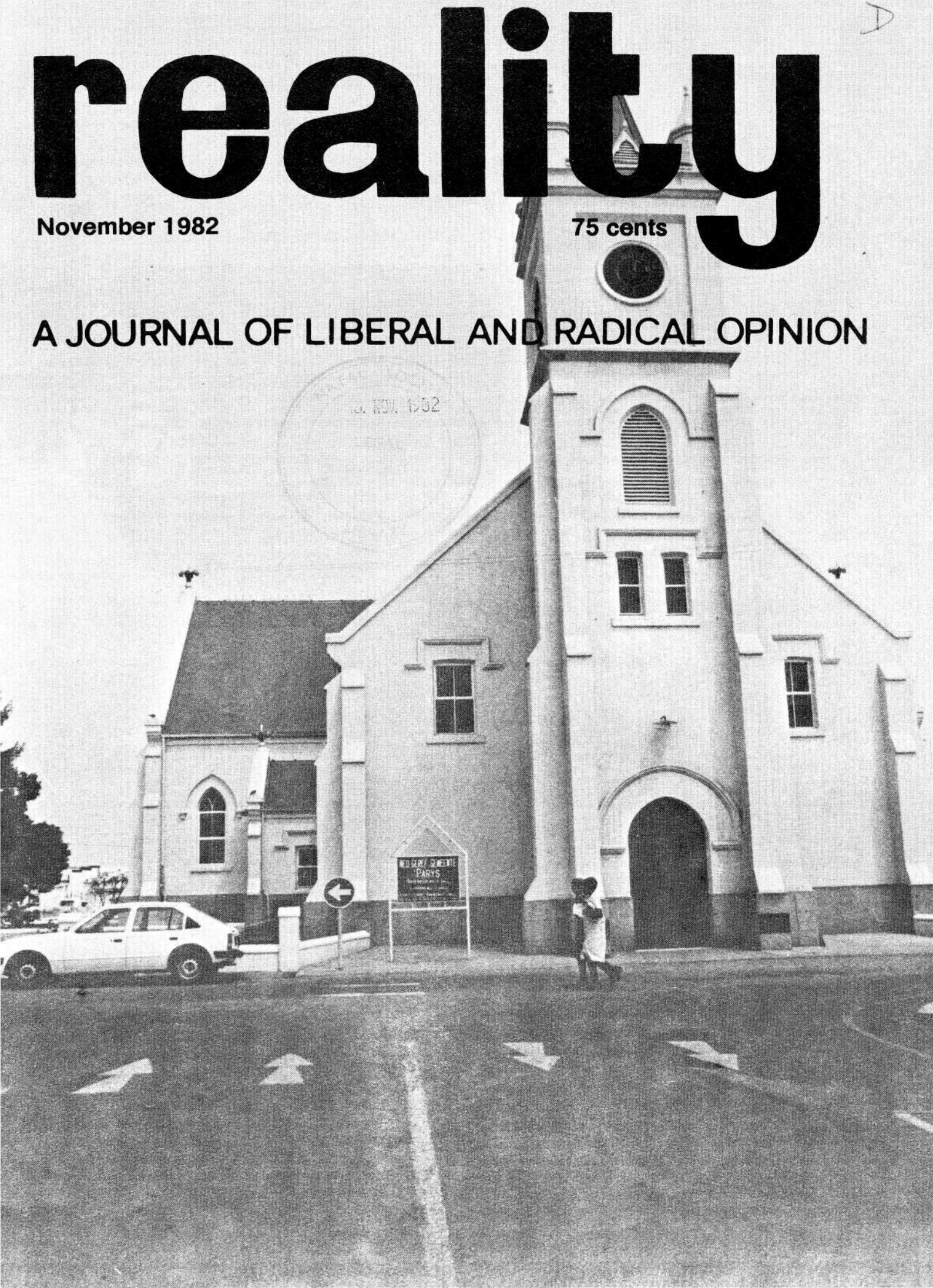


# reality

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## in this issue . . .

EDITORIAL: THE ORDERLY MOVEMENT BILL . . . . .	2
SIR ROBERT BIRLEY: A TRIBUTE by E.M. Wentzel . . . . .	3
A DOCTOR VISITS CHINA by Alan Friedman . . . . .	4
FROM HUMANSDORP TO KEISKAMMAHOEK: THE EXPROPRIATION AND REMOVAL OF A FINGO COMMUNITY by E.K. Moorcraft . . . . .	8
"MADAMS MISSION CHILD" by Margo Wallace . . . . .	9
APARTHEID AND THE REFORMED CHURCHES by Alan Paton . . . . .	10
CONSTANTINE OR ABRAHAM – THE CHOICE BEFORE THE D.R.C. by Dr. Jacques Kriel . . . . .	11
THE TORTURE OF DEAN FARISANI by Allister Sparks . . . . .	15
HITCH by Vortex . . . . .	16
THE NON-POLITICS OF AFRICAN POLITICS by Francis Antonie . . . . .	17
THE STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE – THE CHIMURENGA WAR reviewed by André du Pisani . . . . .	18

COVER PHOTOGRAPH by P. Weinberg

A DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

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# EDITORIAL

## THE ORDERLY MOVEMENT BILL

Financial journalist John Kane-Berman told a recent meeting of American businessmen with interests in South Africa that it must be "one of the cruellest and most massively destructive laws currently being considered by any government anywhere"; church leaders from at least four major communities in South Africa have said that they will not be able to obey its provisions; the Black Sash has called it the "Genocide Bill". It is the draft "Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill" circulated by Dr. Koornhof's Department of Cooperation and Development for comment.

The Bill proposes to put a clamp on the life-prospects of every black man in South Africa. If he is lucky, and qualifies within its terms to live in urban, industrialised South Africa, his opportunities for developing his economic talents will be considerable, and his opportunities for developing his political talents will be nil. He will be part of

a small, economically privileged, politically neutered minority of the black community.

His brothers who work in the towns but don't qualify in terms of the Bill to live there, will have to reconcile themselves to becoming perpetual migrant workers – and their descendants thereafter, and for evermore. His brothers who live on white-owned farms in rural South Africa will find that their chances of escape to the towns from the feudal straight-jacket into which many of them are born will be eliminated by this Bill. Their **only** escape from the farms will be to the homelands. And what will they find there? A vast and growing mass of people entirely dependent for their survival on procuring a permit from Pretoria to allow them to go and work in "white" South Africa, where the only jobs worth having are. The possibilities for their consideration, as they

spend despairing days in queues at Labour Bureaux, will be starvation, crime, or revolution.

Mr. Kane-Berman told his American audience that it was nonsense to say that the Nationalist Government had no plan for Blacks in urban and rural "white" South Africa. On the contrary, they had a very clear and comprehensive plan, and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill was it. He called on them, and business leaders in South Africa, to raise the strongest possible objections to the Bill

to try to persuade the Government to abandon it.

We haven't particularly noticed them doing so, but other people have, and rumour has it that the Bill may be shelved. Shelving it is not enough, the incinerator is the only right place for it. But even the incinerator won't help as long as the "solution" this Bill offers to the situation of black people outside the homelands remains a cornerstone of Nationalist policy. For then all that will arise from the flames will be the same monster with a different name. □

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# SIR ROBERT BIRLEY

a tribute by E.M. Wentzel.

To honour Sir Robert Birley is to assert the value of his coming to South Africa. Few of those who met Sir Robert or knew his contribution to South Africa would challenge that value and yet, according to much conventional wisdom, that engagement with South Africa ought to be a matter of controversy. South Africa is after all a pariah; beyond the pale to decent people. Equity bars its members from any involvement with South Africa as the silent intervals in the film of the Royal Wedding so effectively asserted. There can be no normal sport in an abnormal society, assert those who boycott. Many academics would never enter South Africa. Shirley Williams cancelled her trip. There is a strong voice for disinvestment in South Africa. And so on.

It is to this leper land that Sir Robert came. He taught at a university not free to admit all those it would wish to admit. He tried to make that step-son of the system, the Soweto school, a place more worthy of its pupils. In fact, his was a prime case of working within the system. It was not even a case of one who worked within a system within which he was domiciled, but rather of one who elected of his own free will to do so.

Does his life among us not tell us that these issues are too complex to formalise into a rigid moral rule?

There is an appropriate moral disgust which decent people abroad feel for South Africa. A holiday — pure and simple — in South Africa can be avoided. The sports boycott was salutary and cannot be answered by some half-hearted response, nor will that be permitted by those who boycott us. No one is obliged to take the undue profits which an investment in a society grounded on cheap labour may give. These are but some examples of moral and practical action against apartheid.

