

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

HELD AT PRETORIA

ON 18 MAY 1983

CHAIRMAN:

THE HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE C F ELOFF

COMMISSIONERS:

MR S A PATTERSON

MR T L BLUNDEN

PROF P OOSTHUIZEN

MR F G BARRIE

CHIEF INVESTIGATING OFFICER:

ADV K P C O VON LIERES SC

INVESTIGATING OFFICER:

ADV ETIENNE DU TOIT

SECRETARY:

MR M L MARAIS

ON BEHALF OF COUNCIL FOR THE

S A C C:

ADV KENTRIDGE SC

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LUBBE RECORDINGS (PRETORIA)

/VMD

WITNESS: BISHOP DESMOND TUTU

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON 13 MAY 1983:

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU CONTINUES HIS EVIDENCE:

ADV. KENTRIDGE: M'lord, before I ask Bishop Tutu to resume his evidence, I want to tell Your Lordship that the document mentioned in Dr. Kistner's evidence, "A Time to Resist", that is a document by Mr. Joseph R. Brandt of New York, has now reached me. I do not know how Your Lordship is going to handle it, but perhaps the secretary to the Commission could make copies for the Commission, and Your Lordship could in due course say whether you want Dr. Kistner recalled on this. 10

CHAIRMAN: Yes, thank you very much, if that could be passed on to the secretary. You were, I think, almost at the foot of page 8.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Indeed, M'lord. You have that place, Bishop Tutu? --- Yes.

May the witness continue now?

CHAIRMAN: Please. I think just for the record, I have to do this every day, might I remind you that you are still under oath? --- Yes, M'lord. Thank you.

"Be that as it may, the SACC has found the Commission 20
a very expensive exercise. We have stimated that it will at the end of the day have cost us R200 000, and that excludes the staff time of my colleagues at Khotso House who have had to deal with Eloff Commission concerns from time to time, and of Matt Stevenson and Dan Vaughan who have given virtually full time attention to this Inquiry. I, the executive head of the organisation have attended all the Commission's public sessions except for a few days when I visited the USA briefly. We do not have any 30
contingency / ...

contingency reserves worth mentioning so we had to appeal to our member churches and our overseas partners. Incredibly and heartwarming, in next to no time we had received in pledges or donations more than R170 000. The total stands currently at R239 863. I appealed to the South African private sector as well. The Prime Minister can sleep securely. He does not need to worry about the private sector's support for him. Only one of the several companies and banks I appealed to responded generously 10 with a R1 000 donation. All the others would not touch us with a barge pole (not even the one that lost a million rand on the soccer tour flop) not even just to enable us to have the best possible defence. This money and time I have referred to could have been expended more profitably providing scholarships etcetera, rather than on an Inquiry, which will all due respect to the Commission, I am more convinced than ever before, is totally uncalled for and totally unjustified. I will return to this point anon. 20

I have also carried on some of my normal ordinary work. I have produced a few press statements, almost predictably, addressed a few meetings, made Asingeni grants and chiefly Asingeni grants to provide legal defence for those charged with political offences, a service which the police have found to be sinister. I will deal with this odd view of the police in time. I have also been looking after a small Soweto parish, taking sick communion to some of God's children of a Sunday morning and visiting our sick in hospital as 30

regularly / ...

regularly as my other commitments permitted. I have done this in addition to what I believe the unnecessary work of an Inquiry that is totally uncalled for.

M'lord and Members of the Commission, we had hoped to call some of our overseas partners to attend the closing public sessions of the Commission. That is all. But when the police put in a submission that suggested that the SACC was not its own master, that it was not representative of its member churches and least of all of its South African grassroots membership, that it reflected the views more of those who, because they paid the piper called the tune, and to whom the Council was bound by the funds it received from them, then I decided that we should call some of our overseas partners to come and testify before this Commission to refute the allegations of any such unworthy motives and actions on their part. M'lord and Members of the Commission, we have had a tremendous demonstration of the kind of relationship that subsists in the Church of God and which I referred to in my first submission to this Commission. I said then that we were not just a fly by night tupenny ha'penny organisation, but that we were an integral part of the worldwide Church of God, a koinonia which does transcend time and space, race, nationality, colour, culture - all those things that would normally make for separation. We said then that if the Government touched the SACC, then they must know that they were touching the worldwide Church of God. We said then that theology provided the raison d'etre of our existence and our operation. I am

glad / ...

glad that the Chairman himself is no mean theologian having had to deal with complex and nice theological points when you defended Professor Geysler on charges of heresy brought by his church against him. In March this year we had a demonstration of the solidarity that exists between the SACC, its donor and other overseas partners as well as its member churches. Ecclesiology, the doctrine of the nature of the Church, came wonderfully alive. I want this Commission to know how that came about.

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We just picked up telephones and called our friends overseas as well as in this country and said we needed them to come and testify before the Eloff Commission. I telephoned Lambeth Palace, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the USA and the Primate of Canada. You know the results of our telephone calls and telexes. You have seen for yourselves the calibre and status of persons who came from overseas. They are not the kind of people who are sitting around overseas twiddling their thumbs waiting for an invitation to come to South Africa. They were prepared to come here at their own expense and at great inconvenience to themselves - the Chairman and General Secretary of Dan Church Aid from Denmark, the Chairman of the Synod of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands and the secretary of their Church World Service, the Executive Secretary of KED, the President of the Foreign Affairs Office of EKD, the Bishop of Berlin, Chairman of the EKD South Africa Commission from West Germany, the Bishop Member of the Churches' Foreign Relations

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Committee from Norway and the secretary of that body, the General Secretary of the Reformed Church in the Usa, the Chairperson of the Finance Committee of the WCC from the United States - and even more extraordinarily, the five-person international delegation representing the worldwide Anglican Communion made up of two archbishops from New Zealand and Scotland, the Archbishop of Canterbury's personal assistant from England, a high lay official of the Canadian Anglican Church from Canada, and a member of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church in the United States from the USA - a very high-powered representation by any standards. And they had wanted to respond as is their wont to a request from the SACC before they would come to South Africa. They did not obtrude themselves. They gave testimony on how they have operated with the SACC and gave other relevant evidence of the nature of the church. The church leaders of our member churches also came at great inconvenience to themselves and also at their own expense - the President of the Methodist Conference, the General Secretary of that august body and church, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Southern African, the Chairperson and General Secretary of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and assessor of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, the Scriba of the Reformed Church of Africa, the President of the South African Catholic

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Bishops' Conference, and the Presiding Bishop of ELCSA. These are not persons who would be in collusion to lie to the Commission. Their testimony must be given the highest possible credence and what did they say? They demonstrated that their membership of the SACC was not merely nominal. Their churches had expressed criticism of the SACC when they thought it was necessary to do so. They attested to their churches' commitment to the SACC, but it was their Council contrary to the evidence adduced by the police, inter alia, that the special circumstances of the socio-political and economic dispensation in South Africa made it virtually impossible for them to increase their financial support to the Council, since most still received much overseas help themselves, and that they would be quite unable to take up any slack should the Council be prevented from receiving funds from overseas and consequently there would be a vast work of Christian compassion and charity and caring that would be left undone if the SACC were unable to do it.

M'lord and Members of the Commission, the police have admitted that the SACC is doing nothing illegal. It has not committed any indictable offence, and that is quite an admission given the whole phalanx of security laws which could be contravened. We have said many times that if anyone in the SACC was found to have contravened even one of these draconian laws, then the proper thing is for that person to be tried in the courts of the land. And even if an officer or employee

of the SACC were so to be charged and found guilty, that did not necessarily constitute grounds to take action against the organisation itself. A well known bank which recently has been in trouble would have been in very serious trouble if that were to be the normal practice. Even Cabinets with their doctrine of corporate responsibility do not usually resign if one member gets into trouble unless that person be the Prime Minister of the day. We have recently had a State President and a Cabinet Minister resign because 10 of their being embroiled in the Info Scandal. They alone bore responsibility for their actions and not the entire Government.

We challenge the Government to charge the SACC or me and let the charges under their security or other legislation stick. The question becomes urgent, why was this Commission appointed? It must be borne in mind that the SACC had already informed all who needed to know about the unsatisfactory state of the financial administration, that it had appointed a one-man 20 inquiry under Mr. Potter and had dismantled SACCAS and appointed a Deputy General Secretary with special responsibility for streamlining the financial administration, and it was also setting up its own Finance Department. These steps led to the marked improvement referred to by Mr. Wessels, the Commission's auditor inter alia. The SACC had gone to the extent of announcing the appointment of what has come to be known as the Schreiner Commission to examine all matters related to the financial administration of the SACC 30

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and any other relevant matters for especially the period 1975 onwards. It must be noted that the appointment of this Schreiner Commission was decided on at a joint meeting between the SACC Praesidium and church leaders of the SACC member churches. There has never been any attempt on the part of the SACC to engage in a cover-up or to hide facts that could be embarrassing from its overseas partners or from its member churches. I have pointed out that the Commission has copies of my own correspondence with the appropriate persons where I speak openly about matters I would have wished were other than they were. The announcement of yet another independent inquiry was further proof that the SACC intended to be open and transparent. Our overseas partners were by and large satisfied with our reports. They showed their satisfaction by not just continuing their financial support at former levels, but increased it in some instances quite significantly. That would be odd behaviour for people who were dissatisfied. They said before this Commission that they were not foreign paymasters manipulating the SACC as part of a huge international conspiracy and intrigue to subvert what they considered to be the legitimate Government of South Africa.

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No, they said, they regarded it as a great honour and privilege to share in the work of Christian love, compassion and reconciliation which were part of the SACC's ministry for justice and peace and a new order in this land. Our member churches have also testified

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that they support the SACC. None has withdrawn from SACC membership during these troubled years. If our overseas partners and our member churches are fully satisfied and gave their unqualified support for the SACC then, what business is it of the Government to have talked about a spurious public interest? What business of the Government is it even if we were unrepresentative - after all those who were falsely declares as being represented could have repudiated this unrepresentative body as easily as Bishop Mokoena 10 and his RICA have done? With some of their White constituency, it would have been more comfortable for some of the SACC member churches to have so repudiated the Council. But they have stuck by the SACC. It is interesting to note in a parenthesis what has happened recently with the SABC in response to allegations of corruption in the Corporation. External auditors were appointed who on the whole gave the SABC a good report but pointed out that there were instances of unsatisfactoriness. It is also interesting that in a 20 number of instances they refused in their report to name persons who might have been guilty of malpractices - quite unlike the way in which the SACC and its people have been treated in various reports, and we have not yet heard that there is likely to be a Commission of Inquiry into the SABC.

The police and the Commission's auditor have in addition found no evidence to accuse the SACC of any misdemeanour. We said so many times over that we operate openly and legally and now we have been vindicated by the police 30 themselves / ...

themselves. Then why was this Commission appointed in the face of all the available facts? Let us bear in mind that the Prime Minister of this country announced the appointment of the Eloff Commission in a somewhat strange setting. He did so at the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party. He had had difficulties with what was regarded as a very conservative Congress whose leader at the time was the redoubtable Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who has since broken away from the Nationalist Party to head his own right-wing Conservative Party. Mr. P.W. Botha was, I believe, at pains to demonstrate his 'kragdadigheid' by not allowing so-called leftist organisations free play. The appointment of this Commission was pure and simple in our view and in that of many in the world a blatant political act to help an embattled Prime Minister out of a tricky situation. He hoped that the Commission would be the occasion for the publication of allegations with unsavoury details which would help create the right atmosphere that would justify his Government taking action against the SACC and/or its officers and staff without provoking too much of a backlash here or overseas. I believe he did not much care what the source of the allegations was. Those have been the kind of methods he and his Cabinet colleagues have used against the SACC. In my time, it started with the unlamented Mr. Jimmy Kruger, who whilst talking on SABC-TV about terrorism suddenly asked the SACC to account for how it expended the millions it received overseas. There was no direct accusation

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about anything, but the juxtapositioning was too clever by half. I challenged this Minister to a public debate on how the SACC did in fact use its funds. He did not respond to my challenge. I then demanded that the SABC should give me equal time to refute Mr. Kruger, which they did in an abrasive interview with Mr. Cliff Saunders. I have since had the one interview with Pat Rogers. Apparently the SABC is not too keen to repeat what for it is the rare experience of dealing with the truth from much vilified or/and misrepresented quarters. I subsequently had to repudiate Mr. le Grange for a quite irresponsible and hopelessly illogical attack on the SACC. I suggested then that he needed a course in elementary logic. Then Mr. P.W. Botha at a Republic Day speech at RAU accused the SACC of using its millions of rands to engage in subversive activities. I called him publicly a liar then and am prepared to do so again. He knew he was lying then and if he were to repeat such a statement I would still call him a liar and anyone else who would make the same false allegation".

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I just want to refer, M'lord, if you will permit me, to appropriate press cuttings.

"That is what I mean when I say the Government has sought to use this Commission to help do its dirty work for them. The appointment of the Eloff Commission..

(Chairman intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Just for the record, what we have now received is a photocopy of the heading of a publication in - what

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newspaper / ...

newspaper is this? --- Sunday Post.

Sunday Post, the heading is: "You are a liar", Tutu tells P.W. Botha", and this article starts off with the words: "A Church/State confrontation.." and ends off with the words "students in Transkei". Thank you, please proceed.

--- "That is what I mean when I say the Government has sought to use this Commission to help do its dirty work for them. The appointment of the Eloff Commission is the culmination of a well-orchestrated campaign by the Government to vilify, malign and discredit the SACC by innuendo, by misrepresentation and through guilt by association through its spineless sycophants and satellites such as the SABC-TV and Radio and some newspapers. I told the Government then that we do not in the SACC use such methods of deliberate distortion and deception of which the Government was shown to be guilty in the Info Scandal. I have said the Government does not know how to deal with those who have even a modicum of integrity.

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They are so used to underhand methods where anything goes that they are dumbfounded by truth and probity. But not even this Government could quite unashamedly say that feeding the hungry, providing scholarships et al were subversive activities - i.e. the bulk of the activities of the SACC. They knew a Commission would result in a great deal of mudslinging and mud-raking and they hoped that some of the mud would stick enabling them to do what they have wanted to do for a very long time, destroy the SACC and its General Secretary. And why should they want to do this? The

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Government has been deeply upset as you can judge for yourselves from the police submission about particularly two aspects of the work of the SACC, i.e. our financial support for the families of political prisoners and our provision of legal defence for those appearing in political trials. In order to make this work impossible, the Government have gone to the lengths of appointing a Commission when they must have known from the Security Police and its network of spies and informers that the SACC was not even remotely guilty of an indictable offence. You can be sure had they found even the flimsiest they would not have been backward in coming forward to charge us, for this would have justified their previous fulminations and even since 1978 they have failed dismally to find any such evidence. 10

In Soviet Russia and other totalitarian countries, you often have what are called show trials. These are usually of two kinds. The first sort is the trial where a dissident and opponent of the repressive government is brought to trial because there is fairly watertight evidence against the accused. The authorities are in the seventh heaven of delight because they will be vindicated by due process in a court of law which will find their opponent guilty and so serve to discredit him and, in their view, help to invalidate his criticism of the regime. There are not many such trials in those countries. 20

There are many more of the second kind. In this genre, the authorities have more or less decided what they 30

want to do with the thorn in their flesh, but perhaps because they are sensitive to strictures from the democratic west, they do not want to seem to act only arbitrarily. Then they will resort to the show or mock trial. This is when there is the appearance of a trial before an open court but in actual fact what we have is a mere charade. It is the motions of a court trial, the shadow of the real thing whose substance is non-existent. Often it is because the evidence to be adduced has been 'manufactured' and the officers of the court are not immune from subtle or not so subtle pressure from the powers that be. We know about these phenomena from reading contemporary Russian novelists such as Solzhenitsyn. Most times the Russian authorities spare themselves the trouble of these trials either by condemning those they detest to psychiatric wards or to the dreaded salt mines. What I want to underline is that this kind of manoeuvre (that of the mock or show trial) is a characteristic of repressive totalitarian regimes. I have no doubt at all that the South African Government decided long ago that the SACC must go or at least be so hobbled in its work that to all intents and purposes it would be rendered quite ineffective as an unrelenting critic of the evils of apartheid as perpetrated by the Government.

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The Government are annoyed by our providing legal defence for those appearing in political trials and our supporting the dependants of political prisoners and of banned and detained persons. That is what has

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got their goat. And they are determined to destroy the SACC for this, by any means foul or fair. Theirs are decidedly foul.

And so in the absence of evidence the Government had to have recourse like totalitarian governments to the show "trial" - we have had what many consider to be the charade of this Commission. And I want to stress, M'lord, I am not for one moment impugning the integrity of yourself and the honourable members of your Commission, but South Africans know that the Nationalist Government has used Commissions of Inquiry before to deal with awkward customers. The Commissioners are not themselves play acting and they are in earnest, but that does not stop the Government from trying to use them. 10

It is investigating a body whose membership is at least eighty per cent Black and yet there is not even a token Black commissioner to give the Black perspective on the SACC. To demonstrate the cynicism of the Government even further, the Government appointed as chief investigating officer, Mr. von Lieres a member of the quite astounding Steyn Commission which declared itself so firmly against the SACC and its General Secretary. How did they expect him ever to be perceived as unbiased? Normally such a person would have been asked to recuse himself - but the Government's purpose is that unsavoury and totally unproved allegations could be made about the SACC which would then be widely published by a compliant Press and sycophantic SABC radio and TV service, and 20 30

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thus succeed in creating the right atmosphere for Government action against the SACC. If your evidence against an individual cannot stand the scrutiny of an open court, you ban him. If you have no evidence against a critical institution then you declare it an affected organisation, thus saving you all the fuss and embarrassment of a failed court case. The Government want to find us guilty of subversion and crime. But all they can accuse us of is carrying out Christ's commandment that we should love one another and to do certain acts of compassion to the least of His brethren because it would be doing these as to Himself. Of subversion and crime we plead 'not guilty' but of the acts of Christian compassion, love justice and reconciliation we plead proudly 'guilty'. If it is a crime to be a Christian in South Africa as it seems, then we have given the Government ample evidence to find us guilty on such a charge. And the Government wants to use this honourable Commission for that dirty work.

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We are harassed and vilified and maligned for trying to follow in the footsteps of our Lord and Master and the testimony of those who represented the ecumenical world and the evidence of the leaders of our member churches, confirm that we in the SACC have been in line with the mainstream of Christian tradition and that it is our detractors and critics who are out of line with that tradition and at odds with international opinion.

When I telephoned the Archbishop of Canterbury he said: 30

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'I hope you won't accuse me of name-dropping but when I was in Buckingham Palace last night during the State banquet for President Kaunda, I referred there to the Eloff Commission and our concern as Anglicans for what is happening there'. I have been told by Lambeth Palace that the Archbishop of Canterbury visiting New Zealand would brief the New Zealand Premier about all that is taking place here. Obviously the world is watching with great interest what is happening here at this time. Our Christian brothers and sisters in other parts of the world are concerned because they are convinced we are on trial in South Africa for our Christian work. 'On Trial' is the title given in England to the English edition of 'The Divine Intention' which is my first submission to this Commission.

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I have received copies of letters written by Presbyterians - and I might add, M'lord, that Anglicans as well now, in the United States to President Regan, to Secretary of State Shultz, to Dr. Chester Crocker, to the South African Ambassador in Washington DC and to Mr. P.W. Botha".

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I will not, M'lord, if you will permit me, read the letters, but I will ask the Commission respectfully to acquaint themselves with the contents. Could we then turn to page 21.

"When Saul of Tarsus was persecuting the first disciples of Christ and zealously following them even to different cities, he encountered the risen Christ on the road to Damascus and he heard the divine voice calling out: 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?'

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'Tell / ...

'Tell me Lord,' he said, 'who you are?' The voice answered: 'I am Jesus whom you are persecuting..' To persecute Christians for their faith is to persecute Jesus their Lord and Master. When Christians are on trial for their faith, then it is Jesus their Lord and Master who is on trial. And like the apostles when they were flogged by the Sanhedrin for bearing witness to Christ, we in the SACC standing trial for a similar Christian witness will emerge from this also rejoicing that we have been found worthy to suffer indignity for the sake of that blessed Name.

