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## PROPHETS OR ARSONISTS?

The Old Testament prophets sometimes demonstrated by way of symbolic action what they believed to be God's Word for the nation. Jeremiah made a spectacle of himself by taking the cords and bars of a yoke and placing them upon his neck. Words having failed to solicit a response, he hoped that symbolism would reveal the dire peril confronting his people.

This distinctive way of witnessing to a nation's iniquity, and the inevitable consequences, was a prophetic and often costly discipline.

### No silence if "nation is raped"

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa sees itself as fulfilling more a prophetic than a priestly role within society. Both roles are necessary; the priest bringing man before God and the prophet bringing God's demands before men. As any person will testify, the priestly role is the more popular and less demanding. Aware of its inadequacies of spiritual discernment, the Christian Institute yet feels constrained to testify to that Righteousness and Truth which alone exalt a nation.

A prophet is the most patriotic of men. No true lover can stand silent observing the loved one being raped. No true prophet can keep silent while seeing his nation raped. Love of God and nation constrain him to respond.

In recent days the Minister of Justice made it clear that the Government is prepared to bend or even break the rule of law when it sees fit. It was an honest admission that the Government is no longer able to govern our country without resorting to bannings, detention without trial, state witch-hunts, and allied techniques used as a matter of course in Communist and totalitarian countries. It is a reflection on the state of democracy in our country that the official Opposition has so far lost sight of its essential function as to collaborate in this process through its participation in the Schlebusch Commission.

The irony of the solution is that a Christian body utterly opposed to both the ideology and methods of *Communism should have to oppose its own Government* for using totalitarian methods which are incompatible with the rule of law. As patriots, we in the Christian Institute must protest. The Government contributes to a progressive erosion of respect for law and justice, and *then has the audacity to talk of defending what it denies.*

### Much to preserve

Ever since the Government declared its intention of investigating the Christian Institute we have persistently called for a Judicial Commission. That is, the Christian Institute has asked the legislature to respect the due process of law and not to disregard the judiciary. The Schlebusch Commission having by its mandate prostituted the democratic procedure and the rule of law, we are not prepared either to confer an aura of

## PROFETE OF BRANDSTIGTERS?

DIE PROFETE van die Ou Testament het soms simboliese handeling gebruik om te demonstreer wat hulle geglo het Gods Woord vir die volk was. Nadat dit duidelik geword het dat woorde nutteloos was, het Jeremia homself opsigtelik gemaak deur 'n juk en rieme op sy skouers te plaas met die hoop dat hierdie simboliese handeling daarin sou slaag om sy volk bewus te maak van die verskriklike gevaar wat hulle in die gesig gestaar het.

Om op hierdie uitsonderlike manier oor 'n volk se ongeregtigheid te getuig met dit wat onvermydelik volg, was 'n profetiese en dikwels dure optrede.

### Geen stilswye as nasie aangerand word

Die Christelike Instituut van Suider-Afrika glo dat hy eerder 'n profetiese as 'n priesterlike rol in die samelewing speel. Albei word benodig—die priester lei die mens tot God en die profeet openbaar God se eise aan die mens. Soos enigeen sal kan getuig, is die priesterlike rol meer gewild en minder veeleisend. Terwyl die Christelike Instituut van die tekortkominge in sy geestelike onderskeiding bewus is, voel hy nogtans verplig om van daardie geregtigheid en waarheid, waardeer 'n nasie alleenlik opgehef word, te getuig.

'n Profeet is een van die mees patriotiese mense. Geeneen wat sy beminde werklik liefhet, kan stilswygend toekyk hoe sy verkrag word nie. Geen ware profeet kan stilbly terwyl hy sien hoe sy nasie aangerand word nie. Sy liefde vir God en sy nasie dwing hom om te reageer.

Die minister van justisie het dit onlangs duidelik gestel dat die regering bereid is om die regsorde (Rule of Law) om te buig of selfs te ignoreer wanneer hy dit nodig ag. Dit was 'n eerlike erkenning dat die regering nie meer in staat is om ons land sonder maatreëls soos inperkings, aanhouding sonder verhoor, staatsketterjagte en soortgelyke tegnieke wat in Kommunistiese en totalitaristiese lande vanselfsprekend is, te regeer nie. Dit is 'n refleksie op die toestand van demokrasie in ons land dat die offisiële opposisie tot so 'n mate sy essensiële funksie uit die oog verloor het dat hy met hierdie proses, deur sy deelname aan die Schlebusch-kommissie, kan saamwerk.

Die ironie van die oplossing is dat 'n Christelike liggaam wat geheel en al teen die ideologie sowel as die metodes van Kommunisme gekant is, sy eie regering moet teëstaan omdat hy totalitêre metodes gebruik wat onversoenbaar met die regsorde is. As liefhebbers van ons vaderland moet ons wat aan die Christelike Instituut behoort, protesteer. Die regering dra by tot die groeiende ondermyning van respek vir die reg en geregtigheid en het dan die vermetelheid om voor te gee dat hy dit wat hy ontken, verdedig.

### Veel om te bewaar

Sedert die regering sy voorneme om die Christelike Instituut te ondersoek, te kenne gegee het, het ons

respectability through participation or to acquiesce in this.

Would any citizen who has the cause of truth and justice at heart wish to be subjected to an inquiry in which:

Proceedings are in secret and charges, if any, are undefined;

The Commission determines what shall be made public and what shall not;

Every person testifying is sworn to secrecy, which can mean subsequent gagging despite awareness of misrepresentation or falsehood;

No knowledge of allegations made against one's person or organisation is necessarily conveyed; no right of defence or repudiation exists in consequence and accusers can never be faced or challenged.

In response to this grossly unfair investigation, and the ongoing refusal to acknowledge the rightful functions of the judiciary, the Christian Institute conveyed to Parliament its decision, taken by the Board of Management, to support those who on the grounds of conscience declined to testify before the Schlebusch Commission. "That while we confidently affirm that we have nothing to hide, there is also much to preserve by way of our Christian heritage of fairness and the evidencing of justice, which such a Parliamentary Commission palpably erodes."

Applying the standard Christian norm of "would I have this done to me", surely no member of the Commission could answer affirmatively, for no self-respecting citizen would wish to be placed in such a vulnerable and indefensible position.

As a Christian community we certainly respect the right of every Institute member to decide how best to witness in a situation not of our making; part of the strength of our fellowship in these days has been in not *demanding any uniform, and possibly insincere*, response. But for some at least it is a case of "so far and no further".

Those who will make this stand of conscience by way of non-participation, even if subpoenaed, are an unlikely lot of "radicals"; family men, short-back-and-sides types with unbizarre sex lives; undesirous of jail and opposed to all forms of violence; every self-respecting revolutionary would disown them!

It is simply a matter of Divine constraint. In these very imperfect persons something of the prophet and the patriot, mingled with a need for personal integrity, demands that they do a Jeremiah. Not a grand splurge of defiance, just a little gesture which might cause people to say, "Has it really come to this?"

#### **A dumb Jesus' eloquent victory**

There is the possibility that some will suggest that we have something to hide, and voices have already tried to discredit us as seeking cheap applause and pseudo-

deurgaans vir 'n geregtelike kommissie gevra. Dit beteken dat die Christelike Instituut die wetgewende mag gevra het om die gewone wetsprosesse te eerbiedig en nie die reg te verontagsaam nie. Omdat die regering d.m.v. die Schlebusch-kommissie die demokratiese prosedure en die regsorde misbruik het, is ons nie bereid om die kommissie 'n mantel van eerbaarheid om te hang of om daarin te berus deur ons deelname nie.

Sou enige burger wat die saak van waarheid en geregtigheid op die hart dra, begeer om blootgestel te word aan 'n ondersoek waar die volgende geld?

Die verrigtinge geskied in die geheim en die aanklagte, indien enige, is nie omskryf nie.

Die kommissie besluit oor wat openbaar gemaak sal word en wat nie.

Elke persoon wat getuie is lewer, word ingesweer tot geheimhouding, wat beteken dat die swye hom later opgelê is ten spyte van verdraaiing of onwaarhede waarvan hy bewus mag wees.

Geen kennis van beskuldiging teen 'n mens se persoon of organisasie word noodwendig oorgedra nie; geen reg tot verdediging of ontkenning bestaan gevolglik nie en aanklaers kan nooit gekonfronteer of uitgedaag word nie.

In antwoord op hierdie uiters onregverdigde ondersoek en die volgehoue weiering om die regmatige funksies van die regsprosedure te erken, het die Christelike Instituut sy besluit wat deur die Raad van Beheer geneem is om diegene te ondersteun wat op gewetensgronde weier om voor die Schlebusch-kommissie getuie te lewer, aan die parlement bekend gemaak: „Terwyl ons vrymoediglik bevestig dat ons niks het om weg te steek nie, is daar nogtans veel om te bewaar soos ons Christelike erfenis van regverdigheid en die bewyslewering van geregtigheid, wat so 'n parlementêre kommissie duidelik ondermyn."

Wanneer die Christelike norm van „sou ek dit aan my gedoen wou hê", toegepas word, kan sekerlik geen lid van die kommissie bevestigend daarop antwoord nie, want geen selfrespekterende persoon sou begeer om in so 'n kwesbare en onverdedigbare posisie geplaas te word nie.

As 'n Christelike gemeenskap respekteer ons sekerlik die reg van elke lid om self te besluit oor hoe hy die beste in hierdie situasie, waaraan ons geen aandeel in die skepping daarvan gehad het nie, gaan getuig; deel van die krag van ons gemeenskap in hierdie tyd lê daarin dat daar geen aandrang op enige univorme en gevolglik moontlik valse reaksie is nie. Vir sommige egter, is dit 'n geval van „tot hiertoe en nie verder nie".

Diegene wat hierdie stand op grond van hulle gewete gaan inneem om nie deel te neem nie, selfs al word hulle gedagvaar, is egter 'n groep onwaarskynlike „radikaliste"; familie-tipes met korterige hare en sonder uitspattige sekslewes; hulle begeer nie om tronk toe te gaan nie en is gekant teen alle vorme van geweld; elke self-respekterende revolusionêr sou hulle onteien!

Dit is eenvoudig 'n saak van 'n Godegewe verpligting. In hierdie mense wat baie onvolmaak is, is daar iets van die profeet en die patriot tesame met 'n

martyrdom. Significantly, these voices have not concerned themselves with the real issue, which is that the authoritarian state will inevitably destroy the rule of law. It will not tolerate any institution which is higher than and independent of itself.

To those who believe we are inspired by fear we say:

- (i) There is nothing of significance the Government does not already know about the Christian Institute.
- (ii) If the Government had a legitimate case against the Christian Institute or its staff they would instigate court proceedings.
- (iii) Our stand, far from being motivated by the desire to hide, is calculated to reveal the progressive eroding of civil liberties which will ultimately affect every person who believes in the worth of the individual.
- (iv) Recent arbitrary bannings and punitive actions have led us to believe that the Government is using the investigation as the pretext for some non-judicial action. We dare not condone this.
- (v) At his trial one called Jesus was finally dumb before his accusers, declining to share in the charge and countercharge of that shoddy show. One could suggest that his point was weak, that he had something to hide, that he was fearful of compromising himself; but history has interpreted that eloquent silence by reversing the roles of accuser and accused.

Of course we are poor prophets, nothing else. But like the prophet who was not worthy to take off the shoes of the Master, we must witness to the parlous state of our nation even if the consequences should culminate in a jail sentence.

Perhaps a well-known parable best presents the dilemma: In a healthy society when a fire is reported the authorities do not jail the person who reported the fire; rather they arrest the arsonist.

History must determine whether we are prophets or arsonists.

*-Brian Brown.*



### DEATH OF A CAGED BIRD

As that small bird,  
after brief agony suffered  
with beating wings and mute imploring look,  
Folded those wings,  
composed his feet  
for death;  
So may that moment's grace be given me  
To come, dear Lord, with such complete consent,  
Out of whatever darkness, pain and stress.

S.M.P.

behoefte aan persoonlike integriteit wat eis dat hulle soos Jeremia moet handel. Nie 'n skouspelagtige gebaar van trotsering nie, slegs 'n klein gebaartjie wat mense miskien sal laat sê: „Het dit werklik al so vër gevorder?“

### 'n Swygende Jesus se welsprekende oorwinning

Daar is die moontlikheid dat sommige sal wil voorgee dat ons iets het om weg te steek. Daar was alreeds mense wat ons in die skade wou steek deur voor te gee dat ons goedkoop applous en pseudo-martelaarskap soek. Dit is treffend dat hierdie stemme hulle nie met die werklike probleem bemoei het nie, naamlik dat die outoritêre staat onvermydelik die regsorde sal vernietig. So 'n staat duld geen organisasie wat hoër of onafhanklik van hom is nie.

Aan diegene wat glo dat vrees ons aandryf, sê ons:

1. Daar is niks van enige belang wat die regering nie alreeds van die Christelike Instituut weet nie.
2. As die regering 'n wettige saak teen die Christelike Instituut of sy staf gehad het, sou hy 'n hofspraak begin het.
3. Ons houding wat geensins deur 'n begeerte om weg te kruip, gemotiveer is nie, is bedoel om die voortgaande uitholling van siviele vryhede, wat elke persoon uiteindelik sal affekteer wat in die individu se eie-waarde glo, te ontbloot.
4. Onlangse arbitrêre inperkings en straf het ons tot die slotsom laat kom dat die regering die ondersoek gebruik as 'n voorwendsel vir een of ander nie-geregtelike aksie. Dit durf ons nie goedkeur nie.
5. By sy verhoor het die Een wat Jesus genoem is, uiteindelik stom voor sy aanklaers gestaan, terwyl hy nie bereid was om aan die aanklagte en teenklagte van die verfoeilike saak deel te neem. 'n Mens sou kon suggereer dat sy punt swak was, dat hy iets gehad het om weg te steek, dat hy bang was om homself te kompromitteer; maar die geskiedenis het sy welsprekende stilswye vertolk deur die rol van aanklaer en aangeklaagde om te ruil.

