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**pro veritate**

## INSTANT FOREIGNER OOMBLIKLIKE VREEMDELING

The cynical disregard of people, justice, and democracy in the Transkeian "independence" performance this month is sick-making.

"Bantustans" were devised as a sop to quieten the conscience of those concerned by the oppressive nature of apartheid. The right of full citizenship and universal suffrage, which is recognised throughout the world but denied in South Africa, is accommodated by transferring the legal presence of the opposition — who happen to be poor, black, and the majority — to tiny territories remote from their physical presence in the centres of wealth and power. Without asking.

The treason of the Transkei, where the white Government has ripped a piece out of the country, without the consent of the people, moves us into the final stage of apartheid where 80% of the people, at the stroke of a pen, are to be made citizens of only 13% of the land, with a miniscule proportion of the wealth, and none of the power.

4 million whites can settle freely in almost any part of the country, whatever their ethnic background. 18 million blacks are forced to live in small areas and their citizenship confined to "Homelands" in which most of them have neither homes nor lands nor any prospect of ever obtaining them.

In the Transkei itself, white domination has been camouflaged by a black front totally dependent on Pretoria. It is quite undemocratic, for the black opposition in the Transkei has been rendered ineffective by removing its leaders (like the black opposition in the Republic itself). Proclamation R400 is as vicious a piece of legislation as the world has ever seen. Stories of economic favour and privilege for political leaders abound. Millions have been poured into **things** (lush buildings, roads, cars, an airport) but not into **people**—the poor workers who struggle to eke out a meagre existence for themselves whilst producing wealth for the white man.

No one listening to Government spokesman on the SABC would dream for a moment that an international outrage is being perpetuated against South African people. The Coloureds were taken off the roll; Indians lost all their rights; opposition movements were banned; millions of families were smashed with the Group Areas Act, and now, at a stroke every black in the country will be made an instant foreigner.

\* \* \* \* \*

The theology of it is portentous. Twisted nationalist preachers can distort the scriptures but they cannot change God's nature. The God of Jesus who has made himself known in history has an appalling record as far as totalitarian governments are concerned. He destroys them.

But he saves his people.  
He will destroy this totalitarianism.  
He will save these people.  
Are you for Him or against Him?

Die siniese veronagsaming hierdie maand van mense, geregtigheid en demokrasie in die onafhanklikheids'—vertoning van die Transkei is onstellend.

'Bantustans' is ontwerp as 'n paaimiddel om die gewetens van diegene, wat deur die onderdrukkende natuur van apartheid ontstel is, te kalmeer. Die reg tot volle burgerskap en algemene stemreg, wat deur die hele wêreld erken word, maar wat in Suid-Afrika ontken word, is geakkommodeer deur die verskuiwing van die wettige teenwoordigheid van die opposisie, wat toevallig arm, swart en in die meerderheid is, na klein geliedjies vêr van die blankes se fisiese teenwoordigheid in die sentrums van rykdom en mag—sonder om hulle te raadpleeg.

Die verraad van die Transkei, waar die blanke regering 'n stuk uit die land uitgeskeur het sonder die toestemming van die mense, beweeg na die finale stadium van apartheid waar, deur die beweging van 'n pen, 80% van die mense tot burgers van slegs 13% van die land gemaak word, met 'n minimale deel van die rykdom en niks van die mag nie.

4 miljoen blankes, wat hul etniese agtergrond ookal is, kan hulle vryelik in feitlik enige deel van die land vestig. 18 miljoen Swartmense word gedwing om in klein areas te woon en hulle burgerskap word tot „tuislande" beperk, waar die meeste van hulle nie huise besit en ook nie lande nie en waar hulle ook geen vooruitsig het om dit ooit te bekom nie.

In die Transkei self, is blanke dominasie gekamoufleer deur 'n swart front wat geheel en al van Pretoria afhanklik is. Dit is heeltemal ondemokraties aangesien die swart opposisie in die Transkei, (soos die swart opposisie in die Republiek self), buite werking gestel is deur die verwydering van sy leiers. Proklamasie R400 is een van die vermigste stukke wetgewing wat die wêreld nog gesien het. Verhale van ekonomiese voordeel en bevoorregting vir politieke leiers is volop. Miljoene is in **dinge** (oordadige geboue, paaie, motors, 'n lughawe), maar nie in mense nie, ingestoot—die arme arbeiders wat worstel om op 'n karige manier 'n bestaan te maak terwyl hulle rykdom vir die blanke produseer.

Niemand wat na die regeringspreekbuis oor die SAUK luister, sal vir 'n oomblik daarvan droom dat 'n internasionale uitbarsting teen die Suid-Afrikaanse mense voortduur nie. Die kleurlinge is van die rol gekrap; die Indiërs het al hulle regte verloor; opposisie-bewegings is verban; miljoene families is deur die Groepsgebiede-wet opgebreek; en nou, deur 'n beweging van die hand, sal elke swartmens in die land 'n oombliklike vreemdeling gemaak word.

Die teologie daarvan is onheilspellend. Verwronde nasionalistiese predikers kan die skrif verdraai, maar hulle kan nie God se natuur verander nie. Die God wat homself in Jesus in die geskiedenis bekend gestel het, het 'n skrikwekkende verlede so vêr as wat dit totalitaristiese regerings aangaan. Hy vernietig hulle.

Maar Hy red sy mense.  
Hy sal hierdie totalitarisme vernietig  
Hy sal hierdie mense red  
Is u vir Hom of teen Hom?

# THE TRANSKEI

## Little more than a labour reservoir

—John Kane-Berman

*A critical look at the situation in the Transkei which is to become "independent" this month.*

As the independence of the Transkei looms ahead of us, the government has been talking about how it is decolonising this part of the country and giving nationhood to Xhosa-speaking Africans. But the most important aspect of Transkei independence is not what the government purports to be giving to Xhosa-speaking people, but what it is taking away from them. In fact, independence is little more than a disguised act of confiscation, a political trick that would have left even Machiavelli breathless with admiration. Basically, what the government is taking away is the birthright of all Xhosa-speaking South Africans: their country. One could almost call it an act of theft.

Paradoxically, any discussion of the Transkei is really a discussion about the so-called White areas of South Africa, the links being the migratory labour system, and the fact that more than one million of the future citizens of the Transkei do not live there, but in the common area—i.e. the so-called White areas.

### Geographical segregation

The first point to look at is how the land of South Africa has been divided. Parliament passed the Natives' Land Act in 1913, one of the principal purposes of which was to prevent Africans from acquiring further land from Whites in rural areas outside the African "reserves". In terms of this and other statutes, South Africa was divided into "White" areas (comprising some 87% of the country), and Bantustans (comprising the remainder). Whites and Africans were prohibited from acquiring land in each other's areas. This inequitable carving up of the country was bitterly opposed by Africans at the time.

This neat idea of geographical racial segregation encounters two great obstacles.

First, even before the Union of South Africa was constituted in 1910, Africans had been acquiring land in rural areas which were later declared to be "White". The government has attempted to remove this first obstacle by its policy of resettlement, which entails, inter alia, the forced removal of African rural communities from so-called "Black spots" in "White" areas and their deportation to places like Dimbaza in the Bantustans. Despite these mass removals, however, there are more Africans in the "White" areas today in the Bantustans, and many more Africans than Whites in the "White" areas, while Africans comprise nearly three-quarters of the country's working population of 9 700 000.

The second problem arises from this last fact—the economy's dependence on black workers. As the gold and diamond mines were developed, and as secondary industry grew, Africans no less than whites moved to the cities and towns. The most logical and sensible course would have been for these urban Africans to be allowed to settle permanently in the cities along with the Whites and be incorporated in a multi-racial political system. But White governments have never been prepared to permit this. Instead, they set about instituting policies to attempt to halt and even reverse the inevitable consequences of industrialization and urbanization. Most of South Africa's main political problems arise from this single fact.

### Exclusion

One of the keys to government policy on city Africans is to be found in the report of the Transvaal Local Government (or Stallard)

Commission in 1922: "If the native is to be regarded as a permanent element in municipal areas there can be no justification for basing his exclusion from the franchise on the grounds of colour. The native should be allowed to enter the urban areas when he is willing to minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister".

The two main instruments for giving effect to this policy are the migratory labour system and the pass laws. The migratory labour system has been systematically extended. Since the war the number of migrant workers has grown faster than the number of economically active Africans; by 1970, 60% of the African men working in "White" areas were migrants. The pass laws have also been tightened up: they are used to limit the number of Africans coming to the cities and to reduce the numbers already there, who are regarded as "temporary sojourners". When they are no longer required to minister to White needs—perhaps when they are sick or old—they must go "back" to the "homelands". In reality of course, there is frequently no "back" about it, and the term "homeland" is a misnomer. It has been estimated that eighty per cent of the South-African born Africans in "White" urban areas have the "demographic characteristics" of a settled population, and that about 3.2 million are permanently settled in town and cities in the "White" areas. In fact, city Africans no more regard themselves as Bantustanians than Afrikaners regard themselves as Hollanders. They regard the **whole** of South Africa as their homeland.

Spokesmen for the government have said that its intention is to build the economy on contract labour, and only two years ago one of the deputy ministers in the Department of Bantu Administration said that all Africans in the "White" areas were guest workers whose numbers would have to be gradually reduced.

Of course, the Nationalists do not literally mean that each and every African must leave what ministers fondly like to call the "White homeland". Farms, White households, offices, hotels, shops, factories, mines, the railways, the post office, and electricity supply industry, and even the government's own bureaucracy could not function without them.

What the government is seriously trying to achieve, however, is the translation of every single African in the "White" areas into a foreigner. It can then legitimate its refusal to accede to their demands for the vote and other political rights in the "White" areas by the device of saying they are aliens, present in those areas only as "guest workers".

### Automatic loss of citizenship

This is where the Bantustans and the policy of granting them independence come in. When the Transkei becomes independent, all Xhosa-speaking South Africans (other than those who supposedly have some "ethnic" link with the Ciskei) will automatically, and without having any choice in the matter, lose their existing South African citizenship and become citizens of the new independent state instead.

This applies both to the 1.6m Xhosas who actually live in the Transkei and to the 1.3m who live in the rest of the country. And if the other Bantustans also opt for independence, the same will apply to all the other so-called ethnic groups. Each and every African in South Africa will thus cease to be a citizen of the White Republic

and become a citizen of one or other independent Bantustan. Mr. Pik Botha will then be able to try and tell the United Nations that South Africa has moved from discrimination based on race and colour. His speech would go something like this: "We concede that Bantu in the White areas are subject to certain disabilities, but, after all, they are foreigners, working temporarily in our cities as guest workers. No country can be expected to give foreigners the franchise and other political rights". Mr. Botha would also be able to deny that South Africa is ruled by a White minority. He would be able to say that the Whites comprise the majority of the citizens in their homeland, while the Africans have majority rule in their homelands. In other words, racial discrimination and the whole edifice of apartheid will be maintained, but now the discrimination will ostensibly not be on the grounds of race but on the grounds of nationality.

