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PRO VERITATE

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GEORDENDE CHAOS?

Die emosionele blanke reaksie op die Hammanskraal-besluit van die S.A.R.K., toon in 'n groot mate dat die onderliggende veronderstelling van die blanke (en sy regering) die mite is dat die huidige sisteem, die „afsonderlike ontwikkelingsbeleid” in Suid-Afrika, ervaar word as deur God georden, of ten minste gesanksioneer is. Gevolglik word daar dan ook oproepe gehoor dat dit God sê wil is dat die huidige bestel, die status quo, tot die dood met geweld verdedig moet word.

Indien die samelewingstrukture wel permanente, half-ewigdurende Godgegewe ordes was, sou 'n mens kon verwag dat jy die hoogste eerbied daarvoor sou hê en 'n verantwoordelikheid aan die strukture verskuldig is, wat jy moontlik ook tot die uiterste moet verdedig.

Samelewingstrukture, 'n politieke bestel en 'n politieke beleid is egter mensgefabriseerde, varieerbare sake sodat die Christen nie 'n houding van passiewe afgodiese handhawing daarteenoor kan handhaaf nie, maar wel verantwoordelikheid daarvoor moet neem.

Indien die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewingstrukture in bogenoemde sin ontgoddelik word, sal die fanatiese verafgoding van die politieke ideologie en verdediging daarvan tot die uiterste, ook verdwyn. Die regering en die oorgrote meerderheid blankes verwag op die oomblik, selfs met jou lewe in die leër, ondersteuning van 'n apartheids-ideologie wat fundamenteel onChristelik en onregverdig is en wat sonder enige aandeel van die grootste meerderheid van die mense in Suid-Afrika

opgestel is. Sodanige optrede behoort in enige dergelike situasie ernstige weerstand van Christene, wat die evangelie as norm vir die lewe op alle terreine aanvaar, oproep. Die Christene in die antieke wêreld was nie met die „pax Romana” (die vrede van die Romeinse Ryk) tevrede nie, maar het getuig en gewerk vir die „pax Christi” (die vrede van Christus). Die vroeë Christene het destyds geweier om aan militêre opleiding of militêre aksie deel te neem.

In Suid-Afrika is Christene ook nie tevrede met die „vrede” van „apartheid-Suid-Afrika” wat op diskriminasie op grond van ras gebaseer is nie, maar getuig en werk daarvoor dat die vrede van Christus wat op geregtigheid en liefde gebaseer is, ook op politieke terrein sal kom. Dit behoort met afwysing van institusionele of reaksionêre geweld nagejaag te word.

Die blanke redeneer dat die huidige bestel, moontlik t.s.v. baie sake wat reggestel moet word, ten minste orde in die land verseker en chaos uithou sodat die verkondiging van die evangelie in Suid-Afrika kan voortgaan.

Die swarte sê egter dat hy nou onder 'n sisteem lewe wat 'n chaotiese uitwerking op sy lewe het, wat die huidige bestel van trekarbeid, diskriminasie, gebrek aan politieke regte, armoede, ens., ens., betref.

Dus die een, die blanke, sê daar is orde; die ander, die swarte, sê daar is chaos—die balansstaat van die twee? Geordende chaos?

ORDERED CHAOS?

The emotional white reaction to the Hammanskraal decision of the S.A.C.C. shows in a great measure that the underlying conviction of the whites (and their government) is the myth that the present system, "the policy of separate development" in South Africa, is accepted as divinely ordained or at least divinely sanctioned. Consequently it is also claimed that it is God's will that the existing dispensation, the status quo, must be defended by violence if needs be even unto death.

If the structure of society were indeed a permanent, well-nigh eternal, God-given structure, one would naturally have the highest reverence for it and would perhaps owe it a responsibility calling for its defence to the very utmost.

Social structures, political orders and political policies, are however mere man-made things of a variable nature, towards which the Christian cannot maintain a passive, idolatrous attitude; nevertheless he must accept responsibility for it.

If false sentiment is removed from the structure of S.A. society, once it is debunked, the fanatical idolizing of the political ideology and the claims that it should be defended to the utmost would also disappear. The government and the great majority of whites at the moment demand a support for the ideology of apartheid which is fundamentally un-Christian and unjust and which was established without any part being played by the great majority of the people of South Africa. Such action in any similar situation would arouse serious opposition

of those Christians who accept the Gospel as the norm of life in all spheres. The Christians of the ancient world were not satisfied with the Pax Romana (the Peace of the Roman Empire), but witnessed to and worked for the Pax Christi (the Peace of Christ). The early Christians at that time refused to undergo military training or to take part in military action.

In South Africa likewise Christians are not satisfied with the "peace" of "apartheid South Africa" based as it is on discrimination on the grounds of race, but they witness to and work towards the establishment of the peace of Christ based on justice and love in the political sphere as well. This should be achieved by rejection of institutional or reactionary violence.

Whilst realizing that there are many matters which require adjustment, *the whites* argue that the present dispensation at least ensures order in the land and obviates chaotic conditions, and that in this situation the Gospel can continue to be proclaimed in South Africa.

The blacks, however, say that they now live under a system which has a disrupting effect on their lives insofar as the present system of migratory labour, discrimination, lack of political rights, poverty etc., are concerned.

Thus one, the white man, says there is Order; the other, the black man, says there is Chaos. Is such a concurrence of opposites feasible—Ordered Chaos?

S.A.R.K. BEVRAAGTEKEN MILITERE GEWELD

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke het op Vrydag, 2 Augustus by sy jaarlikse konferensie by Hammanskraal, onder andere die volgende voorstel, wat deur dr Douglas Bax voorgestel is en deur dr Beyers Naudé gesekondeer is, aangeneem.

Die nasionale konferensie van die S.A.R.K. erken God as die Een en Enige God, wat die volk Israel so magtig uit hulle slawerny in Egipte bevry het en wat nog steeds in Jesus Christus verkondig dat Hy „aan gevangenes vrylating verkondig” (Luk. 4:19). Hy alleen is die opperste Heer en Redder en aan hom alleenlik is ons finale gehoorsaamheid verskuldig. Gevolglik moet ons „aan God meer gehoorsaam wees as aan die mense” op daardie gebiede waar die regering faal om sy roeping na te kom om „’n dienaar van God ... ten goede” eerder as ten kwade en ter onderdrukking te wees (Hand. 5:29; Rom. 13:4).

In die lig van bogenoemde wil die konferensie

1. daarmee volhou dat Christene geroepe is om na geregtigheid en die ware vrede, wat alleenlik op geregtigheid gebaseer kan word, te strew;
2. nie aanvaar dat dit outomaties die plig van die volgelinge van Christus, die Vredevors, is om in geweld en oorlog betrokke te raak, of om gereed te maak om in geweld en oorlog betrokke te raak, wanneer die staat dit ook al eis nie;
3. sy lidkerke daaraan te herinner dat beide die Rooms-katolieke en die Reformatoriese teologie die opneem van wapens as regverdigbaar beskou het, indien dit enig-sins sou kon, alleenlik met die doel om ’n „regverdige oorlog” te maak;
4. daarop wys dat die teologiese definisie van ’n „regverdige oorlog” oorlog in die verdediging van ’n samelewing wat basies onregverdig en diskriminerend is, uitsluit;
5. daarop wys dat die Republiek van Suid-Afrika op die oomblik ’n fundamentele onregverdige en diskriminerende samelewing is en dat hierdie onreg en diskriminasie die primêre, geïnstitusioneerde geweld, wat die teengeweld van die terroriste of vryheidsvegters uitgelok het, konstitueer;

6. daarop wys dat die militêre magte van ons land gereed gemaak word om hierdie onregverdige en diskriminerende samelewing te verdedig en dat die bedreiging van militêre geweld inderdaad alreeds gebruik word om die status quo te verdedig teen stappe vir radikale vernuwing van buite die kring van blanke kiesers;
7. daarmee volhou dat dit skynheilig is om die geweld van terroriste of vryheidsvegters te betreur terwyl ons gereed maak om ons samelewing met sy primêre, geïnstitueerde geweld met steeds meer geweld te verdedig;
8. verder daarop wys dat die onreg en onderdrukking waaronder die swart mense van Suid-Afrika gebuk gaan, veel erger is as dit waarteen die Afrikaners hulle Eerste en Tweede Vryheidsoorloë gevoer het, en dat as ons die Afrikaner se toevlug tot geweld (of die geweld van die Engelse imperialisme) geregverdig het, of daarop aanspraak gemaak het dat God aan hulle kant was, dit skynheilig is om te ontken dat dieselfde vandag vir die swartmense in hulle worsteling geld;
9. die grondslag waarop kapelane vir die militêre magte gesekondeer word, bevraagteken sodat hulle teenwoordigheid nie morele ondersteuning vir die verdediging van ons onregverdige en diskriminerende samelewing sou aandui nie.

Gevolglik besluit die konferensie die volgende :-

Die konferensie

1. betreur geweld as ’n metode en probleme op te los;
2. doen ’n beroep op sy lidkerke om al hulle lede uit te daag om in die lig van bogenoemde te oorweeg of Christus se oproep om die kruis op te neem en hom te volg in die identifisering met die onderdruktes nie, in ons situasie, beteken om betrokke te raak om beswaar te maak op grond van hulle gewete nie;
3. doen ’n beroep op daardie lidkerke wat kapelane in die militêre mag het om die basis waarop hulle aangestel is, te heroorweeg en om die staat van pastorale sorg te ondersoek wat vir die lidmate, wat op die oomblik in ballingskap is, of wat buite ons grense is, beskikbaar is



en om weë en middele te probeer vind om te verseker dat sodanige pastorale sorg behoorlik uitgevoer sal word;

4. beveel die moed en getuienis van hulle aan wat gewillig was om tronk toe te gaan uit protes teen onregverdige wette en beleid in ons land, en wat ons almal met hulle voorbeeld uitdaag;
5. versoek die S.A.R.K. se taakgroep oor geweld en nie-geweldadigheid om metodes van nie-gewelddadige aksie

vir verandering te bestudeer wat by die lidkerke van die S.A.R.K. aanbeveel kan word;

6. bid vir die regering en die mense van ons land en doen dringend 'n beroep op hulle om spoedige stappe tot radikale en vreedsame veranderinge in ons samelewing te weeg te bring sodat die geweld en oorlog waarna ons sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke beleid ons lei, vermy kan word.

die s.a.r.k. se besluit oor christelike gewetensverset:

BLANKE REAKSIE ONTWYK PROBLEEM



Die volgende verklaring gedateer 5.8.74 van dr Beyers Naudé, direkteur van die Christelike Instituut, ds Brian Brown, administratiewe direkteur van die Christelike Instituut en Roelf Meyer, studieseekretaris van die Christelike Instituut en redakteur van Pro Veritate is 'n kommentaar op die besluit van die S.A.R.K. oor Christelike gewetensverset en 'n reaksie op verskeie persone se kritiek op die besluit.

1. Die basiese misverstand in alle blanke reaksie op die S.A.R.K. se besluit sover, (wat N.G. Kerkpredikante, die Klerksdorpse Presbiteriaanse gemeente, mnr Fred van Wyk van die Instituut vir Rasseverhoudinge, kabinetsministers en die Verenigde- en Progressiewe Partye insluit), is dat die oorlog op die grense van Suid-Afrika 'n stryd teen vreemde aggressie, 'n aanval van „buite”, is, terwyl die swartman dit basies as 'n *burgeroorlog* sien. Suid-Afrikaners wat die land uitgevlug het, is hoofsaaklik vir dié stryd verantwoordelik. Die stryd op die grense word dan gesien as 'n stryd tussen Suid-Afrikaner en Suid-Afrikaner, broer teen broer. Kritici wat nie hiermee rekening hou

nie, sal nie die besluit van die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke by Hammanskraal, wat deur 'n vergadering, waarvan ongeveer twee-derdes swart was, volgens sy meriete kan beoordeel nie.