Ons is natuurlik maar niks anders as onbeduidende profete nie. Maar soos die profeet wat nie waardig was om die Meester se skoene uit te trek nie, moet ons van die gevaarlike toestand waarin ons volk verkeer, getuig, selfs al sou die gevolge uiteindelik tot tronkstraf lei.

Miskien sal 'n bekende gelykenis die dilemma die beste illustreer: Wanneer 'n brand gerapporteer word, sal die owerhede in 'n normale samelewing nie die persoon wat die brand gerapporteer het, arresteer nie, maar tog wel die een wat die brand gestig het.

Die geskiedenis sal beslis of ons profete of brandstigters is.

*-Brian Brown.*



# CHANGE IN THE CHURCH

Manas Buthelezi

## 1. "Change" and "Church"

To some people "change" and "church" seem to be two irreconcilable concepts. The church as an institution stands in sharp contrast to the transitoriness of the things of this world. While permanence and continuity describe the character of the church, to them, it is to worldly things that "change" relates.

In the Middle Ages "seculum", of which secularization and secularism are modern English variations, pointed to a category of time: it meant "age" or "century" as opposed to "eternity". It also came to designate those members of the clergy who ministered to people in their daily life in contrast to the members of the monastic orders. In "Seculum" there was a notion of that which is passing away or temporal in contrast to that which is eternal.

Thus the secular was a realm of temporal political power, of labour and trade and natural law. This was in contrast to the church which was the dispensary of grace which related man to the eternal. Timelessness and permanence was to the church what change and transitoriness was to the world.

Since the earliest times of church history the category of antiquity was used to demonstrate the permanence and continuity of the church vis-a-vis sects and heretical groups. The novelty of the sects and heretical groups stood in sharp contrast to the antiquity of the church which dates back to the times of the apostles. Thus in his *Prescription Against Heretics*, Irenaeus challenges the heretics:

"If there are many heresies which are bold enough to plant themselves in the midst of the apostolic age, that they may thereby seem to have been handed down by the apostles, because they existed in the time of the apostles, we can say: Let them produce the original records of their churches; let them unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the beginning in such a manner that that first bishop of theirs shall be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor someone of the apostles or of apostolic men—a man, moreover, who continued steadfast with the apostles."

It is the wrong notion of what the church stands for that causes many people here in South Africa to find it difficult to see the church as an instrument of social change and social process. To them that is Social Gospel. This poses the problem of the solidarity of the church with the mass of people among whom it ministers. The issue at stake is whether the bridge between the church and the secular world is just the mission of the church to the world or whether this mission presupposes an already existing solidarity between the two.



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Gustaf Wingren has made the observation that the salvation event which is the content of the message of the church took place outside the religious centre of Jerusalem. It took place in the world, in the sphere of the "secular". Not an apostle but a stranger, Simon of Cyrene, under compulsion, carried the cross of Christ; a criminal at Jesus' side and not a disciple received the *promise of the kingdom*. Both the death and resurrection were enacted before pagans, Roman soldiers, and not before a crowd of disciples who, as a matter of fact, had run away and were in hiding. Thus, this event in Jerusalem, which is to be proclaimed to all people "beginning from Jerusalem" is, as much as any could be, an event in the world.

From the beginning the church is part of God's transforming social process in the world. Is there anything more transforming than the power of the Gospel to the lives and destinies of the peoples of the world? When Christ sent his disciples to make disciples of all nations he was in effect prescribing that the church should be an instrument of change in the historical destinies of those nations.

Therefore when we speak of change in the church, it is not just a question of change in church structures—even though that is also included—but also change in the role of the church in the South African society. The church does not exist for itself but for ministering to South Africa. Therefore what is of primary importance is not just structural change

within the church but how the church projects itself as a catalyst in changing the thinking and behaviour of South Africa's politicians, economists as well as all citizens.

Let us take the question of social justice. There are Christians who believe that the active promotion of social justice is outside the purview and competence of the church. They believe that this is something that should safely be left in the hands of politicians. They forget that justice belongs to God and not to the discretion of politicians. There are people who believe that the social and political structures in South Africa radiate justice and fair play to all and that it is only *political agitators and communist-inspired churchmen* who see the situation as problematic at all.

Talking about change, one of the things that should change is this type of thinking. Therefore there should be change within and through the church.

## 2. Why there is need for change

### 2.1 The White man has changed

Rightly or wrongly, the white man has been regarded as the standard-bearer of the mission of Christ in South Africa. He was the protector and watch-dog of all the values which the Christian Gospel is designed to uphold.

We have, however, witnessed one of the greatest spectacles in the history of the church in South Africa, namely, the systematic apostasy of the white man. Let me give a theological setting to this charge.

Justice and love are two concepts which are theological in the strict sense of the word. As far as the imperfect human language can go, "holy" and "love" are words which almost define the nature of God. We say "God is holy" and "God is love".

The idea that God cares for his creation in general and for his people in particular is central in both the old and new Testaments. In contrast to the gods of the Greek and Roman religious worlds, who were sometimes represented as jealous of and competing with man, the biblical God is characterized by his active *interest in the welfare of his people: he loves and is just to them*. In one of the stories of Greek mythology it is told how sex came about among men. Man was originally a very beautiful being with four legs, four arms and two heads. The gods became so jealous of his beauty that they clove him in half. Since then the two halves have been trying to come together in the form of man and woman.

When we encounter the "shepherd" of the Psalms or that of St. John's Gospel, we do not only get a glimpse of how a rural culture conceptualized its God, but more important we find an instance of what I shall call biblical economy, that is, God not only produces the means of sustenance but he also distributes it equitably like a shepherd who tends his flock. The "communism" of the New Testament Church was a social extension

of this biblical concept of "God's economics". The author of the Book of Acts portrays this social extension as a communal life of sharing, that is, a pooling together of God's gifts for common consumption.

The social extension of "God's economics" contains a moral element of stewardship. The story of Ananias and Sapphira dramatizes the moral accountability of the stewards of God's stewards. The point of reference is always how man's stewardship reflects God's justice and love.

What has happened in this country is that the white man in his stewardship has violated the integrity of God's love and justice.

It is common knowledge that in this country the active promotion of love between black and white is looked at with suspicion. Any fraternization between races, which should naturally develop from faith in Christ, instead of being a cause for praise brings with it serious consequences, like being visited by the security police or simple exposure to one form of censure or the other.

As a black Christian I have in anguish come to the conclusion that the white man, through his political and social governmental institutions, no longer serves the promotion of God's love between black and white but is really doing his best to kill and frustrate it. This spiritual vandalism on the part of the white man has brought with it consequences so serious that it is no longer a theoretical possibility that Christians suffer just for the sake of promoting love and good will between black and white. At the end of it all South Africa will have a unique distinction of producing martyrs who suffered simply because they were trying to promote good will between the races.

The current and intriguing question is whether Christian love is safe at all in the hands of the white man. The same applies to social justice. As far as the question of the violation of social justice is concerned, there is a sense in which one can say that the black man has become a "Christ" to the white man: he has been "crucified" so as to bring security and social salvation to the white man. *What counts for his insecurity means security to the white man; his poverty is the yardstick of the white man's affluence*. In other words the white man would not be as affluent if the black man were less poor than he is.

The irony of all this is that Christianity in South Africa has a white image. This is in spite of the fact that almost all the major multi-racial churches are over-whelmingly black. "What the churches in South Africa are thinking" is very often identical to "what white people in South Africa are thinking". The voice of the black man has not yet been heard in the church in any significant manner. Added to this is the fact that the white man has discredited himself as the protector of Christian values; the situation becomes very desperate indeed.

There must, therefore, be change in the church in order to reflect a changed situation, namely, the white man's turning against that which promotes Christian love and justice. The church must release its potential by promoting the reflection of its black constituency in both its structure and proclamation. The church must cease to be sectarian in order to reflect the whole of the *people of God*. It must cease to be a satellite of white power politics in order to become a forum of communion for the whole people of God.

## 2.2 The Black man has changed

The last three years have been characterized by the evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa. This in turn called for the need to relate the Christian faith to the experience of the black man.

"But God, why did you create us?" This was the title of an article which was published in a church periodical some years ago. The article as a whole reflects the mood of a black man who cries from the abyss of the shackles occasioned by the fact that he is black. He is seeking for meaning and destiny in a life in which blackness is not a favourable intellectual point of orientation.

The theological meaning of this question cannot be appreciated in isolation from the whole gamut of social, political and economic problems. This is not the place to discuss the content of the question as such since here we are discussing change in the church in broad terms. I only wish to point to the reality of its existence as a primary pre-theological question. In other words, there are certain questions which are suggested by the reality and mode of human existence. Any healthy theological reflection uses these questions as points of orientation.

In his critique against "kerygmatic theology" Paul Tillich cautions us against the danger of "throwing" the Christian message at those "in the situation". One need not follow all the turns and twists of his method of correlation in order to appreciate the validity of his caution. He defines the "situation" as follows: "Situation as one pole of all theological work does not refer to the psychological or sociological state in which individuals live. It refers to the scientific and artistic, the economic, political and ethical forms which which they express their interpretation of existence." "The situation to which theology must respond in a special period."

Paul Tillich asserts that the Christian message supplies answers correlated to the existential questions which arise from the human situation. The task of Systematic Theology, according to him, is to analyze the human situation from which the existential questions arise, and in demonstrating that "the symbols used in the Christian message are the answers to these questions".

When man—even an unbeliever—raises moral and existential questions about his life and environment, he

is impelled by his conditions of creatureliness. Gustaf Wingren argues that "men ask themselves questions like these because of the very fact that they are alive. They can ask them, even though they have no belief in God at all, but what they are really questioning is their relationship to God. For this relationship is given with life itself, and even when men have ceased to be related to Him."

We can even go further and say that the preaching of the Word of God by missionaries in Africa did not serve to pull down God to the African situation, because he was already there protecting and sustaining life as Creator. All the preaching did was to bring the message of a God who was already there. The important soteriological (saving) motif out of which arises the question as to how man can be reconciled to God, should not make us oblivious to the creation motif out of which arises the question how God commands the situation in the fallen world. Neither should epistemological considerations, namely, as to when man "graduates" from a lack of certain knowledge to ascertained knowledge of things divine, determine our conception of the temporal order of the events of God's active presence among sinful men.

From the above it follows that the existential questions which arise from the soul of the black man are the legitimate frame of reference for the Gospel which sums up God's design for the situation of man. If the Gospel is to save the black man, it must relate to such basic questions as "Why did God create me black? What is the ultimate destiny of the black man in a world governed by the values of the white man?" It is the task of theology in Africa to use these questions as the frame of reference while it defines the content of the Gospel which is designed also to save the black man. The classical themes of theology and their formulation should only serve as starting points and not mark the final and ultimate points of the task of theologizing.

The so-called Black Theology is the intellectual arm of the spiritual awakening of the black man towards the message of the Gospel. The black man, for the first time, is beginning to hear the message direct from God's mouth. For the first time he hears God from the depths of his existence as a black man.

The Church can no longer pretend that nothing has happened. It cannot close its ears for ever towards the witness of faith—liberation by the majority of the South African believers. The Church must change so that the black man's witness to the Christian faith may also be heard. In a eucharistic tone the black man is singing: Out of the depths I cry unto thee, O, Lord! Who has the authority to silence the black man?

## 2.3 God demands Change now.

This is the time of crisis: the crisis of Christian discipleship. South Africa urgently needs the Gospel of liberation; a Gospel that will liberate the whites from



# Declaration of Korean Christians - 1973

We make this declaration in the name of the Korean Christian Community. But under the present circumstances in which one man controls all the powers of the three branches of government and uses military arms and the intelligence network to oppress the people, we hesitate to reveal those who signed this document. We must fight and struggle in the underground until our victory is achieved.

The historical situation of the Korean people has been very grave since last October. President Park's consolidation of power has had certain demonic consequences for the life of the Korean nation and people.

The Christian community, as an integral part of the Korean people, now stands up and speaks out on the present situation, compelled by the divine mandates of

the Messianic Kingdom.

Since World War II, our people have gone through trials and sufferings, of social chaos, economic deprivation, and especially the tragic Korean War and the resulting political dictatorships. It has been an ardent aspiration of our people that a new and humane community might be restored to their lives. However, the hopes of the people for such a restoration of humane community has been cruelly crushed by President Park in his absolutization of dictatorship and ruthless political repression. This is done in the name of the so-called October Revitalization, a set of false promises which is only the sinister plan of some evil men.

We, the Christians in Korea, are compelled to speak out and take accompanying actions on the following grounds:

## CHANGE IN CHURCH (CONT.)

the bondage inherent in the South African way of life—a way of life that chokes brotherhood and fellowship between black and white. This is the Gospel which will liberate the white man into realization of the fact that he is nothing but a fellow human being in relation to the black man, and a Gospel which will liberate the black man into the realization of the fact that he is nothing less than a human being.

South Africa urgently needs security—a security that results from fellowship between black and white; not a security created by distance between black and white, since the consciousness of distance does not lead to a feeling of security, but leads to fear and suspicion.

God demands that the white man must repent from the political, economic and social sins he has committed over the last three centuries. If the white man will be saved at all, the English and the Afrikaners of this country must say in unison *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*.

God is greater than the power which the white man wields today. The white man is nothing but the creature of God for whom Christ also died on the cross. The white man is guilty before God because he has manipulated his political and social institutions against the promotion of love between brothers and against justice towards brothers.

The church must change because God demands it now. Both the white man and the black man must be liberated from the present bondage. That will be meaningful change because the whole church, black and white, will have been instrumental in it.



(This lecture was delivered at a Spro-cus meeting at the University of Cape Town on 7.8.73 by Dr. Manas Buthelezi, regional Director of the Christian Institute in Natal).

