

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

HELD AT PRETORIA

ON 3 NOVEMBER 1982

CHAIRMAN:

THE HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE C F ELOFF

COMMISSIONERS:

MR S A PATTERSON

MR T L BLUNDEN

PROF P OOSTHUIZEN

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CHIEF INVESTIGATING OFFICER:

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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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EDWARD PHILIP CAIN, still under oath -

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KENTRIDGE: Mr Cain, you were editor of the magazine Encounter which was the organ of the Christian League of South Africa. -- That is so, yes.

Now my Learned Friend, Mr Von Lieres, at the outset of your evidence put it to you that in fact the Christian League and Encounter as it turned out were secretly financed by the South African Government. -- That is so.

You say that, I think you said that you knew nothing about it? -- No, Sir. (10

Until it was revealed in the press? -- No, until it was revealed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Oh. In other words although there were allegations in the press you did not accept that? -- Right.

Because long before the Minister of Foreign Affairs revealed it, sections of the press were making the allegation that that was so. -- Yes.

And Mr Eschel Rhoodie had made a similar allegation but you did not accept it? -- That is so.

In fact, those allegations were publicly denied by Mr (20 F Shaw, who was the head of the Christian League. -- That is so.

Did you accept his denials? -- I did.

Well, just let us make clear what came out when the Minister of Foreign Affairs made his revelations. Apart from the fact of the financing there was what was referred to as a "secret" agreement in terms of which in turn for the finance the Christian League was to take steps to discredit the South African Council of Churches. -- Yes.

Yes. So the denials of Mr Shaw were false? -- That is (30

so.

Yes. I know he has given explanations for that but those denials were false. -- The explanation he gave was that there was a penalty clause of R85 000 to anyone revealing the existence of the contract.

Yes. Did you find the actions of Mr Shaw in this regard discreditable? -- I found it regrettable that he had entered into an agreement and having entered into an agreement like that obviously he found himself in a very difficult position.

Yes well, I had used a stronger word, Mr Cain. I said(10 did you find it discreditable? -- It is easy with hind sight to condemn him. Under the circumstances I think he acted in good faith.

You think he acted in good faith, taking Government money, denying that he had taken Government money; entering into an agreement to keep it secret and in terms of the agreement having surreptitiously to discredit the South African Council of Churches, you think that was all done in good faith? -- I had no knowledge of the agreement prior to the time I mentioned. Some of the questions (20 would easier be answered by Mr Shaw then by myself.

At any rate, notwithstanding those revelations you thought it was perfectly in order for you to stay on with the Christian League for a I think a further 18 months or thereabouts? -- Yes, I stood by the aims of the Christian League that the Christian Gospel was under attack and it was necessary in this country to put up a defence, calling people to return to the biblical Gospel.

You saw nothing wrong in secretly taking Government money to discredit the South African Council of Churches? (30

-- As I understand it when the agreement was negotiated between the Government and Mr Shaw and - we make it clear, I said the agreement was not with the Christian League, it was between Mr Shaw and the Government. I understand that Mr Shaw presented to the Government the agenda of the Christian League, the program of the Christian League and this was accepted by the Government and written into the agreement.

If there was nothing discreditable and improper about it why did it have to be secret? Why could the Christian League not simply approach the Government for these funds and the (10 Government give it the funds? -- I cannot answer that one. As I say this clause requiring secrecy of the agreement was written in. Why it was written in I could not say, but having had it written in obviously it effectively sealed Mr Shaw's lips.

Well, I would suggest - well, this is a matter of law - but such an agreement is obviously against public morals and of course notwithstanding that Mr Botha thought it right to reveal this agreement, didn't he? -- He did subsequent to the termination of the agreement. (20

Mr Cain, I am asking you these questions not because you are representing the Christian League here, you are not as I understand it, because it is going to be necessary for the members of the Commission to evaluate your evidence and your opinions. May I therefore ask you this: during all this time that you were editing Encounter you were - Encounter was incurring considerable expenditure. It was obviously well-printed. I understand many hundreds of copies or perhaps thousands were distributed both in South Africa and abroad. You are nodding - is that right? -- That is true, yes. (30

And / ..

And there was your salary as editor. -- Hm.

Now where did you think all the money was coming from?

-- The explanation that was given time and again was that a group of businessmen in South Africa had been concerned about the efforts being made overseas to block investment in South Africa. They had therefore, felt it necessary to finance, assist the financing of a Christian group who would present another picture to the views that were being put out in this country and overseas about conditions in this country. (10

Well, that was something which I take it, as businessmen, that was a view they were fully entitled to hold, was it not?

-- Right.

No reason for that to be secret, is there? -- It was felt that pressure - we were aware that companies like Barclays Bank in Britain where it was known that they had investments in South Africa, have had their meetings boycotted; have had shareholders disturbing their meetings, putting resolutions in their meetings because of their known context with South Africa. For that reason it was felt (20 the reason given was that the businessmen who were providing the finances..

They wanted to keep their names out of it. -- They wanted to keep their names out of it so that it would not affect their businesses.

That is right, but I take it that you must have wanted to meet these sponsors? -- Not at all.

Did you never meet them? -- No.

You never asked who they were? -- No because my responsibility was not the financial aspect but purely the editing (30

of the publication.

Yes, I see. And now for some months you have been producing and editing the journal called Signposts. -- That is so.

Who owns it? -- I own it.

I see. And may I ask how it is financed? -- It is financed by voluntary gifts of Christians.

Including businessmen? -- No.

Not? No businessmen? -- The people who send in money I am not in a position to decide what their business is.

Yes. -- We had a gift from a parliamentarian in South (10 West Africa.

Yes, I see. And do you know whether any of it comes from the Government? -- I know it all comes from Christian sources.

Yes. -- I would like to explain, Mr Chairman, that it is the finances of the SACC, not Signposts, that is under fire.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but you must please answer the questions.

MR KENTRIDGE: Very well, Mr Cain, I will leave it at that.

-- May I just..(intervenes) (20

No, I am not - let us just ask this question. Does any of your money come from the Government? -- All my money comes from Christian sources. In addition over the past 6 months the total salary I and my wife have received from Signposts has been less than R500 a month. If it was being financed by the Government I would be expecting a bigger salary than that.

Yes, very well. Now Mr Cain, you have produced a very considerable memorandum of about 57 pages with numerous appendices. Is it all your own work? -- Yes. Obviously (30

I was drawing on sources, published sources.

Yes. When was it written? -- Very shortly after the Commission was formed. It was mainly written in November, December, January and February - November and December of last year, January and February of this year.

Yes, and when was it sent in to the Commission? -- It was initially sent in to the Commission in March.

Well I see there is a forward date of 8 October 1982. -- Yes, when I was asked to give oral evidence I revised it slightly, I updated it slightly and put in the revised (10 edition at that date.

Did you give evidence to the Steyn Commission on the Mass Media? -- I did not.

Did the Christian League? -- The Rev Shaw did.

Yes. Did he put in a written submission? -- Not that I know of.

Did you assist him with information for the Steyn Commission? -- Not at all.

Have you read the Steyn Commission's report.. -- No.

..on the Mass Media? You have not? -- No. I have (20 obviously followed what was said in the press about the Steyn Commission.

There seem to be strong resemblances between some findings of the Steyn Commission and some statements of yours in your memorandum. -- I am not aware of any similarities.

Mr Cain, in your lengthy memorandum which deals with the activities of the South African Council of Churches I think I am right in saying that one can find nowhere any criticism at all by you of any aspect of South African Government policy or legislation. Am I right? -- I am a Christian, (30

Mr Kentridge. I am concerned with the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, I am not concerned primarily with - I am not a politician, I am not involved in the political sphere. My only concern is what Dr Edward Norman calls the politicisation of the Gospel. Where the Christian Gospel is altered to coincide with a specific political interpretation..

So the answer to my question is that I am right, we do find no criticism at all of the Government? -- Because that is outside of my scope of concern.

And I do not claim, I certainly do not claim to have (10 been a regular reader of Encounter but in connection with this Commission and your evidence I have read a few copies and I think that is true there. One finds in the pages of Encounter no criticism whatsoever relating to the situation for example of Black people in South Africa. -- And finds in the New Testament no criticism of the Roman administration of Palestine.

Yes. I think one of the things you said in your evidence was that there was no divine command to build a better one. -- The Bible teaches very clearly that Jesus came to recon- (20 cile the individual to God.

Yes well, that is a view obviously you are fully entitled to hold and I am not going to - it is not my function to criticise it, but as it is; as I understand you it is your view to put briefly that it is not the function of the Christian Church or its Ministers to criticise the society in which they live. -- I find no criticism at the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ of the Roman society. My obligation as a Christian is to follow his words and actions. He found himself in an oppressive society where the Jewish nation (30

was being oppressed by colonial power. He did not throw his weight into bringing about a change in that society, rather, he called people to repentance of their sins and a restoration of them to their position in God.

Now of course you seem to have gone rather further in your memorandum. You have not merely said that the South African Council of Churches' views and Bishop Tutu's views are in conflict with your view of Christianity; you also suggest I think that their views, like that of other members of the ecumenical movement is Marxist inspired. -- No, I (10 did not say that.

You do not? -- I merely quote men like Dr Edward Norman, Dr Peter Bayerhaus, Dr Helmut Thielike and others who have said that. I have merely quoted them.

But you agree with it or not? -- They are men whose views I respect. They are men whose views I accept.

Yes very well. Now Mr Cain, are you a South African citizen? -- I am.

So I take it - where do you live? -- In Pretoria.

Do you have any family? -- Yes. (20

I take it that you and your family may live where you choose in this country? -- Yes.

You have the vote I assume? -- Yes.

You can send your children to any school or university in this country? -- Yes.

They may live anywhere. Do you know that Bishop Tutu was born in Klerksdorp, he has lived in this country.. -- I think I probably did, yes.

I think he has lived in this country as long as you have. -- Probably. (30

Do you know he cannot vote? -- Yes.

He cannot go for example to another city with his family without a permit, do you know that? -- Yes.

Do you know he cannot send his children to any school or university of his choice? -- I am sure that there are universities which are inter-racial.

Oh yes, but not to anyone of his choice, not without a permit. As I understand it, you do not think that these are matters that are the concern of the Church at all? These disabilities? -- I am a Christian, I am not a politi-(10
cian.

Yes, right.. -- I am sorry that I do not have the answers, the solutions to these problems.

Now Mr Cain, if you can achieve this feat of imagination, assuming that you and your people were subject to these disabilities under a Government in your own country, would you expect your Church to condemn a system which imposes such disabilities on you? -- I find that the apostle Paul was (intervenes)

Please first say yes or no and then explain. It would (20
be easier. -- I go go back to the statement I said originally that I must follow the words of our Lord Jesus and the example of the writers of the New Testament. I find the apostle Paul was a Roman citizen which gave him certain privileges. I find that other of the apostles did not have those privileges. They did not make this their prime cause of action to bring about a transformation of society. On the other hand I find that there was a group of Jews at the time of Our Lord called Zealots who felt that it was their God-given responsibility to take up arms to (30
overthrow / ..

overthrow the occupying forces and that Jesus and the apostles forcefully rejected those concepts, refused to identify with them and this is the reason I believe that our Lord was crucified, because he refused to go along with the feelings of certain religious people of his day.

Yes very well, I understand what you are saying. Now let me put it plainly: is there any political or social doctrine which is contrary to the tenets of your religion as you understand it? -- Marxism is an atheist doctrine which starts off from the presupposition that God does not exist. Christians in Communist countries therefore find themselves restricted in the proclamation of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. (10)

Yes, you would obviously object to that. But is there any purely political or social doctrine which is contrary to the tenets of your religion, assuming that it is non-Marxist? -- All I..

Let me be more specific. Is the institution of slavery contrary to the tenets of your religion? -- I find that slavery was not condemned in the New Testament. (20)

And you would not expect your Church today to condemn slavery? -- I find that the apostle Peter as well as the apostle Paul exhorted slaves to be faithful to their masters and exhorted their masters to be humane in their treatment of slaves.

Well I am afraid you must not evade my question, Mr Caine. Perhaps you are not trying to evade it but you - let me put it absolutely clearly. If in a country today the institution of slavery was re-introduced would you expect the Christian Church in that country to condemn it (30)

as a Church from the point of view of Christianity? -- We are aware that in the 18th and 19th century pressures were brought upon society to outlaw slavery. These pressures came about through the gradual improvement of conditions in these countries. It is very different from pressures which are now being brought about for the drastic restructuring of society.

Well now I am afraid I must ask you to answer my question. I put it as simply as possible - is the institution of slavery contrary to the tenets of your religion as you (10 understand it? -- Today I would condemn slavery.

Is it contrary to the tenets of your religion as you understand it? -- There is nothing in the Bible which condemns slavery outright.

So your answer is there is nothing in the tenets of your religion which is contrary to slavery. Yes, you have nodded. Well, that tells us a good deal about your whole approach in this matter. Similarly I suppose discrimination purely on the grounds of colour is not contrary to the tenets of your religion as you understand it? -- I lived for 10 (20 years in an integrated society. I have no problems about.. (intervenes)

Please Mr Cain, I know that. I am just asking you is discrimination on the grounds of colour contrary to the tenets of your religion as you understand it? -- I do not discriminate on grounds of colour.

Are you not going to answer my question, because I am not going to ask it again. -- The Bible makes it very ... The Bible clearly divides mankind into two categories: the saved and the lost; the children of God and the children (30

of disobedience. These are the only-divisions that I recognise.