It seems to me that this is what the Nationalists have in mind when they talk about carrying the policy of separate development through to its logical conclusion. It is the ultimate refinement of the Stallard doctrine, the final solution. It allows whites to have their cake and eat it by providing a theoretical basis for the maintenance of an integrated economy (with Africans comprising a steadily increasing majority of the workers) alongside a segregated political system (in which those African workers have no political say).

This is what I mean when I talk about confiscation and theft: first the unilateral division of the land in the face of black opposition, with whites appropriating for themselves 87% of the country; which 87% contains all the main industrial areas, the cities, and the economic infrastructure which Africans have helped to build along with Whites, and of course the gold and other mines. Second, the removal of their citizenship, and therefore of their claims to political rights as citizens in the areas where they live and work.

#### **Danger**

This policy is fraught with danger. To take away a man's birthright, his land, his country, is a terrible thing to do. How many wars in history have not been fought over land? If the Africans in South Africa come to see themselves as having been dispossessed of all but 13% of their country, might they not one day be tempted to fight it back? Is this Bantustan policy perhaps creating for South Africa a situation similar to that of the Palestinians vis-a-vis Israel?

Paramount Chief Matanzima has made the claim that Xhosas in the common area are not going to be forced to become Transkei citizens and so lose their South African citizenship, but that they will have a choice. The press has thus portrayed him as being at loggerheads with Pretoria on this issue. In fact, however, the conflict is not between Chief Matanzima and Pretoria but between what Chief Matanzima says in public and what he says in his own Transkei constitution. This constitution provides that common area Xhosas (apart from those few whose "ethnic" status may be in doubt) are automatically going to become Transkei citizens whether they like it or not. It appears to me that Chief Matanzima is involved in an elaborate game of bluff, attempting to conceal from the 1.3m common area Xhosas what he is doing to them. To put it bluntly, he is selling them down the river<sup>1</sup>.

From the analysis that I have tried to make, it should be clear that the central, overriding aim of the whole Bantustan policy is thus an attempt to solve not the question of the rural Africans actually in the Bantustans but an attempt to solve what whites like to call the "problem of the urban African". In reality, of course, it is not the urban African that is the "problem". The real problem is the urban Whites, or rather their policy of trying to pretend that Africans in the cities are there not as people, but as so many units of labour.

#### **Statistics**

The separate-development master-planners talk about the Bantustan system as one of political independence and economic interdependence. A few statistics taken from government sources<sup>1</sup> will indicate what economic interdependence will mean in the case

of the Transkei:

- \* Ten years ago, 62% of the revenue for the Transkei "government's" budget came directly from the South African Treasury. By last year, the share had risen to 77%.
- \* The independent-state-to-be can provide jobs for fewer than 25% of its population of between 1.6 and 1.7 million.
- \* An estimated 353 000 of the men nominally resident in the Transkei work elsewhere as migrants, and make by far the largest contribution to the territory's income - around 70%.
- \* Although gross national income of the Transkei increased by nearly 350% between 1960 and 1973, gross domestic product has been steadily declining as a proportion thereof. In other words, the income generated within the Transkei itself is a declining proportion of the total income earned by Transkeians, including the 353 000 migrant workers.
- \* In 1960, income generated internally constituted 44% of total income, but in 1973 it accounted for only 26%. The implication is that the Transkei is becoming more and more dependent on the earnings of migrant workers.
- \* Over and above existing unemployment and underemployment, the labour supply in the Transkei was increasing between 1973 and 1975 by 25 430 each year. But the demand for labour in the Transkei and its periphery was increasing by only 3 930 a year. So each year 21 500 people come onto the labour market in the territory, but there are no jobs for them. So unless they are recruited under the migrant system for jobs in the "white" areas, they join the ranks of the unemployed. According to a government report, the Transkei is the "worst off" of all the Bantustans in the provision of employment opportunities.
- \* Because the savings generated in the Transkei itself are so small (a function of low wages, among other things), virtually all the capital needed for investment has to come from outside.
- \* The Transkei's economy is tiny and its people are very poor. In 1974, gross domestic product was R130 000 000, of which R55 000 000 was accounted for by the non-market sector, which includes subsistence agriculture. The R55 000 000 also includes an economic value put on the gathering of firewood, the brewing of beer for own consumption, and the fetching of water for household use, as well as the building of huts, together with an income imputed in respect of owner-occupied dwellings. In 1973, per capita income arising from economic activities within the Transkei was R4.50 a month; if the earnings of migrants are added on, per capita income was a mere R14 a month.

#### **Labour reservoir**

It is clear from the above that the Transkei is little more than a labour reservoir for the Republic, and destined to remain so for a very, very long time to come. The Transkei and the Republic are mutually dependent: the national income of the Transkei is becoming more and more dependent on money sent home by migrant workers, and the avoidance of even higher levels of unemployment than those already existing necessitates more and more people becoming migrant workers in the Republic. At the same time, the central economy relies very heavily on the Transkei and the other Bantustans for labour: they supply it with more than 1 200 000 migrants already. What is more, the central economy's dependence on Bantustan labour is increasing. Take one example: the gold mines. Two and a half years ago the President of Malawi stopped the Chamber of Mines from recruiting labour in his country. There were at one time about 120 000 Malawians on the mines, and as their contracts expired and they returned home, the mines had to look elsewhere for replacements, because the loss of the Malawians meant that the mines had only three-quarters of their underground manpower requirements.

The Chamber of Mines increased wages and mounted a big recruiting campaign in the Bantustans, which has succeeded in overcoming the shortage for the moment. The Transkei supplies more men to the mines than any other Bantustan, and the number of miners it supplies is increasing. In the period January to May

1975 37 000 miners were recruited there; in the corresponding period this year 54 000 were recruited, an increase of 47%.<sup>5</sup>

The number of miners from Mozambique is also declining. It has dropped from 105 000 at the beginning of the year to about 60 000, with the Chamber of Mines succeeding in recruiting from Mozambique only about a quarter of the 1975 intake. Uncertainly over the future supply of miners from Mozambique will further increase demand for men from other territories, including the Transkei.

The sugar plantations in Natal also rely heavily on the Transkei for workers. Currently about 115 000 men are employed on the plantations, most of them migrants from the Transkei.<sup>6</sup>

The question which arises from the interdependence of the central economy and the Bantustans (particularly the Transkei) is whether the former can afford to see the latter becoming economically developed enough to be able to provide jobs for all or most of the people who live in them. A decline in the number of migrants from the Transkei could have very serious effects on the central economy. Where would the mines and the sugar farmers, not to mention other industries, get their labour?

#### No recognition

In conclusion, I want to return to the citizenship question. With the Transkei becoming independent, pressure from Pretoria on the other Bantustans to follow suit is likely to increase. It seems clear that the Nationalists are going to leave no stone unturned in their desire to make each and every African a foreigner in the Republic. Mr. M. C. Botha has said, for example, that people acquiring

Bantustan citizenship will be given privileges in "White" areas. He has hinted that in future Bantustan citizenship will be a more important qualification for black people who stay in "white" areas than the existing "Section 10" rights under the pass laws.

Will all the other Bantustan leaders be able to resist pressures from Pretoria to opt for independence? One thing that is likely to discourage them from following Chief Matanzima's example is a refusal by the outside world to grant recognition to the Transkei.

As long ago as 1923, an African leader said of the racial division of the land in South Africa. "We have contributed to the progress and advancement of this country. We have sacrificed many lives in the mines, we have built this city, we have built the railways, and we claim that we should have a place in South Africa".

I believe we owe it to our Black fellow-citizens to support that claim, and to stop in its tracks this Machiavellian design to strip them of their citizenship. And one way in which we can help to do that is to call on the community of nations to refuse to grant international recognition to the Transkei.

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3. On the question of citizenship see Financial Mail 19 Dec 1975, 7 May, 21 May, 28 May, 4 June, 11 June, 18 June and 23 July 1976.
4. Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development (Bembo): Transkei Economic Review 1975, Pretoria; and Bembo: Black Development in South Africa, Pretoria, 1976.
5. Figures from the Chamber of Mines.
6. Financial Mail 1 October 1976.



## THE LAW OF IT

—John Dugard

Basically, the law fulfils four functions. First, it constructs a legal order based on racial discrimination and differentiation. Secondly . . . by legitimising discriminatory practices, it neutralises the immorality of such practices in the eyes of the majority of the White population who accept without question any rule which has been blessed by Parliament. Thirdly, those laws which institutionalise separate development provide a convenient facade for the outside world. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, the Transkei Constitution and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act are useful for foreign consumption as they adopt the rhetoric of self-determination and self-government without disclosing the realities of South African life. Legal tinsel is used to conceal the fact that most of the African population lives outside the homelands and cannot in fact participate in the homelands' political process; that the African people themselves have not been consulted about their future; and that self-determination inside or outside the homelands is meaningless while the harsh security laws remain in force. Fourthly, the drastic security laws . . . create a repressive atmosphere in which meaningful political debate and activity is stifled.

John Dugard,  
University of the Witwatersrand.

## Proclamation 400: Section II

"Any person who:

- (a) makes any statement, verbally or in writing, or does any act which is intended or is likely to have the effect of subverting, or interfering with the authority of the State, the Chief Native Commissioner, a Native Commissioner or any other officer in the employ of the State, or of any chief or headman;
  - (b) makes any statement, verbally or in writing, or does any act which consists of or contains any threat that any person will be subjected to any boycott, or will suffer any violence, loss, disadvantage or inconvenience in his person or property or in the person or property of any member of his family or household;
  - (c) organises or takes part in any organised boycott of any meeting convened by an officer of the State or by a chief or headman;
  - (d) organises, or takes part in any organised boycott against any person with the object of causing him loss, disadvantage or inconvenience in his person or property;
  - (e) being a native, refuses or neglects to obey any lawful order, including an order in accordance with native law and custom, issued by a chief or headman to whose authority he is subject;
  - (f) being a native, treats the chief or headman to whose authority he is subject with disrespect, contempt or ridicule, or fails or neglects to show that respect and obedience and to render such services to such chief or headman as should be shown or rendered in accordance with native law and custom;
- shall be guilty of an offence".

# THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SPEAKS ON THE TRANSKEI

On 26 October 1976 the South African Government intends to declare the Transkei "independent", the first of South Africa's Bantustans to be so designated. This would be the "national home" of all Xhosa-speaking Africans in the country, with the exception of those deemed to belong to the Ciskei Bantustan. The Transkei's present population of about 1.7 million people would in theory swell to around three million when all those obliged to assume its citizenship were included.