1. We are under God's command that we should be faithful to His Word in concrete historical situations. It is not a sense of triumphant victory that moves us today; rather it is a sense of confession of our sins before God; and yet we are commanded by God to speak the truth and act in the present situation in Korea.
2. The people in Korea are looking up to Christians and urging us to take action in the present grim situation. It is not because we deserve to represent them. We have often fallen short of their deeper expectations, and yet we are urged and encouraged to move on this course of action, not because we envision ourselves as the representatives of our people, but because we are moved by their agony to call upon God for their deliverance from evil days.
3. We stand in a historical tradition of such struggles for liberation as the independence movement by Christians against Japanese colonialism. We realise that our Christian community has often lacked the courage to take a decisive stand, and that the theological outlook of the official bodies of our Christian churches has been too pietistic to take up revolutionary roles. However, we do not feel disheartened by the weakness of some of our brothers; rather we are determined to seek our theological convictions from the historical traditions of our church.

The firm foundation of our words and deeds is our faith in God the Lord of history, in Jesus the proclaimer of the Messianic Kingdom, and in the spirit who moves vigorously among the people. We believe that God is the ultimate vindicator of the oppressed.

the weak, and the poor; He judges the evil forces in history. We believe that Jesus the Messiah proclaimed the coming of the Messianic Kingdom, to be subversive to the evil powers, and that his Messianic Kingdom will be the haven of the dispossessed, the rejected, and the downtrodden. We also believe that the Spirit is working for the new creation of history and cosmos, as well as for the regeneration and sanctification of individual man.

In this grave historical situation, we as a Christian community believe

1. that we are commanded by God to be representatives before God the Judge and Lord of History, to pray that the suffering and oppressed people may be set free.
2. that we are commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ to live among the oppressed, the poor, and the despised as he did in Judea; and that we are summoned to stand up and speak the truth to the powers that be, as he did before Pontius Pilate of the Roman Empire.
3. that we are compelled by the Spirit to participate in his transforming power and movement for the creation of a new society and history, as well as for the transformation of our character; and that this Spirit is the Spirit of Messianic Kingdom who commands us to struggle for socio-political transformation in this world.

Therefore, we express our theological convictions on the following issues:

1. The present dictatorship in Korea is destroying rule by law and persuasion; it now rules by force and threat alone. Community is being turned into jungle. In fact no one is above the law except God; worldly power is entrusted by God to civil authority to keep justice and order in human society. If anyone poses himself above the law and betrays the divine mandate for justice, he is in rebellion against God. Oriental tradition, too, understands that good rule is carried out through the moral persuasion and virtue of the ruler. One may conquer people by the sword; but they cannot be ruled by the sword.
2. The regime in Korea is destroying freedom of conscience and freedom of religious belief. There is freedom neither of expression nor of silence. There is interference by the regime in Christian churches' worship, prayer, gatherings, content of sermons, and teaching of the Bible.

The Christian Church and other religious bodies must be the defenders of conscience for the

people; for destruction of conscience is a most demonic act. In defending the freedom of religious belief against interference by the regime in Korea, Christian churches are also defending freedom of conscience for the Korean people.

3. The dictatorship in Korea is using systematic deception, manipulation, and indoctrination to control the people. The mass media has been turned into the regime's propaganda machine to tell the people half-truths and outright lies, and to control and manipulate information to deceive people.

We believe that Christians are witnesses to truth, always struggling to break any system of deception and manipulation, for to tell the truth is the ultimate power that sets men free for God's Messianic Kingdom.

4. The dictatorship in Korea uses sinister and inhuman and at the same time ruthlessly efficient means to destroy political opponents, intellectual critics, and innocent people. The use of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for this purpose is somewhat similar to the evil ways of the Nazi Gestapo or the KGB of the Stalin era. People are physically and mentally tortured, intimidated and threatened, and sometimes even disappear completely. Such treatments are indeed diabolical acts against humanity.

We believe that God has created humans in body and soul. Body as well as soul will be resurrected at the day of judgement of the Messianic Kingdom. We believe especially in the sanctity of the human body; therefore any violation of it is equal to killing a man. It is a murderous act.

5. The present dictatorship is responsible for the economic system in Korea, in which the powerful dominate the poor. The people, poor urban workers and rural peasants, are victims of severe exploitation and social and economic injustices. So-called "economic development" in Korea turned out to be the conspiracy of a few rulers against the poor people, and a curse to our environment.

We as Christians must struggle to destroy this system of extreme dehumanization and injustice; for we are witnesses to the ongoing movement of the Messianic Kingdom in history, in which the poor will be enriched, the oppressed will be vindicated, and peace will be enjoyed by the people.

6. The present regimes in the South and North are using the unification talks only to preserve their own power; and they are betraying the true aspira-

## a message for the month from Moscow

# CHRIST'S VICTORY

*Father Shpiller gave four sermons during Lent, 1969, in his church in Moscow. We print an extract from the last of these. In the Foreword he introduces his subject and expresses his conviction that one of the most difficult phases in the Church's life has passed; many are now finding faith. The sermons were published without his knowledge. This extract was printed in "Religion in Communistic Lands", May-June '73.*

### Foreword (extracts)

In the Orthodox Christian revelation of the spiritual depths of life, the most important thing always has been, and always will be, that which is connected with the Church's doctrine of redemption, that is, with the teaching of the Church on salvation (soteriological theology). By a tradition that has established itself with us here in Moscow, this teaching has become the focus for sermons or talks over the four Sunday evening services in Lent, the so-called "Passion Sundays". Consequently, this is an opportunity to try to explain, albeit in the most general terms, the *most essential* things in our present understanding of the spiritual

reality which fills the world and transcends it, and also of that reality which we find in ourselves—closely linked with those questions which concern us today, questions of our inner spiritual state and our spiritual orientation in wholly secularised conditions. For these reasons, so as to respond to the request of my parishioners, I too have settled on the four Lenten Sunday talks ...

... In contrast to an opinion which is current in our society and is also rather widespread in some church circles abroad, to the effect that Orthodoxy here has suffered a fatal reverse, I believe that a new chapter is beginning in the history of our Church. Our Orthodox faith, by concerted efforts from various sides, had already long ago reached the "underprivileged", as they said in the last century. Today it has clearly ceased to be the property simply of the illiterate, pious granny, preserved by and relying on a "superstitious and purely external form" of the faith. The request from my parishioners testifies to this, which is the reason why it is so remarkable.

Of course this by itself is only a very small fact,

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## KOREA (CONT.)

tions of the people for the unification of their land. We believe as Christians that the people deeply yearn for authentic community on the basis of true reconciliation. Without transcendence beyond the past experiences of bitter conflict and differences in ideological and politico-economic systems, and without transformation of our historical conditions of oppression, true unification cannot be realized.

### A CALL FOR ACTION AND SUPPORT

1. *To the people in Korea:* Withdraw any form of recognition of laws, orders, policies, and other political processes of dictatorship that have been wrought since October 17, 1972. Build various forms of solidarity among the people to struggle for the restoration of democracy in South Korea.
2. *To the Christians in Korea:* As preparation for the above struggle, we Christians should renew our churches by deepening our theological thinking, by our clear stance and solidarity with the oppressed and poor, by the relevant proclamation of the gospel of the Messianic Kingdom, and by praying for our nation; and we should prepare ourselves for martyrdom, if necessary, as our forefathers did.

3. *To the Christians of the world:* Most of all we need your prayers and solidarity, and we ask you to express our common bond through actions of encouragement and support.

### CONCLUSION

Jesus the Messiah, our Lord, lived and dwelt among the oppressed, poverty-stricken, and sick in Judea. He boldly stood in confrontation with Pontius Pilate, a representative of the Roman Empire, and he was crucified in the course of his witness to the truth. He has risen from the dead to release the power of transformation which sets the people free.

We resolve that we will follow the footsteps of our Lord, living among our oppressed and poor people, standing against political oppression, and participating in the transformation of history, for this is the only way to the Messianic Kingdom. ★

*(Published in the World Student Christian Federation Dossier, August, 1973).*

*On July 6, 1973, the Seoul District Prosecutor of the Public Security Division of the Republic of Korea announced the arrests of fifteen (15) Korean Christian leaders under the charge of "plotting to forcefully overthrow the government."*

which at first glance does not merit especial attention. But it is one of many which permit us to think—and I am quite convinced of this—that the present moment in the history of our Church is only the turning of one of the most difficult pages, but not by any means the last one.

The time has come ... More and more frequently and unexpectedly you meet people of the most varied ages and situations who have gone through deep inner spiritual, mental and emotional crises, sometimes through tragic conflicts which they have found insoluble in a non-religious framework. Not infrequently now, here and there, maybe in a muted and novel way, sometimes questioningly, the poet's words can be heard: "Not long ago I was secretly told, Christ is soon returning ..." The religious thought of great minds, faithful to Christ, is becoming a vital subject for those who are asking the Church about different things, more and more frequently, more and more deeply, more and more earnestly ...

"When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost." (John 19:30)

On the subject of the Church's doctrine of salvation, it is fitting to consider the mystery of the Lord Jesus Christ's sacrificial suffering love, its metaphysical mystery ... There is nothing psychological in such an approach: some of our country's studies in soteriological theology were not free from this, but they were written over 50 years ago. In this doctrine the cleansing *blood*, the saving *cross*, the life-giving *grave* are facts, possessing a mystical, sacramental meaning, which of course it is only possible to see from a metaphysical point of view. Each drop of blood, shed by the Lord Jesus Christ, contains the metaphysical power of God's unlimited love, suffering for man and extended to the whole human race.

Through it the power of grace penetrated the world. It poured into the being of man, into our nature, making our moral regeneration objectively possible, whereby self-love is overcome. By the power of God himself the gift of grace was communicated to the being of man, making it objectively possible to overcome and defeat radical evil and death. Both these *objective possibilities were brought into existence by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ*. And both of them can therefore be realized and are realized in each of us if we wish to make them our own. They are appropriated and realized, or not accepted and then not realized by the "person".

According to the Christian understanding of "person", I must point out, it is important to clearly distinguish between "person" and "individual". The individual is attached to the material world, and is produced by the generic process. It has a purely biological

origin and is determined by man's generic, biological and social inheritance. Man is an individual, but he is not just an individual. Man is a person. This is not a natural but a *spiritual* category. A person is not produced by the generic process, but comes from God. Man as person witnesses to the fact that he is the point of intersection between two worlds and that, in him, there is always a struggle between nature and spirit, necessity and freedom, the determined, dependent and the non-determined, independent. Man as person is not an animal. "Person" represents that which is free in man, the possibility of victory over the determined world. All that is personal in man is opposed to all that is automatic, psychological, social. Man as person is the incomprehensible, suprarational, free, spontaneous *being of man, which fits into no external framework*, the deepest root in me, which is conscious of being some unspoken, incommunicable mystery of absolute value and the authentic reality of my "self".

To make one's own the objective means of salvation by grace, given to the being of man, for every man separately to make them his own, we must understand that this can be done only by this free, spontaneous element in the depths of man. Only then will this blessing really be mine. Only then will it be realized. This is what is called the subjective side of our salvation, as distinct from the objective. In other words, it is man as a free person who makes the means of salvation his own ...

How entirely right is the Christian thinker who affirmed that the whole mystery of the Lord's Cross, the mystery of Golgotha is the mystery of freedom. The Son of God forces no-one to recognize Him. The Crucified addresses himself to the freedom of man's spirit, only to freedom. He never, on no condition, forces anyone. In order to recognize God in him, the *victory of man's free spirit is needed ...*

Christianity is the religion of victory over hell, both in this world and the next. We make it *our* victory by the *free act* of participating in the work of Christ the Saviour completed by his divine and human love for men, revealed in the whole of his life, in his passion, death and resurrection. It is only possible to participate in this work when we answer Him with love. In the free meeting of God's *love* for man and of man's love for God is the present religious consciousness of men established in mankind. The most important *characteristic of this consciousness is the joy that overcomes and the light of loving communion and solidarity between God and the world, between the world and God*. It (this consciousness) does not accept the meaningless and blasphemous idea that Christ's victory had the automatic and, as it were, magical effect of *power*. The essence of His victory is that it pours into the world, brings into it a power which regenerates it from damage, *helping* men to participate in the saving sacrifice of Christ.

Having understood as much as we can of what was

The Jewish High Priest, Caiphas, said to the Jewish "Cabinet", in or about the year 33 A.D. "You know nothing at all; you do not understand that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish" (John 11, verse 49 and 50). As a result of this principle being accepted by his colleagues, illegal means were found to murder legally by crucifixion, the innocent man, Jesus Christ. Also, not unconnected with these events, some forty years later, the Jewish nation perished; its capital, Jerusalem, was sacked and destroyed by the Romans, and it took 1900 years for the Jews to regain a national home. All this is basic material for meditation during Passiontide each year.

One could not therefore help but be struck by the relevance of all this to the same principle enunciated by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, addressing the students of the University of Stellenbosch on the evening of Wednesday, 11th April, during Passiontide—when he "emphasized that the security of the State, was of greater importance than the rights of the individual" ("Cape Times"—Thursday, 12th April), in process of defending the banning of several N.U.S.A.S. leaders by the Government and not the courts.

This is therefore not only a political issue, but a moral, religious and Biblical issue as well—and one upon which I, as your parish priest, feel bound to write and try to give you Biblically based material for your serious and prayerful consideration.

In the Western Christian civilization based on Scriptural insights, of which we are heirs, the rights of the individual have been carefully safeguarded. No man may be deprived of his liberty, livelihood, property or civil rights without proper charges according to just laws being formulated against him, evidence being led in open court, witnesses being cross-examined, the accused being able to make his answer to the charges and call witnesses for his defence. Only after he has been found guilty through this process (which includes many other safeguards) can any penalty or punishment be imposed.