Yes, I see. Suppose you have a law which prohibits two Christians of different races or different colours to marry, is that contrary to the tenets of your religion as you understand it? -- My religion would allow them to marry.

Is it part of your function then as a Christian Minister to condemn a law which prevents that? -- We are entering again into the political field. I do not have expertise in this field. I am aware that there are problems in this(10 country; we are in a situation in this country where the Government forbids that. I am not in a position to argue the merits or demerits of that case.

But now just let us think back of the World War of 1939 to 1949. You know during that time there were courageous Christians in Germany who publicly condemned the policies of the Nazi Government and who were martyred for it. Do you think in so doing those people were acting on a wrong understanding of Christian belief? -- I have no expert knowledge in that area I am afraid. (20

Well in that circumstance do you think that their faith called upon them to stand up against the Government of their day? -- As I say I have no expert knowledge in that area. I am sorry, I cannot really answer that one for you.

Well, at all events the Gospel as you understand them, your understanding of the Gospel is obviously very different from Bishop Tutu's.. -- True.

..as he has explained them here. -- That is true.

And as I understand not only your memorandum but some (30

of the authors you have referred to what I call Bishop Tutu's or the South African Council of Churches' view of ecumenical Christianity is a view which has spread very widely in the modern world. You are nodding - just say yes. -- Yes, it has spread widely.

That in fact, that is one of the points made in a number of the books you have mentioned and in your own memorandum. Many leaders throughout the world of the major Churches follow what I have roughly called the South African Council of Churches' view. -- That is so. (10)

And if one wants to be personal about it, although I do not know that you, yourself mentioned him particularly there is the present Archbishop of Canterbury who probably favours that. -- No, I have not mentioned him. I have no doubt there are aspects of it that he would go along with.

Yes, as well as other leaders of the Communion throughout the world. -- That is so.

And similarly and I think it is stressed more by some of the writers you quote than the Bible itself, the same is true of many of the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. -- That is true. (20)

In fact it is a very strong strain in the modern Roman Catholic Church. -- It is.

Is it not? -- Yes.

And the same is true I think of the Methodist Church? -- Yes.

So although this is not by any means a criticism of you I think we must accept it that the view which you are putting forward in your memorandum is today very much a minority view. -- I would not really accept that. (30)

You / ..

You would not? -- No. In fact Dr Norman points out that the leadership of many of the Churches and especially the World Council of Churches is more ready to identify Christianity with political aims than the members of its constituent Churches and I find that true on a worldwide scale and I find that true within South Africa.

Yes, but what I have said at least is true of the leaders and spokesmen of the major Churches. -- That is true.

Yes, thank you. Now Mr Cain, in your memorandum you have referred to a number of sources, one of them is Dr Norman. -- That is right. (10

I am going to leave him on one side, he is in a very different category. You have quoted people like Bernard Smith, Major Bundy, Mr Pyke - these are people who are often quoted in articles or books written against the social Gospel. -- You are excluding others. I quoted Dr Thielike, I quoted Pieter Beyerhaus.

No, let us leave those aside with Mr Norman. Let us look at the Bundy's and the Pykes and the Smiths. -- As far as I recall I quoted from Mr Bundy once, I do not recall specifically quoting from Mr Pyke. (20

And Mr Smith? I think you referred to him? -- I do not recall specifically quoting from him. If you can show me the position I would be happy - I certainly did not quote it more than once or twice.

It is certainly in your bibliography. -- In my bibliography they were mentioned along with others, yes.

Yes, and these people like Mr Pyke and Mr Bundy and Mr Smith I think I can say, with respect to them and to you, that they are so-to-speak, your equivalent abroad. They (30

put forward abroad the views which you and the Rev. Mr F Smith put forward in South Africa. -- Obviously we share similar views, yes.

Yes, and you quote them and they no doubt quote you. -- I do not recall having quoted them in my memorandum.

But you did in Encounter. -- Not in my memorandum.

No, but you did in Encounter from time to time. -- But I am talking about my memorandum.

Very well. You also quote a Mr Lefever. -- I do.

Dr Ernest Lefever. -- Yes.

(10)

You know who he is? -- He is the - I have forgotten his title - he is from Georgetown University in the United States. He is a Director of one of the..

Is he a man you know? -- Not personally, I have read his books.

Have you been in touch with him by correspondence? -- I wrote him once.

Yes. In connection with your evidence here and in connection with this Commission, have you been in touch with the officers of the Commission? Have you had consultations with them? -- I turned in my memorandum to them in I believe it was March. Subsequent to that I was called in by them to be asked whether I would give oral evidence. I had a consultation at that stage, yes.

Did you discuss with them people like Mr Lefever, people of that sort? -- I think his name came up. He was not discussed extensively, no.

Yes. You see the officers of the Commission made a visit, an official visit to the United States which among persons, they apparently had a consultation with this

(30)

Mr Lefever. -- I was not aware of that.

You were not aware of that. You know Mr Lefever whom you quote was nominated as an Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan administration? -- I am aware of that.

And of all the Reagan nominations he was the only one who was not confirmed by the Senate. -- I am aware of that.

He was thought of apparently as being even too far out for a conservative administration. -- I am aware that the National Council of Churches of America raised a large campaign against him, yes. (10

Yes. And do you know of his connections with South Africa? -- No.

Well, no doubt we will hear from others about Lefever. Then the man whom you quote most is Dr Norman. -- That is right, yes.

And he is an eminent academic theologian? -- Yes.

And he certainly holds strong views contrary to the ecumenical view? -- Yes.

And contrary to what he calls the politicisation of the Gospel. -- Right. (20

He, as I understand him, does not believe that Christianity favours any particular form of society. -- As far as I can gather, yes.

However, I said I put him on one side from people like Mr Smith, Mr Bundy and Mr Pyke. He certainly does not put forward any conspiracy theory. He does not think that there is an conspiracy by ecumenical churchmen to foist a Marxist society on the world. He deals with intellectual influences. -- He certainly claims that the ecumenical movement is identifying very closely with liberal, left-wing political (30

views.

Yes. -- And it is against this that he takes his stand.

He deals with it in terms of intellectual influences. --
He deals with practical issues.

Yes, you quote him at length. In fact in one appendix
you quote 8 pages of him. -- That is true.

If I may say so, he is your most respectable source.
-- I said at the close of that appendix that similar summa-
ries could be made of books by Dr Peter Bayerhaus, Dr Lefefer
and others. I did not have unlimited time to produce (10
similar summaries of their works but they can be done and
they have the same impact.

Do they? Now I want to ask you about your use of quo-
tations from Dr Norman. I want to see how you have used it.
It is Appendix A to your report. -- Yes.

Dr Norman deals with South Africa amongst other things,
doesn't he? -- He does, yes.

And if you look at page 6 of Appendix A you actually
have a quotation about Constance Koza. -- Right.

Described as a spokesperson for the SACC. Now I (20
understand Dr Norman's book was written a couple of years
ago, but is Constance Koza properly described as a "spokes-
person" for the SACC? -- I have no personal knowledge of
her. I merely quoted from what Dr Norman had said.

Well, let us read your quotation. You say: "I found
the sort of rejection of liberalism earlier this year when
I spoke in Johannesburg to Constance Koza, a spokesperson
for the SACC. She too, denounced those who engaged in dialogue
across the racial barriers and in very passionate terms as
hypocrites who wanted no structural changes but only a (30

false resemblance of reconciliation.- We in the West, she said, were just the same as the White South Africans. Our liberal attitudes are simply a reflection of our lack of opportunity to express our racism." You thought that a relevant quotation obviously.. -- Obviously.

..or you would not have put it in. -- Yes.

Well, I want to demonstrate to the members of the Commission your use of quotations. That is at page 68 of Dr Norman's book. -- It is.

Which you probably have in front of you. I am going to read aloud what comes in that book immediately after this quotation. This follows: (10

"It is not clear how authentically their attitude represents the general measure of opinion in the South African Council of Churches. The Council's politics are certainly progressive but the prevailing tone is probably liberal. Bishop Tutu, the new General Secretary and a man of considered judgement is clearly in the available categories liberal rather than Black militant." (20

That you did not think of sufficient interest to the Commission to put into your quotation. -- I put the reference in the book and suggested that the Commission looked at the book.

Mr Cain.. -- I obviously put in as you pointed out, 8 pages. I could not quote the whole book; I already thought I was quoting too much.

Mr Cain, you have got probably 200 references to Bishop Tutu in your memorandum. -- Probably. (30

The one reference to him in the book of which you quote 8 pages you did not see fit to put in although it comes immediately after this quotation. -- Ja.

I am going to suggest to His Lordship and the members of the Commission that this was a dishonest use of quotations. -- I am sorry, that certainly was not intended.

I am going to say that this was plainly so. -- I am sorry, that was not my intention.

And in fact - I am going to come back to your use of Dr Norman to show your selective use of quotations from Dr(10 Norman. But let me talk more generally of the way you have dealt with matters of fact in this memorandum and what regard you have shown for truth. Would you turn to Appendix E? It is the one headed: SACC'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE SQUATTER PROBLEM AT CROSSROADS AND NYANGA". You have it? -- I have it almost, yes.

Just turn to page 4. Let me read from the top of the page - you say there (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Forgive me, I am not there yet.

MR KENTRIDGE: Oh, I am sorry, My Lord. Appendix E comes(20 after all those tables, after those tables you get Appendix D and then Appendix E.

CHAIRMAN: Appendix C - oh, I am sorry, I understand now. Yes, I am there.

MR KENTRIDGE: You say there:

"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

(30

bank robbers in Botswana.."

this is one of three references to "communist armed bank robbers in Botswana". -- Yes.

You are referring to the legal aid given in the case in Botswana. -- Yes.

But you know very well that all those persons who were charged with bank robbery were acquitted. Don't you? -- They were acquitted of bank robbery.

Yes, they were acquitted of bank robbery and yet you have described them as "armed bank robbers". Do you think that that is truthful? -- When I did this appendix I was not aware of the fact that they had been acquitted on the charge because although the - initially a lot of coverage in the press was given in South Africa to the case. I was unable to determine at that time the outcome of the trial.

So although unable to determine the outcome you described them as "communist armed bank robbers". -- They were found guilty of possessing Communist weapons.

You knew at the time when you put this appendix in to the Commission that they had been acquitted of bank robbery. -- And I should probably have amended that section. I am sorry, I did not.

Why do you call them "communist bank robbers" -- I called them communist arms" - they had arms that were manufactured in Communist countries.

Do you know that of those 5 people who were charged not only were they all acquitted of bank robbery but only two of them were found guilty of possession of arms. -- As I said I did not see a newspaper report covering the

(30

outcome / ..

outcome of the trial.

So you just assumed they were guilty? -- I had no other means of - no, that is not true. I did not have confirmation of how the sentence was given one way or the other.

Well, I do not think that that is quite right but we will look at page 48 of your report. You see paragraph 3 on page 48? "Assisting Communist Armed Bank Robbers". -- Right.

See your heading? -- Yes.

Look at the foot of the second paragraph. I am sorry, (10 the third paragraph:

"During that trial it was stated that the arms were to be sent to South Africa for its "liberation". The court acquitted the men on the charge of bank robbery but found them guilty of possessing weapons of war."

-- You will notice that I justified my first statement to a quote from a newspaper cutting. I did not justify my second one because I did not have that cutting.

You nonetheless used the heading "..bank robbers.." -- (20 True.

That is your concern for truth. Furthermore you say that the men were found guilty of possessing weapons of war. -- Yes.

In fact only 2 of them were, but that does not concern you. -- I was not aware that only two of them - as I said I did not have a newspaper cutting to justify my..

No. -- On the outcome of the trial.

Of course that would not have been so helpful to your case if you have had the full facts, would it? -- My (30

concern / ..

concern in the case is that some people who are outside of South Africa on this kind of charge were given assistance whereas people in Mocambique on a similar charge were given no assistance.

Yes. Is there a court in Mocambique to which South African lawyers have access? -- I never asked that South African lawyers be sent there. I asked that an appeal be made to the President of Mocambique on their behalf.

Well, we will see whether that was done or not. Do you think these men should have been found guilty of bank robbery? -- I think they were entitled to the best defence they had⁽¹⁰⁾ and so were the ones in Mocambique.

And if you could provide legal defence in Mocambique would you? Would you do it, would you undertake it? -- No, because that is not the way that I would necessarily use money that is set aside for Christian purposes. However the SACC has made it a practice of using money for these purposes.

Yes, so it has. Do you believe that people should have legal aid? -- I would be very glad to get legal aid for⁽²⁰⁾ the charges the SACC has laid against me, yes.

Yes, I do not think they are charges are they? It is a civil claim. -- I would still be very grateful of legal aid.

Of course you would. And if some of your friends abroad were to provide legal aid for you would that be objectionable? -- It would depend - obviously I would be very grateful to get it.

Well now let us have another look at your regard for truth. Let us look at page 38 of your report. Do you see you have the heading "Squatters"? -- Right.⁽³⁰⁾

And / ..

And in the second paragraph you mention an address by Bishop Tutu at the SACC's national convention. -- Yes.

And you quote it, and it ends:

"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! "

You see that? -- Yes.

(10

Now you follow Bishop Tutu's doings very closely as appears both from this and from Encounter. -- Yes.

Ever heard him speak? -- Yes.

Have you been to meetings? -- Yes.

You see there is one thing I want to say. Bishop Tutu as it so happens never uses the slogan "Amandla". -- I am quoting from the Citizen.