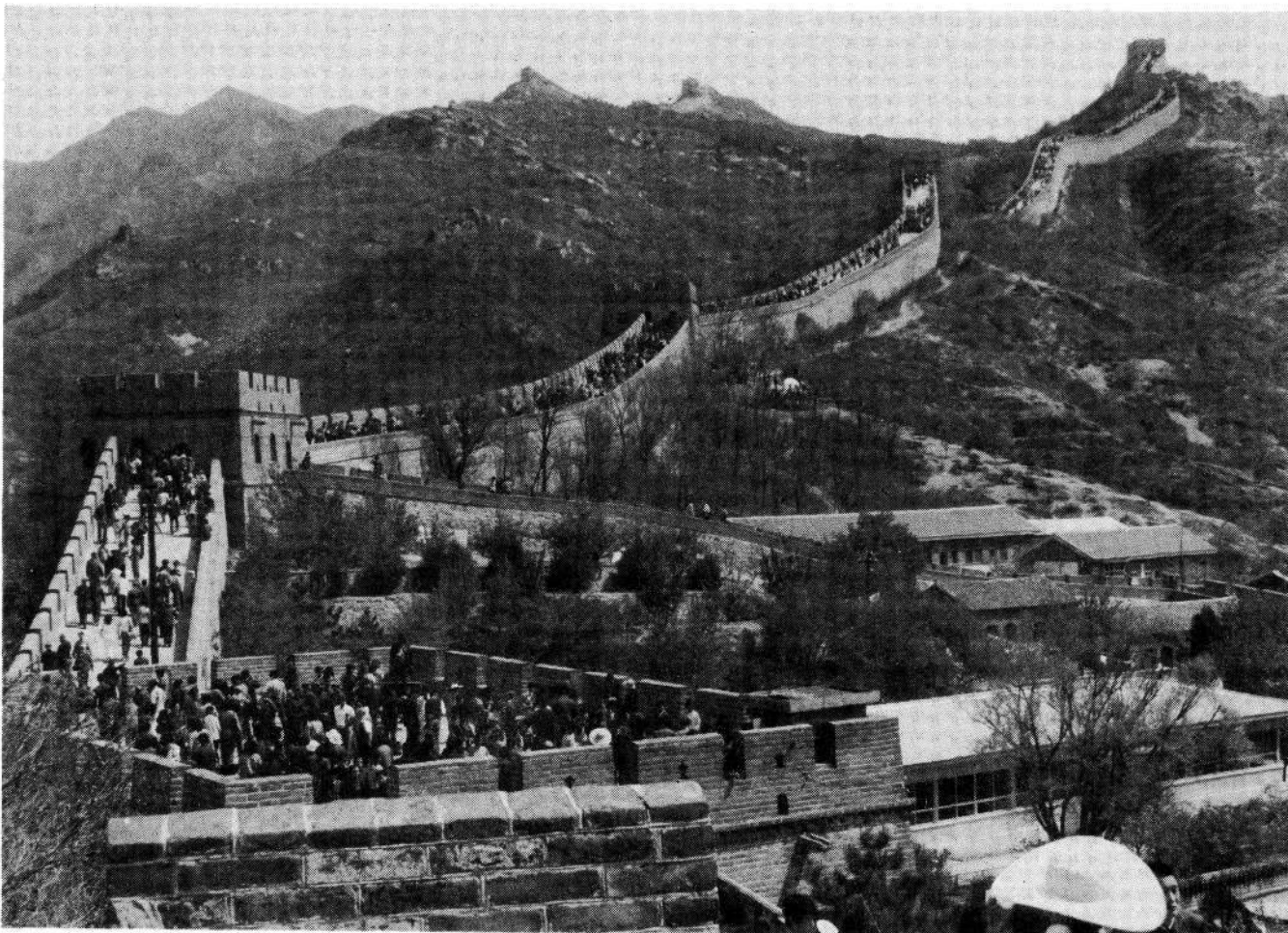
But that all being said, let this be a means not an absolute moral end. The wages of total isolation is a certain delivery into the power of those who will not bend until broken; but will not serve those who know that Sir Robert's coming was no evil but a hopeful engagement.

His experience in Germany taught him that the future of that society was built on those who within Germany — modestly and often in fear — engaged themselves because they were there, but reserved the commitment of moral loyalty to their hopes for what might be and not what was.

Sir Robert came to South Africa to encourage just such people and in their tribute to his memory they acknowledge this. □

# A DOCTOR VISITS CHINA

by Alan Friedman



● The Great Wall of China near Peking. The total length of the Wall is something like 2 000 miles and it is the only man-made structure visible with the naked eye from the moon. It was erected about 900 years B.C.

In 1980 I visited China on a group package tour but I had been invited by the Chinese Medical Association to give some lectures whilst I was in Peking and this resulted in my being invited back again this year as a guest of The Chinese Medical Association and to give a series of lectures. The article summarises my experiences and impressions of these two trips together with some "facts" I gleaned in conversation with the Chinese people with whom I spent some time. The facts may not be absolutely correct, but, I believe, are reasonably so.

## FACTS

1) The total population of China, as everyone knows, is one thousand million.

## 2) RETIREMENT AGE

Women in heavy industry and on the land retire at the age of fifty.

Women in white-collar occupations retire at the age of fifty five.

Men retire at the age of sixty.

However there is no age limit for the retirement of Professors.

## PENSIONS

- 1) Anyone who participated in the revolutionary struggle retires on a pension equal to their salary.
- 2) Anyone who is employed for over thirty years retires on a pension equal to about 90 % of their salary.
- 3) Anyone who is employed for less than thirty years gets a pension of between 70% to 80% of their salary.

Everyone in China is on a salary, and every industry or service, such as hotels or restaurants, is owned by the state. Nobody

can run a business in which he employs someone else, but anyone, especially a young person, who has a skill such as tailoring is encouraged to open a "one man" business. There is a large "bulge" of young people somewhere between 20 and 30, because there was little contraception during the cultural revolution, and there are not enough jobs for all such young people.

Now the official approved number of children per family is one, and there is an allowance for this child. Should there be a second child, not only is there no allowance for the second child, but the allowance for the first child must be paid back to the state. I think the whole nation accepts that this population control is essential if any real progress is to be made.

Artists get salaries and something of the profits of, say, books or musical performances. Similarly farmers are on salaries and most of their produce goes to the state, but they are allowed to keep some of the produce and sell it on the free market. The Chinese are very keen on fresh vegetables, and as most do not have refrigerators, they shop almost daily for fresh produce.

Rent costs about five percent of the monthly salary. There is a large housing shortage, but wherever I went I saw very large blocks of flats being built. Everyone in China receives a rice allocation and a cotton allocation. Medical treatment is free, and school education is free.

University entrance is by an examination system. If the suc-

cessful candidates' parents cannot afford to contribute anything to their child's higher education it is free, otherwise they make some contribution.

I am informed that something like 80% of city households have a television set, black and white. The hotels for tourists are fairly comfortable, with nice bathrooms, comfortable beds, and excellent colour-television sets made in Japan.

So far there are virtually no privately owned motor cars, although I believe these are just beginning to appear. The cars on the roads are either official cars or taxis. Most cars I saw are made in China, but Japan is beginning to make inroads. Urban transport is either by buses, or trolley buses, of which there are large numbers, and usually very full. The main individual form of transport is a bicycle, and the streets where everyone goes are simply packed with cyclists. There are now considerable traffic jams developing in the larger cities, due to the large number of buses and the large number of commercial vehicles. Trains in China are very comfortable, and undoubtedly the best way to see China except perhaps for the longer journeys. All the larger cities and towns appear to be well served by air service.

These introductory facts give no real picture or impression of what China is like.

Yes, most people are dressed in their blue jackets and trousers, men and women of all ages. Children are colourfully dressed, and younger girls are beginning to wear beautifully coloured



● The Lake at Wuxi, near Shanghai.



● The main urban transport: buses and bicycles. This is the main street in Peking which runs between the People's Square which holds 1 million people, and the Imperial Palace or Forbidden City.

knitwear. Everyone I saw was cleanly and neatly dressed, with never even a sign of a patch on either a jacket or a pair of trousers.

China has a six day week, and most people have Sundays off, but in many industries, the "day off" is staggered so there are always Chinese people on the streets, in the shops, and in the sight-seeing areas of which China has probably more beautiful ones than any other country in the world.

The Chinese are "family" people in that they are out and about with their children and their parents. They are an outgoing extrovert people, like so many peoples in the East. They laugh and joke and smile and chatter, and everywhere I went there was a casual carefree atmosphere.

Young Chinese men who speak English will not hesitate to come up and politely ask one of them if they can practise their English, and then discuss world politics, Chinese politics or anything else one cares to discuss. They show no apprehension about speaking to foreigners. There is an openness and friendliness that the Chinese people show which is very difficult to describe, and for me forms the most exciting and exhilarating aspect of China. Everyone is very polite in a friendly way, and the younger ones, say twenty to thirty years of age, have an impressive confidence. Young hotel workers, for instance, treat one as

an equal, not as a superior or an inferior. In a large hotel dining room they cheerfully call across to each other, which in no way could be construed as anything but natural, and never rude.