These are some of the rights of the individual and we find many of them being abrogated in the trial of Jesus before Caiphas. There Caiphas and his colleagues had determined on the death of Jesus and were merely using the Court to legalise their intention—the matter

*finished* when Christ on the cross bowed his Head, we now *thus* try to approach the hidden meaning of the last great mysteries of God. And *thus* we understand the basic meaning also of that way of the Cross, along which we are all called by Christ's Church—the way along which "walked and are walking all Orthodox Christians, nameless saints and righteous men and which is the supreme and adequate expression of Christianity's paradoxical truth". Amen.★

had been pre-judged by the politicians. There, being unable to find satisfactory witnesses, they tried to get Jesus to incriminate himself from His own mouth before them (illegal under Jewish law), and that on charge which carried the death sentence—and so on.

### The State is made for man ...

This was done on the basis of "expediency"—"for the security of the state". This is always a tension under which those charged with ultimate authority in the State labour—expediency or principle. One must sympathise with and pray for them in it. One must also realise that in times of clear and real emergency, and for that limited period only, the normal rights of individuals have to be curtailed; but even then the individual has to be protected as far as possible, from the prejudices, errors or evil designs of his fellow man—and this is usually done by a system of frequent reviews of all cases by judicial tribunals, among other recourses. "All power corrupts; and absolute power corrupts absolutely"—so that **no** man is to be trusted with uncontrolled power over his fellows.

When State security is made more important than the individual's security, it finishes up with **no** security for anyone, except for those who wield power at the time and those who side with them. When such power changes hands then the former wielders of it rightly fear for their security. The world has seen this happen frequently in totalitarian States in this century. One exchanges fear of external aggression or internal revolution for fear for personal rights, liberty or prosperity; and this is worse for it saps the morale fibre and integrity of those who succumb to it.

What is the state but an organised community of people? If the individuals within that community have no security, then the community itself cannot be said to be secure. Enough people in South Africa know this to be true. Once the principle of the rights of the individual is breached, then the whole of society goes rotten and is eaten away by fear. How many people fear, rightly or wrongly, for their jobs, their promotion, etc., if they step out of line or register any disagreement or protest against Government policies or actions—quite apart from more serious action like visits from Security Police, passport withdrawals, bannings, etc. This is **NOT** security, nor freedom—because these depend upon the rights of individuals being protected by Courts of Justice fairly administering just laws.

Christians should study the Scriptures more deeply and not be misled into false securities, which eventually lead to the disintegration of both the State and real security. The State is made for Man; not Man for the State. The reverse principle led to the crucifixion of Christ.

I pray that you will take this as a matter of vital concern.★ (Appeared in Parish News, Plumstead).

# MNR. KUMALO SE VOORSTEL

James Ravell

...Die Kaapse Parade is nie meer, soos voor 1960, die terrein waar Sondae en sommige ander dae belangrike politieke byeenkomste gehou word nie.

Maar sprekers met uiteenlopende religieuse waarhede besit nog dié vryheid van spraak.

Dis 'n gewone Kaapse lentedag. Eind-Oktober. Saterdagmôre. Reeds is daar alle tekens dat dit weer uitsonderlik warm sal word. Die son sit al mooi hoog in die Ooste.

Dis 'n tipiese Parade-dag: kraampies met boeke, klere, allerlei gereedskap, porselein, koper-ensilwervoorwerpe; asook die regulars: handelaars in vrugte en groente en blomme. Hier staan 'n bejaarde en blaai in 'n verslete Agatha Christie, met naas hom 'n jong paartjie wat die titels van die 20c-afdelinkie noukeurig bestudeer. Daar verkoop 'n blonde man met gespierde arms en met sweet op sy voorhoof, groot diep wit borde teen 'n geweldige tempo; jy moet hard skuur om hom raak te sien—so druk staan die kopiesjagters om hom heen. In die hoek, Darlingstraat se kant, naby die kleurvolle blommeverkoopers met hul bonte kopdoekies, bespeel 'n begaafde invalide sy eenmansorkessie: tamboer agter die rug, handorrel voor hom, en mondfluitjie.

Besoekers kyk skielik op, ou stedelinge werp 'n vlugtige blik op hul linkerarms, want die ou historiese stadsklok het so pas begin om elfuur aan te kondig ...

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Die geestelike opwekkinge vind gewoonlik plaas in die hoek van die Parade digteby Kasteelstraat en Pleinstraat.

Mnr. Kumalo het alreeds begin. Hy is ongeveer vyf voet sewe lank; skraal postuur, met swart pak, swart skoene, en wit hemp. In sy linkerhand hou hy 'n sakbybeltjie.

Soos al te verwag is, sny hy die tradisionele temas van Parade-predikers aan: Daar is baie ewels in die wêreld. Sondes besmet die mens oral. Behoeftes aan verandering is nodig, behoefte aan innerlike bekering is gebiedend. Die mens makeer 'n nuwe ontdekkingsgees. Die mens moet weer sy Skepper ontdek. Sy medemens. Homself ...

Ineens verander die toon; omstanders wat wif aanloop, kom nuuskierig nader; ander Paradegangers-opsoek-na-winskopies en buspassasiers wat terloops dié roete volg, drom digter—hul ore gespits, hul belangstelling geprikkel.

Swarterige gesigte. Witterige. Bruinerige. Oud. Jonk. Middeljarig. Kapenaars. Voorstedelinge. Plattelanders. Besoekers uit die Paradelose Noorde.

Dis nie net die toon waarop mnr. Kumalo praat, wat verander het nie.

Oók die erns, die toewyding.

Maar bowenal die onderwerp!



.... Want, dames en here, vriende, nee méér, liewe landgenote, ons lewe in tye van groot veranderinge, van gewigtige beslissings, van intense diskussies. Soos U weet, liewe medeburgers, is die politieke slagspreuk van die oomblik veelvolkige ontwikkeling, ofte wel afsonderlike ontwikkeling. Vanaf 1948, maar meer daadwerklik sinds die begin van die sestigerjare ..."

'n Kort verposinkie, en met 'n swaaiende handgebaar hervat hy:

„Dames en here, slaan U oë oor die Keirivier, en wat sien u? 'n Embrioniese Bantoestaatjie. Met beperkte mag, met alle besluite van die Wetgewende Vergadering nog onderhewig aan die veto van die Sentrale Regering in Pretoria, ja. Maar daar sal seer seker mettertyd veranderinge in dié posisie aangebring word.

Oral skyn die idee van afsonderlike -stans deesdae veld te win. Luister maar net. Hoofman Buthelezi van die Zoeloes, Professor Ntsanwise van die Machangana-gebiedsowerheid, Hoofman Mangope van die Tswanas. En dis nie al nie. A nee a! Ook onder die ander swartes gaan daar stemme op—ten gunste van die idee van afsonderlikheid. So bepleit 'n sekere mnr. Rabie, 'n Transvaalse lid van die Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad, openlik vir totstandkoming van 'n aparte Kleurlingstan. 'n Vooraanstaande rektor van 'n Afrikaanstalige universiteit staan ook prinsipiël agter so 'n plan. Asook lede van die Herstigte Nasionale Party. En wie weet, sal daar dalk môre, oormôre 'n mister Naidoo vanuit Durban 'n afsonderlike Indiërstan iewers in Natal bepleit. Die prinsipe van aparte ontwikkeling, van Bantoestans word, soos U sien, al hoe meer deur meer en meer mense aanvaar. En edel en eties en opreg is hy wat nie net sy gewone lewensloop nie, maar óók sy politieke doen en late laat lei deur prinsipes ..."

Mnr. Kumalo se welsprekendheid maak indruk op sy gehoor, wat steeds maar aanwas. Maar die effek is uiteraard uiteenlopend. Op die veelkleurige gesigte is

daar instemming, verbasing, bewondering, afsku—in feite alle moontlike reaksie-elemente—te bespeur.

'n Uiters godsdienstige Transvaalse dame, deftig uitgedos, wat vrywilliglik kom luister het, leun oor na haar meer stemmigeklede Vrede Hoekse vriendin:

„Maar Hettie,” fluister sy saggies, „hy preek mos nie meer nie. Dis mos politiek wat hy daar vertel.”

En haar flegmatiese metgesellin naas haar antwoord ewe koel en rustig:

„Ja, jy't gelyk, Lenie. Dit is politiek, maar gelukkig is dit darem nie van die gevaarlike soort nie!”

Die spreker laat egter nie sy toehoorders toe om *nou al* hulle te besin oor wat hy te sê het nie.

„... Liewe landgenote, „gaan hy bewoë voort asof hy tans die crux van sy betoog nader, terwyl sweetdruppels oor sy slape akkumuleer, „ek is geen politikus nie, maar ek konstateer tog in al hierdie beraadslaginge en ontwerpe oor afsonderlike ontwikkeling, oor die veelbesproke Groot Apartheid één enorme leemte, één groot afwesige.”

Die gehoor is nou die ene oor, die ene kollektiewe opgewonde nuuskierigheid.

„Ja,” vervolg hy, „ek bespeur 'n duidelike gebrek in die tuislandteorie, naamlik geen voorsiening vir 'n *Blankestan* nie!”

En stadig en goed geartikuleerd herhaal hy sy woorde.

„'n *Blankestan*? 'n *Blankestan*?” „Wat kan die man bedoel?”

Die gehoor is totaal verras.

„Liewe landgenote, alle swart bevolkingsgroepe kry, volgens die groot riglyne van die landspolitiek, 'n *aparte stan*, 'n *afsonderlike tuisland*, of dit word prinsipieel in die verre vooruitsig gestel, maar nie die blankes nie”, vervolg die spreker.

„Die Xhosas en Zoeloes en Suid- en Noord-Sotho's, die *Tswanas* en *Tsjaangaans* en *Venda's*, asook, in beginsel, die *Kleurlinge* en *Indiërs*—hulle almal het of sal 'n eie tuisland kry waar hulle hul lekker aparterig self kan ontwikkel. Maar waarom dan nie so 'n gebied *óok vir die blankes nie*?”

Die gehoor hang aan die redenaar se woorde; die gesigte is deurgaans ernstig, met hier en daar tekens van verwarring en vertwyfeling.

„Maar mense,” betoog die spreker voort, „dis mos blote diskriminasie! Waarom moet daar teen die blankes gediskrimineer word, waarom word so 'n belangrike minderheidsgroep—maar net 'n halfmiljoen minder as die byna vier-en-'n-kwart miljoen Zoeloes—wáárom, herhaal ek, word so 'n prominente minderheidsbevolkingsgroep nie erken in die tuislanddenkery nie?”

Elke weldenkende mens sal moet toegee dat dit die onbillikste onderskeid is—alléén gebaseer op aksidentele huidskleur—dat die blankes op die gebied van tuislande genegeer word.”

Die gehoor is doodstil. 'n *Sweempie van onheil* hang oor alles.

„Dames en here,” hervat mnr. Kumalo, „ek is 'n man van vrede en geregtigheid. Ek wil gevolglik voor-

stel dat die diskriminasie ten opsigte van die blankes en die tuisland-idee opgehef moet word. En terstond.

Gee óók aan die Suid-Afrikaners van „Europese herkoms” die reg om 'n eie afsonderlike tuisland te stig en te verwesenlik. Let wel, geen Afrikanerstan of Anglostan nie—daar's al oorgenoeg etniese versnippering onder ons swartes—, maar uitdruklik *one and only Blankestan*.”

Pousering. Met 'n groot wit sakdoek veeg die spreker die sweet van sy voorhoof.

Hy hervat:

„Aangesien die blankes se voorouers almal vanuit Europa geëmigreer het—eeue gelede of resentelik—, behoort die nuwe tuisland vir die wittes so digby moontlik aan die Europese Vasteland te wees, om die geografiese affiniteit met die herkomsoord te beklemtoon, as 't ware.”

Mnr. Kumalo swyg 'n oomblik (om asem te skep).

„Na veel nadenke het ek tot die slotsom geraak,” word die rede voortgesit, „dat die huidige Noordweste van Kaapland omgeskep en omgedoop moet word in die nuwe *Blankestan*.”

Dis 'n ideale gebied vir 'n eventuele Eurostan. Digby Europa, in 'n sekere sin, nie waar nie? Het 'n eie hawe—Port Nolloth. Vergeleke met die ander tuislande is dié laaste gegewe inderdaad 'n spesiale toewyding: die Transkei het geen beheer oor Port St. John's nie, nog het die Zoeloe-owerheid enige seggenskap oor *Richard's Bay*.

Voorts is die gebied mineraalryk, met volop koper en kosbare diamante; weer heel anders as die posisie in die swart tuislande.

Weliswaar ontvang Namaqualand, ofte wel die voorgestelde nuwe *Blankestan* min reën, maar dis darem ook die geval met die meeste ander bantoestantjies. Maar onthou mense, die grootste Suid-Afrikaanse rivier vorm die Noordelike grens van dié nuwe gebied, en die Atlantiese Oseaan bespoel die Westelike kus. En nie te vergeet die gigantiese ultra-moderne besproeiingswerke op die Oranje nie. Water, dus, in prinsipe, ruimskoots aanwesig. Vir landbou en industrie. En vir huishoudelike verbruik.

Ook vorm die Noordweste van Kaapland 'n aaneengeslote eenheid wat die grondgebied van die beoogde *Blankestan* betref; weer heeltemal anders as die geval met die huidige swart tuislande waarvan die oppervlakte versprei is, volgens die Tomlinson-Kommissie, oor 264 afsonderlike stukkie grotendeels erosiebesmette Suid-Afrikaanse bodem.

Nederige dorpies soos Springbok, O'kiep en Nababeep sal met owerheidsteun en die gestimuleerde intog van blankes vanuit die res van die land in die nie al te verre toekoms spoedig ontwikkel tot ondernemende stede. Wie weet, dalk sal 'n tans nog beskeie en onbeduidende Pofadder oor tien, vyftien jaar 'n ware Umtata word—die trotse setel van 'n florerende tuisland!”

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„En wat dan van die res van die Republiek,” vra 'n

luide manstem hier links van die spreker, „van die deel van Suid-Afrika wat buite U voorgestelde tuislande val?”

