

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

HELD AT PRETORIA

ON 29 OCTOBER 1982

CHAIRMAN:

THE HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE C F ELOFF

COMMISSIONERS:

MR S A PATTERSON
MR T L BLUNDEN
PROF P OOSTHUIZEN
MR F G BARRIE

CHIEF INVESTIGATING OFFICER:

ADV K P C O VON LIERES SC

INVESTIGATING OFFICER:

ADV ETIENNE DU TOIT

SECRETARY:

MR M L MARAIS

ON BEHALF OF COUNCIL FOR THE

S A C C:

ADV S W KENTRIDGE SC
ADV P A SOLOMON

LUBBE RECORDINGS (PRETORIA)

/Idem

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THE COMMISSION IS RESUMED ON 29 OCTOBER 1982

EDWARD PHILLIP CAIN, still under oath:

MR VON LIERES: Mr Cain, just before the adjournment yesterday, you were explaining what you saw as the activities of the South African Council of Churches; you dealt with the links that it has with the World Council, its relations with the press, its political activities, its external political spokesmen, its internal involvement with radical groups and you are now just about to proceed with the question of squatters. --- I wonder with your permission, Mr Chairman, if I could just go back one short section, to the Programme to Combat Racism; I just want to clear up something which possibly was not clear there. I would like to point out that when the initial grants were made through the Programme to Combat Racism, to different terrorist movements in Southern Africa, there was - that was in 1970; there was a tremendous reaction, a strong reaction in this country, from church members, from the people of the country, which led the South African Council of Churches, possibly for this reason, possibly for others, to take a strong line against the grants that were made at that time, to - by the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism. However, since that time, I sensed that there has been a tendency to identify more closely with the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism. Obviously whenever statements have been made, they have been made to the effect that they identify with the aims of the Programme, although do not associate themselves with the gifts. However, it is also true that just a few weeks ago, in excess of \$200 000 was given to the three liberation/...

liberation movements, socalled liberation movements in Southern Africa, and this brought no protest from the South African Council of Churches or from any church body in this country. It therefore seems to me that a climate has been created in this country, that we have become accustomed every year now to the fact that grants will be made, and therefore it makes no impact, it draws very little reaction. Perhaps I should turn just briefly to page 5, to make one point there. I quoted in the third paragraph from EPS of 1980, regarding the grant that was made to SWAPO at that stage, towards the end of the third paragraph, the quotation is:

"In this connection the SWAPO grant will help finance its administration and legal defence costs inside Namibia",

and I think the Commission will need to decide whether there is an inherent difference between the World Council of Churches through its Programme to Combat Racism, giving money to SWAPO for internal legal defence within South West Africa, and money being channelled from the World Council of Churches and its associate organisations through the South African Council of Churches for the legal defence of political opponents inside South Africa, political opponents of the South African Government. (CONTINUES WITH MEMORANDUM)

"F SQUATTERS

For years, the SACC, its office bearers and spokesmen from its member churches have collaborated with other pressure groups to focus local and world attention on the plight of the squatters in the Cape with a view of showing up the authorities in the worst possible/...

possible light.

In this connection, serious consideration must be given to an address by Bishop Tutu at the SACC's national convention. 'I am going to use all the resources I have got to stop the resettlement policy. If they (the government) wish to know where the SACC is going, we are focussing on resettlement (and we will) ensure that that policy is destroyed. As long as I am around, I will call for pressure, unless they change - which is all we ask them to do. 10

There is nothing that they (government) can do to me, and I want to challenge them again today because my loyalty is to God. The system tried to do all it can to destroy us, but God would lead all of us to victory. Join the winning side. Amandla!

(Freedom)' (Citizen 8/5/81)

Initially, attention was focussed on Crossroads, and when the situation there was amiably resolved, attention was switched to Nyanga. Bishop Tutu admitted financing the return of squatters sent back to the Transkei. 20

The SACC gives two theological justifications for focussing attention on the squatters, that they are God's children and the sanctity of marriage.

The fact that the SACC erected four tents in Kliptown for the use of squatters and that a group of Wits students moved into the camp in complete defiance of the government regulations because we disagree completely with laws to move and remove people', (Star 12/8/81) appears to be an effort to repeat 30

the/...

the Crossroads/Nyanga experience in other parts of the country. Certainly the students' action is in harmony with the sentiment expressed by Canon Michael Carmichael (at that time) honorary vice-president of the SACC, at the national conference, when he called for pilgrimages to resettlement areas, adding that they should involve accepting hospitality from people in them (Star 9/5/81). A similar sentiment was expressed in a SACC directive, 'It may be possible to have special services in resettlement 10 areas, as a mark of identification with Christians there' (SACC circular 30/6/81).

For a fuller consideration of the SACC's involvement in Crossroads and Nyanga, as well as consideration of their theological justification, see APPENDIX E".

That is rather a long appendix; that is why I put it over there. I do not know whether there is any need to read it at this stage.

Just a few minutes please. I think perhaps it 20 would be handy if you give us the first page until the last paragraph of APPENDIX E? --- APPENDIX E then:

"For years, the SACC, its office bearers and spokesmen for its member churches and associated regional church councils have collaborated with other pressure groups to focus local and world attention on the plight of squatters in the Cape with the view to showing up the authorities in the worst possible light.

In 1978, the Crossroads squatter camp was in the limelight. For several months a widespread campaign 30

was/...

was waged overseas and in South Africa in which 'carefully selected facts were presented to portray a happy, industrious, well-ordered, crime-free Christian community facing constant persecution and, finally destruction at the hands of a ruthless, oppressive government, unmoved by appeals to men or prayers to God'. The police raid of September 14th, 1978, was anticipated, the squatters kept awake all night, newspapers were urged to send photographers and American congressmen were tipped off that trouble was expected at Crossroads. (Encounter October 1978)

Although the situation at Crossroads has since been amiably resolved, the government got no bouquets and the pressure has not eased. These religious groups have merely transferred their attention to Nyanga.

The SACC designated August 1981 as 'The Month of Compassion' designed to focus attention 'on the terrible results of the resettlement policy'. Churches were urged to obtain information from the SA Institute of Race Relations, the Black Sash and PACSA".

What is PACSA? --- Mr Barrett, I am sure, can help us there.

MR BARRETT: I am afraid I cannot help.

MR CAIN: It is a religious group or - in Natal, I believe, Natal or the Cape, and I have forgotten just what PACSA stands for, but it is - I could check that up and come back.

MR BARRETT: Mr Chairman, I understand it is the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Social Change.

MR VON LIERES: Thank you very much. They say you should never ask a question you do not know the answer to yourself.

(WITNESS CONTINUES)

" .. to use audio-visual presentations, arrange special services using 'resource persons' and to arrange Bible studies on appropriate topics. (SACC circular 30/6/81)

The Month of Compassion was linked directly 'to the thousands of people suffering as a result of the Langa and Nyanga evictions' by Bishop Tutu in 10 a message read in Rondebosch to mark the beginning of the Month of Compassion. Addressing the squatters, he said, 'We thank God for your courage and non-violent resistance to the brutal policy of exclusion from the cities and the callous implementation of it demonstrated in the past ten days.' He added 20 that the police and Bantu Administration Board officials were playing football with people. The world was watching with 'distress, anger and growing determination to end this evil apartheid system'.

Speaking at the same service, Bishop Stephan Naidoo called the resettlement policy 'a form of genocide'. (Star 27/7/81)

The church publication Southern Cross (2/8/81) noted help given to the squatters by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and the Western Province Council of Churches.

Efforts made by a group of clergymen to take food to Nyanga resulted in a four hour confrontation with the police, (Star 13/8/81) Dr Koornhof spoke 30

of incitement and an organised campaign to wreck influx control. (Star 13/8/81) He later accused the following organisations of being part of an organised and orchestrated attempt to disturb law and order and provoke disobedience: The Western Province Council of Churches, the Border Council of Churches, the Roman Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, the Women's Movement for Peace, the Black Sash, and the Civil Rights League. (Star 5/9/81)".

I think, Mr Cain, you can take the rest of the appendix as having been read. --- Unless you might want the theological consideration?

Yes? On page 3. --- On the bottom of page 3.

"THEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The SACC has given two theological justifications for focussing on the plight of the squatters. Firstly that they are God's children and secondly the sanctity of marriage. We will examine these two points:

As we have already noted, the SACC's use of the term 'all God's children' is based on the humanist concept of the equality of man, rather than on the Biblical concept which divides mankind into two groups, those who have turned from their sins and put their trust in Christ and those who have not. Accepting for the moment, the SACC's concept that God is equally interested in all mankind, we find that the SACC is not! They are extremely active, and willing to spend money on bringing squatters into the Western Cape and aiding communist

armed/...

armed bank robbers in Botswana. Although they launched an appeal on behalf of the Vietnam refugees during that crisis, they have no real interest in them.

This is amply demonstrated by their 1980 financial statements (p 13). They began the year with a balance in their Boat People Fund of R1 977, and received an additional R2 201 during the year, but their expenditure was merely R74! They give no support to those attempting to bring about political change in Marxist countries like Mozambique." 10

Mr Cain, there has been some evidence in cross-examination by the Council that they could not ^{get} currency, exchange control permission to export the particular money as far as the Boat People are concerned? --- There are other Christian groups in this country who have been working among the Boat People, and I am sure that if they had passed the money onto these groups, it could have got out that way.

Allright? --- (CONTINUES)

"One is forced to conclude that the SACC will only involve itself in humanitarian work if it can 20 make political capital out of it by embarrassing the authorities or expressing support for those opposing the authorities".

Excuse me for interrupting. I was just wondering, if we understand the position correctly as you sketch it, that the SACC is not in agreement with the Government policies, then obviously it would be quite logical to try and show the Government up, would it not? --- This obviously is true. However, to make - to say that you are helping people when in actual fact you are not interested in 30

them/...

them, but your motive is to show up the authorities, seems that you are using people to achieve your own ends, rather than having an interest in helping them.

So do I understand you correctly that you place the emphasis in what you submit to the Commission, that the Commission should consider what the motive behind the activities is, rather than the activities themselves? --- Yes. I touched yesterday on a letter I wrote to Bishop Tutu concerning political dissidents in Mozambique, and perhaps with the Chairman's permission, maybe if I read that letter at this stage, it would throw light on what I am trying to get at here.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, very well? -- On 18 June 1982 I sent the following letter registered and express to The Right Reverend Bishop Tutu, Secretary General, South African Council of Churches, Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg, 2001:

"Dear Bishop

I confirm my telegram of even date in which I informed you that on its 6.30 newscast this morning Radio Mozambique announced that seven men had been sentenced to death by firing squad by a secret revolutionary military tribunal for the crimes of armed rebellion, high treason, mercenaryism (if that word exists in English) belonging to and collaborating with a clandestine organisation, sabotage and terrorism. They are Amaro Tavares da Silva, Ernesto David Mavua, Wilson Chivase Bila, Joaquim Mário Valeia, Mateus Clifford Tembe, Fernando Matique Gundana, Moises Filipe Sitori.

Knowing that you have been very active in campaigning/...

campaigning on behalf of men like Johnson Lubisi, Naphtali Manana and Petrus Tsepo Masingo, who were sentenced to death in South Africa for identical crimes, I would ask you to use your good offices with President Samora Machel to spare the lives of these men and to have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. I recall that you rushed money and lawyers to Botswana to defend men charged with armed robbery, on the grounds that everyone has the right to the best of defence, without you or your Council necessarily condoning 10 or approving of the actions they are alleged to have committed. You also said that the same action would be taken in the case of all people accused of sabotage. As the men condemned in Mozambique do not have the benefit of an open trial or of defence lawyers, for they have been tried by secret military tribunal, we have no means of knowing the extent of their guilt. Their case is therefore more worthy of your intercession and more desperate, because unless you act, these men will die. 20

You will remember that in your letter to President Machel of March 1981, in which you appealed to him not to return South African refugees to this country, was very favourably received. I am therefore certain that he would give very serious consideration to an appeal from you to spare the lives of these men. Finally I appeal to you to treat this matter with the greatest urgency, for in the past death sentences imposed by the military tribunal have been carried out within a week or ten days. I am sure that 30

an urgent telephone call to President Machel will probably save their lives.

I would be most grateful if you could advise me of the action you take, and also the results of your efforts.

Yours sincerely

EDWARD P CAIN"

I received no reply to this letter, to date. As far as I am aware, no action was taken. Certainly - Radio Mozambique announced on 7 July that these men had been executed on 10 22 June, in other words, their deaths took place two weeks after the announcement of their death. On 30 September 1982 another two men were sentenced to death, again for the same type of crimes, again by secret military tribunal, the existence of which again was revealed again only after the sentences were announced, or at the time the sentences were announced. The execution was announced on 9 October. I further draw your attention, Mr Chairman, to the fact that the crimes these people were alleged to have committed, were armed rebellion, high treason, mercenaryism, belonging 20 to and collaborating with a clandestine organisation, espionage and terrorism. There is no indication in this that the actions these men were involved in, resulted in death.

MR VON LIERES: Yes, please carry on? --- Again it is up to the Commission to decide whether support is given for these people for - for certain people accused of this type of action, because the interest is in saving lives, because the interest is in giving them the best possible legal defence, or because there is sympathy with the ideological views of some of these people, and a lack of sympathy for the 30 ideological/...

ideological views of other of these people.

Do you also have attached to this particular letter an extract from the Citizen dated 22 June 1982, an article by Aid Parker with the caption, "Similar Cases, but what a Difference"? --- Right. This is based of course on the same material. May I - Mr Chairman, you must excuse me; I spent ten years in Mozambique; I learned to love the Mozambique people, and the plight that they are in at the moment, burdens my heart. If I can take 5 minutes of your time to recall to you that the Mozambique people have good reason to 10 be dissatisfied with Frelimo rule. Frelimo was imposed ..

CHAIRMAN: Excuse me for interrupting. How does this bear on the activities of the South African Council of Churches? --- The South African Council of Churches claims that the South African society is an oppressive society. Therefore there is justification for those who are dissatisfied with the society, to try and change it and even those who resort to violence. I have some sympathy ..

I was just concerned for a moment about the relevance of what you were going to say. --- Frelimo was imposed 20 on the people of Mozambique by the colonial power without any election or any means of referendum. Although it has been in power now for seven years, Frelimo claims a membership or claims a 100 000 members and candidate members out of a population of 12½ million, which is less than 1% of the population. Yet all the senior posts in Government and the military are filled by Frelimo members. The constitution that Frelimo imposed on the country, lays down that there is only one man who is eligible to be President of the country; that is the man who has already been appointed, 30

the/...

the President of Frelimo. His title is always given as President of Frelimo, President of Mozambique, because his party title takes precedence over his Government title. Machel calls this system the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Frelimo's administration of the country has been so poor, especially in the communal farm system it / ^{has} implemented, that the country which eight years ago was producing sufficient food to feed itself is currently producing one-third, according to Frelimo propaganda, one-third of its cereal requirements. In addition to this there has been suppression of religious liberty, suppression of other freedom; as I mentioned yesterday, children have been taken from their parents and sent thousands of miles away for education. The people of Mozambique therefore have some justification in being unhappy with the system, and perhaps in taking up arms. But these people get no sympathy from the South African Council of Churches, but other people acting in the same manner in other countries, get sympathy. Thank you.

MR VON LIERES: Mr Cain, if we could then just turn to page 5, the first paragraph on page 5 of Appendix E where you deal with the second theological point, namely the concern for the sanctity of marriage, if you would just like to finish that point please? --- (READING)

"A similar anomaly occurs in their concern for the sanctity of marriage. The divorce rate among White South Africans is one of the highest in the world, yet there is no evidence of any concern in this aspect of the sanctity of marriage on the part of the SACC. Nor does it provide an opportunity to embarrass the authorities. In their campaign against migrant

labour, they focus on the separation of husband and wife it entails. They encourage families to follow their husbands in defiance of the influx control regulations, thus creating squatter problems. ('As churchmen we are concerned with the sanctity of marriage by objecting to the separation of mothers and their children from their breadwinners' - '(The women) did not want to work in Cape Town but to live with their husbands there' - Tutu Citizen 2/9/81).

This provides a tremendous opportunity to embarrass the authorities, portray South Africa overseas as an unjust society and a police state, and sow confusion in the minds of South Africans. Their theological justification for this is 'the sanctity of marriage', but as they do not show equal concern for other causes of breakdown of marriage, it appears that their real purpose is to discredit and undermine the authorities".

