

# PRO

# VERITATE



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### COVER PHOTOGRAPH

THE TWO FACES OF SOUTH AFRICA. IN NEWCLARE (JOHANNESBURG) MORE THAN 120 PEOPLE (COLOURED) WERE RECENTLY SHARING 14 TENTS IN THE BITTER COLD WHEN THEIR HOMES WERE BULLDOZED TO THE GROUND TO MAKE WAY FOR A DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BUILDING SCHEME. (BY COURTESY OF THE RAND DAILY MAIL, 24.6.72.)

### VOORBLADFOTO

DIE TWEE VOORKOMSTE VAN SUID-AFRIKA. IN NEWCLARE (JOHANNESBURG) HET MEER AS 120 PERSONE (KLEURLINGE) ONLANGS 14 TENTE IN DIE BITTERE KOUE GEDEEL TOE HULLÈ HUISE PLATGESTOOT WAS OM PLEK VIR 'N BOUSKEME VAN DIE DEPARTEMENT VAN GEMEENSKAPS-ONTWIKKELING TE MAAK. (GOEDGUNSTIGLIK DEUR DIE RAND DAILY MAIL, 24.6.72., VERSKAF.)

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## *evangelism and politics* - 1973

A massive evangelical congress, the biggest ever in South Africa, will be launched early next year in Durban but the whole of South Africa is included. Amongst others, Dr. Billy Graham, world renowned evangelist, has accepted to speak at this congress.

One thing is certain, and that is that the traditional pietistic type of evangelism is past for modern man, even in this country. A "decision for Christ" may initiate change in life, but the important task of relating such a decision and new life to labour, marriage, politics, home, society and vocation is most necessary.

### CARING ABOUT THE OTHER

True Christian evangelism begins with a simple enquiry concerning another's personal interests and it should progress towards involvement in his life. At this point it means caring, really caring about another. The question must be asked, namely, what are the human needs of a person? Evangelism cannot and must not end with the "saying of the soul", however important this may be. Other needs may be for acceptance as a human being and for friendship, especially in our society where the whole basis of society is an unchristian stress on race and colour. Often the needs are food, clothing, shelter and education. Our evangelism must attempt to meet these needs, to save the "whole" man because Christian faith without works is like a corpse without life (James 2).

True evangelism means accepting the risks of becoming involved. It means sticking your neck out again and again and being ready to have it cut off. Relationship in Christ's service is not casual and superficial—offering people a slap on the back and a real "Afrikaner handshake". It encompasses all that goes with heartfelt caring and concern for another.

### LOVE MUST BE TRANSLATED

In the past, many "laymen" in the Church avoided the evangelistic task because they did not feel familiar enough with knowledge of faith, the Scriptures, theology, etc. However, the basis of evangelism is love and we all know about love. Evangelism is the activity of love translated into the human needs of hope, forgiveness, concern, understanding, food, shelter, and clothing.

Evangelism must be concerned with the establishment of God's Kingdom in the areas of business, education, labour, industry, etc. If this is to happen, it will be through "laymen" taking their responsibilities seriously as Christians on the job.

What is the great difference between this attitude now and in the past? In the past, when a man thought of

## *evangelisasie en politiek* - 1973

'n Massiewe evangelisasie-kongres, die grootste ooit in Suid-Afrika, word vroeg in volgende jaar in Durban geloods, maar die hele Suid-Afrika word ingesluit. Onder andere het dr. Billy Graham, wêreldbekende evangelis, die uitnodiging aanvaar om as spreker by hierdie kongres op te tree.

Een ding is seker en dit is dat die tradisionele piëtistiese tipe evangelisasie vir die moderne mens verby is, ook in ons land. 'n „Keuse vir Christus" kan die verandering in lewe begin, maar die belangrike taak om so 'n keuse en lewe in verband te bring met arbeid, die huwelik, politiek, die huisgesin, die samelewing en jou roeping is uiters noodsaaklik.

### BESORGDHEID OOR ANDER

Ware Christelike evangelisasie begin met 'n eenvoudige navraag oor 'n ander se persoonlike belange en dit behoort voort te vloei tot 'n betrokkenheid in sy lewe. Op hierdie punt beteken dit besorgdheid, werklike besorgdheid oor die ander persoon. Die vraag moet gestel word naamlik wat die menslike behoeftes van 'n persoon is. Evangelisasie kan nie en mag nie met die „redding van die siel" eindig nie, hoe belangrik dit ookal mag wees. Ander behoeftes kan aanvaarding as 'n mens en vriendskap wees, in besonder in ons samelewing waar die hele basis van die lewe 'n onchristelike beklemtoning van ras en kleur is. Dikwels is die nood voedsel, klere, huisvesting en onderwys. Ons evangelisasie moet probeer om in hierdie behoeftes te voorsien, om die „hele" mens te red omdat Christelike geloof sonder werke soos 'n lyk sonder lewe is (Jak. 2).

Ware evangelisasie beteken om die risiko te loop om betrokke te raak. Dit beteken om jou nek male sonder tel uit te steek en om gereed te wees om jou kop te verloor. Verhoudings in evangelisasie in Christus se diens is nie 'n bysaak en oppervlakkig—om mense 'n klop op die skouer en 'n ware „Afrikanerhandruk" te gee nie. Dit omvat alles wat met 'n hartgrondige besorgdheid en meegevoel vir ander gepaard gaan.

### LIEFDE MOET VERTAAL WORD

In die verlede het baie „leke" in die kerk die evangelisasie-taak vermy omdat hulle gevoel het dat hulle nie vertrouwd genoeg met die kennis van die geloof, die Skrif, teologie, ens., was nie. Die basis van evangelisasie is egter liefde en almal ken liefde. Evangelisasie is die aktiwiteit van die liefde wat in die werklike behoeftes van hoop, vergiffenis, kommer, begrip, voedsel, behuising en kleding omgesit word.

Evangelisasie moet betrokke wees met die vestiging van God se Ryk in die besigheids-, onderwys-, arbeids-, fabrieksareas, ens. As dit sou gebeur, sal dit deur „leke" wees wat hulle verantwoordelikhede as Christene in die arbeidveld ernstig neem.

Wat is die groot verskil tussen hierdie houding nou en

*Dr. Billy Graham.*



his Christian duties in his labour life, he thought of honesty, integrity, consideration of fellow-workers. This was fine as far as it went, but it did not go far enough.

Honesty often applied only to details such as accuracy in the handling of funds or reporting on the books. It rarely included an honest, critical appraisal of the morality or charity of traditions and practices in our society. Is it not also dishonest and a shame to pay a black man who does the same job, far less than a white one, etc? Is sin against God and fellow man not built into our whole apartheid structure so that virtually "all sins" can be committed in South Africa and one can still be known as a "good" citizen?

#### **SOUTH AFRICA KEEPS PEOPLE APART ....**

The great message of Christ was that he pitched his tent among us, i.e. that he became man, our neighbour and fellowman. He became personally and intimately involved with us. In this automated and de-personalized age, personal relationships are of paramount importance; in South Africa especially where the whole political system is set on keeping people apart, segregated and consequently not able to become involved in their saving, liberation and caring. This glorious message of Christian fellowship and responsibility must break through an iron system which hinders the Kingdom of God.

Christ loved and died for men. Man and his needs are of major importance. May this planned congress help to shift the emphasis from ideologies, policies and rules to the love of human beings.

#### **OUR SICK SITUATION**

With regard to the Church the most terrible situation in South Africa has arisen. Thousands of white Christians are quite happy to go to Church on Sundays,

in die verlede? In die verlede toe 'n mens aan sy Christelike verantwoordelikhede in sy arbeidslewe gedink het, het hy aan eerlikheid, integriteit, konsiderasie vir medewerkers gedink. Dit was goed so vër as wat dit gegaan het, maar dit het nie vër genoeg gestrek nie.

Eerlikheid is dikwels slegs op besonderhede soos akkuraatheid met die handtering van fondse of die verslag oor boeke toegepas. Dit het nouliks 'n eerlike, kritiese waardeskatting van die moraliteit of goedheid van tradisies en gebruike in ons samelewing gemaak. Is dit nie ook oneerlik en 'n skande om 'n swartman wat dieselfde werk as die witman doen, baie minder te betaal nie? Is sonde teen God en naaste nie in ons hele apartheidstruktuur ingebou sodat feitlik „alle sondes" in Suid-Afrika gedoen kan word en 'n mens nog steeds as 'n „goeie" burger bekend kan staan nie?

#### **S.A. HOU MENSE APART**

Die groot boodskap van Christus was dat hy woning by ons kom maak het, dit is dat hy mens geword het, *ons naaste, ons buurman.*

Hy het persoonlik en intiem met ons betrokke geraak. In hierdie ge-automatiseerde en gedepersonaliseerde tyd is persoonlike verhoudings van die uiterste belang; in besonder in Suid-Afrika waar die hele politieke opset daarop gemik is om mense apart, gesegregeer te hou en gevolglik nie instaat te wees om betrokke in hulle redding, bevryding en versorging te raak nie. Hierdie heerlike boodskap van Christelike gemeenskap en verantwoordelikheid moet deur die ystere sisteem wat die koninkryk van God benadeel, breek.

Christus het *mense* liefgehad en vir hulle gesterf. Die mens en sy behoeftes is van die grootste belang. Mag hierdie beplande kongres help om die klem van ideologie, beleid en reëls na die liefde van mense verskuif.

#### **ONS SIEK SITUASIE**

Met betrekking tot die kerk het die onsettendste situasie in Suid-Afrika ontstaan. Duisende wit



lead a decent life during the week and then think that they are fairly good citizens. All this, while thousands and thousands of people suffer because of discrimination, lostness, poverty, inhuman living conditions, salaries, etc., etc.,... If Christ's parable about Lazarus, the poor beggar who starved at the door of the rich man and tried to live on the crumbs from his table, is applicable, it surely is in South Africa.

Every Christian and Church must be challenged with the message of outreach, to become involved in his Kingdom among everybody in South Africa—the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited, the forceful government and the overruled, the whites and the blacks and the coloureds.

### WORK FOR THE BREAKTHROUGH.

The time is overdue that Christian morals must relate to life, to practical situations. In our country these principles of love become too much abstracted from the human situation; become shut in the Church on Sundays and become like salt that has lost its flavour. Then the stage of the "immorality of morality" has been reached. If Christ's gospel is not preached in a situation, does not get involved in the issues of the day, it is not the Christian gospel which is being preached. Generalities and abstractions are not good enough. To preach in general against stealing is not really relevant but to preach, e.g. against the exploitation of black workers for very low salaries, stirs the conscience.

Conversion is still important, but conversion was seen too much in the past as a single, private experience mainly confined to "religious" and "spiritual" decisions. The social, labour and political implications of the Gospel were left out.

Our country and its people desperately need a breakthrough of the Gospel of Christ with love, justice and salvation as its contents—may we work, witness and pray for that, and may it come even through this planned congress. \*

### FOR WORLD VISION

When I turn off the 11 o'Clock news  
I glance at my watch  
and yawn, and it's off to bed.  
Nothing wrong with that.  
But what of those babies  
crying motherless  
outside the Vietnamese village?  
The vacant stare  
of the Appalachian coal miner  
with only memories of a job?  
The men and women in the sweatshops of Hong Kong  
The prison camps of Siberia  
The resettlement areas of South Africa  
The prisons of Brazil—  
They are all part of my family.  
How will they sleep tonight?  
Let me use  
what little voice and power I have  
to speak and act on their behalf.  
For we have but one world, Lord  
or none at all. Amen.

Christopher

Christene is heel tevrede om Sondag na die kerk te gaan, 'n ordentlike lewe gedurende die week te lei en dan te dink dat hulle redelike goeie mense is. En dit terwyl duisende en duisende mense ly as gevolg van diskriminasie, verlorenheid, armoede, onmenslike omstandighede, salarisse, ens., ens... As Christus se gelykenis oor Lazarus, die arme bedelaar, wat by die poort van die rykman honger gely het, en probeer het om van die krummels van sy tafel te leef, toepasbaar is, is dit sekerlik op Suid-Afrika toepaslik.

Elke Christen en kerk moet met die boodskap van uitsending uitgedaag word om met sy Koninkryk tussen almal betrokke te raak in Suid-Afrika—die ryke en die arme, die uitbouter en die geëksploteerde, die geweldvolle regering en die hulpelose onderdaan, die wittes, en die swartes en gekleurdes.

### WERK VIR DIE DEURBRAAK

Die tyd dat die Christelike moraal met die lewe, die praktiese situasies in verband gebring word, is oorryp. In ons land het hierdie beginsels van die liefde te abstrak en los van die menslike situasie geraak, is dit in die kerk op Sondag opgesluit en het dit soos sout geword wat sy smaak verloor het. Dan is die stadium van die „immoraliteit van die moraal" bereik. As die Christelike evangelie nie in 'n situasie gepreek word, betrokke raak in die vraagstukke van die dag nie, was dit nie die Christelike boodskap wat gepreek was nie. Algemeenhede en abstrakthede is nie goed genoeg nie. Om teen diefstal in die algemeen te preek, is nie werklik aktueel nie, maar om bv. teen die eksploitasie van swart werkers vir baie laer salarisse te preek—dit laat die gewete ontwaak.

Bekering is nog belangrik, maar bekering is te veel as 'n enkele, privaat-ondervinding gesien wat hoofsaaklik tot „godsdienstige" en „geestelike" besluite beperk is. Die sosiale, arbeids- en politieke implikasies van die evangelie was buite rekening gelaat.

Ons land en sy mense het 'n deurbraak van die evangelie van Christus, met liefde, geregtigheid en redding as inhoud, uiters dringend nodig—mag ons daarvoor arbeid, getuig en bid en mag dit ook deur hierdie beplande kongres kom. \*

### PLAASJAPIE SE GEBED

Moet dit dan soe wies Here  
Lat ons ons liewe soe moet leef?  
Van soggens assie koeie bulk  
Tot saans as son wee onner gaan  
hie oppie lande wyd in breed?

Ons vingers is al hard in dik  
soes die kleite wat glimlag moet die son,  
Here.  
Ons hoofde bly geboë oor graaf in pik;  
Ons tong al dik, ons keel al bitter vannie goed  
wat ons aldag moet sluk.

Vi elke liewe het U 'n doel  
O Heer.  
Word U moeg van al ons klagtes?  
Wys tog warrie einde vannie pad inhou O Heer ...  
Dalk sal ons U dan vestaan.

