



PRO VERITATE

WAR, TERRORISM AND THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE

Rosemary Elliott

ETIESE EN POLITIEKE PROBLEME RONDON „GEWELD”

Andre du Toit

THE MZINI AFFAIR

Frans Auerbach

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Paul Goller

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Toe Jesus, die Saligmaker, gebore is, is Hy in die boesem van sy gesin gebore - al was dit dan ook in die stal van 'n eenvoudige herberg in 'n vreemde stad waar Josef en Maria geen hoër status as dié van vreemdelinge en besoekers beklee het nie.

Dit is daarom skrynend om nou weer, by die herdenking van sy geboorte, daaraan te dink dat daar van dag tot dag hier by ons in Suid-Afrika duisende blinkoog-kindertjies - vir wie Jesus ook gebore is en uiteindelik gesterf het - gebore word as nuwe lede van hopeloos en gewoonlik onherroeplik verbrokkelde gesinne. En dat hierdie gesinne verbrokkel is, nie deur omstandighede of die onberekenbare teenslae van die lewe nie, maar deur 'n onverbiddelike kodeks landswette in al hul kille onpersoonlikheid. En dat hierdie wette ingestel is deur en op aandrang van verantwoordelike mense, die meeste van wie hulleself as Christene, aanbidders van die Christuskind beskou.

Daar is baie dinge waarop ons trots kan wees in hierdie mooi land van ons; waaroor ons diep dankbaar

kan wees en waaraan ons ons veral in hierdie feesgety kan verkneukel. Daar is egter minstens hierdie een gruwel in ons volkslewe, moedswillig deur onself geskep, waaroor ons alleen maar die hoof in skaamte kan laat sak; wat soos 'n druppel bittergal die hele wyn van ons feestelikheid bederf en 'n skadu werp oor die skynvreugde van die Kersgety.

Miskien mag en moet ons mekaar nog steeds gelukwens met die geboorte van Jesus, ons Saligmaker. Maar by alle gelukwensing en feesvreugde pas dit ons ook om te ween oor die onsaliges wat hulleself salig waan terwyl hulle die saligheid slegs vir hulleself opeis en dit aan hulle naaste ontsê; om te treur oor die verbrokkelde beeld van Christus en sy gesin wat deur ons volkslewe weerspieël word.

Aan die getroue lesers van *Pro Veritate* wat saam met ons bekommerd is oor 'n verbrokkelde en verlore gaande volk van die Here: 'n geseënde Kersfees! Mag die geboorte van Jesus simbolies word van die ontwaking van 'n nuwe gees van deernis, barmhartigheid en liefde in ons midde.

NEW YEAR'S PRAYER

Grant us in this new year, O Lord, the simple rights and joys to which every son of man is entitled in Thy Name;

Give us, Lord, unselfishness of spirit so that we may grant unto others at least the basic opportunities we grant ourselves;

Grant us, O Lord, salvation from the daily disruption of our lives through forces beyond our comprehension and control;

Give us, Lord, an understanding of the daily fears and anxieties of our less privileged fellow-men and for the grace to accept them as our neighbour and not as pawns in a game of power;

Grant us, O Lord, the right of regular access to the warmth and security of our own families so that we, too, may enjoy a privilege never in history denied even the humblest of men.

Give us, Lord, true compassion so that we may not only sympathize with but do something about those around us who are caught up in the web of sinful political machinations and are forced so rarely to enjoy the warmth of a wife's embrace and the loving awe in a child's eyes.

Grant all of us, O Lord, a stake, however small, in this vast country of ours and all its riches that we may call our own.

Forgive us, Lord, our wealth and the callous and calculating way in which we so frequently attained it. Make us willing to share it. Make us aware of a security which is not material and of this earth, but a heritage in Thy Kingdom.

Grant us, O Lord, the opportunity to realise our talents and to strive for the fulfilment of our lives; the opportunity to grow to the stature of men cast in Thy Image.

Forgive us, Lord, our readiness to judge the humanity of men by the colour of their skin and their difference from us in race, language, culture, education and sophistication.

Deliver us from bitterness, O Lord, and the desire for unreasoning vengeance. Save us from resorting to violence and revolt against those whom we are tempted to regard as the oppressors of ourselves and of our children.

Forgive us, Lord, for imagining that we can exercise violence with violence and still serve Thy Will. Give us perspective upon Thy Kingdom and our proper place in it. Teach us to live and work within the framework of sin without selling our souls to Satan. Equip us to be agents in the coming of Thy Kingdom.

Have mercy upon our souls, O Lord, for we dwell low in the esteem of men and have been denuded of all pride in ourselves and our achievements.

Have mercy upon us, Lord, for we whom Thou set in high places have fallen low in Thy esteem through our arrogance, pride and disobedience.

Have mercy upon us and our children, O Lord; we claim only a tiny place in Thy Kingdom.

Have mercy upon us, O heavenly and wrathful Father, for we have failed Thee and brought the sacrifice of Thy Son to shame.

IN THE NAME OF SERVICE

Kay Wellsted

Kay Wellsted attended a course this year in Swaziland on Credit Unions. She is at present working on a Community Development Project near Lusaka, Zambia.

THIS IS THE SPIRIT of cooperation which is offering a challenge to capitalism in many parts of the world. In place of the profit motive which presently dominates the economic scene it proposes the motive of service. The philosophy of Cooperation is based on a high regard for social justice and the human dignity of the individual. It preaches the need for a more equitable distribution of wealth through the establishment of Co-operative Societies for the management of finance, production and supply to the consumer. The main operative principle is that all Co-operative Societies are managed by the members through Committees elected by themselves from among their own number. In this way the consumer learns to take responsibility in the economic field instead of being the passive victim of capitalist exploitation. This exploitation has been made possible only because the many have allowed the few to make a profit out of their needs instead of coming together in mutual agreement to provide for themselves.

•

Perhaps the best example of how this principle of cooperation operates is the Credit Union, often referred to as the Poor People's Bank. The idea behind the establishment of a Credit Union is to provide credit for those whose low economic rating excludes them from this service by the ordinary Commercial Bank. It does this by encouraging people to save and thus provide credit for their own community. Entrance fees are kept low so that membership is not beyond the means of the poor. Shares rarely exceed R5 in value and may be paid for in instalments however small. When the savings of the Society have reached a certain level the Credit Union is ready to make loans to its members, which it does against the shareholding

of the borrower, any excess of the loan over the shareholding being guaranteed by one or more other members. Necessarily such operations will be small in the beginning but will increase as the spirit of saving grows in the community. In this way small sums which might have been saved in some secret place for a rainy day, if not spent wastefully, are made to produce capital for the investment of the community itself. This capital can, in fact, serve as the basis for the development of other Co-operative Societies for the provision of other needs until a community can find itself in full control of the supply of its own needs and the marketing of its own produce.

The Co-operative is established for service not profit but it is not meant to be a charitable association. It is meant to be run on a sound economic basis. A principle of Cooperation demands that each factor contributing to the end result of an enterprise, be it manufacturing, agricultural production or supply to the consumer, should receive its just due. This means that the shares held by the members will bear a limited interest, just wages will be paid to any necessary employees, interest will be required on loans etc. But any surplus remaining after all expenses have been paid will be returned to the members in proportion to the extent to which they have patronised the society. This is the factor which establishes the society as existing for the service of its members and not for the profit of some distant shareholder who is not concerned with this service.

But the Co-operative Movement is not directed solely at the economic field. It aims at establishing a spirit of community. The members of Co-operative Societies are meant to be of support to one another.