Well, is that a source you ought to quote from without checking it? When it deals with Bishop Tutu? -- It seems that Bishop Tutu is rather sensitive to criticism and if (20 no correction is published I am therefore..

Well, you know one cannot go on - I am just saying to you, you simply accepted this from the Citizen? -- I accepted it from the Citizen as I accepted the other reports that came from different newspapers and from Ecunews, yes.

You may also know, as it happens, that Bishop Tutu never gives the clenched fist salute. It is just not his style of doing things. -- I am not aware one way or the other.

Yes. Let us have a look at your methods in your submission. One of the methods of argument you use throughout (30

is to try and connect the South African Council of Churches and Bishop Tutu with other persons who are of political persuasion which you describe as leftwing or Marxist. You try and put them together even when there is no connection between them. -- I am not aware of having done that.

Well let us have a look at page 31. Let us get the heading by going to the previous pages - it is called "Links with the World Council of Churches" under the general heading: THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SACC. Page 31, sub-paragraph 2): (10

"It must not be forgotten that Bishop Tutu is a former employee of the WCC, having been an associate director of the Theological Fund of the WCC.."

Do you know what the Theological Fund is? -- Not specifically, no.

But let us have a look at your next sentence:

"He also studied at Fort Hare University with Robert Mugabe and.."

Now Mr Cain, Bishop Tutu never studied at Fort Hare and (20 he has never met Mr Robert Mugabe. -- I am sorry, I was quoting a biography, a biographical sketch which appeared on Bishop Tutu in one of the newspapers, I do not recall which one it was.

Well you do not give any.. -- I do not, I am aware of that. This is my impression, I am sorry if I was wrong.

Did that newspaper statement say that he studied together with Robert Mugabe? -- As far as I recall, yes.

Well, I would like to see that newspaper. -- I will endeavour to get that. (30

But / ..

But again you did not check up. What is the point of mentioning that he studied with Robert Mugabe? You are trying to say that therefore he has the same views as Robert Mugabe? What is the relevance of it otherwise, Mr Cain? -- Certainly there are other indications that he is sympathetic with the views of Robert Mugabe.

Let me make it absolutely clear. Bishop Tutu admires Robert Mugabe, he would very much like to meet him. I am drawing this to the attention of the Commission to show what your regard for truth is. Let us have another example. Oh, there has been handed to me a little document by the Christian League of South Africa.. -- It is not by the Christian League of South Africa. (10)

I am sorry, on the Christian League of South Africa, and it quotes the editor of Encounter as saying that the new editor gave the undertaking that in the future prior to the publication of a censure of an individual or organisation the individual or organisation would be contacted in order that it may be ascertained that the information available to the editor is in fact correct. Was that new editor you or your successor. -- That was me. (20)

You. -- That was myself.

Right, thank you. -- I followed that up and Bishop Tutu can bear out the fact that I have spoken to him on the telephone several times.

Yes. Let us have a look at page 20 of your report just to see how you are on facts. This is where you are talking about expenditures of the SACC. You say in the middle of that page just before paragraph 2:

"There is, however, an interesting anomaly. (30

Whereas / ..

Whereas the SACC in its literature makes much about the plight of squatters and people displaced by resettlement schemes, it appears that very little money is actually allocated or spent in assisting such people. Of the R1 629 000 available to the Justice and Society division in 1980, only R11 945 or 0,73% was spent on "resettlement and uprooting".

You know that is entirely false and misleading. -- I am sorry that was my analysis of the.. (10

Your analysis. Well, was it really an honest analysis?

-- It was done honestly on the facts that were available to me, yes.

You mention for example later the bursary funds. --

Yes.

The African Bursary Fund. -- Yes.

You know millions were spent on that fund. Do you not know that vast parts of that were given for bursaries, for children and young people who came from resettlement rural areas? -- Yes, I can only go on the figures that were given in the 1980 balance sheet which stated that the amount allocated to resettlement and uprootal was that amount. (20

That was from a particular fund - from which particular fund was it? -- I believe it was under the Justice and Society Division. I do not have the balance sheet with me, I could not tell you.

Yes. Do you know that the Council of Churches went in for a great many rural projects? -- Yes, I stated that a couple of times, yes.

In which thousands, tens of thousands were spent (30

trying /..

trying to rehabilitate people in the rural resettlement areas.
-- I am only going on the amount that is given in the 1980 budget for resettlement and uprootal..

Well, I am suggesting it was simply a figure you selected to suit your argument. That you could easily have ascertained what was spent in the resettlement areas by asking a simple question. -- My time available for writing this, drawing up this memorandum was limited..

Well, why was it limited? You had 10 months for it.
-- Because I had other responsibilities. I was not paid (10 to do it.

No, but it was certainly a labour of love, wasn't it? On your part? -- The Commission asked for submissions from Christians in South Africa. I felt I could make a contribution and I did the best I could in the resources and time available to me.

Oh the best you could, no doubt. Will you look at page 36 as an example of the best you could do. This is the funeral of a Natal attorney called Griffiths Mxenge at which Bishop Tutu was present and you have quotations from (20 the speeches including a speech of Bishop Tutu. Do you see that? -- Yes.

Look at the last sub-paragraph:

"Aroused by this kind of statement, the crowd attacked and killed a Transkei policeman.

As far as can be established, no action was taken."

Where did you get that information from? -- That was my interpretation of the situation.

Where did you get the information about the crowd (30 attacking / ..

attacking and killing a Transkei policeman? -- I quoted the relevant newspapers.

You got it from the press? -- From the Star and from the Rand Daily Mail, yes.

Well, if you read the press you must have known that when this policeman was so unfortunately attacked, Bishop Tutu left the platform, plunged into the crowd and held them back from the body of this policeman. -- That was reported a few days later, yes.

Yes, and in fact his robes were spattered with blood. (10 -- So I understand.

It was unfortunately too late to save him. -- Hm.

Do you not think that an honest man or one actuated by common decency in reporting this incident would have mentioned that instead of simply saying "no action was taken"? -- Hm, my sentence "no action was taken", is that no action as far as I could see was taken against those who were responsible for the death of the man.

I will put my question once more. Will you not agree that any man of common honesty, of common decency in (20 including this incident in this report would have mentioned the action taken by Bishop Tutu. -- The reason I did not, as far as I can recall is that it was not reported in the newspaper items I quoted, it was reported in subsequent items.

Which you well knew at the time when you did this report, this memorandum? -- I probably had, yes.

Yes well, that is a good enough answer for my purposes and no doubt for the purposes of the Commission when they decide what credit to give to your views. Let me take up (30 your / ..

your general attitude to the South African Council of Churches and the reason why you have come forward to give evidence.

You were still editing Encounter in April 1981, were you not?

-- I was, yes.

On page 5 of that issue you called upon the Government to declare the South African Council of Churches an "affected organisation". -- Yes, I did.

So that it could not get money from abroad. -- Right.

And in your submissions to this Commission on page 57 in the "CONCLUSION", that in fact is what you are suggesting, is it not? -- Yes.

You say:

"Would it not be well for the South African Council of Churches to implement this call by cutting itself off from all foreign funds?"

-- Hm.

You are asking for its foreign funds to be cut off. -- I am suggesting that the SACC is not representative of the South African Christians because if it were they would be financing it. (20

Yes well, whether that is so or not, you are asking for foreign funding to be cut off. -- Right.

Yes. In your writings or in correspondence with the Government did you urge the setting up of this Commission?

-- I called several - as was quoted in that issue of Encounter, I made suggestions that the Government stopped foreign funding of the SACC and encourage people to write to the Government to the effect, yes.

Well now, Mr Cain, I said it was one of your techniques to try and associate the SACC with all kinds of people who(30

have / ..

have views which you say are like their views, but with whom they have no actual contact at all. If you look at page 3 of your report you will have long quotations from someone called Prexy Nesbitt. -- That is so.

Mr Prexy Nesbitt has no connection at all with the SACC. -- He is a Director of the - or he is involved in the Programme to Combat Racism which is a division of the World Council of Churches. The World Council of Churches has close ties with the South African Council of Churches. He expressed his views on.. (10

Yes, and therefore (simultaneously).. -- ..the South African Council of Churches.

So what is the relevance of his views to the views of the SACC? Supposing - now let me say, supposing a Nazi somewhere said that he agreed fully with the views of Mr Cain what would the relevance of that be to you? -- If they were both affiliated to the same organisation, both dedicated to the same aims they would be relevant, yes.

You think it would? Supposing one of these leagues or people abroad who express the same views as you with whom your Christian League had been in correspondence turned out to be a Nazi, that would affect you, would it? -- If he was the representative and if I was still a member of the Christian League and he were a representative of the Christian League overseas yes, it would. (20

Well, if this person had been a member of the SACC I would take the point. -- Well, he is a member of the World Council of Churches with which the SACC has very strong ties.

Yes, and so is the South African Council of Churches responsible for every view expressed by every member or (30

official / ..

official of the World Council of Churches? -- I think when they express similar views, yes.

Look at what you say on page 5. You have got a heading: "Other Witnesses":

"Three other witnesses point to the links between the ecumenical movement and Marxism."

Look at your first witness. It is someone who appeared before the House - that means the American House of Representatives Committee on un-American activities in July, 1953. -- Yes.

This is at the time of the McCarthy Committee. -- Yes, (10 right.

Surely it would be difficult to dig deeper into the barrel to find a witness - what is the point of quoting something said by a witness in a Committee on un-American Activities in the McCarthy era? Who do you think is going to take notice of that today? -- The man's statement ties very closely with what is happening in the Church today; with what has been confirmed by people like Peter Beyerhaus, Dr Edward Norman, Professor Thielike; these were all saying that changes have taken place over the last 20/30 years (20 in the fundamental understanding of Christianity that has aligned it with a Marxist type ideology. This man is saying that this came about as a result of a deliberate policy of the infiltration of Marxist concepts into theological seminaries. It seems as I said in my memorandum that he is - that Dr Norman is seeing the fruits of a policy he outlined.

Mr Cain, that is absolutely wrong I am afraid. Dr Norman nowhere suggests that Churches are being infiltrated by Communists or Marxists. -- I would need to check his (30

statement / ..

statement on that but certainly he..~

He says nothing so foolish at all, that is why I said he was talking about intellectual influences. The sort of conspiracy.. -- Let me..(simultaneously)

..theory of people like Smith and Bundy is far from Dr Norman and I go so far as to say that Dr Norman would be horrified at the sort of evidence that you are giving here. -- May I quote from Dr Norman?

Yes, of course you may. -- "Marxism is becoming the .."

I am sorry, this is on the last paragraph on the first page (10 of Appendix A:

"Marxism is becoming the form that the moral seriousness of the intelligentsia is taking in our day and the Churches have enthusiastically followed this trend."

He is quoting the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches as saying:

"Sometimes it seems that of all secular philosophies Marxism is the most popular and persuasive among our people while WCC officials admit that the staff are nearly all socialists and that everyone thinks the same way about everything, almost everything. Standard Marxist vocabulary is used in ecumenical circles. Marxist literature depicting social misery and economic deprivations in Asia, Southern Africa and Latin America are accepted uncritically and has led to a large measure of Christian sympathy for Marxist movements

(20

(30

seeking / ..

seeking to replace the existing order in these areas. Christian leaders represent the political rhetoric of Marxism as merely a succinct manner of expressing agreed moral truth about human society. Marxist liturgy of propaganda gets reproduced in the world view of Christianity and .."

and so he goes on.

Of course he does, that is his view. -- That is his view.

Quite right but what your friends like Mr Pyke and Mr (10 Smith and Mr Bundy say is that the Communists deliberately infiltrated young people into the Church secretly so that they would assume leadership of the Church in due course. Now Dr Norman says nothing as foolish as that. -- I am not quoting from Dr Bundy, I am not quoting from Bernard Smith except for one occasion, I am quoting largely from Dr Norman, Professor Thielike; I make reference, I quote on a number of occasions from Dr Bayerhaus. I am not quoting from the sources that you attribute me to.

Well, Mr Cain, let us just think this out. Are you (20 or are you not trying to say that there is a Marxist conspiracy to infiltrate people into the Church to turn the Church in a Marxist direction. Is that your case or not? -- My case is that men of these authorities are saying that the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement has been heavily infiltrated by Marxist concepts. My personal feeling is this did not happen by chance and I would therefore accept that the words of Manning Johnson that this was a deliberate..

Yes. -- .. policy but the point that I am majoring on (30

is / ..

is not how it happened but the fact that it has happened on the authority of men like Dr Edward Norman, Peter Beyerhaus and Helmut Thielike.

Yes. Well you see those last names you have mentioned do not put up a conspiracy theory. -- They confess that the Christian Church has departed from its original role and is moving in the direction of Marxism.

Well, if that is so then the Marxists have been very, very successful, haven't they with church leadership? -- They certainly have. (10

The Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, the Methodists, Presbyterians and it is left to a few people like you to hold the tide. -- I will remind you that in the fourth century the Bishop of Alexandria, Athenasius, battled for 50 years against the Aryan heresy of his day. He stood alone, he was divested on a number of occasions of his position in the Church but he was eventually vindicated.

Yes. -- The fact that the whole Church took a wrong direction did not make him wrong. He stood out for the truth. The same has happened to Martin Luther - when the Church moved in one direction Luther was moving in another direction. Luther was proved to be right. (20

These are great names, Mr Cain. -- I certainly would not associate myself with them, I am merely pointing out that there has been times in the times when one man has stood against the trend. I fortunately am not one man, I have men like Beyerhaus, Thielike and Norman who are standing the front. I am merely repeating their words.