Dit is skokkend dat die apartheidspropaganda so heelhuids gesluk is, nl. dat dit alleenlik Kommunistiese terrorisme is wat Suid-Afrika van buite af wil inval.

2. Die blanke reaksie toon ook duidelik dat die blankes ook nie gewillig is om na die outentieke *swart* stem in Suid-Afrika te luister nie. Die meerderheid wat die besluit geneem het, was swart kerkleiers van oor die hele land. As dié reaksie die kwaliteit dialoog en kontak tussen swart en wit openbaar, wag daar groot ontugtering en ramspoed op Suid-Afrika tensy dat die blanke gewillig word om ook na die swartman te luister.
3. Die emosionele en politieke reaksie ook van kerkleiers op 'n teologiese oproep tot die verskillende kerke, wat op die evangelie gefundeer is en die doelbewuste koppeling daarvan aan die steun vir terroriste, is 'n duidelike bewys daarvan dat die evangelie in die blanke gemeenskap as ideologie gebruik word om die status quo van 'n maatskappy wat op fundamentele onreg gebou is, te verdedig.
4. Dit is duidelik dat die primêre geweld wat in die apartheidsstelsel ingebou is, sowel as die geweld as metode tot verandering wat deur die terroriste of vryheidsvegters gebruik word, deur die besluit van die S.A.R.K. met die bewoording „die konferensie betreur geweld as 'n metode om probleme op te los” afgekeur is. Gevolglik behoort daarvoor geen twyfel te bestaan nie. Waarom dan al die leuens en verdraaiing asof the S.A.R.K. nou skielik die guerilla-vegters se geweld steun? Is dit miskien omdat dié kritici voel dat hulle nie die meriete van die besluit vanuit die evangelie van Jesus Christus kan weerlê nie?

5. Dit is duidelik dat die S.A.R.K. met die besluit die skaakmat waarin die apartheidspropaganda almal probeer forseer het deur of vir dié sisteem, of vir terrorisme te wees, deurbreek het en 'n derde weg, dié van die evangeliese afwysing van geweld as metode om probleme te probeer oplos, aandui. Die Christelike weg is dié van versoening wat op geregtigheid en vryheid gebaseer is.

6. Wat spesifieke kritiek betref, is dit belangrik dat *dr Koot Vorster* in sy ondersteuning van die status quo slegs die eerste deel van Christus se uitspraak, nl. „betaal aan die keiser wat aan die keiser toekom” aanhaal, volgens die berig in die *Rand Daily Mail*, 5.8.74. Deur die tweede deel in hierdie verband weg te laat, beteken dit dat *dr Vorster* die regering verhef tot dié gesag waaraan alle burgerlike gehoorsaamheid finaal onderworpe moet wees. Ook die Presbiteriaanse gemeente van Klerksdorp sê sonder meer dat dit „die verpligting van elke Christen is om aan die regerende outoriteit gehoorsaam te wees”. Omdat Christus die gehoorsaamheid aan die keiser fundamenteel kwalifiseer en sy gesag aan God se wil onderworpe maak met die tweede deel van die teks, nl. „en (betaal) aan God wat aan God toekom”, kan die keiser en alle regerings nooit gehoorsaamheid van die onderdane vereis wat met die evangelie in stryd is nie. Daarom moet God ook bo die regering gehoorsaam word, al beteken dit siviele ongehoorsaamheid—die regering self kan ook 'n kwaaddoener word (Rom. 13:4) en sy kwaad met geweld probeer verdedig en ook van Christene eis en verwag dat dit gesteun moet word. Moet die Christen so 'n regering dan onvoorwaardelik gehoorsaam?

7. Wat die vraag van *mnr van Wyk* in Rapport van 4.8.74 betref, nl., of die ondersteuners van die verklaring van die S.A.R.K. „enige waarborg het dat die militêre aanvallers van die bestaande bewind in Suid-Afrika self noodwendig 'n regverdiger en meer Christelike orde hier te weeg sal bring” die volgende:

Die vraag impliseer dat die S.A.R.K. die geweldvolle militêre aanvallers van die bestaande bewind steun. Dit is beslis nie korrek nie omdat die besluit geweld „betreur as 'n metode om probleme op te los”. *Mnr van Wyk* stel die S.A.R.K. voor 'n valse keuse met sy vraag: Hy stel dit so asof dit 'n keuse is tussen dié van die bestaande onregverdige orde, en dié van ongenoemde militêre aanvallers.

Die besluit van die S.A.R.K. impliseer egter 'n derde keuse, wat ons ook bepleit, nl. dié van 'n regering waarin die swart gemeenskap 'n effektiewe verteenwoordigheid en basiese Godgegewe menseregte, wat die blankes geniet, ontvang. Dit sal die bedreiging van 'n militêre konfrontasie op ons grense (en ook binne die landsgrense) neutraliseer en 'n vreedsame, ordelike politieke ontwikkeling kan verseker met die steun van die



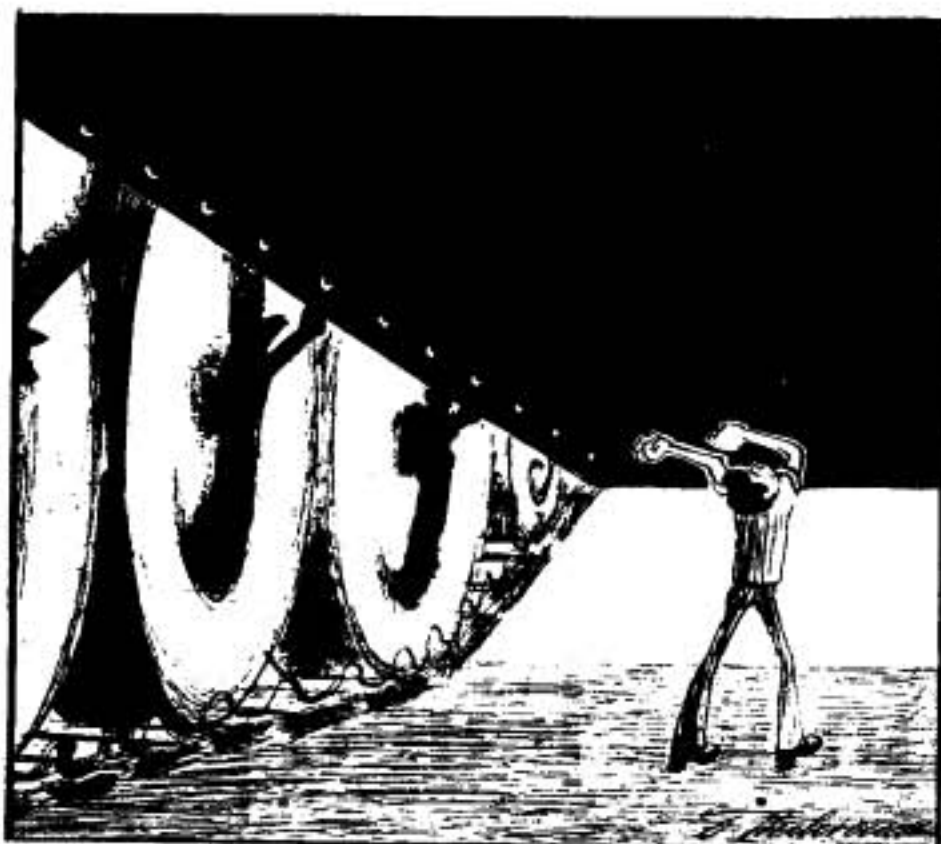
oorgrote meerderheid van die bevolking van die land. Indien so 'n regering 'n onregverdige of onmenslike beleid sal ontwikkel of propageer, sal enige verantwoordelike Raad van Kerke met wat die evangelie erns maak, presies op dieselfde wyse reageer.

8. As die bevraagtekening van die neem van iemand anders se lewe in die verdediging van 'n sisteem, wat ooglopend nie in ooreemstemming is met die geregtigheid van die evangelie van Christus nie, deur die *Presbiteriaanse gemeente van Klerksdorp* gesien word as 'n bysaak wat op die rand van die bestek van die evangelie lê, moet in die Naam van die Skepper gevra word wat dan wel die evangelie is!

Ons veronderstel dat die gemeente in Klerksdorp 'n blanke gemeente is wat sê dat „hierdie besluit van die S.A.R.K. mense van die kerk vervreem”—verre daarvandaan! Elke swart Christen met wie ons die saak bespreek het, het hulle vreugde met die Christelike getuienis van Hammanskraal betuig en dit onderskryf as 'n geldige verwerping van die gewelddadige sisteem wat Suid-Afrika onregverdighik probeer verdedig.

As dit „die Godgegewe plig van elke Suid-Afrikaner van alle rasse-groepe is om gewillig te wees om tot die dood toe te veg om sy land te verdedig” (Klerksdorp-gemeente), dan het Christus jammerlik in sy plig tot God gefaal—Hy het nie die Selote in hulle militêre poging om die Romeinse juk vir Israel omvêr te werp, ondersteun nie. Die suggestie dat deur 'n weiering om dood te maak, Christene hulle „Godgegewe plig versaak”, is Christene en die evangelie onwaardig. ★

S.A.C.C. QUESTIONS MILITARY VIOLENCE



uit Het Parool

The South African Council of Churches took the following resolution on Friday, 2nd August, 1974 at its annual Conference at Hammanskraal. Dr. Douglas Bax proposed the motion and Dr. Beyers Naudé seconded it.

The National Conference of the SACC acknowledges as the one and only God Him who mightily delivered the people of Israel from their bondage in Egypt and who in Jesus Christ still proclaims that He will "set at liberty those who are oppressed" (Luke 4:18). He alone is supreme Lord and Saviour and to Him alone we owe ultimate obedience. Therefore "we must obey God rather than men" in those areas where the Government fails to fulfil its calling to be "God's servant for good" rather than for evil and for oppression (Acts 5:29; Romans 13:4).

In the light of this the Conference :

1. Maintains that Christians are called to strive for justice and the true peace which can be founded only on justice;
2. does not accept that it is automatically the duty of those who follow Christ, the Prince of Peace, to engage in violence and war, or to prepare to engage in violence and war, whenever the State demands it;
3. reminds its member Churches that both Catholic and Reformation theology has regarded the taking up of arms as justifiable, if at all, only in order to fight a "just war".
4. points out that the theological definition of a "just war" excludes war in defence of a basically unjust and discriminatory society;
5. points out that the Republic of South Africa is at present a fundamentally unjust and discriminatory society and that this injustice and discrimination constitutes the

primary, institutionalised violence which has provoked the counter-violence of the terrorists or freedom fighters;

6. points out that the military forces of our country are being prepared to defend this unjust and discriminatory society and that the threat of military force is in fact already used to defend the status quo against moves for radical change from outside the white electorate;
7. maintains that it is hypocritical to deplore the violence of terrorists or freedom fighters while we ourselves prepare to defend our society with its primary, institutionalised violence by means of yet more violence;
8. points out further that the injustice and oppression under which the black peoples of South Africa labour is far worse than that against which Afrikaners waged their First and Second Wars of Independence and that if we have justified the Afrikaners' resort to violence (or the violence of the imperialism of the English) or claimed that God was on their side, it is hypocritical to deny that the same applies to the black people in their struggle today;
9. questions the basis upon which chaplains are seconded to the military forces lest their presence indicate moral support for the defence of our unjust and discriminatory society.