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Your Commission has been asked to be part of a plot to be sacrilegious and blasphemous. It is being asked to engage in a retrial of Jesus Christ and to take part in a plot to crucify Him afresh, in doing these things to those of His followers who are guilty of no more heinous a crime than trying to be faithful to their Lord and Master and to obey what they believe are His clear injunctions. Jesus was brought to trial although all He had done was go about doing good, healing the sick, feeding the hungry, raising the dead and preaching the good news of the Kingdom of His Father. They sought any witnesses, those who would lie deliberately, and those who would misrepresent Him because they had misunderstood His words and works. We are similarly on trial after trying feebly and sinfully and so imperfectly to follow the example of our Lord and Master. Our work and words would be imperfect and so more easily questionable, but the

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parallels between the events preceding the first Good Friday and what has been happening to the SACC are too close to be ignored. The SACC has gone about doing good, feeding the hungry, helping to educate, supporting the families of political prisoners. We have heard the testimony of witnesses intent on denigrating or damaging or even destroying the Council either by deliberate untruths or misrepresentation caused by misunderstanding. Our Lord and Master warned us that it would be so. He said to His disciples: 'As for you, be on your guard. You will be handed over to the courts, you will be flogged in synagogues. You will be summoned to appear before Governors and Kings on my account to testify in their presence. But before the end the Gospel must be proclaimed to all nations. So when you are arrested and taken away, do not worry beforehand about what you will say, but when the time comes say whatever is given you to say; for it is not you who will be speaking, but the Holy Spirit. Brother will betray brother to death, and the father his child; children will turn against their parents and send them to their death. All will hate you for your allegiance to me; but the man who holds out to the end will be saved'. Jesus said: 'This is my commandment to you: Love one another. If the world hates you, it hated me first as you know well. If you belonged to the world, the world would love its own; but because you do not belong to the world, because I have chosen you out of the world, for that reason the world hates you. Remember

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what I said: 'A servant is not greater than his master,' as they persecuted me, they will persecute you, and follow your teaching as little as they have followed mine. It is on my account that they will treat you thus, because they do not know the one who sent me. For it is a fine thing if a man endure the pain of undeserved suffering because God is in his thoughts. What credit is there in fortitude when you have done wrong and are beaten for it? But when you have behaved well and suffer for it, your fortitude is a fine thing in the sight of God. To that you were called, because Christ suffered on your behalf and thereby left you an example; it is for you to follow in his steps..'

'who is going to do you wrong if you are devoted to what is good? And if you should suffer for your virtues, you may count yourselves happy. Have no fear of them: do not be perturbed, but hold the Lord Christ in reverence in your hearts. Be always ready with your defence whenever you are called to account for the hope that is in you, but make that defence with modesty and respect. Keep your conscience clear, so that when you are abused those who malign your Christian conduct may be put to shame. It is better to suffer for welldoing, if such should be the will of God, than for doing wrong. For Christ also died for our sins once and for all. He, the judge, suffered for the unjust to bring us to God'.

Sirs, we believe in the Resurrection, but this Resurrection we know, can come only after crucifixion

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and death. Calvary must precede Easter Day. (I have been writing most of this section of the submission during Holy Week and Eastertide and that is why it has struck me so forcibly). Sirs, the Government using this Commission can destroy the SACC and Bishop Tutu. But what will that be to the point ultimately? God's purpose is for South Africa, that it will be a truly free country for all its people who will count for who they are and not because of a biological irrelevance, where Black and White will be free to be human together, not fearful of one another and seeking to destroy one another. Sirs, those purposes cannot be frustrated by mere human beings, even powerful human beings, as the Government undoubtedly is powerful - very powerful - but still mere frail, puny human beings for all that. For we believe that the kingdoms of this world are becoming the Kingdom of our God and His Christ and He shall reign for ever and ever, Amen.

The rest of my submission will be in three parts - the first part is autobiographical because I believe this Commission must know something of my personal spiritual pilgrimage and how I reached the point that I have in my personal credo. It will be a kind of anologia pro sua vita: the second will contain quotations from white Dutch reformed theologians and leaders supporting the particular theological stance we have taken in the SACC - and as Mr. Kentridge has indicated, M'lord, I will not be reading through all of that but only to point to certain sections of it.

The final section will be one in which I try to refute various allegations made against us or to provide further details to show that snide innuendoes made by certain people especially in the police submission are entirely without foundation and are merely malicious in intent.

WHO I AM: M'lord, and Members of the Commission, I was privileged to be born into a Christian family.

My father's father had been a minister of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa and had written one or two of its hymns. My late father was headmaster of the Methodist Church primary school in Klerksdorp where I was born and it was in the Methodist Church that I was baptised. My father, Zachariah, a somewhat proud Fingo inexplicably for him, married a Motswana, my mother Aletha Matlhare, who is still alive and who did not go much further than primary school level. We learned to speak both Xhosa and Tswana from an early age (for we had as children, my two sisters and I, to communicate with Kuku our maternal grandmother). Was I a Xhosa or a Motswana? Later we knew ourselves to be African and not members of this or that tribe. Hence my strong abhorrence of ethnicity especially as forced down our throats by a racist Government bent on dividing and ruling us. By the way, I suffered a serious childhood illness. The result was I became lefthanded. My right hand is half paralysed. That is why I often rub my hands together and not as SABC-TV pathetically seemed to say because I am necessarily anxious. My father was then transferred

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to Ventersdorp where I first learned to speak Afrikaans. The Black community in the location spoke either Setswana or Afrikaans. We spoke Xhosa only at home. I used to cycle regularly into town to buy my father his Star or Rand Daily Mail. I recall it as if it were yesterday having on many of those occasions to run the gauntlet of White boys who taunted me and jeered at me calling me 'Pik'. When I was at a safe distance I would retort 'Jou graf' thinking they had been referring to the garden implement. Only later did I realise that they were really saying 'pik swart'. I had happy experiences too with Whites in Ventersdorp. For instance, in the only cafe in town then, I had a Greek friend who always gave me sweets whenever I came in to buy anything. Looking at it from this distance I realise now just how incredible it seems that I could spread the Star or the Rand Daily Mail on the town pavement and kneel there to read it, and nobody walked over the paper or jostled me. There can't have been too many who would have supported the AWB, whose leader comes from near Ventersdorp.

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In my father's school we were a pretty motley crowd - there were Africans, so-called Coloureds and Indians (the latter lived in town) and nobody then thought it was a potent or explosive mixture nor that Indians could not live cheek by jowl with Whites. The heavens did not seem to have fallen in. I recall how we location urchins used to rush to the side of the road to wave ecstatically to the troops (mainly White)

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going 'up North'. We were fond of playing soldiers and it was a matter of great pride if someone in your family was in uniform. My own uncle was a sergeant in the Union Defence Force. We did not seem to mind that Black soldiers had to carry assegais to face the might of Rommel's Desert Rats. Only later did we learn that many whites and especially their church were opposed to the Smuts war effort. Today roles have been reversed. Most Blacks think a Black soldier is a traitor to the liberation struggle. 10

The Afrikaner would understand that stance.

There was something I could not understand as a small boy in Ventersdorp in those days. Sometimes I went to town during school hours. I saw White schoolchildren at break. There were also children from the location scavenging in the White school dustbin, picking out what appeared to be perfectly good fruit and sandwiches thrown there by the White schoolchildren from their government-sponsored schoolfeeding because they seemed to prefer the school lunches their 20

mothers had prepared. We did not yet have schoolfeeding in Black schools and many Black children seemed to need it desperately. It came under Mr. Jan Hofmeyer for a short while until Dr. Verwoerd stopped it. He argued that since the Government could not feed all Black schoolchildren it would feed none at all. A strange argument, as difficult to sustain as saying since we can't treat all those suffering from TB we should treat nobody.

We left Ventersdorp after we had followed my eldest 30
sister / ...

sister first to the AME church and then into the Anglican church when I was never to forget one Black priest, Sachariah Sekgapane. I recall that whenever we small boys had gone with him to outstations, he would never sit down to lunch at the church without first ensuring that we had been fed. I never forgot that example of caring for veritable nonentities. You can see I was gaining an interesting ecumenical experience, first a Methodist, then an AME member and finally an Anglican. I had even an experience of an Independent African Church because one of my father's relatives was minister of some obscure sect and I carried his banner when he went round the Roodepoort location to evangelise. He used to sing a strange song repeating the words: 'Simon Petros, Ndicedise' - 'Simon Peter, help me'. The location children called me Simon Peter's son. Roodepoort West location was a slummy area with dirty dusty roads and lanes between the houses with pools from the overflowing nightsoil buckets. The stench was something else. I look at the new white suburb which has replaced the Black location which was destroyed when the people were moved to Dobsonville and I wonder why it was so difficult to provide us with a fraction of the amenities to be found in Horizon.

My mother worked at this time when we had moved from Ventersdorp at Ezenzeleni (meaning do it for yourselves) Blind School near Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, started by a remarkable couple, the Reverend Dr. Arthur and Mrs. Blaxall. (He was later to become

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General Secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa and to be found guilty of a security offence). They had founded the first school for Black blind people in this country in Worcester and their names should be inscribed in letters of gold when a proper history of South Africa is written. That school for the blind, Ezenzeleni, became one of many casualties of the Nationalist's obsession to uproot and destroy communities for it is no more on its original site but has been moved to Ga-Rankua. Mrs. Blaxall had with quite remarkable patience taught a Black man who was born blind, deaf and dumb to read and write English and braille and to 'listen' to music and to people by placing his fingers where he could sense the vibrations. I tell you all this to show you how fortunate I was in the many outstanding people who influenced me and helped me to become a slightly better human being than I would otherwise have been. One of these persons was Ezekiel Mphahlele whom I met at Ezenzeleni. He was then a humble clerk and driver for Arthur Blaxall. I admired his grit and determination. He had taken up running and physical training to overcome a physical ailment, and as a small boy I joined him with another person when he went for his long runs. He tried to teach me boxing which gave me a little confidence to face up to one or two bullies in the location. This man was working away quietly studying with UNISA and ultimately was the first person of any race to obtain the MA in English with distinction at that university. I do not

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know whether he has been emulated. Today he is a world-renowned and acclaimed novelist, and educationalist, and is a professor at Wits University in their African Studies Department.

One day, it was in the early forties, at Ezenzeleni, I saw a truly remarkable sight - a White man actually doffing his huge black hat to my mother, a relatively uneducated domestic worker. That was for me an unforgettable sight. And the White man, I discovered later, was Trevor Huddleston of whom more a little 10

later. We moved to Munsieville, the Black location in Krugersdorp where my father was headmaster now of an Anglican primary school. We lived in a three-roomed municipal house with no electricity but a bathroom-cum-toilet with running water. My bedroom doubled up as our lounge and diningroom. In this crowdedness we were quite typical. This was in 1945. The street passing in front of my home was an apology of a street, with rocky outcroppings. Incidentally, Dr. Cedric Phathudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, then 20

a school inspector, lived in Munsieville in his own, not a municipal house. M'lord and Members of the Commission, in 1983, 38 years later, that street I refer to is still in that condition. My younger sister now owns our former home. Much of Munsieville has now been demolished because the people had to move on in our forever hamba. Next to Munsieville a White township has now been constructed. The contrast between the two townships is stark. Why anybody should think Blacks need agitators to make them get angry at 30

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the inequities of South African society beats me. It is to say that we are such slow thinkers that we need someone to tell us: 'Hey, you have a toothache' before we each suddenly realise 'wragtig, I have a toothache!' It is also to concede that the situation is in fact one that an agitator can exploit. Let him try and tell people in Waterkloof or Houghton that they are oppressed and they would tell him to jump into the lake.

I travelled, as did many of my contemporaries, by train to Johannesburg Bantu High School popularly called Western High (now Madibane High) in what was then Western Native Township (now Western Coloured Township). Subsequently I stayed in Sophiatown at a hostel started by the Community of the Resurrection Fathers headed by Trevor Huddleston at Christ the King. I used to go home in Krugersdorp at weekends. Sometimes on Mondays when I had to go back to school, there was no cash for me. I would walk with my mother to the White 'madam' in town where she did the washing to collect the two shillings (in those days) which was her pay. It meant then that she should be working for the rest of the day for nothing on that occasion. I recall once when my father had gone on three months leave and his pay was delayed for a long time, how we were eating sparingly relying entirely on what my mother made with her washing and ironing. In this we were fairly typical. In fact we were better off than most in our community.

In Sophiatown, like many of my contemporaries, I fell

under the spell of a truly Christian and compassionate man, Trevor Huddleston. In 1973, we were together at the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops. People were surprised looking at decrepit me, when I told them I used to sit as a small boy in Sophiatown on Trevor's knee, and he looked then so sprightly and about my age when he was nearly thirty years older. In Sophiatown he was full of laughter and caring. He made you feel special. He was a wonderful man (he is a wonderful man), a White man who made you feel you mattered. And he was so genuine, caring passionately about his parishioners in Sophiatown. His white cassock became grubby quickly as he walked around its streets, because he attracted children so naturally, and they all wanted to grab him crying all the while: 'Hello Fada, hello Fada'. At one time his office would be filled with urchins playing marbles on the floor, and the very next moment it held some very important personage, an ambassador or an influential businessman. He became the first Bishop of Stepney to live in his area of jurisdiction - the east end of London. His house reminded me there so much of Sophiatown, for there were the Cockney urchins watching TV in the Bishop's house in Commercial Road. I used to help Mrs. Sally Motlana's father who cooked for the Fathers with dishwashing and so earned my plate of supper. I made my first serious sacramental confession to Father Huddleston as he then was, and that began a wonderful relationship for me, but in this I was again fairly typical. Some of his 'boys' are / ...

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are people like Michael Rantho of Urban Foundation, a leading musician, Walter Makhulu now Archbishop of Central Africa, Hugh Masekela, a world-renowned jazz trumpeter, to mention but a few. Mrs. Motlana was educated by the CR Fathers.

I contracted TB and remained in hospital for twenty months. That is not remarkable. What surely must be so is the fact that Trevor Huddleston whilst in Johannesburg visited me regularly once a week of those twenty months and I was at Rietfontein

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Hospital, a fair distance from Sophiatown. There was a little girl from my Soweto parish who was paralysed last year after a spine operation. I too have tried to visit her regularly every Sunday at Baragwanath. Our firstborn son, Trevor, is Archbishop Huddleston's godson. I did not know his political views much.

Everything he did stemmed it seemed from his prayers and his faith. His anger blazed when Dr. Verwoerd engineered the removal of Sophiatown to Soweto. The old Sophiatown, in an extraordinary example of

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Afrikaner insensitivity, became Triomf. To add salt to that wound the street names of Triomf are, many of them, the old Sophiatown street names like Ray Street, Good Street, Meyer Street, Annandale Street and so on. If it was not rubbing our faces in the dust, then it resembled it so much it made no difference. The death of yet another lively community was added to the long list of those destroyed for the sake of an obsessive racist ideology.

when I came out of hospital, I commuted between

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Krugersdorp / ...

Krugersdorp and Westbury to do matric at my old school. I studied for the JMB in my old room which was our diningroom and lounge as well, by candlelight. In this I was being pretty typical. I wanted badly to become a doctor because I wanted to do research, so I fondly hoped, into TB. I got a fairly good second class pass and was admitted to Wits Medical School but could not get a bursary and so I went to a new Government college outside Pretoria - the Pretoria Bantu Normal College, one of the first Bantu Education institutions. 10

We lived there in rondavels in order to develop along our own lines since conventional rectangular buildings were somehow harmful to our Bantu psyches. I invited Trevor Huddleston to address our debating and cultural society. He came with a Black priest, the lovely Canon John Tsebe now of Atteridgeville. The Afrikaner principal of our college invited Father Huddleston for refreshments to his house, Father Tsebe was entertained in his study for he was not allowed into the principal's voorhuis. I recall that whenever the death of a White person was announced over the air, many of my fellow student teachers would cheer and shout: "one oppressor less" - and that was over thirty years ago! And these were people who as teachers would influence youngsters. I remember too that when we were being examined orally for our finals, an Afrikaner school inspector pointed to ink that had been spilt on a desk and remarked: 'kafferwerk'. We don't seem to have minded that too much. My classmates have not done 20 30

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too badly from that college. One is Rector of the University of Zululand, another is a medical doctor, a few are themselves now school inspectors, another is General Secretary of the Methodist Church.

I taught for a year in my Alma Mater, Western High, commuting from Krugersdorp as in my high school days. I studied again very typically for my majors for a UNISA BA, by candlelight, using the train journey for marking students' essays. I obtained the UNISA BA having received considerable help from a truly

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remarkable man with an inimitable smile, Mangaliso Sobukwe, the founder of the PAC, who was known to all as 'Prof' whilst teaching at the Wits University. I believe he is another who, when the true history of South Africa is written, will have his name embossed in letters of gold, and perhaps one day Wits University will realise what a great privilege it was when he was one of its staff and honour itself by honouring him with a posthumous doctorate. I believe he is one of the greatest South Africans ever.

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I married Leah Shenxane, a schoolteacher and former star pupil of my father's, who stayed with an elder brother in a rented backyard room in Munsieville whilst her mother worked as a domestic servant in Springs. Our first home was my bedroom/lounge/diningroom in my parental home.

I taught in Munsieville High for three years until the advent of Bantu Education at secondary school level, when I left to train for the Anglican priesthood at St. Peter's College in Rosettenville.

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This College was run by the Community of the Resurrection Fathers and we were greatly privileged that this was so. By example more than by precept we came to realise that the spiritual was utterly central to the Christian life and specially to the priestly life. We had retreats, daily eucharists, devotional addresses as a staple in addition to our academic formation. It was impressive to discover that the Fathers' chapel was in use even outside of service times, when you were sure to find one or 10 other of the Fathers on his knees in the chapel, in addition to the regular round of monastic hours when they chanted the services. God was being worshipped and the world interceded for in an impressive regimen. One of the men to influence me more than most was Father Timothy Stanton, a very shy and reserved person who was then vice-principal of the College. He is quite undoubtedly a holy man, truly saintly. I remember how I was amazed that he, the vice principal, and a white man to boot, would join the Black students 20 in doing some of the most menial chores in College. I have been greatly blessed in those who have influenced me and who have helped to shape me and I thank God for the Community of the Resurrection (CR) who have taught me so much about relevant Christian spirituality. My debt to them is incalculable. What I learned from them has, I hope, stood me in good stead especially in times of trial. They made you realise that the only reality worth knowing intimately is God, the Alpha and Omega, who upholds all there is and from whose love in Christ 30

Jesus / ...

Jesus nothing, just absolutely nothing can separate us, and that Jesus is with us, the Immanuel, even unto the end of the ages. Father Stanton is mercifully for me still my father confessor and spiritual director - but others of the CR have helped me unassumingly and generously in my spiritual pilgrimage. It is from these remarkable men of God that I have learned that it is impossible for religion to be sealed off in a watertight compartment that has no connection with the hurly burly business of ordinary daily living, that our encounter with God in prayer, meditation, the sacraments and Bible Study is authenticated and expressed in our dealings with our neighbour whose keeper we must be willy nilly. 10

I thank God for the opportunity of meeting these His servants. They have taught me that when I look into the eyes of Jesus and see there the anguish He feels for those who are the least of His brethren, then I am constrained by this encounter to go and do something about the plight of those selfsame brethren. May I quote from Stephen Bayne's devotional writings in an anthology entitled 'Now is the Time' and I quote from the chapter entitled 'The True Antithesis': 20

'...we are being beguiled into sentimentality when we adjudge the secular world as a 'materialist' world and long for a more 'spiritual' quality of life. Christianity is not a particularly spiritual religion; in fact it is rather suspicious of spirituality; it is a sacramental religion, very down to earth, very materialistic / ... 30

materialistic when it deals with the material, very aware of the fallen angels, very aware that the devil is also a spirit. The antithesis to the secular, industrial society is not a clerical, ethical society, where prayer and art will take the place of machines and plants. The true antithesis is between a society that has no God to whom it may offer its handiwork, and a society to which the act of oblation is the final and concluding act of the whole inventive process'. 10

And then he continues with a prayer:

'Let this day, O Lord, be my servant and let me be Thine, that when the evening comes I may be free to offer Thee a finished and a peaceful task seen clearly in the morning light, and done in quiet and unhurried purpose'.