Well, I do not know whether this Commission is going to undertake to do what that great gathering did in the fourth(30
century / ..

century and decide where the heresy lies or not but I rather think they are going to avoid that task. I think the Steyn Commission undertook it but this is fortunately not the Steyn Commission. Now Mr Cain, talking of Marxism and so on you gave us a quotation from Lenin. I do not think it was actually in your report but I think you quoted Lenin. -- I did, it is not in my report.

Just give us the quotation again. -- I do not have it with me, I would not be able to quote it exactly.

Did you have a note of it last time you were here? It(10 was something to the effect that religious people are so gullible that that is where Marxists would find their best chance. -- That is so, yes.

What is the source of that quotation? -- That one was quoted - I have come across this statement in various places.

But I would like the quotation from Lenin. -- Yes. No, no, what I am saying is that it has been quoted in various places, but it was also quoted by the Steyn Commission of Inquiry.

Exactly. I would like to see some other place where (20 it was quoted. Where does it come from? I do not say that it is wrong but you got it from the Steyn Commission? -- No, I got it initially from Australia in a slightly different form to the one that was reproduced in the Steyn Commission.

Yes, because in the Steyn Commission it was also reproduced without attribute. -- It is. I hope that they had an authoritative source for it. Presumably they examined the material they produced thoroughly.

There are several dozen pages which they quote from Bernard Smith I think. -- I was not really aware of that. (30

As I say I did not..

No, I do not blame you, it is rather turgid reading. --
I have read his book, however.

Well, let us have a look at page 12 of your report where you deal with funding - the wealth of the Church. You know I am not - you say in the middle of page 12: "..the Christian Church in South Africa is both large and wealthy". -- Yes.

Well, we have had the evidence here of the Reverend Joseph Wing who has dealt with that and certainly the (10 churches who are members of the SACC he has indicated are far from wealthy. You mentioned the Zion Christian Church. -- Yes.

That is very wealthy. -- It appears to be, yes.

Now something I want to ask you about is this. This point you make here about the South African Council of Churches not being able to get funds from its members who are large and wealthy in contrast to a Church like the Zion Christian Church. In discussions in the United States of America the officers of this Commission in discussing (20 this matter with Church people put up exactly these same arguments. -- I have never - as I say I had no contact with them prior to when they required, they asked me to give oral evidence and we had a consultation. I am sorry, I was not aware of that.

You were not? -- No.

Well, it is another mystery. Incidentally the Zion Christian Church, they do collect an enormous amount of money apparently. -- As far as I am aware, yes.

Do you know what they use it for? -- I am not familiar (30

I am not overly familiar with the Zion Christian Church.

Have you ever come across any charities, school, creche, health clinic or anything like that founded or run by them?

-- As I say I am not overly familiar with them. My knowledge of them comes from press reports of their conferences from time to time in the Northern Transvaal.

Yes. You are making the point here that the SACC has received a good deal of money from foreign sources. All those foreign sources are recorded in the files of the SACC. -- I presume so. (10

Yes, no secret funding like the secret funding of the Christian League there. -- I was not aware that the South African Council of Churches was receiving money direct from the Danish, the Dutch and the Finnish Governments.

Well, they did not receive it direct. They received it through agencies but the fact that the money came from those Governments is recorded in the files of the South African Council of Churches. -- But although I have been studying the South African Council of Churches for a number of years I was not aware that their money originated from Government (20 sources, of foreign Government sources. They certainly did not make that known very publicly.

Do you think it is wrong to take money from foreign Government sources? -- If it is wrong to take money secretly from the South African Government, from our Government, it seems to me that it is equally wrong to take money without revealing the existence of it from foreign Governments.

Well, you do not seem to get the point here. In the files and books of the Christian League would it be recorded so that the auditors could see it that the money came from (30

the South African Government or did it appear that it came from businessmen? -- I had no access to the books. As I said before I was purely editing the newspaper, I was not on the financial side.

Do you not see a difference between a foreign Government giving money for things like bursaries and legal aid on the one hand and on the other a Government secretly using money for political purposes against someone in its own country. Do you not see that distinction? -- You will have to explain it to me again. (10

I do not think I will bother. -- Yes.

Let us have a look at your page 12C. Here you specifically state your view against the receipt of money from abroad generally and look what you say:

"If South Africans are unwilling to support it why must it consume foreign funds which could meet greater needs elsewhere. Surely there are needier Christians in poorer countries living under more oppressive, unjust regimes where the money could be better utilised. (20

Could it not be better used to assist refugees from Vietnam and Afghanistan, to rebuild Churches in devastated Uganda; for the propagation of the Gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ in the barren Moslem lands?"

Is this passage to be taken seriously, Mr Cain? -- I certainly intended it seriously, yes.

These Christian bodies abroad which give this money presumably know about Vietnam and Afghanistan and the devastated Uganda and the barren Moslem lands? Is it not (30

for them to decide where they give their money? -- I am merely pointing out that there are needs other than in prosperous South Africa where the money could be used. My belief is that the money is not being used for the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ but to support political ends in this country.

How do you suggest, if you want to be taken seriously, how do you suggest that the money could be used to rebuild churches in devastated Uganda? Have you read reports about how aid to Uganda was handled in recent years? Do you think that it is going to be better handled there than in South Africa? -- Certainly the need is greater. (10

Do you know, what do you suggest is going to be done for the propagation of the Gospel of salvation in the barren Moslem lands? For example do you include Iran there? -- I do.

Yes. Do you really think this money could be better used there? -- There is still a Christian Church in Iran.

Do you know what its needs are? -- I know that it has had persecution. (20

Yes. -- I know that some buildings had been taken over.

What do you think this money would do for that Church if it is being persecuted in Iran? How is that money going to save it from persecution? -- Perhaps it could be used for the relief of Christians there.

How do you know that money is not being sent for that purpose by the same bodies? -- My contention is that the World Council of Churches called for a moratorium on missions that Churches in their own countries should be self-sufficient and my contention is that the Church in South Africa has (30

a better prospect than the Church in Iran of being self-sufficient because of the funds available to Christians, Black and White, in this country.

Do you know what the World Council of Churches gives to refugees every year? -- I have no doubt that it is considerable.

Yes, including Vietnamese and Afghan refugees. -- I know that they are giving money to Afghan and Vietnam refugees. I am aware that they have never attributed the plight of the refugees to the policies, the racist policies (10 of the Vietnamese Government or to the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union.

What else are the refugees due to? -- But South Africa is being condemned as the prime source of suffering in this country because of its policies.

I am glad to hear that you are not a politician, Mr Cain. Now let us see what would happen if this money is cut off. You probably know that of the money received from abroad over the past few years a very great amount of it has gone to what is called the African Bursary Fund. (20 You know that fund? -- Yes.

Very nearly in 5 years, very nearly R2 million. -- Large amounts went to the Asingeni Fund.

I am talking of the African Bursary Fund. Very nearly R2 million and I will tell you that most of it came from abroad. According to a report done by an auditor only 1,4% was local. So over 98% came from abroad. Now if this was cut off think what you would achieve, Mr Cain. Thousands of Black school children and young people would not get their bursaries to go to school and university. Would (30

that / ..

that please you? Would that please you? -- It would not please me. However, I believe that organisations other than the SACC could be used to provide money in this country. After all we have wealthy businesses.

The fact is that it has not been provided other than through this bursary fund, Mr Cain. -- Are there no institutions in South Africa that are providing bursaries for Blacks?

Yes, but not to make up this R2 million if that was cut off. Tell me, Mr Cain, and I want you to tell us frankly, (10 you are a frank man - does the idea that overseas people are giving bursaries to Black children in South Africa disgust you? -- It certainly does not.

Well very well, why do you want it to be cut off? -- Because..

Who are you going to hurt if you cut it off? Are you going to hurt the children or not? -- I believe that most of the money coming from overseas is going into political sensitive areas.

Mr Cain, if your prayer to this Commission and to the (20 Government is met and this money is cut off from coming into South Africa will you agree that there will be hundreds of Black children who will not get bursaries they would otherwise have got? -- I would make it my business to try and raise money for these children from the sources that used to finance the - the South African business sources that used to finance the SACC before it took a radical political stance.

Do you know that the South African business community gives a good deal of money to things like this through (30

the / ..

the Urban Foundation and other institutions? -- And I am sure that they would be very happy to include the pupils who were previously funded through the SACC.

Have you done anything ever to approach the business community to give bursaries to Black children? -- I am afraid my time is limited, I have not had the opportunity.

Of course you have not. All you can do is try to destroy the work of those who have done it, Mr Cain. -- No, that is not true.

Mr Cain, what about relief for the poor that comes (10 from the overseas funds? Gifts of furniture to people who are needy, the payment of their rents, the giving of blankets to them in winter. This would also be cut off. Is that what you want to see? -- Mr Kentridge, as I see it the SACC is - discriminates in its funding. It uses its funding in areas that are politically sensitive rather than merely to meet the needs of people. I certainly have no objection to funds going to needy people; it is the - my concept is that certain political sensitive people are being helped and therefore being reinforced in their (20 political stance.

Politically sensitive school children? You mean that the school children for bursaries are selected on a politically sensitive basis? -- I observe that the SACC has funded Khoza's conferences, for instance.

Yes, that is not what we are dealing with. We are dealing with relief. Do you think the old ladies who get blankets are selected on a politically sensitive basis? -- Certainly in some instances like the squatters they have been, yes. (30

Do you think that people who are squatting in the cold in the Cape should not be given blankets by the SACC? -- I wonder why buses were paid to ship them back to the Cape in the middle of winter, yes.

Please answer my question. Do you think that blankets should not have been given to the squatters at Crossroads or Nyanga? -- I think having brought them back into the Cape in the middle of winter the SACC had an obligation to provide them with blankets, yes.

These were not simply to people who were "brought back". Do you think people can be brought back against their will? (10) The South African Council of Churches is not the Government. They had no policemen with guns to put these people on board the buses. -- There were reports that people were receiving money to come back.

For what purpose? -- I could not imagine but it may be to embarrass the Government.

Reports from whom? From the Government side? -- One presumes that the Government has agencies that provide them with information. (20)

With reliable information or slanted information? -- We presume that some Government agencies are unbiased.

Yes. And if so would that not have been an unlawful thing to do? -- What would have been an unlawful thing to do?

To bribe people to go back into an area where they were not lawfully entitled to be. -- I could not say whether it is lawful or unlawful.

Do you know whether anyone was prosecuted for doing that? -- There were some people who were mentioned by the (30)

Minister of Justice. Whether they were brought to trial; whether action was taken against them I am not aware.

Just let us have a look at your own report. Page 19. You sum it up yourself. Look at the last paragraph. You set out here the things the R3 million was spent on: assisting the unemployed; assistance with education; compassionate relief necessitated by internal dissension; grants to those doing this type of relief work; grants to families and dependants of political detainees - you see the list? -- Hm.

(10)

Self-help; raising the legal status of Black women; assisting domestic workers. Which of these things would you like to stop - all of that? -- My point in putting this, Mr Kentridge, as I specified on page 18 was that the SACC is spending the bulk of its money in politically sensitive areas.

Right. -- It is therefore a socio-political organisation rather than a Christian organisation in the traditional understanding of that term.

In your understanding of that term and what you call (20 traditional, but not in the understanding of that term of the bulk of Church leaders in South Africa and abroad. We have agreed on that. -- We certainly have..

Yes.. -- ..that there has been a change taking place in the understanding of Christianity over the last 20 or 30 years.

You would like the Government, by declaring the SACC an affected organisation, really to give effect to your view of the traditional role of the Church. -- I am saying that the SACC is acting in a way which is contrary to the (30 understanding / ..

understanding, the traditional biblical understanding of Christianity. It is identifying Christianity with a very limited political concept.

That is right, and you consider that that error on its part should be punished by the Government by cutting off its sources of funds from abroad. -- I am saying that as a foreign funded socio-political organisation the Government needs to look into its aims and its objectives because that is its real purpose, rather than being what it purports to be - a Christian organisation representative and speaking (10 on behalf of the bulk of the Christians in this country.

Of course if Bishop Tutu's view of Christianity is the acceptable one and not yours then of course it would be different? -- It certainly would because the World Council of Churches has already made it clear that it looks on spiritual Christianity, my concept of Christianity, in an unfavourable light and would stamp it out if it got the opportunity.

Well, we will come to that - who is going to stamp out what. You know a lot of the money that came from abroad (20 was spent on legal aid for people who were charged with political offences. -- Yes.

Do you believe such people should have a defence? -- Obviously. My contention is it was used in areas which were political sensitive.

Well, that is right. I take it whenever anyone is charged with a political offence it is a politically sensitive matter. I am asking the simple question. Would you rather see the people charged with such offences go undefended rather than have them defended by means of money sent from (30
abroad / ..

abroad? -- I again refer to the fact that certain people on similar charges in neighbouring countries are undefended. It therefore seems to me that the SACC is backing a certain political view. It is not being unbiased in the way it handles its funds.

Well it obviously has its views. It is quite true it did not put up - I mean there are many people for whom it has not put up money. -- Right.

It did not put up money for the defence of the people who were charged with hijacking. They apparently had (10 their own defence, but I am asking a simple question. Obviously if everyone everywhere could get legal aid so much the better. Would you prefer to see that those who are charged with serious political offences in this country go undefended rather than that they be defended by means of donations from abroad? It is a simple question. -- I think that if the South Africans were concerned enough they would provide that money, yes.