„Good question!” antwoord mnr. Kumalo gevat. „Want nadat ek aangetoon het hoe eties, hoe logies en hoe nie-diskriminerend dit is om ook 'n blanke tuisland binne die grense van die huidige Suid-Afrika te bepleit, wil ek nou graag tot 'n simmetriese afronding van my voorstel kom.”

Die sakdoek kom weer te voorskyn.

„Landgenote, U weet,” vervolg hy, „alles wat ek tot dusver gesê het, is politieke koring op die meul van veelvokige ontwikkeling, van die sogenaamde Groot Apartheid. Maar vriende, eerlik is eerlik. Alle Suid-Afrikaners is tog nie aanhangers van apartherige, pardon, aparte ontwikkeling nie. Ek verstout my om te stel dat die oorgrote meerderheid van ons land se inwoners, indien hulle vryelik hul keuse mag uitbring, definitief sal kies vir 'n nie-rassige, gemeenskaplike samelewing.”

Mnr. Kumalo se geesdrif begin groot dele van sy gehoor aan te steek. Ook hulle begin opgewonde te word.

Die tyd van voor Sharpeville skyn momenteel terug te keer tot die Kaapse Parade.

„Nadat bepaalde dele van ons vaderland, dames en here,” vervolg die spreker fors, „afgestaan is aan die voorstanders van tuislande, sal die res van ons geliefde vaderland verander moet word in 'n waaragtige nie-rassige demokrasie, met volle burgerregte vir alle landgenote—heeltemal ongeag, onnodig om te sê, van enige arbitrêre faktore soos huidskleur, taal of godsdiens. Iedereen wat beswaar het teen die totstandkoming van so 'n volledig gedemokratiseerde nuwe Republiek van Suid-Afrika, sal nie ingeperk, verban, gedeporteer of onder huisarres geplaas word nie; intendeel, hy sal vryelik mag verhuis na sy eie betrokke tuisland waar hy sy griewe kan omsit en psigies kan afwerk in die opbou van strukturele eiesoortigheid en waar hy hom na hartelus sal kan verlustig in sy afsonderlike en aparte vryhede.”

Die eerste vraag en antwoord lok andere uit.

„Mag enigeen wat nie na 'n tuisland wil gaan nie,” vra 'n vrou aan die spreker se regterkant, „vryelik bly woon in die nuwe demokratiese Republiek?”

„Ja, maar natuúrlik! Suid-Afrika is tog per slot van rekening ons almal se vaderland. Die keuse om te bly is heeltemal vry en hang van die betrokke individu self af, net soos die voorneme om te gaan.”

„Wat sal die verhouding wees tussen die nuwe Republiek en die nuwe blanke tuisland?” wil iemand ietwat bekommerd weet.

„Die nuwe Sentrale Regering sal die voorgestelde Blankestan, soos alle ander tuislande, ekonomies, tegnies en administratief bystaan.

'n Blanke Ontwikkelingskorporasie sal in die lewe geroep word wat die minder kapitaalkragtige blanke tuislanders finansiële steun kan verskaf in die vorm van lenings teen lae en billike rentekoerse sodat hulle self nywerhede en kleiner of groter sake-ondernemings

kan begin.

Die hulp van die Sentrale Regering sal onbaatsugtig gegee word, en dit sal nog baie lank gegee moet word.

Want U moet onthou dat die huidige en voorgenome tuislande in feite agtergeblewe en allesins onderontwikkelde gebiede van ons land is.

Histories en geografies is dit nou eenmaal so.

Maar juis dáárin lê die grootse uitdaging!”

„En die verhouding op meer politieke vlak?”

„Die voorgestelde Blankestan sal op 'n volstreekte voet van gelykheid met die ander tuislande behandel word. In die nuwe gedemokratiseerde Suid-Afrika sal daar geen ruimte meer wees vir diskriminasie, vir bevoorregting van watter aard ook al nie.

Gevolgtik sal daar ook vir die blankes 'n aparte staatsdepartement opgerig word, 'n spesiale ministerie wat die spesifieke belange van die blanke bevolkingsgroep kan behartig.

En om te pas in die Suid-Afrikaanse tradisie tot nog toe, sal die nuwe Minister van Blankesake 'n swart man moet wees.

Hierdie swart Minister van Blankesake sal in noue voeling staan met die te stigte Verteenwoordigende Blanke Raad (VBR). Die beoogde Blanke Raad sal bestaan uit verteenwoordigers wat gekose is deur blanke kiesers volgens die one man one vote-beginsel, maar sal aangevul word deur 'n aantal lede benoem deur die nie-rassige Sentrale Regering.

Ook die Uitvoerende Komiteelede van die Blanke Raad sal aangewys word deur die Sentrale Regering, aan wie hulle uiteindelijke verantwoording verskuldig is.

Al die besluite van die Verteenwoordigende Blanke Raad sal onderhewig wees aan die vetoreg van die betrokke Minister en uiteindelik van die nuwe Republikeinse President-in-rade.

En so sal dit nog vir 'n lang tyd moet voortgaan, alhoewel die konstitusionele bevoegdheids van die Raad vanselfsprekend in die normale loop van die tyd uitgebrei sal word.”

Mnr. Kumalo pousseer 'n oomblik.

„Maar wat sal dan die voordele wees om nie na 'n tuisland te gaan nie?” klink 'n manstem hardop.

„O, maar die voordele spreek byna vanself. Aangesien die nie-rassige Sentrale Regering nie net verantwoordelik is vir al die Suid-Afrikaners wat sal besluit om buite die grense van die tuislande te bly nie, maar ook, soos ek sê, die grootste verantwoordelikheid dra vir die veelvoudige ontwikkeling—polities, ekonomies, opvoedkundig, kultureel—van al die huidige en voorgenome embrioniese etniese staatjietjies tot volle selfbestuur en eidelike soewereiniteit in die verre toekoms, lê dit feitlik voor die hand dat die nuwe Sentrale Regering beheer moet behou oor die grootste deel van die Republiek.

En aangesien ek van mening is dat die oorgrote meerderheid van Suid-Afrikaners nie sal verkies om na 'n etniese stan te trek nie, volg dit logies dat die ver naamste industriële, kommersiële en landboukundige sentra, die groot stedelike komplekse, die belangrikste



nasionale verbindingsweë—see, spoor, weg, lug—, die vooraanstaande kulturele en opvoedkundige instellings soos skole, kolleges en universiteite asook die belangrikste rekreatiewe oorde buite die tuislandgebiede val.

Maar let wel, die nuwe demokratiese Suid-Afrikaanse owerheid sal alles in sy vermoë doen om te verseker dat die tuislande, alle tuislande, nie in vergelyking met die nie-rassige res van die land, agterbly wat betref die fasiliteite wat ek so pas opgenoem het nie.

En vir die suksesvolle voltooiing van so 'n grootse, so 'n historiese taak sal die nuwe Regering die welwillendheid en daadwerklike steun van alle goedwillige Suid-Afrikaners nodig hê.

Die nuwe demokratiese Suid-Afrika sal ons almal sommer baie, baie nodig hê!"

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'n Roomkleurige volkswagen hou stil binne hoorafstand van mnr. Kumalo.

Twee jong blanke polisieagente spring uit.

Sonder baadjies.

Natuurlik gealarmeerd.

Briesend en vasberade.

Letterlik op die man af!

„En, dames en here, die voorgestelde nie-rassige Suid-Afrika,” klink die spreker se stem helder oor die een hoek van die Parade, „moet gesien word as 'n komplementering, 'n aanvulling, 'n logiese politieke teëvoeter van die tuisland- ofte wel bantoestankonsep.

So 'n verenigde toekomstige Suid-Afrika geregeer deur 'n landsbestuur wat gekose is uit en deur alle volwasse burgers, ongeag van natuurlike pigmentasie, is die stille ideaal van miljoene landgenote.

'n Nie-rassige, volledig gedemokratiseerde vaderland is die strewe, die uiteindelijke politieke doelwit van die verbode, ontbonde of nie-aktiewe politieke organisasies soos die Liberal Party, die Anti-Cad Movement, die All African Convention, die Unity Movement, die African People's Democratic Union of South Africa, die Congress of Democrats, die South African Indian Congress, die Coloured People's Congress, die Pan Africanist Congress, die African National ...”

Die woord „Congress” word in mnr. Kumalo se mond gesmoor.

Vier gespierde arms-van-die-gereg pak hom beet—stewig, hardhandig, berekenend wreed.

En half-sleep hom na die motor met die swaaiende pers seinlig op die dak.

Opgewondenheid heers onder die omstanders.

Weer eens uiteenlopende reaksies. Instemming. Afkering. Woede. Verbasing.

Geeneen sit egter hand by om mnr. Kumalo te help nie.

Dog assistensie aan die twee kragdadige representante van die Gesag en die Establishment bly nie uit nie.

'n Blou Ford-polisievangwa se buitebande skreeu as dit tot stilstand kom langs die volkswagen.

Drie blanke konstabels ontpop voor uit; een maak die deur agter oop waar vyf ander polisieagente uitspring: drie Afrikane en twee bruines. Almal met knuppels gereed.

Net voordat mnr. Kumalo agter in die Ford half ingegooi word, klink 'n militante

AMANDLANGAWETHU!

uitdagend op.

Swygsaam en tevreë neem die gearresteerde kennis van dié blyke van solidariteit.

En aan die oorkant van Darlingstraat slaan die stadsklok eenkeer—die dowwe halfuurslag.

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Die Engelstalige namiddagblad in Kaapstad het die nuus op die voorblad gebring, en dis deur SAPA die land en deur REUTERS die wye wêreld ingestuur:

#### AFRICAN LAY PREACHER ARRESTED ON CAPE TOWN PARADE FOR MAKING POLITICAL SPEECH

In die uitvoerige ooggetuie-verslag, opgeluister deur foto's van die polisievangwa en die omstanders en Parade-kraampies, het daar in vet letters gestaan wat die woordvoerder van Caledon Plein gesê het:

...Mnr. Kumalo sal aangekla word ingevolge die Wet op die Onderdrukking van Kommunisme en die Wet op die Onderdrukking van Terrorisme. Mnr. Kumalo, aldus die polisie-segsman, sou die oogmerke van verbode politieke organisasies bevorder het, en sou een bevolkingsgroep teen die ander probeer oprui het ...



#### SWARTES SIEN BLANKES NOU AS 'BASTARDS'

—Adam Small

Daar is 'n nuwe geslag Swartes wat die witman net as 'n „bastard” sien. Die onrus by die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland het te doen met die feit dat die gemeenskap baie siek is en selfs tot in die kern verrot is.

Dit is die mening van die Kleurlingdigter Adam Small na aanleiding van die woelinge by die Universiteit wat tot die sluiting daarvan gelei het.

Suid-Afrika se swart jeug is nie meer die passiewe jeug van vroeër nie.

„Dit is 'n geslag wat die witman feitlik net ken as iemand wat swartes ingevolge die Groepsgebiedewet uit hul huise gooi as uitgooiers en in die algemeen as vervolgers, as onderdrukkers in elke opsig.”

—Die Vaderland, 14.6.'73



## structural change instead of charity

**Resolution No. 8.**

"Christians in general and the church in particular bear a responsibility towards members of all races who suffer from poverty, under-development, and political oppression. Believers should be willing to bend every effort to alleviate the suffering of such people."

Having studied the above resolution adopted by the Sydney synod and endorsed by the delegates of the D.R.C., a crucial question comes to my mind: Is the have/have not division sinful?

There are two ways in which we can look for an answer to this question. The first is to ask whether Jesus taught that the poor, towards whom He had such a positive attitude, were to remain poor, or whether He saw his work to be a work of liberating them from their poverty. The second way would be to look closely at Jesus' teaching concerning riches and whether He thought it was a good thing for the rich to remain rich in a world full of poor people.

I think it is worthwhile looking at what Jesus said at the beginning of his ministry. "The spirit of the Lord has been given to me for he anointed me. He has sent me to bring the good news to the poor, to proclaim liberty to captives, and to bring the blind new sight, to set the downtrodden free to proclaim the Lord's year of favour." This passage is crucial because here, right at the beginning of his ministry, He outlines the vision that will guide his work. This is in fact what he is about. He is not simply telling people about God; He is not merely telling people how their sins can be forgiven.

He makes it abundantly clear that He has come to break down those bonds that hold people in misery. He has not only come to tell the blind that God loves them. He has come to release them from the evil misery of being blind. He has not come simply to preach to people who are in prison or who are oppressed that all will be put right one day in heaven. No, He has come to open the prison doors and to let the captives go free. Jesus has come to break the power of evil which holds people in its grip, not simply to tell individuals that their individual sins can be forgiven. So He has come to break poverty, not to make people happy, though poor.

**Charity breeds beggars**

All this is truly 'good news'. The hungry mother wants bread for her baby. Unless she can find this there is not much 'good news' in being told that God loves her and forgives her. The husband who watches over his sick wife wants her to be well. It is not enough to be told that she will live again. The oppressed people do

not want 'pie in the sky when you die' when the tables will be turned and those who oppress them now will be oppressed. They want all oppression to stop and to be free from this human prison now.

This is what Jesus says He has come to do. He has come to set people free from the evil that enslaves them. It is in this sense that poverty is an evil. If we, the church in South Africa, would be followers of Jesus then this resolution calls us to share in his work of bringing an end to poverty. Our calling cannot be to help people 'spiritually' while doing nothing about the grip that Satan holds on them, binding them to poverty, under-development and political oppression. Nor are we called simply to help people by giving them a few things which they can eat for a few days and then they find they are hungry again. It is my contention that that sort of charity simply turns people into beggars who will lose all self-respect. This resolution calls upon us to fight the whole evil. This means that we are called to destroy anything in our society that causes people to be poor, politically oppressed and under-developed, while others are rich, free and developed. I believe that our calling is to work with Jesus to set people free—not to feed them in their prisons.