On my first visit, my son and a friend were with me on a car trip. We stopped near a farming village and the two of them went in. They were asked through our interpreter if they would stay for the evening meal, and when they explained that they had to return there and then to Peking, they were invited to spend two weeks on the farm later when time permitted.

#### CHINESE HOSPITALS

I saw a number of hospitals in different parts of China, and they are housed in either very old buildings, or moderately old buildings, or in fact some very modern buildings, something like the situation in England say fifteen or twenty years ago, and not so very different from hospitals I have seen in Japan.

As far as I can ascertain from what I have seen, learnt from discussions, or read in the excellent newspaper the China Daily, the whole of which is written in very good English, this large nation has the clearly stated aim of becoming a modern state in all senses of the phrase by the end of the



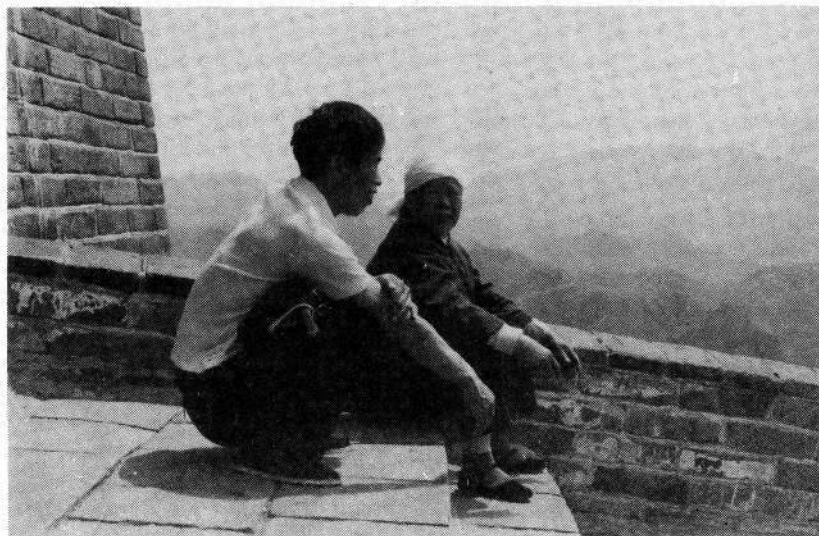
● In parts the Wall is very steep. It is said three armed horsemen could ride abreast on it.

century, and this undoubtedly applies to the medical services and expertise.

China is one of the many countries short of foreign capital, and this of course has its effect on the availability of foreign equipment. However they are manufacturing more and more of their own equipment, including for instance lasers for eye surgery. I saw some departments that had virtually all the equipment and expertise one would find in a really up-to-date western hospital, whereas I also saw in a very old hospital in a fairly small room, first class eye surgery being done on three operating tables at the same time.

The Doctors I met are up-to-date on literature and practices, and more and more doctors from the West are making the pilgrimage and imparting their expertise to their Chinese colleagues, whose enthusiasm, dedication and warm-hearted friendship simply overwhelm all I have met who have made the visit.

Although the general standard of living is low by Western standards I could see some noticeable changes in the eighteen months between my two trips, and one cannot but be enormously impressed by the progress this country has made since the revolution about thirty-three years ago. □



● Resting on top of a high part of the Wall. The fascinating hills in this region can be seen.

# FROM HUMANSDORP TO KEISKAMMAHOEK – THE EXPROPRIATION AND REMOVAL OF A FINGO COMMUNITY

by E.K. Moorcroft.

The forced removal of the Fingo people from their ancestral lands in the Humansdorp district of the Cape received a great deal of publicity during the recent session of Parliament. Unfortunately, all the shock, anger and dismay which greeted the publication of the facts changed nothing. The Fingo people continue to die of starvation and disease in their barren and inadequate settlement camp at Keiskamma Hoek in the Ciskei. The whites who have taken over the Fingo lands proceed to marvel at their fertility, and gloat openly over the productive potential of the lands they have acquired.

The Fingo removal epitomizes all that is evil and unjust about the Government's apartheid policy. It serves as an example by which the policy and its implementation can be judged.

Firstly, we have the insensitivity of Government to historical rights. The Fingos were granted the land in 1851 and 1858 by Deed of Reservation. It was given in perpetuity to the Fingo people and their descendants. This was done out of gratitude by the then Governor of the Cape for services rendered by them to the Crown.

The next feature of the removals is the total disregard by the Government for the legitimate objections of the people to the move. For the Fingos, the move meant loss of land, loss of livestock, loss of homes, loss of jobs and job opportunities, and loss of South African citizenship. The Fingos had never been part of Ciskei, either culturally, ethnically or historically. Some were even more fluent in Afrikaans than in Xhosa. They had no ties whatsoever with Ciskei other than that they had passed through it briefly in the early part of the nineteenth century. It just happened to be the nearest convenient homeland for the Government's purposes, which were to get rid of them at all costs.

We then have the arrogance of officials who proceed to implement the removals without proper consultation with the people concerned, or provision for their needs. The first that the majority of Fingos learnt about the removals was at a meeting at Snyklip on the 5th October 1977. This meeting was addressed by the magistrate of Humansdorp, who read out to the assembled people the contents of an order issued by the State President. The people were bluntly told that they were to be moved to Keiskamma Hoek, and that if they did not agree to move voluntarily, they would be taken by force. This did in fact happen. Eighty two of the one hundred and four families affected refused to move.

The brutality of the officials of Government towards inno-

cent men, women and children makes a harrowing story. According to sworn affidavits made by the people, those who refused to move were beaten with sticks, threatened by guns, and jailed. The Department of Co-operation and Development denies that this was the case, but their denial is greeted with absolute incredulity and derision by the people concerned, who are ready to defend their sworn statements at any time.

An equally bad form of brutality is being practised by the "out of sight, out of mind" attitude of the South African government towards the plight of the Fingos at their re-settlement camp in Keiskamma Hoek. Over seventy children have died in the camp since their arrival, together with many elderly or infirm people who have been unable to withstand the rigours of their new life. The South African government refuses to accept responsibility for the community, claiming that the people are now citizens of a sovereign, independent state, and must therefore take their grievances to the Ciskeian government. The people laugh wryly at this suggestion. After publicity in the South African press, the wife of the Ciskeian president allegedly arrived at the camp with a parcel of second-hand clothes for the children, but other than this token gesture, there has apparently been no response from Ciskei whatever.

According to Dr. Koornhof, an area of about 8,000 hectares has been made available to the Fingos on the commonage at Keiskamma Hoek for their exclusive use, but this is denied by both the Fingo people and the former deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr. Greyling Wentzel. Mr. Wentzel concedes that the land was not given exclusively to the Fingos, and the Fingos themselves maintain that they are not allowed to run stock on it at all. They are bewildered by suggestions that they have been given access to the 8,000 hectares, since they have not even enough land to make vegetable gardens for themselves.

The Government's scant regard for the provisions of the law in the implementation of its policies was well illustrated by the attempt to sell the Fingo lands to whites without first having complied with the statutory requirements. Earlier this year, it was noted that the land was being offered for sale. However, since the land is zoned as "scheduled land" for the purposes of Black Land Act, 1913, it could not be excised before compensatory land had been provided. In terms of Section 3(b) of the Development Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936, land of at least an equivalent pastoral or agricultural value has to be provided as compensatory



land in the province concerned. When questioned about this provision, the Minister of Co-operation and Development denied that this was necessary. Only after sustained pressure by the P.F.P. in Parliament was the validity of the objections conceded. However, the government in its own inimitable way proceeded to add insult to injury by making the compensatory land available to Transkei rather than to Ciskei (where the people have been settled). When questioned about this injustice the Minister of Co-operation and Development responded by saying:

"The reason why land which has to be added to the Transkei was identified as compensatory land was merely to comply with legal requirements, namely that land in the same province should be designated as compensatory land, irrespective of where the people concerned are settled". (Hansard, 11 June 1982, page 9492).

The Fingos, a law-abiding and peaceful community for over a hundred years, were not prepared to give up their land without protest. Their first step was to take their case to court. In their application, it was contended that the only resolution adopted by Parliament was the resolution of 16th May, 1975, which approved of the report of the Select Committee of Bantu Affairs. It was submitted that Parliament did not approve of the removal to the areas to which the Fingos were supposed to withdraw, nor did Parliament have before it the terms of the State President's order, nor did Parliament consider what accommodation was available in the area to which the Fingos were required to move. It was contended that Parliament in 1975 approved only of the Fingos' withdrawal from their present land, but did not approve of their being moved to any specific area or place. These contentions were rejected by the Supreme Court. The Fingos received opinions to the effect that the Court decision was wrong, and desired to take the matter on ap-

peal. However, the applicant who brought the application to Court on behalf of the Fingos did not wish to proceed on appeal, and consequently no appeal was lodged or heard.