Ideally they should have some common bond such as residence in a particular area, a common occupation or membership of an association. They should meet frequently for discussion of their common concerns and for the making of decisions in the management of their affairs. There should be constant education in their responsibilities so that each one realises that this business, whatever it may be, is his own. Indeed, before any Co-operative Society is established the intending members should meet in study groups to discuss their needs and how these might be met. Training must be given in management and book-keeping so that some will be capable of running the business. It will be readily understood that the fostering of a spirit of social responsibility and personal involvement will best be achieved among comparatively small groups. For this reason it is wise for the Co-operative Society to start in a small way. There are several ways of extending and preserving the community spirit as the Society grows. The famous Rochdale Pioneers in Cooperation numbered twenty-eight when they established their first consumer Co-operative way back in 1844. From this small beginning grew the enormous British Consumer Cooperatives which exist today. But it may be questioned whether these large societies with their millions of members have retained that spirit of community which should characterise the true Co-operative.

One may conclude from this brief outline of the principles of the Co-operative Movement that there is a great possibility of such a movement proving a real instrument of social reform. Its basis is the education of the individual in the assumption of his rightful responsibilities in the economic and social fields. This must inevitably have its repercussions in the political field. Its ultimate aim is to give the individual a full and abundant life. Indeed as it is based on that mutual concern which is the heart of the commandment "Love one another as I have loved you" it is only fitting that it should blossom in that abundant life which He said He came to bring us.



THE LITTLE PRINCE

Antoine de Saint Exupery

Christmas is the day of the Covenant - the day God covenanted himself with us in Jesus Christ. To make a covenant is to establish a tie. And to establish a tie is to enter into relationship.

We are grateful to the publishers, William Heinemann Ltd., for permission to print the story of the Little Prince. This is a profound story that yields to many readings.

It was then that the fox appeared.

'Good morning,' said the fox.

'Good morning,' the little prince responded politely, although when he turned around he saw nothing.

'I am right here,' the voice said, 'under the apple tree.'

'Who are you?' asked the little prince, and added, 'You are very pretty to look at.'

'I am a fox,' the fox said.

'Come and play with me,' proposed the little prince.

'I am so unhappy.'

'I cannot play with you,' the fox said. 'I am not tamed.'

'Ah! Please excuse me,' said the little prince.

But, after some thought, he added:

'What does that mean - "tame"?''

'You do not live here,' said the fox. 'What is it that you are looking for?'

'I am looking for men,' said the little prince. 'What does that mean - "tame"?''

'Men,' said the fox. 'They have guns, and they hunt. It is very disturbing. They also raise chickens. These are their only interests. Are you looking for chickens?'

'No,' said the little prince. 'I am looking for friends. What does that mean - "tame"?''

'It is an act too often neglected,' said the fox. 'It means to establish ties.'

'"To establish ties"?''

'Just that,' said the fox. 'To me, you are still nothing more than a little boy who is just like a hundred thousand other little boys. And I have no need of you. And you, on your part, have no need of me. To you, I am nothing more than a fox like a hundred thousand other foxes. But if you tame me, then we shall need each other. To me, you will be unique in all the world. To you, I shall be unique in all the world ...'

'I am beginning to understand,' said the little prince. 'There is a flower ... I think that she has tamed me ...'

'It is possible,' said the fox. 'On the Earth one sees all sorts of things.'

'Oh, but this is not on the Earth!' said the little prince.

The fox seemed perplexed, and very curious.

'On another planet?'

'Yes.'

'Are there hunters on that planet?'

'No.'

'Ah, that is interesting! Are there chickens?'

'No.'

'Nothing is perfect,' sighed the fox.

But he came back to his idea.

'My life is very monotonous,' he said. 'I hunt chickens; men hunt me. All the chickens are just alike and all men are just alike. And, in consequence, I am a little bored. But if you tame me, it will be as if the sun came to shine on my life. I shall know the sound of a step that will be different from all the others. Other steps send me hurrying back underneath the ground. Yours will call me, like music, out of my burrow. And then look: you see the grain-fields down yonder? I do not eat bread. Wheat is of no use to me. The wheat fields have nothing to say to me. And that is sad. But you have hair that is the colour of gold. Think how wonderful

that will be when you have tamed me! The grain, which is also golden, will bring me back the thought of you. And I shall love to listen to the wind in the wheat ...'

The fox gazed at the little prince, for a long time.

'Please - tame me!' he said.

'I want to, very much,' the little prince replied. 'But I have not much time. I have friends to discover, and a great many things to understand.'

'One only understands the things that one tames,' said the fox. 'Men have no more time to understand anything. They buy things all ready made at the shops. But there is no shop anywhere where one can buy friendship, and so men have no friends any more. If you want a friend, tame me ...'

'What must I do, to tame you?' asked the little prince.

'You must be very patient,' replied the fox. 'First you will sit down at a little distance from me - like that - in the grass. I shall look at you out of the corner of my eye, and you will say nothing. Words are the source of misunderstandings. But you will sit a little closer to me, every day ...'

The next day the little prince came back.

'It would have been better to come back at the same hour,' said the fox. 'If, for example, you came at four o'clock in the afternoon, then at three o'clock I shall begin to be happy. I shall feel happier and happier as the hour advances. At four o'clock, I shall already be worrying and jumping about. I shall show you how happy I am! But if you come at just any time, I shall never know at what hour my heart is to be ready to greet you ... One must observe the proper rites ...'

'What is a rite?' asked the little prince.

'Those also are actions too often neglected,' said the fox. 'They are what make one day different from other days, one hour from other hours. There is a rite, for example, among my hunters. Every Thursday they dance with the village girls. So Thursday is a wonderful day for me! I can take a walk as far as the vineyards. But if the hunters danced at just any time, every day would be like every other day, and I should never have any vacation at all.'

■ So the little prince tamed the fox. And when the hour of his departure drew near -

'Ah,' said the fox, 'I shall cry.'

'It is your own fault,' said the little prince. 'I never wished you any sort of harm; but you wanted me to tame you ...'



'Yes, that is so,' said the fox.

'But now you are going to cry!' said the little prince.

'Yes, that is so,' said the fox.

'Then it has done you no good at all!'

'It has done me good,' said the fox, 'because of the colour of the wheat fields.' And then he added:

'Go and look again at the roses. You will understand now that yours is unique in all the world. Then come back to say good-bye to me, and I will make you a present of a secret.'

The little prince went away, to look again at the roses.

'You are not at all like my rose,' he said. 'As yet you are nothing. No one has tamed you, and you have tamed no one. You are like my fox when I first knew him. He was only a fox like a hundred thousand other foxes. But I have made him my friend, and now he is unique in all the world.'

And the roses were very much embarrassed.

'You are beautiful, but you are empty,' he went on. 'One could not die for you. To be sure, an ordinary passer-by would think that my rose looked just like you - the rose that belongs to me. But in herself alone she is more important than all the hundreds of you other roses: because it is she that I have watered; because it is she that I have put under the glass globe; because it is she that I have sheltered behind the screen; because it is for her that I have killed the caterpillars (except the two or three that we saved to become butterflies); because it is she that I have listened to, when she grumbled, or boasted, or even sometimes when she said nothing. Because she is *my* rose.'

(continued on page 12)

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Paul Goller

Paul Goller is a Catholic serving on the Economics Commission of Spro-cas. This article was presented for a Spro-cas Economics sub-committee as a working paper.

Two approaches to socialism in an African context are looked at briefly below, those of Senghor in Senegal and Nyerere in Tanzania. Even a cursory study of African socialism reveals its complexity and openness. Its foundation is to be sought in African philosophy, in the relationship of African people to nature, in the spirit and organisation of traditional African society. It is also to be found in these thinkers' assimilation of the experience of colonialism, in their evaluation of recent history (particularly in an examination of nationalism and industrialisation) in their assessment of African resources, needs and potentialities, and in their awareness of the dominant forces and trends in the modern world.