Howard Eybers

# MODERNE AFRIKANERIDENTITEIT

## EN DIE ONMOONTLIKHEID VAN

# AFRIKANERNASIONALISME

*In die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie is dit noodsaaklik dat daar 'n objektiewe en kritiese ontleding van situasie veral deur die Afrikaner self gemaak word, aangesien die hele opset daarop ingestel is dat die „Party”, die „Broederbond”, die „volkskerk”, ens., vir die individu voorskryf wat hy moet dink. Tog is dit Christelik verantwoord dat elkeen die tradisie en die huidige bestel krities sal beoordeel en sy eie selfstandige bydrae, met die lig van die evangelie van Christus as maatstaf, sal lewer.*

**Jan**

*Onlangs het prof. Jan Loubser van die dept. Sosiologie van die Kaapstadse Universiteit onderstaande toespraak voor S.A.A.K. (Studente Aktuele Aangeleenthede Kring) te Stellenbosch gelewer. Hy is 'n Afrikaner wat op Stellenbosch studeer het en wat o.a. president van die Afrikaanse Studentebond was. Sy ontleding van die situasie is uiters waardevol en sy uitdagings aan die huidige bestel in kerk, politiek, kultuur en volk klink soos die hammerslae van 'n hervormer! Die toespraak is in twee dele verdeel.*

**Loubser**

“Ik wil niet loopen, 'k ben een Africaander, al slaat den Land-drost mijn dood, of al setten hij mijn in den tronk, ik sal nog wil niet stil swijgen” (Hendrik Bibault, 1707). So het die eerste man wat hom die naam Afrikaner aangematig het (sover ons weet), sy identiteit gesien. Ek kom nie as sosioloog of as professor nie, maar as 'n Boerseun, as 'n Afrikaner wat soos Periandros met sy vader van man tot man wil praat. Ek wil my beiteljie vat en hom uittoets op die klippe van Afrikaneridentiteit. Ek het lank tyd gehad om my beiteljie onverstoord blink te slyp. Maar hy is ook blink geslyp deur die aanslae wat 'n Afrikaner in die buiteland moet verduur. Soos ons almal weet, is dit 'n groot waagstuk om jou beiteljie te gebruik, want dit is moontlik dat 'n mens eksistensiële daarby betrokke sal raak en die universele implikasies van jou daad in die oë sal moet kyk. En tog durf ons die beiteljie nie laat ledig lê en verroes nie. So kom ons kyk saam na wat met dié klippe gebeur. Voordat ons begin, wil ek u graag herinner aan iets wat ek in 1958 by geleentheid van die tienjarige jubileum van die A.S.B. gesê het.

### KONTAK MET DIE ANDER

Ek het verwys na twee aspekte van die geskiedenis van die afgelope tien jaar en as volg voortgegaan:

Eerstens, die steeds toenemende erns waarmee die Afrikaanse student hom verantwoord het in sy verhouding tot sy nie-blanke en kultureel-verskillende landgenote en sy daadwerklike pogings om gesonde kontakte en verstandhouding op te bou. Tweedens, sy aanvaarding van 'n taak en 'n

verantwoordelikheid op internasionale gebied om vriendskapsbande met studente van ander nasies aan te kweek en te besin in hierdie verband.

Dit kom voor asof hierdie twee gebiede ook die grootste uitdaging van ons toekoms inhou.

Ons sal ten alle koste die agting en vertroue, die dankbaarheid en vriendskap van die nie-blanke in ons midde en in die res van Afrika moet wen en behou.

Ons sal 'n positiewe alternatief moet daarstel vir die aanspraak van die negatiewe en kommunistiese magte op die lojaliteit van die swartman in Afrika. Ons sal simpatieke leiding moet gee en nederige onmisbare diens lewer.

Ons sal die inhoud van die Afrikaanse volksiel so moet vertolk en uitlewe dat ander volke ons sal verstaan en respekteer en dat dit effektiewe draagkrag en -wydte in al ons menslike verhoudings sal hê. Dit sal beteken dat ons ons eie voortbestaan en ons beskikking daarvoor ondergeskik sal moet stel aan die eise van ons Christelike roeping in Afrika en die wêreld en ons taak onvoorwaardelik en blymoedig sal aanvaar.

Ons sal bereid moet wees om radikaal en groot en relevant te dink en te handel en ons volk voor te gaan in die praktiese aanpassings en stappe wat noodsaaklik is om ons toe te rus vir hierdie dienstaak.

Ek wil vanaand in dieselfde gesindheid hierby aan-



sluit. Die hoofdoel van hierdie rede is om tipiese pogings tot Afrikaner-identiteitsbepaling krities te ont-  
leed, aan te toon dat die soort identiteit wat hulle daar-  
stel, ontoereikend is vir die moderne Afrikaner en ver-  
werp moet word. Ek sal redeneer dat Afrikaner-  
nasionaisme nie meer toepaslik is in die huidige Suid-  
Afrikaanse situasie nie, dat dit deur die moderne  
Afrikaner verwerk moet word tot 'n Suid-Afrikaanse  
nasionaisme en dat hy hom daarop moet toelê om 'n  
identiteit te ontwikkel wat hom in staat sal stel om sy  
volwaardige rol in die land en in die wêreld te speel.

### TIPIESE AFRIKANER-IDENTITEITS- BEPALINGE

Ons is almal bekend met die verskeie pogings om die  
Afrikaner se identiteit te bepaal deur 'n sekere aantal  
wesenskenmerke daar te stel. Hierdie pogings is myns  
insiens futiel en gee aanleiding tot meer verwarring as  
helderheid. Om die tekortkominge van die pogings te  
illustreer, laat ons twee van hulle noem en dan 'n bietjie  
nouer aandag bestee aan een en ander van die  
sogenaamde kenmerke.

Dirk Kotzé, in sy *Positiewe Nasionaisme*, noem die  
volgende kenmerke van die Afrikanervolk: afkoms,  
grondgebied, landsadministrasie, taal, godsdiens, sedes  
en gewoontes, geskiedbeskouing, materiële kultuur-  
produkte, en instellings en organisasies (pp. 52-55).  
Die besonderhede is nie op die oomblik ter sake nie,  
behalwe dat hy ook onderskei tussen primêre en  
sekondêre kenmerke. Booyens, in 'n referaat oor "Die  
Wesenskenmerke van Ons Identiteit", noem die vol-  
gende: Die Afrikaner is 'n godsdienstige mens, is 'n  
konserwatiewe mens, is 'n individualistiese mens (maar  
dit het opgegaan in familievastheid), het 'n sterk  
waardigheidsbesef en praat Afrikaans suiwer.

Die bespreking van hierdie pogings kan nogal heel  
komies wees. Vir Kotzé is alleen die materiële kultuur-  
produkte sekondêr en hy merk op dat die Afrikaner se  
eetgewoontes, kleredrag, woning, vervoer en gereed-  
skap radikaal in die afgelope eeu verander het. So leer  
ons dat die Afrikaner nie meer net vleis en brood eet  
nie, nie meer 'n baard dra nie, dat hy sigarette in plek  
van sy troue ou pyp rook, dat hy met 'n motor ry en nie  
meer met 'n perd of 'n ossewa nie, dat sy vrou darem  
die modes gevolg het en nie meer 'n lang rok en 'n  
kappie dra nie.

Terwyl die bespreking van die sogenaamde  
sekondêre kenmerke alleen komies is omdat daar  
darems tog erkenning is dat hulle radikaal verander het  
sonder dat die Afrikaner sy identiteit verloor het, word  
die basiese onhoudbaarheid van hierdie soort poging  
tot identiteitsbepaling eers begryp wanneer 'n mens die  
bespreking van die sogenaamde primêre kenmerke  
ondersoek.

### AFKOMS

Kotzé herhaal die basiese feite van die Hollanders,  
Franse en Duitsers en gaan dan voort deur te sê dat die

Afrikaner nie glo dat mense van nie-blanke rasse-  
afkoms met Afrikaneridentiteit vereenselwig kan word  
nie. Met ander woorde, Afrikaneridentiteit is blank en  
moet blank gehou word. Daar word nie in ag geneem  
dat daar 'n aansienlike persentasie nie-blanke bloed in  
die Afrikanerafkoms is nie en ook nie dat die  
Afrikaner 'n aansienlike bydrae gemaak het tot die  
bloedsamestelling van die Kleurlinge nie. Feit is ook  
dat 'n onlangse opname getoon het dat ten minste die  
helfte van vandag se Afrikaners bereid is om 'n  
Afrikaanssprekende Kleurling as 'n Afrikaner te  
beskou. Afgesien van wat die afkoms van die  
Afrikaner is, is dit beslis nie langer waar dat Afrikaner-  
identiteit uitsluitlik blank is nie. Hierdie hedendaagse  
siening van Afrikaneridentiteit moet verwelkom word  
as nader aan die werklikheid as dié van Kotzé wat nog  
baie algemeen is.

### GRONDGEBIED

Kotzé wil hê dat die Afrikaner Suid-Afrika as sy  
tuiste beskou en nie elders anders wil woon en werk  
nie, maar moet glo dat die land aan hom behoort. Hy  
voeg agterna by: „natuurlik nie net aan hom alleen  
nie". As dit 'n kenmerk van die Afrikaner is, is alle  
Suid-Afrikaners goeie Afrikaners, selfs tot die mate dat  
hulle 'n „jaloerse liefde" vir die land het. Wat van die  
Kleurlinge? Behalwe vir die tragiese feit dat baie van  
hulle die land in absolute desperaatheid en frustrasie  
verlaat, tot ons groot verlies, geld dieselfde vir hulle.  
En van dié wat die land verlaat het, sou die oorgrote  
meerderheid môre wou terugkom as die situasie sou  
verander. Wat van die swart Suid-Afrikaners? Dis 'n  
bekende feit dat die oorgrote meerderheid van hulle die  
sogenaamde tuisland verwerp en Suid-Afrika as hulle  
enigste tuisland beskou. As 'n mens op die assosiasie  
van die Afrikaner met die tuislandebesef van die  
Nasionale Party moes afgaan, sou 'n mens wel kon sê  
dat dit 'n kenmerk van die Afrikaner is dat hy Suid-  
Afrika as tuisland aan 'n goeie tagtig persent van ander  
Suid-Afrikaners wou ontsê, 'n eienskap wat meer  
uniek Afrikaans sou wees as sy liefde vir Suid-Afrika.  
Maar later meer hieroor.

### GODSDIENS EN KONSERWATISME

Kom ons kyk nou 'n bietjie na die stelling dat die  
Afrikaner 'n landelike mens is, konserwatief,  
godsdienstig, en familievas. Dat hierdie as besondere  
kenmerke van die Afrikaner genoem word, is 'n resul-  
taat van die oogklappe van die Afrikaanse historikus  
wat sy perspektief beperk en vereng in beide die  
tydelike en ruimtelike dimensies. Daar is geen poging  
om vergelykende perspektief in dieselfde tydvlak te kry  
nie. Lang rokke, baarde, velbroeke, pype, ossewaens  
en perde was algemeen in die negentiende eeu en op die  
voorposte van die Westerse beskawing tot in die  
twintigste eeu. Die Afrikaner het maar net gekon-  
formeer met die sedes en gewoontes van sy tydperk en



die beste gebruik gemaak van die voorposlewe met sy gebrek aan weelde en geriewe. In die negentiende eeu was meeste volke landelik. Grootse verstedeliking behoort tot die geskiedenis van die twintigste eeu. Landelike mense, waar jy hulle ookal vind, watter taal hulle ookal praat, ens., is meer konserwatief, meer familievas en godsdienstvas as stedelike mense. Alle volke was eens landelik, konserwatief, godsdienstvas en familievas in 'n vroeër stadium van hulle ontwikkeling. In historiese perspektief behoort hierdie dinge tot 'n spesifieke tydperk in die ontwikkeling van die Afrikanervolk en hulle is nie noodwendig dinge wat hom in later stadiums van sy ontwikkeling moet kenmerk nie.

Dat hierdie kenmerke van die Afrikaner was en nog tot 'n sekere mate is, is nie te ontken nie. Maar dat hulle wesenskenmerke is wat iets te doen het met die Afrikaner se identiteit in die tweede helfte van die twintigste eeu waar die oorgrote meerderheid verstedelik is, is onsin en moet beslis ontken word. Om hierdie kenmerke te idealiseer en voorop te stel as dinge wat gehandhaaf moet word, is om jou voet dwars in die pad van die ontwikkeling van die Afrikaner te sit. 'n Mens kan net hoop dat die moderne Afrikaner hard op die tone van sulke mense sal trap. Om die Afrikaner se identiteit aan hierdie tydverbonde kenmerke te koppel, is die grootste onguns wat 'n mens die moderne Afrikaner en veral die jeug kan aandoen.

### TIPIESE AFRIKAANSE INSTELLINGS

En dit bring ons tot die laaste kenmerk van die Afrikaner wat ons hier wil ontleed, naamlik, dat hy sou behoort aan, of sy ondersteuning sou geen aan sekere Afrikaanse instellings en organisasies soos die Afrikaanse Kerk, die Nasionale Party, die F.A.K., en moedertaalskole. (Kotzé noem die universiteite nie). Hierdie is almal instansies wat 'n tradisionele benadering tot die identiteit van die Afrikaner het. Sonder uitsondering en saam met die Broederbond, die Ruiterswag en die Rapportryers is hulle handhawers en behouers van tradisionele tydverbonde eienskappe van die Afrikaner wat vir die moderne Afrikaner baie min betekenis het. Om die Afrikaner se identiteit te knoop aan lidmaatskap of ondersteuning van sekere organisasies is nie minder belaglik as om dit aan die oorgeïdealiseerde verlede te knoop nie. Maar dit is oneindig gevaarliker. Niks kan doeltreffender wees om die Afrikaner se ontwikkeling in die wêreld te ry en hom sy regmatige plek in Suid-Afrika te ontsê, as om hom oor te laat aan die sorg van hierdie organisasies in hulle huidige vorm nie. Koms ons bekyk drie van hierdie organisasies 'n bietjie van nader.

### DIE KERK

As 'n mens die geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Kerke oor die afgelope eeu sou bestudeer, sou 'n mens vind dat hulle eintlik stagnant gebly het ten spyte van die

uiterlike vertoon van groei en uitbreiding. Die Kerke het die Afrikaner na die stede gevolg, maar het hulle 'n boodskap vir die stedelike mens ontwikkel? Was daar enige ontwikkeling in die teologiese beskouings van die Kerk en die beleid van die kerk ten opsigte van die sekulêre bedeling? Kyk byvoorbeeld na die spektakel van die Suid-Transvaalse Sinode van die afgelope week. Watter sake van aktuele belang vir die moderne standsmens het die aandag van die Sinode geniet? Was daar enige poging om te besin oor die godsdienstidroom van die stadsmens en sy probleme om sy godsdienstsin uit te leef in die stedelike milieu? Was daar enige gemeoidheid met die ontsaglike moderne probleem van die stelselmatige besoedeling van die omgewing, en die mens se verantwoordelikheid teenoor die ekologiese implikasies van sy uitbuiting van die natuur? Was daar enige besinning en besorgdheid oor die feit dat die oorgrote meerderheid van die bevolking van die land onder die broodlyn lewe, terwyl 'n klein minderheid een van die weelderigste lewensstandaarde in die wêreld geniet? Was daar enige teken van besorgdheid oor die regverdigheid van die toepassing van diskriminerende wetgewing soos die Groepsgebiedewet? Was daar enige besinning en besorgdheid oor godsdienstvryheid en die feit dat in die afgelope paar jaar etlike godsdienstige leiers uit die land verban is, dat die Biskop van Suidwes-Afrika uit die gebied geskop is en dat die Deken van Johannesburg na 'n lang verhoor deur die hoogste hof in die land vrygespreek is van die aanklagte van terroristiese aktiwiteite?

### BEHEP MET BYSAKE

Wat doen die Kerk dan? Soos ons die afgelope weke pynlik ondervind het: hy bekommer hom oor popmusiek, naakte beeldhouwerk en skamele kleredrag, en versoek die regering om nog strenger sensormaatreëls toe te pas in 'n land waar die kultuur reeds verkruppel en versmoor is onder die belaglikste preutsheid wat 'n mens in enige westerse land kan vind. Dis moeilik om 'n verklaring vir hierdie verskynsel te vind. Mens sou dit kon toeskryf aan die tradisionele preutsheid van 'n landelike kultuurbenadering wat uiting vind selfs in sulke dinge as dat ons die Griekse woord vir "hoere" in Periandros met "vrouens" vertaal. Of kan dit wees dat ons seksueel so gefruustreed is dat ons gedurig vroumense met ons oë moet agtervolg, en dat die versoeking en skuldgevoel dan ondraaglik word as die goedjies byderwets aangetrek is? Vanwaar hierdie beheptheid met dele van die vrou se liggaam veral by ons dominees? Hoe aantreklik dié bespiegeling ookal mag wees, dink ek ons moet 'n bietjie dieper kyk. Die godsdienstige mens moet altyd 'n spanning aanvoel teenoor die sekulêre wêreld; hy moet krities wees teenoor die onvolmaaktheid en sondigheid van die huidige bedeling. Hy moet homself kan oortuig dat hy moreel betrokke is by die wêreld waarin hy sy belydenis moet uitlewe, en dat hy 'n morele boodskap het vir dié wêreld. Hy moet die demoniese in die mens en sy same-



lewing aan die kaak stel, en ten minste 'n standpunt daarteen inneem, as hy dit nie andersins aktief beveg nie.

### **KRITISEER KERK NOG RASSEBELEID**

Nou is dit so dat die Afrikaanse Kerke tot 'n groot mate 'n gesplete persoonlikheid ontwikkel het oor 'n aansienlike gedeelte van die huidige bedeling, naamlik die sosiaal-politiese. Aan die een kant word daar op die skeiding van staat en kerk aangedring waarvolgens die kerk hom moet bepaal by die geestelike welsyn van mense en hom nie met die staat of die politiek inmeng nie. Dis 'n standaard wat die maklikste op ander kerke toegepas word wat standpunte inneem ten opsigte van die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie. Aan die ander kant is daar die neiging tot die volkskerk, wat leiding moet gee aan die volk op hierdie gebied en die volk se benadering godsdienstig moet fundeer. Daarom het die kerk 'n rassebeleid, nie net vir die kerk nie maar vir die volk, en bied hy die beleid aan as die enigste wat met die Bybel, die Woord van God, versoenbaar is. Wanneer laas het die kerk die rassebeleid van die land gekritiseer of ten minste sekere sosiale en morele probleme waartoe dit aanleidings gee, onder die soeklig gestel? Die kerk het hom voorheen uitgespreek oor die gevolge van die trekarbeidstelsel, maar wat het hy sedertdien hieromtrent gedoen? Cottesloe was die finale keerpunt in hierdie opsig. Daarna het die Kerk meer as ooit te vore volkskerk geword. Wat het oorgebly vir die volkskerk om moreel gemoed mee te wees? Die bedreiging van die tradisionele sedes en gewoontes van die volk natuurlik. En die behepthed van die Kerk met popmusiek, naaktheid en kleredrag en die sogenaamde bedreiging en afvalligheid van die jeug en die stadsmens, is 'n substituuat vir die eintlike morele betrokkenheid wat die Kerk sou moes hê as hy nie volkskerk wou wees nie. Dit getuig van die morele bankrotenskap van die volkskerk in die moderne samelewing met sy ontsettende probleme en van sy onrelevantheid vir meeste van die probleme van die moderne Afrikaner.

### **ONS KERK IS 'N VERKEERDE UITERSTE!**

Maar ons moet ook die Kerk beskou in die historiese verband van die ontwikkeling van die Protestantisme en die Christelike Kerk as 'n geheel. Ons kerk is maklik die mees ortodokse, fundamentalistiese, dogmatiese en letterlik biblisistiese kerk in die hedendaagse Protestantisme. Die dikwels betreurde verdeeldheid van die Afrikaanse Kerke in drie afsonderlike Kerke is die resultaat van afskeiding deur konserwatiewe elemente wat nie eens die geringe ontwikkeling van die oorspronklike kerk wou aanvaar nie. Die vernuwning en ontwikkeling wat die afgelope eeu of twee die Protestantisme in staat gestel het om 'n sekere mate van relevansie te behou vir die moderne mens is deur ons kerk afgeweer en het by hom verbygegaan. In



*Prof. Jan. J. Loubser.*

stede van aan te sluit by hierdie ontwikkelinge het die kerk krampagtig vasgeklou aan die stellings van die oorspronklike hervormers, veral Calvyn; elke beweging en poging van individue binne die Kerk om aan te sluit by die moderne strominge is die nek ingeslaan. Die proses het vroeg in die tweede helfte van die negentiende eeu begin met die stigting van die Stellenbosse Kweekskool in 1859 en die skorsing van twee liberale predikante in 1862. Dieselfde proses is voortgesit met die skorsing van Prof. du Plessis wie se "pienk Piet"-standbeeldjie, versteek in die agtertuin van 'n ou historiese gebou, paslik sy plek in die denke en lewe van die Kerk simboliseer. Daarna het Cottesloe gekom en die negering van die stelling deur die sinodes van die Afrikaanse Kerke, uittrede uit die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke en die Wêreldraad van Kerke en die totale isolasie van die Afrikaanse Kerke in die kontemporêre Christendom. Ons sou wel die vraag kan stel of die Wêreldraad van Kerke sover sou gaan om guerilla-bewegings wat teen Suid-Afrika gerig is, te ondersteun, as ons Kerke lede gebly het en hulle belydenis daar voortgesit het. In plaas daarvan het ons 'n martelaarsindroom en 'n kompulsiewe herbevestiging van die illusie van 'n uitverkore volk met 'n besondere roeping en 'n unieke insig in die wil van God in hierdie situasie.

### **WAAROM GEE BEKOMMERDE DOMINEES NIE LEIDING?**

In hierdie soort geïsoleerde volkskerk voel die

*Vervolg op bladsy 17*



# A CRY OF PAIN

*The following is a sermon preached by Archbishop Denis Hurley in Pietermaritzburg recently after the student unrest because of injustices against Blacks on an educational level in South Africa. It was attended by about 800 students and staff of the Natal University.*

## denis hurley

Christ, with whom we associate ourselves in this celebration of the Eucharist, is a person not unacquainted with pain. In becoming man, in assuming our human nature, he took on the possibility and the reality of pain—to the point where, on the Cross, the terrible plaint was wrung from him: "My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?"

### PAIN REVEALS

There is Christian courage, Christian fortitude, in the bearing of pain. But the silent toleration of pain is not an absolute—not a supreme value. Christianity is not stoicism. There are times when it is not only permissible but obligatory to reveal our pain. For pain is the sign of something that is wrong, a diminution of life, a threat to life. To reveal pain is to reveal the truth and revelation of the truth is frequently a sacred duty.

So it is that during the past few weeks, the truth has been revealed to us in a most vivid way through the cry of pain of the Black University students. This particular revelation began with the speech of Mr. Abram Tiro on Graduation Day at Turfloop University. Mr. Tiro was expelled for making that speech. The truth he was revealing is a long-standing one—the truth of the humiliation experienced by Black students, only a small segment—but a very important segment of the humiliation experienced by all the Black peoples of South Africa.

It is not a cry for pity, but a cry for redress, a cry for justice, a cry revealing that men cannot live for ever under a system which denies them the full expression of their humanity.

### WHAT IS AND WHAT SHOULD BE

Students are particularly sensitive to experiences of injustice, for, free as they generally are from other preoccupations, and able to dedicate themselves almost entirely to the pursuit of truth in one form or another and the development of their intellect and imagination, they are in a most favourable position for realising the contrast between what is and what should be—the ideals set before mankind and the deficiencies of the system in which they live.

The cry of pain went up from Turfloop and was echoed around the country, a cry of pain revealing

explicitly the suffering of Black students under the restrictions and humiliations they experience, but implicitly calling attention to all that is involved in the experience of being Black in South Africa: poverty, starvation, ill-health, the high incidence of family disruption, promiscuity, infidelity, insecurity and violence; a genocidal child mortality; restrictions on education, on employment, on movement, on housing; the almost total privation of political rights.

The cry of pain elicited by all this has been heard often and from many quarters, and the awful dishonour of White South Africa is the dismal facility with which it has turned a deaf ear.

### WHITE STUDENTS HEARD

The White students have not closed their ears. This time again they have heard the cry of pain and have responded with Christian solicitude—to the point of suffering violence for their concern. It is my privilege to pay honour to your response, and in this building, dedicated to the Christian worship of God, to praise all that has been of a courageous Christian and humanitarian inspiration in the reaction of the White students of South Africa.

The important thing now is that all to whom the cry of pain of the Black students means anything must dedicate themselves to ensuring that this cry is clearly and unmistakably interpreted to White South Africa.

It is not a cry of surrender, but summons—a summons to the Black members of our society to apply themselves with growing courage, determination and co-ordination to achieving their due recognition and participation in the community to which we all belong; a cry to the White members, to whom has been granted some understanding of it, to redouble their efforts to interpret it to the rest of White South Africa. As a leader of a Christian community, I cannot fail to emphasize that our efforts at interpretation must remain within the bounds of a Christian love, which at the same time remains uncompromising in regard to truth and justice.

We all have a lot to learn—and, once again speaking as the leader of a Christian community, I confess in all humility that our Christian communities have a lot to learn and that the Christian leaders have a lot to learn. Let us learn from one another. Human beings are crea-



tures of habit and custom, and we have got to admit that Christian leaders and communities easily settle down to the habits and customs of the society to which they belong, and fail to notice how inconsistent these habits and customs are with the gospel they profess to proclaim and believe.

Events such as the ones we are experiencing at present shake us out of our complacency. The cracking of complacency is a wonderful thing, but it is only the beginning of the task. An immense effort lies ahead of us—the effort of Church people to dissolve the hard crust of habit and custom inconsistent with the gospel and allow the true face of Christian concern, recognition and sharing to break through and be a witness to our faith; the effort of students to maintain their concern for truth and justice, not only at the University but afterwards in the far more difficult circumstances of career and family building; the effort to interpret our faith, our concern, our understanding of the cry of pain of oppressed people to those with power. If it is hard for us who are gathered here to break the hard crust of habit and custom, it is a thousand times harder for those with power. All sorts of blindnesses, prejudices and mistaken traditions must go by the board, so that the cry of pain may be heard for what it truly is and there may be a genuine human and Christian response.

#### HOPELESS?

It looks so hopeless, so desperately hopeless. So much has been tried already and so much has failed. We are up against some of the most powerful and tenacious instincts of humanity: the herd instinct, the power instinct, the possessive instinct—in others, and, if we really look into our hearts, in ourselves as well; instincts that are so much part of us that we scarcely notice how inconsistent their manifestations are with the Christian ideals that we proclaim. It is in this context, I think, that Jesus uttered the words: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it die, it bears much fruit. He who loves his life, loses it, and he who hates his life in this world, will keep it for eternal life."

Jesus spoke often of death and suffering. He realized that his was a mission of suffering and of death. But he knew too, that it did not stop there, that there was something beyond death—resurrection and a new life. So as we re-dedicate ourselves to a mission of truth and justice, we know that it will not be realised without experience of suffering and of death; but the undying hope that is part of every human heart, the undying hope that has been sharpened and illuminated and consecrated by Christ, tells us that beyond that experience lies the possibility that South Africa will rise above all it has been, to become part of the family of man in which humanity means more than colour, justice more than power, dignity and freedom more than ease and opulence.

It is a desperate hope, but it is still a hope, and to this hope we re-dedicate ourselves this evening. \*

## DIE UITTOG (mess riemoeval)

Hulle sê,  
History repeat homself  
Soe sê hulle dja.  
Daa was mos 'n mess remoewil in Bibliekil  
Hiestirie  
Yt Ejip  
Oo rie Rê Sea  
Toerie mense van Faroe gevlug 'et.

Dysinne Israeliete het gemarch  
Moet parcels  
Moet bonnels op hulle koppe Soes mense op  
Soes mense op safari  
In skroeiende hitte,  
in merciless sunshine  
deur bruingeroasde desertsends het hulle  
geploeg.

Maar os  
dja os  
os brynmense  
os het gemoef moet perrekarre, moet krywaens,  
moet vislorries, moet ou krokke  
moet al os se furniture.

Because why ...  
Die area is white gedeclare.  
Waantoe nou ...waardeur?

Nie narrie lend of milk in hannie nie  
nie deur rie Rê Sea nie  
Maa deurrie biesage strate van distriek sieks,  
Deur rie akkers van Goodwood,  
Deur Main Road Simonstjown  
Deur allie nice areas wat os geken hit

Na rie Cape Flêts!  
Die lekka lekka Cape Flêts  
Waa rie wint wai soes innie Sahara,  
Waa 'n boentjie riefuse om te groei innie dooie  
gront  
Waa rie skollies djou afwag moet djou paypêkit  
Vrydagaant

Waa rie Big Bosses expek os moet heppie wies.

*Howard Eybers*



## HER STORY?

The Women's Liberation Movement is fully aware of the importance of new consciousness as the basis for social change. It is this new experience of "conversions" which forms the backbone of the movement. Women are coming to an awareness of their oppression and of their solidarity with their oppressed sisters. These along with the attention of the media in turn generate an intense interest in literature about women, for women and by women which describes the new consciousness and feeds it with information from every field of inquiry. As with other groups in search of new self-identity and freedom, the women's movement has begun to write their own history (*her story*) and to search for a "usable past" in order to shape a more "usable future".

The learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions does not stop with "telling it like it is". It constantly moves toward action against the oppressive elements of society, including the male dominated structures of the church hierarchy. This action takes the form of protests, political caucuses, task forces, etc. Its purpose is not to wrest the power from the hands of men in order to replace patriarchy with matriarchy. Rather it is to join all women together to change the structures of society so that there will be more freedom and dignity for all oppressed groups including men. Its purpose is ultimately human liberation through individual and social change. This clearly means the rejection of established orders which dehumanize and the attempt to create new more humane institutions, with a wider variety of life style options.

### PLURALIZED MINISTRIES

The position on ordination among groups concerned with women's liberation in the church varies with the particular history and tradition of confession involved. Those who still face the exclusion of women from ordination are pushing hard to translate the theologians' consensus that nothing prevents it, into the political consensus that women have no defect which bars them from sharing with men in the tasks of ministry (servanthood!). Those who face *de facto* exclusion of women from the pastoral ministry as a result of not providing jobs for women who have been ordained, are working on task forces which seek to enforce equal hiring practices at all levels of church life.

Some women have long since grown disillusioned with the whole system of ordination as it is now practised and are pushing for new understanding of pluralized ministries of shorter duration which could include people from all walks of life. The traditional pattern of ordination as a means of confirming clerical

status is becoming dysfunctional for the church in Mission in modern society. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the new consciousness of women who would see the church as an instrument of God's humanizing action in the world.