Having failed to gain redress from the Courts, the Fingos then attempted to approach Parliament. They requested an interview with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, but this was refused on the grounds that they were not South African citizens and that they should lodge any complaints they might have with the Ciskeian Department of the Interior.

The importance of the treatment meted out to the Fingos is compounded when one considers that in the Eastern Cape and Border alone, an estimated 50,000 Blacks still face eviction from cities, towns, villages and so-called "blackspots" in the region. Are these people also to receive the same rough-shod treatment as the Fingos? The Eastern Cape is already seething with industrial unrest. Confrontation in the rural areas could be the spark in the powder keg.

Land is always an emotional issue. No government can proceed to dispossess people of it in so cavalier a fashion. By doing so, it will generate enormous resentment, hatred and bitterness. Is it too much to hope that the Fingo incident might have taught the Government the folly of its ways?

Unfortunately, there is at present every indication that further removals will proceed as planned, particularly in those parts of the country where the Government has been able to win the compliance of the Homeland leaders most directly concerned. Whether or not the people will be as compliant, and what the Government's reaction to defiance will be, is uncertain. But what is certain is that those of us in opposition politics in South Africa will not be the only interested observers. □

**Madam's Mission Child:**

Raised at the mission  
She walks like a nun,  
Darkly about her madam's business:  
Her child on the farm  
Runs snot to the ground  
As she nurtures one of a white race  
Of babies, city-bred:  
Swiftly, feet out, in sensible shoes,  
To the corner café from the washing-line,  
Some friends slop or amble  
Others chaff and make laughter,  
but God has made her obedient  
handmaiden to the chosen  
racing for heaven in labourless mornings  
and white linen nights:  
She grinds the bread  
And presses the wine,  
Serving it too - to fastidious communicants.

*Margo Wallace*

# APARTHEID & THE REFORMED CHURCHES

by ALAN PATON

Nothing could be more justly deserved than the suspension of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches meeting in Ottawa. For thirty-four years these churches have stood wholeheartedly behind the Nationalist Government in its policies of Apartheid and racial separation. What is more, they have claimed scriptural justification for these policies, and have said in effect that God approves them.

The arguments are fatuous. It is said that God created the separate races, and therefore He must approve any policies that keep them separate. His greatest gift to a human being is not his or her humanity but his or her membership of a nation. Christ's teaching that we are all one is to be taken not in a liberal or sentimental but in a spiritual and figurative and symbolical sense. This intellectual nonsense was preached by the Nationalist Afrikaner prophets, by the late Dr. Diederichs, and by Dr. Meyer of ex-SABC fame, and in the political arena by the late Dr. H.F. Verwoerd. Alas, it deceived an overwhelming majority of the Afrikaner nation, and worse still it deceived a majority of Afrikaner churchmen. Nor can one conceal the truth that many of them wanted to be deceived.

The ideal was so lofty, the goal so tremendous, the vision so ineffable, that it was justifiable in pursuing them to inflict great suffering on one's fellow human beings. One witnessed the terrible spectacle of the majority of Afrikaner Christians consenting to the infliction of injury and suffering on their fellow countrymen, many of whom were also Christians. How black Christianity has survived this revelation of the immoral nature of this kind of white Christianity is nothing less than a miracle.

The Group Areas Act took away people's property, almost invariably the property of Indian and Coloured people, and offered them inadequate compensation. It threw established businessmen out of the towns, and compelled them to trade in remote and segregated areas. Hundreds of thousands of African small farmers and gardeners were thrown out of the "black spots" and moved into new townships where farming and gardening were impossible, where, in fact, any real contact with soil and grass and crop and beast was denied them. Any mention of such deprivation was regarded as liberal sentimentality by our rulers. Were they not building a new heaven and a new earth, yet critics and agitators spoke of such trivialities as soil and grass and crop and beast? I have seen grown men and women weep to lose them.

So a great wound was inflicted on the soul of Afrikanerdom. Tens of thousands of Afrikaners were seduced from the faith of their fathers. They in fact had taken a new God, and this was nothing less than themselves, the nation. But being human they tried to reconcile their nationalism. So was invented the monstrosity called

Christian-Nationalism, and this was preached to them by their prophets. And because of this they have now been rejected by their fellow Reformed Christians throughout the world. More than that, they have been rejected by some of their fellow Reformed Christians in South Africa itself, the members of the so-called "daughter churches". The daughters have now come very close to rejecting the mother, and no wonder, for it was the mother who threw them out of the house.

The morality of the NGK and the NHK has now been rejected by the world's Reformed Churches. Yet it is not the morality alone that has been rejected, but also the religion itself, which has been adjudged in Ottawa to be a heresy. As was to be expected, the NHK has rejected the judgement defiantly, the NGK much less so. The NHK is not in the true sense of the word, a church at all. It is an organisation of stiff-necked and unloving people. They have long since said goodbye to religion and morality; their white exclusivity matters more to them than either their religion or their morality. But they too because of human necessity have identified their exclusivity with their religion. That is the way God wants them to be.

To the rest of the world this identification is grotesque and blasphemous. Do the members of the NHK believe in it themselves? There can be no doubt that some of them do. They have eyes and cannot see, ears and cannot hear. Are there members of the NGK who in their hearts do not believe in it, and yet cannot break out of the prison that they have built for themselves out of the hardness of the hearts? I have no doubt that there are such. If I were a better Christian, I would pity them. But I find it hard to pity men and women who are harsh and cruel to their fellows, in the name of a God who is said to be love.

Is there any hope in the NGK? I don't know. There are hopeful signs. Some 150 of the dominees have now rejected racial separation. But they have taken a long time. That the NGK holds a position of great influence in the lives of our rulers, I have no doubt, but it is an influence that has hardly ever been used. Is the NGK going to use it now? I don't know. If the NGK came to its senses as Saul did on the Damascus road, there might still be hope for our country. "Twould ring the bells of Heaven the wildest peal of years".

I have cherished this hope, and to some extent I still do. But I know also that hope deferred too long can bring about the destruction of the land that for me and for many is the beloved country. Therefore Christians awake, and especially you, the members of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. Or are you waiting for Death himself to awaken you from sleep? □

# CONSTANTINE OR ABRAHAM – THE CHOICE BEFORE THE D.R.C.

by Dr Jacques R Kriel

(Dr. Kriel is a medical doctor, formerly rector of the University of Bophuthatswana and now on the staff of the University of the Witwatersrand Medical School. The article appeared earlier in **Grace and Truth**, a quarterly magazine of theology published by the Federation of Dominicans of South Africa. Reality will publish it in two parts, in this and the next issue, because of its great interest and importance in providing a background to present developments in the DRC).

An understanding of the basic issues facing the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), the largest and most influential of the 'white' Afrikaans churches, is important because these issues in one form or another face all Christians and churches in South Africa. The manner in which the DRC will resolve these issues will have an impact not only on religious and socio-political life in South Africa, but even far beyond its borders.

During the PACLA Conference in Nairobi in December 1976, Bishop Simon Ibrahim of Nigeria said of South Africa:

When will the day arrive that Christians in South Africa will take each other's hand in love, the day that you will truly learn what reconciliation means? That day will be like a stone thrown into a dam – the waves will reach the furthest shores of Africa.

*(Quoted by Meiring, 1981: 13)*

This is particularly true of the DRC, because it has developed the image of being an

... apartheid church, which has drawn a line through the unity and fellowship of believers with its structures and policies which keep brothers and sisters in the Lord apart rather than binding them together . . .

*(Quoted by Meiring, 1981: 12)*

In this context reconciliation will be seen for what it is: the work of the Holy Spirit.

In Ethiopia there are Christians who are regularly praying for the DRC as a result of Christian fellowship established during PACLA. Greater insights into what is happening within this Church with its long history and strong theological tradition will enable fellow Christians to pray for the DRC with greater urgency and compassion. The issues raised are part of the very structure of our society and therefore part of everyone of us. But one issue is basic, viz the problem of the church's identification with the reigning socio-political system. The relationship of the DRC

to the Afrikaner Nation and the National Party Government is a classical example of this type of identification which has become known as the Constantinian model of the relationship of the church to society. It is this intimate relationship between Church and State (or party) that has created the image of the DRC as a loveless, racist church. All the negative feelings evoked by the internal policies of South Africa are also projected onto the DRC.

But the temptation to identify with the cultural and socio-political system, whether it be the dominant one or that of the oppressed, faces all Christians and all churches in Southern Africa.

There are strong social pressures in every society that tend to reinforce conformist behaviour patterns. Inter-personal relationships, values and the things that people regard as necessities are determined by social pressures affecting every member of a given society. Individuals are not free to decide most of their behaviour patterns on their own initiative. . . one must be a real hero to stand up against the established, system and pay the price for such a stand (Comblin 1979: 31).