For both Senghor and Nyerere, socialism is primarily a humanism: to quote Senghor; 'socialism is essentially politics i.e. an art of governing men of a given society by organising their relations harmoniously - thus the object of socialism is not the economy but concrete, living man in his totality, body and soul'. This concern for the dignity and quality of human life is firm-based in traditional African society. What is new is the articulate recognition of economic activity in shaping the form that this communal life will take, for Senghor goes on: 'socialism is the transformation of the economic

relations between men and the transformation of economic structures themselves'. Such a transformation is something much deeper than mere nationalisation implies or, indeed, deeper than particular methods of production, techniques of control or methods of distribution of goods. For example, he insists that any development program cannot be solely economic: 'it must be social in the broadest sense of the word - political, economic, social and cultural'.

For Senghor 'culture is at once the basis and the ultimate aim of politics'. He quotes the following definition of culture in explaining

his meaning: 'the sum of the objects, ideas, symbols, beliefs, feelings, values and social forms that are transmitted from one generation to another in a given society', and is insistent upon the necessity for and the viability of spiritual values. African philosophy, he says, has always been existentialist and humanistic but has always integrated spiritual values and it is the awareness of a fundamental unity within man himself, between man and nature, and between men which is the basis of the African view of society and how it should be organised. This exists today as a practical reality, in spite of the descriptions of someone like Fanon of the disintegration of African personality which has been brought about by colonial oppression and can be transformed to deal problems of population, urbanisation and industrialisation, in the African continent. Even though they are aware of limitations and signs of breakdown in some traditional African values and institutions, Senghor and Nyerere (and a South African philosopher like Dr. A. Mabona) show an extraordinary confidence in the ability of Africans to retain, revive and transform traditional values in very different circumstances.

UJAMAA

What are the essentials of this traditional society? Nyerere sums them up in this way:

'The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of ujamaa (familyhood). Its members did this unconsciously and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms. They lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they re-inforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with - the uncertainties of weather and sickness, the depredations of wild animals (and sometimes human enemies) and the cycle of life and death. The results of their joint efforts were divided unequally between them, but according to well-understood customs. And the division was always on the basis that every member of the family had to have enough to eat, some simple covering, and a place

to sleep before any of them (even the head of the family) had anything extra. The family thought of themselves as one, and all the language and behaviour emphasised their unity. The basic goods of life were 'our food', 'our land', 'our cattle'. And identity was established in terms of relationships: mother and father of so-and-so; daughter of so-and-so; wife of such and such a person. They lived together and worked together, and the result of their labour was the property of the family as a whole.'

This pattern of life, then, was based on

- (a) persons - their dignity and function within the society;
- (b) property - all basic goods being held in common and the economic level of one could never get too far out of proportion to the economic level of others;
- (c) the basic obligation of everyone to work. Clearly there were effective social welfare measures and satisfactory attitudes to work. As Nyerere points out, there was a limitation in this situation in that the lack of individual accumulation of property was accompanied by a lack of social accumulation of wealth with its resultant endemic poverty. He says: 'certainly there was an attractive degree of economic equality, but it was equality, but it was equality at a low level'.

ADOPT, ADAPT, IMPROVE

Rising standards of living are an integral part of African socialism, but not at the expense of other values, of a rising standard of culture or quality of life, and not achieved in such a way that different social groups profit unequally. Both Senghor and Nyerere insist that already-entrenched classes do not exist in their societies; there are different, recognisable social groups which cannot be allowed to retain social status and privileges. Because Senghor refuses to accept that classes with differing interests are fully established already, he rejects much European socialist analysis of class-warfare and the consequent strategy to be

employed to bring about a socialist society. It is also clear from the writings and practical policy, both domestic and foreign, of Nyerere that Africans reserve the right to adapt socialist analysis, strategy and institutions to African realities, and are prepared to range the world from Israel to China for theoretical analysis and practical experimentation. There is no doctrinaire insistence upon an exclusive road to socialism.

The political framework within which socialism will be achieved is that of a strong federal democracy, within which the chiefdoms will be suppressed. Senghor's writings do not make clear whether, when he proposes the one-party state (certainly as an interim measure), he sees its inevitability perhaps more permanently; at the start he envisages more than one political party, but only one of which is able to become the representative of the mass of the people. He certainly does not see the likelihood of floating votes deciding elections. The minority parties will have rights but only, if I understand him correctly, within a broadly-based acceptance of a socialist pattern and programme for society. The likelihood is that, as in other parts of Africa, the other parties will be absorbed into the dominant party. Trade unions will continue to serve a function, but in a country like Senegal (or Tanzania for that matter) where less than 10% of the population are wage-earners final power cannot be exercised by trade union leaders alone. They will form part of the party which will determine overall policy, direction being decided centrally but controlled and carried out by bodies with definite powers at a local level.

FEDERALISM

The necessity for a federal emphasis arises from (a) the existence of localised customs and problems; (b) the need to promote widespread, active participation and (c) the need to avoid the dangers of totalitarianism. Senghor sees the problem as a practical rather than a theoretical one, which will be determined by political, economic and social analysis, both within the particular state

itself and when the question of wider union between states arises. Certainly Senghor sees the nation as the 'first reality of the 20th century' and the creation of a nation as preceding, in time, the problems of wider unity. His concept of the nation is, however, an open one and he insists that the territorial sovereign state on the pattern of western institutions is not the only model and, indeed, is insufficient for a set of populations to 'determine themselves, to discover or re-discover the values of its own civilisation, or increase its productivity and standard of living'. The second reality, he says, of the 20th century is the interdependence of races, continents and nations and this limits the preparation and fulfilment of development plans in the narrow limits of a national territory.

When it comes to the making of development plans, both Senghor and Nyerere are insistent upon the starting point being the present state, and the realistic potential, of their own economies. Because their countries are agricultural, the first emphasis falls upon agricultural reform and increased productivity; the problems of cooperatives, rather than the problems of worker-control of factories or trade-union organisation are uppermost, and perhaps for this reason the priorities in their development programmes as a whole are likely to be the problems of regional development in South Africa rather than national development. Both Senghor and Nyerere see the priorities in much the same way; basic infrastructure like communications, then the rural economy, then processing industries, and only then heavy industry. Where mining, industry, banking and financial services already exist, the nationalisation of these will not be a doctrinaire matter: it will be done if and when it is to the best advantage of the people as a whole. For tied to this question is the whole problem of foreign aid and investment. Nyerere, writing later than Senghor, is much more cynical about the likelihood of foreign aid, with or without strings. The necessity for self-reliance within the nation and for realistic co-operation between neighbouring states in much the same situation becomes of great

importance. This self-reliance, for example, is epitomised in the Arusha Declaration's stringent requirements for leaders in the matter of accumulation and consumption of wealth, and his rigid control of this in practice is not the least attractive element of Tanzanian socialism.

EDUCATION

The role of education is clearly crucial for both Nyerere and Senghor. They do not have to deal with the problems of multi-racial education in the sense of the problem in South Africa; it is the availability, the content and orientation of education which is the main concern. It must take

into account African experience in its history, its art and its social institutions; it must retain the typical African mode of knowledge which is less rationalistic, less materialistic, less possessive than is western education. It must however assimilate techniques, skills and values from western education to fit its peoples for the coming universal civilisation. At the vocational level, it must be tailored to the needs of particular societies and it must not divorce intellectual formation from other formation, ranging from manual work to cultural and political responsibilities.

It is not easy to summarise Senghor's thought when he attempts to set out the ultimate goal of his

socialist theory and practice. Clearly he goes beyond Marxist analysis which sees the maximum well-being of man negatively in the elimination of all material and spiritual alienations and then positively in the freedom, accorded to individuals by the collective organisation of society, to develop fully in body and mind. This he considers to be incomplete. In his search for models, precedents, insights, programmes, Senghor ranges from Marxism to Christianity to Islam to traditional African society and what integrates them for him is, finally a religious belief which transcends man and which not merely regulates his theorising and his actions but which gives meaning to them.