The new consciousness of women in the church is related to an awareness of the causes of oppression. This awareness increases the self-understanding of the strategies needed in changing the structures of church and society, and to the wider understanding of the situation of other oppressed groups. This struggle against oppression is always marked by a dialectic of oppression as the movement toward freedom seeks to "insert a new reality into history in such a way that the closed present is broken open for the new".

The dialectic is a moving from the early awareness of oppression to an "emulation of dominant society" in which women seek to prove their humanity and equality. A second stage is that of the search for identity by going back to one's rootage and affirming its importance. A third phase might be the playing out of projected fears of the oppressors. This dialectic hopefully continues through various stages of moves and counter-moves from the *status quo* and emerges as a dialectic of freedom and full human community where social interaction will be among equals working together.

### OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNICATION

The new consciousness produces a new need for communication and communion with other people struggling toward liberation. As groups of people risk their present security in favour of opportunities for growth toward maturity, they reach out to find "a gracious neighbour". Not able to move forward alone, they seek out new ways of communication and communion so that they can find mutual support in social change and self-understanding. In spite of heightened conflict and violence caused by the dialectic of oppression, there is also developed a real need to communicate with the oppressor as well as the sister or brother because the ultimate goal is to include everyone in the process of permanent liberation.

Nowhere is the issue of communication and communion so important as in the man-woman relationship. Certainly this relationship is not one of "classic oppression" because women tend to share the social status of their husbands. Where men have had access to the goods of life women have not been bred to inferiority because they were destined to be the mothers of the next generation of sons. Yet the domination of women by men is an ancient and persistent form of the subjection of one human being to a permanent status of inferiority. \*



# Traditional African Thinking 4 john mbiti

## CONCEPT OF CHRONOLOGY

African chronology is concrete and has a particular purpose. It is related to events, but not mathematically. Since time is constituted by a series of events, it cannot be counted in a void. Numerical calendars do not exist to my knowledge in African tribal societies. If there happened to be any, they would probably only be of brief duration, perhaps covering a few decades but certainly not hundreds of years. What we have, instead, is a phenomenon calendar existing not for the sake of calculation but to mark the events in relation to each other, which take place in time, i.e. form time. Thus e.g. an expectant woman counts the moons of her pregnancy; a traveller counts the days he needs to travel from one part of the country to another, etc. Days, years, individual lives or human history are divided into event-periods. Events give meaning to days or to history.

The rising sun e.g. is an event observed by the entire community. It is therefore immaterial whether the sun rises at 5 or 7 a.m. The main thing is that it rises. If anyone says that he has an appointment at sunrise, he does not care whether it is at 5 or 7 a.m. as long as it is some time around sunrise. It is likewise irrelevant whether people go to bed at 9 p.m. or midnight; the important thing is to go to bed. For these people time is formed by the fact of going to bed, and the fact has

more meaning for them than the actual mathematical time. To transpose this to ecclesiastical life in Africa means that it is unimportant *when* one goes to a church service, the important thing is to go. For this reason some Christians come before the service, some in the middle and some when the final hymn is being sung. Naturally, if these people are judged by European time concepts they come to the service "late", and missionaries or other Europeans in Africa are usually heard lamenting: "Oh, these Africans always come late!" I lament with them, but I am also sorry for them, for they do not understand the fundamental difference in the attitude to time. In European or technical life time is a commodity that must be utilized, bought and sold. But in African tribal life time consists of events, i.e. time must be created. For us man is not a slave of time; he can make as much time as he wants. When foreigners, particularly from Europe and America, come to Africa and see the people sitting around, they often say: "These Africans waste their time just sitting around." But oh, they are not wasting it at all, they are perhaps just making it or waiting for it. I do not want to stress this little point too heavily, but perhaps it does illustrate how easily misunderstandings arise and how dangerous it is to judge other people by values and standards which belong to a totally different way of thinking. \*

### XHOSA LITERATURE COMPETITION

*A Xhosa Literature competition, open to authors from South Africa and beyond has been launched here to mark the Anniversary next year in July of 150 years of Xhosa Literature in South Africa. An early Scottish missionary in the Tyumie Valley, as far back as 1821, first mastered the Xhosa language and put it in to writing. He was John Bennie who later became known as the father of this language. In 1823 the Rev. John Ross brought the first Printing Press to this area and the Xhosa language was put into print.*

*The competition has been organized by a committee which has been formed to be in charge of the large scale Celebrations next year at the famous Lovedale and Fort Hare institutions. Known as "Indyebo YesiXhosa" meaning "A Wealth of Xhosa" the competition has already drawn many entries although only announced publicly last month. Many well known publishing firms and business houses have undertaken to sponsor different sections in the competition and prize money is already over the R1 000 mark. There are sections on the Novel, Plays, Short Stories, Narrative poetry, and Children's Stories.*

**Of special interest to readers of this journal is the section sponsored by the Lovedale Mission for a Religious booklet of a 50 pages (approx. 25 000 words) on 'Baptism and Holy Communion' and which carries a First Prize of R100. Also recently announced is the section sponsored by the South African Outlook for an article, between 5 000 and 10 000 words in length, describing any aspect of life in South Africa. A First Prize of R100 has been offered along with a Second Prize of R50.**

**Other sections and prizes in the Competition are as follows:**

Lovedale Press	Novel	1st Prize R150 2nd Prize R100
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**"THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE"**

Dr. Turner argues that one cannot go forward to freedom with facts and figures alone. Previous SPROCAS reports have concentrated on analyses of present situations in South Africa, but their point of reference in criticising has been a set of highly abstract moral principles, such as "the dignity of men" or "freedom of the individual". They offer no vision of an ideal future society, no long-range goal towards which change can be directed. His own essay attempts to show the importance of such theoretical vision and to outline some aspects of an ideal society.

"Perhaps the most important step in bringing something about", he says, "is that of becoming aware that it could exist". And the main part of his argument tries to shift the reader into a theoretical attitude, to widen the range of possibilities he can conceive. Once the present order is grasped as history, and is no longer accepted as some unalterable natural condition, the possibility opens of a future as different from the present as is the present from the past. Inequality, of which apartheid is one form, appears natural because of deep-seated assumptions about human nature. Dr. Turner treats these as a capitalist model of man, concerned with consumption and accumulation of material goods, and contrasts a Christian or socialist model, which is concerned with people and "based on freely expressed love". He discusses participatory democracy as an institutional expression of the Christian model, criticises the authoritarianism of existing educational structures and closes with an attack on so-called "realism", which scorns so-called "utopianism" but has nothing to offer in its place. There is also a selective and very useful bibliography.

For deliberate reasons, the language is non-academic. Dr. Turner is not engaging in theoretical discussion for its own sake. He addresses ordinary men and women, Black and White. It is this aspect of the essay, its being intended as an *action* for change, that makes it of special interest and at the same time raises fundamental criticisms.

The characteristic liberal dichotomy, between "the facts" and the values with which they are, to be confronted, persists in Dr. Turner's essay. It makes no difference to this point that the values he advocates are Christian instead of capitalist. Political action is still conceived as an appeal against the facts to some highly general moral principles. Moreover, in keeping company with liberalism, Dr. Turner appears to see the essence of morality in the exercise of choice. "Human beings can choose. They are not sucked into the future by stimuli ..." Elsewhere in the essay he shows an intellectual awareness of the processes of socialisation and the functions of ideology, but the crux of his essay-action is an appeal to individuals, who are presumably assumed to be able to respond. If they do not exercise the right choice, it must be because they are ignorant,

in which case one must give them more information, as Dr. Turner does in this essay, or because they are evil. Either alternative leads directly to that impotent moralising about politics for which liberals are so justly disliked, and radicalism, far from presenting an alternative to these central defects of liberalism, is seen carrying them to extremes.

These issues have yet to be thrashed out in South Africa. Dr. Turner has done a service in raising them clearly. \*

**R. F. MARGO**

**christian neo-marxism?**

Very near the centre of White "solidarity" with the resentful non-White students has been Richard Turner. His essay "The Eye of the Needle", recently distributed by Spro-cas, is the setting to words of revolt, which in the process becomes revolution, that is the radical restructuring of South African society in terms of a redemptive idea called "participatory democracy". The objection of this Bolander to Dr. Turner's vision is exactly that it is a godly vision. It is according to his own claim Utopian thinking.

But for the past quarter of a century or more we have had to contend with and to suffer exactly from Utopian thinking: the redemptive idea of *apartheid*, also meant radically to reconstruct South African society in terms of a godly vision. We have listened to millions of words arguing the cause of Christian nationalism. If Dr. Turner's "participatory democracy" were ever to come about we would be treated to millions of words arguing the cause of Christian neo-Marxism.

There's the rub of all socio-political idealism: in the relentless pursuit of the idea it sooner or later becomes but another of the procrustean beds: Procrustes having been a fabulous Greek robber who violently cut or stretched his victims' legs to fit a bed. There is no tyranny like man being redeemed in terms of an abstraction of freedom expressed in a system of radical socio-political reform. The Jacobites, the communists, the National Socialists, and so on, but also *apartheid*, have demonstrated this to excess. In Richard Turner's "alternative" for a new South Africa, we have all the well-known ingredients: the system, the framework, the "world-view", the rejection of common sense, the "massive and rapid" reconstruction of society, requiring of course, "massive and rapid" concentration and employment of power, with its inevitable Parkinsonian (and worse) results. My objection to "participatory democracy" is that it is a blood-brother of *apartheid*. It is radical politics *Les extrêmes se touchent*.

If we as Whites would survive at all, there is, in fact, for us no "alternative" in the Utopian, the ideological sense. True renewal lies elsewhere. In terms of the authentic reformed tradition, with its roots in John Calvin, this primarily means rediscovering our human frailty. This, in turn, means accepting our human limits, especially in politics which by definition is *not theology*, but is primarily concerned with organizing societies in a charitable, reasonable, practical, livable way.

We are not latter-day gods of Olympus; and we cannot structure the future with an idea to our anxious man-made *eindbestemmings*: end-views, whether they be Christian nationalist or Christian neo-Marxist. The present is the true field of politics. *W.A. de Klerk* - **cape times**



# Rule by Police or Rule by Law?

a spro-cas 2 paper

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

*'WHAT HAPPENED in Germany was the gradual habituation of the people, little by little, to being governed by surprise; to receiving decisions taken in secret; to believing that the situation was so complicated that the Government had to act on information that people could not understand, or so dangerous that it could not be revealed for national security reasons. To live in this process did not mean that one noticed it. Each step was so small, so inconsequential, or on occasion so regretted, that unless one were detached from the whole process from the beginning, unless one understood what the whole thing was in principle, what all these 'little measures' that no 'patriotic German' could resist, must some day lead to, one could no more see it developing than a farmer sees his corn growing - until one day it is over his head.'*

- Molton Mayer: *They Thought They Were Free*, 1966.

A free society was once defined as one where, when there was a knock on your door in the early hours of the morning, you knew it was the milkman. Can this be said of South Africa?

A.V. Dicey, the English constitutional theorist formulated as long ago as 1885 the classical definition of the Rule of Law: 'No man is punishable or can be lawfully made to suffer in body or goods except for a distinct breach of the law established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary courts of the land'. There are two things to be noticed about this definition:

1. No man should be punished unless he has broken a specific law by doing something which that law expressly prohibits.
2. His guilt must be proved by normal court procedure - precise charges, a fair and public trial, defence counsel, legal aid, etc.

Legal rights (e.g. to a fair trial or to freedom of movement) are virtually useless unless they can be enforced. The most important means of protecting people against arbitrary or illegal action by the State is the procedure commonly known as *habeas corpus*: if you suspect that a person is being kept illegally in detention you may apply to court for an urgent order to his captor to produce him in court immediately and justify his detention. The court can then deal with him as the law requires: bring him to trial or set him free.

The South African equivalent of *habeas corpus* normally operates in this country. However, there are numerous laws which expressly prevent the courts

from intervening to safeguard people from intrusion by the police. This applies particularly to Africans and to people opposed to the policy of apartheid.

Countries ruled by law thus contrast sharply with those where punishment can be meted out by ministers, officials or policemen without going through the courts. This is the fundamental distinction between a free society and a police state.

How does South Africa measure up?

## **Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, 1965**

This Act enables an urban local authority summarily to order an African to leave the area and not return if it thinks his presence 'is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order'. The African has no opportunity to appeal or to defend himself.

## **Banishment**

The State may order any tribe, section of a tribe, or individual African to move to any place in the Republic and to remain there. (Native Administration Act, 1927, as amended). There is no appeal against such an order.

When he is banished a man is paid R2. If he cannot get work in the desolate rural area to which people are usually exiled, the State may pay him R1 per month and R3 worth of rations.

**Between 1948 and 1971 some 156 African men and women were banished.** A few were urban political leaders, but most were people from the reserves who had opposed the Government-imposed chieftainship system or the enforcement of passes on women. Some people have since had their orders withdrawn, others have been allowed home under certain conditions. Some have died in exile. **Twenty-three are still in banishment-one person entering his 15th year, two their 17th year, and one his 21st year of exile.**

## **Exclusion of the courts**

In 1956, following two successful appeals to the courts against banishment orders, new provisions were enacted. One was that banishment orders could be served without advance notice. The other prohibited any court of law from issuing an interdict to stay or suspend the execution of any banishment order or of any other order requiring an African to leave any place. (Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act, 1956).

## **Listing**

Under the Suppression of Communism Act, as amended, the Minister of Justice may 'list' the names of former Communist Party members or supporters or



others whom he deems to be furthering any of the aims of 'communism'. 'Listed' people cannot change their addresses or jobs without notifying the police; they may not have anything to do with the preparation or dissemination of any publications; they may not become members of 35 specified organisations; they may not teach at any state or state-aided educational institution; they may not practice at the bar or side-bar; and they may not communicate with one another.

**By July 1970, 568 people had been listed.**

### **Banning**

Under the Suppression of Communism Act the Minister of Justice is empowered to serve banning orders on any person who *in his opinion* is furthering or *likely* to further any of the aims of 'communism' (which is very widely defined). The person has no right to defend himself, and the Minister does not have to give reasons for his action to anyone. Banning orders usually run for five years and may be renewed.

Banning usually involves:

- confinement to a specified magisterial district
- obligation to report regularly to the police
- prohibition from attending gatherings, including social gatherings
- prohibition from being quoted in any way
- prohibition from communicating with other banned or listed people
- prohibition from entering the premises of any educational institution
- prohibition (in the case of whites) from entering an 'African area'
- prohibition from entering the premises of a factory or trade union
- prohibition from being on premises where a publication is produced
- prohibition from belonging to any political organisation

Banned people may also be put under house arrest.

It is a not uncommon practice to serve banning orders on people (mainly Africans) on completion of prison sentences. These orders usually run for two years. In 1970, 19 Africans were immediately banned following their *acquittal* and released from custody by the Supreme Court. At least 117 people have been warned by magistrates that they will be banned unless they refrain from all activities of a political nature.