So you are here focussing again on the motivation? -- Yes, on the motivation. It is two similar cases; they are acting differently.

If we could return to page 38 then? Item G, Attempts to Discredit Government and Defy Law? --- (READING)

"The United Nations has withdrawn recognition of the credentials of the South African delegation because it is considered to represent an illegal regime. The SACC, and the ecumenicals with which it has contact, work in South Africa to make the same point.

1) Thus Dr Allan Boesak, chairman of the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern

Africa (ABRESCA) with which the SACC has close ties, denounces the South African government as 'neither just nor legitimate'. (Rand Daily Mail 28/10/81) He declares that blackness is a state of mind and has nothing to do with skin colour. Thus blacks who have been co-opted into the system cease to be blacks while whites who are committed to breaking down apartheid and creating a new society are considered to be blacks. (Star 30/10/81) 10

This can also be seen in the tremendous support given to the issue of conscientious objection and conflict over Nyanga squatters.

- 2) Rev Peter Storey warned of a serious confrontation with the government and that churches might defy the law. (Star 26/2/81)

This call was repeated at the SACC national conference where a decision was taken urging employers to take steps enabling families of migrants to live with them where they worked. Employers 20 should accept the result of 'this breach of the law'. (Star 9/6/81, Seek June 1981)

- 3) The SACC produced and screened the film 'This We Can Do for Justice and Peace' without submitting it for screening to the Directorate of Publications, apparently in wilful defiance of the law in this respect. (Rand Daily Mail 9/12/81)"

Are you - do you know that the Publications Board has given this film a certificate to be screened? --- Yes, I am aware of that. 30

Are/...

Are you referring to the fact that they did not submit this film to the Publications Board as is required in Section 19 of Act 42 of 1974? --- Yes, this is the point, that here the law, apparently known, was not complied with. It was only after objections were raised that the film was submitted to the authorities.

Yes, carry on? -- (READING)

"H TRADE UNIONS

The SACC has been heavily involved in support for unregistered black trade unions in South Africa, 10 especially in the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA).

Mr Goba Ndhlovu, the information officer of the SACC and editor of both Ecunews and Kairos was sent to the United States to study trade unionism. Some time after he returned, he was moved from the executive of the Southern Transvaal branch to the national executive".

Of what is this now? --- Of MWASA.

Yes? --- (CONTINUES)

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"(Star 16/2/81) He was subsequently appointed acting president (Rand Daily Mail 3/2/81) while still remaining editor of the two SACC publications".

We are aware, of course, that he has since been - he is no longer acting as an employee of the SACC.

Since May 1982? --- Yes.

"On November 26th, 1980, the Star reported that Bishop Tutu refused to comment on rumours that the SACC was funding striking members of Mwasas.

On at least two occasions, he (that is Bishop 30

Tutu/...

Tutu) addressed Mwasas congresses. He urged the first annual congress to write the truth about the blacks, even though this would incur the wrath of the government. (Star 2/2/81) He addressed the fifth annual congress of the Southern Transvaal region on the theme 'Black workers - vehicle for change'. (Star 25/3/81)

The Steyn Commission Report on the Media, described Mwasas as being 'in the process of radicalising black journalists for the purpose of using them as political "shock troops"'. (p 92) 10

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange read out in Parliament a telegram of encouragement sent by Bishop Tutu to Cosas and several unregistered trade unions saying, 'We are on the winning side, nothing will stop us now'. (Rand Daily Mail 11/9/81)

He also said that in August 1981, the SACC invited 11 of the most radical trade unions, some with close links with the ANC ostensibly to discuss pending legislation affecting trade unions. 'At the time, the majority of these trade unions were involved in 20 all types of boycotts and strike action affecting the country's economy'. After the conference the SACC resolved that even though legislation might prohibit certain types of strike action, they would disregard the legislation and support the perpetrators of such illegal strikes financially. (Citizen 11/9/81)

I CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

Conscientious objection is a major theme of the South African Council of Churches and its member churches. 30

Its commission of violence and non-violence disseminates material on the subject to member churches and much publicity is given to the issue and to those who become conscientious objectors. The latter are given all possible help and encouragement, such as church vigils, (Star 9/5/81) while much effort and energy is expended in an attempt to pressure the authorities to exempt from military service all who claim to be conscientious objectors. (Eg Southern Cross 7/6/81, Seek July 1981, Star 12/2/81, 10 9/6/81".

Southern Cross, is that a Roman Catholic publication?

--- That is a Roman Catholic newspaper, yes.

And Seek? --- Seek is the magazine of the Church of Province of Southern Africa, the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

Carry on please? --- (CONTINUES)

"Attention must be given to the basis of the arguments in favour of conscientious objection. Throughout Christian history, there has been a minority 20 conviction that a Christian may never bear arms. There is the position of the pacifist, or universal conscientious objector, who condemns all wars, making no distinction between just or unjust ones. He refuses to kill or defend himself regardless of the situation in which he or his country is found. However, today all the attention is focussed on the selective conscientious objector, the person who objects to a particular war because he considers it to be unjust".

Could I just ask you here, this consideration that a particular war is unjust, is that on the basis of a religious conviction or a political conviction or what? --- There seems to be some confusion here. I noticed a report which I do not have with me, in the paper a day or two back, in which some church leader, I believe it was a Catholic Bishop, commented on suggestions that the Defence Force would give greater consideration to conscientious objectors. He said that the proposals the Defence Force were outlining, were not adequate, because they only took into consideration 10 people who were objecting on religious grounds, and were ignoring those who were objecting on political grounds, and therefore it was not helping their situation. It seems to me that the distinction between objecting to a war as unjust on religious and political grounds, is very, very small.

And do you say that the South African Council of Churches' campaign on conscientious objection includes the ideal of realising provisions to be made for both the political selective objector as well as that of the religious selective objector? --- This has been the impression I have 20 had, and it was confirmed with this report in the paper a day or two back.

Carry on? --- (READING)

"In other words, he can fight without any qualms of conscience in what he considers a just war, but he refuses to assist in one he deems unjust. This issue is therefore taken out of the religious realm and placed into the subjective one of political preference. Thus the campaign is designed to pressure the authorities to understand that in the present 30 circumstances/...

circumstances of our country, conscientious objection can be based on genuine religious and moral grounds'.

(Southern Cross 7/6/81)"

and the moral grounds there seem to open the way in my opinion to non-religious conscientious objection. Those last four words of that page are repeated on the top of the next one, so it should be removed.

"This opens the door for non-religious or atheistic conscientious objection on moral or political grounds.

The consensus of historical Christian teaching 10 has been that defensive wars are considered just, while wars of aggression or conquest, are unjust. The reformers broadly concurred with this position, and, until recent times, the subject has not received much attention in Christian circles.

As South Africa has no intention of absorbing neighbouring countries or parts of them into her territory, but of preserving the established order from attacks originating outside her borders, the conflict she is engaged in would be considered a just war on 20 the basis of this definition.

Over the past century, Marxists have given consideration to the question of just and unjust war. Note the following statement by Mao Tse Tung: 'There are only two kinds of war in history, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust, all revolutionary wars are just'. Speaking about wars of national liberation, Krushchev said, 'The communists support just wars of this kind wholeheartedly and without 30 reservation/...

reservation and they march in the van of people fighting for liberation'. (A Dictionary of Communist English, p 105, 106) In other words, any war which advances the cause of Marxism is a just war. Any war which hinders its advance is an unjust war. On this definition, South Africa is fighting an unjust war".

Is this an illustration of a Christian concept that was taken over by the Marxists? --- I would not perhaps put it quite in this way. It is - I go back to the quotation 10 of Lenin again, in which he said that by changing the content of the message and keeping the vocabulary, you get Christians or religious people to believe anything you want them to believe, and here is an illustration which appears to me, in which it appears to me that the content of the phrase 'just war' has been changed from the traditional Christian interpretation, to an interpretation in line with Marxist thinking, and I see this coming through, as I discussed yesterday, in various words which are precious to Christians. We discussed Marxism and salvation yesterday. 20

Yes, carry on please? --- (READING)

"One of the principles of Liberation Theology is to start with a concrete problem, decide on the solution for that problem, then seek to justify that conclusion theologically. This could be applied to the South African situation in the following way:

Problem: Is the conflict the South African Defence Force engaged in a just or unjust war?