I was made a deacon in 1960, the year of Sharpeville, in St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, but I was not ordained by the Bishop of Johannesburg, which is what should have happened. Ambrose Reeves, then Bishop of Johannesburg, an awkward thorn in the flesh to the authorities, had been drummed out of the country earlier that year for his part in pointing out the horror and shame of Sharpeville where peaceful demonstrators were fired on by the police and 69 were killed, many shot in the back as they were running away. I was appointed to St. Alban's Church in Benoni location as a curate. M'lord and Members of the Commission, my family and I were housed in a garage which was meant to be our main bedroom, the children's bedroom / ... 20 30

bedroom, our lounge and diningroom, all rolled in one. There was a second and smaller room which served as our kitchen. This was our home for a year until I was transferred, after my ordination to the priesthood to Thokoza location in Alberton. We lived then in a four-roomed municipal socalled matchbox house. These autobiographical details have been an attempt to show the Commission that I speak from personal experience about many of the deprivations relating to the Black South African.

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My family and I left in 1962 for London. I was going to read for the BD at King's College, University of London. We were fortunate to get a curate's flat at St. Alban's Church in Golder's Green which we had rent free in exchange for what is called 'duty', i.e. giving clerical assistance to the Vicar of the Church. It was obviously quite another world to which we had been transported. For one thing, we had splendid accommodation in salubrious quarters. There was a park, a ubiquitous and pleasant feature of London, just round the corner from our flat, with penned animals to give further delight to our children. We were accepted as human beings, and the colour of our skins was an irrelevance. This does not mean that there was no racial discrimination, but we were shielded from its rigours by the church community into which we were warmly welcomed. It was an extraordinary novelty to be able to go anywhere and not first have to look for signs saying we were or were not permitted to be where we were. What a relief from the pass laws.

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Leah and I used to strut about, e.g. Trafalgar Square late at night or even into the early hours just for the exhilarating experience of us accosting a policeman known full well he would not ask us for our passes, to ask him for directions even when we knew where we were going, just to be addressed courteously by a White unarmed policeman as 'Sir' and 'Madam'. The novelty never wore off. I have met many White South African policemen since who have been models of charm and courtesy, but this has never been the typical experience of Blacks in South Africa. I could see how in the UK a policeman can be regarded as and is a friend. I am afraid hardly any Black would say that of policemen in South Africa.

I was ministering for the first time on a regular basis to White people as a priest. I don't know what I was expecting but it turned out that they were human beings with the ordinary strengths and foibles, resentments and triumphs as well as the sins of ordinary human beings. But we grew inches just by being treated as who we were. I once went into a bank soon after getting to England, and I was due to be served next in the queue - the British have made a fetish of queuing - when a White man rushed in obviously in a desperate hurry to be served and jumped the queue. As a well-behaved Bantu I was ready to let this happen when the lady bank clerk told him firmly but politely that I was next. You could have knocked me down with a feather. I told her a few days afterwards what it had meant for me and that she was now my pin-up. She

said / ...

said she would have done it for anybody which made it even more extraordinary. Our children, who knew hardly a word of English, were going to a school where they were just children who happened to be black, and they made friends who came to birthday parties and who invited them to their homes too. And almost all of them were White. We had already got a few White South African friends - some of our dearest friends are the Leslie's whom we have known since 1958 and they are just part of our family and we hope we are part of theirs. But they were at the time exceptional, so when we lived in a normal society we thought it was abnormal, such is the power of conditioning.

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For a long time I used to worry when I saw a mixed couple walking hand in hand, apprehensive that the long arm of the law would pounce on them. I was being liberated by freedom. I was becoming more fully human not through a network of prohibitions and laws forbidding this or that but by living in a genuinely free society.

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It was a rare privilege to study at King's with its long and venerable history, sitting at the feet of men and women widely acknowledged as outstanding scholars in their disciplines. Interestingly enough, my closest friend next to whom I sat in most lectures, was a White South African, an English speaking Brian Oosthuizen. Once, when our Old Testament Professor, holding forth about something or other, used perfectly legitimately the odd English expression 'the nigger in the woodpile', Brian nudged me and whispered: 'that

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means you!' - it was a relaxed relationship which we had more easily possible in that free atmosphere than in the claustrophobia of our scared society.

And then we encountered the best monument to a free society - Speakers' Corner at Hyde Park. A policeman was standing about, not to stop orators from sometimes spewing forth the most outlandish sentiments, but there to protect them from someone who might be incensed by those sentiments. There was no bottling up of views by harsh censorship. It was the same thing on their TV where all kinds of views had free expression and where the interviewers such as Sir Robin Day, were quite something else in their irreverence and abrasiveness. There was no lick spittle obsequiousness. People were, we realised, being treated as adults, free to choose one viewpoint in preference to another, hopefully the one that made most sense and had the balance of evidence in its favour. It was a veritable breath of fresh air.

Authoritarianism was bad form. Something was true not because someone in authority said so, but because it commended itself as being so. There was a proper iconoclasm about. Sacred cows were for the slaughter. It was exhilarating. It was thrilling to be told that there often was no right answer but that we had to decide which set of facts after a fair assessment of the available evidence, best accounted for the state of affairs under review. Those who taught us abhorred dogmatism - a stance typified by our Old Testament professor whose delightful pet phrase used invariably

in every lecture was: 'It is not unreasonable to suppose..' This was wonderful stuff for one coming from an educational system where people were obsessed with passing examinations and possessing the correct answers which they crammed and duly regurgitated, from a socio-political dispensation which was authoritarian and consequently impatient of any who were bold enough to think for themselves or who were foolhardy enough not to toe whatever was the conventional line, silly enough to want to rock the boat. It was all so liberating, assisting me to grow to become more fully human. 10

We lived in London for three years whilst I obtained an Honours BD degree from London University. Then we went to live for a year in a Surrey village. We saw some of the typical British class system because the inhabitants of Blechingley were divided as with a knife into those who lived on the housing estate and the landed and monied gentry who had the proper accents and had gone to the right public schools and to Oxford and Cambridge. Our son went to a Tory blue prep school which made him a rabid royalist. When the Labour Party won the elections in 1965/6 Trevor and his school friends actually wept as they watched television saying: 'You will see how these Socialists will get the country into a mess'. Such is the power of conditioning! I obtained the M.Th. during this year. We returned to South Africa via the Holy Land, spending two months in Jerusalem. The tension between the Jews and the Arabs was unbelievable - a few weeks before 20 30

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the Six Day War. I came to teach at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, and was chaplain to the Anglicans at Fort Hare. At the Seminary we tried to have a spirit of enquiry and freedom prevail, and the comparisons between the two institutions of learning were not too favourable to the university whose students enjoyed the friendliness at Fedsem. It was a refuge often when trouble erupted at Fort Hare. The fact that even after the expropriation of the Seminary, trouble kept erupting at Fort Hare, gives the lie to the malicious allegations that the Fedsem somehow acted as an agitator. I shared in the Church Commission of SPROCAS and in other church activities. 10

At the end of 1969 I was appointed theology lecturer at the then regional university of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (UBLS) in Lesotho, and experienced there an Ulster in reverse situation, where the ruling party was supported mainly by the Roman Catholics, whilst the opposition was mainly Protestant, and I knew of the sectional violence which I was to encounter in a visit to Northern Ireland. 20

After two years at the University I was appointed Associate Director of the Theological Education Fund (TEF) of the World Council of Churches based in Bromley, Kent. I had area responsibility for all of sub-Saharan Africa. My family and I left to live again in London (this time south east London) affording our children the opportunity once again of the superb British education. Trevor went to a renowned grammar school / ... 30

school called Colfe's, founded in 1652 (significant for a South African). He was the only Black in an 800 boys' school and survived, I believe, because of his flair at sports. Our two older girls went to Ravensbourne School for Girls in Bromley and Mpho, our youngest, attended the local primary school. We, aliens though we were, owned our semi-detached house freehold - and my wife was often canvassed by rival political parties during election time and used to promise the vote to each in turn - it just seemed ironic that is all.

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We were an interesting team at the TEF. The Director was Taiwanese who had been banished from Taiwan, the only woman director was now Malaysian though she had been born on mainland China and was a cousin of Chou en Lai's; there was a Latin American who was a Brazilian national but of Armenian extraction; the only caucasian was a North American Lutheran. We, each of us, had area responsibility for some part of the Third World interested mainly in theological developments which could, however, not be divorced from the socio-political and economic contexts in which they occurred. We could at the TEF take considerable credit for developing the concept of contextualisation during the Third Mandate under which we operated (the TEF operated under different mandates each emphasising a specific element in theological education. The TEF has now passed on and has been replaced by the Programme for Theological Education based in Geneva). Working for the TEF involved very

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considerable travelling in one's area of responsibility. I travelled in total five months of the year spread over twelve months, for three and a half years. I have not visited Latin America nor Eastern bloc countries, but I have been to many countries. I have seen a great deal and experienced much that I would like to see in South Africa. I have seen a great deal that I would hate to see in South Africa. I have seen the harmony in Scandinavian countries and the poverty of India. I have seen the violence and repression of Amin's Uganda, I have been in Ethiopia just before the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, and the terrible aftermath of the Biafran war, and the toll it took on human relationships and on the material resources of a great country. I have been shattered at what I saw in Belfast, hearing of young girls who battered to death a sectarian enemy their age by beating her brains out with bricks, and then going to a pub to celebrate without the slightest remorse. I was detained at Kampala airport by Amin's security police, who held up my plane as they went through my papers, some of which contained a report which was highly critical of that regime and by God's mercy the police missed it. I was searched at Salisbury airport by Ian Smith's security men, one of whom reading a Black Theology paper I was preparing screeched that it was not theology but politics. I attended the Salvation Today Conference in Thailand and experienced the exhilaration of belonging to the variegated Church of God. Our four children have been greatly privileged in not

having / ...

having been contaminated by that travesty called Bantu Education, and having grown up in normal societies have been able to develop a self-assurance and self-acceptance that the apartheid system is designed to undermine. That is why I am so keen that other children may benefit from a proper education, for Blacks usually available outside South Africa, hence my involvement with the Educational Opportunities Council of which I am chairman. I know too that there are many children walking the dusty streets of our ghetto townships who, if only they had had a fair chance in life, would have surprised many with their outstanding achievements. I deprecate apartheid especially because it plays havoc with human resources South Africa and indeed the world can ill afford. I know too just how living in free societies has helped my family and me to develop into slightly better human beings, released from the claustrophobia of apartheid. We have consequently fewer chips on our shoulders because we have known what it means to be accepted and treated as what we are, precious human beings created in the image of God. Consequently, I am almost obsessed with the concern that as many South Africans, especially Blacks, will get the opportunity to experience what it means to be accepted and treated as a human being and so, for instance, I encourage my SACC colleagues to travel overseas at every opportunity they can get as well as involving others in the Black community.

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I am thankful for all of this overseas experience for

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my family and me, because we learned too by rubbing shoulders with people from independent Third World countries to desire to be ourselves, Blacks, authentically so and not carbon copies of other persons. We learned to grow in self-confidence and self-acceptance, not needing forever to apologise for our blackness, indeed to take pride in that which it had seemed wise to God to create us. We did not always articulate this as Black Consciousness (though such it was). What we learned and were 10
exhilarated by the new knowledge was that we should have a proper pride in ourselves and realise that we could be best only at who we had been created to be and not in striving fruitlessly at being someone else. In this way only was it going to be possible for us to make the distinctive contribution to the common weal. It was all valuable preparation for our next move. Out of the blue in 1975, I was asked to become Dean of Johannesburg by the courageous decision of the then new Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right 20
Reverend Timothy Bavin, the much-loved former Dean of Johannesburg. My family discussed prayerfully what we should do. My wife was quite clear that she did not want to return to South Africa just then. We had our own house in London, the children were staying at home and going to good schools. Trevor had just started at Imperial College, University of London with his honours B.Sc in Zoology studies and came home frequently. We lived in pleasant surroundings. Most of this would change in South Africa. The two girls 30
would / ...

would have to go to school in Swaziland as boarders.

We would depend on a church supplied house - and most of all, we would be returning to the unjust apartheid society which had dehumanised so many.

In the end we decided to return for us to make our small contribution to the liberation struggle.

I thought I was coming back mainly to tell Blacks that God loved them, that they were of infinite value in His sight and that they should enter into their inheritance as the children of God, taking a proper

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pride in their blackness and assert their personhood as Blacks because only so would they be able to participate in real reconciliation with Whites.

Reconciliation is a deeply personal and costly enterprise. It happens only between persons, those who assert properly that personhood and recognise that of others. I was amazed to discover that in many ways it was Whites who needed to hear this message about self-assurance and self-acceptance, that

oppression dehumanised the oppressor as much as if

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not more than the oppressed; that White people needed to hear and know that their value as persons was intrinsic to who they were, by virtue of having been created in God's image. They did not need to amass material possessions so avidly as if to say: 'My value spells out into my car, my swimming pool etcetera'.

Nor did they need to behave like a bully who is yearning for attention and acceptance and affirmation and who tries to get these by throwing his weight about because he knows he is hollow inside. I was

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surprised / ...

surprised to discover that it was Whites who needed to hear the Gospel truth about personal worth more than Blacks. I believe firmly that the day Whites in South Africa shed their self-doubt (camouflaged as bravado, etcetera) then we will begin to move into the realm of healing our broken human relationships, shattered so blasphemously by apartheid which was designed to make relationships between ordinary human persons impossible. It would happen too once Blacks had also exorcised from themselves their self-disgust and self-contempt, products of being victims of this system as vicious as Nazism and Communism which holds sway in this land which claims to be Christian. My wife and I decided we were going to live in Soweto and not in Lower Houghton where the deanery was situated. We were quite clear that we would not vitiate our ministry by becoming honorary Whites. But it was strange to have to be 'influxed' (very courteously) into Johannesburg even as Dean, because the most important thing about us, apartheid has always declared, is our blackness, and as Blacks we live in cities only by permission not really by right, because the Location Superintendent can withdraw the permission of any Black if he deems his presence in the township not to be in the public interest. Yet yesterday's immigrant, if he had the money, could purchase a house with freehold just because he is White. I, born and bred in South Africa, cannot even buy a house though I may have the money before I have been 'influxed' into the relevant urban area, and if

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it is in White South Africa, it won't be with freehold title.

It was a great experience and privilege to be dean to a multi-racial congregation, though largely White. My predecessors as Dean had done a great job in integrating the different races so that we had a multi-racial choir, servers and clerical team. Sometimes the South African situation threw up oddities. I hold a licence as a marriage officer from the Department of Internal Affairs which permits me to marry any couple except one where the husband is a Black. That could happen only in South Africa.

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Living in Soweto we became aware of increasing tensions in the Black community, and during a retreat I believe God moved me to write a letter to the then Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, warning him of the volatile nature of the situation. He dismissed my letter as a political ploy engineered perhaps by the official Opposition. My letter was dated 6 May 1976.

We all know that all hell broke loose on 16 June of that year. I had been elected Bishop of Lesotho where we went in August 1976. With other church leaders we used to issue statements about the sad state of affairs in Lesotho warning against infringement of the standards set by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for injustice is injustice whoever it is who perpetrates it. I kept in touch with events at home. I was asked to preach at the Steve Biko funeral. In 1977, I was asked for the second time to become General Secretary of the SACC, and on this

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second occasion Episcopal Synod permitted me to resign from my see. Since I had been on the WCC staff and the SACC was an affiliated member of the WCC, my former colleagues in Geneva invited me for a chat on how they could best assist me in a job which most people believed was going to be difficult - quite rightly so. General Coetzee has suggested that I was virtually receiving my instructions in a sinister plot to have the SACC manipulated by the WCC. It is a totally and reprehensible and malicious suspicion made by someone abysmally ignorant of how the church and the ecumenical movement operate. We belong as to a family, a fellowship whose members are ever ready to help one another. You have heard and seen a bit of this in the appearance of our overseas partners before this Commission. That visit to Geneva was the occasion too when some of our donor partners took the trouble to come there to meet with the new General Secretary of the SACC - some of these being of the EKD in the person of Pastor Warner Conring and the Federation of Swiss Churches. Evil, it seems, like beauty often lies in the beholder's eye. The police, starting from the premise that the SACC is subversive, believe it to be part of the so-called total onslaught by being part of a sinister international plot to overthrow the duly elected government of this land (duly elected by a section of the South African population it must be remembered - by a minority of a minority). I want to assure this Commission and the police that mine was a fraternal visit of a new person

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in an important post to visit those with whom he was going to have close dealings to see how they could best assist him. Where is the evidence that the visit was other than I have described it to be? The police cannot produce any evidence for their malicious suspicions because there is no such evidence. It is something somebody in the Security Police sucked out of his thumb to help paint the kind of picture the police want to present of the SACC, made up of a tissue of half-truths, innuendo, suspicion and malicious 10 statements that stop just short of slander. In all my travels, incidentally, I have nowhere encountered opposition and hatred of South Africa.

The whole world wants to welcome South Africa back into the company of the world's respected nations. There is certain abhorrence of apartheid. The total onslaught is nowhere against South Africa as such. There is a total onslaught - if we have to use those words - against apartheid certainly, the misguided and totally evil policy of a specific political party. 20

It is apartheid that has turned our country into a pariah, abhorred even by the Reagan administration who are part of that total onslaught against apartheid even with their constructive engagement policy.

Drop apartheid and we would join the world today. There would be no sports boycott and the harassment South African sportspersons experience in the world today".

I read recently, I think yesterday, that women golfers from this country were stopped from participating in the British 30

Amateur Championships. That would not happen if apartheid were dropped.

"Not a single country in the world is prepared to say it supports apartheid.

I find myself in this hot seat of a Council that has sought like any human organisation fallibly and feebly to obey the dominical command to serve Christ by serving Him in those He has honoured by calling them the least of His brethren. I have had cause to visit various parts of our beautiful but tortured land. I

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shall never forget my visit to Zweledinga, a resettlement camp near Queenstown, where I met this little girl coming out of a shack in which she lived with her widowed mother and sister. I asked her: 'Does your mother receive a pension or grant or something?' 'No', she replied. 'Then what do you do for food?' Then she said: 'We borrow food'. 'Have you ever returned any of the food you borrowed?' 'No, she replied. 'What do you do when you can't borrow food?' 'We drink water to fill our stomachs'.

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That is a conversation seared into my memory. More than anything I have experienced of the evils of apartheid this encounter with the girl at Zweledinga made me determined to do all I could to stop such a vicious policy - which could let people starve, not accidentally, but by deliberate Government policy, to starve in a land which has record crop surpluses (not now because of a devastating drought, but boasted of feeding what was called starving Zambia. I want to do all in my power to call a halt to all this unnecessary

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suffering / ...

suffering, and so I knew I had to work to persuade the international community to apply all the pressure it could (diplomatic, political but above all economic) to urge the South African Government to go to the conference table before it was too late, before a spiral of violence happened which would be unstoppable. I am committed to reasonably peaceful change. I say reasonably advisedly, because there has already been too much violence even since 1976, reasonably peaceful change because even when Blacks use peaceful non-violent means they provoke untold intransigence and violence on the part of the authorities - teargas, bullets, police dogs, solitary confinement."

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CHAIRMAN: Forgive me, may I interrupt you, might this be a convenient stage for the adjournment? --- Yes.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.

THE COMMISSION RESUMES:

C25 BISHOP DESMOND TUTU, still under oath:

CHAIRMAN: You were at the penultimate paragraph at page 42? --- Thank you, M'lord.

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"I speak of pressure not sanctions - as yet. I believe that there can be pressure short of sanctions for example, the EEC Code, the Sullivan Code, and so on. These are some forms of pressure. I do not hold out much hope for these particular forms because they tend to be ameliorative, to make apartheid bearable rather than dismantling it.