**So far, some 1100 banning orders have been issued. As at April this year, 219 were still in force against people in South Africa, the great majority of them Africans.**

### **House Arrest**

Over and above banning a person, the Minister of Justice may put him under house arrest. This can involve very severe additional restrictions, including prohibition of all visitors (apart from a doctor or a lawyer), and confinement to specified premises during

specified hours. Usually these are from 6 p.m. to 7 a.m. during the week and then from midday Saturday until Monday morning. However, in some cases people have been confined to their homes for 24 hours a day seven days a week.

**At the end of 1969, 41 people were subject to house arrest, 8 of them for a second five-year period. Nine of them had to report daily to the police.**

### **Passport restrictions**

The Minister of the Interior may order a citizen to surrender his passport without disclosing reasons.

### **Transkei emergency regulations**

A state of emergency has been in force in the Transkei since 1960. Proclamation 413 of that year provided for the arrest (by officers or NCO's) without warrant of persons suspected of having information about any offence whatsoever and their indefinite detention without trial until the authorities are satisfied that they have fully and truthfully answered all questions put to them.

**In 1963 592 people were detained under this proclamation. Between 1965 and 1971, 460 people were detained.**

### **Owambo emergency regulations**

Emergency measures similar to those in the Transkei were proclaimed in Owambo in February. They empower any commissioned or non-commissioned police-officer to arrest without warrant any person suspected of taking part in an offence and to detain him without trial at any place until he has satisfactorily and truthfully answered all questions put to him.

No arrested person may consult a lawyer without the consent of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. The intervention of the courts is prohibited. No civil or criminal action may be brought against any official in respect of any action taken by him under the regulation.

**Between February and May this year, 267 people were detained. Of these 88 were charged and 53 convicted. Nine cases were withdrawn, and well over a hundred people were released without having been charged. Periods of detention without trial ranged from 50 to 115 days.**

### **90 day detention**

In terms of the General Law Amendment Act, 1963, commissioned police officers are empowered to arrest people without warrant and keep them in solitary confinement for periods of up to 90 days. On the expiration of the 90-day period, they may be re-arrested. Ninety-day detainees are not allowed visitors, and are denied access to the courts. Nor are they entitled to copies of statements made by them in detention.

90-day detention was in operation from May 1963 to January 1965. **As at the time of its suspension, 1 095 persons had been detained. Of them, only 575 were charged, with 272 convictions, 210 acquittals, and 93 still awaiting trial. Of the remaining 520 who were**



never charged, 241 gave evidence for the state. That leaves 279 - over a quarter of those detained - who were presumably released without being brought to trial.

### 180 day detention

The Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, 1965, provided that the Attorney-General may order the detention of any person if *in his opinion*:

that person is a potential state witness and is likely to be tampered with  
that person may abscond  
the detention of that person is in his own interests or in the interests of the administration of justice.

The person may be held in solitary confinement. No-one other than an official of the State may have access to him. No court can order the release of the detainee. Unlike the 90-day detention clause, which had to be re-introduced every year, 180-day detention is part of the regular law of the land.

**By May 1971 at least 461 people had been detained under this Act, some of them being held for second and third 180-day periods. 146 had been State witnesses.**

### The Terrorism Act, 1967

This Act, like the 90 and 180 day clauses, authorises arrest and detention without trial and interrogation in solitary confinement. But the 90 and 180 day limitations have been dropped. The detainee may now be held without trial for life. His isolation from the outside world is absolute, for no person is entitled to information about him. Even the fact of his detention may be suppressed, so that parents, children, husbands, and wives are denied information.

The Act expressly confers the right to interrogate. The conditions of detention are determined by the Commissioner of Police and need not be made public. No-one except a State official may have access to the detainee nor may any court order his release or pronounce on the validity of any action taken under the provisions relating to his detention.

The Minister of Justice has consistently refused to give information about detention under the Terrorism Act.

## WHAT HAPPENS TO DETAINEES?

As BOSS and the security police have grown, as each new law has been more drastic than the last, the government has deliberately excluded the courts. It has created a whole sphere of activity where the police has virtual carte blanche. Why have so many detainees given evidence for the State?

In 1963, sixty doctors and psychologists called for the abolition of solitary confinement. Their experiments had shown that it caused no less acute suffering than did physical torture. Time and again there have been allegations of torture - mental and

physical - of detainees. The courts can do virtually nothing about it. When Ahmed Timol met his death last October, he was the 14th detainee to die in security police custody.

### Innocent people definitely have nothing to fear'

General van den Bergh

The Government and police claim that the critics of detention without trial will 'eat their words'. Yet:

Hundreds of people have been detained and then released without ever having been brought to trial. When - and if - people are eventually brought to trial, the charges are sometimes startling in their triviality and the State's case laughable in its flimsiness. The Terrorism Act has been used for detaining people suspected of breaking exchange control regulations.

Significant numbers of detainees have been acquitted by the courts, but only after they have spent some time in prison:

210 90-day detainees were acquitted.

In 1963, 27 people were arrested in Victoria West, held in solitary, tried and all acquitted. In 1969, 24 people were held in solitary, tried in Cape Town, and all acquitted.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and 21 others were held for periods ranging from 107 to 371 days, tried and all acquitted. The government then proceeded to ban nearly all of them.

Mr Peter Magubane spent 568 days in detention, was brought to trial and acquitted. He was then banned.

**If all these were acquitted after being tried, how many innocent people are among those jailed but never brought to trial? Why? \***

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## REES WARNS OF STATE VIOLENCE

The South African State is using increasing violence, Mr. John Rees, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, said yesterday.

This violence included bannings, police action against student demonstrators, and the moving without consultation and endorsement of Africans.

Mr. Rees was speaking on the first day of the council's national conference in Johannesburg.

He warned about 90 delegates of all races that this violence was putting the Church - which had condemned the support given by the World Council of Churches to violent organisations in Southern Africa - in a dilemma.

—Rand Daily Mail

African theology is a translation and interpretation of God's self-disclosure, especially in Jesus Christ, in and for an African context. So it must operate in terms that are relevant and essential to African existence. In order to operate in such terms, African theology should continuously make use of and elaborate upon the existing points of contact for the Christian communication. At the same time it has to wrestle with a lot of semantic problems. 'Translation' in our definition of African theology often means real linguistic translation.

### PROPOSED CATEGORIES OF POINTS OF CONTACT

On the basis of certain principles it should be possible to distinguish between various categories of points of contact. The five categories discussed in this paper below are meant to be taken as an exemplary proposal only.

#### 1. Mythological points of contact:

This category deals with various motifs presented in the form of myths in African heritage. As an example the following Meru myth (Tanzania) may be presented:

In the beginning man lived in a 'paradise-like' state and God (*Iruva*) was close to him like a fruit in a tree. *Iruva* had sent a prophet to live with man. This prophet was able to discuss with *Iruva*, and he explained and taught God's will to man (what is right, what is wrong). Man, however, refused to follow the prophet's teaching and was disobedient towards God's will. As a result of man's disobedience *Iruva* withdrew from man and went far away. Man's original state was changed to his present state of wars, famines, diseases and other human sufferings.

Tens of parallel myths have been recorded among various African tribes. The forms of these myths as well as their contextual elements vary, but the motif they present is the same: due to man's misdeed or misbehaviour God has gone far away.

Here we have a motif which offers a point of contact for the Christian communication regarding sin in general, as it separates man from God (Gen. 3; Isa. 1-2, etc.). This motif could perhaps serve also as a point of departure for Christian teachings on God's 'transcendence'.

#### 2. Conceptual points of contact:

This category consists of certain concepts, particularly of those related to the idea of God and his believed activities. The following examples are again taken from the traditional Meru world-view. Similar beliefs and concepts are found also elsewhere in Africa.

##### God as Creator:

According to the traditional Meru belief, *Iruva* (God) has created everything. This concept of God is crystallized in a common Bantu way in the descriptive name *Mutana*. The noun *Mutana* comes from the verb *itana*, which is employed in everyday speech in common phrases *itana finuru* 'to do good', *itana kisha* 'to do well', and so on. The same verb can also be used to designate the building or making of a new house. Here the verb carries the idea of bringing into existence something which was not there earlier, not just transforming something.

According to the Meru belief God created everything. He is also believed to be acting here and now among men in various ways. In addition to *Mawavi*, this aspect in the Meru concept of God is crystallized in other descriptive names as well: God is *Mwuwurusa* 'He who feeds', *Mweleka* 'Helper', *Makege* (*Makege*) 'Protector' and *Nkira saka* 'He who heals disease'. All these names and the ideas they express can be used as points of departure in the Christian communication.

In the traditional Meru world-view *Iruvu* (God) is not considered as a remote deity only. Rather we have to speak of his simultaneous remoteness and nearness viz. transcendence and immanence. The Meru themselves express this duality in their concept of God by saying, "For the eye God is far away, but for the prayer he is near." Perhaps we have here an experience to some extent parallel to that in Isa. 57:15.

#### 3. Ethical points of contact:

In the traditional Meru world-view and way of life, certain kinds of conduct are regarded as 'bad', some other kinds again as 'good'. For example, stealing, lying, and hitting one's parents are 'bad' behaviour and should be punished and discouraged. On the other hand, speaking the truth, honoring the parents and older persons in general, and helping a neighbour in need are considered as 'good' conduct which has to be encouraged. These common aspects of traditional African morals have been and are used as points of



contact for Christian teaching of the Ten Commandments, sin, and so on. At least in the traditional Meru world-view, man's misdeeds are thought to 'insult' even God (not just the neighbour or the community). It is believed that God may punish man for his bad deeds. As a whole, there seems to be an ethical relationship between *Iruva* (God) and man in the Meru world-view.

As other categories of existing points of contact we would like to propose those of

#### 4. Emotive

#### 5. Ritual points of contact

The former category would include, for example, the common fear (of spirits, curses, death, and so on) to which the Christian message of Christ as the Victor over the 'elementary powers of the world' brings solution (—'negative' points of contact). The latter category again would consist of, say, communal and in

some cases also individual prayers, some aspects of traditional wedding and other ceremonies, and so on.

Regarding all the five categories, it should also be determined which motifs, concepts, ethical principles and so on are not merely traditional, but also 'actual' and having functional significance at present in a given cultural context. This can be done on the basis of a careful *genre analysis*. On the other hand, we should remember that Christian impact often 're-actualizes' merely traditional concepts and beliefs even among the non-Christians of a people.

As demonstrated above, various concepts, motifs, principles and so on may offer points of contact for the Christian communication. Therefore they are of significance to African theology. The Christian communication takes place through human language. Certain motifs and concepts are reflected, articulated, transmitted and translated in and for a given context by means of language and words. \*

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## MODERNE AFRIKANERIDENTITEIT (verv.)

moderne Afrikaner hom ontuis en ontvang hy bitter min leiding in die huidige situasie. Vir hom is die probleem nie hoe om homself effektief en totaal te isoleer van die strominge en probleme van die moderne lewe nie, maar hoe om by hulle aan te sluit, hoe om hulle die hoof te bied en te verwerk tot iets wat behoudend eie aan hom is, maar tog konsekwent en versoenbaar met moderniteit is. Dié kerk dien hoofsaaklik om die argaïese en uitgediende in sy gesplete persoonlikheid te versterk en daardeur sy vermoë om aan te pas by die werklikheid van die hier en nou te ondermyn; om die tweespalt in sy siel te verdoesel deur die ontwakende en die deurbrekende te onderdruk en te versmoor. Dié kerk is 'n remskoen aan die wa van die moderne Afrikaner en vertraag die ontwikkeling van die volk. Die kerk hoef dit nie noodwendig te wees nie; hy verkies om dit te wees. Daar is waarskynlik 'n aansienlike aantal predikante en lede van die kerk wat net so diep bekommerd is oor dié toestand van sake. Maar wat doen hulle hieromtrent? Hoekom hoor ons nie meer van hulle nie? Kan hulle ons oortuig dat ons van binne die kerk iets kan bereik? Is hervorming van die kerk nog moontlik? Wat staan die moderne Afrikaner te doen? Daarby kom ons later. Laat ons eers die stelling dat die Party deel vorm van die Afrikaner se identiteit van nader beskou.

### DIE PARTY

Daar is 'n wydverspreide opvatting dat die ware Afrikaner die nasionaalgesinde is. Ondersteuners van die Verenigde of Progressiewe Partye, om nie eens van die vroeëre Liberale Party te praat nie, is tot 'n sekere mate ontrou aan die volk, afvallig ten minste, indien nie renegate nie. Hierdie opvattinge is histories

geanker in die opdraende stryd van die Afrikaner in hierdie land en die besondere rol wat die Nasionale Party in dié opsig gespeel het. Die moderne Afrikaner waardeur hierdie rol en dit word ook waardeur deur enigeen wat die geskiedenis onbevange beskou, of in 'n soortgelyke situasie ten opsigte van sy eie volk verkeer, soos Meneer Buthelezi voor 'n SAAK-gehoor getuig het. Maar is dit nie 'n rol wat tot die verlede behoort nie? En bied die assosiasie van die Afrikaner met die Nasionale Party 'n aanvaarbare en effektiewe politieke bedeling vir die moderne Afrikaner en vir Suid-Afrika? Ek wil nie propaganda maak vir ander partye nie en daarom moet dit onmiddellik gesê word dat ek nie die ander politieke partye as die enigste alternatiewe in die huidige situasie aanvaar nie. Maar die antwoord moet 'n besliste nee wees. ..Waarom?

### AFRIKANERNASIONALISME ONMOONTLIK!

Dit bring ons by die onmoontlikheid van Afrikanernasionalisme. Ek wil nie 'n akademiese betoog lewer oor die nasionalisme nie. Laat ons dus argumentshalwe die definisie van Dirk Kotzé aanvaar. Volgens hom is die nasionalisme 'n gedagtesistiem waarin die nasie sentraal gestel word. Die nasie is 'n groep mense wat 'n bepaalde identiteit het en besondere waardes deel. Nasionalisme beteken dat die nasie 'n soewereine staatsverband of staat wil hê (p. 12). Hy merk op dat soms 'n enkele volk 'n nasie wil wees en 'n eie staat wil besit. Dit is die ideaal van 'n volkstaat. Hy noem voorbeelde van meervolkige nasies soos België, Kanada, Switserland, en so meer (maar nie Suid-Afrika nie), en kom tot die slotsom dat in verreweg die meeste gevalle afsonderlike volke verkies het om afsonderlike state te



hê en dus nasies te wees.

Die punt is dat die begrip nasie onlosmaaklik aan die begrip staat verbind is en dat die nasionalisme die verkryging of behoud van die nasiestaat beteken. Hierdie begrip is ook onderliggend aan Afrikanernasionalisme en is uitgebou deur die Nasionale Party in die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling, die tuislande, die bestaan van verskillende nasies in Suid-Afrika en die onafhanklikwording van die verskillende nasiestate om die ideaal van elke nasie te verwesenlik. Daar is nou wel die probleem van grondgebeid en dat ons nie eintlik weet wat om met die Kleurlinge te maak nie. Die grootste probleem met Afrikanernasionalisme word egter meesal nie vierkantig in die oë gekyk nie.