Now let us assume they have not and they cannot. The question is would you rather see these people go undefended (20 than have them defended by means of donations from abroad? -- I believe that the people who are defended see this as moral support. It can be looked on as a continuation of the World Council of Churches's Programme to Combat Racism which as I have pointed out in my evidence, is providing money for the funding of internal political trials in South West Africa.

CHAIRMAN: Might this be a convenient stage?

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS UNTIL 14h00

THE COMMISSION IS RESUMED AT 14h00 ON 3 NOVEMBER 1982

EDWARD PHILLIP CAIN, still under oath:

MR KENTRIDGE: We were talking about legal aid, Mr Cain. I see from a copy of Signpost that a special fund has been opened to meet the costs of the legal action which has been taken against you? --- That is true, yes.

That is perfectly legitimate, is it not? --- We have had R200 to put into it so far.

What about all the people in South Africa who support you and your views? You say the majority of church- 10 men support your view? --- That is how the R200 came without appeal being made.

Incidentally, if you think the majority of actual church members support the sort of view that you and the Christian League were putting up, why is it that the Christian League had to rely on Government support? -- I suppose that the Christian League received a lot less money from the Government than the South African Council of Churches received from overseas funds, so that it begs the question: why does the SACC if it claims to represent 14 million, 15 million .. 20

I was just relating - I was just dealing with your claim that the SACC views are not those of the majority of its church members and that what you call the traditional view, is still held by the majority of the church members. I want to suggest, if that was so, why did the Christian League not get support from those people? --- It certainly got support. It was not as much as it got from the Government, obviously. That is why we are getting our support from those Christians.

We were on page 21 of your report, you deal with 30
the/...

the question of support for trade unions, and you mention this throughout your submission. The auditors' report submitted for the Council shows that there were a number of occasions on which the South African Council of Churches gave support to the dependants of trade unionists who were engaged in strikes. You say they were illegal strikes. Well, let us assume they were illegal strikes. -- I quoted the Minister of Police as saying they were illegal strikes.

Well, let us assume that the Minister of Police happens to be correct. What is your objection to the South African Council of Churches giving support to the families of men who have gone on strike? ---- My purpose in the report from beginning to end is showing that the SACC is not - is pushing a politicised Gospel which is designed to bring about radical political change in this country, possibly the same type of change that is taking place in Zimbabwe, in Mozambique and in Angola. 10

But do you disapprove of support of say poor trade union members who are in conflict with a powerful employer? Do you think a church should not do that? --- How much money has the World Council of Churches given to Solidarity in Poland? 20

Really, we do not - you know, although you may believe it, possibly others here may believe it, the South African Council of Churches is not so powerful that it can control what goes to Solidarity or what does not. Is Solidarity's problem that it is short of money, Mr Cain? Let us have a little bit of common sense. That is not Solidarity's problem. Please answer my question. Do you disapprove - my question, I will repeat it for the last time, Mr Cain: do you disapprove/... 30

disapprove of support being given by church bodies to poor trade unions in conflict with powerful employees, yes or no? It is a free country; you will not be harmed, you will not be sent to prison for your answer, whichever way it goes. -- My maintenance is on the words of Edward Norman, that modern politicised ecumenical Christianity is being interpreted in a - in the context of liberal politics. For this reason ..

Mr Cain, I am going to interrupt you. Mr Von Lieres can ask you that question if he thinks it is going to be of any assistance. I ask you a simple question; either it 10 is yes or no or you do not want to answer it. If you do not want to answer it, I am not going to press you. Would you rather not answer my question? --- Let me ..

If you say you do not want to answer it, I will not press you. Do you want me to repeat my question? Do you, that is Mr Cain, with your religious views, do you disapprove of a church body giving support to a poor trade union in conflict with a powerful employer? Yes or no, or I would rather not say? --- I believe the Christian money should be given primarily for spiritual purposes rather than for socio- 20 political purposes, the purpose of bringing about radical change.

Do you think that brings about radical change, if you support a trade union in a wage dispute with employers? --- Certainly in countries other than South Africa, trade unions are being used to bring about radical political change.

Are you against radical political change? --- If it is the kind ..

Are you against radical political change, as you used the phrase yourself? --- If it is the kind which brings 30

to power a Marxist regime which suppresses the preaching of the Gospel, yes.

And if it is a different kind of political change which merely eliminates race discrimination, for example, and raises the standard of living of the working class, are you against that? --- I believe that South Africa is moving to that without the ..

Are you against that? --- I am not against raising the living standards of people, not by all means.

Are you against abolishing race discrimination? 10
--- Not at all.

Do you regard those changes as radical? --- The distinction is being brought between radical and cosmetic change; all changes that have been made in South Africa to the present are described by some as radical ..

I am asking you your view, Mr Cain? Mr Cain, would you - are you for or against removing racial discrimination and raising the standard of living of working people? -- I am not against those.

You are not against those. Have you ever in any- 20
thing you have ever written, advocated those changes? ---
No, because I am calling people back to a Biblical faith.
I am not dealing with political change.

You are simply criticising anyone who asks for any sort of change? --- No, I am criticising those who equate essential Christianity with a specific political dispensation.

Mr Cain, let us see how you put forward your views. Let us have a look at page 24. You are dealing with publications, and you are dealing with Mozambique. You say in paragraph 8: 30

"It/...

"It should be noted that Ecunews does not carry items hostile to the atheistic Marxist regime in Mozambique ... Only when 'positive' information can be presented is Mozambique mentioned"

and it mentions that eight men have been executed by firing squad in Mozambique. Do you see? You say they had no right of appeal and were executed within a week of being sentenced, yet there is no outcry of protest from Bishop Tutu. The SACC launched no campaign on behalf of the dissidents, even though they were Black, nor did it rush funds to defend them as it did in the case of the bank robbers in Botswana. I have dealt with the question of rushing of funds, though you think that would really have helped them in Mozambique. Are you suggesting that the SACC was silent in respect of these death sentences? --- I am not aware of any appeals that were made by the SACC or by the Ecumenical Movement on behalf of people who were executed for dissident activities in Mozambique.

Well, I do not accept that, because you follow the SACC and its publications very closely. At the National Conference of 1982, which was held in June of this year, there is the report of Bishop Desmond Tutu, and among other things he says this:

"I believe we should appeal to President Machel for clemency for those sentenced to death recently in Maputo for high treason and other charges"

and he made that appeal for clemency. Why did you not mention that? --- I have not seen that publication you have. It was not reported in Ecunews. I obviously cannot follow every publication. The fact that he expressed an intention to make an appeal, does not prove that the appeal was made.

Well, let me tell you that the appeal was made. -- Then why was my letter not replied to? Why was I not told that the appeal was made, in what form it was made and what the results of the appeal were. This is what I requested.

What right have you got to have the South African Council of Churches account to you for anything, Mr Cain? You took it upon yourself to put these misleading things before this Commission. -- I object to the fact that they are misleading. I wrote to Bishop Tutu, I sent him a telegram; I expected the courtesy of a reply. 10

I do not know what courtesy you think you can expect from Bishop Tutu. --- Well, from the cases that are laid against me, I guess I cannot expect too much. In fact he seems as determined as the Government to silence any opposition against him.

Incidentally, while we are on this; one of the points you make throughout is that people - that the South African Council of Churches is ready enough to criticise capitalist societies but it says nothing in criticism of African states where there is even less freedom than there is in South Africa for Blacks. You often made that point. While I have got this document in front of me, let me read under the heading "Africa - Refugees"; it is on page 5 of that document. He talks of refugees. He says: 20

"Sadly the bulk are due to man-made disasters of injustice, war, oppression, flagrant disregard for human rights which are the hallmark of the many military dictatorships to be found all over Africa, with its epidemic of military coups and civil wars. I find it galling as a Black man to have to acknowledge, as 30

I have done on other occasions, that often there is much less real freedom and liberty in most of independent Africa than there was under the much vilified Colonial era, but as a Christian I must speak the truth in love. Injustice and oppression are injustice and oppression whether they are perpetrated by a White or a Black ruler, and we must condemn them equally whoever the perpetrator" and then he speaks of Ethiopia where the Mikani Jesus Church especially, he says, seems to bear the brunt of Marxist opposition to religion. He talks of wars in other places; 10 he says of Mauritius:

"Mauritius is the first OAU country, it is said, where a change of ruling parties has happened through the ballot box and not through a coup. If that is so, it is a devastating commentary on our continent. We are distressed that Lesotho appears to be growing more repressive, and we pray that that land will soon have free and fair elections"

and he refers to denominational differences in that land as in Ulster, exacerbating sectional ones. 20

"Shouldn't we give thanks (he says) that Botswana remains one of the few genuinely democratic countries in the world?"

And he speaks of Zimbabwe as holding to its determination to work on rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation; it has resettled a record number of former Zimbabwean refugees back into their home society. Now, what I want to suggest to you, Mr Cain, that no one just reading your report would have any idea that those were the views of Bishop Tutu, would they? --- As I said, I have not seen that document. 30

I am very glad to hear these comments. They certainly are not representative of the material that is published in Ecunews, and as far as I am aware, that document was not published in Ecunews or the views reproduced in Ecunews.

Well, you talk of Ecunews. Let me point out to you the Ecunews bulletin of August 22nd 1980, which gives one of Bishop Tutu's reports as General Secretary, 11 August 1980. He talks of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and he says:

"Russia has still not left Afghanistan and is causing much suffering in this land. We must continue to
10
condemn this violation of the territorial integrity of a sovereign nation"

and he goes on to talk of the appalling urban violence in places such as Tokyo and Italy.

"We must continue to pray (he says) for the release of the remaining American hostages in Iran. There is much cause for alarm in Indo-China, Camputia, Vietnam, etc. We are distressed at the repression that is still evident in South Korea, especially directed at the churches"
20

and so on. Why do you not refer to this sort of thing? ---

I happened to analyse the 1981 issues of Encounter and not the 1980 ones. It is true, and I think I mention it somewhere, that there are occasional references to this. It is certainly not the main thrust of the issues of Ecunews for 1981.

There are passing references made at the time - both of the items you quoted were his speech at the National Conference where he gives a kind of world picture.

Yes, in other words, that is - you might say in a way, his main report of the year? --- Yes, and as I pointed
30

out the one was not published in Ecunews.

Well, we are going to put before the Commission a number of Bishop Tutu's reports, in which it is quite clear that he is not in any way backward in criticising oppression in independent African states or criticising what happened in Afghanistan or anything of that sort. --- I am very glad to hear that. I am sorry ..

Well, it is not enough to be very glad to hear it. I think perhaps you ought to accept that what you have put in this submission, is not the whole truth. --- I naturally 10 assumed the SACC would balance it by their own comment.

So you did? -- Well, of course.

I see. Thank you. So in other words, you could give a one-sided picture in the confidence that we would balance it? -- In exactly the same way as the SACC gives a one-sided picture of conditions in South Africa overseas, in order to counter the South African propaganda overseas.

While we are talking about Mozambique, you have made a lot about the fact that at a certain stage Bishop Tutu wrote a letter to the President of Mozambique thanking him 20 for his - for looking after South African refugees. Do you remember that? -- Yes.

Now, Mr Cain, you deal with certain political issues in your report, I am certainly not going to go through them all, because you have made your general views perfectly clear. If you look at page 32 of your report, you deal with a number of matters, for example, on page 32, "Relations with the Press", and you speak about Bishop Tutu's good relations with the press. Is that something you regret? --- No, I was only drawing attention to it. 30

Then/...

Then you say in the last paragraph:

In addition Bishop Tutu writes a regular fortnightly article, usually of a political nature, which appears on the leader page of The Star, the largest daily newspaper in the country. His article on 11 February 1982 is critical of the findings of both the Steyn and Rabie Commissions".

Why do you mention this particular article, that it is critical of the findings of both the Steyn and the Rabie Commissions? --- Merely as an example of the political nature of his articles. 10

Can you tell me, is there anyone who was not critical of the findings of the Steyn Commission? --- I am sure there must not have been, but having had the press criticise both the Steyn and Rabie Commissions, which they are perfectly entitled to do, because they deal with political matters, but with a prominent churchman merely repeating the criticisms which had been long heard, it seemed to me that he could have used the space he had available to better purposes, instead of repeating what had already been said. 20

That is your view. He might have thought the report of these commissions very important for Christians in South Africa. Do you not think they were? -- My argument from the beginning has been that the Ecumenical Movement is identifying Christianity with a certain political stance, and I am showing that Bishop Tutu by repeating at every opportunity this stance is moving within the full trend of the worldwide Ecumenical Movement.

But is it not a political stance if you support the Government? Is that a political stance? --- I am not supporting/... 30

supporting the Government.

Is it a political stance to support the government of the day? In what it wants to do? Is that political? --- My guide as a Christian is the word of God.

Mr Cain, when you talk of a political stance, do you include in the concept of a political stance, support for the government of the day? --- I follow the word of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Apostles and in Romans Chapter 13 Paul lays down the requirements for a Christian, and I stand by it; it says, "Let every soul be in subject to higher 10 powers, for there is no power but of God, the powers that be ordained of God, whoever therefore resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good and the same shall praise you. For he is a minister of God to you for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is a minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath on him that does evil". This is my 20 stance, which I am required to stand by as a Bible-believing Christian. If you want to make that a political stance, then that is my political stance.

I would like you to interpret that for the benefit of the members of the Commission, as you interpret that, that means that you must not criticise your government? --- No, this means that the - because of the evil in the heart of man, it is necessary to establish certain norms, certain levels in society as laid down in the Ten Commandments, and the civil authorities are there to enforce these norms, to enforce 30 these/...

these laws, it is binding on the Christian, as I already mentioned in the example of Our Lord Jesus who did not resist the authorities of His day. We have the warning of the Apostle Paul, the instructions of the Apostle Paul, on the attitude of Christians to the authorities of their day; we have the Apostle Peter repeating the same type of exhortation.

Mr Cain, I am asking you whether in view of this interpretation you place on that passage in the Gospel, you draw ..
--- It is an epistle, not a gospel.

I am sorry, it was? --- An epistle, not a gospel. 10
Was it - is that Romans? --- Romans.

In view of the interpretation you place on it, does that mean that you ought not openly to criticise the government under which you live? --- Obviously as a citizen of this country, I have the right to criticise it; I have the right to use the channels that are available to me to bring about changes in government.

Yes, you have the right, but you do not feel you are ever under a duty to do so? Is that correct? You do not feel that you are under a duty to do so? --- Obviously 20
a right and a duty are interconnected. My main sphere, as I have said before, is not political; it is Christian. I have not given myself to engage in political activities. I am interested in engaging in Christian activities.

You mention for example the German theologian Thielike?
-- Yes.

Was he imprisoned in Germany during the war? --- I am afraid I do not have that much knowledge.

You do not. You know at least then that there were a number of German Christians, Christian ministers who 30
were/...

were imprisoned in Germany during the last war, for opposition to the German government? --- I am aware of that.

Would you condemn that? --- No, not necessarily.

Do you think that they were obeying the precept in the epistle which you have just read out? --- My knowledge of the situation in Germany, I am afraid, is not great.

That I will accept. Let us have a look at page 34. You say something here which is quite frankly, rather astonishing, in the third paragraph. You say:

"Bishop Tutu's arrogance is so great that he believes his viewpoint to be the only valid one. Every other voice must be silenced". 10

Have you ever heard Bishop Tutu call for the suppression or silencing or censorship of any opposing views? -- He certainly is doing his best to silence my voice, and the voice of the Christian League.

No, he is not. You mean because he is suing you for defamation? --- Certainly.

Well, let us just come to that in a moment. Have you ever heard Bishop Tutu or the SACC call for censorship? 20
--- He is censoring my views.

Have you ever heard him call for a censorship? -- His effect on me is to silence me.

Have you ever heard him call for official censorship of publications or speeches? --- I have not, no.

Does he believe in bans on meetings? --- He certainly does not take very well to criticism.

Does he believe that meetings or speeches should be banned? Has he asked that the Christian League should be declared an affected organisation? --- His act- the 30

Christian/...

Christian League from its inception until this time, and I am no longer associated with it, has had legal action from the South African Council of Churches and its officials pending over it. This is an effective form of intimidation and an effective means of silencing opposition.

Really, Mr Cain, those actions were actions for defamation. In fact, there was a judgment against you and the Christian League? --- It was not against me.

Oh, was it not against you? --- It was not against me.

Was it against Mr Shaw? --- It was against Mr Shaw. 10

And that is on appeal in the courts of the land? --- I am well aware of that.

Yes, simply based on defamation, not based on your expression of opinions? --- The effect is very similar.

You really think so. So you think the whole law of defamation affects a censorship on opinions? --- Obviously the expression of opinion is curtailed when one knows that an action of this nature can be brought.

Mr Cain - well, that is a view on the law of defamation, absolutely. But Mr Cain, you know, in this country there is a law which allows for censorship of publications in inter alia political grounds? --- I am aware of that. 20

There is also a law under which a minister can ban certain meetings and ban people from speaking at meetings. You have expressed no opposition to those laws, have you? --- I am not in a position to know on what grounds these actions are taken. I presume that the authorities who take them, have good reasons for bringing them about.

But sometimes you approve of bans on meetings, do you not? --- I have seen a country fall to Marxism. I have 30

seen two countries fall to Marxism. I have watched them closely. I am well aware from listening to Radio Mozambique and other sources that South Africa is under a Marxist threat.

That is your - but so you do approve of bans on meetings and on speakers? From time to time? You have expressed approval of it? --- If the authorities deem that it is in the interest of the country to ban a political meeting because it is such that it would disturb the law and order, unless I have evidence to the contrary, I must accept their judgment.

10

Yes, but more than accepting it, you sometimes have approved their judgment? You have said they have been correct to ban certain meetings. Have you not? --- I have no doubt that they - I do not recall having said that, at any time, but I have no doubt that if they have reason to ban them, then they must have good reason to. After all, South Africa is under a threat; it is - we are well aware that the South African Communist Party has long tried to bring about a Marxist state in this country.

Mr Cain, you might be right. You are entitled to your view, but it is a political view, just as much as anyone else's is a political view?_ --- I stand by what I read in Romans 13. 20

Well, Mr Cain, you know, I am afraid I am going to have to make certain submissions to the Commission about you, if I am called upon to do so. There is no point in debating this sort of .. --- I am sure that is what you are paid to do, Mr Kentridge.

Yes, I am, and I am not ashamed of it either. I engage in what I think is an honourable profession, and I hope that/... 30

that you can say the same. --- I certainly can, and I must point out that I am here voluntarily, that I did not get a penny from anyone for either spending time here or drawing up this memorandum. I gave my time freely to do it.

Let us just have a look at page 33 of your report. You see, here at the foot of page 33, two paragraphs from the foot of the page, let us see how non-political you are. You quote the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, and you quote him as saying that the SACC launched and supported activities which were in no way different from those of the African National Congress. If you look at page 54, you will see you again quote this Minister. You see, on page 54, the second paragraph, you quote Mr Le Grange as saying that the previous March Radio Mozambique said 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. Why do you quote these Cabinet ministers? What is the object of quoting what Mr Le Grange says to the Commission? Do you think that they are going to take it as evidence, just because Mr Le Grange says so? --- I presume that Mr Le Grange has a security service behind him, that when he makes these statements, he makes them on the basis of more evidence than I can if I made a similar statement. I presume therefore he is speaking with authority. I presume that he is speaking with evidence for the statements he makes.

If there was evidence that Bishop Tutu had a mandate from the ANC to act as their representative within the country, do you not think Bishop Tutu would be prosecuted? ---

That is not my decision. It is the decision of the

Minister/...

Minister of Police.

Yes, but you can surely exercise a little bit of common sense, Mr Cain? I see on page 56 you even quote Dr Andries Treurnicht, whom you describe as the Minister of State Administration. You must have written this a very long time ago, Mr Cain? --- If you look at the quotation, Mr Kentridge, it was from 4 November 1981.

Yes, but it is you who is describing him as the Minister of State Administration? --- He was described as such in the quotation. 10

Why do you quote Dr Andries Treurnicht? --- Why should I not quote him?

But you are here giving evidence and making submissions to the Commission. Why - I do not understand this. I mean, if you can express your own views, place facts - do you really think that the Commission is going to be impressed by what is said by people like Mr Le Grange and Mr Treurnicht? --- Well, these - and I include Mr Treurnicht, because at the time he was a Cabinet minister; I presume they speak with the weight of their office. Mr Treurnicht, whatever his 20 present position, whatever his present political views, is - it must be remembered - a man who was once ordained by his church, a man therefore who has some theological knowledge, and my reason, my main reason for including this quote was, here was a man who is a member - or was at the time a member of the South African Government, a man who was at the same time a man with some theological training, who was bringing his insights to bear on another religious organisation, namely the South African Council of Churches, and I thought his quote that the church must know that it is not called 30

upon to be co-governor of the country, and that its offices were not established for that purpose. Its authority differs 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, a thought coming from a man with religious training, and a man who at that time held a Government position, was a very adequate summing up of the distinction between the authority of the church and the authority of the state.

And as far as his general outlook is concerned, do you have any views on that? I mean, you are entitled to? --- Beyond the fact that he has established a political party, I give my support to neither his party nor any other political party.

And Mr Le Grange you quote simply because he is a Cabinet minister? --- No, simply because he is a Cabinet minister with the responsibility of police, justice, security matters. I presume that he knows - that he has access to information which I do not have, and ..

If he had it, perhaps he would give it to the Commission? --- Maybe he would prefer that an ordinary civilian pass on the information. This is why I included it.

We will not say anything more about Mr Le Grange. Let us have a look at page 34 of your report. You quote Bishop Tutu as saying that he is not a pacifist, although he is a man of peace. Would you describe yourself as a man of peace, Mr Cain? --- Certainly.

Are you a pacifist? --- I have never taken up arms. I do not own any arms. I have never been a member of any armed .. (INTERVENTION)

Are you a pacifist? You know what that word means?
Are you a pacifist? --- If I were called on to take up arms,
I would take up arms, yes.

In other words, you are not a pacifist? -- I am not
a pacifist.

Just like Bishop Tutu? He says he is a man of peace
but he is not a pacifist. Now, let us have a look at the
foot of page 34, the last two paragraphs on that page. You
say there, you quote Bishop Tutu as saying that he believes
that you cannot be a Christian and at the same time be 10
a perpetrator of apartheid, and you say in the next paragraph,
in this he has the support of the leadership of the Church
of the Province of South Africa. In other words, this is
the view that apartheid is actually a heresy? --- That is
so.

It is absolutely clear, you do not believe that?---
I certainly do not.

It is clear that Dr Norman would not accept that? ---
He has stated that.

Yes. On the other hand, there are many, many 20
churches and churchmen who do accept that? We know recently,
apart from the - what you say about the leadership of the
Church of the Province, we know the World Alliance of Reformed
Churches has taken that view. Do we not? -- Of course.

In this country I think the Methodist Conference has
taken that view? --- Yes.

And the Congregationalists? -- Yes.

And the NG Sendingkerk? --- Right.

And I do not know if it goes exactly as far as that,
but certain views on the subject, I think, have been 30
expressed/...

expressed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church?

--- It is possible.

Do you suggest that all these bodies are influenced by Marxism? --- I go along very strongly with Dr Norman, when he says, modern political - let me see if I can find it.

Well, let us assume that Dr Norman does think so. I am asking you, leave out Dr Norman for the moment. Mr Cain, do you believe that all these churches which I have mentioned, in taking up the stance they have done, were influenced by Marxism? --- Dr Norman makes it very clear that the leadership of the World Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Movement is working on the basis of Marxist presuppositions. I accept his views. 10

So all these churches are working on the basis of Marxist presuppositions? I suppose we can add into that the Roman Catholic Archbishops who also condemned anatheid as being unChristian? --- I go back to the case of the Aryan heresy in the 4th century, when the whole church was swept into heresy and a few people like Bishop Athenasius stood against it, in these days men like Thielike, like Norman, like Peter Bayerhaus are the men who are standing against the contemporary trend to reinterpret the Christian Gospel along political lines. 20

Yes. You see, Mr Cain, I am certainly not here to say that you are wrong; that is not .. --- Thank you.

That is not my function. You are entitled to your views. --- Thank you.

The SACC and Bishop Tutu disagree with it very strongly on grounds which they have stated and will state again.

I rather get the impression that one of the things you are/... 30

are trying to do is persuade the Commission to accept your views on this, and Dr Norman's views. --- I am certainly putting to the Commission Dr Norman's views, because I believe they are relevant. What I am opposing is not the - one interpretation of Christianity or another. What I am pointing out, that the end result of the politicisation of the Gospel as it is going, as Dr Norman, Dr Bayerhaus Thielike have pointed out, is the identification of the Christian Gospel with a specific political creed, and the belief of - these beliefs have already led in the case of Mozambique, of 10 Angola, of Zimbabwe and of Nicaragua to the imposition of a Marxist regime, which is detrimental to spiritual Christianity, and the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism which has already established these Marxist regimes, is working towards the establishment of a Marxist regime in this country. It is this kind of political change which I am opposing.

Well, look, this sort of thing went down very well with the Steyn Commission, but I think that this Commission is doing its investigation on different lines. Just have a look 20 at page 34A; you quote a Mr Richard Harries. You say he is one-sided, very negative, totally critical; not one positive statement about South Africa. Do you know who Richard Harries is? --- I read the article, he was a member of the Church of England who visited South Africa.

Also the Dean of Kings College, London? -- My reason for including that quotation, or reason for referring to that long article, is that I do not believe that the people he consulted are in a position to give an unbiased or objective view of the conditions in South Africa. He also started 30

the/...

the article by saying that anyone who holds a different view of the position in South Africa, does not know what he is talking about and has been brainwashed by South African propaganda. So if I am accused of presenting a one-sided view of the SACC, the SACC is equally condemned of presenting a one-sided view of this country, and the changes which are currently taking place in this country.

Really? Thank you very much. On page 35 onwards, and in many other places you speak of the activities of Bishop Tutu and other people in the SACC abroad and outside South Africa. You say nothing about the speeches that Bishop Tutu has made in Pretoria, Pretoria University, at Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, University of the Orange Free State. You do not mention any of those? --- I guess that certain cuttings, certain references, certain speeches came to my hands; others did not. I cannot obviously in the space of time available to me, quote everything Bishop Tutu said.

You have got at page 40 onwards a great deal about conscientious objection? --- Right.

In fact you say somewhere that the South African Council of Churches - I think you said somewhere that the South African Council of Churches advocate conscientious objection? --- I do not recall that I said that specifically.

But be that as it may - yes, look at page 44, your last paragraph (n) at page 44, you say -

"It vigorously advocates conscientious objection on the basis of 'unjust war'.

Well, I want to suggest, that is a complete misstatement.

The South African Council of Churches does not advocate conscientious objection. --- I am sorry ..

What/...