Solution: As the SADF is hindering the cause of national liberation, it is an unjust war. 30

Justification/...

Justification: Because the oppressive minority regime of Pretoria is preventing the majority of the people from attaining their God-given human rights of one-man-one-vote, and is willing to use violence against those seeking to bring about God's will in this respect, the SADF is engaged in an unjust war.

An interpretation of this nature would explain the one-sided interpretation of the conflict that South Africa is engaged in and why, for instance, atrocities committed by the SADF are highlighted while those 10 committed by the 'freedom fighters' are ignored. It would also explain why church groups can cooperate with organisations as the Committee on South African War Resisters (Cosawr) and the South African Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF), which are not pacifist, but give active support to the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe".

In COSWAR the 'a' must just be transposed; the abbreviation is COSWAR. --- Thank you.

"According to the Rand Daily Mail (11/9/81) 20
Samraf and Salscom (South African Liberation Support Committee) have links with the ANC, Swapo, Sojourn Trust, a white American communist organisation, as well as many black revolutionary, radical and communist orientated groups. It also had strong links with Coswar, described as a South African Communist Party front which gets support from the British Communist Party and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Don Morton, the Samraf director, is a former minister of the Methodist Church of South Africa. 30

Samraf's priorities were given as -

- 1) Support for the liberation movements.
- 2) Combat, confront, expose and dismantle the apartheid system on every level.
- 3) Exploit the contradictions within the South African military.
- 4) Effect a significant level of disloyalty among the Citizen Force by demolishing the basis of their loyalty.
- 5) Encourage desertion as a means of undermining 10 troop morale and having a large impact on the white population.

From the above, it is immediately apparent that, consciously or unconsciously, the SACC's support for the cause of conscientious objection and the concept of unjust war readily fits in with the concepts of Samraf and Coswar.

At the recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa (a member both of the WCC and SACC), ministers were urged to 'include discussions 20 on basic ethical issues such as the urgent issues of war, peace and conscientious objection in their instruction for confirmation'. (Citizen 4/11/81)

By introducing conscientious objection and related arguments into confirmation classes, it is elevated to the status of an article of faith, and, as such it will undoubtedly have a profound impact on impressionable children, and lead directly to a sharp increase in the number of conscientious objectors and support for them.

At the same time, the Methodist Church conference adopted a resolution against the rise of militarism in South Africa. (Ecunews 30/10/81)

J PARALLELS WITH AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Although the South African Council of Churches claims to be a religious organisation and to be promoting the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, while the African National Congress is a militantly political organisation, there appears to be a number of parallels between the two organisations. 10

In this respect, we note the following:

- 1) The SACC is a highly politicised organisation which campaigns vigorously for radical (as opposed to cosmetic), political, social and economic change.
- 2) It is highly critical of the government, denouncing and denigrating it in the most exaggerated and emotive terms. It says nothing positive about the government. Its one-sided presentation thus corroborates that of the ANC.
- 3) It never condemns or in any way criticises the 20 ANC or its actions which result in loss of life, except in evan handed terms like, 'We condemn violence practised by both sides'. Its criticism of the government is never balanced in the same way.
- 4) It uses the same terms the ANC uses and analytical methods: Liberation struggle, oppressed masses, oppressive minority regime, the certainty of a black government. It also predicts violence will occur before change is achieved. It comes short, however, of calling for armed violence

to/...

to overthrow the government. It seeks to portray the unrest in South Africa as civil war. It is very critical of capitalism and appears to favour a socialist system.

- 5) It accepts and actively propagates ecumenical concepts such as liberation theology which are based on left-wing/Marxist concepts.
- 6) It openly identifies with the World Council of Churches which actively gives moral and financial support to the ANC. 10
- 7) Its funds are drawn almost exclusively from foreign sources, and the bulk of these funds come from the WCC, its member churches, associated church councils and other organisations which finance the WCC. Many of these organisations also send money and support directly to the ANC.
- 8) It speaks at meetings organised by groups which actively support the ANC and campaign against the South African government. It also associates with such groups in other ways. 20
- 9) It never vigorously attacks Marxist countries. Any criticism of them is very muted.
- 10) Many of the causes it champions are also favoured by the ANC. These include:
 - a) Calls for a national convention to draw up a new constitution.
 - b) Campaigning for the release of Nelson Mandela.
 - c) Calls for non-participation in the Republic Day Festivities on the grounds that the majority of the people were not consulted 30

regarding/....

- regarding the establishment of the Republic.
- d) Publicising the Freedom Charter on the year designated 'Year of the Freedom Charter' by the ANC.
 - e) Calls for Western pressure against South Africa to promote change.
 - f) Calls for economic sanctions.
 - g) Warning that the anger and frustration of the blacks will boil over into violence.
 - h) Predictions that violence will escalate 10 if changes are not made in the way demanded.
 - i) Denials that real change is taking place in South Africa and affirmations that the position of blacks is actually deteriorating.
 - j) Claims that the blacks are suffering, being oppressed, paid starvation wages, denied advancement and that their lives are being deliberately destroyed by government policy.
 - k) Insistence on equal political rights for all in a single unitary state. 20
 - l) Condemnation of the economic system and calls for its replacement by a more egalitarian one.
 - m) Condemnation of the homelands policy and those who have opted for it.
 - n) It vigorously advocates conscientious objection on the basis of 'unjust war', i.e. a war designated to preserve a system that is unjust and therefore indefensible".

Mr Cain, sorry, just one little question: I suppose that if you find yourself in opposition to a particular 30 government/...

government and there is another party that finds itself also in opposition to the particular government, and both of you wish to govern one day, then as a matter of logic, your objectives should be reasonably similar? --- That is true. Nevertheless I think it is well to note the parallels between the two organisations, especially as the one claims to be a Christian organisation and the other claims to be a political organisation. It is obvious that in these things, political parties in South Africa also agree.

Excuse me? --- I was just saying that some of these points are also supported by political parties in South Africa, legal political parties.

Yes, please carry on? --- (READING)

"K ILLUSTRATIONS OF OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT
AND SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

It appears that the end objectives of the South African Council of Churches and those of the African National Congress are the same and that these organisations, the one lawfully and the other unlawfully seem to run parallel to one another in striving to attain their end goals with the one major exception that the SACC has not committed itself to violence.

1 THE RAID ON ANC BASES IN MOZAMBIQUE

The South African Defence Force raid on the ANC base in Matola on 30 January 1981 was an outstanding success. Conversely the ANC suffered a major military and propaganda defeat. In order to minimise the effects of this defeat, especially on the propaganda front, it was necessary to denigrate the SA Defence Force and make as much capital out of the attack as

possible/...

possible by focussing attention on the dead and portraying them as heroes and martyrs. In this the SACC played an outstanding role. Firstly, the SACC showed their displeasure by postponing indefinitely their meeting with the Defence Force planned for 24th February 1981. (Star 12/2/81)".

Was that the meeting with the Chaplain General? Was that the meeting that was supposed to have taken place with the Chaplain General? --- Was it with the Chaplain General? I understood that it was to be with members of the 10 Defence Force. I do not recall whether it was the Chaplain General.

Carry on? --- (READING)

"Then memorial services were planned for those who died in the raid. When these were quite correctly banned, Bishop Tutu lashed out at the ban (Star 16/2/81) and went ahead and organised a single service in defiance of the ban in the biggest building available in Soweto. Because the service was held in a church and 18 priests took part, the authorities, 20 presumably fearing charges of interfering in the freedom of religion, turned a blind eye. Although the service had an appearance of being religious, its purpose was purely political - to denounce the authorities and honour the ANC dead thereby redeeming some of the lost prestige by holding an ANC orientated meeting in the heart of Soweto in defiance of the authorities. It was a major propaganda victory.

The following points should be noted:

- a) Although members of the Defence Force were 30 killed/...

killed, the service honoured only the ANC dead.

- b) The communist salute (a clenched fist raised against Heaven) was given.
- c) The man who apparently was the main speaker, is a political personality, not a religious one - Dr Nthatao Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten.