I speak about pressure because I think it is the last chance of a viable means to bringing about change. My statement about coal in Denmark must be understood in

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the light of my Zweledinga experience and my concern for justice and peace".

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Bishop, if I could just ask you to pause a moment. Would you say something more about this statement which you made in Denmark about coal. When was that approximately? --- 1980.

It was about three to four years ago was it not?

--- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: 1978? --- Yes, M'lord.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: And where did you make it in Denmark, was it on radio or television? --- It was a television interview in Copenhagen. 10

And what did you say about it? --- I was told that the Danes had stopped buying coal from Poland because it was Communist coal, and they were intending to buy coal from South Africa, and I was asked what my comment would be on this and I said it was disgraceful. My whole concern, M'lord, being to remind even business people that a business involvement in South Africa is as much a moral matter as it is an economic matter, and hoping that there would one day come about a way in which our Government would really understand how we feel. And when in my mind's eye I saw this girl, this little child in Zweledinga, I felt deep in me that: please, God, can some way be found of making these people fear the cri de coeur we utter. Let them understand that we do not want to destroy South Africa, we love South Africa passionately, and all we want is for them to be persuaded to sit round a table. 20

Well now, Bishop, when we come to deal with the article of Professor Kunert, we will come back to this question 30

of investment and disinvestment in more detail. Could you now continue at the top of page 43? --- Thank you.

"There can be no peace without justice and there can be no justice in South Africa whilst apartheid exists. I believe in a democratic, non-racial society and so I believe in majority rule, not Black majority rule, but majority rule. I believe in adult suffrage, for that we were told, is an unalterable feature of true democracy. I believe in a common citizenship for all South Africans in an unbalkanised South Africa.

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That is why in 1980 I asked Mr. P.W. Botha in a telegram to meet with church leaders because of the worsening crisis in our land, despite the fact that the Government had confiscated my passport. I love my country too passionately to allow such pettiness which still continues to stand in our way. And the leaders of the SACC member churches and the SACC met with the Government in August 1980. We have always said we believe in negotiation, in discussion and dialogue rather than in the wrong kind of confrontation. Sadly a golden opportunity was missed on that occasion by the Government to work with some of the few left in this country who have credibility in the disenfranchised Black community. The Prime Minister sought to make political capital by bringing in an extraneous element about church leaders visiting the operational area".

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Now, Bishop, could you just explain that, just say a little more about that meeting? --- Yes. We were very warmly welcomed to the Union Buildings, the Prime Minister led a

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very / ...

very highpowered team of some of his senior Cabinet Ministers, and we were ushered into the room in which we were going to meet, and very very impressively the whole Cabinet moved right round the room shaking hands with each one of the church delegation, and then the Prime Minister asked the then Chaplain-General to open the meeting with prayer. And then we were asked to make presentations, the various people who had been chosen to do this, and I was one of them, indicated our position and the Government responded as they could, though the Prime Minister did not say it, what was indicated was that we needed to have a daylong meeting which he promised would happen before the end of that year. And quite out of the blue he then said because the whole question of the militarisation of our country was a critical issue, he believed it would be necessary for the church leaders to have visited the operational area in order for them to see what was happening there and what the Army were doing. I am afraid that the Prime Minister must have known that that would be a matter that would be very divisive in that church delegation.

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Yes, why would it be divisive, Bishop? --- There would be those who felt very strongly that the operational area in fact, as one high police official at once said, is bang here at home, I mean they have said Soweto is an operational area, and we felt that - there were many of us who felt that what was happening on the border happened because of what was happening within the country, that if the problem in the country was sorted out, there was almost certainly not going to be the kind of thing that were happening on the border. But there were those of us who thought that there would not

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be / ...

be anything lost if they visited the operational area. And there was the whole question of the credibility first of the churches, and the credibility that they might be seen to be lending to the activities of the Defence Force in the operational area.

Well then, would you go on with the next sentence please? --- Thank you.

"And we learned later that at the very time we of the churches in good faith were holding talks with the Government, that self-same Government was all the while seeking to undermine the SACC through the Christian League which was exposed as being part of the Info debacle whose members ought really to hide their heads in shame.

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I have said I believe in negotiation and dialogue. In pursuance of my objective to help bring about change in South Africa I have spoken at nearly all the White campuses in this country. The only White university campus I have still not visited, I have not received invitations to go there, is that of the University of Port Elizabeth. I have even spoken at the University of the Orange Free State where it was threatened that if I should be allowed to speak there blood would flow.

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I have thought that it would be good for young Whites the adults and leaders of tomorrow for them to hear the cri de coeur which we utter, the deep longing we have for a new ordering of society in our land where we will have true security because all South Africans will have a place in the sun. I have even shared a platform with the chairman of the Broederbond at the

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University / ...

University of Pretoria.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Commission, when I became General Secretary of the SACC I found a letter written by my predecessor to Dr. O'Brien Geldenhuys in which on behalf of the Executive of the SACC he was inviting the White Dutch Reformed Church to send, not on a reciprocal basis, an official observer to attend meetings of the Executive Committee of the SACC. That letter had not yet had a reply from the NG Kerk. So one of the first things I did as General Secretary was to remind my counterpart in the NG Kerk that this invitation stood and we would like to hear what that great church sought to do about it. Dr. Geldenhuys replied that it was to be placed before the appropriate body. That invitation was turned down. Then I wrote suggesting that they send an unofficial observer to the meetings of the Executive Committee of the SACC. That invitation too was turned down. I happened to develop a fairly good personal relationship with Dr. Geldenhuys, and he suggested that perhaps the only thing we could hope for at the time was for him and for me to continue our informal personal contacts. I remember too, Mr. Chairman, sending out invitations to the member churches of the SACC and non-member churches, including the three White Dutch Reformed Churches, to participate in the Consultation on Racism held at Hammanskraal in 1980. None of those White Dutch Reformed churches honoured us with the courtesy of a reply. I saw a press report indicating that they had received our invitations, but that / ...

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that they had not responded to us. The Consultation was deeply angered at the discourtesy and the rebuff. But, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Commission, I went before that Consultation and told them what had happened to me as I was trying to pray in the chapel, that God had said I should write a letter. In what should have been my period of meditation I received what I can only believe was an inspiration from on high of what appeared to be a draft of such a letter. I appealed to the Consultation, angry as it was, to permit me to obey the Divine injunction. Reluctantly, the Consultation agreed. And I wrote a letter to the White Dutch Reformed Church saying amongst other things that I did not think that anything worthwhile was going to happen in our country unless the NG Kerk was involved. And I said then that we may have hurt the Dutch Reformed Church by our attitude, by our words, and I asked for their forgiveness in all that we may have done to hurt them and appealed to them to grasp the hand that we were holding out to them."

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May I just refer to some of these letters and copies will be given.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you. I think for good order we should give numbers to these documents now handed in. Can you recall, Mr. von Lieres at what stage we come, or would it not be best to number these under the heading of Bishop Tutu's evidence, call them Bishop Tutu 1 and so on?

ADV. VON LIERES: May I then suggest that the first document that was handed in, that was the Annual Report of the General Secretary 1978 and 1979/80, September 1980, this was handed in

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when / ...

when the Bishop reached stage 6 of his evidence, that we mark this particular document Bishop Tutu 1, because we have already started with a series of numbers SACC. Let us make it T.1.

CHAIRMAN: And then the photocopy of the newspaper cutting.

ADV. VON LIERES: The Sunday Post article of 1 June 1980, that will be T.2.

CHAIRMAN: BT.2, and then the correspondence now will be BT.3 - no disrespect, Bishop.

ADV. VON LIERES: The letter dated 6 December then will be BT.3, 18 October BT.4, the Report will be BT.5, the letter of 10 January BT.6, the letter of 16 February 1978 BT.7, 2 May 1978, BT.8, 9 May 1978 BT.9, 20 December BT.10, the telex dated 20.9.78 will be BT.11, and the letter dated 21.11.1978 will be BT.12, 24 November 1978 BT.13, 12 December 1978 BT.14, 19 February 1980 BT.15, and the letter dated 20 March 1980 will be BT.16. 10

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Bishop, I think you may take it that the Commission will read these exhibits, but I would ask you to draw the Commission's attention to those parts which you particularly want to emphasise? --- Yes, may I please do that? 20
The letter of 6 December, I have not been marking them, I am sorry, but it is a letter from John Rees, 6 December, to Dr. Geldenhuys, the first paragraph, I just wanted to refer to the second sentence, M'lord, the considerable amount of time and the phrase "together with an additional resolution which really affects you very deeply, and that is that from henceforth there is a standing invitation to you to become an observer at the Executive Committee of the South African Council of Churches whenever it meets. This purpose of this 30
invitation / ...

invitation is to enable you to acquaint yourself with the workings of the South African Council of Churches and thereby hopefully identify for us and with us in areas which you believe a fruitful dialogue could commence". And then if we can skip two documents that follow and go to the first letter from Dr. Geldenhuys which is dated 16 February 1978, BT.7, and paragraph 3:

"I would like to express my sincerest appreciation for the kind gesture of offering this opportunity of an Executive from our church to sit as an observer in meetings of your Executive Council. You must realise however that even if I only sit in as an observer it is still meaning that I officially represent the Dutch Reformed Church at those meetings, therefore I must obtain official sanction for any action of this nature, because we have no official relationship as church bodies to each other at the present moment".

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And then the next letter replying to me on 2 May, and I will read the second paragraph:

"The Bree-Moderatuur Plenary Executive decides that on grounds of the fundamental differences between the Dutch Reformed Church and the South African Council of Churches, it cannot accept the invitation to send an observer to the meetings of the South African Council".

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And then I want to refer to a copy of my reply, the second paragraph of the letter of 9 May:

"I really do want for there to be dialogue between ourselves and your church so that what your Bree-Moderatuur calls fundamental differences can at least be brought to the surface, for we are doing a grave

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injury / ...

injury to the Body of Christ by our division, and are subverting our witness because it is divided. And what are we doing to the prayer of our Lord on the night before he died. As I said to you in our discussion we need the corrective that your church may be able to supply, just as much as I think your church needs some of our insights. Therefore I welcome the concession by your Executive for us to continue informal discussion and to maintain contact and I appreciate your invitation and will be quite happy to send you any documents which may strengthen our relationship". 10

Then the next letter, M'lord, is mine to Dr. Geldenhuys of the 20 September, which is just a greeting before Synod met on behalf of the South African Council of Churches, and it was followed by a telex relating to the same thing. And then the reply from Dr. Geldenhuys of 21 November 1978, the second paragraph and the third paragraph:

"We have taken note of your greetings and your concern about our relationship with the Dutch churches". 20

And the third paragraph:

"As to our personal relationship, that is between the Dutch Reformed Church and the South African Council of Churches, Synod also endorsed that decision of the General Executive but I cannot accept your kind request to sit in as an observer at your Executive meetings on account of fundamental differences between our two bodies".

And then my response, a letter of congratulations of 24 November 1978, I just want to refer to the last paragraph: 30

"I / ...

"I am also still very hurt that you cannot see your way to accepting our invitation, but whatever happens we do belong together in the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the prayers and in the sacrament we are closer to one another than we can ever imagine". And then the response to that on 12 December, the second paragraph:

"I am afraid that does not alter my position towards the South African Council of Churches. The request of the South African Council was referred to Synod but they endorsed the opinion of the Executive that I am not free to accept your kind offer of sitting in at your meetings on account of the basic differences between the two bodies. I appreciate your personal contact with me and I hope that this will continue because it is very necessary that the two big church bodies in South Africa should at least remain in contact with each other".

And then as I have indicated, M'lord, there was this racism Consultation in 1980, and on page 6 of what I believe is a document that the Commission has, the Resolutions, there is Resolution 3.2, the Resolution concerning the White Dutch Reformed Church, the preliminary note:

"The Resolution concerning the White Dutch Reformed Churches was precipitated by their absence at the Consultation. This led the General Secretary of the SACC to making a statement addressed to the White Dutch Reformed Churches asking for their forgiveness in that which has hurt them in our attitudes, and we want to stretch out our hands of fellowship to them.

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It was in the light of the above that the Resolution asking for a close co-operation between the White Dutch Reformed Churches and the member churches of SACC was tabled".

And I then wrote to Dr. Geldenhuys on 19 February 1980, and I would want to read all of that please:

"Beeld showed me your warm response to my statement made during the Consultation on Racism held recently in Hammanskraal. I was instructed by the Consultation to convey two matters to you, both related to the earnest longing of our member churches to reopen dialogue with your Church on an ecumenical basis. The first of these is my statement almost unanimously endorsed by the Consultation. The statement reads:

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'I am very sad that our Christian brothers and sisters of the White Dutch Reformed Churches are as yet unable to meet with us so that we can speak the truth in love one to another under the guidance of God the Holy Spirit. Whether we like it or not we are one in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has broken down the middle wall of hostility which separates us. The world needs the healing of its divisions and enmities, which God wills to bring through the Body of His Son the Church. And we pain God by our inability and our unwillingness to be true to our calling as those who have been given the ministry of reconciliation. We who are members of the SACC, have much for which to repent in our attitude to the DRC. We ask for your forgiveness in that which has hurt them in our attitudes, and we

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want / ...

want to stretch out our hands of fellowship to them and pray that they will grasp them and strengthen us as we work for the coming of God's Kingdom of justice, peace, love, compassion and reconciliation. We need one another. The insights of the Dutch Reformed Churches may correct what they believe are imbalances in the actions and beliefs of the member churches of the SACC, and perhaps they, the DRC, may also learn from us.

Ek wil sê hoe baie ek my eie vriendskap met dr.

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O'Brien Geldenhuys waardeer en ek bid dat God ons almal so sal seën dat ons eendag altesaam in die een Nagmaal sal kan deelneem, en dat ons uit ons harte sal kan gesels oor die sake wat ons verlossing betref.

Any church discussion about the deep matters of our faith and our country which does not include the DRC is to that extent unrealistic. What a wonderful day it would be when all of us together, the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in this land, can go forward together as stewards of the mysteries of God, to minister together for justice, peace and reconciliation. What a glorious day it will be, indeed. Come, Lord Jesus, Mary Martha'."

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That is the end of the statement. The second item also related to dialogue and is in the following terms: The role of the White Dutch Reformed Church:

"We regard dialogue with the NGK as an essential part of the process leading to the elimination of racism and to the dismantling of apartheid. Therefore we

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would / ...

would urge the NG Kerk to accept the invitation to enter into dialogue with member churches of the SACC using 46.3 of the NG Kerk report on human relations as a common basis for Christian, social and political involvement".

The statement is:

"The Church must preach the Kingdom's message of reconciliation and healing. At the same time it must denounce sin and seek to correct sinful structures in society. In executing this function the Church should not be merely concerned with the promotion of popular opinions, nor should it seek to hide behind opinions which cannot be justified according to Scripture. In fact wherever the Word of God should demand it, the Church should fulfil its prophetic function in spite of popular opinion. The Scriptural commandment of neighbourly love is the decisive norm for social justice. This commandment should always be realised in practice in all political economic and social situations".

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Bishop, whose statement is that? --- This statement is from the report on human relations of the Dutch Reformed Church.

"Our beautiful country is waiting for the churches to give a lead in their struggle and longing for justice peace and reconciliation. How I pray that God may draw all these people together. I look forward to hearing positively from you at your earliest convenience".

And then I had his reply which refers to a response in which

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the Ecumenical Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church was to meet with me.

"I tell you all of this to indicate to you, Members of the Commission, my deep commitment to church unity, to rapprochement and to reconciliation.

I have tried to show you in all of this autobiographical section that I am but a simple pastor passionately concerned for justice, peace and reconciliation - not a false or cheap reconciliation that would say 'peace, peace', where there is no peace. I hope you will realise that it is not a political or any other ideology that motivates me, that I am constrained by the Gospel of Jesus Christ to be perhaps as a voice crying in the wilderness calling back our people from the edge of the precipice before it is too late. I am not a politician. I am a Christian leader whom God has caught by the scruff of the neck and I had much rather obey God rather than man whatever the cost".

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Now, Bishop, you come to the next section of your statement of evidence, which runs from page 46 to page 93?

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--- Yes.

In which you make a number of references to the book "Storm-kompas" which was published in 1981? --- Yes.

Now, again, M'lord, can we ask Your Lordship and Members of the Commission to read this section in full, but now, Bishop, what I would like you to do if you can, is just to summarise for the members of the Commission what the nature and object is of this section of your statement, and perhaps draw their attention to one or two significant passages. Will you do that? --- Yes, thank you very much, I will do that.

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sy taak aanvaar."

And he goes on in the third paragraph from that one:

"Dit is duidelik: 'n getuigende kerk veronderstel dat 'n swygende kerk geen kerk is nie, aangesien hy met die aanwesige sonde - individueel, kollektief en struktureel - genoeg neem. Om van Christus te getuig, is om alle mense van alle tale, volke en nasies tot 'n beslissing ten opsigte van Christus op te roep, en om alle bestaande strominge en strukture, instellinge en organisasies met die verlossingsboodskap van Christus te konfronteer. Die kerk skuld die wêreld dus iets - die boodskap van geloof, hoop en liefde. Daardeur lewer die kerk ook 'n bydrae tot die vermensliking van die wêreld waarin die mense van God hulle tuiste moet vind.

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Juis om hierdie rede is die kerk volledig betrokke ook by geregtigheid in die samelewing. Volgens die norm van die wet van God, is geregtigheid daardie gesindheid, woorde en dade wat uit liefde vir die medemens, ruimte vir hom skep om sy roeping as burger in die Koninkryk te kan vervul.

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Met hierdie boodskap trek die kerk die wêreld in, en spreek daarmee politici en werkgewers, ekonome en boere aan. In die betoning van geregtigheid word immers geen enkele mens uitgesluit nie, want aan elkeen moet gegee en gegun word wat hom as mens toekom; ongebore en gebore, skrande en dom, geestelik gesond en afwykend, manlik en vroulik, swartmense en witmense. Só word die heerlikheid van die mens voor die oë van sy Heer, en voor die oë van sy medemens, tot

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...openbaring gebring en bevestig".

I comment:

"Humanisation, silent church, justice, structural sins are terms which seem more the vocabulary of those who are far more frequently vilified than commended."

Then on page 51, M'lord, at the bottom of the page I refer to Professor Dawid Bosch, who has appeared before this Commission and who spends a great deal of time, in his submission or contribution to "Storm-kompas" talking about politics and the church and dealing with Romans 13:

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"Heeltemal afgesien van bogenoemde moet daarop gelet word dat Romeine 13 in elk geval grense aan die staat stel. Twee maal word die owerheid 'n 'dienaar van God' genoem. Dit beteken seer sekerlik dat daar sekere dinge is wat die owerheid nie vir hom mag opeis nie. Ons kan dit só stel: Politiek het te make met die wyse waarop 'n samelewing georden word, maar die politiek mag nie mense se gewetens bind nie. Anders gesê: politiek het te make met uiterlike, relatiewe en voorlopige take en doelstellinge. As die staat homself die terrein van die innerlike, die absolute en die finale toe-eien, oorskry hy sy godgegewe grense en beweeg hy in die rigting van afgodery. Die Gereformeerde Kerk in Japan (en 'n lid van die Gereformeerde Ekumeniese Sinode) stel dit so: 'Every power of the state is a power entrusted to it by the sovereignty of Christ, and only when it is exercised within the sphere for which the power is entrusted, can die state serve Christ properly'.

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Dit lei ons vanself na die volgende waarneming:

Rom. 13:4 sê dat die owerheid 'n dienaar van God is

'tot jou beswil'. Hy is dus nie slegs 'n dienaar

van God nie, maar ook van die mens. Die toets wat

telkens aangê moet word is dus: dien die owerheid

in alle opsigte die belange van al sy onderdane?

Die owerheid moet onpartydig wees. Of nee, in die

lig van die Bybel moet ons liever sê: die owerheid

moet wel partydig wees... vir die minder bevoorregtes!