ETIESE EN POLITIEKE PROBLEME RONDOM „GEWELD”

Andre du Toit

DIE GEVESTIGDE S.A.-samelewing is in die gelukkige posisie dat dit nou al vir 70 jaar geen direkte ervaring van grootskaalse politieke geweld gehad het nie. Oorlog, burgeroorlog, rewolusie, besetting, geweldadige verset, staatsgrepe, kontrarewolusie - almal is vir ons bespaar gebly. Terwyl Europa innerlik en uiterlik verwoes is deur twee wêreldoorloë, en terwyl die Derde Wêreld met of sonder bevrydingsoorloë die stormagtige post-koloniale tydperk betree het, het drie, vier generasies hier in alle binnelandse rus en vrede tot hul politieke verstand gekom. Ons mag miskien op 'n vulkaan sit, maar hy kom al so lank nie tot uitbarsting nie dat dit eintlik vir ons 'n blote abstraksie is.

GESUS DEUR STABILITEIT

Die nadeel van hierdie geensins te versmade erfenis van altans oppervlakkige stabiliteit is dat ons geheel onvoorbereid is vir die probleem van politieke geweld. Ons onderskat dit heeltemal. Of ons weet nie mooi hoe om daarmee te maak, of wat om daarvan te dink nie. Dit het ten oorvloede geblyk

André du Toit is senior lektor in die Departement Politieke Filosofie aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch. Hy gaan in besonderhede in op sommige van die implikasies van die WRK-besluit.

As gevolg van gebrek aan ruimte moet die tweede artikel van Andrew Prior oor „Towards a Theology of Transformation” oorstaan tot die Januarie-uitgawe.

uit die storm van reaksies op die Wereldraadbesluit: daar heers 'n volslae verwarring oor *wat presies die etiese en politieke kwessies is wat hier aan die orde is*. En dan laat ek daarby die politici wat gou 'n kans gesien het om politieke munt daaruit te slaan, om maar te swyg van die paranoia wat alles moet sien in terme van frontorganisasies van die diaboliese Wereld-kommunisme, heeltemal buite beskouing. Ook by ons besadigde en verantwoordelike Christelike meningsvormers was daar 'n onrusbarende naïwiteit en verwarring.

WAAR LÊ DIE EINTLIKE GEVAAR

Indien ons nou kon reken op nóg 70 jaar van onverstoorde bevoorregte rus en vrede sou dit nie soveel saak gemaak het nie. Feit is egter dat die „bevrydingsorganisasies” aan ons grense is; die verdedigingsbegroting bedra vanjaar R270 miljoen; en die binnelandse veiligheidswetgewing en -dienste is de facto ingestel op 'n semi-permanente noodtoestand. Laat ons egter duidelikheid hê oor waar die gevaar lê. *Veel belangriker as die militêre krag van die guerilla-stryders of die direkte skade wat hulle kan aanrig is politiek gesien op die lang termyn: hoe gaan die gevestigde S.A.-samelewing reageer op die smaak van direkte politieke geweld?* 'n Terreuraksie op ons noordgrense mag beperkte sukses hê of nie, maar wat gaan die resultaat daarvan wees vir die politieke debat in Pretoria, die gewetensvrae in Potchefstroom of die pogings tot toenadering en kontak in die Kaap? „Heuling met terrorisme” is 'n

al te maklike en stomp politieke allesdoder. Kortom, lank voordat die guerilla-bewegings nog 'n werklike militêre bedreiging kan vorm, kan hul politieke geweld binnelands tot 'n fatale polarisering en reaksionêre terugslag aanleiding gee. Daarom is dit van die opperste belang dat ons voorbereid sal wees, dat ons opheldering sal kry oor die etiese en politieke probleme rondom „geweld”, indien ons die dialoog gaande wil hou juis wanneer dit die meeste saak sal maak.

Miskien kan dit 'n eerste stap wees om bietjie meer krities te kyk na die Wêreldraadbesluit en die reaksies daarop. Wat is presies die probleem van „geweld” wat hier aan die orde is?

IS DIT 'N KWESSIE VAN PASIFISME?

Die mees naiewe siening van die Wêreldraadbesluit is seker dat daarmee (vir die eerste keer?) 'n Christelike seën uitgespreek word oor die moordenaars van onskuldige burgers, vroue en kinders. Die gebruik van geweld word gestel as die volstrekke antiese van die Christelike boodskap van liefde en lydsaamheid: „Geweld is nie die antwoord nie - en NOOIT die kerk van Christus se antwoord nie. Duiwelse terrorisme kan nooit as Christelik verantwoord of moreel regverdigbaar aangedien word nie” (Soeker: „Was Christus Revolusionêr?”, Die Burger, 19/9/70). Die woord „geweld”, om maar te swyg van „terrorisme”, roep 'n angsbeeld op van „moord, bloedvergieting, brandstigting, gewetenlose verwoesting, ontwrigting...” En dit is „hierdie en soortgelyke gruwel-dade.. wat nou goedgekeur word en in die naam van Christelikheid bedryf (kan) word” (Die Kerkbode, 16/9/1970). Die skrik slaan in ons hart, 'n vloedgolf van emosie neem oor en daar val nie verder te prate selfs met die wat beter weet - alleen so kan dit verklaar word dat dr. J.A. Heyns na 'n uitstekende uiteensetting van die teologiese agtergronde van die Wêreldraadbesluit opeens summier verklaar dat hiêrdie soeke na „hoe 'n revolusionêre christen optree in ons tyd ... die weg open tot 'n chaos en wanorde, tot anargie en sadisme” en daarom nooit onderskryf kan en mag word nie („Teologie van die Revolusie”, Die Burger, 11/9/1970).

GEWELD BLY GEWELD

Nou wil ek vir geen oomblik die implikasies van geweld, ook politieke geweld probeer wegpraat of idealiseer nie. Geweld is geweld: dit beteken dood, verwonding, lyding, óók van die onskuldige bystander, óók van vroue en kinders. Hier is inderdaad 'n kardinale probleem vir die Christelike politieke etiek: kan 'n christen ooit direk of indirek sy medewerking verleen, of selfs net sy goedkeuring gee aan 'n aanslag op die lewe en liggame van ander? Ons staan hier voor die sentrale probleem van die pasifisme - 'n probleem wat egter as sodanig gestel word deur alle oorlog, verdediging, verset en selfs deur die normale praktyke van orde-handhawing. Deur die eeue heen was daar steeds 'n klein groepie hardnekkige Christene wat inderdaad geweld onversoenbaar met die Christelike boodskap gevind het en bereid was om die moeilike konsekwensies daar te trek.

WANNEER TOELAATBAAR

Is dit ook die standpunt van hierdie kritici van die Wêreldraadbesluit? Met die enkele uitsondering van die Kwakers kan ons stellig aaneem dat die kritiek nie voortkom uit 'n konsekwente pasifisme nie. Immers, dan sal daar net soveel dringende besware moet wees teen die Britse wapenverkope aan die Republiek, en teen die hele Verdedigingsbelied. Dit gebeur egter nie, seker nie in Die Burger, Die Kerkbode of die N.G. Kerk nie. Laat ons egter eerlik wees: geweld is en bly geweld; wat 'n bom of 'n koeël aan menseliggame doen bly dieselfde, maak nie saak wie dit afgevuur het nie: 'n gruweldaad. Kortom, die probleem wat deur die Wêreldraadbesluit gestel word is (behalwe vir die konsekwente pasifis) nie dié van geweld as sodanig, of die Christelike goedkeuring daarvan nie. Die vraag is klaarblyklik nie of geweld goedgekeur mag word nie, maar wanneer dit gebillik is.

(Hierdie artikel sal vervolg word in ons Januarie-uitgawe)

I AM AN AFRICAN

- POEM

Gabriel Setiloane

Rev. Gabriel Setiloane, is one of the twelve vice-presidents of the World Methodist Council Executive.

They call me African;
African indeed am I;
Rugge son of the soil of Africa,
Black as my father, and his before him;
As my mother and sisters and brothers, living and gone
from this world.

They ask me what I believe... my faith.
Some even think I have none
But live like the beasts of the field.
'Is it true,' they ask 'that you believe
That the souls of your fathers hover around you,
In and out, wherever you go?'

Ah yes! It is true.
They are very present with us;
They speak to me in the wind and the rain,
Through fellow-man, and living creatures,
Birds of the air, and reptiles gliding in the grass.
The dead are not dead, they are ever near us;
Approving or disapproving all our actions,
They chide us when we go wrong;
Bless us and sustain us for good deeds done,
For kindness shown, and strangers made to feel at home;
They increase our store, and punish our pride!

Why do you frown, dear friend?
Is this too much for you?
Is your Christian conscience scandalized?
Was it not one of your seers from the West who wrote:
'Dust thou art to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul'?

'What of God, the Creator
Revealed to mankind through the Jews of old,
the YAHWEH: I AM
Who has been and ever shall be?
Do you acknowledge him?'

My fathers and theirs, many generations before,
knew him.

They bowed the knee to him
By many names they knew him,
And yet 'tis he the One and only God -
They called him:

UVELINGQAKI:
The First One
Who came ere ever anything appeared:

UNKULUNKULU:
The BIG BIG ONE,
So big indeed that no space could ever
contain him.

MODIMO:
Because his abode is far up in the sky.

They also knew him as MODIRI:
For he has made all;

and LESA:
The spirit without which the breath of man
cannot be.

But, my fathers, from the mouths of their fathers,
say

That this God of old shone
With a brightness so bright
It blinded them... Therefore...
He hid himself, UVELINGQAKI,
That none should reach his presence...
Lest they die, (for pity flowed in his heart).
Only the fathers who are dead come into his presence,
Little gods bearing up the prayers and supplications
Of their children to the Great God...

'Tell us further you African:
What of Jesus, the Christ,
Born in Bethlehem:
Son of Man and Son of God
Do you believe in him?

For ages he eluded us, this Jesus of Bethlehem, Son of
Man;

Going first to Asia and to Europe, and the western
sphere.

Some say he tried to come to us,
Sending his messengers of old... But...
They were cut off by the desert and the great mountains
of Ethiopia!

Wanderers from behind those mountains have told
Strange tales to our fathers,
And they in turn to others.

Tales of the Man of Bethlehem
Who went about doing good!
The theme of his truths is now lost in the mouths of
women
As they sissed their little children and themselves
to sleep.

Later on, he came this Son of Man;
Like a child delayed he came to us.
The White Man brought him.
He was pale, and not the Sunburnt Son of the Desert.
As a child he came
A wee little babe wrapped in swaddling clothes.
Ah, if only he had been like little Moses, lying
Sun-scorched on the banks of the River of God,
We would have recognised him.

He eludes us still this Jesus, Son of Man.
His words. Ah, they taste so good,
As sweet and refreshing as the sap of the palm
raised and nourished on African soil.
The Truths of his words are for all men, for all time.

And yet for us it is when he is on the cross,
This Jesus of Nazareth, with holed hands
And open side, like a beast at a sacrifice;
When he is stripped naked like us,
Browned and sweating water and blood in the heat of the
sun,
Yet silent,
That we cannot resist him.

How like us he is, this Jesus of Nazareth,
Beaten, tortured, imprisoned, spat upon, truncheoned,
Denied by his own, and chased like a thief in the night,
Despised, and rejected like a dog that has fleas.
for NO REASON.

No reason, but that he was Son of his Father
OR... Was there a reason?
There was indeed...
As in that sheep or goat we offer in sacrifice,
Quiet and uncomplaining,
Its blood falling to the ground to cleanse it, as us;
And making peace between us and our fathers long
passed away.
He is that LAMB!
His blood cleanses,
not only us,
not only the clan,
not only the tribe,
But all, all MANKIND:
Black and White and Brown and Red,
All Mankind!

HO! ... Jesus, Lord, Son of Man and Son of God,
Make peace with your blood and sweat and suffering,
With God, UVELINGQAKI, UNKULUNKULU,
For the sins of Mankind, our fathers and us,
That standing in the same Sonship with all mankind
and you,
Together with you, we can pray to him above:

FATHER FORGIVE.

MORE RESPONSES TO THE WCC DECISION

DIE NEDERDUITSE GEREFORMEERDE KERK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

Die Algemene Sinode van ons kerk het soos volg besluit insake die Wêreldraad van Kerke se geldelike steun aan terrorisiebewegings:

Die H.E. Sinode van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk boekstaaf sy diepe afkeuring van die besluit van die uitvoerende komitee van die Wêreldraad van Kerke om geldelike steun aan die sogenaamde „Vryheidsbewegings”, onder andere in Suidelike Afrika, te gee en veroordeel hierdie daad om die volgende redes:

□ Dit is in stryd met die eis van gehoorsaamheid aan die Heilige Skrif en die voorbeeld van Jesus Christus wat aan sy volgelinge die duidelike opdrag gegee het om te ly onder vermeende, of werklike onreg, eerder as om dit aan andere te doen deur onder andere gewelddadige optrede en verzet.

□ Dit is dus nie die taak en roeping van die kerk om opstand en geweld aan te moedig nie. Inteendeel, dit is juis die eis van die Skrif dat die kerk steeds teenoor hierdie euwels stelling sal inneem.

□ Dit plaas die stempel van goedkeuring op geweld en anargie en maak die Wêreldraad van Kerke met sy subsidiëring en aanmoediging van hierdie euwels 'n medepligtige aan gruweldade wat in die jongste tyd deur sogenaamde „Vryheidsvegters” gepleeg word.

□ Dit is opvallend dat vryheidsbewegings wat teen Kommunisme georganiseer is, nie deur die Wêreldraad van Kerke gesteun word nie. Hierdie soort diskriminasie laat vanselfsprekend verontrustende vrae ontstaan oor sekere tendense in die Wêreldraad van Kerke.

□ Dit word beweer dat alleen skole, hospitale, ens., uit hierdie fondse aan sg. „verontregtes” voorsien sal word. Selfs as dit waar sou wees, dan beteken dit nog dat die Wêreldraad van Kerke alleen die aanvaller te hulp snel, en nie sy slagoffers nie.

□ Dit hou nie rekening met die feit nie dat die terrorisiebewegings met Chinese en Russiese wapens gruweldade teen Suid-Afrika pleeg, waarteen die kerk eerder sy profetiese stem moet laat hoor as om dit met geldelike hulp aan te moedig.

□ Dit is gedoen in naam van die Wêreldraad van Kerke sonder dat lidkerke vooraf geraadpleeg is, en daarmee word die indruk gewek dat hierdie organisasie nie meer 'n Christelike gespreksgemeenskap is nie.

□ Dit gee aan die kerk die beeld van 'n politieke pressiegroep.

Die Ned. Geref. Kerk wil 'n beroep doen op die Wêreldraad van Kerke om terug te keer van die weg waarop hy hom begeef het, 'n weg waarop die Kerk van die Here Jesus nie tuishoort nie.

Pretoria, October 1970.

THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

That, in exercising the commission which the Church receives from Christ its Lord, this Synod

- (i) Resolves that the Church of the Province of South Africa retain its membership of the World Council of Churches for the reasons

that obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ commits it to reconciliation with all other members of the world wide community of Christian people, and

that the need to foster mutual understanding makes it essential to keep open channels of communication with member Churches of the World Council of Churches;

- (ii) Acknowledges that the growing condemnation and isolation of Southern Africa by the rest of the world, of which the action of the World Council of Churches is an extreme though questionable example, is a judgement on our policies of racial discrimination and a warning to us;

- (iii) Confesses

that the Church has frequently been ineffectual as a witness to the lordship of Christ and as an agent for change in society particularly in the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa, where inequality, injustice and suppression of conscientious criticisms are entrenched by law and custom;

that the Church must in penitence acknowledge its failure to remove racial prejudice from within its own ranks;

- (iv) Calls upon all its members to work for the restoration of a Christian fellowship in which sinful racial discrimination has no place;

- (v) Believes that the decision of the World Council of Churches Executive Committee to give financial aid to Liberation Movements in exile in Southern Africa is open to criticism,

in that no attempt was made to consult the member Churches of the Council in Southern Africa,

in that it fails to distinguish unambiguously between the mission of Christ, who rejected the use of military force in establishing the Kingdom of God on Earth and who is betrayed by his Church when it acts differently, and the long established teaching of the Church about the right to use force as conscience dictates, either in upholding law and order or, in carefully defined circumstances, in opposing injustice,

in that through its Department of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service the World Council of Churches has sufficient channels

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WAR, TERRORISM AND THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE

Rosemary Elliott

Rosemary Elliott, a Quaker from Addo in the Cape, examines the dimensions of living out Christ's teaching in all the areas of life.

ALL WAR is incompatible with Christ's teaching and the W.C.C. decision to support groups dedicated to armed aggression against South Africa is a denial of His teaching. If however we condemn this decision, can we also imprison our own young men (Jehovah Witnesses) who, for conscience sake, refuse military training?

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

Have the churches thought enough about Christian pacifism and the real alternatives to war? Have we thought how to advise our young men if they have pacifist leanings? Our government does not allow exemption from military training

The W.C.C. wants to overthrow white privilege. White privilege is incompatible with the teaching of Jesus Christ. So is war. You cannot love with a gun in your hand. If we white South African Christians do not want to find ourselves caught up with defending the indefensible by force of arms, then we must express more wholeheartedly the quality of spirit Christ requires of His followers.

TENSION BETWEEN LOVE AND PRIVILEGE

Our trouble lies in our own inner conflict. We do not want to give up our comfortable position of privilege and accept the sacrifices which love requires to heal the wrongs in our own society. But if we do not, then we shall see the lives of more and more of our own menfolk sacrificed to preserve this comfort.

Ultimately the whole socio-economic power structure must be redeemed by total commitment to Christ. It is NOT enough to give Him an

hour on Sunday and a R1 in the collection. He needs us to relate all of His teaching to every part of our lives. He needs the whole of our hearts, minds, soul, and strength - and this means using our intelligence, courage and integrity on His behalf, as well as our scientific research, industrial expansion, sport, politics and business.

REDEMPTION OF WORLD VIA INDIVIDUALS

The redemption of the World by Jesus Christ is not going to be found in outward structures, not even church structures. It is going to be found in the one-by-one commitment of each individual who freely gives himself and all his resources to the service of Christ in the expression of love towards all his neighbours. From this will grow the fellowship of those who have seen and understood the potential quality of the Kingdom of Heaven amongst us. This fellowship has no written rules, no creed, and no outward membership yet those who belong immediately recognise fellow members as being One in Christ.

Christ is trying to show us that the role of those who follow Him is not to be found in the concepts of international power politics, which balances force against force, which diverts wealth, natural resources, technical research, human intelligence and ingenuity to developing weapons of destruction and death. This is why the W.C.C. decision is so valuable to us, for it helps us focus our attention on the anomalies of trying to be both Christian and armed! We are to bend every atom of ourselves to developing our spiritual resources and applying them to the problems of the world. The 'Answer' to the Communist threat, or white racism, is not to counter threat with threat. It is in the quality of society that will

grow from men whose values are not material but spiritual.

TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE TO ESTABLISH

We cannot be divided in ourselves about this. We cannot take out an insurance policy by being partially pacifist but just keep some soldiers and weapons for 'defence'. For the things in which we believe, there is no defence. If we ourselves are not totally committed to them, When we seek to use guns against 'the enemy' love falters; peace is lost in fear and joy is dissolved by hate. We seek a spiritual kingdom and unless we are totally committed to establishing it, we shall fail. If we who claim to be Christian, do not give full value to our faith, then those who are partially converted or totally materialistic, will not be able to create for us the values Christ teaches. If we ourselves doubt the Power of God and the nature of the Kingdom He would have us establish, how can it be established?

REJECT VIOLENCE

For a creative Christian response to the W.C.C. decision, the following would seem to be required of us. Firstly, the rejection of all violence as being incompatible with Christ's redemptive love and the refusal of all committed Christians to undergo military training of any kind.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO MILITARY TRAINING

Secondly, the churches should give strong moral support to those young men who refuse military training for conscience sake. BUT, no one must be morally pressured into pacifism. The conviction for personal conscientious objection to war as unchristian must come from within the individual. The churches can help by being positively encouraging and by laying

down a constructive alternative to military training.

Such alternatives should include a period of Retreat for spiritual strengthening and study into alternative methods of resolving conflict. The emphasis should not be for a substitute training with its inherent possibilities of building up another structure, but to help individuals relate themselves to becoming catalysts in their chosen line of work so that whether they end up in commerce or industry (rather than in the social services or the Ministry) they bring a creative and enlightened attitude to the problems of our society and seek to redeem these aspects of national life from within. They will need to absorb the moral conflicts and intense pressures of the business world for example, and find the solution firstly in themselves and then witnessing to it. Being willing to suffer for it without letting go and opting out. This calls for total dedication.

POSITIVE UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE

Thirdly, we need to pledge ourselves that we will never reject others even when they reject us. That the only way to promote peace, is to be peaceful and the only way to teach love, is to be loving. We can neither withdraw from a corrupt or antagonistic society into a select group of the 'Righteous', nor can we reject people from amongst us who are themselves so psychologically damaged as to hinder the vision of the Kingdom of Heaven we would promote. Our only 'weapon' is our willingness to suffer not only for our own beliefs but for the beliefs of others which may be in conflict with ours. Through suffering we shall grow in understanding of the nature of Christ's redemptive love in the world.

The question really is, are we prepared to do as much for love as we will be forced to do for war? Can we continue to let our material comfort and well-being destroy our commitment to expressing the spirit of love, peace and joy for which Jesus Himself died?



And he went back to meet the fox.

'Good-bye,' he said.

'Good-bye,' said the fox. 'And now here is my secret, a very simple secret: It is only with the heart that one can see rightly; what is essential is invisible to the eye.'

'What is essential is invisible to the eye,' the little prince repeated, so that he would be sure to remember.

'It is the time you have wasted for your rose that makes your rose so important.'

'It is the time I have wasted for my rose -' said the little prince, so that he would be sure to remember.

'Men have forgotten this truth,' said the fox. 'But you must not forget it. You become responsible, forever, for what you have tamed. You are responsible for your rose ...'

'I am responsible for my rose,' the little prince repeated, so that he would be sure to remember.

* * * * *

(continued from page 10)

for exercising Christian compassion without giving direct support to military organizations, and

in that the World Council of Churches has in Southern Africa abandoned its proper role of reconciler and has embraced the cause of conflict and war; and

(vi) Resolves further

that the World Council of Churches be requested to appoint representatives to explain to the Church of the Province of South Africa and to its other member Churches in Southern Africa, the reasons for its decision, and to listen to the South African Churches, for which purpose the Metropolitan is requested to appoint representatives of the Church of the Province of South Africa,

that the annual contribution of R550 from the Church of the Province of South Africa to the World Council of Churches be withheld, until such a conference takes place and its results are known, after which the matter will be reviewed.

Cape Town, November 1970.

THE MZINI AFFAIR

Frans Auerbach

"THE FAMILY... must be considered the first and essential cell of human society. To it must be given every consideration of an economic, social, cultural and moral nature which will strengthen its stability and facilitate the fulfilment of its specific mission".

Few people would disagree with this statement taken from the late Pope John's famous encyclical 'Peace on Earth', issued in 1963.

Probably no people would disagree with the view that a crippled husband needs the help of his wife, and that in his case family togetherness will help him bear his handicap with greater fortitude.

PIET KOORNHOF - 1970 STYLE

Yet though Dr Koornhof, the Minister responsible, says there are "Christian and humane considerations in which we also believe", he has ruled that "illegal residence cannot be condoned" even in the case of Mrs. Lena Mzini, even though there was no way in which she could legally acquire the right to stay where her husband, Mr Harlem Mzini, is legally entitled to stay.

Of course, if we follow Pope John, we must regard man's right to set up a family as one of those

Frans Auerbach, a well-known educationalist in Johannesburg, explores the tragic reality of the life of only one of South Africa's displaced people - Mrs. Mzini.

"rights and duties ..flowing directly and simultaneously from his very nature, which are therefore universal, inviolable and inalienable."

And to the statement that Mrs Mzini's living with her husband is 'illegal', 'Peace on Earth' replies, 'If any government does not acknowledge the rights of man, or violates them, it not only fails in its duty, but its orders completely lack juridical force.'

What, then, can South Africans do to persuade the State to change its mind? Before everything else, all Churches should take positive action in support of the Mzini family; perhaps ministers of religion could open petition lists in their churches, and exhort worshippers from the pulpit to sign them.

WE ARE OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER

If the Churches - or the individuals who belong to them - feel that this is not their business, perhaps they will be persuaded by these words, spoken by a Protestant Minister in Salisbury in 1965:

"In God's judgment the guilt of the Church for what happened in Hitler's days may be heavier than the guilt of Hitler himself. For we knew what was right but had kept silent without bearing witness to God's truth as revealed in Christ Jesus. The Church cannot and must not limit itself to the so-called religious sphere.

"The core of the question lies in the commandment 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself.' Therefore we Christians, we, the Churches, are responsible for our fellows wherever their humanity is being questioned or threatened. We have to proclaim, to maintain and, where needed, to restore and ensure their human dignity."

The speaker was Pastor Martin Niemoeller.

Clearly, not only the Churches but also individuals have a duty in the matter: they should sign petitions in support of Mrs Mzini's human right to stay with her husband, especially if these petitions are presented to them by their ministers of religion.

PIET KOORNHOF - 1956 STYLE

If they need convincing about the drawbacks of the migrant labour system - which the Government no longer regards as a regrettable and temporary necessity but as a permanent condition of the millions of Africans who work in our cities - here is an appraisal made in a Ph.D. thesis, 'the drift from the reserves among the South African Bantu', in 1956:

"Among the drawbacks of migrant labour are: It breaks up family life; creates an unstable African urban community; leads to crime and immorality; inflames the African section against White dominance and sets one community against the other ... Everything possible must therefore be done towards the building up of a stable and contented African urban population. Any policy which runs counter to this can only be to the detriment of South African social life."

The writer was Dr Piet Koornhof.

● If the State has not acted by the end of the year, perhaps some concerned citizens who regard this matter as basic to our moral order could borrow an idea from Aristophanes - since this matter concerns marriage rights - and declare publicly that they will have no marital relations in 1971 until Mrs Mzini is legally permitted to stay with her husband.



“What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.” – St. Matthew, Chapter 19, Verse 6.

(With compliments to The Star, 30th November 1970)

THE PROBLEM IS SILENCE

There can be no doubt that the matter is basic, and in such a matter there is a duty to speak up, and not to remain silent.

“The most important thing I learned under those circumstances was that bigotry and hatred are not the most important problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence. A great people, which had created a great civilisation, had become a nation of silent onlookers.”

Thus said the President of the American Jewish Congress, Dr Joachim Prinz, in 1963, speaking of his experience as a Rabbi in Berlin under the Hitler regime.

Can we muster the courage to speak up in support of the Mzini family?

Dare we remain silent?

⊕ ⊕ ⊕ ⊕ ⊕

LET US PRAY

Ons wat in Suid-Afrika lewe verskil van mekaar in geloof, in ras, in taal en in politieke oortuiging. Maar ons kan verenig wees in 'n opregte begeerte om die heerskappy van vrede, geregtigheid en liefde in ons land te bevorder. Ons verskil van mekaar oor die einddoel en die groot opset van die beleid in Suid-Afrika. Maar ons kan in ootmoedige gewilligheid saamstem om geregtigheid, liefde en vrede in ons persoonlike verhoudings te soek, en om te bid vir die lig en hulp van God vir ons land as geheel.

As u gewillig is om saam met ons in hierdie gees tot God te bid nooi ons u uit om met ons in gebed te verenig elke dag, met gebruikmaking van die volgende gebed.

○ GOD van geregtigheid en liefde,
seën ons, die volk van Suid-Afrika,
en help ons om in u vrede te lewe.

Here, maak my 'n kanaal van u vrede:
laat my liefde saai waar daar haat is,
laat my vergifnis saai waar daar veronregting is,
laat my eensgesindheid saai waar daar tweedrag is.

Goddelike Meester, gee dat ek nie so seer sal soek
om verstaan te word, as om self te verstaan;
om bemin te word, as om self te bemin;
om simpatie te ontvang, as om dit te skenk;
want dis alleen deur te gee dat ons sal ontvang,
deur te vergewe dat ons vergewe word,
deur onself te vergeet dat ons duursame vrede
met ander vind. AMEN.

We who live in South Africa differ from one another in faith, in race, in language, and in political conviction. But we can be united in a sincere desire to further the reign of peace, justice and love in our country. We differ from one another on long term and large scale policy in South Africa. But we can agree in a humble willingness to seek justice, love and peace in our personal relationships and to pray for God's light and help for our country as a whole.

If you are willing to pray to God together with us in this spirit, we invite you to join us in the following prayer each day.

○ GOD of justice and love,
bless us, the people of South Africa,
and help us to live in thy peace.

Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace:
where there is hatred, let me sow love;
where there is injury, let me sow pardon;
where there is discord, let me sow harmony.

Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek
to be understood, as to understand;
to be loved, as to love;
to receive sympathy, as to give it;
for it is in giving that we shall receive,
in pardoning that we shall be pardoned,
in forgetting ourselves that we shall find
unending peace with others. AMEN.

SIMULATION

- THE POOR AND THE RICH (II)

Betty Pagett

The articles attempt to make one understand the development issue from the position of the Third World. The 70's are the Third Development Decade - the first two have been unsuccessful as the imbalance between developed countries and developing countries has deteriorated rather than improved. The imbalance is maintained because development is dictated by the developed countries. This development decade is crucial and will 'succeed' to the degree that the Third World is able to dictate the direction and terms of development.

TO REINFORCE our understanding of world poverty and how it grows and continues, try playing this game. Games can help us experience a reality in a new way. Once you have played, you may want to design other games to deal with other issues.

The game is not to be thought of as a process as mechanically measured as Monopoly, for instance, but rather as an approach to role play or model United Nations. It is thus an educational tool. If you enter into the spirit of it with the willingness to try to experience some of the problems of international relationships, it will help you take hold of complexities that cannot be left to the 'experts.'

1. PURPOSE:

To simulate some of the economic interactions between developed (rich) nations and developing (poor) nations.

2. CHAIRMAN:

A resourceful chairman who can offer encouragement and motivation is very essential to the usefulness of this game. The chairman collects materials, organizes the game, makes advance assignments, and then assumes the role of chairman in the game itself as described under part 3, "Players."

Individual persons may find themselves feeling frustrated or helpless - perhaps even angry - in trying to play the game. They may be tempted to say, "I don't know enough to play." But that is exactly the kind of game it is. Discovering they don't know enough, wanting to know more, wanting to find solutions - these are the ingredients that will make them good players. So, the chairman can encourage such women to give the game a try, realizing that the object of the game is not to have a winner, or even to know "all the rules" of the game. The object is to get persons involved in the problems of people of developing nations - involved enough to care what happens on the international scene.