The concept which underlies the creation of the "independent" Transkei (and of the other nine Bantustans, each destined for eventual "independence") is based on the notion of supposed "tribal" or "national" identities which are racially determined. It creates artificial divisions within the African population and between them and other South Africans. It is rooted in the doctrine of apartheid. In theory and in practice the Bantustans encapsulate apartheid, and their recognition as "independent" entities would clear the way for the emergence of a South Africa with no black citizens at all.

a The South African Government is insisting that on "independence" all Transkeian citizens, many of whom were born in urban South Africa and have never seen the Transkei, shall surrender their South African citizenship and become citizens of the Transkei alone. They will thus be obliged to surrender against their will for all time any share in by far the greater part of the wealth which has been created through their labour and the space of their own country. Therefore, the political function of the "independent" Transkei would be to serve as the first of the enclaves within which the African people would be allowed in principle to exercise their civil rights on condition that they abandon their birthright.

The underdevelopment and overpopulation of the Transkei mean that it will be forced to continue to depend upon the evil system of migratory labour in order to avoid even more desperate poverty. This dependence dovetails neatly with the dependence of the white South African economy on an abundant supply of cheap black labour, and so the economic function of the "independent" Transkei would be to serve as a labour reservoir.

The Xhosa speaking people had expected to enjoy full political rights within South Africa. They oppose the exchange of their South African citizenship for citizenship of the Transkei. They had no say in the unilateral decision of the white Parliament to create the Bantustans and to deprive them of their rights as citizens of South Africa.

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, recalling that the WCC has on many occasions declared its opposition to apartheid and to racism as being contrary to the Gospel and incompatible with the nature of the Church of Christ and violating basic Human Rights, therefore

**condemns** the deceptive manoeuvre of the South African Government to perpetuate and consolidate apartheid by the creation of the so-called "independent" Transkei, by which these three million South Africans will be made foreigners in their own country;

**condemns** any other policy which would further isolate and divide the African population;

**calls on** member churches of the WCC to expose the evil of the Bantustan policy;

**recommends** in this connection to member churches for their

study and for further dissemination of information the booklet **South Africa's Bantustans: What Independence for the Transkei?**

**calls on** member churches to urge their Governments to oppose the Bantustan policy, to withhold recognition of the Transkei as an independent State and to have no direct or indirect diplomatic, commercial or other relations with the Transkei, or any other activity which could imply recognition; and

**expresses** its solidarity with and compassion for the Xhosa speaking people as they struggle for the legitimate rights of all Africans in South Africa.



## AND THESE WERE HIS WORDS

**Dr. W. M. Eiselen**, 'the utmost degree of autonomy in administrative matters which the Union Parliament is likely to be prepared to concede to these areas will stop short of actual surrender of sovereignty by the European trustees, and there is therefore no prospect of a federal system with eventual equality among members taking the place of the South African Commonwealth'.

**Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, 1961**, 'in the light of the pressure being exerted on South Africa the Government would create the Bantustans, a form of fragmentation which we would not have if we were able to avoid it, thereby buying the white man his freedom and the right to retain domination in what is his country'.

**Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, 1962**, 'This is not what we would have preferred to see. This is a form of fragmentation which we would rather not have had if it was within our control to avoid it... In the light of the forces to which South Africa is being subjected, there is, however, no doubt as to what must be done in the course of time'.

**Mr. J. B. Vorster, 1968**, 'The fact of the matter is this: we need them (the blacks), because they work for us... but the fact that they work for us can never... entitle them to claim political rights. Not now, nor in the future. It makes no difference whether they are here with any degree of permanent or not...'

**Mr. Botha, 1972**, '... if they think they can get more land than was allocated to the Bantu in the 1936 Act, by coupling it to independence, then they need not come and discuss it; they would be wasting their time and ours'.

**Mr. Botha, 1974**, 'we as the givers must determine what land should be given and it is not for those who receive to point out what land they should have'.

# THOSE IN AUTHORITY

—Rev. A. Thompson

*A sermon preached by the Revd A. Thompson in the Grahamstown Cathedral on Sunday 26 September 1976.*

A little while ago I read a short article in the newspaper giving details of two or three people who had been released from detention after a year in confinement. They had not been charged or tried before a court, merely detained and released at the discretion of the Minister of Justice.

The theme of our service is "Those in Authority", and I want to direct our thoughts to authority as exercised by Solomon, by Jesus Christ and by the State.

Let us take a look at Solomon in the Old Testament lesson. He acknowledged the qualities and attributes of his father, David, whom he said had walked before God in Loyalty, righteousness and integrity of heart.

Solomon, called to the throne in the footsteps of his father, recognised that his father had been blessed for his allegiance to God. Solomon also recognised his own inadequacies, for he was far from being a picture-card saint, and he asked God to bestow upon him the necessary gifts for the great task ahead of governing the people. "Give thy servant", he said in the dream, "a heart with skill to listen, so that he may govern thy people justly and distinguish good from evil." God granted King Solomon the wisdom he asked for, but in his aim to establish Israel as the mightiest of the nations he abused his God-given authority. In his programme of expansion he centralized power in the crown by taking away the last remnants of tribal independence. Equally oppressive was the forced labour he used in his vast building projects. Some 30,000 Israelites were conscripted and sent off to labour camps in one month out of three. 80,000 were made to work in the stone quarries. Solomon built his Temple and a great nation, but at a tremendous cost of life and liberty of exploited people. Thus the pent-up resentment of the people eventually exploded into revolution.

Authority is the right to command and to enforce obedience. And the authority of Solomon became an oppressive tool which forged this feeling of resentment. A people who are not shown justice and respect will reciprocate with disloyalty and a reluctance to co-operate. In fact, as we are all well aware, discrimination of any kind, whether it be race, religion, colour, culture, class, sex or age, contributes towards an apartness, a separation from the unity which Christ came to forge through his sacrifice on the Cross.

## JESUS CHRIST

What about the authority of Jesus Christ? Jesus, the anointed one, who was sent by God, was granted authority by God and represented the power of God. At the end of Matthew's Gospel, Jesus tells his disciples—"All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me." So Christ's words and works are of God because he was and is the Word of God. Jesus as such exerted this authority in the condemnation of the Pharisees, whose hypocrisy cut across the love demanded by him. His authority caused wonderment among the many who followed and thronged about him every day,

but it also silenced those who were sent to trick him. Jesus had the authority to teach, to heal, to forgive sins and to pass judgement, but the outstanding feature of his authority was the compassion and love with which this was exercised in his dealings with those searching for the truth. The authority of Christ called for obedience, but this he did not enforce. Because of the person whom he was, many followed and wanted to be obedient to his words.

## THE STATE

And what about the authority of the State, which claims to be divinely appointed? This authority has been vested in a body of men to ensure that the ideals of the section of the population who elected them are faithfully carried out. But the power of this authority conflicts with and cuts across the hopes and aspirations of many who are voteless. Solomon asked for a heart with skill to listen so that he would rule wisely. This listening process is absent from the authority of the State whose administration of the country has resulted in the present country-wide unrest. Where there is a refusal to listen to the word of God speaking through the needs of the community, authority is abused. It is easy to blame unruly elements who are taking full advantage of the deep-seated resentment welling up after many years of frustration. Unfortunately, this authority, which lacks love and understanding for the needs of a section of God's people, can only produce such tools as the S.S. Bill, which effectively eliminates any dissension, without any right to appeal, no right to bail, no right to know the charge, no right to legal representation or recourse to a court of law.

Paul in his first letter to Timothy writes "I urge that petitions, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings be offered for all men; for sovereigns, and all in high office that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in full observance of religion and high standards of morality."

And the Good News in Matthew tells us to keep on hammering on the door, to pray constantly for those in authority so that they may provide the necessary welfare for the building-up of the people of God, especially in our own country. We are requested by God to ask, seek and knock so that our prayers may avail and be instrumental in the necessary change of heart and mind which can bring peace to this part of God's vineyard.

The Good News is also that God in Jesus Christ has overcome the world and put all evil in subjection under him. He is in control of his creation and despite the worst that man can do in the irresponsible exercise of authority, the Kingdom of God will prevail in the hearts and minds of those who dedicate themselves to the Master, whose authority is supreme and to which the authority of man is subject.

So let us pray in faith for our Government that these people may allow themselves to be guided, motivated and inspired to step out in faith in the creation of a just Christian society. Amen.

Ruling Lessons:

1 Kings 3:5-15  
1 Tim.2:1-7  
St Luke 11:1-13

# TOWARDS A FAITH FOR A NEW SOCIETY

*SODEPAX (Committee on Society, Development, and Peace) is the Programme Unit jointly sponsored by the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church.*

*Its latest programme is entitled "In search of a new Society: Christian Participation in the Building of new Relations among peoples".*

*This subject leads directly to avenues of theological reflection which are vital.*

We must ask ourselves what new openings the search for a new international economic order provides for reflection in the fields of **theology and social ethics**. The churches have traditionally stressed concern for the poor, the downtrodden and the oppressed, in the name of Jesus Christ who loves those who suffer. The churches have endeavoured to express this "compassion" by giving help. As the gulf between rich and poor widens, and as the churches have begun to recognise the underlying power factor, it has become evident that the love Christ calls for, requires more than simply giving to the poor. One of the major obstacles to Christians, particularly those in the Western tradition, often lies in their individualistic theological outlook (personalized concepts of sin, salvation, love, etc.). This makes it difficult for them to think of communitarian forms of theology which could prepare the ground for a Christian understanding of a "new humanity" and a "new earth".

The theological traditions of monastic orders both in Catholicism and Orthodoxy and their insistence on a different life style could perhaps provide new insights to churches and Christians unacquainted with these forms of thought and existence. International cooperation and participation are not, as we have seen, primarily an economic, political and social issue, but a human and moral one. It is at this level that humanity must make the inevitable choices for its survival and the creation of a new world community. **We therefore suggest to the churches and ecumenical groups that they concentrate their thinking on how to arrive at a basic vision of faith rather than in particular theological interpretations. Without wishing to exclude any other topics, we suggest the study of the following areas of theological concern: (1) the struggle of the poor; (2) the power of Jesus Christ; and (3) a new creation: the Kingdom of God.**

## 1. The struggle of the poor

Throughout this reflection our attention has been drawn to the problem of the world's majority, the poor, dispossessed, voiceless and powerless. Both the Old and the New Testament reveal that the poor stand in God's special favour. Poverty is described in specific terms (the hungry, sick, naked, imprisoned, oppressed): that is, all those who have been dispossessed of their rightful heritage.

Paul VI speaks of this in **Populorum Progressio** (1967, I, 9): "There is also the scandal of glaring inequalities not merely in the enjoyment of possessions but even more in the exercise of power. While a small restricted group enjoys a refined civilization in certain regions, the remainder of the population, poor and scattered, is 'deprived of nearly all possibility of personal initiative and of responsibility, and often times even its living and working conditions are unworthy of the human person.' (Gaudium et Spes, n. 63, par. 3)."