Dwarsdeur die Ou Testament klink die refrein: Laat

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reg geskied aan die weduwee, die wees en die

vreemdeling. Dit is dus volkome in lyn hiermee as

die Skotse Belydenis van 1590 verklaar dat die

owerheid geroepe is 'to save the lives of innocents,

to repress tyranny, to defend the oppressed'.

And this is what he has to say about love of neighbour:

Politiek beteken vir die Christen die geleentheid om

sy medemens op 'n konkrete wyse te dien en die lydendes

en armes te hulp te kom.

Nou is dit seker so dat alle Christene saamstem dat

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ons ons naaste moet liefhê. Maar nie almal sal dit met

'politiek' in verband bring nie. Die redenering is

gewoonlik soos volg:

Sonde is iets persoonliks wat individue doen. Dit

raak die oortreder persoonlik - soos in die geval

van rook, drank, dans, seksuele immoraliteit,

dobbelary, pornografie en Sabbatsontheiliging".

And I skip the next paragraph:

"Sonde omvat méér as die voorbeelde hierbo genoem.

Sonde is nie net iets individueels nie, maar ook iets

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sosiaals / ... /

sosiaals en struktureels, met ander woorde iets wat aan ander mense en aan die samelewing gedoen word. Dit is natuurlik nie so maklik om hierdie soort sonde te identifiseer nie. Dit gaan dikwels om wat ons kan noem geïnstitusionele sondes, met ander woorde, sondes wat nie maklik na bepaalde individue herlei kan word nie, dog as 't ware in die hele samelewingstruktuur verweef lê. Ons kan dit ook kollektiewe sondes noem. Jacques Ellul is korrek as hy hieroor sê: 'What is characteristic of this type of sin is that no one commits it, but it is still committed'.

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And on page 53, second paragraph:

"Konkreet beteken dit: as jy mense liefhet, raak jy politiek betrokke - politiek in die wydste sin van die woord. Vir ons beteken dit voorts dat ons nie onverskillig kan staan nie teenoor aangeleenthede soos die volgende: die meer as 'n halfmiljoen swartmense wat alreeds vanweë die hervestigingsbeleid verskuif is, of hulle wou of nie; die maatskaplike en ander gevolge van die trekarbeidstelsel; die miljoen mense wat in Soweto se honderdduisend huisies saamgehoop sit, dikwels sonder basiese geriewe; die loonstruktuur wat (ten spyte van hervormings) nog in ons land in swang is; die geweldige diskrepansie in besteding aan Blanke en Swart onderwys; die feit dat miljoen van ons medeburgers daaglik - letterlik en figuurlik - voor miljoene geslote deure te staan kom; die feit dat baie mense (Christene!) doodgewoon vanselfsprekend aanvaar dat jy nie aan ander doen wat

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...jy aan jousef gedoen wil hê nie ensovoorts".
Then on page 55, speaking about the Church, the first
paragraph:

"Die kerk sal daarom nie 'n Christelike staatsvorm
of ekonomiese stelsel uitwerk en propageer nie,
dog eerder die ideologieë ontmasker en die grense
aandui waarbuite die samelewing nie behoort te
beweeg nie. Die kerk sal dit doen deur kritiese
vrae te stel oor houdinge en oortuiginge wat in die
samelewing voorkom, oor wette wat gemaak word - vrae 10
soos: Bevorder dit menswaardigheid? Wat doen dit
aan die gesin? Wat is die invloed daarvan op
onderlinge menseverhoudinge? Wat doen dit aan die
vryheid van die individu? Watter geleentheid skep
dit? Skep dit ruimte vir die volle ontplooiing van
elkeen se godgegewe moontlikhede? Bevorder dit 'n
samelewing 'in which it is safe to be unpopular'?"

And then he speaks about the Lordship of Christ at the bottom
of the page, and then I come to page 56:

"As ons egter voluit aanvaar dat hierdie wêreld Gods 20
wêreld is, mag ons nie meer onverskillig staan teen-
oor wat in die wêreld gebeur nie. Ons glo aan 'n ryk
van geregtigheid - daarom mag ons nie onverskillig
bly ten opsigte van die onreg wat nog voorkom nie".

And then paragraph 4:

"En tog! Die oomblik dat ons hierdie harde werklikheid
toelaat om ons te verlam en ons pogings te saboteer,
kan ons nie meer bid nie: 'Laat u wil ook op die aarde
geskied net soos in die hemel'. Om daardie bede uit
te spreek, impliseer die oortuiging dat Christene 'n 30

verskil in die samelewing maak, dat dinge nie hoef te bly soos hulle is nie. Dit impliseer 'n visioen van 'n nuwe samelewing en dat ons daarvoor gaan werk in die geloof dat dit haalbaar is. Die opvatting dat dinge maar kan bly soos hulle is, is die absolute antitese van die evangelie. Dit is niks minder nie as 'n verloëning van Christus se opstanding en van die aanbreek van die nuwe bedeling.

Ten slotte: Wat ek hier geskryf het, impliseer nie dat die kerk slegs 'n politieke taak het nie. Dit was egter nie my opdrag om oor sy ander take te skryf nie. Maar laat my dit byvoeg: dis 'n tragedie dat die oortuiging posgevat het dat die vromes nie politiek betrokke is nie en dié wat politiek betrokke is, nie vroom is nie. Waar dit wél waar is, het ons met onegtheid te make. Waar ons egter werklik nader aan die Here beweeg, beweeg ons ook nader aan mekaar en aan die nood van die wêreld. Toewyding en vroomheid beteken dus nie 'n afname in politieke betrokkenheid nie maar 'n toename. Waar dit nie die geval is nie, haper daar iets. Te dikwels word mense slegs bekeer tot 'n Christus wat hulle siele red, maar al hulle ander verhoudinge onaangetas laat. Laat ons dit egter weet: Christus weier om ons Saligmaker te wees as ons Hom nie ook as Heer van ons hele lewe aanvaar nie".

And then I refer to Tom Vosloo who also speaks about the involvement of the church as "vanselfsprekend". On page 57 at the bottom:

"He refers to the role of the Dutch Reformed Church in working for the upliftment of the Afrikaner when

he / ...

he says:

'Dertig, veertig jaar gelede - en vroeër - het die Afrikaner onder die vaandel van sy kerk gestry vir gelykberegting in die sosiaal-maatskaplike opset van Suid-Afrika.

Vandag word die Tutu's en die Boesaks, wat dieselfde doen, gebrandmerk as opruiers. Maar 'n David Botha van die NG Sendingkerk gee 'n korrektiewe ontleding.

'Hulle woorde,' het hy in Mei 1980 op Hammanskraal gesê: 'kan in 'n verstommende mate, in soveel woorde,

teruggevind word in die protestaal waarmee die NG Kerk self in die jare dertig en veertig oor die veronregting van sy eie mense gepraat het'.

Afrikanerleiers is nie indertyd opgesluit nie (slegs in 'n oorlogtydse situasie het dit sommige te beurt geval). Hulle het 'n ander kosbare besit gehad wat die Swartmense nie het nie: 'n politieke stem in die sentrum".

On page 59 I say:

"His conclusions are hardhitting, but indicate that the SACC is not peculiar in being involved as it is involved. It is those Christians according to Mr. Vosloo by inference who are peculiar who have not ensured that their confession of the Christian faith should have consequences in the socio-political and economic spheres. What the SACC and its member churches are doing in appearing to be adherents of the so-called social gospel, is what mature, committed and thinking Afrikaner Christians would wish to see their church doing, and they decry the fact that

their / ...

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their church has failed them in not providing clear guidance about what Christians are meant to do and how they are to react in a situation of rapid social development and political change.

These are Mr. Vosloo's words: (Adv. Kentridge intervenes)

Bishop, I do not want to interrupt you, but in some cases I think the Commission would probably find it acceptable if you drew their attention to some of the particularly important paragraphs without necessarily reading them all out. I hope I am permitted to say that?

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CHAIRMAN: Yes. --- I would want to refer to that first paragraph after the words "these are Mr. Vosloo's words please. And then on page 61 my comments at the top, and then the two paragraphs that follow that, and at the bottom of the page the last paragraph which begins: "Die tweede vraag is of ons nie.." On page 62, the portion that begins with the comments: "He later speaks about questions which must be asked and which have yet remained unanswered", and the third paragraph of that: "Die derde vraag het met die houding van gelowiges.." - and then on page 63 right at the top, the first sentence is one that I wish the Commission please to take note of, and in the third paragraph the first sentence: "Die tweede verwysing beklemtoon die inherente waarde van die mens as persoon". And then after that paragraph we skip the next one, and I draw the Commission's attention to the next section up to the end of the page, and then on page 64, I refer to Dr. D. Louw, and I refer to the first sentence in the quotation, and the first paragraph, and then the third paragraph: "Ten derde is die uitdaging.." up to the end of the quotation. On page 65, the second

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paragraph / ...

paragraph, the whole of that second paragraph: "Op alle terreine.." and then skip the next paragraph, and the rest of that quotation. Then my comment on Professor B.C. Lategan, at the bottom of page 65 on to page 66 and the whole of that quotation there, and then at the bottom of the page, all of what occurs there. Page 67, that first bit at the top, and then "He then goes on to declare", the next bit, all of it, and then we skip "in facing the future" and "he bemoans the fact that the church and Christians have not played their proper role in helping to form right attitudes to precede constitution making" and my comment at the bottom of the page please. On page 68, that first section, the quotation, and then we skip the next and then the paragraph that begins: "Because a human person is created in the image of God..", then I would wish to draw the Commission's attention to what he says, that first paragraph "In 'n grondwet..", and the next paragraph the first sentence, and then I would ask the Commission to take note of the rest of that paragraph, starting from: "Hy nooi dié wat vermoed en belas is na Hom.." On page 69 the first sentence - paragraph, and the whole of the paragraph that begins: "Vanuit hierdie perspektief..", and "he then deals with law-making and judicial norms, and that portion there, that sentence, and then at the bottom of the page, all of that, up to "samelewing". Then on page 70 just to take note of my comment at the bottom of the page: "Some people take exception to the SACC and its member churches.." all of that. Then the second paragraph of the quotation: "Die konsekwensies vir 'n grondwet is duidelik..", and at the bottom of page 71, the sentence which begins: "Ons soek

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politieke / ...

politieke oplossings vir wat basies 'n verhoudingsprobleem, 'n gesindheidsprobleem is". All of what follows there, and on page 72 that whole paragraph, the top paragraph. And then the last but one paragraph, the first sentence: "Ten diepste..", and in that paragraph the last sentence: "Indien ons die verhoudingsprobleem kan oplos.." and the last paragraph: "Wat ons bedreiging is.." Then his vision of the church, the top paragraph, up to "aandurf", and then the second paragraph. Then on page 74, from David Botha, the bottom of the page, the penultimate paragraph: "By alle ware gelowiges.." up to the end of the quotation on page 75, and then please let us note his conclusion:

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"En nou het God die konfrontasie op die skouers van hierdie geslag van sy kinders in die RSA gelê.

Volgens my mening en aanvoeling is dit ons laaste geleentheid".

And then at the bottom of page 75, all that comment there about Ds. E. Bruwer, and what he says on page 76, first two paragraphs, and page 77, the top paragraph: "Dit is aanvaarde beleid binne die NG Kerk..", that whole paragraph and my comment, and the first sentence of the quotation, and the last paragraph of the quotation starting about midway down: "Dit kan nie net geestelik verstaan word nie.." to the end of the paragraph. On page 78 my comment on Dr. W. Nicol, and what he says about the bantustans, the last sentence of the first paragraph and the second paragraph, all of it, and then we skip the next paragraph, and then the last sentence: "Die tuislande..". Page 79, my comment there, and the first sentence of the quotation on page 79: "Then he describes the Black townships and says of the township dwellers: 'Hierdie

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mense is vreemdelinge in hul eie woonplek.." And please, the second paragraph about midway down, the sentence begins: "n Ondersoek in die begin van 1980 het getoon 90 persent.." all of that, and the next paragraph, the first two sentences of it, and the final paragraph, the first sentence. On page 80, the second paragraph: "Ons het duidelik te make met 'n land van skreiende kontraste" - that whole paragraph. Then the single sentence paragraph: "Ons moet ten eerste kennis neem van die nood" - paragraph 7. Then at the bottom of the paragraph: "Die kerk moet ten tweede gekenmerk word deur 'n ingrepende besorgdheid oor die lyding in sy omgewing.." and the first sentence of the quotation, and the last sentence of that quotation. On page 81: "Ten derde.." that one sentence. On page 82: "Ten laaste moet ons kyk na die bestryding van die oorsake van die nood", the third paragraph the first two sentences of that paragraph. And then the fourth paragraph, all of it. Then we skip the next paragraph and the whole paragraph which begins: "Die Woord is skerp krities teenoor alle sonde, dié van die individue en dié van die maatskappye". Page 83, the comment I have on Ds. Willie Cilliers, and then all of the first paragraph of the quotation, and then the last paragraph through to the end of that last paragraph on page 84. Then the third paragraph: "Die gewetensvraag..", and we skip the next paragraph, and then the paragraph:

"Vandag weet ons dat 'n verengde evangelisasie slegs op die siel gerig, nie genoeg was nie".

Then on page 85, the paragraph No. 3, beginning: "Die profetiese woord is die een wat skaars geword het, the whole of that paragraph. Then, he also says: "Die kerk.." that

whole sentence. Then on page 87, my comment on O'Brien Geldenhuys, and all of what he says I would hope you would pay attention to especially please. On page 88, at the bottom of the page: "What is the cause of this particular division between the churches? He answers.." and then that whole sentence. Then my comment, all of it, and the next page, 89, that whole quotation: "Jarelank reeds pleit die leiers van die SARK.." and then: "He describes his deep longing thus:" - the first two paragraphs and the last paragraph. Then on page 90: "He expresses aptly what the SACC and its member churches long for when he says.." and that whole quotation there, then I just want to say..(Adv. Kentridge intervenes)

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ADV. KENTRIDGE: Bishop Tutu, your comment starting at the foot of page 90, I would like you to read that aloud please?

--- "M'lord, and Members of the Commission, I want to end this long section in which I have sought to make these persons speak for themselves through the very extensive quotations I have provided, by quoting from Professor Johan Heyns who is a member of a panel of five well-known theologians who speak about actual problems from a religious and moral point of view in the Beeld newspaper and I quote from the article by Professor Johan Heyns, whom we have already met in this Commission, his article which appeared in Beeld on March 8 of this year, and the headline of the article is 'Hele Evangelie vir die Hele Mens', and I am going to quote it in full. If you did not know his personal position you would think that he was a member of the SACC in what he has said. What I just wish to point

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out is the very obvious fact that in its pronouncements, in its statements, in its stance, the SACC is in line with the major part of the Christian world, it is in line with the traditional teaching of the worldwide Church, it is in line with the teaching of its member churches in South Africa, who form what could be described as the mainline denominations in this country, but now we have seen from the quotations from 'Storm-kompas' and you will see from the quotation from this article by Professor Heyns, that even within the White Dutch Reformed Church, which could be said to stand at the opposite poles to the SACC, within that venerable church, the points of view of the SACC are expressed by its leading theologians and eminent teachers".

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Yes, thank you, and then you have this quotation of the whole of the article by Professor Heyns from Beeld?

--- Yes. The particular sections of that, M'lord, on page 91, the first paragraph, and then under "Persoonlik" that paragraph, and in the subsequent paragraph the second sentence: "Die hele evangelie lei die mens nie net na die siel van die ander mens nie..", and on page 92, "Sosiale lewe", "Die godsdiens.." that whole paragraph, and we skip the next paragraph, and the paragraph "Die hele mens wat die hele evangelie gehoor het.." and the next paragraph: "Die mens wat nuut gemaak is deur die evangelie.." - those would be the only sections.

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Thank you, Bishop Tutu. We now come to Section IV on page 94, and at this stage I would like to ask you to continue reading your evidence. --- Thank you.

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"M'lord / ...

"M'lord, and Members of the Commission, in this section I wish to deal in extenso with especially the police submission, and also to try and respond by giving the true state of affairs in specific instances that have arisen in testimony that has been given before this Commission.

The police are expected in a normal society to provide evidence in as objective a manner as possible and leave it, usually to the court, in this case to the Commission, to decide what weight to attach to that evidence and what conclusions to arrive at on the basis of the evidence adduced before it. 10

Just let us examine what the police have done. They have produced what purports to be evidence, but more than that they have sought to present a particular image of the SACC by a clever choice of words, by innuendo and by a kind of guilt by association. For instance, on page 5 of the police submission they speak about civil disobedience and transgression of the law and as an example they refer to the march by the 52 clergymen. How does the march have anything to do 20

with the SACC? It was decided on by an independent group who had been invited by the General Secretary of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the Reverend Joe Wing, because a UCCSA clergyman, the Reverend John Thorne, had been detained. Of course, the SACC had passed a resolution on civil disobedience or rather the obeying of God rather than man, but the SACC as such had not (and has not) carried out that particular resolution. The police, who surely must 30

know / ...

know since they claim that they have to have an intimate knowledge of organisations such as the SACC, just wanted to build up a certain atmosphere by associating the SACC with an action of which they disapproved - that is what is called guilt by association.

On that same page they mention what will be their bete noire - overseas funding from which they appear to argue that the SACC is not its own master. But you, Mr. Chairman, have ruled clearly that this is not the case. So an important plank in the police platform has been removed. The Chairman's ruling is that they say the SACC has an undue reliance on overseas funds. That is of course a trite observation which nobody has sought to gainsay. I will have more to say about the great play the police make about foreign funding. 10

The point I wish to make I think at this stage, is that the police do not carry out their expected task of presenting objective, tangible evidence. No, they are desperate to create a certain atmosphere, to paint a certain picture of the SACC and you do that also by the kind of words you may use to describe something. Anyone knows that you are able to evoke a certain response from your readership if you describe a group of people either as a 'crowd' or a 'mob'. 20

Speaking about the SACC being funded from overseas sources, the police see fit to use the pejorative or suggestive word 'clandestine' coupled with 'government funds'. These terms are not just neutral descriptive 30

words - and they repeat this at page 22 of their submission. They are chosen deliberately to evoke an almost reflex reaction. Clandestine refers in nuance to something not quite acceptable. The word means secret, somehow underhand and not above board and when it is linked with government funds, must lead most people to think there is something untoward going on, especially if it is a church body that is being so funded, particularly a body which as the SACC has claimed to work transparently and openly. Taken on its own, this choice of words is not at this stage reprehensible. It is when the entire submission is taken as a whole, that the cumulative effect of such vocabulary and semantic manipulation leads the hearer or reader to say: 'Ah, there is something fishy here - there cannot be smoke without fire'. 10

The police also refer to the words of individuals who may be officers of the Council, and their utterances are somehow described as Council utterances. The police should certainly know, and we are told on page 4 of their submission, that they must have an 'intimate knowledge' of the activities of individuals and organisations who seek to bring about certain changes in South Africa other than by constitutional means'. They should know that the SACC utterances will usually be official resolutions and statements of either the National Conference, the Executive Committee, the Praesidium, or quite often the General Secretary. What is binding on the SACC are its resolutions. Statements by individuals may be or may not be in line 20 30

with / ...

with the official policy of the SACC. The police can surely be expected to know how to make that distinction. It is not necessarily the SACC's position which even its General Secretary may articulate from time to time, and certainly the actions of individuals or of individual member churches cannot just be described without qualification as the actions of the SACC just because this would be convenient for the police, who are trying, as I am at pains to indicate, to paint a highly unfavourable picture of the SACC. Just as an example, as General Secretary of the SACC, I spoke on Danish television about coal. That statement was not expressing the views of the SACC as everyone knows by now if they did not know then. Incidentally, none of the activities that the police referred to by those individuals are illegal (except for the protest march). The police include amongst the activities of the SACC on this page 5, disinvestment. Mr. Peter Storey has indicated quite clearly what the police know without doubt, that the SACC has people who are on both sides of this question. Some believe firmly in disinvestment, and others believe equally firmly that only increased investment in South Africa will bring about the desired changes in the social, political and economic dispensation. But it is part of this clever ploy for the police know that certainly in the White community the mention of disinvestment is likely to evoke a predictable response, i.e. that most White persons will regard the organisation that is accused of

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advocating / ...

advocating disinvestment as unpatriotic".