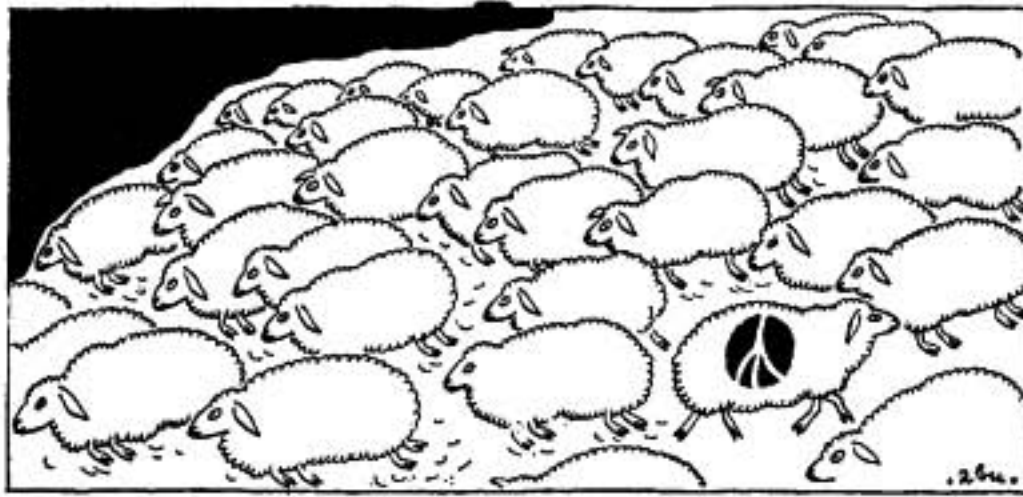
The Conference therefore :-

1. deplores violence as a means to solve problems;
2. calls on its member churches to challenge all their members to consider in view of the above whether Christ's call to take up the Cross and follow Him in identifying with the oppressed does not, in our situation, involve becoming conscientious objectors;
3. calls on those of its member churches who have chaplains in the military forces to reconsider the basis on which they are appointed and to investigate the state of pastoral care available to the communicants at present in exile or under arms beyond our borders and to seek ways and means of ensuring that such pastoral care may be properly exercised;
4. commends the courage and witness of those who have been willing to go to jail in protest against unjust laws and policies in our land, and who challenge all of us by their example;
5. requests the SACC's task force on Violence and Non-violence to study methods of non-violent action for change which can be recommended to its member churches;
6. prays for the Government and people of our land and urgently calls on them to make rapid strides towards radical and peaceful change in our society so that the violence and war to which our social, economic and political policies are leading us may be avoided. ★

the s.a.c.c.'s call concerning conscientious objection:

WHITE REACTION EVADES THE ISSUE

1. The basic misunderstanding in the sum-total of white reaction thus far (including that of ministers of the N.G. Church, the Klerksdorp Presbyterian congregation, Mr Fred van Wyk of the Institute of Race Relations, cabinet ministers and the United and Progressive Parties) about the decision of the S.A.C.C. on conscientious objection is that the struggle on the borders of South Africa is a struggle against foreign aggression, an attack from 'outside', while the black man sees it basically as a *civil war*. South Africans who have fled from the country are mainly responsible for the conflict. The struggle on the borders is then seen as a struggle of South African against South African, of brother against brother. Critics who do not take this into account are not capable of judging on its merits the resolution of the S.A.C.C. at Hammanskraal which was taken at a meeting at which about two-thirds of those attending were black.
It is a shocking thing that apartheid propaganda has been swallowed hook, line and sinker, the propaganda, namely, that insinuates that South Africa is being attacked from outside its borders only by communistic terrorism.
2. The white reaction also shows clearly that the whites are not willing to listen to the authentic *black* voice in South Africa. The majority who passed the resolution at Hammanskraal were black leaders, representatives from over the whole country. If the reaction reveals the quality of dialogue and contact between black and white, then there is great disillusionment and calamity in store for South Africa until such time as the whites are willing to listen to the voice of the black man.
3. The emotional and political reaction of the Church leaders to a theological call to the various churches based on the gospel and a definite linking of this with the support of terrorists is clear proof that the gospel is regarded by the white community as an ideology to defend the *status quo* of a society erected on a basis of fundamental injustice.
4. It is clear that the primary violence built into the system of apartheid, as well as the violence used by terrorists or freedom fighters as a method towards change is rejected by the resolution of the S.A.C.C. which reads: "The Conference deploras violence as a means to solve problems". In the light of this statement no doubt should remain. Then why all the lies and distortions being bandied about?—as if the S.A.C.C. had now suddenly come out in support of the guerilla fighters. Is it perhaps that the critics feel that they cannot refute the merits of the resolution on the grounds of the gospel of Jesus Christ?
5. Quite clearly the S.A.C.C. through this decision has defeated the checkmate by which apartheid propaganda had tried to force every individual to align himself either with this system or on the side of terrorism; a third way, that of evangelical rejection of violence, as a method of solving our problems has emerged. This is the Christian way of reconciliation based on justice and freedom.
6. With reference to specific criticisms it is interesting to note that according to a news item in the Rand Daily Mail of 5.8.74, *Dr Koot Vorster* in his support of the *status quo* has quoted only the first part of the text: "Render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar". By omitting the second part in this context, Dr Vorster has in effect raised the government to the supreme authority to which all civil obedience must finally be subject. The Presbyterian congregation of Klerksdorp also says unequivocally that "it is the duty of every Christian to be obedient to the ruling authority". In the second part of the text Christ qualified fundamentally the necessity of obedience to Caesar; his authority is made subject to God's will; thus "and render unto God what belongs to God". Neither Caesar nor any government can demand obedience of its citizens which is in conflict with the gospel. Therefore God must be obeyed before the government, even if this involves civil disobedience. The government itself can be an evildoer (Rom. 13:4) and try to defend its evil by resort to violence demanding of Christians that such must be supported. Must the Christian give unquestioning obedience to such a government?
7. Regarding the question put by *Mr van Wyk* (reported in Rapport of 4.8.74) viz. whether the supporters of the statement of the S.A.C.C. "have any guarantee that those responsible for the



military attack on the existing government in South Africa would necessarily bring about a more just and more Christian order", we would reply: The question implies that the S.A.C.C. supports the violence of the military attack. This is most decidedly not so; the statement in fact reads: "the Conference deplores violence as a means to solve problems". Mr van Wyk places the S.A.C.C. in a false position with his question. He puts it in such a way as to suggest that there are but two alternatives, viz. between that of the existing unjust order, and that of the unnamed military attackers.

The decision of the S.A.C.C. in fact implies a third choice which we also support, namely that of a government in which the black community receives effective representation and its God-given human rights such as the whites enjoy. Such a system would neutralize the threat of a military confrontation on our borders (and also within our country's borders) and would ensure a peaceful, orderly, political development enjoying the support of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country. If such a government develops or propagates an unjust or inhuman policy, every responsible Council of Churches which takes the Gospel seriously, would react in precisely the same way.

8. If the question of taking someone else's life in defence of a system which obviously is in conflict with justice according to the gospel of Christ, is regarded by the *Presbyterian congregation of Klerksdorp* as a side-issue within the ambit of the Gospel, it must be asked—in the name of the Creator, what then is the Gospel?

We presume that the congregation in Klerksdorp is a white congregation which says that "this resolution of the S.A.C.C. alienates people from the Church"—how far from the mark! All the black Christians with whom we have discussed the matter expressed their joy over the Christian witness at Hammanskraal and endorsed it as a valid rejection of the system of violence which South Africa tries in an unjust way to defend.

If "it is the God-given duty of every South African of whatever race group to be ready to fight to the death to defend his country" (Klerksdorp congregation) then Christ failed lamentably in his duty to God. He did not join the Zealots in their military attempt to overthrow the Roman yoke for Israel. The suggestion that by a refusal to kill, Christians forsake their God-given duty is unworthy of the Gospel and of Christians.

Beyers Naudé

Brian Brown

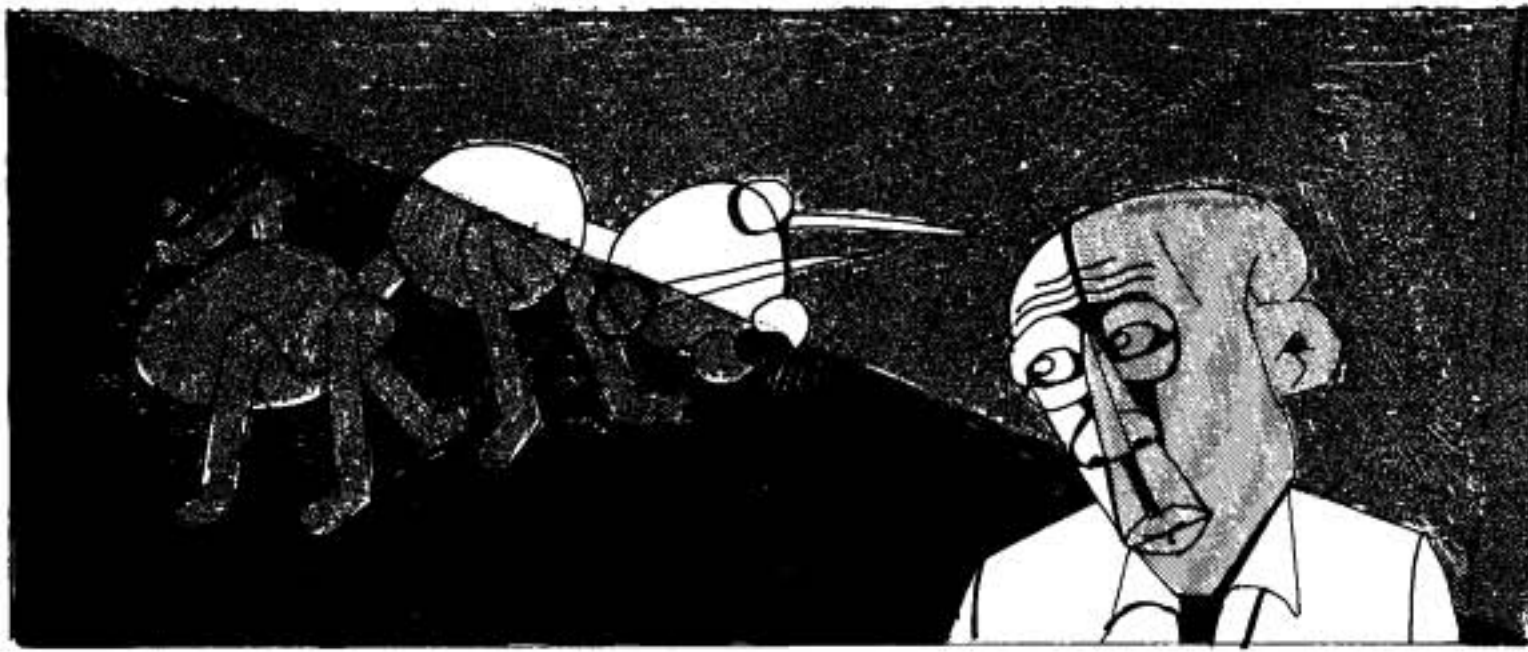
Roelf Meyer

hammanskraal en n g kerk in afrika

**BLANKE MOET ALTERNATIEF
VIR GEWELD GEE** **tokatso mofokeng**

Die wêreldraad van Kerke het 'n fonds gestig ter bestryding van rassisme. Uit hierdie fonds het ons vernem dat die „bevrydingsorganisasies” wat guerilla oorlog aan die noordelike grense van Suid-Afrika voer, gefinansier word.

Nadat hierdie fonds gestig is, het die kerk in Suid-Afrika onmiddellik die Wêreldraad van Kerke veroordeel omdat hierdie liggaam ge weld en bloed vergieting subsidieer.



Tot vandag toe kom daar nog reaksies uit kerke orals in die wêreld wat die Wêreld-raad van Kerke vermaan om dié daad te staak.

Die kerke en persone wat hierdie raad veroordeel het en nog veroordeel kon nie daar stilstaan nie. Die hele wêreld het nog altyd gewag vir die bied van 'n alternatief. Die voor die handliggende alternatief is natuurlik 'n vreedsame oplossing van persoonlike en volkere probleme.