The Synod of Bishops 1971 stated in **Justice in the World** (Introduction): "Listening to the cry of those who suffer violence and are oppressed by unjust systems and structures, and hearing the appeal of a world that by its perversity contradicts the plan of its Creator, we have shared our awareness of the Church's vocation to be present in the heart of the world by proclaiming the Good News to the poor, freedom to the oppressed, and joy to the afflicted."

The **Report of the Hearing on the Programme Unit Justice and Service** of the WCC Nairobi Assembly (1975) stated (par. B. 2): "The churches could be assisted to clarify their theological perception, organisation and ethos to manifest their solidarity with the suffering and oppressed. The poor who often form the large majority of the membership of the churches should become the main inspiration and controlling factor in shaping the thinking, organisation, life and mission of the churches. In turn, those churches, through the fellowship of the ecumenical movement, should become a means of inspiration and challenge to the rich churches."

**It is our task to translate biblical and theological understanding into our time and situation. How can we combine such insights with modern social and economic analysis? Who are the poor in a post-colonial, revolutionary, scientific era of growing economic and political interdependence? What is the meaning of the "the poor shall inherit the earth" today?**

## 2. The power of Jesus Christ

The power of Jesus Christ is the divine power which enables the poor "to become children of God". In **Octogesima Adveniens** 1971 (37) Paul VI says: "... the Spirit of the Lord, who animates man renewed in Christ, continually breaks down the horizons within which his understanding likes to find security and the limits to which his activity would willingly restrict itself; there dwells within him a power which urges him to go beyond every system and every ideology... animated by the power of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, and upheld by hope, the Christian involves himself in the building up of the human city, one that is to be peaceful, just and fraternal and acceptable as an offering to God (cf. Rom. 15, 16)".

In the statement **Justice in the World**, the Bishops' Synod (IV) declares: "The power of the Spirit, who raised Christ from the dead, is continuously at work in the world. Through the generous sons and daughters of the Church likewise, the People of God is present in the midst of the poor and of those who suffer oppression and persecution; it lives in its own flesh and its own heart the Passion of Christ and bears witness to his resurrection...".

Pursuing a similar line of thought, the **WCC Nairobi Assembly 1975** adopted the following text (Section VI, Sub-Section 3,1): "As Christians and churches we cannot speak about nor work for a new world order in the midst of situations of domination and structures of oppression without referring to the liberating power of Jesus Christ. He liberates us from sin, both personal and social. We recognize that the Gospel expresses this liberating strength. The prophetic word of YAHWEH drawing near to the humble, to the powerless, finds an echo in fundamental passages of the Gospel (cf. Lk. 4, 17, 21; Mt. 25, 31-46, etc.). The Gospel has been brought to the poor, to the powerless, to the oppressed, to the captives, to the sick. In the person of Jesus, Yahweh has put himself decidedly in the place of the poor. He has searched for those who are 'nothing' (cf. 1. Cor. 1, 26-31)".

**What is the meaning of this "power of Jesus Christ" for the poor in our surroundings? What does it mean for the churches' life, worship, educational and social work? What is the relation of the**



**power of Jesus to the new world order which we are seeking?**

### **3. A new creation: the Kingdom of God**

The radical transformation which is necessary for the creation of a new world community demands that we look again at what Scripture and church tradition mean by "a new earth and a new heaven", and by "writing the law into your hearts". Our vision of the Kingdom of God which concludes the course of human history can never be seen apart from our efforts to build a more just world society. The here and now holds signs of the promise and must therefore be taken most seriously.

Vatican II certainly had this kind of dual vision in mind when it wrote in the Constitution **Gaudium et Spes** (39): "Earthly progress must be carefully distinguished from the growth of Christ's kingdom. Nevertheless, to the extent that the former can contribute to the better ordering of human society, it is of vital concern to the kingdom of God. For after we have obeyed the Lord, and in His Spirit nurtured on earth the values of human dignity, brotherhood and freedom, and indeed all the good fruits of our nature and enterprise, we will find them again, but freed of stain, burnished and transfigured. This will be so when Christ hands over to the Father a kingdom eternal and universal: 'a kingdom of truth and life, of holiness and grace, of justice, love, and peace'. On this earth that kingdom is already present in mystery. When the Lord returns, it will be brought into full flower".

**Justice in the World** relates God's Kingdom, the new world order, to the aspirations of the poor, when it says (in Part IV):

"Hope in the coming kingdom is already beginning to take root in the hearts of men. The radical transformation of the world in the Paschal Mystery of the Lord gives full meaning to the efforts of men, and in particular of the young, to lessen injustice, violence and

hatred and to advance all together injustice, freedom, brotherhood and love".

"At the same time as it proclaims the Gospel of the Lord, its Redeemer and Saviour, the Church calls on all, especially the poor, the oppressed and the afflicted, to cooperate with God to bring about liberation from every sin and to build a world which will reach the fullness of creation only when it becomes the work of man for man".

Most important of all, the vision of the "Kingdom of God underway" gives humanity hope that an alternative pattern will emerge. The **Report** (Section VI, Introduction), adopted by the **WCC Nairobi Assembly, 1975** states:

"Christians must be prepared to help transform despair into hope and uncertainties into positive certainty, to point out courageously the many positive and unexpected opportunities for significant moves towards a more just order and conditions for a more helpful development process-- 'Faith gives the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen' (Heb. 11.1)".

**What we can already discern are some of the elements of which God's Kingdom is constituted:** love (against hatred), justice (against injustice, violence and oppression), unity (against division), stewardship (against reckless waste), etc. Scripture does not advocate a new set of rules, but a new attitude. This expresses itself in a new **life-style: in the consideration of the rights of one's neighbour, and in restricting our own claims to domination, an unfair share, or more than we really need, a new freedom** is found which brings forth a new creativity. This helps us, finally, to consider a fresh meaning of creation and redemption. We search for God's fundamental design, to arrive at a deeper discovery of other elements of God's Kingdom which are equally significant for a new world order.



#### **RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT THE END OF A CONSULTATION ON THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCHES IN THE CHANGING SWA/NAMIBIAN SITUATION, SWAKOPMUND, 4-6 SEPTEMBER, 1976**

(The consultation was jointly organised by the Christian Academy in Southern Africa and the Christian Centre in SWA/Namibia, and attended by just over 100 church people of various denominations.)

Having considered the Responsibility of the Churches in the changing South West African / Namibian situation we recommend for the consideration of our Churches:

#### **I Concerning Education:**

The present colonial education has failed to equip people to deal with their problems; the Churches should therefore promote formal and informal community-centred education which is relevant to the present and future needs of the country.

In view of the continuing disruptions at the South African tribal universities it will for some years to come be impossible for Namibian students to complete their studies; we therefore urgently call upon the Supporting Churches of the Christian Centre to provide an alternative in this country, in consultation with UNISA.

All Church schools must now be opened to all races.

#### **II Concerning the Socio-Political Involvement of the Churches:**

The Churches should, in opposition to government propaganda and actions, increase their efforts to bring

about unity between different tribes and races. In particular the Churches should at this time teach that God is the Father of all, and as all men are thus brothers, the word "baas" should no longer be used. New ventures or buildings should be undertaken by the Churches acting **together**. Youth conferences for young people of different races should be organised at local initiative.

The Churches should form trade unions and train leaders for these so that the workers can play their rightful role in the economy of the country. The Churches should demand the recognition of such trade union(s) by the government and business enterprises.

The Churches should denounce the legalised violence of the South African regime, commend disobedience to unjust laws as a Christian Action, and support genuine resistance movements which are working for a freer and more just Namibia.

The Churches should teach all parents, by way of preaching and parents' meetings, that young people have an obligation to be politically involved and aware, and to struggle for a more just society.

# TUT TUT, MR. BROWN

*This correspondence on the subject of Chaplains in the S.A. Defence Force began in the columns of DIMENSION, the Methodist Newspaper.*

*An open letter to Methodist Chaplains from Brian Brown, Minister, Civic Centre Methodist Church.*

Dear Brethren,

As pastor engaged in preparing young men for participation in the South African Defence Force, I would value your answers to the questions which follow. Your response will help me, and possibly other clergy, to determine to what degree one can encourage potential combatants to discuss these vital matters with their Methodist chaplains.

I have personally presented the questions to one of our senior chaplains and expressed my desire to publicise the answers so as to create as much awareness as possible.

- i Does the Methodist Church of South Africa and/or its Military chaplains believe that its members may participate as combatants in any war or only in a just war?
- ii Did the Angolan war, and, more specifically, the participation of the SADF in it meet the conditions of a just war?
- iii Did the Methodist chaplains inform the men under their pastoral care that the then relevant section 95(1) (a) of the Defence Force Act of 1957 allowed them to refuse to serve in Angola? If not, why not?
- iv Do our Methodist chaplains consider it essential to point out to the men under their care any differences between a war waged within our borders and a war on foreign soil?
- v Do the Methodist chaplains include the following topics in their pastoral teaching or in their preaching:
  - (a) the Church's teaching about a just war?
  - (b) the four Geneva Conventions of 1949?
  - (c) the International Committee of the Red Cross Draft Rules for the Limitations of the Dangers incurred by the Civilian Population in Time of War?

Johannesburg.

*Reply from F. C. Louw, Superintendent, S.A. Defence Force Circuit.*

Dear Sir,

I write on behalf of the eight Methodist Ministers serving as Chaplains in the S.A. Defence Force in reply to the Rev. Brian Brown's "Open letter to Methodist Chaplains" printed in September's issue of Dimension.

We confess that we find parts of Mr. Brown's letter a little confusing and unhappily there are questions in our minds as to his real motives for writing an open letter of this nature.

On the face of it, then, Mr. Brown writes in order to elicit information to assist him in the future counselling of the young men of his congregation who in due course will be called up for National Service. We cannot help wondering when Mr. Brown is going to do this kind of counselling as we learn, on reliable authority, that it is

his intention to vacate the pastoral office at the end of this year by requesting Conference to grant him a year's leave of absence from Circuit work. It seems to us therefore that as there are only three months left, in this year in which to carry out this important work of counselling "potential combatants" we suggest that Mr. Brown might well just leave the matter where it is for the time being and take it up seriously again if or when he returns to the pastoral ministry.

However, looking again at this first paragraph, we find it difficult to understand the following extraordinary statement:

"Your response will help me and possibly other clergy to determine to what degree one can encourage potential combatants to discuss these vital matters with their Methodist Chaplains."

We may be wrong but frankly in all charity the only interpretation that we can give to these words is that Mr. Brown is in fact wanting to place the Chaplains in the position of a kind of public trial at which he and others who share his views will be the self-appointed judges. Presumably, if the Chaplain's replies to his questions are acceptable to him and fit in with his particular point of view, he will then feel that he may freely counsel young men to discuss these issues with the Chaplains. If our replies do not meet with Mr. Brown's approval and reflect opinions at variance with his own, then apparently he will warn young men to steer clear of the Chaplains. If this is a correct interpretation of Mr. Brown's motives for writing then we must dismiss his letter as being distastefully impertinent.