May I refer to the statement of the Executive of the SACC.

CHAIRMAN: The document now handed to us will then be given the number BT.17. --- I just want to indicate there, M'lord, that the Executive Committee does not say it endorses the statement that I am alleged to have made in Denmark, but it says that it believes I have the right to make that statement if I believe I am moved by God, and that there are those who would probably want to make statements relating to disinvestment, which mine was not, but are prevented from so doing by the laws of the country.

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Sorry, would you - oh yes, here we are, this is 27 and 28 November of 1979. --- Yes.

Was this the Executive Resolution which was dealt with by the Reverend Storey, can you recall - there were two resolutions, there was one by the church leaders and the Executive I think? --- Yes, and then on disinvestment itself there was a resolution of the National Conference of 1978.

Yes, I know about the one of 1978, but the one that we are referring to now, is this the one which was dealt with and I think quoted from by the Reverend Storey, can you recall? --- I cannot, I have a very bad memory.

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Well, anyway we will check on it, thank you. --- May I continue?

Yes please. --- Thank you.

"Then the police say the churches (not the SACC) exercise a great influence on public opinion - that is towards the end of the second paragraph on page 5 of their submission - and they go on to say this fact has been noted by academics. That statement is in

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order / ...

order and quite acceptable. Then, as it were a throw away line, the police add that even banned organisations such as the ANC are aware of this. This latter fact is not necessarily being disputed, but why include it here and is it a crime or something untoward for the churches to have the influence spoken of? After all they are in the business to change and influence opinions and behaviour. That is the point after all for instance of sermons - is it something the churches are expected to be ashamed of? As I 10
said earlier, taken in isolation, there would not be much to worry about in such police assertions. It is taken as a whole that their influence is felt almost unconsciously, to paint this unfavourable picture of the churches and so of the SACC.
The police do not actually make any specific accusations - innuendo and suggestiveness can often do the trick having the advantage of the appearance of subtlety. Just please look at the last paragraph on page 5 of their submission - it is a generalised 20
statement that we have in those two sentences. It is not referred to the SACC specifically - it is just thrown in into the melting pot, for the reader to note, perhaps subconsciously - churches bending the knee to secular organisations and dispensations, declaring credal convictions that are politically acceptable - we are not told to whom - so that later this knotty problem of religion and politics will colour the overall assessment: and the police submission obviously believes that all this kind of behaviour 30
is / ...

is culpable, but whose behaviour it is not declared categorically. The inference is that it is the SACC and its member churches who are being spoken of and we should note the juxtapositioning of this particular paragraph with the last phrases of the previous one - the churches influence on public opinion which had been noted amongst others by the ANC, a banned organisation.

On page 6, can I point to another example of the good general's clever use of language to create a certain 10 somewhat unfavourable impression. It is the word 'gegryp' in the second paragraph. Politicians have 'grasped' apparently unjustifiably, at worship or religion to support their political standpoint and theologians (not of the SACC of course, but just in general) have used their theology to justify their political standpoint. Somehow it is as if they too have done this illegitimately like the politicians. The police do not say categorically that it is wrong to justify one's politics theologically, but they leave 20 us with the distinct impression that this is what they believe. But they have as yet accused nobody of this unsatisfactory conduct. They are just slowly and (they hope) unobtrusively building up this unfavourable image and before we know where we are, we will come to the conclusion that the organisation being spoken about, being investigated, leaves a great deal that needs to be explained.

Then the police speak of an 'aksieplan' - whose plan of action is not here indicated. They certainly know 30 that / ...

that the SACC so far has no plan of action relating to political change. It has not yet decided in what way a more just, more democratic and non-racial South Africa can be brought about. It has no blueprint because that is the sphere of politicians who justifiably can have action plans. All the SACC has spoken about are the preconditions which would help to create the sort of atmosphere that would make it possible for the politicians and other important leaders of the different sections of our community to sit down at the conference table at a national convention to hammer out a constitution for our country. But what we have in this paragraph on page 6 is yet another example that will help to create the impression of something sinister on the go. But the thought that these churches (the paragraph does not in fact mention the churches of the SACC specifically, though the reference to theological foundations for the action leave you to make the inference it must be the churches of the SACC being spoken of) have certain goals for South Africa, and that they even have a master plan to attain those goals, would make some or many people somewhat apprehensive. On its own this paragraph is not too disturbing, but linked with what I have already mentioned and what I will refer to later, then we are well on the way to being influenced to think unfavourably about the subject of the police submission. It is a very clever manipulation, very clever indeed.

On page 8, describing the appointment of Dr. Arthur

Blaxall as fulltime General Secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa, quite innocuously the police add in a parenthesis what is true, that this great man of God was found guilty in 1963 of contravening security legislation. The statement does not say he was no longer an employee of the Christian Council, but it is a statement that adds a little bit of tar. Why did the police not add that Dr. Blaxall founded the first blind school for Blacks in Worcester, or that for all his outstanding humanitarian work the University of the Witwatersrand awarded him an honorary doctorate degree? Both these statements are as relevant or as irrelevant as the one they chose to make. Clearly they want to mention as many facts that are likely to be unfavourable to the Council as possible. I for one cannot see the relevance at this point for the fact that Dr. Blaxall was found guilty of a security law contravention. On page 9 General Coetzee claims that already in 1962 the CCSA was being manipulated by its overseas donors.

In this connection, the police refer to David Thomas' assertion that the CCSA moved away from a missionary co-ordinating phase to a truly ecumenical one which led it to take a stance in opposition to the apartheid ideology of the Government. What the police want to do, is to indicate that somehow the WCC linkage of the CCSA was the causal factor in this move. That is not what Thomas says, and in any case, the police have conveniently forgotten what they mentioned earlier - the Rosettenville Conference of 1949 on 'Race - What

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the Bible says' - a full 13 years before the 1962 link with the WCC. The aim of the police is quite clear in view of what I have said: 'nudge, nudge, wink, wink' approach - this body is manipulated by overseas donors and its fundamental positions come about really only through being influenced by such pernicious overseas bodies as the WCC.

And then the name change in 1968 is used as the occasion for making another apparently innocuous observation, but which in the context of other observations will help to create a picture of a dubious organisation. Two reasons are adduced for the change - at the bottom of page 9 and continues on page 10 - one showing that the churches had arrived and the other that Blacks were flexing their muscles. Sinister - not a breath of it. The quotation from Thomas certainly does not support this second contention for it speaks more of the tension between the 'evangelicals' and those who think Christians have a corporate, socio-political responsibility. It is almost a dishonest use of a quotation. But you see, many people are worried about Black Consciousness, Black Power, Black Theology - thus within the first ten pages of this police submission, it is possible to see a pattern of denigration by stealth emerging. Is this 'moving blackwards' as Thomas describes it commendable or blameworthy? Have the SAP not been trying to do something similar in arming Black policemen, in having Black commissioned officers, in having the same uniform for all races?

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Since it is noteworthy according to the police that three Blacks were successively chosen as President of the SACC from 1970, - the last paragraph on page 9 - would a balance not have warranted that somewhere in this submission mention be made that an overwhelmingly Black conference chose at the very first ballot, a White person to serve as President for a three year term after the Constitution was changed to allow this to happen, so that the first three-year term President is White, chosen by what the police also admit would be an overwhelmingly Black conference. Why was this fact not mentioned anywhere? No, it is not mentioned because it would distort the picture the police are at pains to draw of the SACC. Can I draw your attention, as I am going to do ad nauseam though it may be, to another example of the police's misleading selectivity. 10

On page 11, the last paragraph, referring to my appointment as General Secretary, the further fact is mentioned that I was a former WCC employee. That is true, but so are the facts that I was Dean of Johannesburg (it surely should be of some note at this point, the first Black to hold that position), and also that I was Bishop of Lesotho. Surely it must be important for the police that I had held a fairly high position in my Church before coming to the SACC? Why only my WCC connection? Am I too suspicious when I say the WCC for many White South Africans is like a red rag to a bull and so that anyone connected with it must at the very least be 20 30

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suspect? Why should my appointment illustrate the SACC's link with the WCC? The Council was already an affiliated member as a Council of Churches. Do you see what I mean about looking around for what is likely to tar the Council? Why was my appointment not rather seen as demonstrating the ecumenical responsibility of the Anglican Church which it did, because I had to be released from my diocese by the Anglican Episcopal Synod and not by the WCC; and if Episcopal Synod had refused (as it did on the first occasion in 1976) I would still be Bishop of Lesotho today."

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Incidentally, would the police have found it noteworthy that I have been succeeded by two Blacks as dean of Johannesburg, one of whom has since become a Bishop. What does that say of the Anglican Church in the diocese of Johannesburg?

"I do not know why the SACC and church leaders chose me as General Secretary. I doubt that my being an exponent of Black Theology had much to do with it. If I were asked what I think I have done at the SACC, I would tell you little about Black Theology and much about the emphasis on the spiritual. One reason we left Diakonia House in Braamfontein for Khotso House was that I wanted us to have a chapel as the hub of our building. Our daily prayers are part of our daily timetable, our monthly eucharists, the daily eucharists at National Conferences, etcetera, - these would, I think, be the things that I have emphasises, not Black Theology as such. We now have regular Retreats for both Executive and non-Executive SACC staff; our

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quarterly Executive Committee meetings have the first day introduced by a substantial Bible Study led by one of the committee members and on the second day we now have as a regular feature, a Eucharist at which a homily is delivered by one of the committee members. I am sorry to have to appear to be doing our righteousness so as to be seen by men in this instance, but the misleading contention by the police has to be shown up in all its falsity, whether that is categorical or merely suggested.

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The police must surely do better than merely to throw out suggestively (and I would say maliciously) that the ideals of Pan Africanism and Black Consciousness and Black Theology began to play a role in the decisions and activities of the SACC - second paragraph on page 11. It is not good enough to make sweeping statements and then coyly to state that all this could not be defined clearly. They must point to chapter and verse and say such and such a decision and such and such an activity are clearly the result of the influence of the ideals of Pan Africanism, whatever these may be. They have not done so, perhaps because they are unable to find supporting evidence to buttress their submission, and they cannot find this evidence because it does not exist, but it is good to mention such 'facts' because they help in this nebulous undefinable way to present a picture of an organisation manipulated from outside South Africa, because so dependent on foreign funds, engaging in dubious activities, with an action plan, looking to use

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unconstitutional means to bring about change in South Africa on the economic, social and political levels, having close links with the WCC (one of whose former staff members was now General Secretary of the SACC) which had evolved from the CCSA whose first fulltime General Secretary had been found guilty of an offence under the security legislation - and this organisation was using theology to justify unsupportably its politics which was influenced by the ideals of Pan Africanism, Black Consciousness and Black Theology, 10 and this organisation or its member churches had a strong influence on public opinion, a point noted by academics but also by banned organisations such as the ANC (at this stage you are left to assume that such organisations will not be averse to taking advantage of this influence and the way is being prepared for the suggestion that the SACC or its member churches are dupes of unscrupulous foreign agents hostile to South Africa including the ANC).

M'lord, that is the image of the SACC which has 20 emerged only in the first eleven pages of the police submission, and there is little evidence to support that image so drawn, but it has emerged from a very cunningly put together description in which individual elements in the composite picture taken in isolation might not be too bad, but taken as a whole the cumulative effect is to present a picture wholly unfavourable to the SACC.

The police then end the second chapter by claiming that the Asingeni Fund - on page 12 - repeatedly 30

makes / ...

makes disbursements in favour of Black Power organisations. Black Power is another emotive descriptive adding grist to the particular police mill. The fact of the matter is that the police statement is palpably untrue. The bulk of the Asingeni Fund goes to make payments for legal defence. I do not know any organisation which could be described as a Black Power organisation which received Asingeni Fund grants. If even a cursory glance down a list of Asingeni Fund grants is made, it will be shown that the police contention is grossly misleading".

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ADV. KENTRIDGE: Now, Bishop Tutu, in the police memorandum do they name any of these alleged Black Power organisations? --- Not in the body of this.

Can you think of any factual basis for such an allegation by the police? --- No, except that they must give that particular descriptive to things like CUSA, AZAPO, AZASU, and I would just ask whether, I mean there are several copies of Asingeni Reports, M'lord, which the Commission has to hand. I just have one here which I was given at random, No.22, I do not know whether the Commission has that.

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I am sure it has it somewhere? --- Well, if the Commission were to look through the grants made, you need spectacles to try to find the kind of thing the police are talking about, because most of the grants that are given there are for legal costs, there are monthly welfare grants, there are books for ex-detainees, Black Municipal Workers' Union, legal grants, and then donation to CUSA's annual conference, would probably be the kind of thing that the police are

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referring to. But I just want to underline that I think it is a contention that is grossly misleading.

"On page 16, the General after describing why the police think the SACC is not as representative as it claims, indicated by its financial independence from its member churches and its over-dependence on foreign sources, then refers to what the General calls the SACC's partners 'secular objectives'. We are not vouchsafed any example of such aims, nor the grounds on which these aims may be divided into those that are secular and those that are religious. Again we have a clever smear tactic, for secular aims must be questionable goals for a religious body.

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May I draw the Commission's attention to yet another example of how misleading the ..(intervention)

CHAIRMAN: Bishop, I am sorry, may I interrupt you, could you possibly tell me what would be a convenient stage for us to take the adjournment, would this be convenient? --- I think this is as good as any, M'lord.

Very well, we will take the adjournment now until 14h00.

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THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED.

THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 14h00:

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BISHOP DESMOND TUTU, still under oath:

CHAIRMAN: I think you had come to page 102, to the end of the penultimate paragraph? --- Thank you, M'lord.

"May I draw the Commission's attention to yet another example of how misleading the police submission can be, and how it seeks to achieve its end by innuendo and suggestion rather than by hard evidence? On page 20, M'lord, of the police submission, paragraph 1, the police say in order not only to sustain its claim to be representative 'maar ook vir ander doelwitte', the Council is engaged in an intensive psychological warfare and a public opinion-forming campaign. I want to contend that whilst 'ander doelwitte' can be a fairly innocuous term, taken in conjunction with all that has gone before to which I have alluded and particularly in juxtaposition with something that seems questionable if not sinister, such as an intensive psychological warfare - that expression is a loaded one and entirely meant to suggest 'nudge, nudge, wink, wink', there is more than meets the eye. And as for psychological warfare and opinion-forming campaign these are blatantly misleading and meant to show the SACC at great disadvantage. What the police then produce as evidence for these heavy statements is quite ridiculous. I cannot believe they mean to be taken seriously. But assuming that they are really serious, let us look at what they produce? They complain that the SACC wants to reorganise its Communications Division. What is so sinister about that / ...

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that? The NG Kerk's Chief Executive Officer is also that church's information officer. Will that cause the police unease? The NG Kerk has a major publication called 'Die Kerkbode', which seeks to communicate the views of the Church to its members and the general public and so to influence points of view. Is that to be regarded as being involved in intensive psychological warfare? The police admit that the Communications Division personnel were retrenched and the Division suspended. That is very odd behaviour for an organisation engaged in the campaigns referred to by the police. 10

Then we are told that to give bridging finance to 'The Voice', an autonomous newspaper articulating Black views, now no longer existent, a loan to Ravan Press to enable it to publish the manuscripts of budding young Blacks and paying South African Pressclips for its press cuttings which come from South African English newspapers, that this is part of an intensive psychological warfare would be laughable if it came from less influential quarters. 20

I will deal with the charges that Dependants' Conference and Asingeni Fund grants tend to uphold the morale of those intent on confrontation later. Suffice it to say that it is the height of cynicism for someone to suggest that helping to feed, to educate and to pay the rent of those whose relatives have fallen foul of the law is to boost the morale of those miscreants. It appears that the police are saying you must punish not only the offender, but make those 30

related / ...

related to him suffer as much as possible. If that is what we are expected to conclude from this assertion, then I want to say it is shocking in its unChristian and immoral nature.

Is it illegal, is it sinister - I refer to paragraph 1 on page 21 of the police submission - for a public figure to want to have good relations with the Press? I did not, incidentally, ask the Pretoria Press Club to invite me, but I was telling the truth when I said journalists are about the only people normally allowed to interrupt my meetings because it is important to let people know our position. We have no easy access to radio or television, which it appears has shown an 80% bias for a certain political party according to a recent survey, and radio and television are very powerful media, and we are dealing with the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, God's great communication with the world. We would be irresponsible not to try and have good relationships with the Press.

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I notice that the police have recently appointed liaison officers. Are the police engaged in an intensive psychological warfare? Are they not concerned to enlist the support of the public for their work? We cannot be accused of not being in touch with our member churches and their adherents on the one hand and then be castigated for trying to do so on the other. Would the police think that Dr. Nicol, whom I have quoted from 'Storm-kompas' and who advocates the churches letting people know the real situation in South Africa, was suggesting that

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the NGK embark on an intensive psychological warfare and public opinion-forming campaign? And if he was, would the police pay him some close attention?

Paragraph 3 on that page, M'lord, I refer to a statement about the Joint Screening Committee. It is a nonsense to say that the Joint Screening Committee makes funds available only to ideologically approved projects. It is a blatant untruth."

I want to place before the Commission a list of Joint Screening Committee projects.

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BT.18. --- Looking through that list, to which I will refer again a little later, M'lord, item No.4, a sewing project, item 9, a play centre, item 15, a children's care centre, No.16, a children's care centre, No.2, a day care centre. On page 2 an old aged home, No.33, children's centre, No.36, a sewing club, No.38(c) a creche, 38(d) a creche project, water scheme No.(i) and (m) a sewing centre, (p) Ulundi creche. On page 3, No.44 a water project, No.46 a water project, No.48 a leather and sheepskin project, 49 a water project, No.57 a pottery project, No.58 a school feeding scheme, No.59 meals-on-wheels, No.61 a creche, No.63 a children's magazine, on page 4 No.69 Orlando Children's Home, Pella water project, No.70; No.73 a water project, 74 a weaving centre, No.78 a society for care of mentally and physically handicapped, No.79 Naskool sentrum, No.80 Soweto Symphony Orchestra, Soweto Women's Thrift Club, 82 a creche, 33 Mission garden..(intervention)

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ADV. KENTRIDGE: No.83? --- 83, thank you very much. No.90, knitting and sewing project, No.95 the Velani Bathembu agricultural project, 98 Winterveld water project, 109 a

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nursery, 110 a nursery, 111 a nursery, 117 pilot project for education toys for preschool. On page 6 Fedsem Kangaroo Road playground, No.122 Clarksmore Creche, 126 Ezibeleni YWCA Knitting Centre, 129 Florida Moravian Creche, Belhar Creche, Mamre Creche and on Appendix B, the meeting held in February 1982, No.3 development of Girl Guiding in the Transkei, Crossroad Nutrition Centre, - meeting held in April, No.1 day care centre, Moitiri Day Care Centre, No.2 Zamokuhle Garden Scheme, No.10 Ipeleng poultry project, Kagisano poultry project in a bantustan. Page 2 of that, No.3 at the first meeting of August, Kleuterskool, Zisamile School; a literacy programme, Moroko Brickmaking in Onverwacht a resettlement camp; No. 7 Cape Nutrition. The October meeting, King William's Town for physically handicapped, and the projects there, potteries, children's home, No.2 workshop for blind and deaf children day care centre, No.3 Farmers' Association; - I could go on, M'lord, I hope I have indicated that it is a total nonsense to refer to projects of this kind as projects that have been ideologically determined. I come to paragraph 2 of page 104: 10

"There is nothing wrong in wanting to give our overseas friends the true facts of our situation as we see them, and the money applied for was wanted in order to have a programme in South Africa to handle the many visitors who came to South Africa and who impose a heavy burden on SACC staff, particularly Dr. Kistner."

CHAIRMAN: Are you referring to the Ecumenical Visitors' Programme? --- Yes, M'lord.