What it does advocate is that conscientious objectors' feelings and views should be respected by the authorities. It is a very different thing, is it not? -- The advocating, I am afraid, I may have misworded it there, whereas the advocating of an unjust war as basis for conscientious objection, I am sorry, that was badly worded.

Look at one of your points you make at the top of page 41. You speak of the SACC's views opening the door for non-religious or atheistic conscientious objection on moral or political grounds. Leave aside the political; do you 10 object to conscientious objection on moral grounds? -- No, I am merely saying that there is - that as has been reported recently, within the last few days, where the South African Defence Force is considered easing the problems for young men, church-orientated young men who have conscientious - or objections on the grounds of - on religious grounds, this has been criticised as not going far enough, because it does not take into account those who are not Christian and who have moral objections. I am merely pointing out that by advocating selective conscientious objection, this is now 20 moving more onto the moral area rather than onto the religious area.

Mr Cain, I do not know how old you are; I do not know if you have any personal recollection of the 1939 to 1945 war in this country? --- Very little, I was not very old.

Well, you may know that this country was engaged in a war from 1939 to 1945? --- I am aware of it.

And you know that many people in this country refused to take part in the war effort, or to join the forces, on grounds which you could describe as moral or political? -- 30

Undoubtedly/...

Undoubtedly.

In fact, there were senior - there were officers in the South African Army who resigned their commissions rather than fighting in that war. They did so on what they believed moral or political grounds. That was respected at the time, was it not? --- Well, I do not know, I believe some of them were imprisoned.

Not for that reason. --- I am not an authority on that.

I wonder if you ought not to be, if you talk about conscientious objection; I wonder if you ought not 10 to make yourself an authority. --- On the Second World War?

Yes, and on how - on the question of the morality, of going to war or not going to war, of joining in or not joining in and how it was treated in this country, in 1939 to 1945?

--- I am merely - my concern is the changes that have been brought around in the Christian religion over the past 20 or 30 years, and I would point out that the change we are seeing in this country are also reflected in Britain, that the Church of England in Britain has come under heavy criticism for its lack of support of the British people and 20 the British Army, in their actions in the Falklands, and for advocating unilateral nuclear disarmament, that the Ecumenical Movement is very active in breaking down the military defences of Western countries.

You see, what I want to suggest is that whenever you get away from your broad views and come down to specifics, you always end up on the side of the status quo and of the present authorities in this country? --- Mr Kentridge, as I have explained, I have very good grounds in the word of God in the examples of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who did 30

not oppose an oppressive regime in His day, and was crucified for refusing to identify himself with the liberation movement, the freedom fighters of his time.

Well, Mr Cain, let us get onto the way you deal with the question of the attitude of the South African Council of Churches to Mozambique and that controversial matter of the raid on the ANC bases in Mozambique. You point out there that Bishop Tutu took part in a service. --- Can you give me the page number?

Page 45, the service in commemoration of those 10 who were killed in Mozambique, that is to say the Blacks who were killed there; you point out that this service honoured only what you call the 'ANC dead'. Now, Mr Cain, I want to make it clear, Bishop Tutu is completely unrepentant about this service. He feels he has nothing whatsoever to apologise for. You say at the beginning, the top of the page:

"Memorial services were planned for those who died in the raid. When these were quite correctly banned .."

So you approved of that ban? --- I believe that one of the purposes was to focus attention on the ANC in South 20 Africa.

So you believed - yes, you believe they were correctly banned? You say so? --- Yes.

Let us just think about what was actually said. It said, not only here by Bishop Tutu but on page 46 you quote the Eastern Province Herald? --- Yes.

The point that was being made, was that with regard to that raid into Mozambique, where the South African forces killed certain ANC people there, what he was pointing out, what the Eastern Province Herald was pointing out, was 30

that/...

that whether we like it or not, and in fact to Whites in general it was a very shocking thought, to all of us, that those people, those ANC people who Whites in this country mostly would regard as the enemy, to the Blacks in this country were simply their own people, as Bishop Tutu it, they are fathers, sons and brothers, and that there was a very, very different reaction to that raid in the Black community to that reflected in the White community and the White press. Now, it seems to me the way to approach this is, not do we like it or not; but was this true or not? And Bishop Tutu and others 10 believe, and the Eastern Province Herald for that matter, believe that this was something that had to be said, because it was a fact of South African life. Do you not see it that way? --- Certainly if it was there, Mr Kentridge, this kind of service would have accentuated and given it - and reinforced those views.

Well, it may well have done so, but there was very, very strong feeling in the Black community, I want to suggest to you, and I do not ask you to approve of it, but as a fact there was very strong feelings? --- I would suggest in 20 sections of Black community.

But large and important sections? --- I was in Mozambique prior to the Frelimo take-over. Certainly there was very little support among ordinary Blacks in Mozambique for Frelimo. The Blacks in Rhodesia by and large were supportive of the status quo, the Smith government in that country, and I believe that equally large sections of the Black population in this country are not as against the status quo as some people would portray them as.

I am not going to go into your qualifications to 30

speaking/...

speak as an authority on the views of the Black people in this country. Possibly Bishop Tutu knows a few more Black people than you do. --- Possibly. I am in contact with many.

THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED

ON RESUMPTION:

EDWARD PHILLIP CAIN, still under oath:

MR KENTRIDGE: Mr Cain, I should inform you that contrary to what you said, that that June 1982 report by Bishop Tutu to the National Conference, which included the reference to the appeal to President Machel for clemency, was in fact published in Ecunews the very next month, July 1982? --- Thank you. I guess I did not see that issue. I cannot see everything. I do try.

It is a pity that that sort of thing finds no place in your 57 page memorandum, or in your pages and pages of appendices. Now, Mr Cain, we were talking about this Mozambique raid and you mentioned the letter, page 46 paragraph 2, the letter to President Machel of Mozambique. You said he wrote on 2 March 1981 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".

You then give what you say to be the key sentence about:

"You have put your country in line for possible action by the armed forces of South Africa"

and you criticise this letter, and I am not going to deal with your criticism. Bishop Tutu wrote that letter, and he has no apology to make for it, but I would like to see

this/...

this - point out the sort of thing that you say about it, again on the question of your accuracy and objectivity. If you look at page 48, you say:

"Similar letters were sent to the heads of Zimbabwe and Botswana but were apparently sent much later. They did not appear to have contained the statement regarding 'possible action by the armed forces of South Africa'".

Now, Mr Cain, that is another thing in your memorandum which is simply untrue, because the letters were sent to all heads of surrounding states, at the same time, and in exactly the same terms, and in fact these letters are part of the documentation which is now in the possession of My Learned Friends on my left. The letter on 2 March 1981, letters in identical terms were sent not only to the President of Mozambique, but to the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, the Prime Minister of Lesotho, the Prime Minister of Swaziland and the Prime Minister of Botswana. Each of them contained this phrase:

"Sometimes the refugees have been difficult in demanding preferential treatment and thereby arousing often justifiable resentment from the local inhabitants. You have exposed your countries to possible action from the SADF. Please accept our thanks"

etcetera. So your statement on page 48 is simply untrue, Mr Cain? --- It is based on the available evidence I had, that is the letter to Machel, was reported on 20 March, the letter to Botswana and Zambia were mentioned at the end of April and the beginning of May. In the articles mentioning those two letters, no reference was made to the statement, that is why I made the qualification that they appeared to have been sent later, because they were reported later. I

also/...

also stated that they do not appear to have contained that statement because on the basis of the information I had there was no reference to it.

And that is true of so much of your memorandum. You simply put in things that you might have picked up in the press, and other things which you for some reason have not picked up, do not appear here? --- Obviously the things that I have not picked up, I am unable to include.

Again though we have the example that what you have picked up, is used by you as a ground for - I was going 10 to say criticising; I go so far as to say smearing the South African Council of Churches, when the true facts are contrary to what you state? --- It is also true that I 'phoned the South African Council of Churches in March 1981 in order to ascertain the truth of that letter, and was unable to get any information from them on it, a fact which I printed in the April 1981 Encounter.

And in fact certain of the gentlemen written to, certain of the Prime Ministers and Presidents, wrote back and acknowledged it; President Machel as it happened was 20 not one of those who acknowledged it. --- Certainly he made good publicity - good use of it in his publicity.

He may have done so. You know, that brings me to another thing which one finds throughout your statement, Mr Cain. You keep saying that the SACC and Bishop Tutu always simply stress the negative side of things in South Africa; they have got no credit to the Government for things they do. You know, again I am going to suggest that that is quite wrong. I am going to give you a couple of examples. Here is a letter, and they will all be - can be put before the Commission, 30

from/...

from Bishop Tutu in his capacity as General Secretary of the SACC, to Dr Koornhof, 23 April 1979:

"Dear Mr Minister

I am writing following up my comment in the press after learning of your decision on Crossroads, when I said this was a wonderful step in the right direction. This note is to commend you very warmly on a courageous and eminently sensible decision."

etcetera. I am going to put another one to you, 18 June 1979, also to Dr Koornhof, commending - he is saying he is 10 instructed by the Executive Committee of the SACC -

"to commend you warmly on your decision to give a reprieve to Alexandria township. It is in line with your decision on Crossroads".

May I give you another example, from 1 August 1979, from Bishop Tutu to The Honourable the Prime Minister, Union Buildings, Pretoria:

"Heartiest congratulations on Upington's speech. God bless you".

There is another one, on 19 November 1979 from Bishop 20 Tutu on behalf of the SACC to the Prime Minister:

"We wish you God's richest blessings for your meeting with business leaders on Thursday. We pray earnestly that its fruits will be to God's glory and for the service of all His people".

I do not want to read them all out, but they are here. There is a letter to the Prime Minister of 18 September 1980 saying that there was a retreat which was being held, and he felt moved by God to write to you - I do not want to read out all that he says, but he says like: 30

"You/...

"You have demonstrated that you are a courageous man by what you have been prepared to say, and more importantly, where you have chosen to say it. I want to assure that I pray for you and your colleagues regularly".

Now, I am not suggesting for a moment, and Bishop Tutu would never suggest that he has any agreement with Government policy; he thinks it is wrong and very wrong, and he says so, but your suggestion that he never gives credit where credit is due, is just wrong. --- On page 28 I did my best to cover 10 that. I was dealing with the articles which appeared in Ecunews, and I said in the third paragraph:

"Most articles of a political or semi-political nature are hostile to the status quo in South Africa".

I said most articles; "positive comments are extremely rare". not never appear.

"Even when the article seems at first glance to be positive and complementary, qualifications are added which give it the appearance of a back-handed compliment. For example, Bishop Tutu said, 'I am on record as 20 praising him (the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha) for his courageous utterances'".

Now, this would go along very much with the letters you have read there.

"The implied criticism in the following statement, however, should be noted, 'I am waiting with bated breath for (him) to begin turning his courageous statements into deeds'".

The statement continues:

"The Government seems adept at taking away with 30

one hand what it has given with the other and criticises the authorities for recognising Black trade unions only in order to keep them under tight control".

The statement concludes:

"We have only between five and ten years before we get our first Black prime minister".

I am pointing out here that where favourable statements are made, they are usually qualified by saying, yes, but further steps need to be taken.

Well, is that not a fair comment? Why - what is 10 wrong with that qualification? Would not everyone agree with it, even supporters of the Government? --- The comment is made with the purpose of eliciting further action. It is not made in isolation; it is made with a specific purpose of bringing about a desired end.

Well, what is - and do you find something wrong with that? --- No, I am merely pointing out that the positive comments are not made in isolation, but with the purpose of attempting to bring about further action.

Let us have a look at what you say, if you just 20 go back to the foot of page 47. You see what you say there:

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

--- I am sorry, did you say 47?

47, the foot of 47. Do you see that? --- Yes.

Do you know about the visit of the two Anglican Bishops from Mozambique to South Africa? --- I am aware that they have - they were permitted in from time to time, at least not - they were given permission from Mozambique to 30

leave/...

leave the country from time to time.

Do you know that that was only brought about after appeals by church leaders including Bishop Tutu, to President Machel?

--- No, was it publicised?

I should not think it was. I think it was done in order to help these people, not to make political capital? --- So one regime is criticised verbally, openly to bring about the condemnation of the world upon it; another regime is - a completely different tactic is used. This parallels exactly the attitude of the World Council of Churches to the West 10 and to the Communist countries of ..

Mr Cain, you know, it may not strike you; Bishop Tutu happens to be a South African citizen who is the General Secretary, not of the World Council of Churches but of the South African Council of Churches, and there are certain things that he does in South Africa, and if he were a citizen of Mozambique, I can assure you that he would have acted with at least as much courage as you. --- Thank you. I observe that the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Zimbabwe was highly critical of the Smith regime. However, it 20 has decided with the change of government that it would work closely together with the new government. It has not expressed - I believe it has made one statement of criticism of the policies of the new government.

Yes, do you know how long the Smith regime was in power, and do you know how long it was in power before that Catholic Commission started to make statements? Or are you not an expert on that either? --- I am aware of that. I am also aware of the fact that Mozambique has had its independence since 1975. It has been reported that there is a similar 30

commission in Mozambique. Again I know of no criticism of the regime in Mozambique from the equivalent of the Catholic Peace Commission.

When there is a commission of inquiry into the Catholic Commission in Mozambique, this would be very interesting and relevant. --- We have a parallel constantly that Western countries are subject to great criticism by the World Council of Churches when it comes to Eastern Block countries. Neither the dissidents receive any support, be they religious or political, but the - and any effort to make - any 10 pressure brought upon the Ecumenical Movement to criticise Communist regimes, is passed over with the excuse, yes, we are making quiet under the table representations, but these are never publicised.