Christ did not come to give us charity. He came to set us free. This means that He came to set the poor free from their poverty, not to make them happy though poor. Christ wishes that the world be set free from the sin of poverty, under-development and political oppression.★

**CONTRASTS IN INCOME**

Overall, the average per capita income of whites is over thirteen times higher than the average income of Africans. In industry and construction respectively white earnings are 5.8 and 6.5 times higher than those of Africans, while in the mining industry white wages are nearly twenty times higher than those of Africans. Over the past 50 years, between 1918 and 1968, the increase in African wages in industry did not keep pace with the rise in national income per head of population. Between 1947 and 1967, in private industry, the actual gap in wage levels between whites and blacks increased from R580 to R2,256. South Africa as a whole is by no means an affluent society, but the earnings of white executives in the private sector, after tax and taking into account the cost of living, would appear to be higher than those of their British and Australian counterparts, and almost as high as those of executives in the United States.★

*Extract from Towards Social Change, the report of the Spro-cas Social Commission.*

# Doing Theology Today

john vincent

## What is theology?

Theology is 'Word about God': the science, or the body of knowledge, built around the human apprehension or experience of divinity, of God, of the 'other'.

Necessarily and properly, therefore, theology is grounded in man's apprehension and experience. But man's apprehension and experience do not take place in a vacuum; they are not purely matters of metaphysical speculation or philosophical reflection. They take place at concrete and particular moments, in concrete and particular situations, in response to what an actual man or woman is doing or experiencing. They take place in, alongside or after action: happenings, incidents, events, situations, relationships, and the like.

Now theology has in fact always been like this. There never was a time of 'pure' theology. Theology has always been the reflection of Christians in their own lives, using their own apprehension and experience, and making what sense they could of the 'Christian' element. The first Christian theology—the theology of the New Testament—was all 'apprehension based on actions'. In this way it was a radicalization of the Jewish faith that there wasn't a 'God' whom men 'believed' in, but a personal destiny in all things which men must await and act in: 'I will be there as I will be there.' And this 'God' was 'there' in Jesus of Nazareth, who is the completeness of grace and truth, who is the way, truth and life, in whom now all things hold together. The New Testament is nothing else than a series of theological explorations into appropriate ways for his human followers to state their apprehension and experience that all things are now in Jesus.

## The centrality of Jesus acting

Yet theology can never be composed only of ordinary human apprehension and experience. Christian faith exists at the level at which contemporary meaning and sense are brought into some kind of relationship to the fact of Jesus Christ. Immediately on saying that, one must admit the following points:

- No one picture of Jesus can be insisted upon.
- No literalist interpretation of authority can be insisted upon.
- *The kind of Jesus we see is influenced by our own life and personality.*
- The kind of Jesus we see is influenced by our times, ethos, history.
- The kind of Jesus we see is influenced by our economic and social status.
- The kind of Jesus we see is influenced by our *denominational allegiance.*

Yet there are other things in what we see. If we cannot be definitive about one form of Jesus, we can know when we have moved outside the frame of reference of the man Jesus as he was. Recent suggestions that Jesus headed a violent revolutionary group, or that he was homosexual, or that he belonged to this sect or that in the first century, remain at best conjectural.

To say that all things are now in Jesus is to say that all things are somehow both hidden and revealed in the actions of Jesus. The words in the Gospels merely elaborate upon, point to, and give dynamic meaning to the deeds. It is to the deeds that the disciple is discipled, and to the words only as they interpret the deeds now happening. It was because of the actions of Jesus that God was understood to have accredited Jesus as *Kurios* and *Messias*. In the words of Peter's speech at Pentecost, the message concerns 'Jesus of Nazareth, a man singled out by God and made known to you through miracles, portents and signs, which God worked among you through him, as you well know', who, after he was crucified, God raised to life again (Acts 2:22-24, NEB).

*This emphasis upon the actions of Jesus will no doubt be familiar. Of course it can be overdone, like any other emphasis. It delivers theology from theorizing, but ties it to the accidents and mythologies of particular writers and particular stories. It delivers theology from the philosophical strait-jacket of Chalcedon, from arguments about Jesus's 'deity', from sacramentalism or ecclesiasticism; but it binds theology to the world-view of ancient Judaism. On balance, I think it is worth pursuing. Without it, Jesus remains a *dénouement* without a plot, a *kerygma* without a drama, a story without a hero. With it, Jesus at least becomes the basis for imagination, fantasy, storytelling, myth-making, community-building, and disciple-action. Adolf Holl's recent book (1) strikingly demonstrates how Jesus's actions in relation to publicans and sinners, to scribes and pharisees, to his mother and relatives, to his own disciples, and even to God as most Jews understood him, could not but lead to his being considered a heretic. Holl also shows how quite different styles and ways of life can arise out of the Jesus story. (I have myself discussed elsewhere (2) the extent to which some elements in the Jesus story could suggest a dynamic understanding of action.)*

## Theology in context

The relation between theology and its context has long been debated, not least in the last year or two within the World Council of Churches (3). Anthony

Dyson's article (4) rightly criticizes that theology which 'has resembled a chameleon, changing its colour with great rapidity as it jumps from one secular twig to another'. He sees an over-emphasis upon a contextual theology that stresses events, facts and moments at a time when an organic view of reality is emerging; that seeks to remove the action of Jesus from its contextual framework; and that has often lacked expertise within the particular frames of reference of the context in question. This is well said. But the organic theologies which have so far emerged have tended to rest more upon an evolutionary philosophy, in particular on Teilhard de Chardin, upon process theology or old-time sacramentalism—indeed, usually upon a fascinating combination of all of these! Such theologies find it in fact very difficult to make room for, much less to be fundamentally determined by, the Jesus story. Again, Dyson is right in his comments about the framework. But every Christian in every age inevitably looks at Jesus both from his own situation and from that of the New Testament. 'Writing biblical-exegetical footnotes to secular paragraphs' might have been the way contextual theology first emerged recently in Harvey Cox's writings and some WCC reports. But I would argue that that was precisely because the Jesus element was not taken seriously, and was not considered as a possible source for a contemporary dynamic understanding of faith-life.

*In other words, the vital question facing contextual theology is the question as to what must be fed in from the side of dogmatic theology.* Dogmatic theology in terms of credal statements, philosophical-systematic systems, or wholistic world-views may well be at an end. In this sense, the efforts of the Teilhardians are merely one more attempt to squeeze the Jesus story into one more philosophical mould. It remains to be seen whether the emphasis upon the actions of Jesus, together with a dynamic understanding of faith-life, can do any better. That such a combination should appear in the 1970s is of course no accident. It could hardly have happened without the cathartic experiences through which theology passed in the 1960s (the Death of God, Secular Christianity, etc.). Its emergence may also owe something to the current emphasis upon 'doing your own thing', upon action within the neighbourhood, upon politics as local enterprise, upon the importance of small parabolic communities and small prophetic actions.

But the method of the New Testament is precisely to proceed on the basis of the singular, odd, arbitrary, localized, in-group story of Jesus, and then to go on to say that this is what 'holds all things together', and provides the 'way, truth and life', the basis for significance (i.e. judgment) for all things and all times and all men everywhere. Thus the particular becomes the basis for the wholistic.

The proper question of contextuality is therefore a question simultaneously of Christology and of action. Contextuality can never be a matter of setting certain

Christian values, principles or traditions, much less institutions, over against contemporary areas or issues, and of asking what one has to learn from the other. Rather, contextuality is the bringing together of some of the dynamic elements in the action-story of Jesus with some of the dynamic elements in contemporary existence. *At neither end is it a question of dealing with static elements or agreed values.*

To admit this at the points of contemporary concern is already not without value. For all too readily urban or industrial missions and lay academies follow the theological seminaries and universities in worshipping the myth of 'expertise'. We have still not fully abandoned the 'Christian frontier' idea, with its implication that Christians who really want to be 'with it' cannot function seriously without first and last bringing in experts and listening to them. We still think of the theological dimension as functioning as some kind of 'chaplaincy', on the fringe of the real secular world, occasionally holding its hand, and from time to time making ethical or humanistic comments. But these attitudes take the secular world far more seriously than it takes itself, and in most cases fail to take account of the chaotic pluralism within all disciplines—you can find an expert to prove anything you wish to prove!—or of the great need felt by growing numbers of professionals for people who will understand their position well enough to question openly the presuppositions upon which their work-dogmas have been erected.

Moreover, truly contextualized study can only take place alongside people who are feeling the hurts of society, not among those who are merely observing them or writing about them. And among people feeling the hurts of society there will be as many 'solutions' as there are persons. So that ultimately the Jesus followers have to make arbitrary, judgmental, questionable, inconsistent decisions in particular situations, just like everyone else. The only question open is whether because they are Jesus-followers they have anything specific to bring into the dynamic situation of decision-making.

### **Christian action-theology**

We are thus concerned to find out what is happening to the Christological core of faith as it is actually functioning within the lives of Christians and Christian communities. Only when this has been tackled can we bring this secret understanding of society, of history, of dynamics of change, and of human and inter-human functioning to bear upon expectations present in areas of contemporary secular concern. This is why we are experimenting with two ways of 'doing theology'. In the first the focus is upon personal faith-life, in the second the focus is upon community life.

In the area of personal faith-life, classes and groups are held on 'contemporary faith and action', 'creative theology', and 'theology-making'. In them all we raise

the question: *What sort of faith is emerging from Christian action in our time?*

Four related but distinguishable questions are involved:

1. In what way can traditional formulations be said to come alive in a secular, experienced way? Forgiveness or reconciliation, for example.

2. In what ways are new things happening which seem to be meaningful in the light of those Jesus categories which have not usually been thought of as helpful for experimental theology? Here, the focus is upon incarnation, healing, parables, acted parables, discipleship.

3. In what ways is the Christian faith we hold or live by being stimulated by actions that are apparently not part of the Christological core of faith? Here the questions relate to sex as grace, to the acceptance of all men apart from their faith or philosophy, to the relation of humanism and Christian faith-life.

4. What actions in which people have been involved have caused shifts in their faith and life-style? Here we discuss both things done by us and things done by others to us, e.g. involvement in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, relationships between racial groupings, or the situation in Northern Ireland.

These four, of course, presuppose more fundamental questions. To what extent has the faith which has become meaningful for us in fact been confirmed by our action and experience? What is there in the Christological core of faith that we have to deal with, or bring in, anyway? For many, the whole enterprise may seem premature. Many contemporary or radical Christians are still at the stage of reasserting their humanity and of wanting to celebrate their ordinary human existence. *They have been brought up on a meaningless (i.e. meaningless to them now) set of theological categories which they felt compelled to uphold but which never related to their actual existence.* For many, Jesus has functioned primarily as the one who brought them freedom and self-authenticity, as over against subservience to ready-made beliefs. Is it premature to want to move beyond this? I think not. The rediscovery of humanity is important; but it has merely landed us where many healthy human beings have been all the time: believing life is worth living, and finding the best technological way to do it. In any case, Jesus lacks in many ways the 'humanity' we so ardently desire. He threatens men with the end of the world, he denies their natural loves (father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife, children), he regards personal values as subservient to 'the kingdom', he selects disciples for what they do rather than what they are!

All these questions, of course, can only be considered within the context of quite specific people in quite specific situations. For example, the church in the contemporary city is again tempted to bring in the God of the gaps. The young executive has everything

he needs: home, cars, wife, family, money, central heating, future. But he says, 'I would like a meaning to life'. So he comes to the Sunday service, and is encouraged to search for meaning in life by pursuing a spiritual end. The Gospel becomes merely what satisfies the inner longings, the inner confusions, the lack of wholeness, that which provides 'insights into spiritual reality'. But here it must be asked: *is this in fact that the Gospel provides?* Put crudely, is it designed for the man who wants to have a spiritual side to an otherwise secularly successful existence: 'all this and heaven too'? Can Christian faith ever be an 'inwardness' in every man, regardless of what he is *doing* or what he *commits himself to*? In other words, *to give such people spirituality can merely be to give them another excuse for self-love, to keep them from facing external reality.* What they need is a quite new discovery of humanity—a radicalization of the guilt-syndrome, but with the fixation on others, not (as we make the Gospel say) on themselves. At present, their experience of the Christological core is mainly one of embarrassment; they sense that it is not so easily reconciled with 'normal' living—an irreconcilability all too easily smothered by the church in favour of confirming them (sometimes against their instinctive judgment) back into the middle-class, suburban, affluence-affirming vocation they have begun to question. What is needed is rather a period of exposure to the challenge of the Jesus story and the Jesus style, within the context of a small, caring, creative group of action-theologians. Not, incidentally, 'theological facilitators', as if theology were an oil to keep any old engine running smoothly; and not 'theological advisers' or 'commentators', who—shades of the group dynamics expert!—advise or comment 'from a theological point of view' on what is going on. But action-theologians, for whom to act is to theologize, and to theologize is to 'keep on telling the Jesus story' (5), which is about action.

### **Christian community-theology**

The experiment of 'doing theology' in terms of private action is almost impossible —no actions are 'solo' actions. The community dimension is always involved in action-theology. But there is a shift of focus when one comes to the communal, societal, political dimension as such, even if only because there, more than in the personal realm, one is aware of actions being 'determined' by outside factors, by community mores, expectations and presuppositions.

Our experience in running 'Urban Ministry Courses' is that the most important element in the 'situation analysis' part of them relates to the question: 'Who is it who is defining what people are, what they expect or do not expect, what is "wrong" or not "wrong"?' The vital question, in other words, is: *What myth-maker is at work here*, so that some things are felt as intolerable and others as tolerable? The myth-maker may be the television, the military-industrial syndrome, the

parents, the churches, the people next door, the bosses, the workers, the party, the club, the wife, the husband, the children, the technologists, the teachers, the politicians, the astronauts, the pop singers, the sociologists, the psychologists, the civil servants, the rich, the poor, the revolutionaries, the conservatives, and I don't know who all else—but there always is at least one, and usually many.