The Church is not called to transfer its loyalty from one worldly system to another, but to adopt a totally new posture in the world.

Like any other institution with a long history, the DRC has structured its posture in South Africa around several traditions. I will try to show how these arose and how each of these traditions has become the focus of a crisis within the church. Because of its size and dynamism, nothing that one can say about the DRC is ever wholly correct; there will always be exceptions. But even among the Judean captives taken in exile to Babylon, the judgments proclaimed by the Prophets over Old Testament society were never true of everybody in that society. They were often referring to the social trends, the 'zeitgeist', the institutionalized, structural sins which pervade the whole social structure and make it guilty before God. What is characteristic of these sins, says Jacques Ellul is that they are not committed by anyone and yet they are committed. Even though there are exceptions

and even though "the structure of social relationships means that no one is personally responsible because all are slaves of the system", we are nevertheless "sent to confront the structure of sinfulness that enslaves human beings" (Comblin 1979: 31).

I will illustrate the crises by referring to recurring themes in the book *Stormkompas* (Storm Compass) the publication of which passed largely unnoticed in the English-speaking society but caused such an unexpected and unprecedented storm in Afrikaner church, cultural and political circles that one reviewer referred to it as "the compass that rocked the boat". The book is a collection of essays written by twenty-four authors and it seems reasonable to assume that the recurring themes represent what sensitive observers of the church feel to be major issues facing it.

## THE AFRIKANERS: A PEOPLE DIVIDED ECCLESIASTICALLY

The terminology surrounding the three Afrikaans churches and the three 'ethnic churches' which were established as a result of the missionary activity of the DRC, is usually confusing even to Afrikaners. A word of clarification is therefore needed.

The oldest and largest of the three Afrikaans churches is the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk) with its one-and-a-half million white members. The other two are the Hervormde Kerk, the official name having retained the Dutch version: Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, with approximately a quarter-million members and the Gereformeerde Kerk which has about the same number of white members but is the only Afrikaans church which has one formal church structure linking together all congregations irrespective of colour or ethnicity.

The churches which arose as a result of the DRC missionary are often referred to as its 'daughter churches' and are the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (Dutch Reformed Mission Church) the N.G. Kerk in Afrika (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) and the Reformed Church of South Africa. These four are also sometimes referred to as the Dutch Reformed Family of Churches with the DRC itself as the 'Mother Church'.

The differences between the three white Afrikaans churches are mainly historical and not theological. For the first two hundred years after the Dutch colonized the Cape, the DRC was the only church of the emerging Afrikaner nation. It was actually a branch of the Hervormde Kerk in Holland and the terms Nederduitsch Gereformeerde and Nederduitsch Hervormde were used as identical alternatives at the Cape. The Church in Holland underwent a schism with the theologically conservative faction splitting off as the Gereformeerde Kerk. As the Cape was at that time under British rule this split did not have an immediate effect on the Cape Dutch Reformed Church. During the northern migration of the Afrikaner after 1836, the DRC experienced great difficulty in maintaining an effective ministry to its widely scattering flock. The spiritual ministry therefore devolved on laymen, the heads of the households, who took the responsibility for the spiritual welfare and religious education of their families. The specific theological interpretation of the Bible which arose during this time in

which the history of the Afrikaner nation was interpreted in terms of the history of Israel, was later to have profound theological and political implications for the Afrikaners themselves and for South Africa as a whole.

Due partly to shortage of ministers (the traditional Dutch source of ministers being cut off by the English colonial Government) and partly to the Anglicization policy of the Government, a large number of ministers were brought to the colony from Scotland. The Anglicization goals failed as most of these ministers eventually identified with the Afrikaner cause, but it established a strong theological tradition within the DRC which is still bearing fruit today. So for example, the young Andrew Murray, and his brother John "injected a new evangelical enthusiasm into the church, profoundly shaping Dutch Reformed theology and piety at a critical moment in its development" (de Gruchy 1879: 4). Not only did they have a decisive influence on the early development of the Dutch Reformed Seminary established at Stellenbosch in 1859 but Andrew probably became the first South African religious writer to become known and loved far beyond its borders. He was elected moderator of the DRC on six occasions.

In spite of numerous calls for help to the Cape Synod of the DRC, its members in the Transvaal Republic were without any ministers. In desperation the Transvaal Volksraad eventually wrote directly to Holland, where the Church schism had since taken place. In 1852 the Rev van der Hoff arrived (from the Hervormde Kerk in Holland) followed in 1859 by the Rev Dirk Postma from the Gereformeerde Kerk. Although they undertook towards the Cape DRC that they would not transplant the church schism from Dutch to African soil, their personalities were so incompatible that their adherents eventually established two separate churches, viz the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk (nicknamed the 'Doppers' in Afrikaans), The DRC at the Cape, alarmed at the division amongst its previous members in the Transvaal, hastily sent representatives to gather together those who had not become followers of either Van der Hoff or Postma. There was a short-lived unification between the DRC and the Hervormde Kerk which later broke down leading to protracted legal proceedings regarding church property. The last few years have seen renewed discussions about closer union between the three churches but no dramatic advances have been made.

The Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch has become incorporated into the University as the Theological Faculty but it is still strictly controlled by the DRC and trains ministers only for the DRC. The Theological Faculty at the University of Pretoria trains for both the DRC and the Hervormde Kerk while the Gereformeerde Kerk established the University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education. This is the only South African University which does not have a 'conscience clause' in its Act.

The three Afrikaans churches acknowledge allegiance to the same basic confessional documents. They are kept apart by social and functional issues. At the risk of complete superficiality with regard to these issues, one could characterize the three churches as follows.

The *Hervormde Kerk* is theologically weak but on socio-political issues its stand is ultra-conservative and it consciously identifies itself as a 'volkskerk'.

The *Dutch Reformed Church* is theologically strong and has the strongest political influence but is plagued by a fear that any change in its 'political stance' will lead to a massive defection to the Hervormde Kerk by the conservative element in its membership. The present theological dissension in the DRC therefore threatens the whole numerical power-base of the church. Again the parallel with the political situation is striking: all National Party leaders since Dr Verwoerd have been ham-strung in their planning for social change by the nearly pathological fear of causing a schism (skeuring) within Afrikanerdom. Again the church mirrors society.

The *Gereformeerde Kerk* is characterized by a strictly orthodox Reformed system of church government and liturgy, but also a very strong awareness of the authority of Scripture in all matters. It was this awareness which led to the development of the unified church structure uniting all congregations regardless of race under the control of one general Synod. In a moving description of how this came about, Dr J.H. van Wyk has this to say:

The establishment of the General Synod did not take place overnight. The background to this is formed by a continuous and in-depth study of Scripture and an obedient acceptance of the result of that study of Scripture (in Meiring 1979: 103).

The story is told of the Elder who attended the Synod where the decision was taken to have one general Synod. Although he must have felt his whole world being shaken or even falling apart, he stood up and with a voice shaking with emotion, said: "If that is what Scripture dictates, then I must support it". Nevertheless, I do not think it either untrue or unkind to say, that very little of the true unity of the body of Christ is to be seen in the daily life of the church or its members. This is true of nearly all churches in South Africa and should not let us miss the significance (both theologically and sociologically) of the decision of the National Synod of the Gereformeerde Kerk of 1979 which reads as follows:

The unity of the church as the body of Christ must be acknowledged. It may be that linguistic or cultural differences make the formation of separate congregations, often with their own type of preaching and worship, advisable and, in these cases, it is wise not to force an outward and therefore artificial form of unity but to recognise the differentiation within the circle of God's people. Where different churches for different indigenous groups exist, no person may be excluded from common worship on grounds of race or colour. Common worship, including the Lord's Supper, among Christians regardless of race is an expression of the unity of the body of Christ. Such worshipping together of people of different races, is a sign of the unity of the church and the communion of the Saints and can be a Christian witness to the world (quoted by van Wyk in Meiring 1979:111).

#### **BECAUSE OF THE WEAKNESS OF SOME ... A CHURCH DIVIDED MISSIOLOGICALLY**

From its inception at the Cape the DRC was aware of its missionary responsibility and converts were made from among the indigenous Khoi-Khoi population and the imported slaves. For the first two centuries it was the practice to accept these converts as regular members of the

congregation. They participated in church services and activities irrespective of race or colour (cf Saayman & Loff in Meiring 1971:44 & 48).