Maar die voorstel van hierdie alternatief wil nog nie sê dat die probleme opgelos is nie. Die hele wêreld, veral die minder- en onbevoorregte mense, het nog gewag vir die praktiese implimentering van hierdie alternatief. Maar daar het nog geen alternatief gekom van die kerke en mense wat die hewigste kritiek na die Wêreldraad van kerke geslinger het nie.

Hammanskraal

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke het by sy onlangse konferensie by Hammanskraal naby Pretoria met hierdie werklikheid geworstel. Die hele wêreld en ook Suid Afrika se oë was op daardie sitting gevestig. Hierdie raad het dit ook geweet. Iets moes voorgestel word en uiteindelik het die „gewetensbesluit” gekom.

Hierdie gewetensbesware is geen nuwe ding by ons swart Christene nie. Dit is 'n bekende aanklag teen die ou sendelinge dat hulle met die Bybel in die een hand en die geweer in die ander na die swart wêreld gekom het.

Swartmense kon hierdie koms van die Christendom na Afrika nie vergeet nie, omdat dit, wat swartmense betref, nie versoenbaar is met die vrede en liefdesprediking van die hele Christelike boodskap nie.

Die kerk het nog nie op hierdie aanklag van die swartmense geantwoord nie. Die tyd het nou aangebreek vir die kerk om te sê of die ou aanklag nog geldig is of nie?

Die tragedie van hierdie saak lê daarin dat die swartmense nou aan dieselfde kerke behoort wat aangekla is en wat nou 'n antwoord moet gee. Dit wil sê dieselfde swartman wat die aanklag gemaak het, moet daar wees om die antwoord te formuleer.

Burgeroorlog

Die eerste keer in die geskiedenis van die swart

Christene is ons genoodsaak om 'n teologie van oorlog te aanvaar of te verwerp. Dit is makliker vir die blanke kerk en die hele blanke bevolking in die algemeen om 'n keuse te maak, omdat die wit seuns aan die een kant van die konflik staan.

Maar vir swartmense, of swart Christene, is dit nie so eenvoudig nie, omdat swart seuns aan albei kante van die konflik staan. Daarom is dit nie meer 'n saak van 'n aanval op Suid-Afrika maar 'n broer teen broer oorlog wat meer is as 'n burgeroorlog.

Daarom sal swartmense dit waardeer as die blankes wat hierdie dae oor die besluit van die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke praat, hierdie posisie in gedagte sal hou. As daar iets is wat die kerk kan doen om daardie bloedvergieting te verminder of te stop, moet dit gou gedoen word.

As die kerk van Suid-Afrika wie se seuns aan albei kante van die grens sneuwel, nie nou iets doen nie, sal die aanklag van die swartmense, dit wil sê dat die witman nog met die Bybel in die een hand en die geweer in die ander kom, nog staan.

Wat beteken die besluit van die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke? Beteken dit dat Suid-Afrika moet „hensop” en aan genadelose slagting blootgestel word? Of beteken dit dat as die geluid van gewere ophou, daar 'n atmosfeer geskep moet word om die geluid van mensestemme rondom 'n dialoogtafel hoorbaar te maak.

Wanneer hierdie besluit aangeval word, moet dit duidelik wees dat die swartmense in die meerderheid was by daardie konferensie.

Wanneer hierdie vredesaanbod aangeval word, moet ons sien dat ons nie die meerderheid swart kerkleiers verloor nie. Daar moet geluister word na die stemme van swart kerkleiers wat die Bybel in albei hande hou.

Die kerk van Suid-Afrika is met hierdie verklaring van die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke op die kruispad—swart en wit Christene staan voor 'n keuse om uitmekaar te gaan of om ter wille van die Bybel saam te staan.

—Oggenblad, Pretoria, 7.8.74.

WEIGHED AND ...?

THE S.A.C.C. AT HAMMANSKRAAL

DIE S.A.R.K. BETREUR VOLKSVERSKUIWINGS

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke het by sy jaarvergadering by Hammanskraal ook die volgende besluit geneem:

1. Die Nasionale Konferensie beskou met afsku die voorgestelde verskuiwing van meer as 130 000 burgers van Lebowa, waarvan sommige vir die derde keer verskuif word.
2. Die Konferensie rig 'n waarskuwing tot die regering dat hierdie verskuiwings, wat dade van geweld is, die bestaande frustrasie en bitterheid van die swart gemeenskap vermeerder.
3. Die verwagte R53-miljoen wat vir die verskuiwing benodig word, behoort eerder vir die dringende gesondheids-, onderwys- en arbeidsbehoefte van hierdie mense aangewend te word.
4. As die betrokke mense weier om te verskuif, verleen hierdie Konferensie sy volle ondersteuning aan hulle. Die Uitvoerende Komitee word gevolglik versoek om alles in sy vermoë te doen om alle hulp te verskaf aan hulle wat mag weier.
5. Die Uitvoerende Komitee word versoek om die probleme aan al die lidkerke te stel met 'n pleidooi vir dringende aksie aan hulle kant.
6. Die besorgdheid en ondersteuning van hierdie Nasionale Konferensie moet persoonlik of per brief aan die leiers van daardie gemeenskappe wat deur die verskuiwings bedreig word, oorgedra word.

S.A.C.C. DEPLORES REMOVALS

This National Conference views with abhorrence the announcement by the Commissioner General of Lebowa of the proposed removal of over 130 000 citizens of Lebowa, some of them for the third time;

2. The Conference warns the Government that these moves, which are acts of violence, are fast increasing the existing frustration and bitterness of the black community;
3. The anticipated R53 million needed for the moves should rather go towards the urgent health, education and employment needs of these people;
4. If the people concerned refuse to move, this Conference gives its full support to their stand. The Executive Committee is therefore requested to do everything within its power to provide every assistance to those who may refuse;
5. That the Executive Committee be requested to bring the issue before all member churches with a plea for urgent action on their part;
6. That the concern and support of this National Conference be conveyed personally or by letter to the leaders of those communities being threatened by removals.

CONCERN ABOUT REMOVALS

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the SACC and the leaders of Churches having membership of the SACC expresses its deep concern at the continued removals of people without their approval or by consent—such as the recent removal of the Bapedi people from Middelburg, Transvaal to Praketeseen, Lebowa. It deplores the continued treating of people as units in blue-print schemes and not as persons. It urges the State to desist from a practice which it finds totally inconsistent with Christian charity and justice.

RESETTLEMENT AREAS

This meeting of the SACC Executive and the Church leaders representing member and observer Churches of the South African Council of Churches gathered on July 30, 1974 recommend that Regional Councils of Churches be urged to encourage the clergy within their area to join together and pay

GEWEEG EN ...?

visits to the various resettlement areas which fall within their district in conjunction with the Week of Compassion in order to demonstrate:

1. Their interest and concern in people who have been removed to these areas;
2. To express the concern of the Church for the people in this situation;
3. To give a first-hand report to the member Churches as to the situation of the persons in these areas.

CRITICISM OF 2 ACTS

This meeting of the SACC Executive and Church leaders representing member and observer Churches of the SACC gathered on 30th July 1974, issued the following statement :

Statement on the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Affected Organisations Act and Proclamation 228 of 1973 under the Group Areas Act :

1. We view with concern the wide-ranging powers that the government has taken to itself in these Acts and Proclamation, and see in them a potential threat to the life and activities of groups and movements through which the Christian community discharges its duties in the world.
2. We declare that the Church, being the Body of Christ and dedicated to the service of God and men unites all men in one universal society which transcends all racial, national and geographical boundaries (1 Cor. 12:12-26).
3. We reaffirm our conviction that the members of the Church are called to obedience to Christ in three important aspects :
 - (a) They are called to assemble for worship, prayer, fellowship and works of Christian concern whether in formal church gatherings or in the informal gatherings of Christian persons.
 - (b) They are called to proclaim and live out the God-given Gospel in all areas of life whether or not these are commonly labelled political, social or spiritual.
 - (c) They are called through the giving of their services and of their wealth to participate in the mission of the Church in whatever form it may take and wherever it may be at work throughout the world.
4. We submit that the members of the Church are committed to this obedience irrespective of whether human governments recognise this or not. Christians may therefore be called to suffer and even to face trial and judgement as many do today even in our land, for that which the Church recognises to be their obedience to Christ.
5. We are convinced that each of the Acts and the Proclamation are instruments which could be used to make a grievous attack on members of the Church in the course of fulfilling their obedience or any who are active in promoting a

better human life for all men. We call upon the State to amend these Acts and the Proclamation in order to remove any possibility of their being used in this way.

Details from Acts and Proclamation to support above.

DELEGATION TO SEE P.M.

This meeting of the SACC Executive and Church leaders representing member and observer Churches of the SACC gathered on July 30, 1974 decided to proceed with the sending of a delegation to the Honourable the Prime Minister in order:-

1. To share with the Prime Minister what is going on in South Africa and the Churches' concern in this regard, particularly in the light of the Lusaka All Africa Conference of Churches Meeting.
2. To remind him that the Churches are still committed to reconciliation and prepared to play their part in this regard.

As a basis to the representations to be made to the Honourable the Prime Minister a Memorandum will be prepared and the delegation nominated by this combined meeting to consist of a majority of those persons who were present at Lusaka. The delegation has been selected and names will be made known at a later date.

REFUSAL TO GROUP AREAS ACT

The following resolution of the SACC Executive was passed on March 13-14, 1974 :

"The SACC finds it impossible to fit into the categories defined by the Group Areas Act and therefore is making no application for any exemption from its conditions and accordingly asks the member Churches to co-operate in a declaration of their stand on this matter with a view to making their position clear to the state." It was also agreed that we spell out to the Heads of Churches the serious implications of the situation and that we call a meeting to discuss this as soon as possible."

The Heads of Churches meeting with the Executive of the SACC at Hammanskraal resolved as follows :

1. That they as Heads of Churches endorse the action of the South African Council of Churches in relation to the stand taken in respect of Diakonia House
2. That they undertake to take back to their Churches for discussion and decision the whole question of the Churches' reaction and response to the stand made by the SACC in relation to the holding of property by their Church and that such response be communicated to the SACC as soon as possible.

—Hammanskraal, 30.7.74.



SA BLACKS 'SYMPATHY' REPORTED

Hammanskraal—Leaders of the liberation movement believe they enjoy a "tremendous amount of sympathy among Black South Africans," Mr John Rees, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches said yesterday.

Mr Rees was expanding on remarks he made to the SACC national conference concerning his attendance at the All Africa Conference of Churches assembly in Lusaka in May.

Liberation movement leaders present at the assembly had told him, he said, that attacks would be launched on South Africa within 18 months.

Members of the African National Congress said they would have a right of access through Mozambique and Rhodesia when those countries gained Black governments, and were confident there would be no objection to their passing through Swaziland to reach South Africa.

Knowledge

Mr Rees said it was "common knowledge"—and something he had heard at previous church conferences—that there were alleged to be a thousand people in South Africa trained and ready to help the liberation movement.

He said he had no way of checking whether any of these claims—which were divulged to him only in general terms—were true.

Mrs Sally Motlana, an Anglican who also attended the All Africa Council of Churches Assembly, said there were many South African intellectuals in exile in Zambia, some of them in prominent administrative positions.

The Star, 2.8.74.

SABRA CHIEF HITS AT CHURCHES

The director of the S.A. Bureau for Racial Affairs, (Sabra), Dr C.J. Jooste, yesterday attacked the South African Council of Churches—now in session at Hammanskraal—and said talk there of a "war" was out of place among people who claimed to be Christians.

The real reason for bad relationships between Black and White was the tremendous confusion caused by radical strivings for the elimination of the White as a power factor in SA, he said in Pretoria yesterday.

—Rand Daily Mail, 2.8.74.

PM WARNS CHURCHES

The Prime Minister told the Nationalist Press that it was clear from the scope of the resolution that the decision was meant to bring about a confrontation with the State.

"I want to warn very seriously that those who play with fire in this way must consider very thoroughly before they burn their fingers irrevocably."

Mr Vorster said he regarded the resolution in a very serious light. If it was reacted upon the consequences for South Africa could be very serious.

"I have no doubt whatsoever that the call contained in this resolution will fail."

The Prime Minister added that he would deal more fully with the matter in the debate on the Opposition's motion of censure in the Assembly next week.

—The Star, 3.8.74.

DANGEROUSLY NAIVE CALL

The South African Council of Churches is on very dangerous ground indeed when it calls on people to consider refusing to serve in the armed forces.

The council sincerely believes South Africa is an unjust and discriminatory society. In many respects, it is undeniably right..

But it takes the matter further. The council says the armed forces are being prepared to defend this unjust society, and therefore people should consider becoming conscientious objectors..

The SACC should examine carefully the full implications of its stance. It has an absolute moral right to oppose and to reject apartheid. It has an obligation to speak out against injustice in a so-called Christian society, because injustice is un-Christian. But we strongly question the council's right, or wisdom, in suggesting that South Africans should refuse to defend their borders against outside attack.

The Star rejects violence as a means of change and hopes the SACC does, too. But to suggest that we will avoid violence if we do not defend our borders against armed insurgents—and they are certainly on their way—is utterly naive.

—*The Star*, 3.8.74.

CONSCIENCE CRISIS

It was inevitable that some, including the SABC, would find it expedient to whip up hysteria over the South African Council of Churches' conscientious objectors' resolution. But although the resolution was ill-conceived, we should not lose sight of the underlying reality on which it is based: We do live in an often unjust and discriminatory society which creates a crisis of conscience for many.

—*Editorial, The Star*, 5.8.74.

P.M.'s WARNING

Mr. Vorster said of the Council of Churches' resolution: "It is clear, from the ambit of the decision, that it is an attempt to bring about a confrontation with the State, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen.

"I wish to seriously warn those who are playing with fire in this way that they must consider matters very seriously before they irrevocably burn their fingers.

"I do not have the slightest doubt that so far as Afrikaans- and English-speakers are concerned, the call contained in this decision will fail."

Mr. Vorster warned that if the council's call were to be obeyed, it would have serious consequences for South Africa, and he added that he would raise the matter during the censure motion debate in Parliament this week.

The Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, has announced that he is to hand a fully copy of the Council of Churches' resolution to the Government's legal advisers as soon as possible.

He declined further comment.

—*Sunday Express*, 4.8.74.

NAUDE IS PREPARED FOR JAIL

The Rev. C.F. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute and a member of the South African Council of Churches executive, said yesterday he was prepared to face conviction and imprisonment if the Minister of Defence, Mr.

P.W. Botha, decided to lay charges in connection with a motion passed at the council's national conference at Hammanskraal this week.

—*Sunday Times*, 4.8.74.

DOORS WITH D.R.C. "ARE SLAMMED"

"This motion has slammed the doors between the South African Council of Churches and the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa," Dr. O'Brien-Geldenhuys, Northern Transvaal moderator of the N.G. Kerk, told the Express.

"We have no common ground any more on which to discuss eventual church unity with these people."

This was certainly not the time to discourage young people from doing their military service. "We need all our power to defend our country."

—*Sunday Express*, 4.8.74.

ARMY ANGERED

Serving Permanent Force men yesterday without exception reacted with anger to the call of the South African Council of Churches for member churches to consider the question of conscientious objectors to military service.

A senior officer said: "This is going too far. The clerics involved are entitled to their own opinions, but the way they are voicing them can only harm the morale of our servicemen already doing duty on the border."

—*Sunday Express*, 4.8.74.

ARCHBISHOP SAYS CRISIS 'VERY CLOSE'

DURBAN The clash between the Prime Minister and the South African Council of Churches over the resolution passed at Hammanskraal indicates that "our time of crisis is very close," says the Archbishop of Durban.

Archbishop Hurley said: "It would not be correct for me to anticipate a discussion that may take place among the Roman Catholic bishops in response to this resolution. But in the discussion, which I hope we shall hold, we must be guided by what the second Vatican Council had to say about war, particularly such passages as 'It seems right that laws make humane provision for the case of those who, for reasons of conscience, refuse to bear arms; provided, however, that they accept some other form of service to the human community.'

The Rt Rev Kenneth Hallows, Bishop Suffragan of Natal, said in Maritzburg today that he might be prepared to face conviction and imprisonment if the Minister of Defence, Mr P.W. Botha, decided to lay charges in connection with the resolution.

He was reacting to a statement alleged to have been made by the Rev C.F. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute and a member of the SACC executive, who said he would be prepared to face a conviction and imprisonment on this account.

He added: "I believe the word 'consider' is important. If they (the SACC) had said that all Christians should become conscientious objectors I would have disagreed strongly with the resolution," he added.

In favour

The Rev. Theo Kotze, Cape Western regional director of the Christian Institute, today issued the following statement :

"I fully support the resolution and would have voted in favour of it had I been at the conference. The resolution, as the preamble makes abundantly clear, is entirely consistent with the teachings of Jesus Christ. It is also entirely consistent with the previous stand taken by the South African Council of Churches, which has condemned violence.

"The logical and consistent consequence of an attitude of non-violence is, in time of war, to consider on the grounds of Christian conscience whether the cause for which one is being asked to fight is a just cause."

—*The Star*, 5.8.74.

PROGS AND UP REJECT SACC RESOLUTION

Both opposition parties in Parliament have attacked the South African Council of Churches' resolution on conscientious objection to military service.

However, Nusas and the all-Black South African Students' Association have supported it.

After declining to comment throughout the weekend, the Progressive Party decided to take a stand on the issue yesterday.

Its Rondebosch MP, Professor Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the party's defence was in "strong disagreement" with the SACC stand.

Prof. Van Zyl Slabbert said the socio-political system which resulted from the Government's policy should be changed by non-violent means.

"Therefore the very institutions—political, economic and social—which could serve as instruments of peaceful change have to be defended against attack and violence from outside," he said.

"The Progressive Party strongly disagrees with this resolution also because it spreads a defeatist spirit towards peaceful change and because it draws attention away from crucial political issues that are negotiable in our society."

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, said the United Party believed it was the duty of every South African "to assist in the defence of our country against aggression, including terrorism.

"The encouragement of conscientious objection to this duty would only serve the cause of violence. Changes in South Africa must be brought about by peaceful and constitutional means.



"The defence of South Africa and opposition to terrorism is not an issue between the Government and ourselves and it is important that not only South Africa, but all who seek to harm us should be left in no doubt about this," said Sir De Villiers.

In a statement issued on behalf of Nusas and all Students' Representative Council presidents, the Nusas president, Mr Charles Nupen, said the Government through its propaganda was developing a widely spread war psychosis.

"We associate ourselves with the stand taken by the SACC and call on all students at Nusas-affiliated centres to challenge their consciences on this matter."

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 6.8.74.

MOTION DISMAYS THE CHAPLAINS

South African Defence Force English church chaplains have dissociated themselves from the South African Council of Churches' "conscientious objector" resolution.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 7.8.74.

CHURCHMEN SPLIT OVER SACC ROW

The Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt. Rev. Philip Russell, accused the SACC of deliberately confusing the public over the issue. "Very few people have read the full text and I urge them to do so."

Bishop Russell, who has a son serving in the armed forces, voted for the resolution at the Hammanskraal meeting.

The Rev. C.E. Wilkinson, superintendent of the European circuit of the Methodist Church in Port Elizabeth, said it was not surprising that certain church leaders and congregations had reacted vehemently to the resolution.

"If you consider that some congregations have members of

their families risking their lives on the borders, then aspects of the resolution are disturbing indeed."

The executive council of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in South West Africa called the resolution "irresponsible."

The executive said it regarded the Hammanskraal statement as exceedingly irresponsible and unmindful, "which plays right into the hands of the communists."

The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa dissociated itself from the SACC statement.

Official spokesmen for the church said in a statement that despite its "known criticisms of many aspects of the Government's policy" and "not of the serious conditions adversely affecting many people in our country," it dissociated itself from SACC's resolution—"particularly its preamble as presented in and the terms of its specific recommendation regarding conscientious objection."

Rand Daily Mail, 7.8.74.

SEMINARY STAFF AT ALICE BACK THE SACC

ALICE. — The staff of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice has come out strongly in support of the announcement of the South African Council of Churches in regard to conscientious objection to military service.

Black students of different denominations are trained at the seminary, the only institution of its kind in Southern Africa, reports the *Rand Daily Mail* correspondent in East London.

Statement

In a statement issued in Alice yesterday, the president of the seminary, Dr Simpson, says on behalf of the staff: "The right of the Christians and others to refuse to take part in armed warfare has long been recognised by democratic states and by the Christian church.

"South Africa claims to be a democratic state and therefore ought to recognise the right of the individual not to bear arms."

—*Rand Daily Mail, 8.8.74.*

I BACK THE SACC, SAYS NGK MINISTER

A Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk minister, who voted for the South African Council of Churches conscientious objection resolution said it was a sickness of his Church that they labelled what they did not like as communistic.

He was Dr Hennie Pretorius of the NGK in Afrika, minister at a mission station at Madwaleni in the Transkei.

The NGK in Afrika is one of the three Black NGK churches which attended the SACC conference.

"This attitude makes us blind to the truth," he said yesterday.

Referring to the SACC motion, he said there were two possibilities for a Christian. One was Christian pacifism, the other the conviction that under certain circumstances military intervention was justified.

"I think it is quite in order for a group of Christian leaders to call upon individuals to search their consciences.

"They are not making a choice for individual Christians, but recommending the pacifist attitude in a particular set of circumstances," he said.

He said he would have been happier if individuals fighting from the other side of our borders had been faced with the same pacifistic challenge.

Characteristic

Christians should endeavour to build a society of peace and justice in which reconciliation, love and fellowship were characteristic, he said.

If this was neglected, as it often was, the risk of violence was increased.

"This pleads for reconciliation, for love and fellowship among Christians of various convictions in our country," he said.

He admitted his stand was unrepresentative of most White thinking in the DRG.

"Although I am criticising them, this is a healthy form of criticism, and I am doing it with the greatest possible loyalty to my church," he said.

He said he did not expect censure from the DRG, as he felt they realised the matter was highly complex.

He had not voted for the preamble to the motion, he said, as he did not feel it was correct to say South Africa was fundamentally an unjust and discriminatory society.

He had voted for the motion itself, though, and pointed out that it was he who introduced the clause stating that the conference "deplores violence as a means to solve problems."

—*Rand Daily Mail, 8.8.74.*



"AANVAL OP S.A. IN 18 MAANDE"

Hammanskraal—Terroriste uit Afrika gaan binne 18 maande 'n aanval op Suid-Afrika doen. Terroriste wat in SA opgelei is, sal dan die grootste rol speel in die omverwerping van die SA Regering.

Só het die hoofsekretaris van die SA Raad van Kerke, mnr. John Rees, gister op die Raad se jaarkongres hier gesê. Dit is wat verteenwoordigers van die terroristebeweging op die onlangse kongres van kerke in Afrika in Lusaka aan kerkmense gesê het.

Die verteenwoordigers van die terroriste-organisasies is toegelaat om die kerkkongres as waarnemers by te woon en aan die groepsbesprekings deel te neem.

Volgens mnr. Rees het die terroriste nie die minste twyfel nie dat hul aanval op Suid-Afrika sal slaag. Dis glo reeds fyn uitgewerk.

Verteenwoordigers van die Swazi-regering het gesê hulle is ten gunste van die stryd van die terroriste en hul regering het

geen beswaar teen die gebruik van hul land as toegang tot Suid-Afrika nie, het mnr. Rees gesê.

Die Transvaler, 1.8.74.

SAP—ONDERSOEK NA BERAAD VAN KERKE

Hammanskraal Die Veiligheidspolisie is besig om ondersoek in te stel na bewerings wat op die jaar-kongres van die SA Raad van Kerke oor terrorisme en militêre diensplig gedoen is.

Na verneem word het die Veiligheidspolisie reeds verklaarings van sekere persone geneem wat die konferensie bygewoon het. Hulle is klaarblyklik geïnteresseerd in uitlatings van mnr. John Rees, hoofsekretaris van die SA Raad van Kerke wat in sy verslag aan die kongres gemeld het van gesprekke wat hy met terroriste in Lusaka gevoer het.

Hoofstad, 2.8.74.

KERKSTAP : BOTHA REAGEER

Die Minister van Verdediging, mnr P.W. Botha, het gisteraand oor die besluit gesê: „My departement is besig om die volledige teks van die resoluëie in die hande te kry. Sodra hulle dit kry, sal hulle dit verwys na die Departement se regsafdeling om die saak te ondersoek. Die volledige teks plus die regsmening sal daarna aan my voorgelê word.

„Tot tyd en wyl ek die stukke ontvang het, wil ek geen verdere kommentaar lewer nie.”

—Die Transvaler, 3.8.74.

'N SKERP VRAAG AAN NAUDE-HULLE

Kerke bra lugtig oor besluit

Het mense soos dr Beyers Naudé en ander verteenwoordigers op die S.A. Raad van Kerke se vergadering vande week op Hammanskraal enige waarborg dat die militêre aanvallers van die bestaande bewing in Suid-Afrika self noodwendig 'n regverdiger en meer Christelike orde hier te weeg sal bring?

Die kernvraag het mnr Fred van Wyk, vroeër saam met dr Naudé in die Christelike Instituut, nou direkteur van die S.A. Instituut van Rassebetrekkinge, gister met groot erns gestel.

Gesien die motiewe van party van hulle en gesien die onlangse geskiedenis in Afrika kan niemand hiervan seker wees nie, het mnr Van Wyk gesê.

Brig. M.C. Geldenhuys, hoof van die Veiligheidspolisie, wou nie kommentaar lewer op 'n berig in HOOFSTAD dat sy manne op Hammanskraal doenig was nie.

Die Burger se rebriek-skrywer Dawie vertolk 'n vrywel algemene opvatting waar hy gister skryf „'n strydpunt van die uiterste erns het nou in ons openbare lewe op die voorgrond getree”.

Mnr Vause Raw, die Verenigde Party se woordvoerder oor verdedigingsake, het gister aan die **Star** gesê 'n besluit soos dié wat die geestelikes op Hammanskraal geneem het „steek die grense van wettige kritiek verby en is meer as net gebrek aan vaderlandsliefde”.

By sy huis in Johannesburg het 'n bedaarde dr Naudé gisteroggend gesê sy standpunt is steeds dat dit „die reg van die individu is om hom op grond van gewetensbesware van die stryd te onttrek waarin ons betrokke is ... as hy, as Christen, daarvan oortuig is dat ons politieke stelsel basies onregverdig en diskriminerend is”.

Dr Naudé sê hy het reeds in 1969 by die kongres van die Wêreldraad van Kerke in Swede gewaarsku dat ons rassebeleid onafwendbaar „'n bloedige botsing” kan afgee. „Ek het gepleit dat ons die grondoorsaak van die sodanige konfrontasie in die oë moet kyk en moontlik uit die weg moet ruim — en gewys daarop dat die grondoorsaak juis ons rassebeleid is.

„Geen militêre aksie teen terrorisme of die Swart State van Afrika gaan ons probleem oplos nie”, het dr Naudé gesê.

—Rapport, 4.8.74.

NP GAAN NIE SWYG OOR KERKEBESLUIT

Kaapstad Die Eerste Minister, mnr. John Vorster, sê die Nasionale Party sal optree in verband met die nuwe teologie waarmee Suid-Afrika pas kennis gemaak het.

In 'n kort toespraak Saterdagmiddag op Stellenbosch by die D.F. Malan-gedenksentrum, het mnr. Vorster na die onderwerp verwys toe hy N.P.-ondersteuners toegesprek het.

„Ons het pas kennis gemaak met 'n nuwe teologie, politiek en staatkunde. Dit word aan die deur van die Nasionale Party gelê om daarmee te handel. Die Nasionale Party sal dit doen,” het hy gesê.

Hy wou nie verder uitbrei nie. Hy sal, wil dit voorkom, in die wantrouedebat aandag daaraan gee.

—Die Transvaler, 5.8.74.

ARMOEDE OORSAAK VAN TERREUR

„Ek glo dat die belangrike deel van die Hammanskraal-besluite 'n beroep op die Regering en die mense van Suid-Afrika doen om spoedig stappe te neem om veranderings in die rigting van 'n regverdiger gemeenskap te weeg te bring.”

So het Biskop Carter van die Anglikaanse kerk in Johannesburg, hom gister teenoor *Die Vaderland* uitgesprek.

„Die besluit is baie belangrik vir die Swartes — en vir ouers, soos ekself, wat kinders van militêre opleidingsouderdom het.

„Ons moet ons probleme hier oplos, deur 'n beter, regverdiger, vreedsaamer gemeenskap te skep. Ons probleme moet nie op die grens opgelos word nie.”

—Die Vaderland, 5.8.74.

SA KERKE IN 2 KAMPE GEDRYF

Die stralekrans van geregtigheid wat Hammanskraal oor terroriste-moordenaars gehang het, is besig om 'n vlymskerp kapbyl te word wat die Christenblok in Suid-Afrika in twee splyt.

Dr F.E. O'Brien Geldenhuys: „Hulle steun haat en geweld teen Suid-Afrika”.

Dr J.S. Gericke: „Hulle sê die terroriste voer 'n regverdige oorlog”.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke stel homself bloot aan vervolging indien sy besluite van Hammanskraal deurgevoer word.

DIE VADERLAND het regsadvies in die verband ingewin. Die Verdedigingswet nr. 44 van 1957, soos gewysig, lui kortliks so:

Enigiemand wat 'n persoon in enige opsig help of aanspoor om militêre diensplig vry te spring, of te weier, is aan 'n misdryf skuldig.

Die besluite van die S.A. Raad van Kerke op Hammanskraal verlede week sal ernstig na gekyk word deur die Le Grange-kommissie (voorheen Schlebusch-kommissie), wat ondersoek instel na sekere organisasies.

Die voorsitter van die kommissie, mnr. Louis le Grange, het vanoggend aan **Die Vaderland** gesê dat veral die rol van mnr Beyers Naudé en die Christelike Instituut daarin gespeel het, ernstig ondersoek sal word, veral in die lig daarvan dat die kommissie nou besig is met sy afrondingswerk van hul ondersoek na die CI.

Eerw Dennis Diederichs, voormalige moderator van die Presbiteriaanse Kerk in Kaapstad en in Noordwes-Transvaal, het gesê hy distansieer homself van die Hammanskraalse besluite.

As sy kerk nie ook daardie besluite verwerp nie, dreig hy om te bedank en toelating tot die bediening van die NG Kerk te vra.

• Ds F. Shaw, van die Metodiste-kerk op Middelburg, het voorgestel dat 'n ander organisasie teen die S.A. Raad van Kerke in die lewe groep word.

Dr Beyers Naudé, direkteur van die Christelike Instituut, is steeds bereid om tronk toe te gaan vir sy aandeel in die omstrede Hammanskraal-besluit van die SA Raad van Kerke verlede week.

—Die Vaderland, 5.8.74.

KERKLEIERS VEROORDEEL SARK SE BESLUIT

Sommige van die bewerings teen die SA Raad van Kerke se omstrede Hammanskraal-mosie, is blote verbeeldingsvlugte, sê die sekretaris van die Raad, mnr. John Rees — maar die lysie

van „verbeeldingsvlugte” word al hoe langer.

Dit lyk nou so:

- Die Anglikaanse biskop van Pretoria, eerw. E.G. Knapp-Fischer—„Om te wil sê dat ons gemeenskap so onregverdig is dat niemand geregtig is om die wapen op te neem om die land te verdedig nie, lyk onoorwoë en ongevaag.”
- Eerw. Dennis Diederichs, gewese moderator van die Presbiteriaanse Kerk in Kaapstad en Noordwes-Transvaal—„Ek sal uit die kerk bedank as die Presbiteriaanse kerk nie die mosie verwerp nie.”
- Ds. C.L. Gittens, van die *Trinity Presbyterian Church op Klerksdorp*—
„Ons doen 'n beroep op elke landsburger om hom gereed te maak om hierdie land en sy mense te verdedig teen alle aanvalle—hetsy deur geweld met wapens of meer subtiele aanvalle van tong en pen.
- Dr. F.E. O'Brien Geldenhuys, Moderator van die NG Kerk in Noord-Transvaal—
„Die mosie kan nie as 'n verklaring van Christelike en teologiese beginsels beskou word nie, maar eerder as 'n politieke manifes onder die dekmantel van Godsdiens.”
- Dr. J.S. Gericke, Moderator van die Kaapse Sinode van die NG Kerk—
„As woorde enige betekenis het, kan uit die verklaring afgelei word dat die S.A. Raad van Kerke die terroriste se stryd as 'n „regverdige oorlog” beskou.”
- Dr. J.D. Vorster, Moderator van die NG kerk—
„Die SARK speel in die hande van linksgesindes. Die mosie is verwerplik omdat dit geen skriftuurlike gronde het nie”.
- Prof. Bert Oberholzer van die Hervormde Kerk—
„Dit is amptelike verteenwoordigers van kerke wat die besluite geneem het, en dit is te hope dat die betrokke sinodes hierdie besluite sal behandel met die minagting wat dit verdien”.

—Die Vaderland, 6.8.74.

GEWELD HET GEEN REGVERDIGING NIE

Kerkeraad-besluit ,eensydig politiek'

Pretoria—Nêrens in die Skrif of in die optrede van Christus kan regverdiging vir geweld gevind word, nie. 'n Gemeenskap word konstitusioneel van binne uit hervorm en nie van buite af deur bloeddorstiges nie.

So het prof. Johan Heyns, die hoogleraar in dogmatiek aan Universiteit van Pretoria, gister gereageer op die uitdaging van twee afgevaardigdes op die jaar-Raad van Kerke, dat die besluite van die Raad net op politieke maar nie op teologiese gronde nie, bevraagteken kan word.

Inteendeel, sê prof. Heyns, die mosie-motivering is „uit en uit 'n voorbeeld van 'n poging om die Skrif vanuit 'n bepaalde eensydige politieke siening te probeer interpreteer.”

In die motivering het die SARK die verdediging van 'n „onregverdige gemeenskap” soos Suid-Afrika as ontoelaatbaar bestempel, maar die militêre „bevryding” van so 'n ge-



meenskap – dus deur terroriste – op teologiese gronde goedgekeur.

In die mosie self is onder meer gevra dat jong mense hulle om gewetensredes nie vir militêre diensplig beskikbaar moet stel nie, en is die teenwoordigheid van kapelane in die weermag moreel bevraagteken.

Prof. Heyns se teologiese weerlegging van die motivering en die mosie is soos volg:

„Die teologiese motivering getuig van ’n swak teologie met uitsprake wat die toets van ’n onbevange beroep op die Skrif nie kan deurstaan nie.

Enkele voorbeelde:

„Die verlossing uit die slawehuis van sonde” word verwar met die verandering van ’n bepaalde politieke stelsel.

Konstitusioneel

- „Geregtigheid gaan om geregtigheid van swart sowel as wit en nie net om die een groep met uitsluiting van, of ten koste van, die ander groep nie.
- „Die beskouing van die staat as dienskneg van God kom hier nie tot sy reg nie.
- „Ons militêre magte verdedig nie ’n onregverdige en diskriminerende gemeenskap nie, maar verdedig die ganse gemeenskap wat alle politieke partye asook alle blankes en gekleurdes insluit.
- „Geen willekeurige groep individue soos die terroriste het die reg om die sogenamde foute in ons gemeenskap te kom herstel nie.
- ’n Gemeenskap word van binne uit, langs konstitusionele weg, verander en nie van buite af deur ’n groep bloed-dorstiges nie.

Kapelane

- „Regverdiging van dié soort geweld kan nêrens in die

Skrif en ook nie in die optrede van Christus gevind word nie.

- „Is die teenwoordigheid van kapelane in tronke ’n onderskrywing van die misdade van die gevangenes deur die kerke wat die kapelane verteenwoordig?

Die Transvaler, 6.8.74.

NUWE KERKERAAD IN S.A. KRY GROOT STEUN

Die stigting van ’n nuwe kerklike organisasie wat hom sal distansieer van sowel die Wêreldraad as die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke, kry groot steun.

By die huis van eerw. Fred Shaw, Metodiste-leraar op Middelburg, het die telefoon gister onophoudelik gelui en telegramme het ingestroom van mense wat die gedagte om ’n nuwe organisasie te stig, steun.

Voorlopig is besluit dat die organisasie as die Christelike Bond van Suider-Afrika bekend sal staan.

Eerw. Shaw is die tussentydse voorsitter van die ad hoc-komitee wat hom vir die nuwe organisasie beywer. Lede van die Anglikaanse, Metodiste- en Presbiteriaanse kerk staan aan die voorpunt van die nuwe beweging.

Paar dae

Ontevredenheid met die WRK en die SARK bestaan al geruime tyd en die besluit om ’n nuwe liggaam te stig, is geneem voordat die SARK ’n paar dae gelede sy besluit op Hammanskraal geneem het.

Besware

- Die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke het glo nog geen amptelike beswaar van likkerke ontvang teen sy Hammanskraalbesluit nie en ondanks die besware wat reeds van verskeie Engelse kerkleiers gekom het, meen ’n woordvoerder van die SARK dat die raad sy besluit nie sal herroep nie.

Die Transvaler, 6.8.74.

NIE SÓ NIE, MNR. NAUDÉ!

Die Kerkvaders van Hammanskraal het dit naamlik nooit amptelik in ’n besluit opgeneem nie, alans nie so kaalkop nie. En tog is dit gesê, en die sprekers het dit nooit herroep nie.

Jammer

Jammer genoeg, is een van die mense wat dit ook gaan staan en sê het, mnr Beyers Naudé.

Moët die Evangelie dan nie onder alle omstandighede verkondig word nie – tydig en ontydig sê die Bybel immers, nie waar nie? Aan die fariseer en die tollenaar, die onderdrukker en die onderdrukte, die geweldenaar en die arme van gees?

Hoe durf u dan ’n beroep doen op die kerke in ons land om hulle kapelane aan die Weermag te onttrek? Moet die stem van die Evangelie nou maar liewers daar stilgemaak word?

Die Vaderland, 7.8.74.

KERKBESLUIT SE SKOK KRING UIT

Al die kapelane van die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag het hulle gister in 'n gesamentlike verklaring gedistansieer van die omstrede besluit deur die Raad.

Die Afrikaanse kerke verwelkom altyd die geleentheid van gesprek met die ander kerke in die land wat nie op 'n vooraf-bepaalde siening en veroordeling van die landsbeleid gegrond is nie.

„Besluite is nie behoorlik”

PREFTORIA Suid-Afrika se verdediging van sy grens is nie net in die belang van die blankes se voortbestaan nie, maar veral vir die vryheid van die swart volkere om hulle eie heil te kan uitwerk sonder Kommunistiese dwingelandy.

Só lui 'n besluit wat die uitvoerende komitee van Sabra volgens 'n persverklaring gisteroggend op 'n spesiale vergadering geneem het.

In dié verklaring word die besluite wat die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke op Harimanskraal geneem het sowel as dié op die Pan Afrikaanse kerklike konferensie op Lusaka as „verre-gaande onbehoorlik” bestempel.

„Sabra vind dit haas ongelooflik dat dit in die omstandighede van vandag vir Suid-Afrikaners moontlik is om oor die grens van Zambië te gaan en gesprekke en onderhoude met die terroristeiers te voer, en dat dié mense dan agterna as indrukwekkende persone voorgehou word.”

„Ontsteltenis” word ook uitgespreek oor die voorneme van kerkleiers om in September, soortgelyke gesprekke in Botswana te hou en die Afrikaanse kerke ook daarby te betrek.

- Mnr John Rees, hoofsekretaris van die SARK het in Johannesburg twee verklarings uitgereik waarin hy ontken het dat die besluit daarop toegespits was om mense aan te moedig om weens gewetensbesware militêre diens te weier.

Hy het gesê dat diegene wat enige ander interpretasie op die besluit plaas gevaar loop om 'n baie groot gedeelte van die ledetal van hul kerke te verloor. Dit, volgens mnr Rees, sal omtrent elke swart lidmaat van die kerke by die SARK insluit.

Hy het sy verbasing uitgespreek oor die feit dat mnr Shaw en sy kollegas nog nie met die SARK in aanraking was nie.

Dit was gister die reaksie van dr F.E. O'Brien Geldenhuys, moderator van die NG Kerk in Noord-Transvaal en prof Bart Oberholzer, voorsitter van die Algemene Kerkvergadering van die Hervormde Kerk, op 'n verklaring van eerw Fred Shaw, 'n Methodistiese leraar van Middelburg, wat 'n nuwe interkerklike organisasie beoog.

In 'n verklaring gister aan Die Transvaler sê eerw Shaw dat 'n ad hoc-komitee reeds deur hom en lede van die Presbiteriaanse en Anglikaanse kerke saamgestel is om 'n mandaat te verkry van die Christelike publiek om te sê dat hulle geen vertroue meer het in party van die land se kerkleiers nie.

Die nuwe organisasie sal niks te doen hê met die SARK of die Wêreldraad van Kerke nie.

„Ons voel dat die SARK en diegene wat hul beleide voorstaan, niks het om aan te bied nie, en dat hul nuttigheid iets van die verlede is,” het eerw Shaw gesê.

— Die Transvaler, 7.8.74.

NUSAS OOK TEEN DIENSPLIG

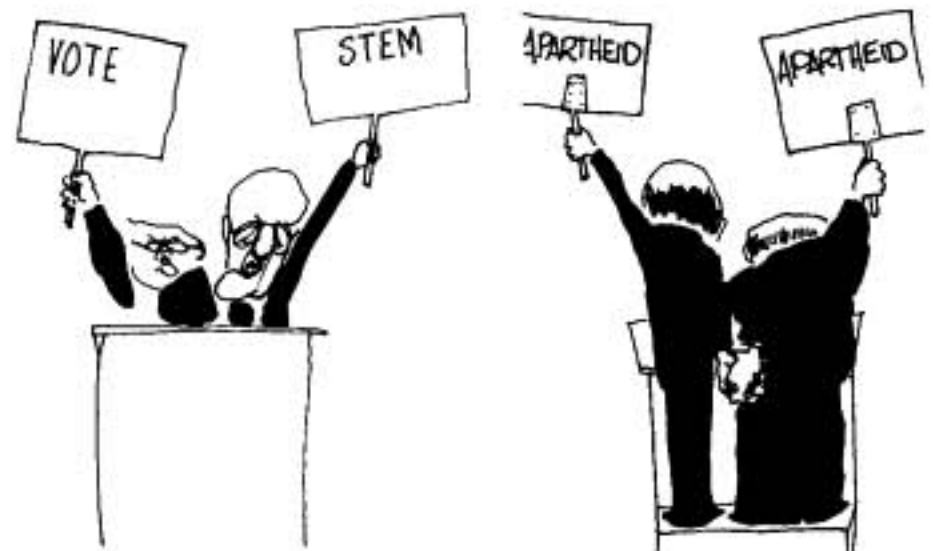
Nusas steun die S.A. Raad van Kerke se besluit oor militêre diensplig. Die studenteliggaam steun die besluit dat jong manne hulle om gewetensredes teen diensplig moet verset.

„Dit is die jong mense wat gevra word om te gaan veg. Baie van ons bevraagteken Suid-Afrika se saak,” lui 'n verklaring wat deur Nusas en die voorsitters van sy lid-organisasies uitgereik is.

Volgens die verklaring plaas Nusas 'n vraagteken agter „die bereidwilligheid van die Regering om die mense van Suid-Afrika te betrek by 'n oorlog om 'n stelsel te verdedig waarin die belange van die Blankes beskerm word, terwyl daar teen die Nie-Blankes gediskrimineer word”.

„Oorlog kan voorkom word as die begeertes van die Swartes erken word om deel te hê aan die politieke lewe en rykdom van die Republiek,” sê die verklaring.

Vaderland, 7.8.74.



the root of the matter

BOXES:
TERROR
OR FREEDOM?

brian brown

This man in the box haunts me. He is in the box because his name is Zulu. The State puts all Zulus in boxes.

It's a tiny, smelly box, and the man once tried to move the box. But the State put him in his place—and his box.

The State knows where boxes may or may not go. In fact, the State decides everything for Zulu because Zulus don't know what is good for them.

The man in the box does not have his wife with him. She has her own box. He has his sexual and parental desires with him in the box; it is only the family he cannot have with him.

They tell him what work to do in his box but he is lazy. He says he doesn't want to do that job or he lies and says he is hungry. The State tells me that he is ungrateful because they know of some Zulus who escaped from boxes and they are even more hungry.

Once he tried to escape. They caught the cheeky man and took away his pen, his paper, his radio, his books, his friends. And they gave me a gun and told me to guard the cheeky man's box.

The other night I saw a man trying to open the box. I surprised him and demanded to know why he wanted to kill me. He was also cheeky and said he wasn't trying to kill me. He said he wanted to let Zulu out of the box. I knew he was a liar. He wanted to rape and murder and plunder. So I shot him.

I still guard the box but it's confusing. I don't know whether I'm keeping Zulu in the box or preventing others from letting him out. The State tells me that Zulu is grateful that I protect him from cheeky box-openers. If only Zulu would tell me also.

But that's a stupid wish. Zulu doesn't know what's good for him; perhaps Eternity will thank me for protecting his box? ★

the root of the matter

A DISPLACED
PERSON
IS NO GENTLEMAN

michael maasdorp

The myth of "separate but equal" development for all races in South Africa has been exploded in a variety of ways. Another nail in the Apartheid coffin is the recent report of the thousands of black waifs who roam the streets of our cities.

The survey by *Sunday Times* staff (July 28) makes horrifying reading. In 1973 it was estimated that some 1 000 black children aged between 7 and 14 fended for themselves in Johannesburg, living on what they could beg or steal and often dying from the effects of malnutrition and glue-sniffing ("Mandhla said he liked sniffing glue because it made him feel drunk and stopped his feeling hungry").

Other figures given indicated that such children are merely the tip of an iceberg of unwanted children, and that white children get comparatively generous treatment.

Urban blacks are with "white South Africa" to stay. The government-imposed disadvantages under which they must live are conspiring to destroy their "extended family" system. Indeed, any kind of family life is virtually impossible for many thousands because of the migratory labour policy.

The problem of "rubbish-heap blacks" will not vanish. As long as black families are refused equal opportunity and a permanent stake in "white" areas, their destruction can only proceed apace. And as black families break up, so will many more precious young lives be brought to an untimely end.