Again, you know, I am afraid you are at the wrong commission. The Steyn Commission had about 100 pages on the World Council of Churches. This Commission is investigating the South African Council of Churches. --- The statement I handed in last Friday, by Dirk Thomas Kunert traces 20 very closely the way the South African Council of Churches has followed every contortion, every change that was made by the World Council of Churches, far more ably than I am able to do.

Yes, I have no doubt. Would you look at page 53? You see, you mention in paragraph 6, BBC Interview, about a letter purporting to come from the ANC thanking the Bishop for assistance given. You say he considered the letter to be spurious, an attempt to discredit him. I want to ask you about something else. Do you know that - I think it was this year, that a telegram was sent to the Prime Minister 30

of Great Britain, Mrs Thatcher, purporting to come from Bishop Tutu in which support was expressed for the IRA. Do you know about that? --- I was not aware of that.

Obviously a move to discredit Bishop Tutu and the South African Council of Churches. Would you have any idea who would have an interest in discrediting Bishop Tutu and the South African Council of Churches? --- Not at all.

You do not know about this one? You have never heard about it? --- No.

Did you not pick that up at all? --- I am incapable 10
of picking up everything.

Yes, I see. Well now, I just want to ask you one more thing about Dr Norman. You have got 8 pages of quotations from him. You really - I think if one has a look at your list of quotations, you will see that between pages 17 and 41, you do not find room for any quotations, if you look at page 3 of your appendix. You see, your second-last paragraph is a quotation on the matter of Soviet influence, about how the Russian Orthodox Church consistently uses a forum for the promotion of Soviet foreign policy. Now, what I 20
want to suggest to you is that in the preceding pages from which you do not quote at all. Dr Norman expresses the view consistently with his approach to Christianity, that in fact the West's human rights attack on the Soviet Union as a suppressor of religious freedom, is ill-founded and unjustified? --- Yes.

Allright, you did not think that was relevant to quote?

--- The - what he is proving is that the - what the human rights, as I recall, issue is not being backed by the Russian churches even though it is very strong in the West. 30

No/....

No, he goes much further than that. He says from the point of view of religious worship, members of the Orthodox Church are allowed to worship in their churches, and they do not regard this as an infringement of their human rights, and the line he takes consistently with his view, is that this must be respected and that it is not necessary for Christians in the West to assume that the Russians are not happy with the degree of religious freedom they have? --- Yes, he is pointing out that in Russia Christianity is spiritual, and this conflicts with the secularised interpretation 10 that modern Christians are putting on Christianity.

People like Bishop Tutu and the SACC would not consider there was full freedom of religion in Russia. -- I am not aware that they of the World Council of Churches are doing anything for Christians who are being suppressed in Russia.

What do you think they could do? --- There are organisations that are smuggling in Bibles; there are organisations that are paying for Bibles to be taken legally into Russia; there are organisations which are sending in aid in the form of material and finances; there are certainly or- 20 ganisations that are giving publicity to conditions of persecution in Russia, but the World Council of Churches is not.

You know, if you read Dr Norman carefully, you will see one of the interesting things he said, is that it was the Russian Orthodox Church who said they did not want the importation of Bibles, because the Western Bibles were not in accordance with their liturgy. I do not know if it is right or wrong; I just mention it. --- Yes, what we have is - we appreciate, is there are two churches in Russia; there is a church which is controlled and subservient to the 30 authorities/...

authorities. This is the one which is used - which attends the World Council of Churches' congresses; this is the one which pushes a line which is consistently in harmony with the Russian Communist - the Soviet foreign and internal policy. There is another church which seeks to be independent from the State, which seeks to run its own affairs, and there is - and this is the section which is being persecuted and this is why I see the development similar to those in Russia as very dangerous for spiritual Christianity, because only the politicised version, only that which is subservient to the State, is permitted in that country. 10

Mr Cain, I am certainly not going to debate theology with you, but just to get where you stand on these things, you have no doubt studied the life and works of Wesley? --- I have, to a degree. I am not Methodist, so obviously Methodists would have studied it to a greater degree.

Do you know, Wesley felt that his religion required him to attack and do his best to abolish the institution of slavery? --- I know that his major emphasis was the preaching of a gospel of repentance and reconciliation to God, and that by changing men's lives, by changing them internally, this would affect a change in society. This was his major emphasis. 20

Mr Cain, do you or do you not know that he was a campaigner against slavery? --- I have not - as I said, I am not a Methodist, I have not fully studied the life and works of Wesley. I was not specifically aware that he campaigned against slavery. I was aware of the fact that he preached a spiritual gospel and brought hundreds and thousands to a deeper walk with God. 30

Do you not know that he advocated the freedom of the American colonies from England? --- I did not study Wesley in that detail, no.

Do you not know that he inveighed against the liquor trade? --- I have no doubt that he did not, because he would have seen the effect that it was causing on lives of individuals. I have no doubt that he ..

Do you know that he campaigned for the greater equalisation of wealth in England, and actually advocated a system whereby farms should be limited in size? --- I know 10 that he stated that when men and women were brought to a saving knowledge of Christ, their work - the quality of their work improved; the cheer they gave for their families and their children improved; they began to cheer for them, and the quality of the life in the home began to improve, and this was his main theme.

Yes, now, supposing he did campaign for the things I have mentioned, as he lived in the 18th century, we could take it that he was not subject to Marxist influence? --- Yes. 20

If what I have said to you is correct, his view of his religion was different from yours? -- No, I would not say.

You would not? -- His major emphasis was not on these things. It was not on restructuring society. It was bringing men and women, individuals, into a vital contact with the Living God.

Well, the people who instruct me and who are perhaps closer to Methodism than you are, tell me different. Now, Mr Cain, I am not going to debate - I personally am not going to debate theology with you. 30

M'Lord, clearly - I take it that Your Lordship and members of the Commission are not going to make positive theological findings. That is what I have assumed. However, the only reason why this has to be brought up, is that Mr Cain is saying in effect that the things that the South African Council of Churches do, whether they are right or wrong is a different matter; he says they are something which does not flow from the religious beliefs which they profess, and are merely political. Now, as you will recall, at the first hearing, public hearing of this Commission, Bishop Tutu himself gave a very full statement to the members of the Commission, explaining why in the view of the SACC everything which they did, had an underlying Scriptural and Christian basis. Now, M'Lord, in so far as this witness is saying that this is not so, there may be an issue there in which the Commission might be interested and might regard as important. Now, consequently, although I am not going to attempt to cross-examine Mr Cain on theological matters, if Your Lordship thinks that this is - and the members think that this is an issue, I am going to ask Bishop Tutu himself to put certain Scriptural and theological matters to Mr Cain, and himself to debate them with Mr Cain, in order to show that everything that the SACC does, has in fact a sound Christian, religious and Scriptural basis, and I would like Your Lordship's direction on whether this ought to be done.

CHAIRMAN: Bishop Tutu must certainly feel free in the light of what the witness has said, to put - to do the exercise which he does, but I am not minded to support its being done in the way of the questioning of the witness by the Bishop.

MR KENTRIDGE: Well, I am certainly not capable of

cross-examining/...

cross-examining on these matters, and I do not know that anyone on my side is.

CHAIRMAN: Well, we are coming there on a terrain of difference of opinion, and frankly I prefer that sort of difference of opinion to be ventilated on paper. It need not come in the form of cross-examination. I should imagine that if, in the light of what the witness has said, if Bishop Tutu feels that he would like to enlarge on his perception ..

MR KENTRIDGE: But we would like to know whether it is a relevant matter before the Commission, whether the activities of the SACC have a religious basis, or are justified by their religious views, on the one hand, or as Mr Cain says, that they have got nothing to do with true Christian work, and obviously it is a very - there is a very deep cleavage of opinion there, and I do not know whether it is one on which Your Lordship - which Your Lordship wants to take further.

CHAIRMAN: When I say that I am not going to decide on theological issues, I mean by that I am not going to certainly undertake the task of examining ecumenism as against the fundamental Evangelistic approach. That I am not going to do. But if this witness does introduce - does place in issue the question of whether the activities of the body that we are concerned with, whether that really has a religious basis, so that is something that the Commission will have to look at, and to that extent I think it would be correct to say that that is something that is ..

MR KENTRIDGE: Well, then I think we have to cross-examine the witness further on that.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but frankly, I would ..

MR KENTRIDGE: Well, in that case, for that section, 30

I think I would probably withdraw and Bishop Tutu would represent the South African Council of Churches and cross-examine Mr. Cain. I must say, M'Lord, it is - I would have thought, with great respect, that whether Mr Cain - and this is with respect to Mr Cain, whether Mr Cain or anyone else thinks that the activities of the SACC are justified by religion, is really - may be of little moment, but unless Your Lordship can tell me at this stage that no notice is going to be taken of what Mr Cain says on this point, I am afraid he will have to be cross-examined further by someone with a deep 10 knowledge of theology, and ..

CHAIRMAN: Well, this being a commission of inquiry at which all persons who have an interest, have the right to make - approach us, certainly if you do not represent - if you are going to withdraw, then the General Secretary would have the floor, would have the right to cross-examine. But I would prefer - purely for the sake of good order and for the quick disposal of all the issues, we are concerned with, I would prefer if it were done by counsel.

MR KENTRIDGE: Well, M'Lord, it is - I know counsel 20 are supposed to know everything at short notice, but really, to work up sufficient theological knowledge to really cross-examine on this basis, is something which one cannot really do without a good deal of reading of things which are at the fingertips of Bishop Tutu, and no doubt of others, and I would therefore ask that on this part of the case, Bishop Tutu represent the South African Council of Churches, and in order to cross-examine Mr Cain.

CHAIRMAN: I think that inquiry - that part of the inquiry could be undertaken at a subsequent session of this 30

Commission. By that time possibly counsel may have familiarised himself adequately with the theological issues to undertake the cross-examination himself.

MR KENTRIDGE: Yes, it is possible but unlikely. M'Lord, in that case, could I say that ..

CHAIRMAN: There is another reason which I think I should express here. Obviously the two gentlemen concerned hold strong views, one way or another, and I think it is to be - it would be a pity if the inquiry were to be undertaken otherwise than through counsel. Obviously if counsel with- 10 draws then there is no option, but I want to express my very special preference for counsel undertaking this type of inquiry.

MR KENTRIDGE: Yes, even if not this particular counsel?

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR KENTRIDGE: M'Lord, in that case, could we say that at this stage there are no further questions. There are other aspects which I should indicate, this is - this 57 page statement plus many appendices, contains many, many, many allegations on fact about the South African Council of Churches 20 and about Bishop Tutu. If I were to take every single one up with this witness, this cross-examination will go on for days. As I understand it - as I understood Your Lordship at the opening of this Commission, if following the evidence there are any matters on which it is felt some further explanation should be had from Bishop Tutu or any other official, in due course, Your Lordship will probably recall that?

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR KENTRIDGE: And I would suggest therefore that if there are any statements of fact in here on which Your Lordship 30 would/...

would like Bishop Tutu's view, in due course you will probably call upon him to state ..

CHAIRMAN: It strikes me, speaking for myself, as being the best course. We will study this and at a resumed session deal with ..

28 MR KENTRIDGE: I just want to make it clear, M'Lord, that this being a Commission and not a trial, that the fact that I have only taken up with Mr Cain a small selection of this statements of fact, should not be taken as an indication that the others are in any way accepted. 10

CHAIRMAN: I understand that.

MR KENTRIDGE: In that case, I suppose strictly speaking I would ask for the cross-examination to stand over to a date to be fixed.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, well, let us put it on this basis that you have no further questions at this stage?

MR KENTRIDGE: No further questions at this stage.

CHAIRMAN: Very well, and we will deal with the matter at the resumed hearing in a manner which we think best. At this stage, Mr Von Lieres, have you any further questions? 20

MR VON LIERES: Yes, I have got just two simple questions to the witness at this stage. The one is just to ask him to refer to Appendix "A".

Are you there, Mr Cain? --- Yes.

You see, at the bottom of the .. ---Which page?

Appendix "A", at the bottom of page 1? --- Yes.

Do you see the reference to page 18 there? --- Yes.

Turn over the page; do you see the reference to page 19 in the second paragraph, and the third paragraph; 22 and 23, 25 and 26? --- Yes. 30

There/...

There are quotations between pages 17 and 41. The question that - the only question I wish to ask you at this stage is this: if in fact the other letters to the various front-line governments did include the paragraph relating to the South African Defence Force, how does that affect your statement or approach? -- It does not affect - I think what I said in my memorandum. The emphasis I put in that memorandum was on the way that the Mozambican authorities interpreted that statement, and they interpret it as an expression of support from the vast number of South African Christians and 10 I dissociate myself from that statement, although Bishop Tutu speaks on behalf of South African Christians, he does not speak on my behalf, and my only means of dissociating myself is to make a statement similar to what I have made, and what I printed in Encounter.

The other point that is perhaps - should perhaps be made is that Dr Norman's book appeared in 1978? -- This is not strictly true. Dr Norman broadcast a series of lectures on the BBC called The Reef Lectures. He broadcast these in the second half of 1978; the book is a reproduction in 20 printed form of these lectures. It only appeared in 1979, about 6 months after the broadcast.

These minor matters are all I wish to put.

CHAIRMAN: Well then, as far as you are concerned, Mr Cain, you are excused for the time being. You may have to come back at a later stage to be asked questions on theology, but for the time being you are excused.

THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED TO 4 NOVEMBER 1982