When an answer has been found—as it never can be finally—we have to conclude that there is no objective analysis available to us of the world's problems, of 'human settlement, quality of life, and social justice', for instance, from which we can draw up 'lines for local action', much less 'proposals for ministry'. We come to see that, in the secular city, nobody is waiting for us to tell them what's wrong or to produce solutions. Still more, nobody in the secular city is interested in whether or not the local or the world church belatedly gets in on what happens to be what some people in the world—experts, manipulators or sufferers—happen to think is 'the issue' or 'the problem'. Frankly there are too many problems, Racism, poverty, affluence nationalism, pollution, technology, planning, class, injustice, deprivation—the lot. All of them, while integrally related, have a thousand different faces, and ten thousand different solutions: read any report of ten or twenty years ago!

### Solutions:

The Urban Ministry Courses tend to arrive at theological/tactical 'solutions'. Thus:

—Christian ministry does not consist in wading in behind the with-it sociologists to get the community fighting for itself, but in setting up action-stations here and there that might stimulate others to act, or to act differently.

—Christian ministry does not exist in setting up more and more long-term institutions to do what society should do, but in setting up a few acted parables that might just manage to push history along a bit.

—Christian ministry does not consist in 'filling in the gaps of the welfare state', but in developing new styles of therapeutic community.

—Christian ministry is not necessarily 'Programmes to Combat Racism', but perhaps programmes to evoke interracial communities, or symbolic racial ones of a new style.

Christian ministry is not selling the church's millions to feed the poor, but it can be knocking down two churches, and building houses and a community centre instead (I quote local instances); not uniting churches into one large suburban building, but moving them back into the communities they originally came from; not building expensive mini-universities where theological education can be done 'in style', but doing it from two old houses in the midst of the people; not pushing

committed lay vocations into the 'places of influence', but helping a few of them establish new styles of mini-*ekklesia* in community houses. These last four, at least, are forms that seem in inner-city Sheffield to arise from the Jesus action and from small communities trying to live in the light of it.

What we have to 'say' to the wider community of the world, occasionally looking over its shoulder at us, is first and foremost that we repudiate the old style of Christendom, with its big churches, consecrated temples, impressive academies and influential laymen. Second, that we are called by the Jesus action to act now in faith in these new ways. And, third, that maybe when we have been obedient and done what we have to do, we may even dare to speak—or, better, be spoken about—where the big people settle the really big issues.

Community-theology is taking the things of Jesus and showing them in the world. *The world* 'writes the agenda'; *Christology* suggests what you bring to it; *action* is the form of the Christian community's Christ-centred secularity. (6).



- (1) *Jesus in Bad Company*, English translation by Simon King; London: Collins, 1972. (*Jesus in schlechter Gesellschaft*; Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1971.
- (2) *John J. Vincent, Secular Christ*; London; Lutterworth Press; New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968. Cf. esp. pp. 181-228. Spanish edition, Madrid: Ediciones Fax, 1973.
- (3) Cf. recently: Herbert Dordick, J.G. Davies, David Jenkins and others, 'Institutional Change: a Three-Dimensional Discussion', *Study Encounter* Vol. VII, 1971, No. 1, SE/03; Paul Löffler, 'Theology as Process: Theological Reflections in Urban and Industrial Mission', *Study Encounter* Vol. VII, 1971, No. 2, SE/07; David Jenkins, 'Concerning Theological Reflection', *Study Encounter* Vol. VII, 1971, No. 3, SE/11.
- (4) A.O. Dyson, 'Dogmatic or Contextual Theology?'. *Study Encounter* Vol. VIII, 1972, No. 3, SE/29.
- (5) Cf. Paul van Buren, 'On Doing Theology', in *Talk of God* (Royal Institute of Philosophy Lectures II); London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969, pp. 52-71, esp. p. 70.
- (6) Cf. my article 'Playing God for the City', *New City* 1 (1972) 3, pp. 14-16. From: Urban Theology Unit, 233/239 Abbeyfield Road, Sheffield 4, England.



(This article is taken from the *Study Encounter*, of the World Council of Churches.)

# Division or Unity in S.W.A.?

*Families, political groups and churches in South West Africa are split either by or over the policy which has just created the territory's first "homeland".*

♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦♦

The creation of South West Africa's first "homeland"—Owambo—at the beginning of May emphasised how many forces there are at present which seem to be pulling South West Africa apart.

The homelands policy which is being pursued by the South African Government in the territory it continues to administer despite a World Court ruling, is the same system which has created South Africa's Bantustans. Although Owambo, with its 342 000 people, in fact contains 46 per cent of South West Africa's population, the other homelands will be smaller. The effect will be to break the territory's already small population into separate tribal units.

## DIVISION

But there are other divisions wherever one looks. In order to carry out the homelands policy, the South African Government has created an Advisory Council for the territory which contains the Government-recognised leaders of the new homelands. The National Convention claims that these men are "stooges" who are rejected by 90 per cent of the black population.

If this is true, it means that Chief Filemon Alifas, Owambo's pro-apartheid chief executive, lacks the support of most of Owambo's citizens. The division between his executive council and SWAPO—the South West African People's Organisation—has already become apparent. After the Chief had refused to allow SWAPO to hold a public meeting in the new homeland, the council announced that in future Owambo Government approval would have to be given to any political party which wished to operate in Owambo.

Nor are Owambo's divisions confined to its brand-new borders. In Windhoek's notorious Katatura compound alone live 5 000 of Owambo's menfolk, working in the industries of the capital, far from their northern homeland.

Fifteen thousand Ovambo workers led an illegal strike last year in protest against the conditions under which they live in the territory's industrial compounds. Their protest brought some improvements, but the contract system remains, which forces them to live far from their families if they want paid employment. Their separation is another bitter division in South West African society.

There is division also between the National Convention, representing black political parties, and SWANEUM—the South West Africa Non European Unity Movement—representing the territory's Coloured people. The National Convention, led by

## africa acts feature service

Chief Clemens Kapuuo, refuses to recognise South Africa's jurisdiction over South West Africa and has called on the United Nations to take over control of the territory. Mr. A.J.F. Kloppers, SWANEUM's leader, says that he is prepared to co-operate with the South African Government in implementing the homelands policy so as to get more out of it.

"Like Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei", he says, "our idea is to take what we can get and ask for more. We're not pro-Government, but pro-non-white."

## UNITY

This divided situation has produced some unified action by Christians. In 1971 Bishop Leonard Auala of the Ovambokavango Lutheran Church and Moderator Paulus Gowaseb of the Evangelical Lutheran Church met South African Premier John Vorster and presented him with an Open Letter setting out the feelings of their people about the divisions and oppressive measures under which South West Africa was suffering.

Their joint approach, which represented 333 000 black Christians, was undoubtedly a powerful one. It was followed by the formation of a United Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa uniting the two churches at many levels, which recently sent a further delegation to meet Prime Minister Vorster.

At the same time as black Lutherans were closing their ranks, however, estrangement was growing between them and the all-white German Evangelical Lutheran Church in the territory. At the time of the Open Letter the German Church, which has about 8 000 members, dissociated itself from it.

Since then relationships between black and white Lutheran Churches throughout Southern Africa have deteriorated to the point where the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA) is in danger of disintegrating. Black Lutherans, and particularly those from South West Africa, say that FELCSA is split by apartheid ideologies and has given them no support in their struggle against oppression.

Even though the German Church in South West Africa finally came out in support of the Open Letter in May, the black churches did not seem to be ready for reconciliation. In the same week they charged the German Church with "engineering" the expulsion from South West Africa of the Rev. Gerhard Dunze, a German pastor who resigned from the German Church to become a lecturer at the Paulinum Seminary of the United Church.

If "divide and rule" is the basis of the homelands policy, the advocates of South West Africa's national unity have a hard struggle ahead. ★

# WEIGHED AND...? GEWEEG EN...?

*This column in English and Afrikaans comprises short extracts from reports on news, views, happenings, standpoints, etc.*



## POLISIE KEER DUISEND STUDENTE

**Universiteit kan nog gesluit bly**

KAAPSTAD—Duisend Kleurlingstudente van die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland het gistermiddag 'n monstervergadering in 'n saal naby hul kampus in Bellville-Suid gehou en besluit om nie om hertoelating tot die Universiteit aansoek te doen nie.

Hulle het ook besluit om die administrasie van die Universiteit te vra om die studentekorps as geheel tot die Universiteit toe te laat.

Gisteroggend toe die studente, wat met hul halfjaarlikse eksamens besig is, by die hekke aankom, was daar polisie-manne wat hulle daarvan in kennis gestel het dat die Universiteit tot 15 Julie gesluit is.

Onder die griewe, wat in 'n memorandum van die studente vervat is, is die volgende:

- \* Die swak verhouding tussen studente en lektore.
- \* Die ongelyke salarisse van blanke en nie-blanke dosente.
- \* Swak onderwysmetodes.
- \* Die vervolging van Indiër-studente.
- \* Onderdrukkende reëls en regulasies.
- \* Die gebrek aan Universiteitsoutonomie en die outoritêre metodes en oormatige streng dissipline van die wetenskapfakulteit.

—*Die Transvaler*, 13.6.'73.



## THEIR OWN JUDGES

It is not surprising that three Coloured academics have refused to serve on a committee created to resolve the difficulties at the University of the Western Cape. The Government is handling this unfortunate business with its customary insensitivity, and the end result is going to be even more anger and alienation.

The students at UWC believe they have been patronised, misunderstood and treated unjustly by the university's hierarchy. Last week the Minister of Coloured Affairs conceded that some of their grievances might be justified and appointed two committees to look into aspects of the problem. But members of these committees all come from the university's senate, council or staff and the controversial rector serves on both. That very hierarchy to which the students object is thus going to sit in judgment upon itself. Does anyone really believe such an inquiry will solve anything?

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 18.6.73

*Hierdie rubriek in Afrikaans en Engels bevat kort uittreksels van berigte oor nuus, opvattinge, gebeure, standpunte, ens.*



## UNHOLY DEADLOCK

There it all is: The students accuse the principal of racial bias, and talk of "White racist arrogance" and "rejection of education designed to engender a dependency complex in Black people and to provide a better class of slaves to White society". On the other side, the authorities clamp down with a heavy hand and close the university—a real draconian step.

We agree with Adam Small, a Coloured man, and head of the University's Department of Philosophy, that the clash is a reflection of the South African "system". For this "system" one cannot easily apportion blame. It is a product of history—an end result sparked off by events that have been going on for decades.

—*Sunday Times*, 17.6.'73



## CRISIS

The crisis at the University of the Western Cape was brought about, according to the Coloured poet and philosopher, Adam Small, primarily because White men can't get out of the habit of doing things for or to non-White men instead of with them.

—*Rene de Villiers*

—*The Star*, 30.6.'73



## AT BELLVILLE AND BEYOND

The Coloured University is 1 500 km from here. Yet its closure touches us all because it goes to the heart of our most intractable—yet most artificial—problem.

Coloured students got sick and weary of what they regarded as White arrogance and police intrusion in the running of their university and indulged, reputedly, in some insubordination and incitement. The Minister of Coloured Affairs is essentially a sympathetic man. But he did what the Government always does, as though by conditioned reflex, when there is trouble at a State university. He closed it down for a month, thus proving the students' point. It needed only the withdrawal of the Coloured members from the "readmissions committee" to complete the break, to separate Coloured sentiment yet farther from White and present the Coloured people, gift-wrapped, to protagonists of inter-racial confrontation.

All so unnecessary. The division between White and Coloured is so vague and so unnatural that it has to be sustained by ridiculous race classification. If the Nationalists would only do now what they are going to have to do eventually, and accept the Coloured people as White for all practical purposes (which includes admitting Coloured students to "White" universities) they would be sensibly making this the obvious starting point in solving our racial problems.

—*The Star*, 19.6.73



## HOW THE POLICE HAUNT THE CAMPUS

Police intrusion on the campus and the university's capacity to turn the most trivial domestic problems into crises became evident in 1970 when a student was suspended for refusing to wear a tie.

His fellow-students threatened to burn their ties in protest. The issue reached comic proportions when 20 policemen arrived to guard the administrative building while the university senate met to decide what to do.

The student was fined R25 and returned to lectures—plus tie.

The tie crisis was followed last year by a food crisis at the university hostel: Students, objecting to conditions at the hostel, boycotted meals.

The hostel was promptly closed and students told to apply for readmission ... and six were refused.

### PROTEST

Police involvement in domestic issues reached a point in August last year where four Black lecturers submitted a letter of protest against it to the Rector.

The lecturer who handed in the letter was hauled into police headquarters for interrogation.

Over a three-week period in July-August last year, more than 220 students were reported to have been interrogated by the police.

Probably the most contentious issue at the university is the shortage of Black staff members. About 10 percent of the academic staff is Black: Of the Whites, there are only about six English-speakers out of a staff of about 80.

Even the professor of English is an Afrikaner.

Pay differences are blatantly racial.

—*Sunday Tribune*, 17.6.'73



### NIGHT RAIDS ON STUDENTS

CAPE TOWN—Security Police have raided the homes of several students of the University of the Western Cape since Wednesday in the course of investigations described as "definitely in the interests of the State".

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 24.5.'73



### UWC TREATS STUDENTS LIKE HIGH-SCHOOL PUPILS—PRIEST

Students at the University of the Western Cape were treated like "glorified high-school children" and denied the dignity of being allowed to think for themselves, a Cape Town priest said in Johannesburg last night.

Father Clive McBride, whose parish includes many UWC students, told a gathering of parents in Newclare that "things are being done to our young people that the White authorities would never dare do to their own".

Father McBride appealed to parents to stand by their children who had been expelled en masse from the campus "I can't really call it a university".

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 25.6.'73

## STUDENTE VERWERP AANBOD

Lede van die studente-aksiekomitee aan die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland het Saterdag die jongste aanbod om hertoelating van alle studente verwerp.