We should like to draw Mr. Brown's attention to the fact that should he or anyone else have doubts concerning the loyalty of Chaplains to the Methodist Church, or should there be any suggestion of failure on their part to faithfully represent the point-of-view of Methodism in the S.A. Defence Force, there is an accepted usage in our Church whereby the necessary enquiries can be instituted and the matter satisfactorily investigated in the presence of their brethren.

In regard to the questions posed by Mr. Brown, we have no intention of permitting ourselves to be drawn into a public debate in them. Some of his questions deal with issues about which Christians have been, and still are, sharply divided in their opinions. No doubt Mr. Brown has his personal convictions concerning such issues and certainly individual Chaplains have their own opinions. In view of the fact that every Chaplain's address is listed in the Minutes of Conference, if Mr. Brown is genuinely concerned to discover how a particular Chaplain's views relate to his own, or if he wishes to elicit information regarding his work as a Chaplain, we would suggest to him in all brotherliness that the courteous approach might be to address himself personally to the Chaplain concerned rather than resorting to an Open Letter which has all the appearance of trying to put the Chaplains on the spot.

Voortrekkerhoogte.

- *Comment is superfluous.*

## STOP PRESS

**As we go to Press, we hear that this correspondence has resulted in new initiatives which will be reported in our next issue.**

# THE BOSTON AFFIRMATIONS

*On Epiphany, January 6, an interdisciplinary interfaith gathering of theologians, laypeople and pastors who had been working together, under the auspices of the Boston Industrial Mission, to discuss current trends in the church and in religious thought issued a statement intended to serve as a "brief theological summary of the main themes of the Judeo-Christian tradition which could identify the relation of those themes to the contemporary situation." In working out the "Boston*

*Affirmations" the group intentionally chose social metaphors, not only because they felt such terms are the "most faithful way of stating the central meaning of the heritage" but also because they believed "the mood of much contemporary piety specifically ignores the social implications of the faith."*

*The statement has been widely reported in the U.S. press and has provoked lively discussion. We print it here together with an introductory comment by Harvey Cox, a Contributing Editor and one of the signers of the Affirmations.*

Why, in heaven's name, in an age of hunger and terrorism should anyone sit around and compose a theological statement? Why waste time with words when what is needed are actions? These questions seem more vexing on first sight than they actually turn out to be. The undeniable verdict of history is that words *are* actions, and that declarations, manifestos and theses have always played a critical role in both religious and secular history. The Nicene Creed, the Magna Carta, the Ninety-Five Theses, the Mayflower Compact, the "Social Creed" of the old Federal Council of Churches, *Gaudium et Spes*, and the Latin American Bishops' Pastoral issued after their historic Medellin meeting — these are only a few of the "words" which have incited uprisings, focused action and provided the impetus for significant historical movements.

Those of us who worked for several months to produce the Boston Affirmations do not really think it will one day rank with the Nicene Creed. We do believe, however, that at this critical moment in history it is a desperately needed statement. Action without theological reflection becomes episodic and desultory; theological reflection without action becomes vapid and ethereal. The document itself is intended to stimulate study, discussion and action. It is more of a prod than a pronouncement, and we who wrote it are eager to hear from other groups whose reflections have carried them in different directions.

Our group did not originally assemble to construct a statement. We came together to compare ideas and experiences on the work we were doing — in pastoring, community organization, political action, teaching.

It soon became evident that we should forge a statement of our own.

The Boston Affirmations differs from some of the other documents we looked at in some important respects. First, it was not put together in an intensive three-day conference, but over many months of laborious drafting and constant revision. Second, most of its writers already had known each other and worked together on various action projects — successful and unsuccessful; so the statement is much more of a "reflection on action" than the others. Most important, between each of the succeeding drafts task force members tried the statement out on action groups, ministerial associations, classes and study circles. In its present form it represents feedback from literally hundreds of people.

The Boston Affirmations is a "consensus document". At various points in its preparation one or another of us would disagree with a formulation the others accepted, but we stayed

with the group, realizing that no one would be completely satisfied with every word (which was also obviously true of the Nicene creed). There will be no minority reports.

The document was formally issued on Epiphany 1976, that day when Christians traditionally celebrate the Light which the darkness of sin and bondage can never overcome. We who chiseled out this statement are grateful for the way it brought us together as fellow labourers, and for the renewed assurance our common struggling with the faith has produced — namely that God remains alive and well and active in the strivings for justice which so upset the comfortable, and that our often confused and ineffectual attempt to bring the good news of liberation to the poor is not a sidetrack but a clear expression of the Gospel message itself.

— Harvey Cox

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The living God is active in current struggles to bring a Reign of Justice, Righteousness, Love and Peace. The Judeo-Christian traditions are pertinent to the dilemmas of our world. All believers are called to preach the good news to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. Yet we are concerned about what we discern to be present trends in our churches, in religious thought and in our society. We see struggles in every arena of human life, but in too many parts of the church and theology we find retreat from these struggles. Still, we are not without hope nor warrants for our hope. Hopeful participation in these struggles is at once action in faith, the primary occasion for personal spiritual growth, the development of viable structures for the common life, and the vocation of the people of God. To sustain such participation we have searched the past and the present to find the signs of God's future and of ours. Thus, we make the following Affirmations:

*Creation: God brings into being all resources, all life, all genuine meanings. Humanity is of one source and is not ultimately governed by nature or history, by the fabric of societies or the depths of the self, by knowledge or belief. God's triune activity sustains creative order, evokes personal identity, and is embodied in the dynamic movements of human history in an ever more inclusive community of persons responsibly engaged in all aspects of the ecosphere, history and thought.*

*Fall: Humanity is estranged from the source of life. We try to ignore or transcend the source and end of life. Or we try to*

place God in a transcendent realm divorced from life. Thereby we give license to domination, indulgence, pretense, triviality and evasion. We endanger creative order, we destroy personal identity, and we corrupt inspired communities. We allow tyranny, anarchy and death to dominate the gift of life.

*Exodus and Covenant: God delivers from oppression and chaos. God chooses strangers, servants, and outcasts to be witnesses and to become a community of righteousness and mercy.* Beyond domination and conflict God hears the cry of the oppressed and works vindication for all. God forms "nobodies" into a people of "somebodies," and makes known the laws of life. The liberation experience calls forth celebrative response, demands responsibility in community, and opens people and nations for a common global history.

*Prophecy: In compassion God speaks to the human community through prophets.* Those who authentically represent God have interpreted — and will interpret — the activity of God in social history. They announce the presence of God in the midst of political and economic life; they foretell the judgment and hope that are implicit in the loyalties and practices of the common life; and they set forth the vision of covenantal renewal.

*Wisdom: The cultural insights and memories of many people and ages illuminate the human condition.* The experience and lore of all cultures and groups bear within them values that are of wider meaning. Racism, genocide, imperialism, sexism are thus contrary to God's purposes and impoverish us all. Yet all wisdom must also be tested for its capacity to reveal the human dependence on the source of life, to grasp the depths of sin, to liberate, to evoke prophecy and to form genuine covenant.

*The New Covenant: God is known to us in Jesus Christ.* The source and end of life is disclosed in that suffering love which breaks the power of sin and death, which renders hope in the action of God to reconcile and transform the world, which shatters the barriers of ethnic, class, familial, national and caste restrictions. Meaning and divine activity are incarnate in history and human particularity.

*Church Traditions: God calls those who trust the power of suffering love to form into communities of celebration, care and involvement.* Those called together enact renewing forms of association and movement to the ends of the earth, responding by word and deed to the implications of faith for each age and for us today:

— The early Eastern church celebrated the dependence of humanity upon the cosmos, and of the cosmos upon God, demanding a sacramental attitude toward the whole of creation.

— The Formers of doctrine set forth the meanings of faith in the face of cultured despisers, exposed the frail foundations of various secularisms, and gave new directions to both the faithful and civilization.

— The Monastics assumed vows to exemplify life styles beyond preoccupation with gain, freedom from familial and sexual stereotyping, and disciplined lives of service.

— The Scholastics engaged secular culture, demanding of each generation critical and synthetic reappropriation of tradition.

— The Sectarians nurtured the spirit that cannot be contained by priesthood, dogma, hierarchy, authoritative word or any established power, and demanded democracy, freedom, toleration and the redistribution of authority, power and wealth.

And today many reach out for wider fellowships, demanding ecumenical engagements and a witness which frees and unites.

Wherever the heirs of these movements are authentic, they confess their sins, worship the power that sustains them, form

a company of the committed, and struggle for justice and love against the powers and principalities of evil.

*Present Witnesses: The question today is whether the heritage of this past can be sustained, preserved and extended into the future. Society as presently structured, piety as presently practiced, and the churches as presently preoccupied evoke profound doubts about the prospects. Yet we are surrounded by a cloud of witnesses who prophetically exemplify or discern the activity of God. The transforming reality of God's reign is found today:*

— In the struggles of the poor to gain a share of the world's wealth, to become creative participants in the common economic life, and to move our world toward an economic democracy of equity and accountability.

— In the transforming drive for ethnic dignity against the persistent racism of human hearts and social institutions.

— In the endeavour by women to overcome sexist subordination in the church's ministry, in society at large, and in the images that bind our minds and bodies.

— In the attempts within families to overcome prideful domination and degrading passivity, and to establish genuine covenants of mutuality and joyous fidelity.

— In the efforts by many groups to develop for modern humanity a love for its cities as centres of civility, culture and human interdependence.

— In the demands of the sick and the elderly for inexpensive, accessible health care administered with concern, advised consent and sensitivity.

— In the voices of citizens and political leaders who demand honesty and openness, who challenge the misplaced trust of the nation in might, and who resist the temptations to make a nation and its institutions objects of religious loyalty.

— In the research of science when it warns of dangers to humanity and quests for those forms of technology which can sustain human well-being and preserve ecological resources.

— In the humanities and social sciences when the depths of human meanings are opened to inquiry and are allowed to open our horizons, especially whenever there is protest against the subordination of religion to scientific rationality or against (its) removal from realms of rational discourse.

— In the arts where beauty and meaning are explored, lifted up and represented in ways that call us to deeper sensibilities.

— In the halls of justice when righteousness is touched with mercy, when the prisoner and the wrongdoer are treated with dignity and fairness.

— And especially in those branches and divisions of the church where the truth is spoken in love, where transforming social commitments are nurtured and persons are brought to informed conviction, where piety is renewed and recast in concert with the heritage, and where such struggles as those here identified are seen as the action of the living God who alone is worshiped.

On these grounds, we cannot stand with those secular cynics and religious spiritualisers who see in such witnesses no theology, no eschatological urgency, and no Godly promise or judgment. In such spiritual blindness, secular or religious, the world as God's creation is abandoned, sin rules, liberation is frustrated, covenant is broken, prophecy is stilled, wisdom is betrayed, suffering love is transformed into triviality, and the church is transmuted into a club for self- or transcendental awareness. The struggle is now joined for the future of faith and the common life. We call all who believe in the living God to affirm, to sustain and to extend these witnesses.