"In line with the strategy that I have indicated has been / ... 30

been used by the police throughout their whole submission, there is a second reference to 'sekulêre doelwitte' - the first sentence of the second paragraph on page 21 (without mentioning which are so designated) together with speaking about an expert campaign for conditioning the public. I have shown that there is no real evidence provided to support this sweeping statement. It is enough to smear a religious body as striving after secular goals. The cumulative effect by page 21 of the police submission is formidable. 10

I want to suggest that the police submission reached an unprecedented low point when on page 23 I am attacked personally. It is suggested that I sought to advance a favourable image of the Council in declaring publicly what I would do or would not do, statements which the police claim are categorically contradicted by the true facts. The police statement is in fact grossly untrue, and I will produce the evidence at the appropriate point. If they wanted to know the truth they could have asked me for the facts. 20

What they are intent on is to show that the General Secretary of the SACC is in fact a liar, seeking glory by making a promise which sounds large-hearted and generous, showing him (and the SACC presumably) in a favourable light. But he has so far as the police can establish, reneged on his promise. That is the kind of official this body has which must reflect badly on both the official and the organisation he is serving. Such casting of aspersions is unbecoming and totally reprehensible / ... 30

reprehensible. I have said earlier that some of the police statements stop just short of being libellous. But all this kind of conduct by the police is consonant with the way they have gone about snidely denigrating the Council by stealth, corroding its credibility by very clever smear tactics."

I wish to place before the Commission certain documents.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: What are these documents, Bishop? --- These documents refer to the private family trust which I have sought to set up with the Onassis prize money which is referred to.

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Yes, well let us just get it clear, the allegation in the police submission that you did not carry out what you promised relates to your statement that you would use certain prize money you had been given, for educational purposes? --- Yes, part of that money.

And the police suggest that although that is what you said you would do, you never did it? --- Yes.

And do these documents you have put in relate to that? --- The documents relate to that, yes.

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What do they show? --- First of all they indicate, M'lord, - if I may just - we have not put them in the right order really.

CHAIRMAN: Well just before you proceed, again for the sake of the record, could we give a collective number to this group? --- I think yes.

BT.19 will be the collective number relative to the Tshezi or Onassis Deed of Trust? --- The Tshezi Deed of Trust.

I am sorry, I do not actually know where they are in your own pile, M'lord, but the first document actually that I wanted

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to indicate is dated 12 August 1981, and it is a letter from Oliver Barrett of Bowens.

It is right at the end of the first batch? --- Yes, I am sorry that I am not as methodical as other people. I want to indicate that already then I set in process the stages for registering what we have come to call the Tshezi Trust, Tthezi is my clan name.

May I just interrupt, has this got anything to do with the South African Council of Churches, the prize, was this given to you in your personal capacity? --- It was given to me in my personal capacity - well, I suppose, it is very difficult to say how personal is my personal capacity in isolation from the Council. 10

No, I realise that, the point is just that this was a grant to you possibly because of work that you had done as General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, I do not know, but the way in which the money was donated, has that got anything to do with the South African Council of Churches? --- It is a decision that I made with my family.

Well could you possibly just give us the gist of what the correspondence shows? --- The correspondence shows that already in August of 1981 I asked the Council's lawyers to help us register the Trust. There are four trustees, my wife and I are two of those, and Mr. Massey is the other, and then we have a lawyer as it happens a member of the Bowens' firm, Oliver Barrett, is the other. The draft of the Trust Deed was sent to the Master of the Supreme Court, and it has not been registered because they wished to find out, I think, who were going to be our auditors, and I have got a letter here which indicates that I asked the Council's auditors / ... 20 30

auditors whether they would be willing to do that. I am trying to indicate that the snide remarks of the police are utterly untrue, and then, M'lord, the documents indicate that even before this Trust has been registered I on my own authority gave in March of 1982 a scholarship of R1 000 to a student at Fort Hare, so that the police, if they had wanted to know what I have been doing with this money, would have found out that we had already given one scholarship, and in December of last year I repeated that R1 000 or promised that we would give that same child R1 000 although she had failed at Fort Hare because of the unrest. Now, M'lord, I do not know whether the police wanted me to stand on the roof to shout, but when I got this money I shared part of it with the staff of the SACC, I gave all of my colleagues some part of this money, and it is hurting to have to be forced to reveal that as if one were setting out to try and appear a holy - holier-than-thou, but I must say I find the police suggestions utterly disgusting.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Now, Bishop, just in fairness, when you speak of the police and the police submission, perhaps it would be fairer to talk of the security police submission? --- Well, I mean, this is indicated as the SAP.

I see, very well. --- I continue.

"We find on page 23 another example in the assertion that the Council has secular ideological - I do not know what this means - staring of facts in the face with its propaganda about the unitary state totally misreading the political reality represented by the new independent states. Please note again the use of evocative emotive language which has no evident support

in facts. What support is adduced for the statement about secular ideological staring of facts, a stance which is opposed to the real political facts? It is not necessary to produce that supportive evidence presumably. It is enough to have helped to create an unfavourable image. This Christian body is blinded by its secular ideology. This religious body engages not in the propagation of truth but in the dissemination of propaganda - with the overtones in that word of manipulating facts. As a parting shot, 10
in all of this unsavoury situation, a rhetorical question which is more effective than a straightforward categorical assertion is inserted - is this body blinded by secular ideology and engaging in propaganda not really unrepresentative of its member churches but representative rather of its foreign funders? It is a very cunning ploy that the police have used and I am going to keep harping ad nauseam on the point that the aim is not to present objective evidence, but so to describe by innuendo, guilt by 20
association, subtle or not so subtle suggestion and occasionally by downright untruth, that in the end the image that emerges is of an organisation that at best is a dubious quantity and at worst must somehow be involved in subversive activity. It leaves the reader so far with a vague uneasiness and disquiet. Very clever.

Reference is again made to the fact that the current SACC General Secretary is a former WCC employee, in case anyone has forgotten that important and damaging 30

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(for the police) fact. I have dealt earlier in my submission with the malicious police suggestion about my visit to Geneva before I actually took up my appointment (pages 40 & 41 of my submission, M'lord). I said there that the police demonstrate an abysmal ignorance of how the church and ecumenical family operate. But the point being made is that the SACC is not its own master. It is influenced, manipulated and controlled by overseas bodies. Its initiatives are not really its own but those of especially the WCC and are not to be supported by the broad South African public. That same ignorance of how the ecumenical family operates is shown in the spiel about the Joint Youth Council, - on page 23 through to 24. The picture being drawn is of a council that is being manipulated by foreign groups which are part of a sinister plot, a total onslaught levelled against South Africa.

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And here, on page 24, we have the first reference in the police submission to the fact that SACC representatives have attended meetings in which ANC members were also present. Controversial decisions were taken at the youth meetings. Why should it be sinister for the SACC to have representatives at meetings at which ANC members are also present? Does it somehow mean there is collusion when the SACC does not even organise the meeting? Even if it had, the fact that the SACC is committed to change through negotiation and dialogue must surely mean it should have ways of being in touch with such persons. How will its message of

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reconciliation be delivered otherwise? But the argument of the police cannot really be sustained. The Government attends, for instance, meetings of the United Nations which are attended also by Communists. Does that 'contaminate' the South African representatives somehow? Are they likely to be turned into Communists because they attend meetings at which these persons are present? That surely ought to be the case if the police contention regarding the SACC's attendance at meetings where ANC is present were valid. It clearly cannot stand up to scrutiny. It is used as a further attempt to discredit the SACC. What if controversial decisions are taken at such meetings? After all the SACC and its member churches, despite all the claims by the police to the contrary, is not bound by decisions taken elsewhere. If those decisions are acceptable to the SACC as being consonant with its own ideals, then they may be ratified. Such ratification would be superfluous and ridiculous if the SACC was not its own master and was controlled other than by its National Conference, Executive Committee, Praesidium and above all by its member churches whose membership of the SACC, as we heard from their own testimony, is not just nominal. I want to refer this Honourable Commission to yet another example of the reprehensible habit of denigration, not stating facts and letting them speak for themselves - on page 26, the first paragraph, we hear speak of how the apparent failure of the Joint Youth Council to take off showed that it was without

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the support and roots in South Africa the Council purports to have (voorgegee het dat dit het..) is language designed to denigrate not to describe a factual situation. It is buttressed by the statement in the succeeding paragraph 'in order to project externally the image that it is representative..' the SACC tries to be the only channel for funds from the capital rich European churches. First of all, it is patently not true that the Council wants to be such a channel. FELCSA for a start receives 10 considerable funds from especially German sources, and at no time has the SACC tried to draw those funds away from FELCSA, as should surely have been the case if the Council wanted to do what the police here claim. In fact, the SACC has applied for and received funds from FELCSA itself on a regular basis - Mr. Wessels' report indicated that. These are facts which the police know for they must on their own submission have an intimate knowledge -so they say on page 5 - of the Council. Why do they ignore these facts? Surely 20 because they run counter to the unfavourable image they want to paint of a group that wants to have a monopoly on the control and disbursement of overseas funds. It would be ridiculous of the SACC to try to be the sole channel when many of its member and observer member churches receive very considerable funds on a bilateral denominational basis - Anglicans drawing funds from Anglicans etcetera. How could the SACC stop these bilateral relations? Again the police show an abysmal ignorance of the way churches and 30

ecumenical families operate. There are some things churches choose to do together and they establish a Council as the best agency to achieve those goals. The police have completely misunderstood the working and purpose of the Revolving Development Fund and the Joint Screening Committee. They look at everything from a certain perspective - the SACC is sinister and subversive, it is part of an international plot, South Africa is under attack and everybody must suffer from a siege mentality, and so 10 the police, having come to certain conclusions almost a priori are doing their hardest to find facts to justify those conclusions. Page 26 the second paragraph. It is totally untrue, absolutely totally untrue to say that the Joint Screening Committee approves all applications for financial help from South Africa, that is nonsense. I have pointed out that this is quite inconsistent with the obvious facts. Our ecumenical partners, especiall the West Germans, wanted to work ecumenically in development work so 20 that they could refer to one ecumenical group who, because it was on the spot through regional councils of churches, would be better placed than someone 6 000 miles away to determine the worth and viability of projects and to say whether a community project was indeed what it claimed to be. Based on a total misconception, the police deride the SACC by speaking of the projection of an image- an expression suggesting that the image was in fact misleading and false and they state this as a fact, when the President of the 30

SACC and I have now shown that the Joint Screening Committee is not what the police claim it to be.

But that kind of language is obviously the object of the exercise, find every means possible of discrediting the SACC, if the truth cannot do it, then do not have a queasy stomach, use half-truths and blatant untruths. It does not matter what you say as long as this organisation is discredited.

It does not matter at all that the Joint Screening Committee is joint, in which the SACC works with FELCSA and KED. It does not matter that there are certain parameters which determine what can and what cannot be done. It does not matter what the real truth is. What matters is to show the SACC as power mad, turning down this project and approving that, almost arbitrarily and at its whim. That is a horrible caricature of how a Christian organisation works".

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M'lord, I wish to place before the Commission the agreement between the SACC and FELCSA on the one hand, and KED on the other.

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CHAIRMAN: That will be BT.20. --- Thank you. And I wish to refer to No.2 of that, RDF, the revolving development fund shall be used for supporting not any kind of project, development projects and programmes of SACC and FELCSA member churches, of institutions connected with such churches as well as other development-orientated organisations. And then No.6, the administrative arrangements. And we are given at No.7 and No.8 the parameters that relate to the work of the Joint Screening Committee, and there is nothing there to support the police contention.

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"The police quoted or referred to a letter from the director of ICA and used it for their own purposes, but the letter quoted from the director of ICA should show just how seriously the SACC/FELCSA Joint Screening Committee takes its responsibilities, suggesting trimming of budgets and asking pertinent questions and then to have all this work of Christian compassion and mercy to be thrown in the faces of people who give many hours of hard work is deeply distressing.

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And I want to refer to that letter, could I please place it before the Commission.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Can you give the date of the letter? --- The date of the letter is 5 November 1981 - I am sorry, M'lord, it is not in the pile of documents, but it is a letter which the police say indicates that the SACC controls Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, and I say it does nothing of the sort. What it does show is that the Joint Screening Committee, which is not the SACC, but the SACC together with FELCSA, takes seriously the mandate it has been given. I think I will have to read the letter, M'lord:

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"Thanks for your application presented by the Wits Council of Churches through ICA to the Joint Screening Committee of October 1981. The Joint Screening Committee expressed some concerns to which they would like to have SHADE'S response in the next JSC meeting if possible. The concerns are -

- (a) that your application did not have financial statements which would indicate as to how much funds have been expended previously and from where;

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(b) under / ...

- (b) under the heading 'activities' in the budget varying amounts are allocated over a period of three years for special projects. No details of what these special projects are and no detail of how these amounts would be spent;
- (c) Administration is exceptionally high and there is no motivation for the allocation to office printing, travel, or vehicle costs. The figures unforeseen 1982 R2 915, 1983 R3 245 and 1984 R3 569 are rather puzzling; 10
- (d) it is difficult to assess the project without having information concerning Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, the Agency for Industrial Mission, Horizon Project, are the three projects and SHADE funded separately. Is SHADE staff involved in any of the other projects, and if so is there a staff person who draws salaries for more than one of the projects already mentioned?
- (e) the committee finally noticed with concern that at least 50% of the cost of the SHADE project is channelled into three one-half person's salaries. The salary scales also indicate further that the programme co-ordinators earn from first year R10 000 per annum rising to R12 000 in the third year per co-ordinator. The committee found this a very high salary scale". 20

Now, how could anyone possibly using that letter, say this is indicating that the SACC controls, when it is trying to find out how to respond responsibly to an application? And how in the name of everything that is good can a body that is said 30

to be controlling ask about the body that it is controlling, give us information about the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre about the Agency for Industrial Mission.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: That will be BT.21?

CHAIRMAN: BT.21. --- May I continue, M'lord?

Please do?

--- "And then we get the smear expression we have referred to several times, 'secular goals' on page 27, and I will not comment on this further.

The police make a categorical statement on page 28, 10
which is totally untrue - that Council help is deliberately limited to, amongst others, projects and organisations which are labelled as 'truly liberatory movements'. First of all, it is not Council help, but that of the Joint Screening Committee. That is the first mistake. The second is merely to ask when the JSC gives grants for the purchase of blankets for the elderly or to fund community development projects in the bantustans, are these to be termed as being limited to those 20
under the police rubric?"

I have already referred, M'lord, to this project list, I do not know the number, I just wish for the Commission please to refer back to that, and I want to indicate that on page 1 ten out of that twenty-seven are projects that are found in the bantustans. On page 2, of the 27, 21 occur in bantustan situations. On page 3, 15 occur in bantustan areas. On page 4, 8. On page 5, 12, on page 6, 5 and so of a total of 132 71 can be said clearly to be projects found in rural areas, bantustan areas. 30

"The / ...

"The explanation why the Inkatha application was turned down is quite straightforward".

We have seen in the agreement that the SACC and FELCSA on the one side signed with KED, that it has to be development projects of SACC and FELCSA churches or organisations related to those churches.

"So that the JSC does not fund outright political organisations (not even at this stage does the JSC fund trade unions - and trade unions have applied for assistance to the Joint Screening Committee with administration costs and so on). Secondly, the JSC does not give grants to an umbrella organisation which will then in its turn make grants to other projects. That is a principle decision which has been applied even to church related organisations, e.g. the Border Council of Churches and so on. These facts were available to the police if they had asked for them. They did not, because the image of the Council which they want to project would be helped by giving the views of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi".

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May I please refer to a letter written for the Joint Screening Committee on November 30 - PAUSE

CHAIRMAN: This will be BT.22. --- Now this is a church organisation, United Churches Community Care Centre in Pietermaritzburg, which has had a whole group of community development projects under its wing, and the Joint Screening Committee, writing to a church organisation, says amongst other things, No.4:

"That from February 1982 no further funding will be considered for UCCO unless each project has its own

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banking / ...

banking account, the names of the duly authorised signatories of each project, and the names of the active committee members of each project".

And I just wish to point out too, M'lord, that this UCCC was in a very large measure the brain child of a present staff member of the SACC, who is still very closely related to the whole project, but that did not stop the Joint Screening Committee from saying: we apply certain principles to everybody. No. 5:

"That UCCC submit its own budget and like any other project via the ICA Regional Council Screening Committee to the National ICA".

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And then there is the letter of 31 August to the Border Council of Churches, which is a Regional Council of Churches, and the letter inter alia says, second paragraph:

"Whilst the Joint Screening Committee on the other hand approved the grants it also deliberated seriously on the matter of your Council decentralising project administration. The same meeting, therefore, agreed also on the following:

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- (i) that 50% of the aforementioned project funds be paid and the remaining 50% be released only when the region has given a proper account of the usage of the amounts for the individual project;
- (ii) that through the report given by the chairman of Joint Screening Committee, the meeting recommends and wishes Border Council of Churches well on its endeavours to implement decentralisation. Further still, the Joint Screening Committee requests that you provide us with the names of the possible

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directors / ...

directors of the various projects of the Border Council of Churches and the committees of such projects at least by the end of September 1981".

CHAIRMAN: Just before we leave this, the letter of 31 August will be BT.22. Please carry on.

ADV. VON LIERES: Excuse me, M'lord, I think it should be BT.23, the letter of 30 November 1981 was BT.22.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

ADV. VON LIERES: I do not think the letter of 31 August has been handed in, M'lord. --- It is attached.

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"These facts were available to the police if they had asked for them. They did not because the image of the Council which they want to project would be helped by giving the views of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Why have our partners since Chief Buthelezi's tirade continued to work through this body which is so unscrupulous? They must be quite blind or stupid or equally unscrupulous. They have sent their representatives to testify before this Commission and to assert their support for the SACC. They have recently voted to reimburse this Fund to the tune of over R400 000 - odd behaviour".

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May I place before the Commission the letter of reimbursement.

CHAIRMAN: That will be BT.24. --- All I wish to point to, Mr. Chairman, is it is a letter reaching long after Chief Gatsha Buthelezi made his extraordinary statements in Germany, and so our partners were aware of his feelings, but they voted - at least according to the letter of April 6 1983, a reimbursement to the tune of R462 828 to the Revolving Development Fund.

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"The / ...

"The police keep claiming that there is selective help given. Of course, every grant-making body is to a very considerable extent selective. Those who give scholarships anywhere, do not give every applicant. You have to satisfy certain criteria. The police, however, seem to suggest that this is a peculiarity of the SACC, and it is sinister because it gives grants only to those opposed to the Government."

I want to add, these are the bantustan children who get SACC bursaries, opposed to the Government?

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"Typically and without adducing any evidence to support a devastating generalisation, they throw away a paragraph that the Council has given them the impression that it is not always carrying out an honest and frank debate abouts its standpoint regarding the scope and direction and emphasis of its aims - on page 28, paragraph 1.2.3. If the police were to call any of my colleagues, one of the things they would hear from them is my constant concern that we do and say nothing in the SACC except that by which we are prepared to stand should it become public. I have insisted that we work aboveboard, transparently and honestly and nothing that the police have brought forward can disprove this fact. Can it be regarded as evidence of the dishonesty the police speak about when the reports referred to here state openly and frankly what is a true state of affairs. It surely is a case of calling white black and truth lies. The two reports state that certain members feel they cannot debate fully because they are vulnerable

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because / ...

because of the activity of the Security Police - is all this openness and frankness and honesty to be described as dishonesty on the part of the SACC? Must we really take the police seriously that they are not making words stand on their heads just in order to continue their reprehensible work of vilifying the SACC?

Mr. Chairman, I can only say I find the tactics of the police disgusting. It says the SACC is dishonest because certain church representatives are reticent to speak frankly. That makes the SACC dishonest. Further, the SACC according to the police, said it would co-operate with the Eloff Commission but the police have discovered that the Council has done the opposite of what it has declared. So the Council, according to the police, have lied. (On page 29, the second paragraph) The SACC and church leaders resolution first of all does not speak about co-operating. That is a word the police have substituted for what the resolution actually said. It said the SACC would not obstruct the Commission in its work".