In prof. Kriel se verklaring word onder meer gesê dat alle studente wat die vorms—wat reeds aan hulle gestuur is—onderteken en teruggestuur het, en wat hulle daarmee by die reëls en regulasies van die Universiteit neerlê, toegelaat sal word om op 16 Julie hul studie aan die universiteit voort te sit.

Die studente se verklaring lui: „Die studente sal nie die herstel van sake aanvaar nie, tensy dit 'n onvoorwaardelike en ongekwalifiseerde herstel van die hele studenteliggaam is wat gepaard gaan met die waarborg dat daar deur 'n onpartydige komitee ingegaan sal word op die griewe, reëls en regulasies vir die aanbring van verbetering en modifikasies.”

Die studente sê ook daarin dat hulle seggenskap wil hê oor die manier waarop só 'n komitee saamgestel sal word en sal funksioneer.

Die verklaring lui voorts dat die studente ook nie die herstel sal aanvaar tensy „daar in die begin van die nuwe kwartaal aansienlike verbetering is in die toestande, reëls en regulasies nie. Indien dit nie die geval is nie, sal ons weer terug wees waar ons begin het, wat sal beteken dat die toestande wat die huidige krisis voorafgegaan het, eenvoudig net in sy huidige vorm sal voortduur.”

—*Die Burger*, 25.6.73



### Studenteplan slaag

### KERKE STEUN GESKORSTES

Verskeie Engelse en nie-blanke predikante in die Kaapse Skiereiland het gister steun van die kansel af aan die meer as 1 600 geskorste studente van die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland gegee.

In 'n opname gister deur Die Transvaler is vasgestel dat die kwessie van die woelinge onder die Kleuringstudente in feitlik al die nie-blanke kerke van die kansel bespreek of aangehaal is.

Leraars in die Engelse kerke—veral die Anglikaanse en Rooms-Katolieke kerke—het ook openlik steun aan die studente gegee.

—*Die Transvaler*, 18.6.'73



### AGTDUISEND KLEURLINGE BYEEN OOR SLUITING VAN U.W.K.

Sowat agtduisend studente, ouers en belangstellendes het gistermiddag in die Athlone-stadion 'n biddag met die oog op die sluiting van die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland.

Mnr. Adam Small en verskeie kerkleiers het as sprekers opgetree en 'n kollekte ten bate van die studente se veldtog teen die sluiting is opgeneem.

Mnr. Small het in sy kort rede die studente van Wes-Kaapland aangemoedig om aan te hou met die aksieplan—die grootste tot dusver onder swart studente.

—*Die Burger*, 25.6.'73



### THIS IS WHERE DANGER LIES

When he opened the Afrikaanse Studentebond congress on Monday night, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. C.P. Mulder, enjoined the students to examine the problems which face South Africa with great care and attention. 'Be critical, come with radical solutions ...' he told them.

The students, notably his own son, took him at his word. Mr. Piet Mulder proposed that all Black women and children in the urban areas be shipped back to the homelands and that only the men should be left in the White areas for as long as we need them'. The motion was adopted by 93 votes to seven. An overwhelming vote for radical verkramptheid.

It is difficult to escape a feeling of despair about the future of our country when student leaders in the ruling establishment come up with such heartless twaddle. 'Send them back to the homelands.'

There is no sense in it, no reality, no humanity.

—The Argus, 28.6.73



### 'N PROG-MUIS

Die Verligte Berg het toe op die ou end maar 'n Prog-muis gebaar. Daarvoor hoef geen twyfel te bestaan by enigiemand wat die Verligte Aksie se „vertrekpunt” bestudeer nie. Volgens daardie vertrekpunt beskou die groep al die inwoners van groter Suid-Afrika, Blank en Nie-Blank as een „Suid-Afrikaanse nasie”.

Daarmee het die groep hom reëlreg teenoor die beleid van die Nasionale Party en die Regering gestel.

—Die Vaderland, 2.7.'73

### NO SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

“Anybody who knows the viewpoint of the HNP, and of the Afrikaner, also knows that no social intercourse is possible between White and Black or Coloured.

—Dr. A. Hertzog

—Rand Daily Mail, 6.8.'73.



### „VERLIGTE AKSIE IS DIE OU DING”

#### Premier oor PP, VP se aandeel

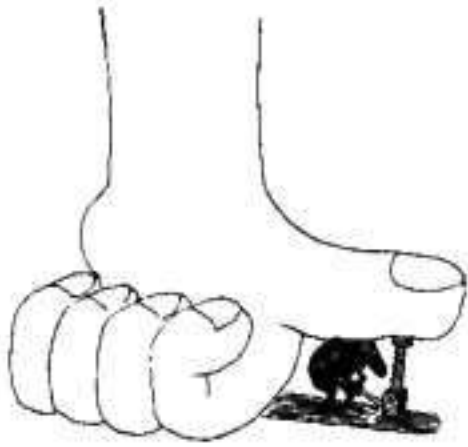
Die sogenaamde Verligte Aksie is in sy wese niks anders nie as die soveelste aanslag uit dieselfde oord op die Nasionale Party. Om dit te bepaal, hoef 'n mens maar net te let op die woorde van prof. Joubert en andere en te kyk na die name van sy omstanders, helpers en meelopers.

Só het die Premier, mnr. Vorster, gisteraand aan Die Transvaler gesê.

„Die Aksie spruit uit die onvermoë van die Progressiewe Party om ooit regstreeks bewind te verower, die vergeefse poging van die Verenigde Party om die Regering tot 'n val te bring en, les bes, die frustrasie van die Sameroepers en diegene agter die skerms wat die toutjies trek”, het mnr. Vorster gesê.

\* Die koppeling van die „Verligte Aksie” aan 'n politieke party sou sy oogmerke veryd. Die „Aksie” het niks met politieke partye te doen nie hoewel hy ook niks teen hulle het nie, het prof. W.A. Joubert van Unisa gisteraand in Pretoria gesê.

—Die Transvaler, 2.7.'73.



- Voorlopig

### 'WE DON'T WANT TO BE AFRIKANERS', SAYS ADAM SMALL

Mr. Adam Small the Coloured poet, said yesterday: "We certainly don't want to be Afrikaners". He was commenting on Dr. Connie Mulder's statement this week that Coloureds were not brown Afrikaners.

"We certainly don't want to be Afrikaners," Mr. Small said. "The term 'Afrikaner' is associated with narrowness and a history of discrimination against the Coloured.

"It is tragic that Dr. Mulder and his colleagues concern themselves with problems which are really not problems at all. The country is in a spiritual mess and they are wasting their time with issues like this.

"The greatest problem in South Africa today is that violence is committed in the name of religion. Examples of the violent mentality which prevails is migrant labour, forcible evictions, bannings without recourse to the law."

Mr. Albie Pop, a member of the Coloured Management Council, said he bitterly resented any suggestion that the Coloureds were "brown Afrikaners".

"Coloureds regard themselves as human beings first and foremost, then South Africans. Through no choice of our own we are also labelled 'Coloured', but we don't want to be called 'brown Afrikaners'."

—Rand Daily Mail, 27.6.'73



Anders is dit slawerny - prof.

### IS SWART LONE SINVOL?

KAAPSTAD - Is die arbeid van ons Nie-Blanke werknemers sinvol? Is hul loon toereikend? Verskillende studiekommissies van ons kerk wy hul ernstige aandag hier-  
aa Dit is egter nodig dat nie net die kerk en die staat nie, maar elke Christen sy en haar aandag daaraan sal skenk, skryf prof. P.A. Verhoef van die Kweekskool op Stellenbosch in 'n hoofartikel in die jongste Kerkbode.

Wat lone betref, skryf prof. Verhoef, dat die Bybel groot klem lê op die verpligting om die arbeider die loon te gee wat hom toekom. Wanneer dit nie gebeur nie, ontvlam die toorn van die Here teen die oortreders.

—Vaderland, 23.1.73

### VERVREEMDING HET GELEI TOT NUWE AKSIE: ALANT

Die huidige politieke bestel in Suid-Afrika is nog gegrond op tradisionele maar valse lojaliteite van kleur, bloed en taal. 'n Moderne industriële samelewing vra egter 'n nuwe politieke benadering en samehorigheid, gegrond op nuwe kwessies wat vandag ter sake is.

So het dr. Connie Alant van die departement sosiologie van die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika gister aan Die Transvaler gesê.

Dr. Alant is genader na aanleiding van die nuwe verligte aksie wat deur verskeie van die voorste akademici sake en beroepsmanne van stapel laat loop het vir 'n „nuwe samehorigheid oor aktuele kwessies oor taal, kleur en party-politieke grense" heen.

Dr. Alant het gesê die afgelope paar jaar reeds het 'n politieke vervreemding maar ook 'n traak-my-nie-agtigheid onder 'n groot groep van die bevolking ontstaan omdat die huidige politieke bedeling nie meer ingestel is op nuwe kwessies wat vandag in 'n moderne samelewing ter sake is nie.

Suid-Afrika het 'n posisie van politieke skaakmat bereik. Die tradisionele partye gaan voort sonder inagneming van die veranderde samelewing.

Dr. Alant het die partye soos volg getipeer: Die Nasionale Party het 'n negatiewe benadering weens die tradisionele ideologie van uniforme samelewings—veelvlakkige ontwikkeling.

„Daarom dat hulle onlogiese aanpassings moet maak soos tans met die sportbeleid."

Die Verenigde Party is „hangende" en weet nie waarheen om te gaan nie. Hy het 'n huiwerende benadering.

Die Progressiewe Party het 'n steriele benadering: Gepla deur die spook van 'n Engelse liberalisme klou hy nog aan die idee van 'n uniforme Utopie.

Die HNP het 'n blinde benadering.

—Die Transvaler, 4.3.'73



### PATTERNS OF FEAR

Many whites feel 'safe' only when they are clearly on top—masters in complete control of black servant classes. Obviously, this behaviour, which accords with the social and economic patterns in our society, creates conditions of hostility and resentment among the objects of the domination. In this sense the irrational identity-fear creates a situation where there are rational grounds for fear. This reinforces the initial fear and a vicious cycle results. In addition, the complete domination over blacks must cause a sense of guilt among many whites. It is not unlikely that this guilt results in these whites automatically assuming that the blacks they dominate are hostile and antagonistic. This assumption has also influenced the attitudes of whites towards the blacks in independent Africa, and these attitudes have in turn been reinforced by the overt hostility of some black states.

Extract from **Towards Social Change**, the report of the Spro-cas Social Commission.



### FOUT LÊ BY DIE STELSEL

Elkeen wat geïnteresseer is in die handhawing van goeie verhoudinge en die voorkoming van konflik tussen die verskeie bevolkingsgroepe in ons land, is besorg en verontrus oor die jongste verwickelinge aan die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland. Van uit elke moontlike oogpunt gesien, moet die sluiting van die Universiteit en die voorafgaande kloof wat tussen die studente en die Universiteitsadministrasie ontstaan het, as 'n tragedie beskou word.

Baie van my kollegas en ek self het van die begin af ons besorgdheid en teenstand uitgespreek oor die wyse waarop hierdie universiteite vir die nie-blanke bevolkingsgroepe tot stand gekom het, en die beginsels wat toegepas is in die interne administrasie van hierdie inrigtings. Dit was ongelukkig en na my mening—'n groot fout om die instelling van hierdie inrigtings te koppel aan die verpligte uitsluiting van nie-blanke studente aan die sogenaamde ope universiteite; eweser was—en is—dit 'n fout om in hierdie inrigtings—wat per slot van rekening tog vir hulle bedoel was—onverbloemde blanke baasskap toe te pas. Oor hierdie een punt kan niemand tog enige illusies hê nie: hierdie universiteite is niks anders nie as blank geïnspireerde, blank beheerde en blank georiënteerde inrigtings waarin die (verpligte) bywoning van nie-blanke studente nie eens as 'n reg deur hulle beskou kan word nie, maar as 'n voorreg wat na betreklik willekeur deur die blanke gesag gegee of weggegee kan word.

### BLANKES

Ons het tog al meermale aan die blanke universiteite ernstige botsings tussen studente en die administrasie gehad—maar, sover my kennis strek, is die oplossing nooit gesien in die sluiting van hierdie universiteite en die verpligte

aansoek om hertoelating van alle studente nie.

Is die indruk misplaas—in ag genome die verskeie kere dat hierdie prosedure gevolg is in die geval van nie-blanke inrigtings—dat ons nog altyd meen dat deur die vertoning van mag en baasskap ons 'n oplossing vir ons probleme kan vind? Kan ons inderdaad hoop om deur vertonings van hierdie aard tot 'n werklike begrip te kom van hoe die nie-blankes voel en oor die basiese tekortkominge in ons situasie? Ons kan sekerlik op hierdie manier, die vraende, protesterende—ja, veral ook die bittere, vyandige—stemme doeltreffend die swye ople—maar wat het ons dan daardeur bereik?

### AFRIKANER

Ek wil nie te kenne gee dat die studente in alle opsigte blaamloos is nie; ek wil ook nie kenne gee dat die skuld by die betrokke individue—die Rektor, die raadslede, die administratiewe en doserende personeel—lê nie. Basies is dit die stelsel wat verkeerd is en onaanneemlik is, nie net vir die Kleurlinge nie, maar vir die meeste denkende mense.

Uit die aard van die saak het ek geen „oplossing” vir die bepaalde probleem wat aan die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland ontstaan het nie. Wat ek egter wel weet, is dat die probleem homself sal herhaal—en ook aan die ander nie-blanke universiteite—tensy ons die beheer van die Universiteit (d.w.s. die Raad) in die hande van Kleurlinge plaas, die Rektor 'n Kleurling is, die administrasie en die personeel oorwegend Kleurlinge is, en enige vorm van diskriminasie en apartheid (t.o.v. salarisse en wat ook al) aan hierdie inrigting afgeskaf word, en doeltreffende kommunikasiekanale tussen administrasie en studente geskep word.

—Nic Olivier Stellenbosch.  
Die Burger—26.6.1973