Dr Motlana said blacks saluted those who had vowed to fight for their country and its liberation. 'What happened in Mozambique was pure, unmitigated, first- 10 degree murder. There was no excuse'. He warned the Government to take note of the contrasting reaction to the raid of white and black South Africans. 'The reaction of both groups typifies the great division in this country. When the whites praise the so-called security forces, we blame them for the deaths'.

Bishop Tutu said that South Africans were being killed by other South Africans (i e it was civil war). 'Do not forget we can be provoked. Those whose newspapers call people terrorists should realise that they are 20 our fathers, sons and brothers'.

Rev Mashai Tema, acting chairman of the Broederkring, with which the SACC has close ties, presided. He said the service was to mourn the death of those killed by the SADF 'for no apparent reason'. 'We abhor provocation by anyone upon anyone. We abhor provocation from outside or from within our country and we condemn any government that will make itself an enemy of anyone on the sub-continent'. Whereas whites regarded the dead ANC men as terrorists, blacks saw them 30

as 'freedom fighters' and when white society referred to them as 'dead terrorists', blacks looked up to them as 'martyrs'. (Star 23/2/81)

It must be stressed that the SACC has never organised services to honour those killed by terrorists, whether they were victims of the Goch Street, Silverton incidents or off duty black policemen killed at home. Nor have they mourned missionaries killed in Rhodesia or dissidents executed in Mozambique. They appear to differentiate between the killing of terrorists and the killing by terrorists, between those fighting to impose socialism and those fighting against it.

The Anglican magazine SEEK (April 1981) reproduced without comment an editorial from the Eastern Province Herald which made the following points:

'People who regard the Soweto memorial service for the dead blacks simply as a posturing by radicals like Bishop Tutu and Dr Motlana should pause. The belief among blacks that the real heroes are the ANC men, that their cause was just and that God was on their side may surprise whites. Whether the belief is right or wrong it is not the point. What has to be taken account of is whether the belief is genuinely and widely held'.

'Bishop Tutu has been saying startling things ... blacks in the uniform of the South African Defence Force are seen as traitors ... South Africa is not worth fighting for ... Most black support the ANC ... The Maputo dead are our sons'.

On March 2nd, 1981, Bishop Tūtu wrote to the President of Mozambique ostensibly expressing 'our heartfelt thanks and that of most South African Christians to you, your government and your people for all that you have done and continue to do for the refugees from South Africa in your country'. (Star 20/3/81)

What appears to be the key sentence states: 'You have put your country in line for possible action by the armed forces of South Africa. Accept our gratitude and please make known as widely as possible in your country that this expression of appreciation is coming from South African Christians'. (Citizen 21/3/81)

The following points must be stressed:

- a) As the letter was written after the raid on the ANC in Mozambique, it appears to look back on a concrete event rather than to future possibilities.
- b) The 'refugees' in Mozambique are not true refugees in the sense of the Vietnamese people who were fleeing from a totalitarian regime in order to try and rebuild their lives in a free society. They are militants dedicated to the overthrow of the South African political, social and economic systems, and are actively planning and training to accomplish that goal.
- c) The SA raiding party brought back ample evidence that the houses they hit belonged to communist armed and trained militants who were engaged in attacks against South Africa."

We have got two lines there, I think, which - the last sentence, the full sentence:

"The letter pointedly ignores the distinction between refugees and militants.

d) The letter was written after a rally held in Maputo on February 15th, 'to inform the people about the South African raid'. At the rally, Machel declared that the fight was not between the people of South Africa and Mozambique, but between the people of South Africa and Mozambique 10 on the one side and the racist minority government on the other. By expressing support in the name of a large segment of South Africa's population for a country hostile to South Africa, the letter confirms this interpretation, implying that an embattled government is being tossed on the sea of an oppressed majority.

e) As Mozambique is hostile to South Africa and very sympathetic to the ANC, it appears highly unlikely that it would hand back refugees, thus making 20 the letter unnecessary. Therefore the reference to the refugees seems to be a pretext - the real purpose appears to have been to boost Mozambique's morale.

Certainly this is how the Mozambican authorities understood the letter which they 'highly appreciated'. In response to this letter, Radio Mozambique on 19th March 1981 read an official communiqué stating, 'The letter from His Excellency the General Secretary of the South African Council of 30

Churches is a demonstration of the determined commitment of the broadest spectrum of the South African society to the struggle against the apartheid regime and constituted a clear recognition of the justness of the sacrifices that the free people of Southern Africa are making to fulfil their duty of solidarity towards the oppressed and humiliated people of South Africa'.

The Mozambican authorities saw Bishop Tutu's letter as confirming the justness of the struggle the 10 'frontline states' are engaged in to 'liberate South Africa'. (Encounter April 1981) In other words, they interpreted the letter as a plea from the South African people who are wanting to be liberated.

To them the message of the letter then was very clear - stand firm. Do not waver, even in the face of military action. Encourage your people by telling them that the bulk of South Africans are on your side. 20

Giving encouragement to a government which is actively aiding and abetting those involved in armed violence aimed at overthrowing the government of your country must surely be looked on in a very serious light. Again it appears that moral support is being given by the SACC to the cause of the ANC.

As already pointed out, Bishop Tutu and the SACC have never sent any word of encouragement to Christians in Mozambique who are being persecuted. 30

That/...

That word goes to their persecutor! This is yet another confirmation that the SACC has no interest in a spiritual, God-centred Christianity, which implies church services, sacraments, instruction of children and youth in the faith. These things are denied in Mozambique but bring no condemnation, for they are considered minor matters. The construction of a socialist system is considered all important and is supported in Mozambique and those seeking to impose it on South Africa through the barrel of the gun appear supported also.

Finally, the letter makes it clear that it was written on the specific instructions of the executive of the SACC at its meeting on 23-25th February 1981. It therefore reflects not only Bishop Tutu's personal view, but also the official position of the SACC through its highest organ, the executive.

Similar letters were sent to the heads of Zimbabwe and Botswana but were apparently sent much later.²⁰ (Rand Daily Mail 28/4/81, Star 5/5/81). They did not appear to have contained the statement regarding 'possible action by the armed forces of South Africa'.

3 ASSISTING COMMUNIST ARMED BANK ROBBERS

The South African Council of Churches paid for the defence of five men charged with robbing a bank in Botswana of R22 161 and being in possession of large quantities of Russian arms and ammunition. The men were all members of the banned South African

Students' / ...

Students' Movement. The defence was conducted by the SACC's regular lawyers, Bowens of Johannesburg. In an interview with the Sunday Times (26/7/81) Bishop Tutu explained that he had received an anonymous letter from Botswana delivered by hand requesting help. In spite of the fact that they were charged with a common criminal offence in a foreign country and had weapons of war, he was prepared to defend them, because they were South Africans 'and South Africans of a particular order'. Asked whether people alleged to have committed sabotage and living in a foreign country could expect similar help, he replied, 'You can say the same thing of all people accused of sabotage'. He justified the decision saying, 'It was felt they were refugees and we are interested in beginning a ministry among refugees', and that the church 'had an obligation to minister' to refugees. Again there is a deliberate attempt to broaden the term 'refugee' to embrace not only those who have fled from their own country and are destitute, but also vigorous young men who have received military and ideological training, have been provided with weapons of war, and sent to overthrow the government of their country by force of arms".

Again we contrast this with what we said a little earlier on, that Bishop Tutu can act on an anonymous letter handed in by hand, but he cannot act on a telegram and registered letter sent with a signature and address.

"During the trial it was stated that the arms were to be sent to South Africa for its 'liberation'. 30

(Star/...

(Star 8/10/81). The court acquitted the men on the charge of bank robbery, but found them guilty of possessing weapons of war.

Despite Bishop Tutu's clever words, this action can only be interpreted as an expression of support for those engaged on such a mission and an assurance that help will be forthcoming for any who have similar difficulties in the future. Similar assistance had been given in South African courts. It should also be noted that the decision to defend these men was not taken by the Bishop alone, but that it had been discussed and agreed upon by the SACC.

The Director of the SACC's Mission and Evangelism Commission, the Rev Sol Jacob, was held in detention for 45 days and then had his passport confiscated after travelling to Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Zambia to preach to and collect information on South African 'refugees' living in those countries. (Citizen 13/8/81)

4 FATHER MICHAEL LAPSLEY, SSM 20

Father Lapsley is a priest of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican) and is described as a South African in exile in Lesotho. According to the Herald (14/4/81) he joined the African National Congress while on a brief visit to Zimbabwe.