### DIE VRYSTAAT 'N AFRIKANERSTAN?

Dié probleem is dat Afrikanernasionalisme ook die afsonderlike bestaan van 'n onafhanklike Afrikanerstaat impliseer. En tog hoor ons nie dat die Vrystaat en Transvaal tot 'n Afrikanerstan verklaar sal word, waarheen alle Afrikaners eendag gerepatrieer sal moet word en slegs as trekwerkers in ander dele van Suid-Afrika toegelaat sal word nie. Miskien is dit maar net 'n deel van die beleid wat nie op hierdie stadium byval by die volk sal vind en stemme sal werf nie. Miskien word daar besef dat die moderne Afrikaner geen Dorslandtrekker is nie. Maar ek dink die probleem is van veel ernstiger aard. Dit is naamlik dat Afrikanernasionalisme nog steeds Suid-Afrika as 'n geheel as sy regmatige staatsverband beskou. Die daarstelling van die Republiek was 'n Afrikanerideaal en 'n Afrikanerdaad, en dit word vandag nog beskou as 'n Afrikanerstaat as 'n mens 'n bietjie onder die nerfie van die „Suid-Afrika-Eerste“-front krap. So het ons in die afgelope tussenverkiesing verneem dat dit onredelik van die Verenigde Party is om te verwag dat die Republiek na slegs tien jaar aan hom oorhandig sal word, veral omdat dit die ondergang van die Afrikaner sou beteken. En in sulke propagandapamflette soos Kotzé se *Positiewe Nasionalisme* en Van Jaarsveld se *Afrikaner Quo Vadis* is daar geen teken van 'n breër Suid-Afrikaanse nasionalisme nie.

### WEL AFRIKANERIMPERIALISME!

Afrikanernasionalisme, soos gemanifesteer in die Nasionale Party, kan dus net een ding beteken, nl. Afrikanerimperialisme. Dit is die ou ideaal van die volkstaat wat so sterk is in ons volksverlede wat nog steeds blindelings aangehang word. Ten spyte van die logiese uitbouing in die Bantoestanbeleid, bly dit nog steeds onontbeerlik imperialisties ten opsigte van die Kleurlinge, die Engelssprekendes en die miljoene Swartmense vir wie daar nie in die tuislandbeleid voorvoorsiening gemaak is nie.

Die moderne Afrikaner se dilemma is dus dat hy nie 'n Afrikanernasionalis kan wees sonder om 'n imperialis te wees of om die belaglike idee van 'n

Afrikanerstan te aanvaar nie. Terwyl Afrikanernasionalisme 'n sentrale rol in ons volksverlede gespeel het, was dit nog altyd anti-imperialisties en het dit juis gestry, en eens verloor, teen die imperialisme. Gaan ons nou die geskiedenis herhaal en aan andere doen wat ons nie aan onself gedoen wou en wil hê nie?

Die Nasionale Party is nou vir vier-en-twintig jaar aan die bewind. Dit is te begrype dat in die eerste jare, veral voor die daarstelling van die Republiek, dit noodsaaklik was om die Afrikanersaak te bevorder omdat dit onder die vorige bewind nie tot sy reg gekom het nie. Maar na 24 jaar, wat 'n lang periode is vir enige party om an bewind te wees, kan 'n mens tog stellig verwag dat 'n breër nasionale beleid gevolg sal word en dat daar 'n sistematiese poging sal wees om aan alle bevolkingsgroepe 'n regmatige deelname aan die landsadministrasie te verseker. In plaas daarvan vind ons dat die Party nog altyd tradisionele Afrikanerbelange vooropstel, homself voordoen as die politieke tuiste van die Afrikaner, die vegter vir Afrikaneridentiteit, -eenheid en voortbestaan. Met die Afrikaner se getalsterkte is dit in die Party se belang en daarom word die tradisionele belange van die Afrikaner vir politieke gewin uitgebuit. Die Party is die politieke arm van die volk en moet volksidentiteit en -eenheid ten alle koste bewaar. Daarom ook die uitbuiting van Afrikanersentimente in die laaste tussenverkiesing terwyl alle nugtere mense gehoop het dat so iets tot die ongelukkige verlede behoort. Dit is dus geen wonder dat die Nasionale Party weinig steun van Engelsprekendes en ander bevolkingsgroepe ontvang en hierdie ander groepe feitlik geen aandeel in die landsadministrasie het nie. Die Afrikaner-monopolie in die landsadministrasie en die publieke korporasies verleen verdere steun aan die gevolgtrekking dat Afrikanernasionalisme in die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing alleen tot Afrikanerimperialisme kan lei.

### LIEWER SUID-AFRIKANERS ...

In die veelvolkige Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing is Afrikanernasionalisme dus 'n uitgediende begrip en moet dit verwerp word deur moderne Afrikaners wat die werklikhede van die hede en die toekoms bo die ideale van die verlede stel. Dis bemoedigend dat in 'n onlangse opname driekwart van die Afrikaanssprekendes te kenne gegee het dat hulle hulself eerstens as Suid-Afrikaners en dan as Afrikaners beskou. Hierin lê beslis 'n basis vir 'n breër Suid-Afrikaanse nasionalisme waarin die moderne Afrikaner kan opgaan en waartoe hy 'n belangrike bydrae kan maak. Sover dit blanke politiek aangaan, sal 'n party wat hierdie soort nasionalisme voorstaan, in woord en daad moet bewys dat hy die ondersteuning van groot sekties van albei blanke bevolkingsgroepe het en sal hy hom nie kan assosieer met die een of die ander nie. Of enigeen van die twee hoofpartye in staat sal wees om die las van die verlede af te gooi, homself te hervorm, en positiewe leiding op Suid-Afrikaanse nasionale



grondslae te bieu, lyk onwaarskynlik. Hierdie party-politieke bedeling bied nie juis 'n aantreklike keuse aan die moderne Afrikaner nie. Die moderne Afrikaner besef dat die handhawing van identiteit en eenheid van 'n volk 'n kulturele probleem vir daardie volk is en nie 'n politieke probleem vir die samelewing nie. Op samelewingsgebied moet ons alleen sorg dat geen volk veronreg word nie en dat volke en etniese groepe vrygelaat word om hulle kulturele sake te reël en hulle aspirasies uit te lewe, solank hierdie aspirasies met die belange van die ander volke en dié van die samelewing versoenbaar is.

## DIE BROEDERBOND

'n Mens kan nie die rol van die Kerk en die Party in die Afrikaanse volk en die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing volkome verstaan sonder om ag te slaan op die rol van die Afrikaner-Broederbond en sy jeugvlerk, die Ruiterswag, nie. Hierdie is geheime organisasies wat hulleself ten doel stel om Afrikaneridentiteit en eenheid ten alle koste te handhaaf. Dit is natuurlik heeltemal in orde dat daar organisasies bestaan wat hulle vir dié doelstellinge beywer. Maar waarom moet hulle geheime organisasies wees? Kan die Afrikaner bekostig om 'n saak wat hom so ná aan die hart lê, wat so kardinaal is vir sy volkslewe, in die hand van 'n self-aangestelde, selfvoortsettende, uitverkore klik te laat? Dit is tog totaal ondemokraties en volksvreemd. *Hoeveel Afrikanervroue is daar in die Broederbond?* Hoe weet ons wie die manne is en waarvoor hulle staan? Hoekom kan ons nie die geleentheid hê om die doelstellings van hierdie organisasies op 'n volkskongres te bestudeer en goed te keur en self die leiers te kies nie? Weet ons byvoorbeeld hoeveel lede van die voormalige Ossewabrandwag vandag in die Broederbond sit en presies watter rol hulle speel? Hoe weet ons dat hulle nie miskien die organisasie beheer en nog steeds nasionaal-sosialistiese idees voorstaan nie?

## EX-NAZIS REGEER S.A.?

In Duitsland het die Duitse volk doelbewus en daadwerklik opgetree om alle vorige Nazis uit die openbare lewe te ban, om alle assosiasies te verwyder en seker te maak dat hulle nie verdag sal wees in die oë van ander nasies nie. In die oë van die buiteland word die Afrikaner nie net met die Nasionale Party geassosieer en geblameer vir die apartheidsbeleid van die Party nie. Die mening dat Suid-Afrika deur 'n klik van ex-Nazis regeer word, is ook baie algemeen. In 'n ope brief aan alle Suid-Afrikansers is 'n hele reeks onheilspellende ooreenkomste tussen die praktyke van die Nasionale Party-Regering en die Nazi-bewind in *Pro Veritate* gepubliseer. En dit was een van die hoogsaangeskrewe lede van die Broederbond wat die geleentheid van 'n Algemene N.G. Kerk-Sinode, van alle plekke, uitgekies het om die Regering teen sulke aantygings te verdedig. Kan 'n mens verkwalik word as jy agterdogtig is? Is hierdie mense nie 'n verduideliking aan die

Afrikanervolk verskuldig nie? Kan ons dit bekostig dat ons volk verdag gemaak word, dat dit geassosieer word met die mees demoniese mag wat in hierdie eeu, indien nie in die hele mensegeskiedenis nie, sy kop uitgesteek het?

As 'n Afrikaner wat pas uit die buiteland teruggekeer het, is ek diep ontsteld oor die beeld wat die buiteland van ons volk het. Daar is nie nog 'n volk wat so eenvormig dwarsdeur die wêreld verag en bespot word, en selfs gehaat word, vir die idees wat hy sou voorstaan nie. Dit is net Nazisme wat enigsins dieselfde reaksie by die wêreld uitgelok het. Die Duitse volk het na die katastrofe die stukkie wat daar van die selfrespek van die volk oorgebly het, bymekaar gesit en 'n nuwe beeld gebou wat meedoënloos alle vorms van assosiasie met Nazisme uitgewerp het. Vandag neem hulle weer hulle plek in onder die gerespekteerde en bewonderde volke van die wêreld. Ons volk was ook voorheen gerespekteer en selfs bewonder vir ons moed en dapperheid in ons stryd teen die imperialisme. Maar wat is die situasie vandag? Ons word verfoei en gehaat en dis 'n marteling om 'n Afrikaner in die buiteland te wees. Wie se skuld is dit? Hoe kan ons weet as ons sake deur 'n geheime organisasie gereël word en as die man wat, tot 'n paar weke gelede, die Voorsitter van daardie organisasie was ook 'n vooraanstaande lid van die Ossewabrandwag was? 'n Volk kan homself nie respekteer as hy nie die respek van ander volke afdwing nie. Wat gaan ons hieromtrent doen? Gaan ons wag tot ná die katastrofe en dan probeer om die eer van ons volk te herstel; moet ons eers gebreek word voordat ons gerespekteer kan word?

## BEHEER DIE BROEDERBOND KERK EN UNIVERSITEIT?

Laat die Broederbond en sy jong arm aan die Afrikanervolk verantwoording doen van hulle doen en late as selfaangestelde bewaarders van die identiteit en die eer van ons volk. Die Broederbond is diep ingegrawe in sowel die Kerk as die Party en, ewe ontstellend, ook in ons Afrikaanse universiteite wat as volksuniversiteite beskou word. Beheer die Bond nie miskien die Kerk en die Party en ook die universiteite nie? Hoe weet ons dat ons nie hier met 'n demoniese mag in ons volkslewe te doen het nie? Dat die hoogste geestesgoedere van ons volk nie vir 'n kunsmatige eenheid, 'n pot lensiesop, verkwansel word nie? Dat dit nie die setel is van 'n Afrikanernasionalisme wat doelbewus imperialisties is, soos nasionaal-sosialisme imperialisties was nie? Let wel, hierdie vrae word in alle opregtheid deur 'n gewone Boerseun gevra, 'n Afrikaner wat diep bekommerd is oor die eer en die toekoms van sy volk en van Suid-Afrika. Ek wil dit onomwonde stel: as Afrikaner wil ek niks te doen hê met 'n identiteit en 'n eenheid wat in die geheim agter geslote deure deur 'n selfaangestelde, uitverkore klik geknoei word nie. Hoe kan enige selfrespekterende Afrikaner daarmee verlief neem?



## DIE POLITIEKE KULTUS ...

Ons kan insae kry in die dinamika van die huidige Afrikaner-kultus wat deur die Broederbond beheer word deur onself te herinner aan wat onlangs met twee Afrikaanse studente-predikante gebeur het. Die een, van Stellenbosch, het die pad van die Kultus gekies. Hy het redakteur van die Kerkbode geword waar hy die politiek van die Kultus openlik bedryf het terwyl hy heftig die reg van ander kerke om politiek betrokke te wees, ewe openlik ontken en beveg het. Sy inleidingsartikels, saamgevat in die bundeltjie, *Op die Keper*, is meesal spesiale pleidooie in belang van die Kultus wat telkens op die finale gesag van die Skrif terugval. Die interpretasies van die Skrif is natuurlik streng binne die Calvinistiese verband en die bundeltjie sou eerder „Op de Kuyper” as „Op de Keper” genoem kon word. Hierdie man het onlangs die politiek betree en het bekend geword as een van die mees „verkrampes” in die Party, tot so ’n mate dat hy byna tot die geleedere van die Herstigtes uitgeskop moes word. Geen twee weke gelde nie het ons verneem dat hy nou die hoogste rang in die binnehof van die Kultus bereik het deur Piet Meyer as hoof van die Broederbond op te volg. ’n Mens kan kwalik sy rol in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek van die volgende paar jaar oorskat. Ons moet onthou dat hy onder andere in *Op die Keper* sê: „Stemreg is geen aangebore mensereg nie en nie noodsaaklik vir sogenaamde menslike waardigheid nie. In noodgevallen kan selfs ’n diktatuur Christelik wees.” Hy gebruik altyd die kwalifikasie „sogenaamde” voor „menslike waardigheid” en dit laat ’n mens wonder of hy werklik daarin glo.

Die ander man het die pad gekies wat met die Kultus breek en hoër waardes eerste gestel. Hy het dit gewaag om te aanvaar dat ’n mens se opvattinge en beskouings oor wat Christelik is of nie, darem tog verantwoord moet wees teenoor dié van die lewende Christelike gemeenskap rondom jou en nie net teenoor die Kultus se definisies nie. Hy het die Christelike Instituut gestig om hierdie breër perspektief te bevorder en is hierin deur ander predikante gevolg. Wat het van hom geword? Hy is uit die Kerk én die Kultus geskop. Hy het besoeke van die Veiligheidspolisie ontvang en sy Instituut word nou deur ’n Parlementêre Komitee ondersoek vir ondermynende en on-Suid-Afrikaanse aktiwiteite.

### KNOEIERY MET IDENTITEIT VERWERP!

Ons sien hier in skrilte reliëf hoe die institusies en organisasies van die Afrikanerkultus fungeer om die Kultus ten alle koste te handhaaf. Kerk en Party en Broederbond is onlosmaaklik ineengestrengel en -geskakel om die allesoorheersende doel van Kultus-eenheid en -handlwing te bereik. Dis dan ook daarom dat die priesters van die Kultus nie skroom om Afrikanerwees te definieer in terme van lidmaatskap in, of ondersteuning van hierdie organisasies nie. Dit

beteken dat die Afrikaner wat nie aan die vereistes voldoen nie, afvallig is, ontrou aan die volk is, en teruggewen of vermy moet word. Dit is die hoofboodskap van die handboekie vir Rapportryers wat deur die Voorsitter van die beweging uitgegee is onder die misleidende titel „Positiewe Nasionalisme”.

Die moderne Afrikaner is nie ’n kultusmens nie. Hy verwerp dié soort knoeiery met sy identiteit. Hy kan nie die betekenis van sy menswees besin uit die voorgeskrewe boeke, slagspreuke en dogmatiese uitsprake van selfaangestelde „leiers” nie. Hy wil *mens* wees—nie god of baas nie—in ’n samelewing waarin hy onontkomelik saamgegooi is met ’n massa mense van verskillende volksgemeenskappe.

Daar is natuurlik ander kultusse ook in die land, maar dit gaan nie vanaand om hulle nie, behalwe om op te merk dat dieselfde ontleding op hulle toegepas sou kon word. Die inherente eksklusiwiteit van die kultusverband maak dit ’n totaal ontoereikende basis vir ’n moderne samelewing waarin mense van wyd uiteenlopende agtergronde saamleef. Die kultusverband moet verwerp word, en volksidentiteit en -eenheid moet in die samelewing op die agtergrond geskuif word waar andersheid gehandhaaf kan word, terwyl dit wat eenders en gemeenskaplik is, op die voorgrond geskuif moet word as ’n basis vir samelewing. Om te verwag dat ander mense op jou terme moet saamlewe, is nie menslik nie, maar demonies, en die grondslag van alle vorme van imperialisme.

### AFRIKANERNASIONALISME UITGEDIEN

Maar genoeg van hierdie dinge. My hoofdoel met hierdie ontleding en vraestellery was om aan te toon dat ’n Afrikaneridentiteit wat net op die verlede gebaseer is, nie meer aanvaarbaar en voldoende is vir die moderne Afrikaner nie; dat Afrikanernasionalisme ’n uitgediende en ontoepaslike ideologie in die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse staatsverband is en dat dit as sodanig ook nie aanvaarbaar is vir die moderne Afrikaner nie.

(Deel 2 vervolg)

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### KOTZÉ WARNS ON DRIFT IN S.A. TO TOTAL CONTROL

There were signs that the South African Government was moving towards complete totalitarianism, the Rev. Theo Kotzé, Director of the Cape Region of the Christian Institute, said last night.

Mr. Kotzé was opening the 48th congress of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) at the University of Cape Town.

Mr. Kotzé said it was not only dangerous to be a Christian in South Africa, but dangerous to be a dissenter.

For the lover of liberty, politics was the pragmatic solving of the common problems of life. But totalitarian politics were caught up in ideology, and hostile to other views.

—The Argus



## BESWAAR TEEN EENSYDIGHEID EN WAARDERING

Die onderstaande brief wat as gevolg van growwe taal effens verkort is, is deur ds. Nico van Loggerenberg, 'n leraar van die N.G. Kerk, geskryf en is 'n reaksie op die Julie-uitgawe van *Pro Veritate*.

Die deel wat op mnr. Fred van Wyk, direkteur van die Instituut vir Rasseverhoudinge van toepassing is, word deur hom beantwoord.

Die kritiek op die inleidingsartikel oor die studente-onrus word daarna beantwoord.

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As gereelde leser en intekenaar van *Pro Veritate*, die maandblad vir Christelike waarheid, spyt dit my om my diepste teleurstelling met die eensydige veroordeling van die polisie uit te spreek (P.V. 16/7/72). Die polisie-optrede word as „skokkende geweldadigheid” bestempel, terwyl die studentebetogings sonder 'n woord van kritiek goedgekeur word. Is dit volgens die voorbeeld van Jesus Christus? U uitverkore fotos toon tog dat die polisie onder provokasie opgetree het en dat dit 'n vooraf-beplande uittarting was om die situasie te skep.

Dit word nog veel erger wanneer u Esegël en Jeremia sonder die nodige eksegetiese byroep om die „kwade dag vir Suid-Afrika” te bewys dat die dialoog, al was dit „onbeholpe” en al het dit „beweerde verkeerde elemente bevat”, met „fanatiese geweld” beantwoord is. Dit is voorwaar 'n verkragting van alle Bybel-gesag, 'n tipiese metode van humanistiese liberalisme in hul ideologiese stryd om alle vorme van gesag verdag voor te stel. Dit is 'n tragiese gedienstigheid aan die liberalisme.

Die gerieflike stokperdjie van 'n „Nazisme-tyd in Duitsland” word weer met groot gemak bygeskrop om te bewys dat die kerk vir 'n „onchristelike beleid—en die beleid vir die kerk” aanvaarbaar is. En in die chaos van onkunde en verwarring kom die refrein: „die kerk faal”, want die „skokkende onthulling”, waarvan die norme van beoordeling onbekend is, het onfeilbaar bewys dat die prediking liefdeloos is.

Voorts wil ek graag met mnr. Fred van Wyk volkome saamstem, dat ons 'n ongelyke situasie het, veral m.b.t. die onderwys, maar dan moet ek die knellende vrae stel: Sedert wanneer bestaan die ongelyke situasie en watter regering of beleid het ooit in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika meer gedoen om die ongelyke situasie op 'n nasionale grondslag gelyk te skakel as die huidige regering en beleid? Watter regering of beleid het ooit meer gedoen vir Bantoe-behuising, -onderwys, -gesondheid en werksomstandighede? Hierdie vrae word gestel sonder om die negatiewe aspekte van die huidige beleid te ontken of te verklein en die pynlike herinnering aan

die onooglike, onhigiëniese en wanordelike plakkersdorpe voor 1948.

Derdens wil ek graag mnr. John Rees gelukwens met sy artikel: Een Here, Een Kerk, Een Taak. Dit is 'n moedige poging wat tot iets kan ontwikkel, mits die jammerlike verwarring oorbrug kan word. Nogtans kan 'n mens dit lees en hy hoef nie te vrees dat hy „sonder enige gronde en genadeloos as kommunist” gebrandmerk sal word nie. Sy vrees is onnodig, mits hy tipiese kommunistiese metodes of geïdentifiseerde optredes altyd vermy. Ons is een Christus-kerk en ons worstel met dieselfde taak, maar *Pro Veritate*, sien gedurig denkbeeldige vyande, Bybelstudie, gebed en die liefde van Christus sal die visie verlig.

Dankie vir opname.

**nico van loggerenberg**

## DIE ONGELYKE SITUASIE

Ds. Van Loggerenberg se erkenning dat ons 'n ongelyke situasie tussen die blankes en nie-blankes op verskillende gebiede in ons land het en sy geïmpliseerde toegewing dat hierdie ongelyke situasie op 'n nasionale grondslag gelyk geskakel moet word, stem tot groot dankbaarheid. Wat sy aanspraak vir die prestasies van die huidige regering in hierdie verband betref, wil ek ds. Van Loggerenberg vra of Christene nie die verantwoordelikheid en roeping het om huidige tekortkominge en onreg aan te dui en te bestry nie. Daar kan alte sekerlik veel kritiek uitgespreek word op die nalatigheid en tekortkominge van vorige regerings—en 'n mens is dankbaar dat Christene ook toe die Staat op sy tekortkominge attent gemaak het. Daar kan insgelyks met dankbaarheid melding gemaak word van positiewe stappe van die huidige regering, maar so 'n spel van vergelyking sal ons tog nêrens bring nie.

### SYFERS TOON SWAKKER SITUASIE AS 1948

In elk geval kan ds. Van Loggerenberg gerus die beskikbare gegewens van vroeër en nou, bv. op die gebied van die onderwys, nader ontleed. Ek dink hy sal dan onder andere vind dat waar daar in 1949 R14 per Bantoe-kind op skool deur die Staat bestee is, die vergelykende reële bedrag, met in agneming van inflasie, in die jaar 1969/70 op ongeveer R8 neerkom.

Ander interessante statistiek toon dat waar daar in

1949 'n gaping van R43 tussen die jaarlikse besteding per blanke kind op skool en dié per Bantoe-kind was, hierdie gaping in 1972 tot ongeveer R230 gestyg het. Daar word dus vergelykenderwys in 1972 veel minder per Bantoe-kind op skool bestee as in 1949 en veel meer per blanke kind.

Die feit dat daar nou 'n veel hoër persentasie Bantoe-kindere op skool is as in 1949 stem tot dankbaarheid, maar dan moet daar ook op gelet word dat waar daar 6% van die Bantoe-kindere op skool in 1950 in die sekondêre klasse was, die ooreenstemmende persentasie in 1970 slegs 4,5% was. (Die ooreenstemmende syfer vir blanke kindere was ongeveer 34%).

Terloops, Suid-Afrika het in 1953 4% van sy nasionale inkomste aan die onderwys bestee en dit staan vandag nog presies daar. Die huidige persentasie vir Holland is 7,6, Engeland 6,8, Kanada 9,6, Zambië 7,8 en die V.S.A. 6,4.

Dergelyke vergelykings op die ander gebiede—behuising, gesondheid, werksgeleenthede—sal waarskynlik 'n dergelyke situasie openbaar, maar ek pleit weer dat vergelykings tussen die verlede en die hede ons niks sal baat nie. Moet ons nie liewer dankbaar wees as ons mense 'n groeiende besorgdheid toon oor die onreg in die maatskappy nie? En ds. Van Loggerenberg sê self dat die ongelyke situasie op 'n nasionale grondslag gelyk geskakel moet word.

**fred van wyk**

## **DIÉ KRITIEK ANTWOORD NIE VRAE**

*Wat ds. Nico van Loggerenberg se opmerkings oor die inleidingsartikel betref, moet opgemerk word dat daar nie aangetoon word hoe die tekste verkeerd gebruik is nie. Gevolglik is so 'n kritiek nutteloos.*

*Wat die geweldadigheid van die polisie teen studente wat onreg op onderwysvlak onder die aandag van die publiek probeer bring het, betref, kan selfs met die grootste geforseerdheid nouliks 'n goeie woord vir die optrede van die polisie en regering ge-uit word. Die kreet is nou „orde en vrede” en dit is treffend dat voor 1948 met 'n ander regering die kreet nou deur dieselfde gesindtes „geregtigheid en reg” was. Is die „orde” wat die huidige regering met sy onchristelike beleid nou met geweld handhaaf nie juis wanorde nie en moet daar nie gepleit, gebid en geprofeteer word dat die ewangeliese orde van liefde en geregtigheid kom nie?*

*Die vrae wat in die inleidingsartikel gevra is, bly steeds onbeantwoord. Waarom is op die argumente van die studente summier met uitsetting en geweld en nie met dialoog oor die onderwys geantwoord nie? Waarom is die optrede van die polisie deur 'n*

*kommissie van die N.G. Kerk goedgekeur, maar toe 'n vergadering vir alle predikante in Johannesburg belê is om die meriete van die saak te bespreek, het die „leiers” van die N.G. Kerk in Johannesburg propaganda daarteen gemaak sodat N.G. leraars dit nie sou bywoon nie? Om te insinueer dat die verknuppeling van proteste die beste oplossing was, is om duisternis lig te noem!*

*Ds. Nico van Loggerenberg se positiewe opmerkings word waardeer.*

—Redakteur.

### **S.A. SOOS NAZI-STAAT— V. NIEKERK**

„Die Suid-Afrikaanse regstelsel is baie dieselfde as die wette wat in Nazi-Duitsland toegepas is. Die mens se ingebore reg tot vryheid is in Suid-Afrika net 'n verre eggo.”

Die mening het prof. Barend van Niekerk, professor in regte aan die Universiteit van Natal, gistermiddag uitgespreek toe hy studente by Wits toegesprek het.

Hy het gesê daar is nie „'n enkele basiese mensereg, nie 'n enkele burgerreg (soos in ander Westerse lande geken) wat nie in Suid-Afrika in 'n mate vertrap, misken, verontagsaam of op die minste verdun is nie”.

Ná die val van Nazi-Duitsland is die Wes-Duitse Wet op Regte gemaak wat 19 fundamentele mense en burgerregte bevat. „Ek beklemtoon met die grootste nadruk tot my beskikking dat nie een van hulle in ons land uitgeoefen word nie. Daar sal mense wees wat trots is hierop, maar ek is diep beskaamd daarvoor”.

Hy het voorbeelde genoem van wat in Suid-Afrika skort.

- Suid-Afrika het die hoogste teregstellingsyfer in die wêreld, dien die meeste lyfstraf toe en die syfer vir tronkstraf is die hoogste in die wêreld, het hy gesê.
- „Ons is deur sensuur afgesny van die verrykende ondervinding van meningswisseling met die wêreld, die afwesigheid van beeld-radio en 'n ideologiese oogklap-onderwysstelsel”.
- Die sterftesyfer van die Bantoes is hoër as wat die syfer in Europa voor die uitvinding van moderne medisyne was.
- Daar is 13 strawwe op ons wetboek waarvoor die doodstraf opgelê kan word en ons laksman is die besigste in die wêreld.
- Suid-Afrika het die meeste moord en selfmoord van alle lande.
- Die stelsel van trekarbeid verbrokkel gesinne en die Regering is net gedeeltelik daarvoor te blameer. Goeie Progs en Sappe teer daarop.
- Elke vierde volwasse Bantoe beland statisties een keer per jaar in die tronk vir bewysboekootredinge.

—Die Transvaler



# WEIGHED AND...?

*This column in English and Afrikaans comprises short extracts from reports on NEWS, VIEWS, HAPPENINGS, STANDPOINTS, ETC., AND AN EVALUATION OF SOME ITEMS by various people.*

*This month Mr. Fred van Wyk (F.v.W.), Dr. J.S. Kruger (J.S.K.), a lecturer in theology at the University of South Africa, and an anonymous person evaluate some of the items.*

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



## U.S. INVESTMENT IN S.A. OR NOT?

In their article on "The Impact of U.S. Investment in Southern Africa" (in *Social Action's* March issue), Reed Kramer and Tami Hultman ask—and respond to—questions frequently posed by those who doubt the wisdom of withdrawal of American business from the area:

"1. *There have been recent loosening of the bonds of discrimination. Coloured and Asians, and sometimes Africans, are doing jobs formerly performed only by whites. Time magazine calls it a 'crack in the apartheid wall'.*

While this is true, the practice of elevating other workers to jobs vacated by whites is not an innovation, but a well-established South African pattern which progressively frees white employees for more complex jobs. Economic gains for the black worker are not commensurate with the increased responsibility. Through 'job fragmentation', work formerly done by a white worker is broken into new components. Though the black employee who moves into the job may receive a salary which is less than a quarter of that of the white who was replaced, the firm still claims to give equal pay for equal work, because the job is now 'different' ...

Rather than leading to political power, increasing dependence on the skills of black labour seems to generate ever more repressive legislation to militate against the possibility of social change. The postwar period of economic growth has seen the rise of a sophisticated network of discriminatory legislation. As Africans', Asians' and Coloureds' share of the work force has grown—accounting for 64% of the total in 1946 and 77% in 1970—their political rights have increasingly diminished ...

"2. *If a U.S. firm withdraws from South Africa, it will quickly be replaced by a German or French or Japanese company.*

The logic of international economic practices disputes the 'replacement theory'. If the pressures against economic involvement are too great for a U.S. firm to resist, companies from smaller, less wealthy nations are unlikely to risk moving in to fill the gap. In any case, can a Christian legitimately argue in such a fashion? One might as reasonably say, 'If I don't push heroin, someone else will.'

# GEWEEG EN...?

*Hierdie rubriek in Afrikaans en Engels bevat kort uittreksels van berigte oor NUUS, OPVATTINGS, GEBEURE, STANDPUNTE, ENS. EN 'N BEOORDELING VAN SOMMIGE ITEMS deur verskillende persone.*

*Hierdie maand beoordeel mnr. Fred van Wyk (F.v.W.), dr. J.S. Kruger (J.S.K.), 'n lektor in teologie by die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika en 'n anonieme persoon sommige van die items.*

*Lesers word genooi om hulle opinies oor nuusitems of die beoordelings van items te gee, of om vrae oor ordelings van items te gee, of om vrae oor alledaagse items in te sê*



"3. *Won't isolating South Africa only strengthen the resistance of whites while forsaking blacks?*

Past history indicates that strong pressure has been the only effective recourse for outside people seeking to influence South Africa. Widespread demonstrations in Britain and Australia against South Africa sports teams, as well as South Africa's increasing isolation from international sport, did not spawn a negative reaction. Instead, the result has been the 'new sports policy' which for the first time in recent memory allowed black and white athletes to compete together on South African soil ...

But a call for business withdrawal should not be interpreted as an attempt to isolate South Africa from the world. Interaction with the white power structure closes one off, in important ways, from the majority of the population who are not white. Conversely, withdrawal can be a form of concerned involvement—a way of supportive affirmation for those inside the country who are working for basic change.

"4. *Is not a policy of communication the more Christian approach? Isn't it our task to encourage reconciliation?*

There can be no true reconciliation unless persons meet as equals. Without a realignment of the economic and political structure, the South African government may maintain calm, but there will be no peace."

PAMPHILUS

—World View



*The arguments advanced by Reed Kramer and Tami Hultman against any defence of continued U.S. participation in South African business are deserving of careful study and consideration.*

*The question remains whether, given present international forces and practices, the whole debate on withdrawal from S.A. is not merely an academic exercise that will, at most, create a greater willingness amongst the corporations concerned to bring about much needed improvements in the working conditions of their black labour force; certainly a worthwhile conse-*



*Mr. Fred van Wyk is the Director of the Institute of Race Relations.*

quence.

#### **S.A. BLACKS ARE FOR INVESTMENT**

*Kramer and Hultman should also consider the fact that the people most concerned, namely the South African blacks, are almost without exception, in favour of continued U.S. investment in South Africa, provided, of course, that the corporations involved will improve wages, training facilities, prospects for advancement etc. It is submitted that a substantial number of these corporations are increasingly meeting this plea.*

*Protagonists of the withdrawal plea should also consider the various practical problems entailed in actual withdrawal. Thus, it should be borne in mind that many of the corporations concerned are South African incorporated, i.e. they are in fact autonomous South African corporations over which the "mother corporations" have very little, if any, jurisdiction. Then there are also the South African Treasury regulations governing the export of money should these corporations actually decide to realise their local assets by selling up and quitting. Also, will the U.S.A., with its strong support for private enterprise, be prepared ever to consider legislation which will in effect contravene the very basic concepts of private enterprise?*

#### **ONLY 15% INVESTMENT**

*Kramer and Hultman deal only with U.S. invest-*

*ment. They must be aware that this only constitutes 15% of the total foreign investment in South Africa while United Kingdom investment constitutes 61%. A recent U.K. visitor to South Africa, someone highly critical of the country's racial policies, drew attention to the fact that it was difficult to find a company in the U.K. which did not have business connections in South Africa. This would seem to indicate that even if U.S. corporations were to cease operating here, in South Africa the fact of continued substantial foreign investment would be as real as ever.*

—F.J. v.W.

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#### **4 ENGELSE KERKE WIL EEN WORD**

Terwyl eenheid tussen die drie Afrikaanse kerke met dieselfde taal en geloofsbelydenis 'n blykbaar onmoontlike droom bly, het vier oorspronklik Engelse kerke van wyd verskillende agtergrond en tradisie vandeeweek in Natal beduidende stappe gedoen in die rigting van eenwording.

*As die planne deurgaan, word die 2 1/2 miljoen lidmate van die Anglikaanse, die Presbiteriaanse, die Kongregationalistiese en die Metodiste-kerk almal saamgevoeg in wat moontlik sal heet die Verenigde Kerk van Suider-Afrika (United Church of Southern Africa), sonder kleurslagboom.*

Die Afrikaanse kerke en die Pinksterkerke is ook genooi, maar het nie hul pad oop gesien om die sittings mee te maak nie.

—Rapport



Die as waarom die problematiek van die Christelike eenheid in Suid-Afrika tans draai, is die **verhouding van wit en gekleurde tot mekaar.**

*Die regmaak van hierdie verhouding is die diepste motief vir die strewe van die vier Engelse kerke na eenwording. Probleme soos die ampsbegrip, die nagmaalsopvatting, ens. word vanuit hierdie sentrale wil aangevat. Mag die verlowing uitloop op 'n gelukkige huwelik.*

Ook in die ander stroom van kerklike denke wat diametraal teenoor bg. staan, is die rasseprobleem die kern. Ek verwys na die Afrikaanse kerklike familie van suster-, moeder- en dogterkerke, wat as gevolg van hierdie nog onopgeloste probleem in 'n beweging van uitwaaiende **veelwording** verkeer.

*Enige strewe na eenheid tussen die drie Afrikaanse susterkerke wat nie van meet af die daadwerklike eenheid met die gekleurde Christene insluit nie, is in beginsel verkeerd en sal prakties op niks uitloop nie. Mag hierdie familie ook werklik verenig, en hul bydrae lewer tot die verenigde kerk in Suider-Afrika.*

—J.S.K.



## APARTHEID IN HEAVEN

In reply to the letter headed "Separate Gates? (*Cape Times*, July 6)—yes, we do honestly think that God has *apartheid* in His Heaven, otherwise He would not have created humans with black skins and with white skins.



### "A VERY SICK SOCIETY"

Allan Drury wrote a well-known book about South Africa entitled "A Very Strange Society", which I commend to all Pro Veritate readers. He could have called it "A Very Sick Society", too.

My dictionary defines the word 'Paranoia' as: "Chronic mental unsoundness, hereditary or acquired; sometimes monomania: Dementia with Delusions". Well, I am convinced that a large proportion of the European population of this unhappy country are suffering from paranoia, similar to the German people during Hitler's regime, due to indoctrination and brain-washing.

The enclosed letter from the 'Cape Times' of the 14th inst. is shocking. It states: "In reply to the letter headed "Separate Gates?"—yes, we do honestly think that God has apartheid in His Heaven, otherwise He would not have created humans with black skins and with white skins." Apart from it being blasphemous, could any sensible person imagine two entrances to Heaven, labelled "Whites Only" and "Non-Whites Only", respectively?

All I can say, in all reverence, is: God help us.

*"God Help South Africa"*

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### THE OUTCASTS

*If the Nats are really worried about Afrikaans why don't they do something for 2 000 000 people they now reject?*

Die Here het gaskommel  
En die dice het verkeerd geval vi' ons.  
Daai's maar al.

—Adam Small

Freely translated:

Good shook the dice  
And it fell wrongly for us.  
That's all.

Because Adams Small is Coloured—like more than two million others.

*Hans Strydom*

—Sunday Tribune.

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### PROFESSOR VAAR UIT TEEN IMMIGRASIE

Port Elizabeth—Wat verkies u? 'n Wesensvreemde immigrant agter die toonbank wat nie u eie taal kan praat nie—of 'n Kleurling wat u minstens in u eie taal kan bedien? Só het prof. Marius Swart (voorsitter van die Rapportryers) hier gevra toe hy eergisteraand die Junior Rapportryers in die stad oor die huidige vorm van immigrasie toegespreek het.

—Die Vaderland

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MINISTER

To the new Minister of Community Development and to all other responsible parties, regarding the Newclare Tent Town.

Do you know that:

- One woman, at least, has TB;
- One woman is seven months pregnant;
- One child of two months has just had pneumonia;
- Most people's furniture is ruined;
- No tents have been supplied by the Department of Community Development or the Johannesburg City Council;
- Without tents provided by the St. Vincent de Paul Society and St. Nicholas Home, people would perhaps have died, of exposure.

This is only part of the problem because:

- Dr. Jamine of the Coloured and Asiatic Division of Johannesburg City Council says 5 000 housing units are still needed;
- Some 43 people live in a disused school in Western Township without water, lights, or toilets (some of these have been there since December 1967);
- There are as many as 15 people in one room in Newclare;
- In Kliptown, people live in tin shanties, sharing communal taps and toilets;
- Many more people do not apply for homes because they see no hope and therefore have to live illegally.

What can you do?

- Build better houses quicker—the money can come from the Defence Budget and we shall have less need of defence;
- Don't knock down houses before alternative accommodation is offered;
- Come and see for yourself.

P.D. James, Newville, Tvl.

—Rand Daily Mail

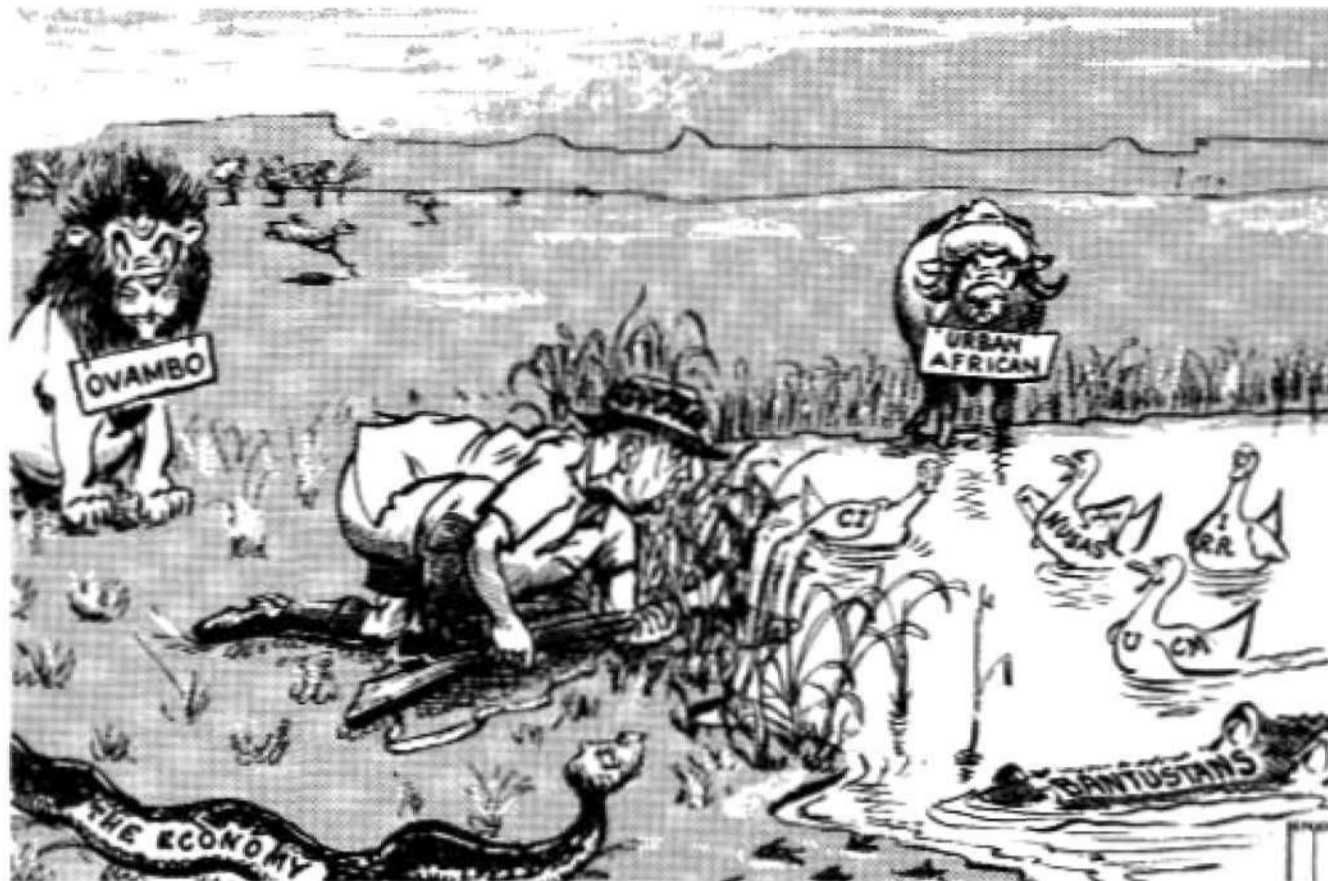
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### DIE SKAT VAN DIE GELOOF

Wie ongerep en volledig die skat van die geloof bewaar, ken naas die geloof ook belydenis, getuienis en aksie.

*Prof. dr. H. Jonker, „De Waarheidsvriend“*

—Weekbulletin



The terms of reference of the commission of inquiry into four student and race relations organisations have been so widely extended that they constitute "a McCarthy-like witch hunt".

**witch hunt?**

This is the view of Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party MP for Houghton.

It is also the view of several legal men who have compared the new terms of reference with those for the former parliamentary select committee.

*Hunting the*

*Dangerous Enemy!*

—Daily Despatch.

"What the objective is one cannot be certain. But it seems as though what started as a McCarthy-like exercise aimed at four reputable organisations is now extended to include all sorts of people directly or indirectly involved with these organisations".

Mr. Fred van Wyk, director of the Institute of Race Relations, said last night that the powers of the former select committee seemed to have been "enormously extended".

The Rev. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute, also expressed concern at the new powers of the commission. He said it was quite clear there had been a substantial widening of powers.

"The question arises now whether the official Opposition would have been prepared to co-operate in the investigation if these widened powers had originally been granted to the select committee."

The parliamentary select committee appointed earlier this year to investigate the National Union of South African Students, the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement, was converted into a commission of inquiry

after Parliament went into recess.

#### EXTENDED TERMS

Its terms of reference were gazetted last week. They are as follows, with those which extend the original terms of reference in *italics*:

To inquire into and, taking into account the evidence, memoranda and exhibits which were submitted to the parliamentary select committee on certain organisations, report on:

- The objects, organisation, and financing of the National Union of South African Students, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and any related organisations, bodies committees or groups of persons; (The select committee's powers extended only to "subordinate organisations" of the main four);
- The activities of the aforementioned organisations, *bodies, committees or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;*

- The activities of persons in *or in connection* with the aforementioned organisations, bodies, committees or groups of persons and the *direct or indirect results of those activities;*

- Any related matter which comes to the notice of the commission and which in its view calls for inquiry.

*To make recommendations if, in view of the commission's findings, it appears necessary to do so.*

The parliamentary select committee was restricted to an investigation only of the four organisations, their objects, activities, organisation, financing and related matters. It was empowered to inquire into subordinate bodies, but not bodies merely associated with the main four in some way.

These terms of reference gave the commission "almost unlimited authority" to investigate almost anyone with anti-Government views, said Mrs. Suzman.

"Its ramifications are absolutely unfettered and any sort of smear against any person could result." *Rand Daily Mail*