With the development of colour consciousness among the white colonists, pressure must have built up in the church against this practice because it surfaced as an issue for discussion in 1829. The Synod of 1834 confirmed the unity of the church as a Scriptural imperative and in accordance with a 'Christian attitude'. The continued objection against the presence of 'non-whites' at services and especially at Holy Communion, led to renewed pressure on the Synod of 1857 and requests for the institution of separate services for these members. 1857 is therefore a date considered by many to be the official beginning of apartheid in the DRC. However, the Synod's decision reads as follows:

This Synod considers it to be desirable and in accordance with scripture that our members from paganism be received and incorporated into existing congregations whenever possible; however where this practice, because of the weakness of some, constitutes an obstacle to the advancement of the cause of Christ among pagans those congregations already established or to be established from converts from paganism should be given the opportunity to enjoy their Christian privileges in a separate place of worship.

Read correctly this is no justification for apartheid in the church. On the contrary, it re-emphasises the unity of white and black members of the DRC as a scriptural imperative. In a pastoral letter issued to congregations following the Synod, it called upon members of the church to remember that God created the human race from one blood. God does not take social status into consideration. Therefore members may not allow any un-Christian prejudices against non-white fellow Christians to develop in the church. The Synod therefore re-emphasised the decision of the previous Synods regarding the Scriptural primacy of the unity of all Christians. Several participants in the debate urged that prejudice should be actively combated. The Synod obviously saw this concession to 'allow' non-white members to meet in a separate building as a *temporary measure* to accommodate the weakness or lovelessness of some of its white Christians, but the establishment of separate congregations or even a separate church was clearly never envisaged.

Subsequent Synods between 1857 and 1881 never challenged or changed this basic policy. As to how exactly this decision eventually gave way to the establishment of a separate church in 1881, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, is therefore still a problem that has to be cleared up satisfactorily by historical research. Despite the fact that racial prejudice was judged as 'the weakness of some' the 'mother church' actually closed her doors as a matter of policy to all but white members.

It is a strange quirk of history that this decision of the 1857 Synod initiated a phase of tremendous missionary interest and zeal in the DRC which lasted for more than a century and which was richly blessed. Thousands were reconciled with God as the church's activity stretched deep into Africa. But the hope of the church fathers that the next generations would overcome their prejudices and that the DRC would be one unified and reconciled church was never realised. Strengthened by the 'Three selves'

missionary theory of Anderson and Venn and the writings of Bavinck and Warneck the DRC established three churches on ethnic and cultural grounds i.e. the Dutch Reformed Mission Church working mainly amongst the so-called 'coloured' population with a present membership of slightly more than half a million; the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, the so-called 'black' church with a membership close to a million but not differentiated further according to African Ethnic groups; and the Reformed Church of South Africa (not to be confused with the Afrikaans Gereformeerde Kerk) which is still in its infancy and working among the Asian population. What was formulated as a temporary concession to the weakness and lack of Christian love and concern of some white members of the church in 1857 has now become the firm policy of the church. It has also become a fundamental part of the world view of its members, who now cannot conceive of any alternative system of relationships between races.

The missionary activity of the DRC was greatly blessed, but its missionary policy has now precipitated the most serious crisis in the church's history: the three 'daughter churches' (also referred to as 'sister churches') demand that the confessional unity of the four churches should also find expression not only in a structural unity but also in a unified rejection of discrimination and apartheid.

In this context it is worthwhile noting the decision of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in 1978:

The church wishes to express the conviction that the policy of apartheid and/or of separate development as maintained by the Government is in conflict with the Gospel:

- (1) Because, contrary to the Gospel of Christ's emphasis on the reconciliation of man with God and his fellowman, the forced separation of people on the basis of race and colour is based on the conviction of the fundamental irreconcilability between people so separated;
- (2) Because the system based on such a policy inevitably had to lead and has led to the increasing polarization between people, especially where in practice there is no doubt that within the system one part of the population, the whites, are privileged and the demand of the Gospel of justice for all has not been met, and
- (3) Because this has not only affected the humanity (menswaardigheid) of the disadvantaged part of society but also the humanity of all who are associated with it. (*My translation*).

The DRC is therefore being challenged by its own daughter churches on the biblical accountability not only of its own internal missiological policies, but also its support for the political policy of apartheid. David Bosch (1982) argues convincingly that this missiological policy is not part of the Reformed tradition but is in fact heresy that strikes at the very foundation of the Church.

What I have attempted to show in this section is that the missiological tradition of the DRC has not only reflected but also strengthened the socio-political policy of

Apartheid. The church is now however discovering that both its Scriptural and its Reformed base is being questioned and its relationship to its daughter churches threatened. The integrity of its avowed acknowledgement of the ultimate authority of Scripture is at stake. It is a theological and a sociological and a political crisis all rolled into one. Bosch states:

Those of us who plead for the re-unification of the four Dutch Reformed churches, currently separated along racial lines, and for open church doors during the period that negotiations regarding church union are still in process, are often asked *why* we make an issue of these matters. The answer is simple. The breaking down of barriers that separate people is an intrinsic part of the Gospel ... evangelism as such itself involves a call to be incorporated into a new community, an alternative community (1982).

This reference to the church as an alternative community forces me to sound a warning note. The striving for structural unity and open church doors is only a first phase in the establishment of the one body of Christ which must express itself as a loving, caring, united community in its daily life. There are many churches and denominations in South Africa that do not have any structural or functional apartheid, but very little if anything of the true, lived unity of the body of Christ can be seen in their daily life. Prof Jaap Durand says: "to proclaim *and to live* reconciliation is the very ground for the existence (die bestaansgrond) for the Church of Christ in South Africa" (in Smith 1981:23).

It is a farce to integrate at church services and church functions, but to live socially as if the others who belong to a different social class or racial classification do not exist. The unity of the body of Christ must transcend in daily life all the divisions of class or economics; of race or politics; it must transcend the divisions caused by group areas, racial classification and prohibitions and it must do so *now*, when there is a risk and a suffering involved. It must establish the one, loving, caring, integrated alternative community *now* as a visible social reality that impacts on every moment of the daily life from Monday to Saturday. And it must do so regardless of social pressures or government sanctions.

Only then will the unity of Sunday worship and the structural unity have any real meaning and any prophetic witness. Only then can christianity in South Africa truly claim that it is not an opium for the people.

In 1 Peter 3:8 the Apostle characterises the unity among Christians as 'being of one mind' and immediately links it with compassion, brotherly love, kindheartedness, humility, not returning evil for evil or insult for insult but giving a blessing instead. These are not Sunday-go-to-worship-graces, but down to earth, nuts-and-bolts attitudes and actions of daily living. The Apostle Paul goes further and says that within the Church no cognisance may be taken of *any* natural or sociological or economic or political differences. And this must be seen to be true in our *daily life*. □

# THE TORTURE OF DEAN FARISANI

by ALLISTER SPARKS, earlier this year.

(Acknowledgements to The Star, and The Observer)

The Lutheran Dean of Venda, a mild and courteous man of 34, recounted last week how he was tortured by the same security police interrogators who have just been found, by an inquest court in that remote tribal homeland, to have beaten one of his lay preachers to death.

Dean Simon Farisani said he was made to do exercises until he collapsed. He was beaten until his eyes bled and his eardrums burst. He was suffocated under a wet canvas hood and subjected to electric shocks to the head, spine and genitals until he lost consciousness.

Three weeks after this torture the delay shock to his nervous system caused him to suffer heart failure and he nearly died. He spent three and a half months in hospital.

Now, six weeks after his release, he is better but still suffering from emotional shock. His hands carve the air agitatedly and his voice rises to a falsetto as he recounts what happened. The Church has given him three months' recuperative leave and he and his wife, Regina, are trying to decide whether they can ever summon the courage to return to Venda where the nightmare occurred.

Farisani believes what was done to him was similar to what killed the lay preacher, Tshifhiwa Muofhe, who died within 24 hours of being detained. Last Monday an inquest found that two security policemen, Captain Muthuphei Ramaligela and Sergeant Phumula Mangaga, had beaten him to death.

This is the first time any inquest court in South Africa or its appendant tribal regions has blamed the security police for the death of a political detainee.

Fifty have died in the past 20 years, the best known being Steve Biko, the black Consciousness leader. Past inquests have attributed the deaths to accidents, suicide, or simply said the cause of the fatal injuries was unknown.

This verdict was given by the former Chief Magistrate of Zimbabwe, Stanley Stainer who took up his new job in Venda on 1 June.

Muofhe, Dean Farisani and three other Lutheran pastors were among a number of people detained last November after African National Congress guerrillas attacked a police station in the centre of Venda's main town of Sibasa.

A policeman was killed in the attack and the homeland authorities, jumpy because they know they are unpopular for accepting independence in South Africa's tribal system, ordered roadblocks and mass arrests.

Farisani knew of the young preacher's death when they took him away — hardly a comforting thought in the days that followed.

First he was locked in a corrugated iron cell near the Limpopo River, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn. The heat was suffocating. But what worried Farisani more was that his interrogators, the same two who have now been blamed for Muofhe's death, tried to force him to write to his wife and friends saying he had fled to Mozambique.