Father Lapsley is being used to promote ANC propaganda and on February 2nd and 9th, broadcast a two-part interview over Radio Mozambique's English language external programme. (See APPENDIX F)

During the course of the interview, he was asked, 30

Father/...

'Father Lapsley, you are a member of the ANC. Would you, personally, be prepared to engage in violent struggle, if it comes to that?' He replied, 'The day I decided to join the African National Congress, it meant I made commitments to both the kind of society that the African National Congress is committed to, but also to accept the command of the organisation and its methods of achieving justice. So I accept the full implications of being a member of the African National Congress and the methodology of armed 10 struggle in order to achieve those aims. So the answer is, yes'."

THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED

ON RESUMPTION:

MR VON LIERES: Mr Chairman, the abbreviation PACSA that was referred to earlier, on page - that was in Annexure "E" if I remember correctly, Annexure "E", the fourth paragraph, PACSA; the correct name for this abbreviation is PIETERMARITZBURG AGENCY FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. We have told the Commission it was the Pietermaritzburg Agency for 20 Social Change. That is not correct. It is the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Change in South Africa.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

EDWARD PHILLIP CAIN, still under oath:

MR VON LIERES: You may proceed, page 49? --- Under Father Michael Lapsley then, towards the end of the page:

"Other points he made were:

'I eventually came to the conclusion, painfully, that it was necessary for Christians to join the armed struggle, in order to love our neighbour in 30

South/...

South Africa. So, for me, joining the African National Congress and becoming committed to its revolutionary programme and the armed struggle as a method of achieving a free and just society is an expression of my belief and my faith as a Christian'.

'In South Africa .. it's become necessary even to kill in order to stop the massive killings once and for all'.

'We are seeing now, Christians realising that if they are opposed to apartheid, it must show in their 10 lives. If you like, they're reflecting more the 'unity in action' theme of the ANC. For example, just recently there has been increasing talk of civil disobedience, or people actively opposing unjust laws, or people refusing to accept the group areas act which keeps people racially divided in residential areas, or people saying, look, if a black person and a white person fall in love, ministers of religion should marry them, and increasing support for those communities which are opposing forced removals'.

20

'That, of course, is the reason why Christians in increasing numbers, in their thousands, and soon in their millions, will join the African National Congress, to put in concrete form their Christian beliefs in the brotherhood of man and in a common humanity'.

'(The International Christian community) is making common cause with those who are trying to create the kind of society which we see portrayed in the Freedom Charter - a fundamentally just society, a human society, and for Christians, the kind of society which 30 Christians would call the Kingdom of God'.

It/...

It should be noted that Father Lapsley is saying much the same thing that the SACC is saying.

As far back as 1979, Father Lapsley, together with another radical Anglican priest, Father John Osmers, sent an open letter to the then Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Bill Burnett, expressing their wholehearted support for the World Council of Churches and the Programme to Combat Racism. It criticised the Archbishop for failing to give his full support for the Programme to Combat Racism, and asked 10 him not to issue any further statements against. As far as can be ascertained, he complied with their request.

The letter, dated 5th January 1979, was reproduced in its entirety (4 pages) a week later in Ecunews (12/1/79) as well as being high-lighted in a long article in the same issue. The letter is based solidly on Liberation Theology and is a perfect example of its practical application to the South African situation. It uses the Marxist concepts of 20 the liberation struggle; of institutional violence giving rise to revolutionary violence, the class struggle and the concept that unless the Church actively participates in the liberation struggle, it is deemed to have identified itself with the oppressive regime.

No action has been taken to censure Father Lapsley for joining the ANC or for distancing the Anglican Church from his views.

It would appear that Father Lapsley will be used to play a major role in applying liberation 30

theology/...

theology to the situation in South Africa. He will argue that the only acceptable Christian position is that of unconditional support for the ANC. In this he will play a role in the South African context, similar to that played in South America by revolutionary Roman Catholic priests, such as Camilo Torres who called for the formation of a national army of liberation to start a 'people's war' for the overthrow of the bourgeois state in Colombia. He joined the guerrillas and was killed in a clash with security forces. (See Norman p 30-31)

It should be remembered that the Church of the Province of Southern Africa is one of the most important churches in the SACC. The new Archbishop of Cape Town is an Honorary Life President of the SACC, and his appointment was warmly commented on by Bishop Tutu during his report to the National Conference. (Ecunews 22/5/81 p 17) His appointment was also announced by Kairos (5/6/81) with front page banner headlines, 'SACC Friend Becomes Archbishop'. 20

Father Lapsley's understanding of Christianity stands in stark contrast with Dr Norman's:

'A reading of the Gospels ... will reveal the true Christ of history in the spiritual depiction of a man who directed others to turn away from the preoccupations of human society. ... Jesus initiated a ministry ... by a call to personal redemption, to the renunciation of sin, and a departure from the world's values. It was also a rejection of the politicised official religion of his day. Time was 30

short/...

short; eternity pressed near... He spoke of the urgent need for man to give us their worldly concerns and even, if need be, to leave family and employment for His sake ... Jesus called us to a Kingdom which was not of this world; one, nevertheless, which men enter, while still on earth, by contemporary understanding of Christianity, with its ready endorsement of today's expectations to higher living standards, its consecration of the political moralising of the secular intelligence, its belief in a real and actual 10 kingdom of righteousness set up on earth, by armed guerrillas and Marxist intellectuals'. (p 78)

5 LINKS WITH TRANSAFRICA

When Bishop Tutu's passport was withdrawn, it was announced that he had been scheduled to go to Washington in May and June 1981 to address the Coalition of Black Labour Unions and the TransAfrican dinner. (Star 22/4/81) The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists has been described as 'an organisation in which CPUSA (Communist Party USA) veterans and militants 20 continue to play leading roles' including Charles Hayes, an activist in the CPUSA's trade union front, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy. (Red Locusts p 79)

TransAfrica is a political pressure group which supports Marxist terrorist groups in Southern Africa and appears to work for change along the lines sought by the Soviet Union. Several of its directors have in the past been involved with fronts and causes of the CPUSA. These include Carlton Goodlett, 30

Vice President of the World Peace Council and Courtland Cox of the Institute for Policy Studies.

It was at a conference entitled 'Building Forces Against United States Support for South Africa' held in Washington on 8th June 1981, co-sponsored by TransAfrica and Southern Africa Support Project, that TransAfrica's director, Randall Robinson, released confidential State Department documents, including summaries of meetings between the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Affairs, Chester Crocker, 10 and SA officials. Presumably this is the conference at which Bishop Tutu was to have spoken. Speakers who took part included Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC; Moses Garoeb, administrative secretary of Swapo; Akporode Clark, Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and Canon Robert Powell, director Africa office of the National Council of Churches.

The participants included a mixture of radical academics, anti-South African activists, large delegations of ANC and Swapo members, some African 20 and UN diplomats, leading members of Soviet-controlled international Communist front organisations and some US Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries. The stated purpose of the conference was to alter US foreign policy along the lines favourable to ANC and Swapo and to declare economic and political warfare against South Africa. (For further details, see 'Red Locusts' pp 39-43)

This conference was the first of a series of three.

The second, a 'Conference on Public Investment 30

and/...

and South Africa was held at the United Nations, New York, on June 12-13th, 1981. Eight of the nine groups organising the conference, including TransAfrica, are members of the Campaign Against Investment in South Africa. It also had the support of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid. The purpose of the conference was to initiate a 'legislative campaign in the US against public investment in SA' and its goal was to ban 'investment of state monies and pension funds in any companies doing business with 10 South Africa or Namibia or from placing public funds in any bank making loans to South Africa or to American companies doing business there'. Georgia State Senator, Julian Bond, echoed Bishop Tutu's words saying that the economic campaign must 'end US complicity in perpetuation of the most vicious government on the face of the earth'.

The following statement should be noted, 'While the ANC and Swapo toured the United States in an effort to give impetus and direction to the campaign 20 to influence US public opinion and foreign policy, the US activists who arranged the ANC/Swapo tour intensified the economic campaign in America to help weaken the terrorists' targets'. (See Red Locusts ps 44-48)

Had Bishop Tutu been in America at the time, there is no doubt that he would have added his considerable weight to the conference and to the campaign. It would also have been an excellent opportunity for behind-the-scenes consultation and for the 30

co-ordination/...

co-ordination and planning of future action".

It will be remembered that Bishop Tutu has just returned to South Africa from going to America, and when he came back, he spoke at a press conference at the airport, and at the SACC headquarters, saying that he had contacted members of the ANC overseas and that whenever he goes overseas, he contacts members of the ANC.

"The third conference 'In Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa' (October 9-11th, 1981) was organised from the United Methodist Office for the United Nations and co-sponsored by the ANC and Swapo. The conference was initiated by the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, which was in turn organised by two Soviet front organisations the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation. The conference's purpose was to 'spur the mobilisation of maximum national support for the liberation movements at this critical stage in the Reagan administration's formulation of foreign policy'. It would be 'a watershed in the efforts ... to combat current US policy trends'. Conference co-ordinator was Carl Bloice, member of the CPUSA's central committee and editor of their 'People's World'. Sponsors included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Randall Robinson of TransAfrica. (For further details see Red Locusts ps 48-53)".

I would like to point out at this stage that in September the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat

Racism announced the grants for this year, as I said previously, over R200 000 went to three African liberation movements so-called, in Southern Africa, the ANC, the PAC and SWAPO. The two largest grants, from the 1982 Programme to Combat Racism, went to two Washington-based political pressure groups, one of which was TransAfrica, and the money was given to influence United States' foreign policy towards Southern Africa. So the Programme to Combat Racism is operating on two fronts; it is giving money to liberation movements in Africa, and giving money to support groups and political pressure 10 groups in Western countries. I do not have the details with me at the moment. I can bring them at a later stage.

Where do you get the details from? --- The World Council of Churches, when it makes the grants, publishes a list of the grants and the descriptions of the organisations receiving the grants.

Do you have a copy of the September 1982 .. --- I have a copy of it. Just let me see - I do not think I have something here. I do. My present publication is called Signposts, and I commented on the grants in the latest 20 issue. I will read them from here, the quotations.

"Outside of Southern Africa, the two largest grants go to political pressure groups in the United States; TransAfrica receives R30 000 for the continued employment of two legislative assistants responsible for tracking policies and preparing testimonies and policy decisions on issues affecting Africa and the Caribbean. The Washington Office on Africa gets R15 000 to initiate crucial new programmes and strengthen existing ones which encourage progressive 30

US foreign policy towards Southern Africa";

Red Locusts commenting on the Washington Office for Africa, says that it has consistently supported US policies favourable to African revolutionary and terrorist groups; it was founded by the American Committee on Africa, which has been described as 'perhaps the most influential US support group for Soviet-backed revolutionary and terrorist groups in Africa'. Walter Sisulu, one-time General Secretary of the ANC and a member of the South African Communist Party, was a key figure in its founding. Its Executive Director 10 is Jennifer Davis, a White South African exile. How the American Government can allow foreign funds to be used to pay for salaries of men involved in political pressure groups in the United States, is something I cannot explain.

Do you - this is obviously - it appears to be an extract of comment from the - from a WCC publication? --- Yes, from the World Council of Churches' publication, yes.

Are you possessed of that publication? --- I do, but I do not have it here.

Could you perhaps at a convenient stage make it 20 available to the Commission for insight? --- I will do that.

"6 BBC INTERVIEW

In June 1981, the BBC broadcast an interview with Bishop Tutu by Robin White concerning a letter purporting to come from the ANC thanking the Bishop for assistance given. He considered the letter to be spurious, an attempt by those sympathetic with the South African authorities to discredit him and make him liable for a jail sentence. Bishop Tutu then made the following statement. 'I am quite sure it 30 isn't from people one would consider to be our

friends/...

friends, it could not be from people who are involved in our liberation struggle. It must be from enemies of the struggle'. He appears to be saying that the ANC, those engaged in the liberation struggle, are his friends.

7 STAR REPORT

Full weight should also be given to the following report which appeared in the Star. (28/10/81)

'The Star has seen documents indicating that the banned African National Congress raised queries over the 10 organisation's (SACC's) assistance to the families of ANC-oriented detainees as early as 1978.

'It also has information that an alleged ANC agent, operating under the guise of a journalist, probed the SACC's financial affairs. Before starting work in South Africa, he made a two-month trip at his own expense to investigate forty-two SACC projects in South Africa. These were being funded from overseas, mainly from West Germany. The person concerned, who has since left South Africa, then made a close 20 study of SACC affairs while working as a journalist over a period of about 18 months.

'The Star has confirmed information that the ANC has in fact also called upon the International Universities Exchange Fund, which has since collapsed, to undertake a special investigation on how the SACC was handling financial aid to the families of detainees in South Africa and suggested that aid should be channelled through other sources'.

Speaking in parliament on September 10th, 1981, Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Police, said that the previous March Radio Mozambique said that during an overseas visit Bishop Tutu had met the leaders of the ANC and PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) and had a mandate from them to act as their representative within the country. (Ecunews 18/9/81 p 28)

On his return from visiting the United States in September 1982, Bishop Tutu said that he had met Mr John Makatini, an ANC representative at the United Nations Headquarters (Star 18/9/82). According to the report 'Bishop Tutu said he had always made clear that in his trips abroad he met ANC representatives'.

At a subsequent news conference he was reported as saying that the ANC was prepared to lay down arms immediately if the Government invited it to a conference with the sole purpose of dismantling apartheid. He understood this from Mr John Makhathini, an ANC representative at the United Nations. He added that the ANC did not have blood-thirsty people, but 'human beings who wanted apartheid to be dismantled'.

This appears to be a message then from the ANC to the South African people.

"(Star 21/9/82)

L SACC/AND ACTIVITIES SYNCHRONISED

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange perceived that by promoting the activities of Bishop Tutu and the SACC, certain aims and objectives of the ANC were also promoted, that the SACC was using funds from overseas to launch and support actions and activities which/...

18

which were in no way different from those of the ANC, and that in the majority of cases these actions and activities were closely related and synchronised with those of the ANC.

He added that ...

- 1) In spite of never having uttered a word of criticism about the terrorist activities of the ANC, Bishop Tutu seemed to find it strange that he should be accused of harbouring pro-ANC sympathies.
- 2) Bishop Tutu preached disinvestment, knowing that 10 the blacks would be the first to suffer and that such a policy would increase the revolutionary climate in South Africa and that the ANC and SA Communist Party had propagated this policy since 1961.
- 3) The SACC had initiated and supported projects to assist national service dodgers and deserters and supported civil disobedience programmes in an effort to undermine the morale and preparedness of the police and defence force.
- 4) Initiated and supported programmes designed to create an alternative education system for blacks.
- 5) Financed all and sundry involved in the misuse and abuse for their own political ends of sensitive issues such as the squatter and resettlement problems.
- 6) Bishop Tutu had told the United Nations to exert political diplomatic and especially economic pressure on South Africa at the same time as the ANC were engineering attempts at the United Nations 30

to/...

to isolate South Africa economically.

- 7) The SACC had invited all 11 of the most radical trade unions, some of which had close ties with the ANC trade union wing Sactu to a conference at its headquarters in August, ostensibly to discuss pending legislation affecting trade unions, at a time when these trade unions were involved in strikes and boycotts affecting the economy.
- 8) After this conference the SACC resolved that even though legislation might prohibit certain types¹⁰ of strike action, they would disregard the legislation and support illegal strikers financially.
- 9) The SACC and Bishop Tutu favour and/or support subversive elements and encourages the build-up of a revolutionary climate.
- 10) To do all these things, the SACC did not rely on their own funds, but depended mainly, if not exclusively, on the World Council of Churches and other foreign religious and secular sources. (Citizen, Star and Pretoria News 11/9/81) 20
In his defence of Bishop Tutu, the President of the SACC, Rev Peter Storey, said, 'I want to state categorically that Bishop Desmond Tutu's task is to carry out the politics of this Council, which is set by its executive at its national conference, representative of its member-churches. It is a task which he has and is discharging honourably'. (Ecunews 18/9/81) This is typical of statements issued by the SACC when Bishop Tutu is criticised. They endorse his words and actions, denying that anything he says or does is out 30

of line with the policy of the SACC, confirming that he is representing fully the wishes of the Council. It is therefore not possible to distinguish between Bishop Tutu and the SACC executive. Rather he should be seen as a faithful servant accurately reflecting its views.

It would, however, be correct to distinguish between the views of the Council and the views of the broad majority of the members of its member-churches. Dr Norman said of the WCC ... 'Its officials ... are clearly more advanced in their politicisation and their preparedness to identify Christianity with political change than the members of their constituent churches'. (p 16) The same could be said of the SACC.

Following a later speech by Mr Le Grange, Bishop Tutu accused him of being an 'insufferable bore', stated that he 'needs a course in logic' and suggest that 'Mr Le Grange try to act and speak a little more responsible'. (Rand Daily Mail 20 22/10/81)

At no stage, however, did the SACC attempt to answer the specific accusations made by the Minister".

The man who was then the Minister of State Administration, Dr Andries Treurnicht -

" .. ably summed up the position: 'The Church also knows that it is not called upon to be co-governor of the country and that its offices were not established for that purpose. Its authority differs substantially/...

substantially from the authority of the government'.

'Do not confuse the ordinary liberal creed of equality with the Christian doctrine that people will be received into the Kingdom without distinction'. (Citizen 4/11/81)

It is clear that if the State accedes to every political demand made by the Church, we are in danger of reverting to the medieval situation in which attempts were made to subordinate the State politically to the Church, notwithstanding the teachings of 10 the Church's theologians.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that the primary functions of the Church and its leadership are in spiritual matters, not temporal. The Scriptures teach that God had delegated the oversight of temporal affairs to secular authorities. In a society in which Christians predominate, many in high office would themselves be Christian lay people. The distinction between the spiritual functions of the Christian ministry and the temporal functions of the Christian 20 laity say nothing of the superiority of the one over the other. What is vital is that neither attempts to usurp the proper authority of the other.

The consequences of ecclesiastical dominance in temporal affairs have been disastrous throughout Christian history, and calamitous in the recent experience of Africa. It should be noted that, while political leaders are accountable to their constituents, Church leaders are humanly accountable to no-one at all, and indeed may be found at the other side of the globe when the bloody consequences of their policies 30

come/...

come to fruition.

In considering the worldwide ecumenical movement, I am reminded of the warning the Apostle Peter issued concerning false teachers who will 'despise government. Presumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignatories' and because of their words and actions, 'the way of truth shall be evil spoken of' (II Peter 2:10,2).

VI CONCLUSION

In closing, Sir, may I suggest that your Commission considers the following questions:

Is it not true that historically a united Church/State situation has very often proved unhealthy?

Has it not tended to produce a total lack of balance leading to the adoption of a single viewpoint thus becoming intolerant of those holding a different one?

By overly stressing the political at the cost of the spiritual, has the South African Council of Churches not overstepped the bounds of the Church's traditional sphere of responsibility by becoming overly involved in the secular?

Is the SACC not constantly overstating its case as far as conditions and developments in South Africa are concerned?

Is it not also constantly overstating its case regarding the membership figures of its member churches and the number of South Africans on whose behalf it claims to speak?

Considering its development, especially its funding, and remembering that its first full-time General

Secretary/...

Secretary was paid by the British Council of Churches, can it not be fairly asked whether the SACC is truly a South African organisation?

As many South African Christians, even the members of its member churches, reject the creed and direction of the SACC, can it not be stated that it does not have the undivided loyalty of South African Christians?

Can the SACC not be seen as a political institution operating under the guise of a religious body? 10

Or, considering that R1 427 913 or just over 50% of its 1980 budget, was expended in Grants and Donations, should it not rather be regarded as a welfare organisation?

Some years ago, the ecumenicals called for a 'moratorium', for Third World Churches to stop depending on First World Churches for finances. It appears to me, Sir, that in no other Third World country is the Christian Church better able to put this call into effect than in South Africa. Would it not 20 be well for the South African Council of Churches to implement this call by cutting itself off from all foreign funds? In this way, it would be acting in accordance with the directives of the ecumenical movement and, by depending solely on funds raised from South Africans, demonstrate that it is acceptable to South African Christians and therefore entitled to speak on their behalf."

Mr Cain, I have just one question, on page 48. Right at the top you are dealing with the position in 30

Mozambique? -- Yes.

Coming from the previous page; in your second line you talk of construction of the socialist system is considered to be all important and is supported in Mozambique. Do you intend to convey the implications of the socialist system or a Marxist system there? --- One appreciates that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is what one considers a Marxist or Communist country. However, they use the word 'Socialist'. While we may interpret socialism differently, the Communists use it interchangeably with a Marxist state. 10

I see. Thank you. --- Could I perhaps with the Chairman's permission just look briefly again at page 16 and 17? What I have on these pages is the report or a summary of some of the findings from the recommendations of the World Council of Churches' World Consultation on Racism held in the Netherlands in June of 1980, in which they set out the World Council of Churches' Programme for the 80's. Now, it is appreciated that the Programme to Combat Racism did not begin at this stage, so what we have in 1980 then is an evaluation of the previous 10 or 12 years of the Programme to 20 Combat Racism, an alignment of its strategy for the new year, the new decade. The recommendations I have on the last part of it, the last half of the page, include some items which I think having looked now at the memorandum I presented, we can see are paralleled by the actions of the South African Council of Churches in this country, and of course we remember that there were representatives of the South African Council of Churches at this consultation. Recommendations for instance include,

"We call for comprehensive sanctions against 30

South/...

South Africa:

- withdrawal of all investments;"

These we have seen in some form or other coming from South African - SACC sources; I am not sure that we have seen too much about the arms embargo and the oil embargo, but certainly, generally to call for the complete isolation of South Africa, economically, politically, culturally and diplomatically, we certainly have seen.

"We call upon the WCC to urge member churches and all Christians to withdraw their investments from banks which continue to give South Africa loans",

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again we have seen something on this line.

"We recommend an increase in the moral and material support for the national liberation movements",

possibly we have seen indications on this line.

"We strongly recommend the PCR to focus on Southern Africa as a matter of priority and particularly to implement the group recommendations on Namibia and South Africa";

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again we have seen things on this line.

"We call upon the WCC and its member churches to promote the collection and dissemination of counter-information regarding the struggle against apartheid in which the people of Namibia and South Africa are engaged";

again we have seen the SACC putting over one particular picture of the situation in South Africa.

"In considering the situation, the churches in South Africa are confronted with the question of a 'just rebellion'. In the light of the above, we in

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this/...

this consultation urge the WCC and its member churches to condemn";

we have seen mention of the just rebellion;

"the development of a black middle class as a buffer";

I do not know that we have particularly seen that;

"the constellation of Southern African states as envisaged by the South African regime";

the SACC certainly does not go along with that;

"the concept of Bantustans and particularly Bantustan leaders like Chief Buthelezi";

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we are aware that Bishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi are constantly at loggerheads;

"the artificial creation of an urban/rural division of the Black population",

then moving down the page to no 5,

"Pressure on the United Nations Security Council to implement UN Resolution 435 (1978)",

the Namibia Council of Churches which has strong ties with the South African Council of Churches, is constantly pressing for the implementation of this resolution, and 9,

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"In order to manifest the churches' unity, the WCC and its member churches should unequivocally and as an article of faith, reject the apartheid system";

this as I say, came out in June of 1980, and apartheid as a heresy has become very important in South Africa over the last few months. I would like to hand in to the Commission a copy of the Journal for Contemporary History of December 1980; there is a long article in here called The South African Council of Churches and Disinvestment by Dirk Thomas who shows some of these items, especially disinvestment, 30

in a way a lot more eloquently and a lot more authoritatively than I can put it over. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: We will receive this publication. Anything further?

MR VON LIERES: Not from my side, Mr Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: I would suggest in view of the programme as Your Lordship has indicated, that the auditor to be cross-examined on Monday, that Your Lordship will excuse Mr Cain until such time as it is convenient for the Commission to receive him to be cross-examined? 10

CHAIRMAN: We intend on Monday to first of all permit cross-examination of the accountant who has given evidence. That may well take some time; it will take most of Monday and possible Tuesday, all of Tuesday. Thereafter we intend to allow Mr Kentridge to ask you questions. Will you make yourself available to be present for that purpose, after the accountant has given evidence? I suggest you remain in touch with Mr Marais, the Secretary of the Commission, who will tell you how things are developing.

THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED TO 1 NOVEMBER 1982

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