Plan a session of four to five hours for the game.

3. PLAYERS:

This game is designed for eighteen people - two each representing Ghana, Ceylon, Brazil, and Indonesia; three each representing the United States, the Soviet Union, and France; and one conference chairman (this chairman is a UN Secretariat staff person, accepted by all the countries as someone interested, knowledgeable, and impartial). If you have fewer people,

SOME INITIAL INFORMATION ON THE COUNTRIES IN THE MONEY GAME

United States: population, 196.9 million; per capita income, \$3,240; square miles, 3,675,633.

Soviet Union: population, 232.3 million; per capita income, \$1,000; square miles, 8,599,300 (more than twice the size of the US).

France: population, 48.4 million; per capita income, \$1,615; square miles, 212,822 (not quite as large as Texas).

Ghana: population, 8 million; per capita income, \$200; square miles, 91,843 (about the size of Oregon); located on the west coast of Africa, former British Colony; became independent in 1957; 10,000 slaves exported from there annually in the latter part of the eighteenth century; primarily agricultural, with 4 million acres planted in cocoa; also diamonds, manganese ore.

Ceylon: population, 11.8 million; per capita income, \$140; square miles 25,332 (about the size of West Virginia); former British colony, now an independent nation within the British Commonwealth, off southern India; exports: tea, rubber, coconut products.

Brazil: population, 83.8 million; per capita income, \$224; square miles, 3,286,270 (almost as large as the US); largest country in Latin America; former Portuguese colony; exports: coffee, cocoa, cotton.

Indonesia: population, 110 million; per capita income, \$85; square miles, 735,865; 3,000 inhabited islands, between Australia and Asian mainland; 3,300 miles from east to west; 1,300 miles from north to south; became independent in 1945; former Dutch colony; exports: petroleum, rubber, sugar, cocoa.

Country	Present Worth	Economic Growth	Exports	Terms of Trade	Loans	Deb. Service
United States	\$12.65	+1.29	+1.20	+ .05	- .11	+ .0—
Soviet Union	6.91	+ .39	+ .15	+ .02	- .60	+ .0—
France	2.25	+ .10	+ .90	+ .01	- .80	+ .0—
Ghana	.09	+ .01	+ .005	- .01	+ .005	- .0—
Ceylon	.09	+ .004	+ .006	- .015	+ .10	- .0—
Brazil	.49	+ .02	+ .005	- .045	+ .02	- .0—
Indonesia	.29	+ .005	+ .005	- .035	+ .01	- .0—

In *The Money Game*, \$0.01 equals \$330 million.

Figures listed in dollars and cents for our understanding of comparisons and relations.

Terms of trade: These are some of the factors that make it possible for some countries to make money by trading, others to lose money. Refer back to references made to Ghana in relation to the production and exportation of cocoa beans.

Debt service: Interest and other costs involved in making money of one country available to another.

Grants: Money given to a country that does not have to be repaid.

you can play with one person representing a country, but you will not find it as helpful. If you have more people, add to delegations in proportion to the above representations. Each person is to play her role throughout the meeting, including lunch and any other breaks during the playing session.

4. THE SETTING:

You are delegations representing your countries at a special conference called by Ghana to deal with the crisis in trade for the developing countries. Arrange the room as a conference hall, with the chairman seated at a table in the front and each delegation seated at a table. The tables should be arranged in a semicircle so that everyone can see the chairman and the other delegations.

5. ADVANCE PREPARATION:

Read this article again, and if you have time to do a little extra reading, begin with Barbara Ward's *The Lopsided World* (Norton and Co., \$1.25 paperback). Note the basic facts about the seven countries on page 15. Any resources you can gather on the economic, social, and political life of the

countries in the game will add to the playing; check recent encyclopedias, recent magazines and newspapers, your library. The chairman should make some advance assignments. For instance, a person should be appointed to represent each country listed under "Players" and asked in advance to find out as much as possible about the country she is to represent. The chairman should then try a "dry run" and talk through the game with someone else before doing it with the whole group.

ROUND I.

(Preparatory round to clarify basic terminology and background: 45 minutes).

1) Seat the participants by countries as indicated above. Have on hand \$25.45 in pennies, nickels, dimes, and quarters. This should be ready ahead of time, counted out so as to save time. (Note: To make transactions easier, you might want to use cardboard squares to represent fractions of one cent.) Some groups may want to have participants bring as a donation their "stakes" in the game, then use the donations toward the needs they learn about in the game.

2) Each delegation receives its country's wealth in change (see the chart on these pages, the column marked "present worth"). Each penny represents \$330 million, and the transactions in the first round represent the normal transactions between countries in one year.

3) Step by step following the chart, each delegation exchanges the money as its country would, receiving from the chairman the money for economic growth. Then the chairman distributes to each country the money earned through exports, etc. If the country loses money, it must give that amount to the chairman. It also collects from the chairman the money gained. At the end of each transaction, discuss the meaning of the terms and the processes. (Your reading will help you give meaning to the terms on the chart.)

At the end of Round I, you have made all the exchanges on the chart, and the chairman has one cent left. This is the \$330 million conference fund you are going to "play for." How are you going to use that money to deal with the problems of the widening gap between rich and poor nations?

Grants	Invisibles (e.g. shipping insurance)	At the end of transaction should have:
- .02	+ .02	\$15.10
- .01	+ .02	6.89
- .01	+ .01	2.47
+ .01	- .01	.09
+ .01	- .01	.175
+ .02	- .02	.47
+ .01	- .02	.245

the statement for his country. At the end of Round II, you will know the stance of each country present and will be ready to deal with each accordingly.

ROUND III.

(Negotiations and decisions: about 2 hours)

The plenary adjourns and delegations proceed to negotiate to find some proposals on the use of conference funds (the \$330 million). Representatives in a delegation may wish to split up to enable as much negotiating as possible. Representatives with common goals and needs should get together to hammer out an agreement, making all attempts to gain the support of the "powerful" countries. Remember that at times like this many private agendas are operating (e.g. bilateral negotiations between two countries for aid, loans, etc.). Negotiating sessions are the heart of decision-making; so dig in with spirit!

At the end of an hour, or when negotiations have produced a few proposals with more than one country sponsoring each, the chairman will call the final plenary

into session. Each proposal is presented by one of its sponsors and debated; you will want to wait to vote until all proposals have been presented; and the conference is ended no later than four and one-half hours after it started. If you haven't been able to come to a final decision, stop anyway.

EVALUATION:

To conclude your experience, try these questions for your discussion. What issues became clearer to you? What issues became urgently important to you? What were your feelings in your role? (Be as specific as possible about your experience as another country or your own country). What did you feel about the use of power or lack of power? What did you notice about the relationships among the rich countries? Among the poor countries? Between the rich and the poor countries? What were the limitations and frustrations of your country in this conference? Was it hard to get agreements? Why or why not? What were the conflicting interests? What were the common interests? Talk about the implications of your experience for your local situation.

How World Wealth Is Divided

ROUND II.

(Delegations prepare: 1½ hours)

Each delegation develops a statement on its country's needs, priorities, and policies as related to development and trade. Study the materials you have been able to collect, and from what you know draw up brief statements (3 - 4 minutes). Put yourself "inside" the country you represent. What would be the major needs - education, cities, agriculture, literacy, health? What policies would you have for dealing with those problems (in general - you don't need to be specific)? What resources would you need? Where would you get them? What can you accomplish in cooperation or negotiation with the other countries present to help your development?

Tell the other countries what is most important to your country and what you want to have happen at this conference. Do you see any way of using the \$330 million (one cent) as a lever to change the present imbalance of wealth?

The chairman will call the group into a plenary session when all are ready, and a representative of each delegation will present