'I realised if I wrote those letters they could kill me, dump my body over the border and use the letters to absolve themselves,' said Farisani. 'So I said "no".'

Farisani's interrogators — 'these two gentlemen,' as he referred to them, without irony but out of an instinctive rural courtesy — demanded that he write a confession implicating himself, Muofhe and the other pastors in the police station attack. When he refused the torture began.

The Dean is not a physically strong man. Portly short would be a tailor's description. He has a rolling walk like a sailor's and is not nimble. His interrogators laughed as he stumbled and crashed about before their blows. 'Hallelujah,' they cried as he prayed for mercy — and eventually death.

'They went beserk,' said Farisani. 'They punched, kicked and hit me with everything they could lay their hands on, even the chairs.'

They flung him around the room, smashing his head against the walls. He started bleeding from the nose, mouth, ears, even the eyes. His eardrum burst.

'I was breathing through my ears,' he said. 'I could hear the air coming out of them as I breathed.'

Next day he was taken to the security police offices in Sibasa. There it was even worse. He was taken into an office at 6 a.m., the curtains were drawn and he was told: 'Nobody comes out of here alive unless he tells us what we want to hear.'

That is when they used the wet canvas hood and the electric shocks. With the hood over his head he felt the interrogators pour a glue-like substance down his spine and connect electric terminals to his ears and the back of his head.

As the current was turned on his brain and spine were shocked and his whole body was convulsed. He lost consciousness. When he came to he was asked again to make the confession. When he refused the wet hood was replaced and he was shocked again. So it went on repeatedly,

the electric terminals sometimes being placed on his inner thighs and genitals.

Farisani does not know how many times he lost consciousness, but when he was finally returned to his cell he had been with 'those gentlemen' 13 hours.

He was finished. At the last he could take no more so he agreed to say whatever his interrogators required. 'I said yes to everything, implicated everyone. I just prayed that God would understand.' □

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# HITCH

by Vortex

The robbers stripped him of all of his valuables, most of his clothes, and left him unconscious. Their blows had been fierce, well-aimed, professional.

He awoke about an hour later, and was aware at once of pain in many places, of stiffness in almost every limb, of a dizziness in the head. He could hear very clearly the sound of cars on the road, and after a while resolved that, for all the agony of movement, he would make his way in that direction. He tried to stand up and walk, but found that impossible, and so dragged himself half-crawling, half like a snake, towards the sould of the world's traffic.

When eventually, after what seemed to be several hours, he pulled himself up onto the grass verge of the road, he found that he could do nothing more than recline in an awkward position, and wave one arm pathetically towards the cars, which whooshed rapidly and violently by as if they were on a racing track.

He waved for many minutes. Perhaps many drivers didn't see him. Some certainly did; they responded by looking suddenly towards the horizon ahead of them, or by accelerating, or by turning towards their companion as if in urgent conversation, or (if they were people of conscience) by slowing down momentarily and then resuming their former speed.

At last a car stopped. A man thrust a worried and harried-looking head towards his side-window. He was a priest. Before John could speak, the man said: "I'm very sorry to see you in this condition. I wish I could help, but unfortunately I'm in a terrible hurry. I'm already late for our

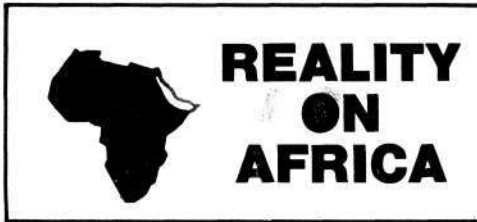
parish council meeting. I'll tell you what I'll do: I'll phone the hospital when I arrive. I won't be able to do it at once, as I have to deliver a report under item 2, but we usually break for tea after 50 minutes or so." And with that he accelerated off explosively.

About an hour later another car stopped: it was a smart-looking BMW. The driver leaned towards the window and contemplated John. "Please help me," John said. The driver continued to eye him, in a curiously detached manner, then took a calculator out of his pocket, pressed several buttons swiftly and knowingly, glanced at his result, and then, pocketing the machine, said: "It's not worth it. To assist you, I'm afraid, would be counter-productive in socio-economic terms. I believe that human society has got to learn to conduct its affairs in accordance with a clearly-formulated set of priorities. Forgive me." He returned to the upright position, restarted his car, and drove smoothly and rapidly off.

Nobody else stopped. The occupants of one car that whisked past an hour or so later — an oldish but still powerful car — might perhaps have been willing to stop, even though they all felt that the giving of charitable help was rather reactionary kind of activity; but in fact they didn't notice John at all, as at that moment they were all absorbed in a discussion of the ways in which the whole social system should be transformed.

Eventually, however, one driver did draw his vehicle to a halt with a positive and humane intention. He was the man from the mortuary. □





# THE NON-POLITICS OF “AFRICAN POLITICS”

by Francis Antonie

If the province of political science is the study of power, and if power is in the last instance ultimately concerned with ‘who gets what when and how’, then it follows that the questions as to who got what from whom when and how are questions of a political nature, the answers to which are to be found within the context of political activity – which is also one way of attempting to rescue “Politics” from either the obscurities of overdetermination or the relegation to “mere superstructure”.

This “re-assertion” of the State as a central category of political analysis is not without its own attendant problems. The State could so very easily become the only object of analysis so that a structural super-determinism emerges which, as Ralph Miliband points out, makes impossible “a truly realistic consideration of the relationship between the State and the “system” – and it is this **relationship** between the State and the “system” (however one eventually defines this term) which poses the greatest problems. It is within the context of these problems and questions that we should attempt to evaluate African politics.

“African Politics”<sup>1</sup> by Pierre Francois Gonidec (Martinus Nijhoff, 1981) is a work which purports to provide “the first comprehensive view of the subject (of politics) for the whole of Africa . . .” by attempting to analyse firstly

the relationship between the (African) State and social formation and secondly the relationship between African States and Western capitalism. But to attempt, in 353 pages, to comprehend, explain and theorize African politics along the lines outlined is clearly an ambitious undertaking; one may also question the wisdom of an undertaking which would, in a general survey, consider the States of North Africa and the sub-Sahara, States which are English-speaking, French-speaking, capitalist, socialist, “true socialist” or merely racist.

The work contains a wealth of information, and there is a great deal of emphasis placed on formal documents (such as constitutions and charters); but the sheer weight of dates, articles, clauses and sub-clauses often detracts from the elucidation and exposition of the central theme of the work, viz. the relationship between capitalism and Africa – and even in this regard, a tortuous structuralism pervades the argument.

Unfortunately Gonidec’s adherence to an Orthodoxy (all the time changing according to the latest fashions of French thought) leads him to invest in appearance a reality all of its own, as causes, phenomena, events are conveniently “overdetermined”. This is not to say that no attempt is made by Gonidec to understand the relationship between

the State and political events or, indeed, between the State and capitalism, but the sheer weight of so much overdetermination does not leave much room for a (theoretical) last lonely instance of economics. When analysis is thus sacrificed to ideology we are still in the night in which all cows are black . . .

"African Politics" is divided into four parts, with an emphasis largely, but not exclusively on the francophone States.

The first two parts deal with "Political Forces" and "Political Ideologies", and it is here that Gonidec fails to come to grips with his material. The problem is one of conceptualization, especially in the case of "social class", and in the conflation of the category "petit-bourgeois" with "bourgeois" (Here, Poulantzas's work would have been of great value, but the latter is never referred to). The problem is not that these fractions do not exist, but that Gonidec's typology of African political forces and classes is inadequate. Moreover his failure to explain and explore the relationship between the national bourgeoisie and the foreign bourgeoisie — Samir Amin's "major absent figure" — is a serious omission. Gonidec rightly points out that the danger exists of enclosing the Third World "in a sort of intellectual ghetto" — but his response is to take sociology to task "for its insufficiently universal and universalizing nature". In the process of stretching the original (marxian) categories they cease to be either analytical or normative in their applicability or content.

Part III deals with "Political Structures". Here, the analysis proceeds not from the point of view of the constitutional lawyer but is more concerned with an attempt to determine to what extent the officially proclaimed ideologies correspond with the political realities of life in contemporary African States. This section is more successful than the preceding two sections in that Gonidec's wealth of information is here used to illustrate and not to stifle his argument — that the gap between political practice and ideology is great.

Part IV which deal with "Political Action" attempts to evaluate African States within the context of their achievements, specifically in terms of the twin but related goals of genuine development and real independence. The section dealing with Africa's international relations is perhaps the most significant in the book, and here Gonidec begins to integrate some of the more important aspects of African Politics which he had alluded to. But, as before, his discussion never substantially departs from the level of ideology to the level of rigorous analysis and is often plagued by vague generalizations.

But there remains in Gonidec's work a major contradiction: his overtly ideological stand fails to uncover anything more than a casual relationship between the State and capitalism. While all the time arguing on behalf of a structural interpretation, he is in the end defeated by straightforward economic determination which relegates Politics to mere superstructure. The State is, for Gonidec, in the end, the captive handmaiden of capitalism.

The irony of it all is that Gonidec quotes, with apparent approval, Engels' letter to Bloch in which Engels argues on behalf of a dialectical understanding of the relationship between base and superstructure — that while the economic situation is the *basis*, the "various elements of the superstructure, the political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, the constitutions established by the victorious class . . . the forms of law . . . also have an effect on the course of historic struggles, and in many cases, predominantly determine their form. There is action and reaction among all these factors."

The error then lies ultimately in a structural interpretation of society which must of necessity be static. Perhaps the final word in this regard should be left to Engels: "What all these gentlemen lack is dialectic."

1 First reviewed for "African Studies" □

# THE STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE — THE CHIMURENGA WAR

by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson

Reviewed by André du Pisani  
Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981.

In this eminently readable account of pre-independent Rhodesia, the focus falls principally on the decisive phase of the second Chimurenga\* or war of resistance, from December 1972 to April 1980 when victory was finally won at the elections by ZANU. The book is mainly a his-

tory of ZANU and its military wing ZANLA, who did the bulk of the fighting during the final decisive seven years. Through the use of interviews and official party documents, especially documents of ZANU, the reader gets a partisan but graphic portrayal of a dehumanising war.

Using a wide canvas, the authors trace the evolution of ZANLA's military strategy, the development of the war from Mozambique, the mass mobilisation and political education which were to lay the groundwork of ZANU's election victory, and Robert Mugabe's emergence and ascendancy as supreme leader. Interwoven with all this are the seemingly endless diplomatic exercises to end the Rhodesian conflict, and the complacency and lack of realism of white political leadership in the face of a growing guerrilla offensive.

The book comprises fourteen chapters, each of which is well researched and informative. The first two chapters set the stage and regional and international contexts of the Rhodesian conflict. We learn of Soviet, Chinese and Western interests and involvement in the conflict, and of the Frontline States. Particularly impressive is the authors' treatment of the personalised nature of the relationships between Frelimo, Samora Machel, Marcelino dos Santos on the one hand, and the ZANU military and political leadership, on the other. ZANLA's use of the Tete province in Mozambique as an operational base in 1973 is rightly seen as a turning point in the political and military strategy of ZAPU, and ultimately in the war itself. However, the authors largely fail to explain why this was so. The North-Eastern border of Rhodesia with Mozambique not only afforded the guerrillas with admirably suited geographic and demographic factors — dense vegetation and high population density —, but the area had suffered decades of administrative neglect, while the Shona in the area, the Korekore, intersects across the Tete province, thus easing the infiltration of guerrillas from Mozambique into the North-east. A final factor was the lack of physical impediment comparable to the Zambezi river on the common national border. With active FRELIMO concurrence, ZANLA was presented with an excellent opportunity.

Chapter 3 outlines the historical thread of European colonialism, and domination and of Shona revolt. Sketchy, as it is, it provides both continuity and perspective on what follows. Central themes introduced in this chapter, are further developed in Chapter 4: notably, inequalities in land distribution, in educational opportunity and in labour conditions and job opportunities.

In chapter 5 the reader gets an insight into ZANU mobilization and recruitment. The opening of the north-eastern front through the Tete province in Mozambique and its implications for the nature and scale of recruitment are analysed. Against the backdrop of mass mobilisation and recruitment, the failure of the Smith regime's efforts to seek alternative legitimate leadership to negotiate with, are juxtaposed. Especially valuable, is the authors' succinct treatment of Smith's counter-revolutionary strategies, which were premised on the exploitation of nationalist ambitions and rivalries whereby Smith was able to keep them divided and continue to rule while undermining the efforts of the guerrillas by raising false hopes for a settlement.

In the next chapter we learn about the political costs for the regime of its inconsistent use of force, the patchy nature of Rhodesian intelligence and the effectivity of ZANLA strategy of political education.

Chapters 7 and 8 which respectively focus on the Portuguese Coup d'Etat and on Détente, make fascinating reading. The behind the scenes activities of Tiny Rowland, chief of Lonrho, Kaunda, Vorster and Smith to respond to the deteriorating situation in Mozambique, are brought into sharp focus. Especially illuminating is the authors' discussion of the acrimony between Kaunda and Nyerere over détente with Pretoria.

The strengths and weaknesses of the book are best demonstrated in Chapter 9 entitled 'The other side of détente'. While Lusaka and Pretoria pursued détente, the Rhodesians developed a strategy to destroy the guerrillas from within, to subvert and divide ZANU and ZAPU until they ceased to be a force in the bargaining. This strategy, like détente itself, nearly succeeded, but not only because as the writers assert, "it was overcome by the resolve of Black liberation forces". The Rhodesian counter-revolutionary strategy failed for both political and military reasons. Politically, Smith underestimated the commitment of the frontline states to the struggle as well as the extent to which local administration had collapsed in rural areas. For example, by July 1977 already some 300 schools had been forced to close, leaving more than 40,000 children without schools.

Militarily, the vital element of providing permanent and participatory protection at the local level had always been lacking in the Rhodesian counter-insurgency strategy. Numerous 'search and destroy' operations were launched, but a 'clear and hold-' type operation had never been introduced in a satisfactory manner. The authors also neglect important elements of Rhodesian counter-strategy like the idea of a modified cordon sanitaire along the Mozambiquean border, and especially the many 'pseudo-operations', whereby members of the counter-insurgency forces posing as insurgents engaged in intelligence gathering especially in the North-East (Mount Darwin, Rusape, Bindura) and also in Botswana. The partial treatment of the war by Martin and Johnson thus ignores the aspect of counter-insurgency, and tends to treat it as residual.

Chapter 10 traces the rise to power of Robert Mugabe, which is directly correlated to the intensifying conflict between President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and ZANU. This chapter is particularly illuminating because it emphasises the international dimensions of the Rhodesian conflict, as well as the ZANU/ZAPU rivalry for the succession to white rule. In the next two chapters we learn of the attempts by Samora Machel of Mozambique and Nyerere of Tanzania to unify bickering ZANU and ZAPU in the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), and the unsuccessful Kissinger diplomatic safari to resolve the Rhodesian enigma. Especially interesting is the growing personal animosity between Vorster and Smith and between Muller and van der Byl, over the Rhodesian impasse.

The last two chapters focus on the prelude to Lancaster and independence. The air of inevitability ascribed to events by the authors, coupled to their lack of time perspective, tend to somewhat distort the focus on these apocalyptic events. While Martin and Johnson have provided what is probably the best account yet of the first

(1972-1976) phase of the Rhodesian war, the subsequent phase (1977-1980) still awaits its historian.

**The Struggle for Zimbabwe** is an important book that deserves to be widely read by all South Africans. It underscores the dictum that the inconsistent use of coercion by government can both speedily alienate individuals and focus their discontent upon political institutions, and that legitimacy is a political necessity, for it reduces dependence

on naked power by allowing government to rely on authority.

\* 'Chimurenga' is a Shona word which has its political origins in the uprisings of the 1890s as the Africans north of the Limpopo River fought to prevent white settlers from the south occupying their land. The word 'Chimurenga' has a number of meanings in current usage — revolution, war, struggle or resistance. □

## POST : ORGANISER / RESEARCHER

AFRA, the Association for Rural Advancement, based in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, is looking for a fulltime organiser/researcher, to start work in early 1983.

The aims of the Association have been defined broadly as:

- a) to monitor, enquire into, record and publicise all matters relating to the social and economic position of persons in the rural areas of Natal, with special regard to the effects of the policy of resettlement;
- b) to take action and to encourage other persons and/or groups to take action to alleviate hardship, discrimination and oppression among such people.

The responsibilities of the person appointed to the advertised post will include the following:

- undertaking ongoing fieldwork/research into the issue of resettlement in Natal/KwaZulu;
- writing reports and factsheets dealing with the results of this work, for publication and dissemination;

- establishing and developing contact with communities affected by resettlement policies, where appropriate;
- developing AFRA's usefulness as a resource organisation for communities affected by resettlement and for other outside groups engaged in similar or related work;
- administrative work in the AFRA office.

We are looking for somebody with initiative, maturity, and a commitment to rural development as well as having research and communication abilities. Previous experience in community/rural development work will be a recommendation. The job is based in Pietermaritzburg but involves travelling and so a driver's licence is essential.

Interested persons are asked to write to the AFRA Committee, P.O. Box 2517, Pietermaritzburg, 3200 by 30 November 1982, setting out their experience, qualification, and interest in the job. More details about the job can be supplied on request by writing to the above address. Interviews with suitable applicants will be arranged thereafter.

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