— *Christianity and Crisis*



### Annual Meetings

The annual meetings of the Christian Institute were held this year in Pietermaritzburg, with Board Members arriving from all over the country, and plenty of local people coming in for the public meeting at Edendale Lay Training Centre.

### New Board—New Name—New Council

The National Council (formerly Board of Management) for the next two years has several changes and is as follows:

#### Elected members:-

Dr. Manas Buthelezi	Johannesburg
Ds. Theo Matshaeni	Louis Trichardt
Mr. Rory Short	Johannesburg
Rev. Wesley Mabuza	Cape Town
Mr. James Moulder	Grahamstown
Dr. Margaret Nash	Cape Town
Rev. James Polley	Cape Town
Rev. Chris Wessells	Port Elizabeth
Mr. Eric Gumbi	Durban
Mr. Siphwe Madondo	Durban

#### Coopted Members

Rev. Brian Brown	Johannesburg (Chairman)
Ds. Allan Boesak	Cape Town
Fr. John Ngubane	Pietermaritzburg
Rev. David Nkwe	Johannesburg
Rev. Rob Robertson	Johannesburg
Mrs. Vesta Smith	Johannesburg
Ds. Elia Tema	Johannesburg
Rev. Dr. Charles Villa-Vicencio	Cape Town

The following Executive Staff members also attend the Council meetings in a consultative capacity:-

Dr. C. F. Beyers Naude	National Director
Dr. Theo Kotze	Cape Region Director
Mrs. Oshadi Phakathi	Transvaal Region Director
—	Natal Region Director
Rev. Mashwabada Mayatula	Field Worker
Mrs. I. Naude	Christian Fellowship Trust
Mr. Cedric Mayson	Pro Veritate (Secretary)
—	Finance Committee (Treasurer)

#### New Constitution

Because it is a living and moving organisation the Christian Institute has changed and developed in its short life, and a new Constitution was deemed necessary. Thanks to some hard work in the Cape Region the draft was prepared, and has now been amended, finalised, voted in, and acted upon.

The first five sections, printed in this newsletter, are an important restatement of our aim, basis, membership, and functions. There is a more precise definition of our present role, of our relationship to the church, and of our membership which is open to anyone who supports our aims.

The Institute is clearly seen as having a Christian role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa, and seeking to fulfil this in the life and witness of its members. The structures have been opened up to provide for members to take the initiative at regional and local levels to continue and develop the work of C.I.

#### Staffing problems and members response

We have been hard hit by staffing problems in recent months. Mr. Cosmas Desmond has resigned as Regional Director in Natal and no replacement is available at the moment. In the Cape, Tony Saddington is leaving to work with another organisation. In Johannesburg, Horst Kleinschmidt, the Director's assistant left the country and has not yet been replaced. Oshadi Jane Phakathi has been interned under the Internal Security Act since August 24th for an unknown period. A heavy burden thus falls on those who are left - particularly Beyers Naude and Cedric Mayson, but upon the whole Johannesburg staff and the Transvaal Committee.

Now is the time for the initiative and commitment of the members of the Christian Institute to be proven, and for the regional committees to come into their own.



- Readers of PRO VERITATE who are desirous of being linked more closely with the work of the CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE may contact any of the following:

**Oshadi Phakathi**  
P.O. Box 31134,  
Braamfontein,  
2017  
TRANSVAAL

**Theo Kotze**  
1 Long Street,  
Mowbray,  
7700  
CAPE PROVINCE

**Regional Secretary**  
250 Boom Street,  
Pietermaritzburg,  
3201  
NATAL

**Horst Kleinschmidt**  
P.O. Box 13077,  
UTRECHT,  
Holland.

# THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE RESOLVES . . .

## THE STATE OF THE NATION

A whole generation has passed since apartheid was introduced as the political system which would solve our country's problems, but current events demonstrate conclusively that apartheid has utterly failed.

For months we have lived in a state of continual disturbance, with thousands who have been detained, injured or killed. Peaceful demonstrations have been broken up by brutal para-military police violence which has provoked strong widespread and sustained reaction.

The authentic leaders of the majority of the people have been forcibly removed by the Government to make concessions to Blacks (African, Coloured and Indian) people are an affront to those who want justice not charity, and adult human freedom - not paternalistic patronage.

The white population appears to have submitted to Government indoctrination and to be quite oblivious either of the violent, totalitarian and vicious nature of the regime they support or of the strength and gravity of the black rejection. Most whites are apparently content to set their ideals aside for fear of ostracism or punishment, and to follow blindly a Government which is so out of touch with the reality of Black feeling or, if not, so feaful of losing votes, that the Prime Minister continues to insist there is no crisis.

We believe that a new stage of the struggle between apartheid and liberation has now been joined, which will continue until the liberation of black and white South Africans is won. We are therefore compelled to draw attention to the realities in the situation whereby free speech may be judged treasonable, religious expression may be dubbed communist, and innocent men and women smeared and condemned without trial.

In obedience to the will of God as we understand it, and conscious both of our fallibility and of Christ's call to follow him and his kingdom, the Board of Management of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa

- calls upon the Government to give way to a National Convention representative of all peoples of South Africa, including those detained or in exile;
  - deplores the obduracy of the Government in failing to recognise that its policy is contrary to Christian principles and is only being maintained by physical, institutional, and psychological violence;
  - expresses its identification with and pledges its support for the oppressed people of our land in their struggle for liberation; regrets that not enough people have the courage or conviction to be engaged in that struggle;
  - sympathises deeply with all who are bereaved, injured, or still seeking to ascertain the fate of their missing relatives;
  - profoundly respects those men who find it against their conscience to play any part in the Defence Force or S.A. Police when called upon to use arms in the repugnant and ungodly task of suppressing the Government's opponents;
  - supports the goals of the Black political movements (e.g. the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, the S.A. Students Organisation, the Black Peoples Convention and S.A. Students Movement) consonant with Biblical values of justice, freedom, and human responsibilities;
  - reaffirms its support for all peaceful efforts to bring change, including work stayaways, economic sanctions, and the discouragement of immigration;
  - recognises the right of the oppressed to seek freedom for themselves and their oppressors;
- challenges the Government to put those who are detained on trial in open court;
- and finally, bids all who are involved in the struggle to be of good cheer, for whatever evils may fall upon us on the way, we shall overcome, we shall overcome, in Him who said "Do not be afraid: I have overcome the world."

## THE TRANSKEI

CONVINCED that history will judge the Homelands policy of the South African Government to be a sham and a fraud designed to perpetuate white domination over the country as a whole, and to provide a pretext for arbitrarily depriving millions of black South Africans of their natural birthright of citizenship in a country whose wealth they have played a major part in creating; and

NOTING that Paramount Chief Matanzima and his government have cynically disregarded the processes of democracy and justice, in particular through the detention of the leadership of the opposition Democratic Party shortly before the pre-independence general election; and

AGREEING with the criticisms voiced by many black groups including most of the leaders of the other 'homelands';

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa

EXPRESSES its deep sympathy with those who are detained, and their families, and with those who are to be summarily deprived of their South African citizenship;

LOOKS to those changes in the future which will enable the reunification of the country to occur, and permit the people of the Transkei to resume their rightful place as fellow-citizens of all who dwell in this sub-continent; and

CALLS on the outside world to withhold recognition from the Transkei after it achieves "independence" on October 26, 1976.

## DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

The South African Government which professes loyalty to the Judeo-Christian tradition is detaining hundreds of men, women and children whose only crime is to seek normal human freedom.

In condemning the continuation of detention without trial, members of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa—

1. protest, in particular, against the detention of members of the C.I., including our Transvaal Regional Director, Oshadi Phakathi, and Field Worker, Mashwabada Mayatula, and their minor children; and Rev. C. Wessells, and Vesta Smith of our Board of Management.
2. express our deepest sympathy to all detainees and their families;
3. dedicate ourselves to follow him who came to proclaim release for captives and recovery of sight to the blind, and to let the down-trodden go free;
4. and call upon all the people of South Africa not to rest until the country is cleansed of the wicked ways to which it has become accustomed, and can once more distinguish between right and wrong.

Pietermaritzburg,  
September 18, 1976.

### THE ECONOMIC POWER OF THE OPPRESSED

Nothing can stop liberation in South Africa, but the Government intends to try and enforce apartheid at all costs. The major lever in the hands of the oppressed people under these conditions is the economic power of their labour.

The economy will not be able to stand urban industrial pressure. This will hasten the acceptance of the necessity of change in accordance with legitimate black aspirations, before the situation erupts into a violent conflict of uncontrollable proportions.

We therefore support the oppressed in their struggle for peaceful social change through the voluntary of their labour.

We call upon all our membership to consider in depth how they can concretely support this in their daily lives.

### MAPETLA MOHAPI

All those who knew Mr Mapetla Mohapi admired him as a person of integrity and conscience with a balanced outlook. He was one of the really outstanding Black leaders. Furthermore he had a lovely young wife and children to whom he was deeply attached.

I find it difficult to believe that he could have taken his own life. If this is indeed what happened, then we must all condemn the monstrous system which allows people at the will of one man to be cast into this frightful darkness of isolation and terror.

Mr Mohapi is the 24th political detainee to die while held incommunicado in police custody. His death will create yet another martyr in the struggle of the oppressed Black people for liberation. This has happened at a time when the eyes of the world are focussed on South Africa and when the whole country is experiencing the harvest of bitterness and desperation sown by the seeds of crass stupidity and the ruthless application of brutal laws.

I call upon the Prime Minister to tell the country that the physical safety of all those in detention without recourse to the courts is assured.

—*Theo Kotze in the Cape Times.*

*August 9th 1976.*

### STATEMENT BY THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, AUGUST 13TH, 1976

The constant stream of stories reaching this office of police action against innocent persons is reaching epidemic proportions. Many of these are well authenticated such as the arrest "by mistake" of our Board Member, Dr Manas Buthelezi and his subsequent release. We wonder how much suffering is being caused by such "mistakes"?

Stories abound of beatings, harassments and rough treatment against innocent uncharged people.

We reiterate our condemnations of such unwarranted police harassments, intimidation and senseless brutality. It is our conviction that the appalling image which the South African police and government now have in the minds of 20-million Black people can never be improved until a National Convention is called at which all the representatives of the people — including those in jail and those in exile — are invited to assist in designing a new way of life for our society.

At the end of October the Cape staff will be reduced to seven people. Tony Saddington who has served us for nearly five years will be leaving to take up an appointment with the National Youth Leaders' Training Programme in Durban. His wife Di, who has helped a great deal in the office will naturally be leaving with him. No decisions have been taken to replace Tony Saddington but it is hoped to appoint a Black Field Worker.

The Ecumenical Centre in Mowbray has in recent months become a focus of concern in terms of the tragic events which overwhelmed the Cape townships. The Christian Institute, the Black Sash, Dependants Conference, the Institute of Race Relations, the churches Urban Training Commission and others were convened in a meeting called by the Cape director of the C.I. to look into the whole matter of what needed to be done to respond to the crisis in the Western Cape. It was decided to make the Dependants Conference the channel through which all could operate.

Funeral expenses are being paid for all those who died as a result of the disturbances, provision is being made for a payment of R160 in each case and this payment applies retrospectively; legal advice is being provided by a panel of lawyers; bail is being paid for those who have been unjustly imprisoned; and a panel of doctors has been drawn up to provide free medical attention to all those injured or wounded during this time or in the future. Much information has been collated and provided to the press.

The Reconciliation Courses continue and become more relevant as time goes by. The last course was conducted by Tony Saddington and Theo Kotze in Kimberley in July and there was a follow-up two weeks later well attended by a great majority of Black people.

### TRANSKEI COUNCIL OF CHURCHES EXPRESSES ITS MIND ON DETENTIONS

The annual general meeting of the Transkei Council of Churches meeting on the 9th August 1976, under the cloud of detentions that have become the order of the day, resolved as follows:

"This annual general meeting of the Transkei Council of Churches expresses its deep concern at the number of people in South Africa, including the Homelands, who are in detention and have not been brought to trial or found guilty of any crime. The meeting further notes that a number of such people have died while still in detention.

The detention of such people, without being brought to court within reasonable time after their arrest, alienates the sympathy of both the Government supporters and its opposition alike. As Christians, therefore, we plead with the Government either to have such detainees tried before a court of Law as soon as possible, or to release them to save the families from pain and suffering.

In our judgement, this detention of people without trial is one of the most painful and chief obstacles to reconciliation and to good race relationships in our country."

The mover of the motion, Rev. T. Mbabane of the Methodist Connexional Lay Training Centre — Umtata, contended that the detentions, whether in the Transkei or outside the Transkei were a direct concern of Christians and all those who love justice in this country. Even after the excision of the Transkei from the rest of South Africa, the Christians will continue to belong to one community and the whole of South Africa including the Transkei will remain one unit. What is happening throughout South Africa cannot be isolated. Therefore we should address ourselves to the issue of detentions not as people in the Transkei but as Christians in South Africa.

# THE DIRECTORS REPORT

For many years the Christian Institute has been one of a small number of bodies warning against the inevitability of a violent racial conflict emerging in our midst as a result of the continued implementation of the policy of separate development. The past year has seen the tragic and dangerous fulfilment of these warnings and it is against the background of the crisis of this growing conflict that this report is being presented clearly reflecting how deeply it is affecting our present and future position.

## 1. A Year of "Affected" Life:

A new era of our existence was forced upon us when on Friday, May 30, 1975, the Minister of Justice declared us an "affected organisation" thus depriving us of any future financial support from outside South Africa. Financially this decree forced us to reduce our annual budget of approximately R200 000,00 by 60 000,00 in addition to a substantial retrenchment of our staff to meet this reduction. Of necessity this has led to the curtailment of a number of programmes and projects which the Christian Institute had formerly sponsored or undertaken—especially in the sphere of Black community development. Fortunately a number of these programmes could be taken over by the bodies involved or by other organisations, thus limiting the harmful effect which this action would otherwise have had on our Christian witness to and involvement in the area of community development.

Strategically this government action has forced us to evaluate critically every activity of our Institute and to redetermine a priority of goals and aims. In September 1975 our Board of Management laid down the direction for the future by clearly stating that the immediate goal of the C.I. would be focussed on liberation—not only in the political but in the full human sense of the word, thereby including in principle every area of our life and activity in South Africa. This decision was heartily welcomed by our Black Christian community but we also encountered a measure of criticism from some of our White membership—largely due to the uncertainty and confusion in their minds of the nature of the process of liberation and the criteria of Christian involvement. Our Board of Management, in taking this decision, was fully aware of the possible consequences this might have—including the possibility of diminished financial support from the White community as a whole, but felt very strongly that this was an act of obedience to the demands of the Gospel and that we had no choice as Christians but to do so.

Our "affected" life has thus become infused with a new clarity of insight, a hopefully deeper Christian commitment to the cause of liberation and a growing experience of facing joyfully greater sacrifice of ourselves for the sake of Christ and His Kingdom.

## 2. Fellowship with the Universal Church:

The interest and concern of churches, ecumenical and secular bodies as well as of individual Christians around the world in the Christian Institute as an organisation has continued to grow during the last year. In addition to a constant stream of letters and visitors from overseas we are aware of a number of resolutions of influential churches and organisations (both ecumenical and secular), which express solidarity with and moral support of the C.I. The appointment of Horst Kleinschmidt as the official representative of the C.I. in Europe has substantially widened the sphere of our witness, especially in church circles, and we are convinced that this will lead to a greater awareness and involvement of Christians around the world in the struggle for liberation and reconciliation being waged in South Africa. It is of vital importance that a truly Christian presence, an active Christian participation with a strong Christian leadership (where possible) should be a distinguishing feature of the liberation movement in South Africa. Only thus could the Christian Church hope to gain and maintain credibility for its future role in the post-liberation era.

## 3. Relationship with the Family of N.G. Churches:

A series of important events within the circle of the Dutch Reformed Churches (both N.G. and Gereformeerde) have taken place during the last year. First of all there was the serious tension which arose between the N.G. Kerk (White) and the Gereformeerde Kerk in South Africa on the one hand and the Gereformeerde Kerke of the Netherlands (GKN) on the other hand regarding the support of the GKN to the PCR-fund of the W.C.C. with the three Black N.G. Kerke insisting that they would not be prepared to support the ultimatum of the White N.G.K. to break relationships with the GKN unless it could be proved that the Special Fund of the PCR was in fact supporting violence.

Next came the Reformed Ecumenical Synod in Cape Town this year which coincided with the outbreak of serious racial disturbances in Cape Town which deeply affected the Coloured community and led to an unequivocal rejection of the whole policy of separate development in statements by the leadership of the three Black N.G. Churches with the White NGK stubbornly continuing to justify or condone Government policy. Although the Christian Institute was not officially involved in any of the synod meetings where these issues were discussed it is clear that the leadership of the three Black N.G. Churches has thus on their own expressed Christian convictions which are consistent with the theological stand which the Christian Institute has taken all these years. We have never tried to hide the fact that we have shared our Biblical insight with the clergy and laity of these three churches whenever requested by them to do so.

The tragedy of the self-imposed isolation of the White NGK should now be apparent to all—an isolation which is moving into a decisive stage where the NGK's largely uncritical acceptance and support of the racial policies of the Government has led to its open rejection, not only by the vast majority of the Black community, but also by its own "daughter" churches.

## 4. Regional Development and Activities:

The recent amendment to our Constitution, if adopted, will grant greater initiative and responsibility to the Christian Institute on regional and local level with hopefully more active participation on the part of our membership in every region. The reports of regional activities over the past year have also reflected, despite many setbacks, the meaningful involvement of our executive staff and field workers in a number of projects promoting Black initiatives as well as better understanding between White and Black. In this regard I especially wish to mention the leadership role of June Chabaku and Lindy Myeza in the International Women's Year (1975), Oshadi Phakathi's leadership in the YWCA (World Affiliated), Sebata Kgomo and other projects, Theo Kotze's and Tony Saddington's reconciliation courses in the Cape, Namibia and Natal, Brian Brown's active participation in Diakonia and other projects in Natal (with Cosmas Desmond taking over from the beginning of April), Mashwabada Mayathula's participation in the establishment of Iziko la Makrestu, and Lucas Mabusela's and Cedric Mayson's active involvement in meetings organised with Transvaal members and groups.

## 5. Financial Needs for 1976 and 1977:

Members will recollect that, owing to the fact of our books having been confiscated by the Schibusch Commission, it was not possible to present the audited statements of the C.I. for the financial years January 1973 to December 1974. We are grateful to present these reports at our current Annual General Meeting as well as the audited statements for the period January to May 1975 and the new financial year June 1975 to May 1976 (as prescribed by the Registered of Affected Organisations). The statements of 1976 reflect the fact that we were able to ensure the necessary income required for this year but we are also acutely aware of the fact that this was, to an extensive measure, achieved because of the repayment of housing and other loans—a source of income which will not again be available for 1977. Of our 1977 budget of R144 000



only R40 000 has been reasonably ensured up till now so that we need to raise R100 000 if we wish to maintain our present level of activity.

## 6. The Current Crisis:

Amidst the confusion ranging in many White minds regarding the current crisis in our country, it could be helpful to present our understanding of the nature of this crisis and of the serious implications it has for our country, for the Church and for the Christian faith as a whole.

*Firstly*, it is apparent that there seems to be a serious (if not total) inability or unwillingness on the part of the majority of Whites in our country to recognise the true nature of this crisis—namely a concerted demand by Blacks for full human recognition, for meaningful political participation, for equitable sharing of wealth and ownership of property, and for equal opportunities regardless of colour or race. The response of the White community in general, and of the Prime Minister and the National Party in particular, is a clear indication of a serious and dangerous lack of understanding of what in fact is at stake.

*Secondly*, it is apparent that there is a tragic lack of understanding of the real nature of Black Consciousness and Black Theology and the important difference between Black consciousness, Black militancy and Black power. In uncritically banding all these concepts together and presenting them as a unified, fearful Black Power threat to White security, all legitimate Black aspirations are being distorted to be seen as dangerous, racist and even subversive. Is it any wonder that even the most moderate politically conscious Blacks are despairing of convincing the Whites of the legitimacy of their striving for true human liberation?

*Thirdly*, it is apparent that there is a refusal to recognise that political initiative has already passed from the Whites to the Black community—and, where this claim is refuted, to recognise that the course of political events is inexorably moving in that direction. What is currently in our midst is the emergence of a social youth revolution (in no way intended to be a violent one) in the sense of an unstructured mass movement of thousands of young people intent on bringing about political and social change—a movement probably unparalleled in the history of the world. It is my conviction that this mass movement, coming in the fullness of time for the Black people of our land, will gain momentum, cannot be crushed, and will only terminate when the White community is willing to come to terms with the legitimate demands for the recognition of the full human dignity and full human rights of the Black community.

*Fourthly*, it is apparent that a serious danger of a strong White backlash is developing which, if not stemmed in time, could lead to an Ulster-type of racial warfare with a frightful prospect of an eventual holocaust on a national scale where human relations could become irreparably damaged, human life could become intolerably cheap, with human communities of different races forcing themselves to live in self-created ghettos of hatred and fear.

## 7. Preparing for the Future:

Whilst many others are floundering around or groping in the dark to find their direction, a body like the Christian Institute should be able at least to provide basic guide-lines to those in our midst willing to listen, to reflect and to prepare for the new era. Of primary importance is the necessity of recognising that the process of liberation is already under way and that true liberation has to be welcomed by all of us realising that both Black and White need to be liberated from different forms of oppression under which we suffer. One important way in preparing ourselves for this new phase of life in South Africa is to realise the need for an in-depth study of a Christian evaluation of the main economic systems and structures presently operating in Southern Africa—namely those of capitalism, marxism and different forms of socialism.

Another important facet which has to be faced is the nature of the role which Blacks and Whites will be playing or will have to play

whilst we are finding ourselves in the throes and agony of this process of liberation. Of special significance would be to ascertain the role of the Christian Church or of Christian groups in their active participation in the removal of all forms of discrimination and racism from the life and the witness of the Christian community, of ensuring the legitimate Black leadership in policy-making and administrative positions of the Church and of supporting all Black Christian leaders who are involving themselves in the struggle for liberation and whose actions are based on and determined by the criteria of the Gospel.

One specific way in which the White community could prepare itself for the future is through the adoption of a new simplified life-style with a voluntary sharing of wealth and privilege; furthermore to give support to all meaningful non-violent actions for bringing about peaceful change which actions, although being interpreted by many Whites as a threat to their existing economic, social and political privileges, could in fact make a meaningful contribution to the prevention or escalation of violence in our society.

## 8. Contribution of the Christian Institute:

In view of the above thoughts on the future a few practical and concrete suggestions need to be made which I hope will be taken up in discussions of our C.I. groups meetings:

- (i) The Christian Institute should express its solidarity in concrete terms with the Black community in its struggle for liberation.
- (ii) It should support all Black initiatives, especially those undertaken by clergy and lay Christian groups, to stimulate or promote the goal of liberation through programmes of self-development and self-reliance, which strengthens the growth of Black consciousness as a positive force for peaceful change.
- (iii) The Christian Institute should challenge the respective denominations to which we as individual members belong, as well as ourselves, to face, oppose and remove any form of racism or discrimination which still continues to be operative in our churches and in the Christian community.
- (iv) Our organisation should realistically determine and accept the complementary role which those of us who are White will play in the transitional process of social and political change in which all of us will be involved in the coming years, and to interpret that role to that section of the White community which will be willing to give us such an opportunity.
- (v) The Christian Institute should prepare itself and its members for increased opposition and possible rejection by Whites, motivated by an increasing sense of uncertainty and fear, as a result of our conviction that obedience to the Gospel demands that we should express our Christian solidarity with all those who are oppressed, whilst not judging or condemning those who are unwitting participants in this process of oppression.

Above all we are called upon in this time of crisis to support one another as well as all Christians involved in the struggle, through concerted prayer, meaningful worship and Christian fellowship, sharing of burdens—both spiritual, emotional and material, and taking upon ourselves the responsibility to bear in the name of Christ any hatred or bitterness which others may inflict upon us in order to be found worthy to act as agents of reconciliation in the Name of Christ our Lord. We stand on the threshold of a new future. Let us, aware of the hesitancy in our attitude and of the uncertainty of the future, move forward in faith and joy in the realisation that the future, as the past and the present, belongs to God, the Father of Christ our Redeemer and Liberator.

C.F.B. Naudé  
Director.

September 1976.

# EVICTIION NOTICE — WHITE VERSION

—Diary of an apartheid experience

- *March 1976.* Mike and Denise Moys invite Sipiwe Madondo, Sandile Qubu and another black friend to their flat at 24 Tilloch, Umbilo, Durban. Enter the Supervisor, Mr. Millar, insisting that the black friends leave the premises immediately: "They're not allowed here: it's in the lease". (*it isn't*).

- *April 1976.* Friends continue to drop in at the flat.

May 5th 1976

Dear Sir,

## RE: YOUR TENANCY

We have been advised by the owners that multi-racial religious meetings are regularly held in flat 24, as a result of which large numbers of visitors congregate in the lift and public passages of the building during the evening hours.

We are instructed to advise you that these meetings are causing annoyance to neighbouring tenants who are being deprived of the peaceful occupation of the premises.

Please ensure that no further meetings are held in your flat at Tilloch.

Your faithfully,

**RUSSEL, MARSHALL & STRIDE (PTY) LIMITED**

- *(There is no lift. There were never more than seven people, and never more than three blacks. The first meeting was a C.I. planning group; the rest were just social visits).*

- \* Mike and Denise visited the supervisor who no longer insisted that it was illegal to have black visitors, but said they should not do so because of the feelings of the other tenants.

- \* Visited their four nearest neighbours. Two knew nothing about visitors. The other two had no objections, and had heard none.

- \* Visited the owner, Mr. Goss, who denied any direct involvement in the affair, saying that such matters were left to the agents.

- \* Visited the agents who said the letter had been sent on the express orders of Mr. Goss.

- \* *(Thus the supervisor blamed it on the tenants, the owner blamed it on the agents, and the agents blamed it on the owner).*

\* 24th June, 1976

Dear Sir,

## RE: YOUR TENANCY

Further to our letter dated the 5th May, 1976, we are once again receiving complaints from tenants regarding the non-white visitors to your flat.

If you wish to remain in occupation of Flat 24 Tilloch, please ensure that the other tenants have no further cause for complaint.

Yours faithfully,

**RUSSEL, MARSHALL AND STRIDE (PTY) LIMITED**

- \* Visited the agents who said they had received a petition taken round by the Caretaker and signed by 7 tenants.

- \* Visited five of these. One said she was extremely concerned for the safety of her child: "all blacks have certain characteristics and we should not tolerate their access to the block". They tried to show that this fear was based on prejudice and parted on a fairly amicable note, with an apology. Another had signed the petition, but thought it was about someone else. Nevertheless, she had been "almost knocked over" by a "very forward Black" on the stairs. She "knew the Blacks, having come from Rhodesia", and advised them to "get into touch with reality".

The other three denied any complicity, emphasising that they had no interest in what others did inside their own flats.

\* 7th July, 1976

Dear Sir,

## RE: FLAT 24 TILLOCH

We act for Tilloch Properties (Pty) Ltd., the owners of Tilloch situated at the corner of Hillier and Teignmouth Roads, Durban.

We have been instructed to give you one calendar month's notice of the owners intention to terminate your lease over Flat 24 on the 31st of August, 1976, on which date you should vacate the flat.

Yours faithfully,

**RUSSEL, MARSHALL & STRIDE (PTY) LTD.**

c.c.—Mrs. Miller—Supervisor.

\* 10th August, 1976.

Dear Resident of Tilloch,

We are all conscious of the difficult times our country is entering, and the frequent calls by many of our leaders for the co-operation of us all in solving our problems will have been heard by most of you. Our Prime Minister himself has pledged a move away from all discrimination based on race. Believing as we do in the dignity of all human beings, and in the desperate need for understanding between the different race groups in our land, we have tried not to let the colour of a man's skin determine who our friends will be. So it came as a shock to encounter opposition from some of you, our neighbours in our attempt to live out what we believe to be true.

However, some of you are not aware of the events that led to our eviction from Tilloch. Briefly, they were as follows:

- \* In March some friends were with us, and your caretaker burst in upon us and illegally forced us to leave with them, due to "complaints" from neighbours.

- \* After a few scattered visits from our friends, we received a letter from Syfrets advising us to ensure that our neighbours "no longer had any reason to complain".

- \* Visits to our caretaker were of no avail.

- \* A visit to the owner Mr. Goss, assured us that he would not interfere in this matter, the agents were solely responsible.
- \* A visit to the agents who assured us that Mr. Goss himself had instructed them to take action.
- \* A second letter from Syfrets soon followed. This was in response to a petition signed by seven Tilloch residents.
- \* Visits to five of those who signed—one apologised, one said she was not aware of what she'd signed, 3 denied any involvement.
- \* On 7th July we received a letter giving us notice to vacate our flat.

These events did have some positive aspects to them. We thank those who accepted us and gave their friendship and hospitality to us. We have learned something from the experience; our convictions have been tested, and we've perhaps become even more aware of separation between people based on misunderstanding which is the basic cause of the current unrest that we are experiencing as a nation. We have been reconciled in a few cases with people who held different views from us.

We wonder what this has meant to you?

Mike and Denise Moys.  
past tenants 24 Tilloch.

- \* *(A brief article appeared in the Daily News, omitting all reference to the persons concerned, thus permitting the guilty parties to continue as normal. Mike wrote to the Editor*

*expressing the hope that his editing might be more courageous in future. Letter merely acknowledged.)*

Letter in Daily News:

- \* Sir,—I was appalled to learn of the eviction of Mike and Denise Moys from their Durban flat (The Daily News August 12) on the grounds that they were, quite legally, entertaining a few Black guests.

This just goes to prove that not all of the so-called agitators in our country are inside the townships.

There are some who see fit to sabotage other peoples efforts to build bridges and bring hope to our situation.

There are others who belong to this lovely country who want it to be a fair and respectable place for themselves their children and people of other races; where we can all live as human beings.

That kind of society can only run on social, economic and political justice. That's the comfort we want, and we don't see it. Far less do Blacks see it. That's why Soweto is on fire.

To know Mike and Denise as sincere, gentle people, is to be amazed at this insensitive and destructive persecution. I can't even guess what hurt this has caused those guests who were ordered off the premises.

Brian R. Brown  
Queensburgh.

*Think it was shocking?*

**DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS OVER A MILLION BLACKS HAVE BEEN EVICTED FROM THEIR HOMES IN ORDER TO FULFIL THE IDEALS OF APARTHEID.**

## THE DEEP TRUTHS

—*Theo Kotze*

*An analysis of the present situation in South Africa.*

The events of the last few months have exposed the realities of our South African situation. For too long, the deep truths have been hidden from our public and from the world at large. Now they have emerged in stark reality.

- The deep deposit of hatred, bitterness and frustration created by the whole apartheid system.
- The determination of blacks all around the country to make their grievances (mild word!) public.
- Their hatred of all that represents "the system". The Afrikaans language, government enforced institutions e.g. separate education.
- The continued intransigence of the government and all those in authority.
- The refusal to dialogue with the real black leaders. With most of the responsible and accepted black leaders detained, who is there to dialogue with anyway?
- The cynical detention without trial of almost every black leader of significance, including the Democratic Party of the Transkei, the Black Parents' Association and the already banned leaders of SASO and BPC.

The detention of staff members of the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches.

The detention of leaders in other black organisations such as the Western Province Advice Bureau.

The fact that 25 blacks have died in detention.

The inability of most whites to come to terms with the total situation.

- The total white control of the economy.

Young people, disillusioned by the conformity and inaction of their elders have now taken the initiative. There may well be a lull in the present protests but I believe that unless there are drastic and fundamental changes in the system itself the momentum of violence will outdistance any attempts to find solutions. The people cannot be pacified—they want immediate change.

It is no surprise to me that the Western Cape has become the epicentre. This was completely predictable for it was here, in particular, that the monstrous Group Areas Act dispossessed people of their homes, destroyed businesses and disrupted whole communities.

We are in fact experiencing the nemesis of history.

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