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And we have copies of that Resolution, M'lord, which I will place before the Commission.

CHAIRMAN: BT.25. --- May I please refer the Commission to paragraph 4, the last line: "The Council will not obstruct the work of the Commission".

"That is a word the police have substituted for what the resolution actually said. I said the Council would not obstruct the Commission in its work. That is slightly different. But the Commission must surely

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answer / ...

answer this question, has the SACC hindered the work of this Commission? Has the SACC in fact not co-operated with the Commission?"

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Would you just stop there a moment, Bishop, would you look at page 29 of the police submission, the paragraph you are referring to, just read that out, the paragraph you are referring to? --- Witness reads:

"Verdere voorbeelde kan gevind word rondom die SARK se amptelike verklarings dat hy met die Eloff-kommissie saamwerk en dit tot polisie aandag gekom het wat op teenoorgestelde optrede dui".

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M'lord, in this regard, we are somewhat perturbed about this, we do not know how this could have come to the police's attention unless someone had made such a statement to them. If such a statement was made to them by any official of this Commission we would like to have some particulars of it so that we can deal with it, that is to say if someone has told the police that the SACC has not been co-operating with this Commission, we would like either to be given some particulars or alternatively, we would like the assurance, M'lord, that that just is not so. If you are given chapter and verse, Bishop, would you be prepared to deal with such an allegation? --- Yes.

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CHAIRMAN: Before you leave this let me just familiarise myself with this allegation again. I recall now, the impression I gained on reading this when this was presented by General Coetzee, was that the suggestion that there was a strategy of in part not co-operating was linked with the Resolution or the implication said to follow from the Resolution of 23 and 24 February 1982, and the last sentence:

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"That / ...

"That it is important the report of the Schreiner Commission should be of such weight as to say the final word in the light of the Eloff Report". That at least, if I remember rightly, was the impression I gained of why it was said that the opposite is true, because of this.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Well as long as we can be satisfied, M'lord, if there is any field in which Your Lordship feels that the SACC has withheld anything from Your Lordship, we would like Your Lordship - PAUSE -

CHAIRMAN: If I think there is anything I will raise it. 10

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Thank you, M'lord. Right, thank you, Bishop, will you now go on, I think you are at the top of page 111? --- Thank you.

"The police have put their own construction to the SACC Executive Committee resolution which they quote on page 29 - and we have that Resolution, M'lord, which the Commission probably already has, of the Executive Committee meeting of February 1982.

The last paragraph of that particular Minute: "That it is important that the report of the Schreiner Commission should be of such weight as to say the final word in the light of the Eloff Commission". 20

"The construction that the police put on that Minute is cynical in the extreme. It is that the Schreiner Commission will set out to discredit the Eloff Commission. That is a statement which shows scant respect for Advocate Schreiner, who together with his fellow Commissioners would have, according to this view, been nobbled by the SACC and would not give an objective appraisal but will specifically be expected

to / ... /

to do certain unsavoury things. That is a reprehensible and malicious suggestion with no evidence at all to support it. It is sucked out of somebody's thumb. The obvious dictionary meaning of the word is that the Schreiner Commission will take into account what the Eloff Commission will have said and report in the light of that. This resolution which has apparently given so much grist to the police mill is to be found in minutes of meetings available to the Eloff Commission. If it was intended that this decision be clandestine and underhand, it would surely not have been minuted so openly. Even the police must concede that if we were being conspiratorial, we went about it in a very ham-handed way."

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Relating to the Ecumenical Visitors Programme on page 30 in the police submission:

"The police found out about the Ecumenical Visitors Programme from SACC documents written in English on SACC letterheads. If we are being dishonest and not frank would it not have been more likely that such sinister work would have been carried out with invisible ink and under elaborate code names and perhaps only orally? But this is not the case. It is all set out in official documents which find their way so easily into the hands of the Security Police. Another of those expressions designed to create an unfavourable impression is to be found in the last paragraph on page 30 - the Council with unspecified internal support in financial terms surrounds itself

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with / ...

with a constellation of 'fondsverslaafde' organisations and persons. Can the police please be specific - which are these organisations and who are these persons referred to - can they produce the evidence? I know they cannot but it is a good stick with which to try to beat this obstreperous organisation. Will you please look at the next sentence - the Council it is alleged has the support inter alia of what is described as the loudmouthed and radical ecumenical leadership faction. I want to know who are referred to here - are the police referring to the Archbishop of Cape Town, are they speaking about the Archbishop of Durban, are they speaking about the presiding Bishop of ELCSA, or the Chairperson and General Secretary of the UCCSA, the President and General Secretary of the Methodist Church, are they speaking about the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Scriba of the RCA and the President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who are the only leaders in fact that we brought to speak in support of the SACC (apart from our own President)? Who is this anonymous, faceless, radical leadership faction - are they to be found in our Executive Committee? It is not good enough to make such sweeping statements without saying specifically who is being referred to. Please note what follows in parenthesis, that this radical ecumenical leadership faction probably benefits financially or organisationally by the support it gives to the SACC. Unless these statements can be

substantiated / ... /

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substantiated they should be treated with complete disdain as belonging, with most of the accusations in this submission, to the gutter. The police have access to all kinds of information and they cannot be allowed to get away with such scandalous accusations without being asked to substantiate them. The SACC is supported by its member churches, that is what the leaders of these churches said before this Commission and those assertions were not challenged. We know nothing of the support which the police have found in their clandestine surveillance of the SACC. Until we can be provided with concrete evidence, the police statements must be rejected out of hand as being totally unworthy of our nation and as being deliberately malicious and immoral.

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The police make categorical statements about our lack of support internally and yet the people who could confirm that this is so, our member churches and their leaders, have roundly and comprehensively contradicted in their Synods, Conferences and Assemblies, as well as before this Commission. Whom must we believe?

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Why have we had no real repudiation of the Council as should have been the case if the police allegations were true? Our member church leaders have stated why there is this small financial support - that the bulk of membership of their churches comes from that section of our community who are least well off, their churches have had to spend considerable funds rebuilding churches after huge communities have been uprooted and dumped in accordance with the Government's pernicious forced

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population / ...

population removal policy, that many of them still rely in some measure on overseas funding (and so it is not peculiar to the SACC), but that they control the Council and do not just have a nominal membership.

CHAIRMAN: Forgive me, might this be a convenient stage?

--- Yes, M'lord.

I am sorry, what was the arrangement, I have forgotten now?

ADV. KENTRIDGE: I did make an application to Your Lordship if it is convenient to carry on till about 15h30 and then adjourn for the day, I will appreciate it for personal reasons, if possible.

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CHAIRMAN: Yes, we will do so? --- Please may I continue?

"Again a categorical statement is made on page 31 - the moving spirit, the motivation of the Council is largely its foreign support and the sympathy and funding it gains from these foreign sources - that is the first paragraph. The moving spirit of the SACC, I want to tell this Commission again, is the spirit of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, motivating the SACC to obey Him, to work for the unity of His scattered people and to serve Him by serving the least of His brethren, all this under the control and behest of her member churches exercised through the National Conference, Executive Committee, the Praesidium and divisional committees as well as periodical summit meetings with church leaders.

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Please note how the police have gone to work. Staring at the bottom of page 30, they state categorically that the Council has this constellation of dependent

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organisations / ...

organisations and persons with which it has surrounded itself. No evidence, just an assertion. Then they go on to talk about the limited support especially through this loud radical internal ecumenical leadership faction and in parenthesis, a rhetorical question which says more than a statement would, a cunning smear tactic - do these radical leaders benefit perhaps either organisationally or financially? This Council has no real support, financial or physical (I do not know what that means) from the so-called oppressed. 10

Then again as a statement of incontrovertible fact, the moving spirit and the attraction of the Council are due to its overseas funding. No evidence is adduced for this, but it is an important premise. If it is accepted, which the police assume it is, then the conclusion is quite logical, without this overseas financial support the SACC, claiming to be representative would be unable to have local support to maintain itself. It is very cunning, but actually an underhand and despicable tactic. 20

The police already on page 31 have revealed their conclusion which they pretend to be at pains to work towards and pretend to reach only at about page 118. But their submission is a cunning piece of rationalisation for their conclusion, finding excuses camouflaged as reasons for a conclusion arrived at on other grounds. They have not really spent much time analysing how all these massive funds have been spent. But they know that they are spent on scholarships, on legal defence, on the support of the families 30

of political prisoners, on blankets for the aged,
on community self-help projects - all work carried
out openly, transparently, legally, all work that
is motivated by obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ's
injunction to love one's neighbour as oneself -

may I just pause here to say, M'lord, the people who were
staying in tents in Soweto, some of them were not allowed to
stay in the tents and were forced to sleep out in the open.
This much vilified SACC produced funds to buy blankets for
the people whom authority said should have no covering over
their heads.

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"That is how we use our funds, to serve Him by serving
those He called the least of His brethren, all works
of Christian mercy and compassion".

And relating to those people again, the tents that were put
up were put up by a Regional Council related to the South
African Council of Churches, and it was through the
negotiations of people involved with the Council of Churches
which led to the authorities putting up prefabs for those people.

"And this is the work that the police find
reprehensible and which must be made impossible by
causing the SACC to be unable to do it through
stopping overseas funding or actually destroying the
SACC. It is work which if the SACC cannot do, so the
church leaders testified, will remain undone. There
will be thousands of children who cannot go to school,
who will not enter university. There will be people
who will not have legal defence whilst facing serious
charges; there will be people who will starve, old
men and women who will shiver from the cold, just

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because / ...

because the police succeeded in stopping the SACC from functioning. Is that what they really want? What is it that is so subversive about the SACC which can yet not even be brought before a court of law, when there are so many draconian laws under which the SACC could presumably be charged - and the Security Police would know all the provisions which the SACC has contravened? Why not charge the SACC or its officers?

There is no evidence whatsoever to support the conclusions in the last paragraph on page 31. Taking into account the churches which are either full or observer members of the SACC, surely the police would agree that whatever the statistical position might well be, the SACC is the major ecumenical body, representing a majority of the Christians of this land. The SACC is more representative than the Government, as Mr. Storey pointed out, and the statistics which have been placed before the Commission drawn out of the Government's own 1980 census indicate that the SACC has nearly twelve million members, over 60% of the Christian population of our country. Is that not being representative?

The police believe that the SACC - as they say in that last paragraph - is a self-propelled organisation manipulated by a highly politicised leadership corps and funded by foreign influences hostile to the status quo in South Africa, and that the SACC claims an importance which is contradicted by the realities of the situation. First of all, the SACC is not

self-propelled / ...

self-propelled. It is controlled by its member churches under God.

Secondly, who are this highly politicised leadership corps who are able to manipulate this self-propelled Council? They should surely be named. If the Council is not really representative then it has little significance and if it is insignificant, why have the Government seen fit to go into the enormous expense and bother of appointing a Commission to investigate this insignificant body? And why should the police then have to worry whether such a body is subversive or not or that it has influence (by definition it cannot be all that influential if it is neither representative or significant) on public opinion, or that it allegedly carries out an intensive psychological warfare, when it is so negligible? The police cannot have it both ways. Why waste time trying to destroy something that is neither representative nor significant? It does not make sense, as much of this police submission does not ultimately make sense. 10 20

In keeping with the smear tactics that I have shown are an integral part of how the police have gone about their objective evaluation of the SACC, and very much in line with making assertions that have no support, we find on page 32 the police speaking about my psychological onslaught on the existing dispensation. I am not aware that I am waging a psychological onslaught, but that is what the police say and so (according to them) their word is a fiat. What they 30

say / ...

say must be the case because they say it. They go on to say my views about apartheid which I will maintain to my dying day whatever this Government or the police may say or do to intimidate or deal with me, are in line with Third World views and those of the WCC."

ADV. KENTRIDGE: May I just ask you for a moment to look at page 32 of the police report, that first paragraph, do you see that? --- Yes.

It starts: "As deel van sy sielkundige aanslag teen 10
die bestaande bestel.." and it goes on: "en poog om die Blanke regerende komponent van die SA samelewing met dieselfde rassistiese skandekleur te verf as waaraan die eksklusiewe Ariese staat geken is. Hy bestempel apartheid as rassisties onchristelik en onbybels". Is it correct that you have sometimes made comparisons between certain aspects of South African society and Nazi Germany? --- I have.

In what regard? --- I have spoken especially about the policy of forced population removals and the dumping of people in areas where it is known they will not be able to make a 20
living. I have spoken too, about the proposed Bill named Orderly Movement and Settlement of Blacks, as indeed in many ways a kind of final solution in which our people, Black people, stripped of their South African citizenship, will be placed where it is impossible for them to live.

Right, I am sorry to interrupt you, but I wanted you just to expand on that. Would you just go on on page 115?

--- "They go on to say my views about apartheid which I will maintain to my dying day whatever this Government or the police may say or do to intimidate or deal with 30

me are in line with Third World views and those of the WCC. They do not ask whether the views are true or not but they attempt to discredit them by playing their old game of guilt by association - you see, most of the Third World and certainly the WCC are known to be hostile to South Africa (really hostile to apartheid, but the distinction, so the police would aver I presume, does not matter). And so that would have achieved their goal of besmirching the character of Bishop Tutu. They somehow omit to mention that the entire Western world has also condemned apartheid out of hand, including even the Reagan administration with its constructive engagement policy so favourable to the South African regime. They somehow omit to mention the resolutions of the October Assembly in Ottawa of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to which the White Dutch Reformed Churches have belonged. They somehow forget to mention the sharp criticism of apartheid from Afrikaans quarters, most notably in 'Storm-kompas' which I have quoted so extensively. It is clearly not just Third World and WCC opinions. It is the views of the vast majority of the Christian world as well as the democratic West".

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ADV. KENTRIDGE: If you can just stop there, in your travels and in your reading, have you come across any country which has expressed approval of apartheid? --- No.

Right, go on please?

--- "But Third World and WCC are used as emotive symbols, designed to smear the Council. I am myself, and I want to say this categorically, not at all ashamed of

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my / ...

my associations with the World Council of Churches. I believe it is one of God's most effective instruments for unity, justice and service. But most White South Africans who are the target group in the mind of the police, have a distorted view of the WCC and would usually judge harshly anyone or any organisation with WCC links".

Now, Bishop, before you go on to the next paragraph, on page 32 of the police submission, second paragraph, second sentence it says: "Hulle i.e. die SARK en Tutu, hulle bestempel die SA samelewing simplisties as rassisties", and if you look at the sentence at the end of the previous paragraph: "Hy" - that is you - "Hy bestempel apartheid as rassisties, onchristelik en onbybels". Now, that is what you are dealing with in your next paragraph? --- Yes. 10

"Would the police then say that the present dispensation is not racist? What would they make of for example the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Pass Laws, which buttress racism? 20

Again I have to take great exception to the way the police have gone about their submission. It just is not true that the 1980 Racism Conference passed a resolution which supported the whole spectrum of the activities of the PCR. It is impossible for that to have happened, first because the churches had rejected the special fund operation as the police noted elsewhere, and secondly, it would be a contravention of security legislation supporting terrorist organisations. But if truth is not helpful, then / ... 30

then a half-truth should do the trick, and if you cannot get a half-truth, then a downright untruth as I have shown in a few places already will have to be used".

M'lord, I just wish to refer to the Consultation of church representatives, the Racism Consultation, and I think the Commission already has copies of this.

Does Your Lordship have this?

CHAIRMAN: I think so.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: I think so too, but there are so many of these booklets now, M'lord. 10

CHAIRMAN: Well it would help - have you got a second copy, Bishop? --- I have not, I am very sorry, M'lord.

ADV. VON LIERES: I think we have got them, I am not quite sure where they are.

CHAIRMAN: I may have seen it, but I am not sure whether my fellow Commissioners have.

ADV. KENTRIDGE: Well, we will make sure that everybody has a copy soon. In the meantime would you just read it, and we will supply the Commission with copies - just indicate the page you are reading from? --- It is the page..(intervention) 20

Could you just give the full title of the book? --- It is "Report on Consultation of Church Representatives on Racism in South Africa".

Yes, and you are reading from? --- I am reading from page 6, Resolution or the item 6 - programme to combat racism with special reference to South Africa, and it has "Grants from the Special Fund":

"Conference recognises that young men beyond the border have been forced into this situation by their experience / ... 30

experience of racism and violence in this country. The Church must care for them as people and recognise their political viewpoint. This can be done without necessarily approving the political policies or methods".

Then it speaks about the special fund of PCR:

"Some feel that the grants from the special fund identify the WCC with the policy and methods of the movements in spite of assurances to the contrary. Some members feel that the grants are basically in order but should be accompanied by open criticism of the movements where this is necessary" - 10

and they go on in that way. Then it was recommended at 6.3:

"That the Consultation adopt the following statement - and I think it is an important statement of the UCCSA, 4:

"The Church cannot reduce its commitment to combat racism and to bring about a more just society, but it will fail in its healing and reconciling role unless it advocates change by concrete non-violent means, not to do so is to leave the field open to military methods. The United Congregational Church of Southern Africa urges the WCC to consider again the statement made by its former General Secretary, Dr. Carson Blake in a letter addressed to the German Churches at the time of the inauguration of the Programme to Combat Racism. He wrote: 'Violence and the counter violence it produces are not the best way to obtain real peace or true justice. Non-violent methods are at all times to be exalted as the more excellent means to obtain these goals, and that even when violence is being used, the first task of the 20 30

Christian Church is to encourage people at the first opportunity to leave the battlefield and seek the conference table. Without prescribing how its grants should be used, we would urge the WCC in making further grants to liberation movements to ensure that intensive dialogue takes place, the Church should have something to say about the more excellent way even when violence is already being used".

And then at 6.4:

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"While recognising that certain aspects of the special fund are open to criticism, Conference affirms its support for and appreciation of the general aims of the Programme to Combat Racism".

And I just wish to point out that the special fund is a minuscule part of the total PCR programme. Part of what it has done, M'lord, as an example, is dealing with migratory labour, and they produced a report on migratory labour, zeroing in, not on South Africa, but on Europe, and it was people like ourselves who said: do not forget that we still have such a problem in South Africa. PCR deals with the land rights of the Indians in South America, it deals, and I hope the Commission will recall the controversy that arose when PCR dealt with the whole problem of the Aborigines in Australia, that there was a whole hoo-ha, and I just find it quite incredible that anybody who could have studied this, could make a statement such as the statement made by the police.

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"Another blatant example is to be found on page 34, that the SACC tried to keep the matter of concern about racism alive in the churches which were

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themselves / ...

themselves not over-enthusiastic. You see, this body is obstreperous and agitating. But who or what is the SACC? It is not something separate (yes, distinct but not separate) from its member churches. It exists for certain purposes - to help the churches to do certain things which they may not always be able to do on their own or on a similar scale as a council can. The police again show abysmal ignorance of the life of the churches. For instance, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, the Anglican Church, 10 for a very long while had what it called Challenge Groups (at provincial meaning national, diocesan and parish levels) set up precisely to challenge the churches about their attitude to issues of racism and justice. It is a blatant untruth to claim that it is the SACC that keeps certain issues on the boil. The police do not care overmuch for the truth. What they are obsessed with is to find all kinds of ways to discredit and vilify the SACC. (Page 36)

The hardy annual on page 36 crops up again. The SACC attended a meeting at which representatives of the liberation movements were present, therefore ... what? Presumably, therefore, the SACC identifies with these movements, etcetera, etcetera, etcetera. I have shown elsewhere just how puerile this argument is. The SACC did not organise the meeting. It was not asked to approve the list of participants. It went to a meeting called by the AACC-WCC and was glad to be present to share in the deliberations."

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ADV. KENTRIDGE: Bishop, what is the AACC please? --- The

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All Africa Conference of Churches based in Nairobi.

"This and every consultation is free to pass any resolutions which will be accepted or rejected by the SACC and its member churches consistent with their own constitutions, aims and objectives. No meeting other than its own constitutional gatherings can compel the SACC or its member churches to do anything it does not want to do".

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Bishop, I think this might be a convenient stage. The Commission will now adjourn until tomorrow morning at 09h30.

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THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED.