our suffering. From what riches we cut ourselves off, from what pullulating life. Our fellow-countrymen in Natal in the 1890's (just think of it!) saw in Mahatma Gandhi only another "coolie". Many in the Eastern Cape, I am afraid, saw in D.D.T. Jabavu only an "educated kaffir". Today we are slightly more courteous. We would describe Gandhi as an "Indian", and Jabavu, with grammatical inaccuracy, as an "educated Bantu", but how many of our people think of them just as fellow-men! The story is told of Professor Jabavu that, on his way back from a conference in Jerusalem, he called on his friend, Dr. J.H. Oldham, in London at the unfashionable hour of 9.00 a.m. Oldham's manservant was not for letting him in, but Jabavu, who put up no barriers against anyone, said to him: "Tell your master that Jabavu is here from Jerusalem and must see him". The man went upstairs and said to Oldham: "Sir, there's a big buck nigger at the front door. He says he's Jehovah from Jerusalem and must see you". The manservant was prepared, as you see, to give Jabavu quite unprecedented promotion but not equality, just as some pink people today are willing to call a brown man "Dr. Kuzwayo" but never "Mr. Kuzwayo".

We bind ourselves in another way when we accept that uniformity of thought which many South Africans consider desirable. They speak - and sometimes we are willing to let them speak - of 'un-South African attitudes'. No attitude is or can be "un-South African" if it comes from the honest thinking of a South African. Jon Stuart Mill could defend even eccentricity as part of the riches of a people, and this should arouse some response, in Rhodes University especially, when one thinks back to the early days of Rhodes which was, as I remember, in the 1920's and the 1930's rich in eccentric characters. We have a curiously limited freedom of thought in South Africa. You may believe that there is no God. The Government may deplore this but they will

not set the Security Police on to you. But if you believe in equality between pink and brown, you may be banned. To what conclusion can this lead one except that in the ostentatiously religious South Africa of the 1970's the right ideas about complexions are definitely more important than the right ideas about God, a point which is illustrated further by the fact that a pink atheist may sit in Parliament but not a brown believer.

In this sphere of colour we are not supposed to be free. But we *must* be free. "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ", said Oliver Cromwell to a group of Scottish Calvinists, "think it possible that ye may be mistaken". This plea must be made again to other self-righteous and intolerant groups. But we are not bound to give them satisfaction. As with colour prejudice, the remedy is in our own hands. If we will not defy this dangerous uniformity of thought, we are assisting in our own imprisonment.

Let us go further. This conforming to a pattern is a danger in all schools of thought, not only on the far right but also on the far left, and even in the centre. Thus a man of colour in the United States, though his complexion may be a pale olive and his ancestry seven-eighths white, faces much criticism if he does not conform to the cry of "black power" and call himself "black". Fashions are very dominating things even amongst the unconventional, whether they are philosophical, sartorial or hirsute. I am clean-shaven myself. For half my life I was too young to grow a beard and now I am too old. The man who grows a beard because he himself thinks it is a good thing to grow a beard has my full support. The man who grows a beard because he thinks he looks more handsome in a beard, has at least my understanding compassion. But the man who grows a beard because it is "advanced" to grow a beard or because he must grow one to be in the fashion, must face my resolute criticism. There are tyrannies of the right and of the left. Even if we are wrong, what a wonderful thing it is to be independent, to be ourselves. From all tyrannies may God deliver us. Yet in this country the tyrannies of the right are more important, and it is from these that we must especially break free.

Scientists are not quite so harassed as students of the humanities. Few scientists can be brought to argue that the same chemical reactions would not occur if the hands that held the test-tubes were brown instead of pink. Imagine a Government threatening 180-days detention to any scientist who claimed that the atom could be split, and you physical scientists will see more clearly the dilemmas and agonies of social scientists and political scientists who desire to be faithful to the truth today.

There is another field in which we must fight for freedom. It is that described some two thousand four hundred years ago as "the lie in the soul". It is not a good thing if we give in to uniformity and



suppress our own views in order to be safe or fashionable. But this is almost venial compared with the danger of deceiving ourselves. When we say that the brown people of South Africa are happy and contented, we, if we believe what we say, are deceiving ourselves. It somehow makes me think of one of Mark Twain's practical jokes. Travelling by train in the United States with a too trustful friend, he heard the ticket collector coming along and, looking at his wallet, said with an anguished expression on his face: "My dear fellow, I've only got one ticket". "What shall we do?" asked his friend. "You get under the seat", said Mark Twain. His friend demurred, but the footsteps got nearer and nearer, and at last he got under the seat. When the ticket collector came in, Mark Twain gave him the two tickets which he had had all the time. "Where's the other man?" asked the ticket collector. "Under the seat", said Mark Twain. "But why?" came the response. "Because he likes travelling under the seat".

Now if Mark Twain had deceived himself into thinking that his friend really preferred to travel under the seat, he would have made a very acceptable pink South African, for so many of us are prepared to tell the world, in accents of throbbing conviction, that the brown man really likes travelling under the seat.

This fault is not confined to questions of colour. There are men, not only in South Africa, who persuade themselves that habitual overspending does not lead to bankruptcy, that permissive morals do not breed venereal disease, that drugs can be taken habitually with no deleterious effects, that literary achievement can exist under a rigorous censorship, that you can get rid of difficult men of genius without loss to the community, that slogans can be an adequate substitute for thought, that the best way to reform a University is to lock one's self up in the Principal's office and smash his furniture, that sex is not a sacrament of spiritual unity but only a substitute for it. I am against, and I hope that you will be against, all such irrationalities, all forms of constraint of independent thought, all lack of human kindness and of tolerance, from whatever side they come. My plea is not for a particular kind of thought, not even for my own kind of thought, but for independence of thought.

As things are at present, we pink South Africans are in danger of being cut off from the world, free in our own cramped little community from the tides and surges of real living, maimed in our intellectual, emotional and spiritual life. We shall infallibly develop a persecution complex, and go round moaning that we are misunderstood. We shall shut ourselves off from the brave man's calling - to face the worst and do the best we can with it. If we are really to avoid all so-called "un-South African thinking" we shall be left with cramped minds, starved imagina-

tions and anaesthetised hearts.

The remedy lies in our own hands. Those who control our country may make our task harder, but there their power stops. *No victory can be won over us, except with our own consent.* There is an autonomy of the human spirit which no Inquisition, no Gestapo, no Security Police can destroy. It is there, deep within our personality, that freedom resides. Once we have made up our minds to think for ourselves and to renounce fear, the real victory is already won, even if a life-time of struggle is still ahead of us. This previous joy of freedom exacts its price, however. Truth must come first and promotion second all through your life-time. You cannot serve two masters. Choose truth: promotion may come, or may not, but once you have loved and chosen truth, fame and success are irrelevant things. Love must come first: self-preservation must be an "also ran". The trouble about self-preservation is that it preserves a self which is not worth preserving.

Seize the moment, then, this great moment of your academic coming-of-age, and as you move into maturity move into freedom - the freedom which no power on earth or in hell can take from you unless you betray yourself. This country which we love, and which is fast moving towards the frightful catastrophe of failure, or the yet more frightful catastrophe of atrophied and blighted "success", can yet be free if enough men have valour and love truth.

I would end as I began by dwelling on the virtue of hope. Why should we not hope? The best thought of the world is with us. The riches of the centuries are ours. On, then, into the spiritual battle. Let it be said of each of us individually that each one is

*"One who never turned his back but marched  
breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,  
wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
Sleep to wake".●*

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# VREDE MET ALLE GEWELD

**Ds. E. Pijlman**

'n Oorsig van die gebeure wat gelei het tot die keuse van die tema: *Vrede! Met alle geweld?* as sentraal tema van vanjaar se onlangs gehoue Nederlandse Vredesweek en wat daarmee beoog is.

IN 1967 HET die Interkerklike Vredesberaad vir die eerste keer 'n vredesweek georganiseer en het ons dus hierdie jaar die vyfde Vredesweek in Nederland beleef.

## DIE VORIGE JARE

Die tema van die eerste week was: *Geen Verspreiding van kernwapens, wel verspreiding van welvaart*. Die vredesweek het plaasgevind in die tweede week van Oktober en het aangesluit by die onderhandelinge oor 'n verdrag teen die verspreiding van kernwapens. Tewens sou dit ook dien as voorbereiding vir die Tweede Wêreldhandelskonferensie wat in die voorjaar van 1968 te Nu Delhi gehou sou word. Die kerke, wat deelgeneem het, was toe: Die Rooms-Katolieke Kerk, die Oud-Katolieke Kerk, die Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, die Doopsigesinde Broederskap en die Remonstrantse Broederskap in Nederland. Op die eerste Sondag van die week is 'n gemeenskaplike verklaring van die kerke van die kansels gelees en was die tweede Sondag die eintlike Vredessondag. Dit was 'n aarselende dog besliste begin wat terselfdertyd redelike belangstelling by die kerke ontlok het.

In 1968 het die tweede vredesweek plaasgevind. Die datum is verskuif na die derde week in September. Die Kwaker-Genootskap, 'n groep wat van oudsher 'n vredestradisie handhaaf, het hulle by die deelnemende kerke geskaar. Die tema van hierdie vredesweek was: *Europa: Versoening, Vrede, Veiligheid*. In die eerste vredesweek was groot nadruk geleë op wat toe „ontwikkingshulp” geheet het, maar in 1968 val die nadruk op die onhoudbare spanning in Europa self. Die Vredeskoerant van daardie jaar voer aan dat versoening elders alleen kan volg op versoening in Europa. Allerweë begin die vredesweek nou belangstelling wek. Die weekblad uitgegee deur die protestantse geestelike versorging van leer en lugmag het 'n vredesweeknommer uitgegee en openbaar daarin die snelle ontwikkeling van gebeurtenisse

wat byna die uitgawe verongeluk het, „maar die oorweging dat dit 'n opdrag van Here self is om die vrede te soek en na te jaag, het geseëvier”. Selfs die hippie-sentrum Paradiso (Weteringschans, Amsterdam) het aan sy besoekers die geleentheid gegee om „te verf vir Vrede”. Daar het mense skilderstukke gemaak wat die tent op die Museumplein sou versier. Ondanks storm en reën het 3,700 mense die tent besoek.

Die tema van die derde vredesweek (1969), lui: *Welvaart en armoede in die wêreld*. Dokumentasie het toegeneem en allerlei week- en maandblaaië het spesiale vredesnommers uitgegee. Die begrip „Ontwikkings-Samewerking” tree op die voorgrond en word by allerlei byeenkomste, waaraan plaaslike kerke steeds meer aandag gee, as beprekingspunt opgehaal. Ook die skole word ingeskakel. Uit die pen van drs. Dercksen verskyn 'n uitnemende werkie. „Hoe leer ons die Vrede?”

Die vierde vredesweek (1970) het as tema: *Verenig die Nasies*. Vir die eerste keer verskyn 'n jaar-agenda vir vrede waarop alle gebeurlikhede aangedui word. 1970 merk die 25-jarige bestaan van die Verenigde Volke. Reeds op 17 Januarie begin voorbereidingsnaweke vir die vredesweek in September. Veral word nadruk geleë op die Tweede Wêreldvoedselkongres wat van 16 tot 30 Junie in Den Haag gehou sou word. Dit word voorafgegaan deur 'n Jeug-Werldvoedselkongres. In Amsterdam, op die voorafgaande Sondagoggend, word daar in die verskillende kerke aan aksiegroepe die geleentheid gegee om tydens die kerkdiens hulle saak uiteen te sit. Onder die tema word aangedring op die verlening van groter bevoegdhede aan die Verenigde Volke, maar die uiteindelijke doelstelling is die uitwissing van die sisteem van afsonderlike nasies: 'n stelsel wat in die verlede steeds konflik uitgelok of bevorder het. Desbetreffende weke en konferensies het die konsep geheel ondersteun en beroep hulle opnuut op meer plaaslike kerke om hulle by die werksaamhede te betrek.

1971

Ten slotte breek 1971 aan met die vyfde vredesweek onder die titel: *Vrede met alle geweld*. Onmiddellik voor die aanvang van die week word die konferensie „Kosmokomplot” (by Kerk en Wêreld te Driebergen) op las van die Sinode van die Nederlands



Hervormde Kerk afgelas. Die uiters regse dagblad „De Telegraaf” het ’n smeerveldtog ontken deur gebruikmaking van allerlei onware berigte. Dit is gesê dat geld vir die kongres uit Moskou kom, dat gemeentede by massas gedreig het met die intrek van hul kerklike bydraes, en so meer. Nege lede van die Hervormde Kerk rig ’n brief aan die sinode om hulle waardering uit te spreek vir die besluit om „kosmokomplot” ongedaan te maak en spreek hulle sorg uit oor hulle waarneming „dat vele in ons kerk nie meer wil weet van die primêre funksie van die kerk wat gerig is op die bekering van harte en lewens tot God nie”. Daarteenoor wend twintig lede van die Nederlands Hervormde Kerk hulle ewe-eens per brief tot die sinode met die aantyging dat „die Hervormde sinode die indruk geskep het dat hulle geswig het voor die insinuerende publikasies van De Telegraaf”. In hulle brief doen hulle ’n beroep op die moderamen van die sinode en op „Kerk en Wêreld” om erns te maak met die evangelie van Jesus Christus, met name deur die bevordering van maatskaplike aksieplanne wat aan die owerhede van die wêreld die weg na vrede sal wys. Die weg van politieke vryheid, sosiaal-ekonomiese gelykheid en geestelike broederskap van individue, groepe en volkere. Een kerkblad stel hierop die vraag of daar sprake van ’n wesentlike verskil kan wees. Is dit immers nie die taak van die kerk om sowel harte en lewens te bekeer tot God, as om aan die owerhede die weg na vrede te wys nie?

Die strategie van die vredesweek word gewysig in verskillende oorde. Die weg van groot betogings word verlaat en meer nadruk word gelê op die diens verleen aan kerke en groepe. In Amsterdam kom daar opnuut ’n aanbod van 22 aksiegroepe aan omtesame met wyksgemeentes die gemeente in die kerkdienste met die probleme van die „vrede met alle geweld” te konfronteer.

As daar in die eerste jare nog wel hier en daar verset was teen die vreemde element in die kerkdienste, vind die toepassing van hierdie metode in dié jaar steeds meer byval. Die gemeente begroet dit as ’n welkom geleentheid om informasie in te win.

#### AMSTERDAM

In die Keizersgrachtkerk in Amsterdam vind ’n aandiens plaas in samewerking met die Komitee van „Amnesty International”. Dr. C.P. van Andel, voorsitter van die Suid-Afrika-Komitee preek by dié geleentheid oor die Ethiopiër, Ebed-Meleg, wat van koning Sedekia verlof (of bevel) gekry het om Jeremia uit die put te haal voordat hy sterf (Jer. 38). Die Ethiopiër, ’n swart man, doen dit met groot en liefdevolle sorg. Hy gaan eers na die voorraadkamer van die koning, versamel daar lappe van verslyte en geskeurde klere en sê aan die profeet om dié onder sy armholtes te sit om te verhoed dat die tou hom seermaak. Ebed-Meleg doen wat Christus ons gebied het: „bevry die gevangenes”. Gevangenes wat

geen misdad begaan het nie, mag in ’n staat nie voorkom nie. ’n Staat wat mense gevange neem of hou omdat diesulkes ’n mening teenstrydig met dié van die staat uitspreek, verdien nie die naam van ’n regverdige staat nie. Volgens die Bybel is geregtigheid niks minder of meer as die individu se reg op menswees nie. Versoen met God, is alle mense deel van die mensdom en is dit hulle plig om hulle met mekaar te versoen. Geregtigheid in ’n staat lê in die reg van elke lid van so ’n staat om sy/haar oortuigings vryelik te kan uitspreek. Die diens was in die vorm van ’n biduur, gevolg deur voorbede vir drie gevangenes, nl. Siaw Giok Tjan, ’n Indonesiese joernalis en ’n gevangene te Salemba in Djakarta; Natalja Gorbanefskaja, ’n Rus en ’n gevangene in ’n psigiatrisiese inrigting in die Sowjet-Unie en dr. Domingos Antonio Mascarenhas Arouca, wat, alleen omdat die mening is dat hy staan aan die kant van vryheidsvegters, in Mosambiek gevange gehou word.

Die diens word beëindig met die sing van:

„waar God die Heer sy skrede set,  
Daar word die mens van dwang gered,  
Weer in die lig verhewe .....

Tientalle jongmense meld hulle aan om te help met die uitstuur van briewe en poskaarte aan die betrokke outoriteite waar mense, wat geweldlose verset pleeg, gevange gehou word. In nog twee opsigte word die strategie van hierdie vredesweek gewysig. In die eerste plek deur gelyktydig ’n insamelingsveldtog vir komberse vir Angola te loods. Die veldtog het inmiddels 7 500 komberse opgebring. Dit was ’n ongewone gesig om mense op ’n Sondagmôre te sien kerktoe gaan met ’n kombers onder die arm. In die tweede plek word besluit om die saak dié jaar, nog minder as vorige jare, by hierdie week te laat. Daar bestaan allerlei planne vir ’n opvolgingsaksie vir hierdie week. Verskillende aspekte van die tema *Vrede met alle geweld*, word deur groepe breedvoerig bespreek.

#### DIE TEMA

’n Mens kan jou indink dat die tema van hierdie vyfde week, nog meer as dié van die vorige vredesweke, vroeë oproep. Dit is miskien goed om hier enkele aanmerkings te maak aangaande bedenkinge wat uitspreek is:

1. Dit is beslis nie so dat hier met die geweld geflankeer word nie. Dr. J.H. van Beusekom skryf vir die Raad van Kerke ’n kort teologiese besinning oor die tema. In sy eerste punt gaan hy uit van die Woord van die Here: „Want almal wat die swaard neem, sal deur die swaard vergaan” (Matt. 26:52). Hy praat voorts van ’n *ultima ratio* van die geweld wat wel te begrype is in bepaalde omstandighede, maar waarvoor daar *a priori* geen regverdiging is nie en die bostaande woord van Jesus dus onverkort bly geld. In allerlei besprekings word dan ook dikwels groot voorkeur gegee aan geweldlose weerbaarheid.

2. 'n Tweede opvatting was dié van die strukturele en latente geweld. 'n Mens kan ook nie volstaan daarby om alle „geweld” uit te sluit terwille van die „vrede” nie. Omdat die „vrede”, nl. die ontbreek van konflik, dikwels self vol geweld is. Hierby word voorbeelde genoem wat van toepassing is op ons eie omstandighede sowel as op dié in ander lande. In die stad Amsterdam is daar die geweld van grondspekulante wat die bou van wonings bemoeilik. Die voorgenome besuinigings van die regering kom deels neer op geweld ten opsigte van die laagbesoldiges. Lugbesoedeling kan nie doeltreffend bestry word nie, omdat die nywerhede die grootste seggenskap het. Dikwels vorm hulle 'n politieke elite wat agter die skerms werk en wat meer belangstel in die verhoging of die besit van welvaart as in die welsyn van die mensdom. Maar hierby kom die vorms van geweld soos aangetref word in lande wat outoritêr regeer word, ook ter sprake. Griekeland, waar die militêre régime vrye meningsuiting aan bande gelê het. Portugal, waar die bevolking doelbewus volle onderwysopleiding ontsê word en hulle die Afrika-gebiede, Angola en Mosambiek, bloot as provinsies van die Europese moederland beskou. Dit word beweer dat apartheid en rassiedeskriminasie nie in dié twee gebiede beoefen word nie, maar die syfers spreek 'n ander taal. Die gemiddelde inkomste van 'n blanke is 20 tot 30 keer so hoog as die van 'n Afrikaan wat dieselfde werk doen. 95% van die bevolking leef op of onder die minimum lewenspeil. Die opstand van 1961 het geen verbetering teweeggebring nie. Dwangarbeid het daarna steeds toegeneem en 60 000 Afrikane het in die stryd gebly. Die geld wat deur die Wêreldraad van Kerke beskikbaar gestel is aan die bevrydingsbewegings MLPA en FRELIMO vir opvoedkundige en mediese hulp, het uit die bespreking verdwyn. 'n Nuwe skenking van \$200 000 verwek geen reaksie meer nie. Oral word latente of openlike geweld gekonstateer. In Spanje waar daar van vrye meningsuiting geen sprake is nie, in Amerika waar geweld aan die orde van die dag is. Veral dâar bloei die latente geweld onder die dekmantel van anti-kommunisme. Elke persoon wat dit daar waag om 'n mening uit te spreek oor onregte in die samelewing word, summier as Kommunisties bestempel. Hy word as sulks aangeteken sodanig gebrandmerk en as't ware voelvry verklaar. Aandag is ook gevestig op die geweld in Rusland en die satellietlande. In die Weste steek Tsjeggo-Slowakye steeds in die keel. Maar ook in Rusland self is onvryheid aan die toeneem. Diegene wat kritiek uitspreek, word gevange geneem of in psigiatriese inrigtings gestop. Uit bepaalde gebiede kom geen berigte meer nie en die vrees ontstaan dat alle vryheid daar aan bande gelê is. Uiteraard word ook ernstige aandag geskenk aan die apartheidspolitiek van Suid-Afrika. Hoewel daar berigte is van groter buigsamheid, is vele nog van mening dat 'n mens jou nie hierteen moet blindstaar nie. Die tendens bly. Die ideologie bly oorheers. Die fabel van die blanke as God se eie skepsel, beteken geweld teenoor elkeen wat van die God 'n ander kleur gekry

het. De Haagse Post, hier geensins bekend as 'n linkse weekblad nie, gee 'n bylaag oor die vredesweek uit, wat die opskrif „Dossier Suidelike Afrika” as ondertitel dra.

Al hoemeer word beseft dat die mense bedrieg word met 'n beroep op hulle eie welsyn.

Intussen het daar 'n verskuiwing plaasgevind. Waar dit vroeër uitsluitlik die sg. vrysinniges was wat hulle betrek het by die lot van die slagoffers van honger en rassisme, is dit op dié stadium heel dikwels die ortodokse kerke en groepe wat insien dat die evangelie meer is as 'n boodskap van sielorus, dat die bevryding die gehele mens aangaan en dus ook verantwoordelikheid vir ons verre naastes behels.

3. 'n Derde punt moet dan ook wees die betrokkenheid van die Christene. Ongetwyfeld is hier nog veel werk te verrig. Elke aksie wek reaksie. Teenoor die groeiende oortuiging dat die Here ons nie alleen van die sonderksuld verlos het nie maar ook verwag dat ons die sonde op persoonlike vlak en in die lewens van volkere selfmoet bestry (d.w.s mense van dreiging en geweld bevry), beroep andere hulle op 'n fundamentalistiese suiwerheid van die leer, op geesdriftige prediking, op die spreek in tale en gebedsgenesing. Van die Jesus-kultus van die Amerikaanse hippies wat nou oor Europa stroom, is daar weinig of niks te wagte sover dit geregtigheid aangaan nie. Tog sien ons dit as verbygaande bewegings. Dit is ons sterke oortuiging of, nogmeer, geloof dat Jesus Christus ons met die boodskap van bevryding ook uitstuur om ons met die brandende wêreldvraagstukke te bemoei. Omdat die politiek hom besig hou met die mens en hom dreig en manipuleer, kan die kerk nie buite die politiek bly nie. Elisa laat weet aan die koning van Israel waar die hinderlaag van die koning van Aram geleë is. Hy was nie bang om sy hande vuil te maak nie. Onmiddellik word hy die sondebok wat verjaag moet word en hy verteenwoordig hier die kerk. Maar juis hierdie profeet wys die koning van Israel die weg na die vrede (11 Konings 6: 8-23) en gevolglik was daar geen oorlog meer nie.

In die kerke word dit steeds meer beskou as 'n vervalsing van die evangelie wanneer die mening uitgespreek word dat die kwessie van geregtigheid aan die sg. deskundige oorgelaat moet word. Die kerk moet sy getuie nis lewer. Dat hierop 'n mate van tweedrag sal volg, is onvermydelik omdat daar beslissings geneem sal moet word wat indruis teen dit wat eie is aan die kerk. Maar dit gaan hier om die geregtigheid en geloofwaardigheid van die evangelie. Ook die politiek sal bevry moet word van die mite dat hy sy eie wette het. Ook die politiek sal deurtrek moet word met die een wil van God wat in Jesus Christus vrede met en onder die mense wil en voor wie alle mense, as Sy skepsels, gelyk is. Elke vorm van die politiek wat die waarheid nie huldig nie, sal diskriminerend optree en hom die reg toe-eien om 'n mens se waarde te bepaal. Laat hulle dan maar daarvoor nadink dat voor God elke mens die waarde

*Vervolg op bladsy 21*



# VREEDSAME GEWELD

*By die aanvang van die Vredesweek-program wat onlangs in Nederland van stapel gestuur is, het ds. B. Naudé, Direkteur van die Christelike Instituut van Suider-Afrika, die onderstaande prikkelende preek gelewer op Sondag 19 September 1971 in die Domkerk te Utrecht. Dit is vir ons 'n voorreg om dit te kan plaas.*

Die skriflesing uit die Ou en Nuwe Testament is gelyktydig ook die tekslesing; die eerste gedeelte uit Jesaja 2 verse 1 tot 5; die tweede uit Mattheüs 26.

Gemeente van Jesus Christus, meer as twee duisend jaar het reeds verbygegaan sedert hierdie profetiese vredesvoorspelling deur die profeet Jesaja gedoen is. En nog is daar geen oortuigende teken dat volkere en nasies met erns oorweeg om van hulle swaarde pikke te smee of van hulle spiese snoei-messe nie. Net so min is daar die duidelike teken dat nasies nie meer die swaard wil ophef teen nasies nie en dat oorlog en geweldpleging verfoei en verafsku en verag word. Die verheerliking van geweld gaan rustig voort. So gesien lyk die voorspelling van Jesaja na die ydele droom van 'n onpraktiese profeet. 'n Droom wat nooit verwesenlik sal word of kan word nie. En as dit alleen hierdie stem uit die heilige skrif was wat ons aanspreek oor die vraag van vrede en oorlog dan kan ons dit gerus opsy skuiwe, en sê dat dit miskien in 'n oomblik van 'n idealistiese verwagting uitgespreek is. Maar nou staan daar voor ons een wat groter is as Jesaja: Een van wie Jesaja herhaaldelik voorspel het dat Hy sou kom as Vredesvors, as Vredewerker, en as Vredeskonink. En hierdie een, Jesus self, konfronteer ons met die duidelike en ondubbelsinnige eis en opdrag; Sit jou swaard terug in sy skede, want almal wat die swaard opneem, sal deur die swaard vergaan. Hier staan Jesus op sy beurt gekonfronteer met die ongeoorloofde aksie van 'n gewelddadige kerkregime van sy tyd sowel as aan die ander kant die spontane gewelddadige verset van een van sy volgelinge; en hy wys elkeen van hulle af deur hierdie woord.

## IS VREDE PRAKTIES?

Vir elke eerlike volgelinge van Christus skep hierdie eis en hierdie opdrag van Christus ontsettende moeilike probleme. Talle van vrae storm onmiddellik op ons af. Die vraag, byvoorbeeld: Was dit 'n opdrag net in hierdie bepaalde situasie aan hierdie bepaalde persone, of is dit 'n algemene opdrag aan al sy volgelinge van alle tye? Impliseer dit dat 'n Christen

## Beyers Naudé

nooit van enige gewelddadige middele mag gebruik maak ter verkryging van sy lewensdoel en werk nie? Veronderstel dit dat daar nooit so iets kan wees as 'n regverdigte oorlog nie? Maar meer nog kom die vraag kom by ons op: As hierdie bewering van Christus waar is dat almal wat die swaard opneem deur die swaard sal vergaan, waarom het ons dan nie meer duidelike bewyse daarvan gesien deur die loop van die eeue nie? Waarom is dit dan dat die aggressor, die uitbouter, die onderdrukker skynbaar keer op keer daarin slaag om sy doel met gewelddadige, bloed-dorstige middele te bereik? Watter hoop is daar dan dat die vredesame getuie van geregtigheid en van die medeverantwoordelikheid wat ons het teenoor ons mede-mens, dat dit ooit gehoor en gehoorsaam sal word? Dit alles bring ons by die sentrale vraag: Watter gesag het hierdie woord van Christus? Dra dit vir ons die gesag van die waarheid? Die vraag is nie of Jesus se denke en sy daad inpas by die menslike werklikheid van ons tyd nie, maar of dit 'n verkondiging is van 'n waarheid wat nog altyd te groot was om deur ons begryp en uitgevoer en toegepas te word. Ons almal, gemeente van Christus, is bewus van die skeptisisme van miljoene mense die wêreld deur, vandag miskien meer as ooit vantevore, oor die moontlikheid van 'n vredesame saambestaan van mense van oor die hele wêreld heen. Die belofte van 'n Godsryk van vrede en van geregtigheid op aarde is vir baie 'n ydele droom of 'n bespotting. Hulle wys ons op die voortdurende uitbarstings van geweld, van oorlog en bloedvergieting: Viëtnam, Ierland, Soedan, Biafra, Nigerië; op die gewelddadige onderdrukking van gewettigde vredesame aspirasies: Latyns-Amerika, Tsjeggo-Slowakye; of die verkragting, of ontseggings van basiese menseregte: Suider-Afrika, die diktature van Suid-Amerika; rassisme, sowel in sy blatante as in sy subtile vorms: Suid-Afrika, die Verenigde State, Brittanje, elders; ekonomiese uitbuiting en geweldpleging in kapitalistiese sowel as kommunistiese lande, en dan vra hulle met reg: Waar is die tekens van 'n nuwe tyd? Waar is die geloofwaardigheid van hierdie woord van Christus? Hierdie en dergelike vrae is telkens deur die eeue gevra ten opsigte van ander uitsprake en opdragte wat Christus gestel het en keer op keer in verband met daardie eise en opdragte het mense hom veroordeel, het mense hom verstoot en verwerp, om na 'n sekere tyd maar net weer te ontdek: *Hierdie Man van Naseret in wat Hy gesê het en in dit wat Hy geëis het, was Hy reg, en ons was verkeerd.*



## GEEN VREDE SONDER OPOFFERING

En nou kom die vraag of ons bereid is om langsamerhand in te sien dat ook ten opsigte van die vraag van oorlog en vrede hierdie Man in sy opdrag en eis reg kan wees. En hulle wat glo dat geweld die enigste middel is, of die normale natuurlike middel, dat hulle verkeerd kan blyk te wees. Ook hier is Jesus Christus besig om ons oë te open, langsamerhand te open vir die waarheid van sy woord en belofte. En wie eerlik wil wees met homself, met die werklikheid rondom hom, met die motivering - die geheime motivering - van die hart van die mens, dié moet minstens twee dinge erken. In die eerste plek moet ons erken dat ons as Christene wél die vrede wil en tog ook nie. Daar is wel die begeerte tot die vrede, maar dit word so veel keer gekanselleer en keer op keer kragteloos gemaak en tot 'n bespotting gemaak deur ons toegewing aan die drang en die begeerte tot geweld. Ons as Christene wil wél 'n vorm van vrede, ja, maar alleen in so verre dit inpas by ons gerief, by ons gemak, by ons siening van wat vir ons goed en reg voorkom sonder om die prys te betaal, om die offer te bring vir die verkryging van daardie vrede. Dink maar net aan die geskiedenis van die Christelike kerk deur die eeue heen waar, keer op keer, naas die vroomste gebede en beroepe om vrede en om versoening, die kerk gestaan het met skaamtelose goedkeuring van talle vorme van geweld: óf die geweld van wapens, óf politieke, óf sosiale, óf ekonomiese geweld. Is dit 'n wonder dat die jeug met 'n roekelose en 'n meedoënlose eerlikheid vandag al hierdie valse vorms en klede van huigelagtigheid van die liggaam van die kerk afstroop en afskeur en die kerk in al die naaktheid van sy ontrou voor die wêreld laat staan!

Vergun my om nog 'n vraag te stel. As ons werklik en waaragtig met erns die vrede wil, sou ons dan nie lank al, meer in die werk gestel het om die grond-oorsake wat die vrede verhoed en wat die geweld bevorder, om daardie grondoorsake te gaan naspeur, te gaan oopstel, te gaan ontled en alles in ons vermoë te doen om hulle uit die weg uit te ruim nie? En al is talle van daardie oorsake miskien nog nie genoegsaam aan ons bekend nie, is dit nie waar nie dat as ons net daar begin waar ons weet wat die oorsaak is, dat ons alreeds 'n geweldige weg gaan volg op die pad na die vrede. Mag ek u verwys na 'n verskynsel soos dié van rassisme. Die oorgrote deel van die wêreld vandag is bewus van die feit dat rassisme in enige vorm - rasse-onreg, rassediskriminasie, rasseveroordeling - nie alleen 'n miskenning is van die waardigheid van die mens nie, maar dat dit ook 'n besliste bedreiging is van die vrede van die mensdom. Ons is ook bewus van die feit dat dit juis die sogenaamde Christenvolkere is wat rassisme geskep het en bevorder het en wat nog angsvallig soek om dit te verdedig. Word die aanspraak van so 'n gemeenskap om christelik te wees dan nie tot 'n blote bespotting as ons nie alles in ons vermoë doen om dit uit die weg te ruim nie?

Dink aan die vraag van rykdom en armoede. Wie beweer dat hy opreg die vrede soek moet seker ook bewus wees van die feit dat die geweldige en groeiende gaping tussen die rykdom van die blanke geïndustrialiseerde lande aan die een kant, en van die gekleurde onontwikkelde lande aan die ander kant, dat daardie gaping steeds groter word en dat ekonomiese ongeregtheid wat daaruit voortvloei en verskerp word een van die ernstigste oorsake word vir die bedreiging van die vrede van die aardbol en van die mensdom. Die toets vir die opregtheid van u en my lewe is dat ons bereid is om ten minste iets van ons kant te doen om daardie oorsake te onderken en om alles van ons kant te doen om hulle uit die weg te ruim en so die vrede te bewerkstellig.

Mag ek nog op 'n tweede punt wys nl. dat ons as Christene se toekomsvisie te eng is. Hoeveel christene deur die eeue het werklik en eg die geloof geheg aan hierdie vredesvoorspelling van Jesaja dat dit één dag 'n werklikheid van ons bestaan op aarde kan word, dat die verwagting van die koms van Christus as die Vredesvors nie net 'n bloot eskatologiese verwagting van 'n verre hiernamaals is nie, maar dat dit 'n werklikheid kan word van ons menslike bestaan op aarde. Omdat ons geloof te klein was, omdat ons visie te beperk was, daarom het ons ook nie daartoe gewerk nie. Daarom is ons ook nie bereid om ons daartoe in te set nie. En nou het God in sy wysheid die wetenskap en die tegniek gebring om ons te dwing om te besef dat ons langs hierdie weg nie meer kan voortgaan nie. Hy het aan ons die vermoë gegee om ons vyande en daarmee onself geheel en al te vernietig en van die aardbol af te vee. Hy het ons toegelaat om te ontdek dat die mens op die rand daarvan staan om die geheim van die lewe te ontdek en dit selfs te skep. God het ons toegelaat om te ontdek dat ons binne enkele sekondes die hele aarde en die mensdom met 'n boodskap en 'n lewende woord kan bereik. Die mens het as't ware gewelddadig van God almag opgeëis om die heelal te beheers en regeer. En God het met 'n stille lag en 'n diepe humor dit aan die mens toegesê. En in die ontvouing van hierdie visioen van 'n nuwe wêreld wat God daardeur aan ons gee, word dit steeds duideliker dat menslike geweld, die geweld van wapens en van moordtuig, die geweld van ekonomiese uitbuiting, die geweld van politieke manipulering, die geweld van sosiale miskenning en van persoonlikheidsverkragting, dat hierdie geweld geen plek meer het in die nuwe tyd en in die nuwe wêreld nie. Dit gaan nog lank neem voordat die mens bereid sal wees om dit te erken en te aanvaar. In hierdie proses gaan daar nog ontsettende pyn en lyding wees van miljoene wat sal sterwe vir die prys van die vrede, maar dit sal kom. Wil u saam met miljoene andere - *dié vrede*? Wil u dat die swaard teruggedruk word in die skede? Bid dan met die geweld van gebed - *om dié vrede*. Soek dan die geweld van u oortuiging - *na hierdie vrede*. Werk dan met die geweld van al u geesteskragte - *vir hierdie vrede*. Offer dan met al die geweld van die ware liefde - *ter wille van hierdie vrede*.●

# WHAT IS THE CHURCH

Colin Winter

Elsewhere in this issue is published a survey of the church situation in South West Africa today. Very much in the centre of the storm there stands the Anglican Church and its Bishop Colin Winter. The extract here reproduced from his recent Charge to the Diocese of Damaraland goes a long way to explaining why, as does the correspondence between the Anglican Church and the civil authorities which we publish immediately thereafter.

I would like to devote the greater part of my address to Synod by asking a question, two questions really: *What is the Church?* and *What is its function in this country?* I do so because I think there is an urgent need for all of us to face up to the challenge God has laid on us as Christians. As Anglicans in SWA we often face the charge of mixing religion and politics. It may come to us in the form of a gibe or as a threat. We are told constantly, "The Church must keep out of politics." May we answer clearly that this is an impossibility for any Christian and for any Church. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet of South Africa all claim to be practising Christians. Their political opinions are framed by their theological views. They profess to be upholders of the Western Christian way of life. We remind our critics, God is the Lord of all life. Everything we do, think or say comes under His judgement, yes even our political actions (witness King David being reproached by the prophet for the way he was bearing rule over the nation). Politics is only one of our concerns, albeit an important one. Let us examine together what the Anglican Church is doing in this land.

First, we are a small multi-racial Church, with a membership of fifty thousand peoples. Be it noted that we try to worship together wherever this is possible and our doors are open to welcome men and women of all races. As Bishop I need to remind you that when we do this we are committing no crime; but are simply fulfilling what the Church has done for the past two thousand years, "All believers continued together in close fellowship". That this often becomes a source of scandal for people in South Africa we are well aware; that some Anglicans betray their Lord and their own Church teachings by refusing to participate in such worship we admit with shame and sorrow; but this is in a word the faith as we have received it, and whether we are few or many, understood or reviled we make our stand by it.

The work of the Church is many-sided in this land and we together with our sister Churches have pioneers in many fields. In education we have a

proud record in this territory. We reject the concept of educating for environment, and any other system which tries to put limits to our goals, or restricts the highest form of knowledge that can be received by our students. Years of experience teach us that students, even those from the poorest and humblest background, can reach the highest academic attainments. It is society not God who puts limits on the way a man can use those gifts which the Creator imparts to his children. In Windhoek at St. George's School, in Luderitz at St. Peter's School, and in Ovamboland in our High School and Primary Schools, we endeavour to offer the highest education to which our students are capable of attaining. St. George's School is a microcosm of what we mean. Here children drawn from Afrikaans, German and English speaking homes grow up together in peace and tolerance which is built on mutual respect for the culture, language and customs of the other group. Our children move from one language to another with a facility that amazes, but most of all they show us all an example of what this country could be where such contacts and friendships are allowed to develop naturally,

The highest tribute should be paid to our nursing services and hospitals. In praising the wonderful work done by our nurses in Ovamboland can I be allowed to put in a plea for more South Africans to come forward to help them? And an even more urgent plea for the Government to allow qualified nursing staff of other races to be recruited for our Church hospitals in the same way as they are now being recruited to man the State services at Oshakati and elsewhere. In the past few months no less than three of our white Sisters have collapsed from overwork and strain. The isolation of Ovamboland, its climate are only two of several reasons why trained staff is hard to find. We make an urgent appeal to Bantu Affairs to allow us to recruit staff from all races in South Africa, and not to delay or refuse permits for our workers for no less a reason than the great humanitarian work they are doing.

## A CARING CHURCH:

A caring Church is how best to describe the Church's work throughout this land. Cathy Roark our American youth worker exemplifies this when she is teaching folk-singing to white children; when she is training a choir of Coloured children, or when she rehearses African congregations in Ovamboland in the music of the Negro Spiritual. How we care for all races is exemplified in the ministry of dozens of priests as they visit the hospitals, old age homes, the schools of our land; as they comfort the sick and bereaved; as they bring hope to the lonely and as they sit listening to the problems of the thousand they serve and love. Their work take them into the homes of the fabulously wealthy as well as into pondokkies of the very poor. They are as attentive to the ills of the executive in the city as they are to the lonely railway worker squatting by a campfire in the evening.

## STATE/CHURCH CONFRONTATION:

Certain Churches in South Africa have followed to the letter the Government's policy of separate development. Our Church is not one of them. I have said before that we have nothing to hide and that we take our stand on the Gospel. Comparisons are often frightening. Russia and China today have a grim record in oppressing religious groups. We still do not know what bishops, if any, are left behind the bamboo curtain. In these countries the State's demands are paramount and individual consciences count for nothing. What of South Africa? The ordinary Christian views with alarm and confusion the constant trek of ministers of religion and other Church workers deported from this land, often with no reason given. We are living in a Church/State confrontation in South Africa. One takes the case of Fr. Cosmas Desmond. His book "Discarded People" makes grim reading. It tells the other side of the separate development situation. It tells of suffering and poverty, sickness and hunger, of Africans callously moved from their homes. His successor who was ministering to these poor peoples has also been told to leave. There were a few voices in Britain who denounced the scorched earth policy of the English during the South African war; there were voices in the English parliament who condemned the inhumanity of English bombing of innocent women and children in German cities during the last war. Voices are raised in the USA against Vietnam. It is to the constant glory of these democratic countries that such voices were not suppressed; just as it is to the constant dishonour of totalitarian states when they seek to avoid admitting their mistakes by the brutal imprisonment or banishment of those who seek to face them with

the misery their policies are causing.

Let us examine the cry in South Africa: "Let the Church keep to spiritual matters". "Feed the hungry, clothe the naked" are clear commands of Jesus Christ. The Church through her ministry comes across many hungry people in South and South West Africa. Often the Church's ministers are the only ones who can really know the truth of the poverty of the reserves and the plight of the elderly there. The reason for this is simple: in a land where there is enforced segregation of people, whites are prevented by law from entering these areas. The Church must go further and ask what is the cause of such poverty. Let us say categorically that the root cause of this suffering is in the evil laws which oppress and cause bitterness to the greater part of the population. We refer especially to the contract labour system which enforces separatism of a man from his wife and children the system of permits which prevents Africans in this land from moving freely in the country of their birth; and the implementation of those parts of the Odendaal Plan which results in the enforced movements of thousands in this land against their will, without their being consulted, and which they feel threatens their future and restricts their rights.

When the Prime Minister of South Africa met Bishop Leonard Auala they met as Christians. Bishop Auala told him that the overwhelming number of people in South West Africa reject apartheid, live in fear, and yearn to be free. This was said by a Christian religious leader to a Christian political leader. To his credit Mr. Vorster listened. We were not invited to that conference, but may we take this opportunity of listing the concerns and deep grievances of our own Church?

One Bishop has been forced out of this land with no reasons given. No reasons are ever given us. I have in my hand a sheaf of documents which contain sorry reading. They are the refusals of the Bantu Affairs Department to permit freedom of access to our ministers in the execution of their duty. I'm listing some of them: Fr. Stephen Hayes permission to enter Ovitoto reserve - refused. He wished to take Communion to a sick, blind, old African lady. Permission for Bishop Winter to enter the Kaokoveld - refused. No reason given. Bishop Mize was allowed in; we have Anglicans there; Hereros have asked for our ministry - and this in a country which swore to allow freedom of movement to missionaries. The same sorry story applied to Ovamboland. May I make this point clear: It is not the missionaries who have to dispel crowds of students with tear gas; we do not need to patrol our work with police. I challenge the government with these facts and demand answers. What is true of one Church would hold good of others



working there. There comes a time to speak. We have licked our wounds and have been browbeaten by petty government officials for too long. We wish these facts to be known.

#### WHY SHOULD THIS BE SO:

We as a Church have committed the unforgivable sin, we have committed the unpardonable crime of rejecting apartheid. All the power of the State is therefore brought against us. We can never accept this ideology of apartheid as solving any of the vast problems of this land. We cannot see in its concepts or in its workings that it could ever have divine sanction. The price in suffering this country is asked to pay is far too great. Look at our prison population; look at the thousands appearing in our courts daily; look at the fear in most hearts. Apartheid has been a barren and costly failure. 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; for the damage it is doing to whites who are benefitting from it at the expense of the poor; and I say that in any democracy worthy of the name Christians not only have the right but the obligation to speak out against what is breaking up homes, removing whole masses of people, and causing thousands in our midst to reject the Christian Gospel as lived and preached by the white man here as hollow and false.

#### DO UNTO OTHERS:

Our Church tries to effect a compassionate, caring ministry to peoples of all races in this land. It is costly and demanding. Our priests cover thousands of miles a year to reach their scattered flock. We applaud them. Sometimes people question our right to speak out as I as Bishop is doing now. We are not a powerful Church - we have no government support; we are certainly not a wealthy Church, depending as we do on alms from people from many parts of South Africa and all over the world; but in many ways we have a stamp similar in some marked respects to the Church of the Acts of the Apostles: I Corinthians 1 26: "Few of you were wise, or powerful, or of high social status from the human point of view. God purposely chose what was nonsense in order to put wise men to shame and what the world considers weak in order to put powerful men to shame. He chose what the world looks down on and despises, and thinks is nothing, in order to destroy what the world thinks is important".

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## CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE DIOCESE OF DAMARALAND AND GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES

*Letter from the office of the Magistrate, Okahandja, 22th April, 1971 to the Bishop of Damaraland.*

Sir,

PERMIT TO ENTER OVITOTO RESERVE:  
REV. S.T.W. HAYES: YOUR LETTER OF  
16TH APRIL, 1971 REFER.

The application is refused.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) Magistrate Okahandja.

\* \* \*

*Letter from the Diocesan Office, Windhoek, South West Africa to the Office of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner - 29th July, 1971.*

Dear Sir,

REFUSAL OF PERMIT FOR BISHOP WINTER  
TO ENTER KAOKOVELD

On July 27th application forms in triplicate were handed in to your office for Bishop Colin Winter to visit congregations of the Anglican Church in the Kaokoveld.

On July 28th Mr. Dibble of this office called in to your office and was verbally informed that Bishop Winter's application had been refused.

We would be grateful if we could have written confirmation of the refusal of his permit, together with any reasons.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) D.E. DE BEER  
Diocesan Treasurer

*Letter from the Office of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A. to Mr. D.E. de Beer - 2nd August, 1971.*

Dear Sir,

**APPLICATION FOR PERMIT TO  
ENTER KAOKOLAND**

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 29th July, 1971.

I confirm that Bishop Winter's application was refused by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Windhoek. In reply to your query, I have to state that there is no obligation on the part of this office to furnish reasons.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A.

\* \*

*Letter from the Office of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A. to Mr. M.J. Dell - 10th September, 1971.*

Dear Sir,

**APPLICATION FOR A PERMIT TO  
ENTER OVAMBO**

With reference to your application dated 8th September 1971 to enter Owambo, I regret to inform you that permission cannot be granted.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A.

\* \*

*Letter from the Office of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A. to Mr. D.E. de Beer, - 10th September, 1971.*

Dear Sir,

**APPLICATION FOR A PERMIT TO  
ENTER OVAMBO**

With reference to your application dated 8th September 1971 to enter Owambo, I regret to inform you that permission cannot be granted.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A.

*Letter from the Diocese of Damaraland, South West Africa to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner - 10th September, 1971.*

Dear Sir,

**REFUSAL TO GRANT OWAMBO PERMITS:  
THE REVEREND DR. M.J. DELL &  
MR. D.E. DE BEER**

On September 8th permit applications in triplicate were handed in to you for the Reverend M.J. Dell and Mr. D.E. de Beer to visit Owambo from 15th September to 19th September on official Church business.

The Reverend Dell is the Dean of St. George's Cathedral and is, under me, the most senior Anglican priest in South West Africa. Mr. de Beer is the Treasurer of the Diocese of Damaraland and is intimately connected with the financial affairs of St. Mary's Mission, Odibo.

Dean Dell and Mr. de Beer are planning the trip to St. Mary's Mission to attend a meeting of the thirty or so delegates from Owamboland to our biennial Diocesan Synod to be held in Windhoek next month. It is our practice to ensure the efficient running of our church conferences by holding preparatory meetings of the delegates where this is possible so that the Agendas can be fully explained beforehand, and it was for this purpose that Dean Dell and Mr. de Beer wish to go to Owamboland. They are to assist the Venerable F.M.M. Haythornthwaite, Archdeacon of Tsumeb who has been granted a permit to visit Owambo.

In the light of the above information I would as Bishop of this Diocese, ask that you review your earlier decision not to grant these two church workers permits so that the running of the church's affairs may continue as planned. As Bishop I would protest this interference in the internal affairs of the church and ask that this decision be reviewed immediately. Your earliest reply is requested due to the shortage of time.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) + COLIN O'BRIEN WINTER  
Bishop of Damaraland

\* \*

*Letter from the Office of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A. to the Rt. Reverend Colin Winter - 10th September 1971.*

Dear Sir,

**APPLICATIONS FOR PERMITS TO OWAMBO:  
THE REVEREND DR. M.J. DELL AND  
MR. D.E. DE BEER**

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 10th September 1971 on the abovementioned subject.

I have to inform you that on instructions of the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, I may not issue a permit to any private individual to visit Owambo.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for S.W.A.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

# DIE CHRISTEN EN RASSISME

Sol Selepe,  
Braamfontein, Tvl.

DIE wêreld weet dat rassisme ons ernstigste plaaslike euwel is. Ons as Christene van die verskillende rasse in hierdie land moet dit met die grootste spoed en ywer uitroei. Met hierdie doel voor oë rig ek 'n oproep tot die gewete van alle Suid-Afrikaners.

Die euwel van rassisme het diep wrotels en dit sal gevolglik nie maklik wees om dit uit te roei nie, behalwe deur die genade van ons Hemelse Vader. Ons betreur die feit dat baie en verskillende verskyningsvorme van hierdie euwel oral ingewortel is in ons Christelike land.

Ons, Suid-Afrikaners met verskillende godsdienstige oortuigings, skyn alte traag te wees om te besef dat rassisme, in watter vorm ook al, 'n belediging is teenoor God, die Gewer van menslike waardigheid en menseregte.

Nog erger, ons het almal, op een of ander wyse, deel aan die voortsetting van rassisme. Die ergste daarvan is dat dit in ons godsdiensskole, welsynsorganisasies en broederverenigings plaasvind. Dikwels skiet ons te kort aan ons godsdienstige verpligtinge.

Dikwels ontwyk ons die opdragte en verwerp die beloftes van die gelowe wat ons verteenwoordig.

*Letter from the Office of the Magistrate, OWAMBO, S.W.A. to Miss Antoinette Halberstadt, - 14th October 1971.*

Madam,

re: WITHDRAWAL OF RESIDENTIAL AND VISITING PRIVILEGES: OWAMBO

You are notified that residential and visiting privileges granted in terms of Ordinance 26 of 1928 are hereby withdrawn.

You are directed to leave the territory of Owambo within 48 (forty-eight) hours after service of this document, and not to return thereto unless the required permission has previously been granted.

Your attention is invited to the penal provisions of the mentioned Ordinance.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sgd) MAGISTRATE.

Laat ons dus berou hê oor ons mislukkings en God om vergifnis smeek.

Laat ons ook om vergifnis smeek by ons broeders wie se waardigheid en eer ons krenk deur ons rassisme.

Laat ons vir 'n hernuwing van ons godsdienstige gewete oor hierdie basiese sedelike euwel smeek.

My oproep tot ons almal, is: Soek na 'n heerskappy van geregtigheid waardeur almal gelyk sal staan voor die wet, ongeag kleur, geslag of geloof.

Soek na 'n heerskappy van die liefde waardeur die baie wonde van verbygegane etikette nie as verskonings vir nuwes gebruik sal word nie.

Soek na 'n heerskappy van vriendskap waardeur rassegrense uitgewis sal word; die vreemdeling van watter ras ook al opgesoek en verwelkom sal word; elke mens as broeder ontvang sal word.

Soek na 'n heerskappy van begrip waardeur sy vreugde jou vreugde sal wees, sy regte jou regte, sy seëninge jou seëninge, sy rykdom jou rykdom, sy armoede jou armoede, sy leed jou leed, sy lyding jou lyding, sy lewe jou lewe en sy dood jou dood.

Soek na 'n heerskappy van moed waardeur die volk van God hul geloof hul bindende verpligting sal maak; waaronder mense vrywilliglik vir geregtigheid en liefde sal ly, waardeur kerke en Christene van alle kerkgenootskappe sal ly; en nie slegs sal volg nie.

Soek na 'n heerskappy van die gebed waardeur God geloof en gedien word as die Here van die Heelal; voor wie alle rasse-afgode tot 'n val kom; wat ons tot een gesin omskep en teenoor wie ons almal verantwoordelik is.

Laat alle Suid-Afrikaners, van watter huidskleur ookal, hul gesamentlike godsdienstige verpligtinge t.o.v. die wesenlike waardigheid en gelykheid van alle mense voor God bevestig.

Laat ons as Christene in hierdie land onself daaraan toewy om saam te werk om hierdie verpligting tot 'n lewensfaktor van ons totale lewe te maak.

Laat ons almal werk, bid en moedig optree ter onderskraging van menslike waardigheid en gelykheid solank daar nog tyd is, om rassisme in al sy vorms permanent en beslissend uit te wis, en die geleentheid wat die Here ons gegee het om hierdie eeu-oue verbreking van die Suid-Afrikaanse menswaardigheid te genees toter van ons Almagtige God.



# THE SANCTITY OF PRIVACY

**Francis Wilson  
and  
David Welsh**

Among the 115 South Africans whose homes were searched by the Security Police in the pre-dawn raids of Sunday, October 24, were 12 University lecturers and 61 students. Two of the lecturers who were raided, Dr. David Welsh, Senior lecturer in African government and law, and Dr. Francis Wilson, Senior lecturer in economics, both of the University of Cape Town, discuss the implications of the raids in this article reproduced by kind permission of the SUNDAY TIMES.

SOMEBODY ONCE DESCRIBED democracy as a society in which the citizen who heard a knock on his door in the night could be sure that it was the milkman. Those who were awakened by knocking at dawn last Sunday soon discovered that it was not the milkman, but Security Police armed with serious-sounding warrants authorising them to search for what was allegedly harboured in their houses.

The raids, described by Commissioner of Police, Gideon Joubert, as a "routine investigation", involved no fewer than 115 people who were obliged to allow plain-clothes policemen to rummage among their books, magazines and private letters.

Among those who had to submit to this indignity were men like the highly-respected Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the editor of a daily newspaper, and the recipient of correspondence from the leading Afrikaans author, W.A. de Klerk, concerning his forthcoming book.

No Western democracy could conceivably consider such an invasion of individual privacy as merely 'routine'. That South Africa has reached a stage, therefore, where apparently such use of police power can go unchecked raises a number of questions concerning the well-being of our society.

The unconvincing nature of the (allegedly sworn) evidence on which the police based their raids is shown by the fact that in most homes they found nothing that was even worth removing for further investigation.

Moreover, if the evidence had been as serious as the warrants suggested, this would have required a far more thorough investigation than the perfunctory half-hour search which many homes received.

Why should raids be conducted at dawn? It is only part of the answer that people will be at home at that hour. Could it also be, as political police in other societies have known only too well, that to arrive in the dark to awaken the people being investigated heightens the shock effect?

To see how far South Africa has degenerated into totalitarianism we must compare our situation with those civilised societies which place great value upon the privacy of the individual and the sanctity of the home.

A long battle has been fought in the established democracies to secure these rights which, more than any other characteristic, distinguish the free society from the totalitarian one.

In a famous address to Parliament in 1776, William Pitt defended the right to privacy against invasion by the State with these words:

"The poorest man may, in his cottage, bid defiance of all forces of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storm may enter; the rain may enter, but the King of England may not enter; all his force dares not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement".

## BILL OF RIGHTS

A similar battle was waged in the United States where one of the chief grievances against George III was the power which royal customs officers were given to conduct searches for colonial contraband.

So conscious were the Founding Fathers of the fundamental importance of privacy that they included in the Bill of Rights a specific article (Number 4)

which rigorously circumscribed the conditions under which a police officer might be given authority to search people's homes.

Closely related to this Fourth Amendment is the Fifth, with its restriction on the power of police to extract confessions.

These amendments flow from the same respect for human dignity, the same recognition that limits must be set upon the State's powers of control and coercion. It is a fundamental tenet of American law that one may not compel a man to be a witness against himself.

As Justice Bradley put it, "any compulsory discovery by extorting the party's oath, or compelling the production of his private books and papers, to convict him of crime, or to forfeit his property, is contrary to the principles of a free government - it may suit the purposes of despotic power but it cannot abide the pure atmosphere of political liberty and personal freedom".

Seizing a man's private books and papers to be used in evidence against him, argued the learned judge, was no different from compelling him to be a witness against himself.

#### PURPOSE OF LAW

Such restrictions may indeed make the task of the police more difficult but, as Alan Barth points out, "law enforcement entails considerations of far greater significance than the punishment of some sordid offender. It entails protection of the community's real values and among these a decent privacy is of transcendent importance. The preservation of privacy is, indeed, among the primary purposes of the law".

In South Africa it might be argued that such ideals are worth striving for but that, under present conditions with the threat of invasions on the borders, the country cannot afford such legal niceties if it is to maintain security. Security is indeed an important question which must concern all citizens.

Nevertheless, in our pursuit of security two fundamental factors must be considered.

The first is the obvious, but important, point that the State exists for the sake of the individual, not vice versa. The liberty and well-being of the individual is the ultimate goal of society: the maintenance of security takes second place as a means of achieving this goal.

It is in this context that we must recognise today that the threat to the liberty of the individual comes not only from people seeking to disrupt law and order but also, and in many countries more seriously, from the inadequately controlled power of the State.

One has only to read Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "First Circle" to see how the power of the State can become corrupted so that instead of serving the individual, it destroys him.

#### MOMENTUM

Non-Afrikaans-speaking intellectuals of all colours have long been the targets of police surveillance. How long will it be before the Security Police, or BOSS, or both turn their attention to the growing number of dissidents among the staff and students of the Afrikaans universities?

This is no idle question because tactics of this kind gather a momentum of their own, and totalitarianism becomes increasingly intolerant of those who do not conform.

It is a sickening commentary on this creeping totalitarianism of our society that raids of last Sunday's kind have become "part of our traditional way of life". The maintenance of "law and order" has become an absolute value, and few seem to care if civil liberties are thrown to the winds.

We urge all South Africans who are concerned at these alarming trends to take a hard look at what is happening in our society and to grasp again the ancient truth that freedom is indivisible.

The mass raid is a phenomenon peculiarly associated with the totalitarian State. It represents an utter devaluation of individual privacy. It is not the only event in recent months which suggests that the police have acquired an arrogance and a contemptuous use of power which is not only sinister but profoundly disturbing to all those concerned with the true welfare of South Africa.

One of the most urgent tasks of our time is to achieve that delicate balance of maintaining law and order in a changing world without resorting to totalitarian methods which destroy what they are ostensibly aimed at making secure.

The second factor concerns the relationship between security and social justice. This point was clearly illuminated for us in South Africa by Professor A.S. Mathews when he delivered the Hoernle Memorial Lecture earlier this year.

Speaking as a lawyer, Professor Mathews argued that a fundamental prerequisite for security is the existence of social justice. Thus the State which seeks to maintain its security must do all in its power to bring about a more just social order.

The conflict between the pathological pursuit of security and the well-being of society may be seen in one of the potentially most damaging effects of the raids: we refer to its long-term consequences for universities in South Africa.

Unlike the Church, which is indestructible, universities are fragile and easily destroyed. In a real sense they are the flower of civilisation, but like flowers they perish easily. The melancholy history of universities in other authoritarian societies shows only too clearly how they can be crushed by jack-boots.●

# GEWELDDADIGE REVOLUSIE

## AANVAARBAAR?

Hierdie artikel deur prof. dr. Johannes Verkuyl, hoogleraar van Missiologie en Evangelistiek aan die Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, het oorspronklik verskyn in die brosjure, *Bijbel Kerk Geweld*, 'n publikasie van die Interkerkelyk Vredesberaad, wat spesiaal uitgegee is met die oog op stimulering van besinning oor die tema: *Vrede! Met alle geweld?*

Christene behoort hulle oral in die wêreld te beweer vir geregtigheid en daarom vir verandering van strukture waarin die ongeregtigheid gewortel is. Hulle word tewens geroep tot vindingrykheid in die opsporing en toepassing van nie-gewelddadige metodes om die veranderinge te bewerkstellig. Omdat nie-gewelddadige metodes seker meer ooreenstem met die Gees van Christus en omdat die geskiedenis leer dat die toepassing van geweld maar alte dikwels tot nuwe vorms van despotisme en tirannie lei.

In hierdie artikel is daar geen geleentheid om die metodes uit te werk nie. Daarvoor verwys ek u na die tweede druk van my bydrae tot die boekie „*Verantwoorde Revolusie*” (Kampen 1971). Ek som hier slegs enkele middele op.

1. Politieke, Sosiale en Ekonomiese Vorming en Bewuswording.

Ek wil in hierdie verband verwys na die boeiende boek van Ivan Illich, die groot volksopvoeder van Cuernavaca, Meksiko, wat so pas verskyn het onder die treffende titel „*Celebration of Awareness, a call for institutional revolution*”. Hierdie boekie beskryf feite en geen illusies nie en dit loop die veranderinge vooruit met glasheldere analyses en deur die aantoon van wêreld wat tot verandering kan lei.

2. Die dinamisering van die middele van die parlementêre demokrasie.

3. Oposisie deur woord en geskrif, deur petisionering en demonstrasie.

4. Geweldlose verset (King, Camara, Jean en Hildegard Goss-Mayr, Wolfgang Sternstein, Theodore Ebert (die skrywer van „*Gewaltfreier Aufstand*”).

Tog is dit onmoontlik om vol te hou dat Christene hulle in alle omstandighede tot hierdie nie-gewelddadige metodes behoort te beperk. Die huidige wêreldsituasie is van 'n sodanig ernstige aard dat die vraag of daar nie in bepaalde situasies 'n beperkte

## Prof.dr.J.Verkuyl

mate van geweld in die strategie van die verandering mag en moet opgeneem word nie. In die laaste jare kom dit met groot krag na vore en word by die dag al hoe dringender. 'n Mens kan die dringendheid daarvan weerspieël sien in ekumeniese uitsprake oor hierdie vrae.

### MOTIEWE

Dit is nie moeilik om die oorsaak van hierdie aksentverskuiwing aan te wys nie. Die spiraal van geweld en teengeweld waarvan Dom Helder Camara spreek, neem in die laaste jare toe. 'n Vloedgolf van reaksionêre magte het kom tent opslaan op die strand van die huidige geskiedenis. Daar is 'n aggressiewe kolonialisme wat al hoe harder optree, soos in Mosambiek, Angola, Guinee. Daar word, met Noord-Amerikaanse hulp, reaksionêre militêre staatsgrepe georganiseer in Latyns-Amerika met die handhawing van die status quo as doel. Daar is magte wat streef na streekshegemonie, wat die hegemonie met brute geweld wil handhaaf, soos Sowjet Rusland dit in Tsjeggo-Slowakye gedoen het (1968) en Sjina in Tibet. Daar is rassistiese régimes, soos in Suid-Afrika en Rhodesië, wat met al hoe meer strukturele geweld hul magsmonopolie handhaaf, ens., ens.

Onder diegene wat weier om dit langer te duld en wat hulle skaar aan die sy van diegene wat van mening is dat geweld in hul strategie ingebou moet word, bevind ook baie Christene hulself. As ons luister na die motivering van hul beslissinge, hoor ons o.a. die volgende: Hulle wat geweldloosheid tot 'n dogma verhef, vergeet dat in die geskiedenis byna alle veranderinge in die strukture ontstaan het deur gewelddadige revolusies. In die Nederlande (80 jarige oorlog), in die Verenigde State, in Frankryk, in Rusland, in Engeland, ens. Waarom, so word gevra, wil u van ons onthou wat in u eie geskiedenis so 'n beslissende rol gespeel het?

Voorts word daar van die kant van diegene wat vir geweld gekies het, gesê dat wie dit veroordeel, naïef is en nie bewus daarvan is nie dat die vraag wie die draers en uitwerkers van die politieke omvorming sal wees, nie ontwyk kan of mag word nie. Ten slotte kom daar ook van die kant die verwytdat diegene wat pleit vir langsame en geweldlose ver-



beteringe, dikwels deur dié houding self die oorsaak is dat die revolusionêres ongeduldig word en 'n eensydige heil verwag van geweldaanwending.

Hierdie en dergelike verwyte klink al hoemeer op: uit die negerghetto's van die Verenigde State, uit die kring van die bevrydingsbeweginge in Suidelike Afrika, uit die gevangnisse en selle van die onderdrukte, uit die verbanningsoorde, uit die hoofkwartiere van die guerilla's in Latyns-Amerika. Elkeen wat nie slegs van agter 'n lessenaar nie - maar in lewende kontak met mense wat byvoorbeeld in die anti-koloniale oorloë voor sulke beslissinge gestaan het of staan - hierdie verwyte aangehoor het, kan by hierdie verwyte nie skromeloos verbygaan nie.

Die Wêreldraad van Kerke en die Vatikaan funksioneer deur die konferensies van „Sodepax” (komitee oor samelewing, ontwikkeling en vrede, „Society, Development and Peace”) as katalisators in die besinning oor hierdie vrae en toon daarmee dat hulle aan die vrae en verwyte wat ek hierbo weergegee het, nie skromeloos verbygaan nie, maar dat hulle gereed is om na hierdie vrae te luister. Dit is die roeping van die kerk en die teologie om meer, as tot nog toe, te besin oor die strategie van verandering en om kritiese vrae te stel aan diegene wat in die situasie tot optrede geroepe is.

In die eerste plek is daartoe nodig 'n omstandighedsgebonde realisme. 'n Mens kan die vraag aangaande die middele in die strategie van verandering wat gekies mag word, alleen grondig stel indien jy die omstandighede deeglik geanaliseer het.

In die tweede plek sal 'n mens vanuit die kerke en vanuit die teologiese besinning die vraag moet stel of alle andere middele werklik uitgeput is.

In die derde plek sal 'n mens die vraag moet stel of die situasie werklik so is dat gewelddadige omverwerping van die bestaande magstrukture nie langer as 'n versoeking beskou moet word nie, maar as 'n daad van gehoorsaamheid aan God en van liefde tot die medemens gesien kan, en mag word.

Welke gevalle is dit? In die eerste plek, as in die bestaande magstrukture die fundamentele menseregte nie ingebou en beskerm word nie, maar as die strukture self dit tot doel het om die regte te vertrap. In die tweede plek, as die owerheid wêl dié regte grondwetlik aanvaar het, maar self afwyk van die grondwetlike reëls waartoe hy hom, toe hulle geproklameer is, verplig het. Wanneer 'n owerheid as't ware dinamiet plant onder die grondwet wat hy self aanvaar het, dan blaas hy daarmee die grondslag van die staat self op. Dit wil nie sê dat die weg van gewelddadige revolusie dan betree moet word, asof dit vanselfsprekend was nie. Dit kan wees dat die burgers ook dan geroepe is om sulke toestande lydsaam en met geduld te verdra. Maar daar kan ook - soos Calvyn gesê het - omstandighede bestaan waaronder mense geroep word om die mag oor te neem as die tyd daarvoor ryp is en dat weiering omdat te doen op pligsversaking neerkom.

In die kring van die Wêreldraad van Kerke is daar dikwels gepleit om 'n „leer van 'n verantwoordelike maatskappy” of 'n leer van verantwoordelike transformasie. Dit word hoog tyd dat daar nagedink word oor 'n „leer van regverdige revolusie”. Die leer van die regverdige oorlog is totaal deurgeslyt en moet radikaal hersien word.

In die eerste plek: Wie word geroep tot 'n magsoorname in situasies soos dié wat hierbo genoem is?

Karl Barth het in sy bekende brosjure, „*Christengemeinde Und Bürgergemeinde*”, betoog dat die kerke in bepaalde situasies wel geroepe kan wees om raad tot magsoorname te gee. Ek dink dat daar bepaalde situasies op te noem is waarin die kerke ook vroeër inderdaad hierdie belangrike taak vervul het.

In die opstand teen Spanje en in baie ander revolusionêre situasies het die reformatoriese kerke die moed gehad tot politieke diakonia en was hul dikwels die raadgewers van die magistrature.

In 'n land soos Brasilië sou die raad van bepaalde biskoppe baie waardevol kon wees. Tog sal die taak van die kerke nooit meer as raadgewend kan wees nie. Dit behoort nog tot hul taak, nog tot hul deskundigheid om hierin leiding te gee nie.

Calvyn het betoog te midde van die strukture van die destydse samelewing dat bepaalde laere magistrature die taak van die hoëres moes oorneem.

Ek dink dat in die huidige maatskappystrukture dié opvatting nie sonder meer as model aanvaar sou kon word nie. Maar die belangrikste element in die leer van Calvyn is dat ook die politiek 'n *vocatio*, 'n roeping is en dat op 'n bepaalde moment dié mense die taak moet oorneem wat hulle daartoe deur God en die volk geroepe ag en daartoe bekwaamheid besit. Die oornam van die mag is nie die taak van avontureurs nie, maar van geroepe mense wat deur ervaring en deskundigheid bekwaam is en wat volgens die woord van Calvyn, dit in die diepte van hul hart durf waag om te sê: „*Appello ad Deum vocantem*” ek beroep my op God, wat my hiertoe roep.

In die tweede plek: mag hierdie weg alleen opgegaan word as werklik dié moontlikheid aanwesig is dat mense die bestaande „wanordelike orde” deur 'n betere, 'n meer regverdige orde vervang. As dié moontlikheid nie aanwesig is nie, dan is 'n gewelddadige revolusie 'n onverantwoordelike avontuur en in wese 'n roekelose, wrede avontuur wat leed berokken aan tallose onskuldiges. Die moderne geskiedenis is vol van illustrasie materiaal vir hierdie stelling.

In die derde plek: moet mense seker daarvan wees dat hulle gedra word deur die „*consensus populi*”, die instemming van die volk. Geen enkele nuwe owerheid kan bestaan sonder „*consensus populi*”. Dit is waarvan Fidel Castro in Kuba oortuig was en wat Che Guevara in Boliwië venwaarloos het, soos sy „*Dagboek*” duidelik laat blyk. Vervolg op bladsy 21

# GANDHI AND SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

*Address delivered during the Prayer Service held at Phoenix, Natal on October 2, 1971 on the occasion of the banning of Mewa Ramgobin.*

IT IS WITH A SENSE of awe, humility and gratitude that I stand here to-day on a spot hallowed by the presence 60 years ago of one of the greatest men, if not the greatest, of modern times, Mahatma Gandhi. But it is with a sense of sadness and dismay, too, at the realisation that the ideals he strove for in South Africa more than half a century ago are still so far from fulfilment - to the extent that the restrictions and indignities he suffered in his struggle for justice and equality find their parallel in the restrictions and indignities inflicted to-day on his grandson-in-law. It is a shattering thought that, if the giant figure of the Mahatma, whom the whole world reveres and whom men will revere as long as there are men, was alive and in this country now, he, too, would be banned for the convictions he held and the courage with which he pursued them, probably even detained on Robben Island.

## MAHATMA GANDHI THE PROPHET

Mahatma Gandhi was a prophetic figure in the highest and noblest sense of the word, if we accept that the prophet enunciates truth that needs to be enunciated and illustrates what he says by the way he lives. For the Mahatma, truth, to be genuine truth, had to be lived.

For all great religious figures it has been the same: the truth they proclaimed had to be lived, even though it might lead to their death, as happened in the case of him whom many of us regard as the incarnate Son of God, *Jesus Christ*.

The great problem, the tragic problem, of religion is the difficulty the followers of a religious leader experience in living up to the noble truth propounded by him. It was for this reason that Gandhi could accept Christ but found it hard to accept Christians.

We are here to-day because people that hold power in South Africa, although by-and-large they profess faith in Christ and practise that faith to some extent, cannot see how its teachings should be expressed in the political, economic and social life of their country.

To the outsider, even to the South African who is not a member of that dominant people, this is a cause for open-mouthed astonishment; that men can publicly profess the Christian faith and yet do things in po-

## Denis E. Hurley

litical, economic and social life that are in utter conflict with it. It looks like the worst kind of hypocrisy. It looks like the triumph of that Pharisaism that Christ fought all his life and which nailed him to a cross in the end.

And yet, I think I understand. Man's views are very limited, man's vision is drastically restricted. If a man grows up in a certain culture, is taught history in a certain way and imbibes an outlook from his family and environment, he can live the most extraordinary contradictions without being aware of them. Reality is so huge, especially the reality of human life with the complexity of its historical, personal and social involvements that we can take in only a little of it in a life-time, and the little we take in may omit the application to our situation of some of the deepest and dearest values we profess.

## POLITICS AND RELIGION

A certain historical and religious background has made many white South Africans believe that religion and politics are two such separate areas of life that one need not, in fact, should not, influence the other. No matter how incredible this sounds, these White South Africans sincerely believe this. For the life of me I cannot see how they do, but I do not doubt their sincerity.

Obviously their view arises from their understanding of politics and religion. Religion seems to be concerned only with God, or, if it is concerned with people, then it is concerned with them only as individuals or as families, not as members of the political community.

This is what is so difficult to follow. Does it mean that the ideals of love and justice that a Christian accepts as part of his faith do not apply to politics or to large-scale economics or other broad issues of social life? Does it mean that the White Christian can say to his African, Coloured or Indian neighbour in South Africa: My religion enjoins on me to see in you the image of God and the mirror of Christ - up to the point where I notice that you are Black and then exit religion and enter politics - I no longer see in you the image of God and the mirror of Christ?

It is because Christianity is practised like this  
*Continued in next column*

# Revolusie Aanvaarbaar?

As 'n revolusie begin word deur 'n klein elite van buite of deur 'n handvol avonturiers van binne, is dit onverantwoord.

## DIE BESLISSENDE VRAAG

Reinhold Niebuhr sê tereg in sy boek, „*Moral Man in Immoral Society*” wanneer hy hierdie onderwerp bespreek: „The real question is, what are the political possibilities of establishing justice through violence”. „Die eintlike vraag is: Wat is die politieke moontlikhede om geregtigheid te bewerkstelling langs die weg van geweld”.

Inderdaad, as die toestande onhoudbaar geword het en die omwenteling gekanaliseer moet word, is die beslissende vraag of daar voldoende moontlikhede

in South Africa that we are here to-day. Most of us can scarcely attend a meeting without encountering friends who have been banned, or without regretting the absence of friends who are banned: the Peter Browns, the Cosmas Desmonds, the Mewa Ramgobins; and the banning under which they suffer is a practical denial of a basic principle of the rule of law and civilised living: the principle that a person shall not be punished without trial, and that the trial shall be public so that everyone may see that justice is done. It took a long hard struggle in human history, a struggle inspired by the noblest religious and humanitarian convictions to get that principle established. It has been wiped out in South Africa because we White Christians haven't the courage to live the faith we profess.

## PRAYER FOR THOSE WHO SUFFER

So it is with a deep sense of shame and humble apology that I, as a leader in a Christian Church, join you in this service of prayer, prayer for Mewa, a friend and a member by marriage of the family of one of humanity's greatest lights, the beloved Mahatma; prayer for all those who, like Mewa, suffer under unjust laws, (laws that do not deserve the sacred name of law, because they are a practical denial of all that law stands for): prayer for the White Christians of South Africa who find it so hard to see what political consequences flow from the faith they profess; prayer for our country and all its people that, through the witness and dedication of brave men and women who, in their thirst for justice, are prepared to accept banning, restriction and detention, and like Father Wrankmore, the agony of a long fast - that, through such people, God in his goodness may lead us along the path of love, compassion and understanding to a more just and brotherly and peaceful society.

This is our prayer, O Lord, hear and answer us.  
Amen●

is om werklike geregtigheid te dien deur georganiseerde poging om die mag oor te neem.

Christene sal in 'n periode wat pre-revolutionêr is en wat neig in die rigting van 'n omwenteling, pertinent moet vra: Wat is 'n doel? Wat wil u eintlik; hoe seker is dit dat u bedoeling sal slaag? Watter waarborge het u dat daar geen chaos sal ontslaan en dat u nie die weg baan tot 'n nuwe vorm van tirannie nie? Is u werklik seker daarvan dat die gebruik van geweld 'n geringer kwaad is as die geweld wat nou in die *status quo* verweeg is? Hierdie vrae moet in sulke situasies gestel word. Die ervaring en die geskiedenis leer immers - soos ons tevore reeds opgemerk het - dat die meeste revolusies sinneloos was en geen enkele verbetering in die situasie meebring het nie. Maar dat die poging om die mag oor te neem ook in bepaalde gevalle 'n gestalte van die liefde kan wees, daarvan sien ons iets in Koning David, in Dante, in Willem van Oranje, in Kaj Munk, in Bonhoeffer, in Cammilo Tovres.

## SAMEVATTING

Hoewel ek in die weë en middele van die geweldlose verset die stigmata van Jesus van Nasaret duideliker erken dan by diegene wat die weg van die gewelddadige revolusie as *ultima ratio* volg, mag ons myns insiens diegene wat in bepaalde situasies hierdie laaste weg opgegaan het en opgaan, nie veroordeel nie en moet ons met groot eerbied dink aan diegene wat sulke leiers begelei te midde van die versoeking waaraan hulle blootslaan.

Ten slotte nog hierdie opmerking: Ook in die vraagstuk aangaande revolusie is dit nodig om terug te keer na die kern, die hoofsaak van die Wet: die liefde tot God en die naaste. 'n Revolusie is onwettig, onsedelik, onverantwoord as dit nie aangevuur word deur waaragtige liefde tot God en die naaste nie. 'n Revolusie is alleen dan wettig as die leiers daarvan - na ernstige analise van die situasie - diep oortuig is dat die liefde tot God en die naaste hul verplig om, nadat alle andere middele uitgeput is, 'n poging te doen om die mag oor te neem. Want die enigste weg tot geregtigheid is die weg van die liefde. 'n Ander weg is daar beslis nie, of liever, alle ander weë lei tot anargie of tot tirannie en totalitarisme en nie na 'n nuwe, meer regverdigte orde nie.●

## Vrede met alle Geweld

van Christus se oorgawe het. Die doel van ons vredesweke is dus feitlik niks meer nie as om op menslike wyse gestalte te gee aan wat Jesus in Sy Bergrede se van die vredegestigters. Salig is die vredemakers, want hulle sal kinders van God genoem word. Dit moet voldoende rede vir ons wees om hierdie doringagtige weg met blydschap te bewandel, al sou ons die toorn van die ganse mensdom op ons haal.●



# WITHDRAWAL FROM MOZAMBIQUE

*The recent withdrawal of the White Fathers (so called because of their white habit and not the colour of their skins!) has caused considerable interest and concern in far wider circles, since this is a lot that seems to threaten other religious communities elsewhere (in South West Africa, perhaps?) The following survey by the feature service, Africa Acts, gives some idea of the incidents which led up to their momentous decision.*

ON CHRISTMAS DAY 1970, Father Capanelli of the White Fathers preached a sermon in a Mozambique church. His theme was that Christmas is a feast that obliges us to take a real attitude of love towards the poor, for whom especially Christ came into the world.

Love, he said, consists in not despising the poor and in paying them a just wage.

Soon afterwards Father Capanelli was spoken to by the Administrator of that area of Mozambique. Europeans who had listened to the sermon, said the Administrator, described it as "criminal".

This is one of many similar incidents now listed by members of the White Fathers who were recently expelled from Mozambique by the authorities, after the Superior-General of their Order had announced that he was withdrawing them. At the time the White Fathers explained that they could not accept the limitations put on their work by the Government and at the same time be true to the Gospel.

They state that whenever their sermons went beyond "banalities and generalities" to touch on social questions and concrete situations, they were likely to be called Communists. They were under instructions from their own Order to "say nothing and do nothing that might be interpreted as criticism of the Government" but they found it impossible to avoid Government suspicion.

The words of the Pope were censored. In his "Message to Africa" Pope Paul spoke about the equality of all men, which demanded "ever more explicit recognition in civil society of every human being's essential rights". He acknowledged the contribution which had been made in Africa by communities from other continents, but added:

"It is also true that the whole community has contributed to this work of construction in varying degrees, and this fact calls for an equitable share in all civil life, a more just division of the national wealth and the recognition of those fundamental rights denied by measures taken to maintain artificial barriers of an economic, social, political and psychological nature".

## Africa Acts Feature Service

The Message, say the White Fathers, was only published in 'Vox Africana' a Catholic weekly for Africans, and in Lourenco Marques, the capital of Mozambique, all copies of the paper were bought up by the police "to prevent the black people from reading it".

The Pope's pronouncement on the Development of Peoples (Populorum Progressio), which says in one place that revolution is justified "in the case of a manifest and prolonged tyranny that attacks the fundamental rights of the person and endangers the common good of the country", was censored before publication in Mozambique.

The ordinary work of the Church, say the White Fathers, was constantly harassed. Because catechumens (those wishing to join the Church) were instructed in their local language and not Portuguese, they were constantly suspected by the local administration and the political police.

Members of the Legion of Mary and of Catholic cultural and social associations were threatened, and those who had been to teachers' meetings were "harassed in an effort to make them say there was talk of terrorism in the meetings". Africans who helped with courses of Christian instruction were taken by the PIDE, the secret police, for interrogation.

Co-operatives, agricultural schools and social centres which the Fathers tried to establish were often severely restricted by the authorities. A recreation centre at Sao Benedito was threatened with closure and its African directors were threatened with prison. "In the end it was allowed to continue on condition that the Director was Portuguese".

Father Capanelli and Father Nijs were among those constantly followed by police informers. Father Capanelli, in fact, was accused to subversive preaching on a day when he had not preached at all.

"What is important is to underline that in face of these facts the Mozambique Church made no pronouncement. The interventions made were too discreet and so insignificant that the African people inside and outside Mozambique have not been able to recognise in the Church the likeness of Christ who came into this world to preach the Gospel to the poor, to restore the broken-hearted, to bid the prisoners go free, and the blind have sight, to set the oppressed at liberty."●

# DIALOGUE BETWEEN STATE AND CHURCH IN S.W.A.

*The leaders of South West Africa's two largest Lutheran Churches, in a bold condemnation of apartheid on behalf of all their members, have created a remarkable situation in this South African-run territory. The following is a survey of the situation by the Nairobi-based Africa Acts, feature service. We hope in the near future to be publishing an even more detailed survey concerning the State of the Church in S.W.A. by our former editor Dr. W.B. de Villiers.*

THE BOLDEST opposition to apartheid ever expressed by African Church leaders living under the system has created a remarkable situation in South West Africa. The widely-respected leaders of nearly 300 000 Lutherans in South West Africa have told the Prime Minister B.J. Vorster of South Africa of the evils of the apartheid system they live under, and asked for the recognition of human rights in South West Africa and for independence for the territory.

South West Africa, a former League of Nations trust territory which South Africa has administered since the first world war, has been gradually 'disappearing' into the Republic of South Africa. South African Governments have imposed the same curbs on the African population there as in the Republic, separating them not only from the white population of South West Africa's main towns but also from each other. There is a 'Bantustan' policy for South West Africa which would create separate 'states' of Ovamboland, Kavango, Hereroland, Damaraland, Namaland, and thus keep the territory's comparatively small African population of half a million people divided into tiny, powerless units.

Job reservation, which prevents Africans engaging in the most skilled and best-paid jobs, is also enforced there and freedom of movement is strictly limited.

Attempts have been made, through the World Court and the United Nations, to show that South Africa has violated her mandate over South West Africa and has no right to rule the territory. But South West Africa has waited until this June to hear a ruling from the World Court that South Africa should surrender control of the area to the United Nations.

It was this judgement which moved Bishop Leonard Auala of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church and Moderator Paul Gowaseb of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa to address

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an open letter to the Prime Minister of South Africa. It charged his Government with failing to establish in the territory the human rights guaranteed in the United Nations Charter.

Claiming the support of their churches, "which represent the majority of the indigenous population of South West Africa", the two churchmen spelt out the rights which their people were denied and asked South Africa to co-operate in establishing the territory's independence.

At the same time, the two Church Boards sent a letter to their member congregations saying that the judgement of the World Court was "the answer to the prayer of many of our people" and that the Boards were determined to tell the South African Government what changes were needed in South West Africa.

Reactions in South West Africa were not long in coming. "We have read the newspapers and we have seen that the whites are very dissatisfied with us", Moderator Gowaseb and Bishop Auala told the Press a few days later. "But we find that our non-white congregations understand us well because we have referred to the true facts".

The German Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa, with 15 000 largely German-speaking members, dissociated itself from the letter.

What everyone waited for was the reaction of the Government of South Africa.

### P.M. VORSTER

Prime Minister Vorster's response was to invite the church leaders to meet him and discuss their statement. The Prime Minister went to Windhoek for the meeting and the church leaders brought with them a joint delegation of eight members of their Boards.

The meeting was afterwards described as a dialogue, though both sides in fact simply spelt out their positions. For the churches, Bishop Auala said that they appreciated the attempts of the South African Government to develop South West Africa, but the policy of apartheid "precludes joy at the plans for development".

"We are subjects of the Government, but Baaskap (white superiority) forces us to be the subjects of every white man. We are forced to call every white man 'baas'".

Bishop Auala went on to protest about police brutality. Innocent people had been beaten and tortured by the police, he said. They had been given electrical shocks, had guns pointed at them and been threatened with death.

"According to the Bible only the wrongdoer should fear the sword of authority. But today all of us fear the police. They do not treat us as human beings, but as an evil".

The few whites who did treat Africans as human beings, he said, were contravening the policy of the Government and sometimes even breaking the law by doing so.

He spoke of the development of South West Africa for tourism, pointing out that white tourists could travel freely in the country while its own people could not move around freely or visit the towns because of the pass system. The churches had not been allowed to set up a retreat centre in Swakopmund, one of South West Africa's two seaports, where pastors could go for holidays.

The Bishop then turned to the contract system of engaging men for work away from their families. He pointed out that he had been to Pretoria in the past to point out the damage that the system was doing to family life and had been told that "the matter was enjoying attention".

"But now the contract system is developing so that it is assuming even greater proportions through the homelands policy. It is not the will of the Lord that husband and wife and families should thus be torn apart, frequently to live in sin and adultery".

The 'homelands policy' of separating the Africans of South West Africa into many small tribal 'homelands' is making men strangers in their own country, said the Bishop. "Better relationships between the groups and mutual respect for each other as human beings are not brought about by separation and setting apart in homelands, but by mutually respecting each other in a Christian spirit in society".

"Apartheid is the mother of all the problems ..."

In reply to this detailed and uncompromising condemnation of the whole basis of South African policy, Prime Minister Vorster is reported to have "broadly explained" the policy of separate development in South West Africa and to have said that he intends to go ahead with the implementation of it, though "the doors are open for further discussions".

It is obvious that Mr. Vorster is not changing course in response to the church leaders' demands. The significant thing, however, is that he will go ahead with a policy which 55 per cent of the black

and Coloured population of South West Africa have now firmly and publicly rejected, through their church leaders.

At the moment when the United Nations General Assembly is debating the situation in South West Africa created by the World Court's decision, the South African Government has found it necessary to give polite hearing to the view that the majority of South West Africans think that South Africa is making a disastrous job of administering their country.

For the moment, the courageous Bishop Auala and Moderator Gowaseb seem to be too big to sweep under the South African security carpet. In the light of what they say, it is going to be hard for South Africa to argue that the majority of South West Africans are happy to become part of South Africa.●

## ***Looking for the Church of the African People***

into our own culture? How do we see Christ at work here in Africa, regardless of all these denominations of disunity? We have to believe in what it seems right to do and to die by our convictions. We have to be very, very strong.

You have to be a very strong minister to say, "Here is my daughter who has come of age. People have been dancing for the last two weeks. Why don't I, as a minister, go and bring that daughter, with ashes all over her body, to the Church to end up this ceremony of rejoicing?" What is wrong with a child who has been circumcised having a part of the ceremony in the church? "We now accept you as a man in this church". I look at the Church as the Church that really answers the aspirations of the African people. The statement that Africans cannot unite is a fallacy. I would like to unite in a Church that is really of the African soil, in that if my father dies, I'll stand and sing my own songs.

I'll go and put a bow, if my father was a hunter, I'll put a bow on his graveside. If he was a drinker, I'll go and pour a calabash of beer to that dead man, my father.

"Here you are, you've been a wonderful person". And I sign my cross and say, "Rest in peace".

I see very little difference between naming my child after my dead father, who was a warrior and such a wonderful man, and remembering him in my prayers; and remembering angels I have not seen, or even saints who are not the African saints I have seen.

After all, I go to church on St. Barnabas' Day.●



# LOOKING FOR THE CHURCH OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

**Jason Mfula**

*"I would like to unite in a Church that is really of the African soil, in that, if my father dies, I'll stand and sing my own songs".*

Mr. Jason Mfula is the new Director of the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation in Zambia. This article is based on an address given by him on 'The Impact of Christian Disunity on African Society' at a conference of theological students of different Churches, recently held at Mindolo.

I REMEMBER as a young boy being told that a Roman Catholic father would be passing through our Anglican mission station in the afternoon. And the white missionary who told us said, "We don't want any Roman Catholics to pass through here".

So we posted ourselves in different places to chase this Roman Catholic father who was going to pass through on a motor-cycle. The sun was hot and we waited for a very long time, hiding ourselves behind bushes and listening very carefully for the sound of a motor-cycle. About four o'clock this White Father, robed in a white cassock, started to arrive. And we chased him like a beast, because he happened to pass through an Anglican mission station.

African politicians have attacked the approach of the missionaries, and many African Christians have done the same, in that, although they had very good intentions to come and bring the Gospel to the African, nevertheless they came as a divided people. They represented different countries and different religions.

They wanted to come and evangelise the African and at the same time to come and civilise him in their own terms. So we see the scramble for evangelism going side by side with the scramble for colonisation, and the two could not be separated.

We became Christians by circumstances. If we lived in one particular area, we became a member of the denomination which went to that area. And whoever travelled on a motor-cycle faster, evangelised more people. This has brought divisions in our society.

At the same time our customs have suffered from the mixing of culture with Christianity as it was brought to us. One evening when I was in Standard IV I went out to a dance. We had no electricity, we danced by moonlight, the girls and the boys as well,

while the parents were just in the verandahs. The missionary came up and found me dancing in the evening, with all my friends. This was a Saturday evening, and Sunday morning I wanted to go and receive the Holy Eucharist.

This minister said, "Jason, you have been doing an evil dance and you all are not allowed to receive Holy Communion". So we were sent out.

So I grew up as a man who despised my own race. And I began to think afterwards, if it had been a European dance, with an accordion perhaps, or a guitar, would this have been termed an evil, dirty dance? When we tried to sing our own songs at that time they were considered devilish and were not songs that could be sung in church. Yet I was content to sing "Snow on snow, snow on snow" on Christmas morning, in my own country where there is no snow!

The way each Church understood and interpreted the Bible, this is the way this Gospel was communicated in different areas. The Church forgot to emphasise social as well as individual values. They forgot that we in Zambia, and indeed in Africa, have values and customs which should have been respected and taken into account. Society has been broken into smaller parts or components because of the influence of different denominations. Yet there are certain good things that one can speak of.

Although we are so separated by denominations, you will find that you can easily identify somebody of your own Church. You have got something in common because of the way doctrine has been brought. Whether you come from the Northern Province or the North Western Province of Zambia, whether you come from Accra or Monrovia, you can feel quite at home because this is the way you have been brought up. There is this unity within the divisions. I would say that it has set us to thinking what ought we to do now? How do we bring Christ into

*Continued on Page 24*