Let those whites who reach for their cheque books out of pity for the black flotsam on our city streets remember that a displaced person is no gentleman. One day he or others like him will demand the *full* price of their suffering. ★

the root of the matter

A CHANGE OF HEART

colin gardner

For many years most of those who were aware of the need for social, political and economic change in South Africa spent a good deal of their time and energy working and/or hoping for a "change of heart" among the majority of the whites. It was always a rather forlorn hope, and it began to look more and more improbable as injustices grew more intense. Eventually it became clear that hearts were not easily changed and that the desired transformation could be achieved by nothing less than a very large army of Chris Barnards—and that of course such a way of doing things would be both more unpractical and more expensive than the mass psychiatric treatment that had so often been prescribed.

So many of those who felt concerned about social change moved away from the thought of a "change of heart" towards the notions of "pressure" or even "confrontation". If the people in power wouldn't change voluntarily they must somehow be edged into positions where adjustment would be to their own advantage. And what of their hearts?... Their hearts would have to look after themselves.

But people have hearts, and it seems wrong not to try to take them into account.

Perhaps our old psychology was too naive, too absolute. We tended to assume (whether we knew it or not) that in the life of every white person a point would be reached where all the issues would be seen clearly and a rational and humane choice could be made. But most people never reach such a point, or if they do they don't notice it. What we should now consider is the possibility that "pressure" of various sorts may gradually change not only policies but hearts too. For all but the fanatics—the supporters of the H.N.P.—pressure produces adjustment. The adjustment is partly unconscious; in so far as it is conscious, it is unwilling. But once it has been made, the world looks a little different—at first rather alarming, then fairly normal. In other words,

"normality" shifts, and the average heart follows it, and before long clings to it. Then a further adjustment becomes necessary...

So could the old "change of heart" happen after all, in this hidden way? Perhaps. But time is short; and lapse into a condition of facile optimism. And of course without "pressure" nothing will happen at all. ★

MY BLACK CHILDREN

I have tasted bitter gall
Yet never have I seen the dirty sight
of a 'kaalvoet' child
as he runs wild down Kruis street way.

The velvet eyes look at me
Bold footsteps reach my wagon
Small Black hands want my offering
and unshed tears glisten as I ignore them
But they are insistent—
For what have I done to deserve this sickening appeal?
That my eyes should have to see or witness
This sorrow?
But my heart must soften and my soul restore
My love for my Black children—
One cup of white milk and a roll in each hand
They turn a corner, like an artful dodger,
And devour what I have given...

Sol Rachilo

HOLY THURSDAY

Is this a holy thing to see
In a rich and fruitful land,
Babes reduc'd to misery,
Fed with cold and usurous hand?
Is that trembling cry a song?
Can it be a song of joy?
And so many children poor?
It is a land of poverty!
And their sun does never shine,
And their fields are black and bare,
And their ways are fill'd with thorns:
It is eternal winter there.
For where-e'er the sun does shine,
And where-e'er the rain does fall,
Babe can never hunger there,
Nor poverty the mind appall.

William Blake

a canon on the cross

JAMES MOULDER

The Christian faith implies rejection and condemnation of both revolutionary violence and the violence of the established power.

—*Jacques Ellul*

People who insist on keeping their hands clean are likely to find themselves without hands.

—*Charles Péquy*

When I come up against intellectuals who pose a problem, I kill the intellectuals; then there is no more problem.

—*An Anonymous Nazi*

In his secretarial address to the Third Assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches, Canon Burgess Carr argued that "we must give our unequivocal support to the Liberation Movements" in Southern Africa.¹ It is not easy to discover why he made this plea; but the following quotations from his address seem to explain why he wants us to support these movements.

...any outright rejection of violence is an untenable alternative for African Christians.

...they (that is, the Liberation Movements) helped the Church to rediscover a new and radical appreciation of the Cross. In accepting the

violence of the Cross, God, in Jesus Christ, sanctified violence into a redemptive instrument for bringing into being a fuller human life.

... Christians in Africa have a duty to maintain a critical stance in relation to any tacit or explicit sacral legitimation of government, and to work out their theology of social engagement against the background of the whole of the biblical witness. to do otherwise is to pervert the church of Jesus Christ into a spiritual policeman, whose aim is to condition men and women to acquiesce towards injustice and oppression. Until we do that, our prophetic witness runs the risk of appearing partisan, devoid of calling men and their institutions to repentance and renewal through the forgiveness of sins.

... This Assembly must place the Church squarely on the side of those struggling for an end to racial and economic injustice in Africa. The Church, which has for so long sanctioned captivity, must now throw its weight on the side of liberation. Unless we do that we shall not be able to exercise the reconciling role we are commanded by the gospel to fulfil.

I want to respond to the quotations with five questions and my reasons for asking them. And I want to respond to Burgess Carr's claims in this way because, quite frankly, I find his position incoherent. More specifically, I simply do not understand what follows from his belief that Christians should sometimes support those who employ violence as a means towards a political end. And I do not understand *why* he believes this. But now that he has advanced this thesis I, for one, would like to explore the questions which are raised by his belief. I hope, therefore, that he will be kind enough to answer my questions and, perhaps, pose some of his own. In this way there is some chance that we will be able to discover how Christians ought to respond to violence and to those who employ violence as a means towards a political end.

Question 1: Why is an outright rejection of violence an untenable alternative for African Christians?

Comment: This question arises because Burgess Carr's remarks suggest that Christians in Africa are less capable than Christians on other continents of facing the implications of Christ's warning that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword. Alternatively, his remarks suggest that governments and societies on other continents are more willing than the governments and people of Africa to tolerate someone who refuses to employ violence as a means towards a political end. But perhaps there is some other reason why an outright rejection of violence is an untenable alternative for both

1. This and all the quotations which follow are from 'The Engagement of Lusaka', *Pro Veritate*, June, 1974, pp. 5-12.

"black" and "white" African Christians. If so I would like to know what it is.

Question 2: Why must we give our *unequivocal* support to the Liberation Movements?

Comment: I ask this question because Burgess Carr seems to suggest that it is impossible to distinguish between the aims of these movements and the means which they have chosen to achieve them; and, therefore, that we must give them our *unequivocal* support. Apart from the fact that their aims are not that clear, can a Christian ever give a political movement his or her unequivocal support? Can his or her participation ever be anything but qualified and critical?

Question 3: Why should Christians give their unequivocal support to the Liberation Movements, but refuse any tacit or explicit sacral legitimation of those governments to whom these movements are opposed?

Comment: I ask this question because Burgess Carr has warned the Church in Africa not to "run the risk of appearing partisan"; because this makes it impossible for her to call "men and their institutions to repentance and renewal through the forgiveness of sins".

At this stage it may be appropriate to point out that I am neither offended nor perplexed because the AACC has given about R87 500 to African liberation movements since 1963. Neither am I offended or perplexed because this money has been given "with no strings attached". What does offend and perplex me is precisely the fact that the AACC—and other bodies—have been so partisan in their support. Are they prepared to give the governments of those countries to whom the Liberation Movements are opposed an equivalent amount of money? And are they prepared to give it "with no strings attached"?

Although these questions may appear to be facetious, that is not my intention. I am deadly serious. And I can see no other way in which it is possible to avoid "the risk of appearing partisan". Furthermore, the AACC's involvement on both sides of the violence which exists in Southern Africa would have some interesting consequences. *Firstly*, it would demonstrate that Christians believe that God is involved in and wants to redeem both sides of the conflict. *Secondly*, it would demonstrate that Christians are prepared to try to withstand those social and political pressures which threaten their obedience to the Gospel. *Thirdly*, it would leave *all* Africans—and not just the "white" ones—offended and perplexed by the demands of the Gospel!

Question 4: Has God sanctified every kind of violence into a redemptive instrument for bringing into being a fuller life?

Comment: I ask this question for a number of reasons:

Firstly, I do not understand Burgess Carr's distinction between "selective violence" and "collective vengeance";

and, therefore, I would appreciate it if he would be so kind as to explain what these phrases mean.

Secondly, whatever "selective violence" is, and however much it differs from "collective vengeance", it is still violence; and, therefore, we must still ask whether Christians should support those who employ "selective violence" as a means towards a political end.

Thirdly, the word "violence" has achieved the status of a euphemism. If, therefore, we want to know what God is supposed to have sanctified, we must look at the more ordinary and earthy words which we use to talk about the violent ways in which people often treat each other. Here are a few English verbs which we use in this way: ambush, assassinate, bomb, burn, club, fight, hit, kick, kidnap, kill, knife, murder, rape, shoot, stab, stab, starve, torture. Has God sanctified *all* these activities? If not, which of them has he sanctified? And why?

Question 5: How does violence bring about fuller human life?

Comment: This question arises because it is by no means clear how violence brings about fuller human life. In general, violence either destroys or inhibits life. And even in the political sphere it is not obvious that either threats of violence or violent changes of government bring about fuller human life. Burgess Carr admitted as much when he reminded the Assembly in Lusaka that in Sudan and Nigeria "Christians were anguished and alienated from one another by deep hatred and murderous suspicions" because of civil war. And in South Africa one still discovers scars left by the two Wars of Liberation (Vryheidsoorloë) which were fought at the turn of the century. How then will our support of the Liberation Movements enable us "to exercise the reconciling role we are commanded by the Gospel to fulfil"? I don't know. In fact, I suspect that those who give their unequivocal support to these movements will find themselves as unable to "be a redemptive influence upon all mankind" as those who give their unequivocal support to those governments with which these movements are in conflict.

Fortunately, however, there is no need for Christians to cripple themselves in either of these idiotic ways. There is another alternative. It is first to explore and then to act upon the implications of the words with which Burgess Carr closed his address to the Third Assembly of the AACC:

Yes, there is alienation, exploitation and drought in our land; but if we here make a commitment to live no longer for ourselves but for Christ ... we shall be a redemptive influence upon all mankind.

It is in this spirit that I raise these five questions and hope that our exploration and discussion of them will enable us to discover how we can be a redemptive influence in Africa. ★

FIVE YEARS WITHOUT MISSIONARIES

john gatu

The Third Assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches, meeting in Lusaka during May recommended to the churches the option of a moratorium on the receiving of money and personnel from overseas. A shortened form of the address with which the Rev. John Gatu of Kenya, now chairman of the AACC General Committee, introduced the moratorium idea in the U.S.A. three years ago, is hereby reproduced.

The Rev. John Gatu is General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa and was elected Chairman of the General Committee of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

I am going to argue that the time has come for the withdrawal of foreign missionaries from many parts of the 'Third World'; that Churches of the 'Third World' must be allowed to find their own identity and that the

continuation of the present missionary movement is a hindrance to this selfhood of the Church.

The answer to our present problems can only be solved if all missionaries can be withdrawn in order to allow a period of not less than five years for each side to re-think and formulate what is going to be the future relationship.

In December, 1966, after the All Africa Conference of Churches' goodwill mission to Sudan, the leader of the delegation, Dr. Akanu Ibiam of Nigeria, wrote:

"During our visit, the goodwill mission was assured by the Sudanese Government that it would welcome African Christian missionaries in preference to the missionaries from other continents, to undertake evangelistic work in the Sudan. Furthermore, the Government expressed the hope that it would be possible for Sudanese Christians to be trained in the theological colleges in Africa."

I personally believe that this statement characterises the ferment in many parts of the Third World in relation to the presence of missionaries from foreign countries, especially in Africa. It is time that we looked at what we have first—small or little as it may be—before we begin to stretch a begging hand to other nations. This is not only politically sound business but also theologically sound.

For, if my reading of the New Testament means anything to me, it is precisely this that Our Lord was saying to his disciples when the hungry crowds flocked to them for food. He said "Give them food yourselves" (Mk.6:35-38).

Dr. Ibiam thought it was hopeless in such situations for the Church in Africa, faced with its financial problems, to begin talking about sending African missionaries to Sudan; but he also noted that "it is a happy confrontation which the churches in Africa could well meet in faith".

Bishop Stephen Neill, in his book 'The Unfinished Task', sees the role of missionaries as helpers in the areas of administration, treasurers, accountants, theological teachers etc. The question one would like to ask is, what administration? What accountancy and what theological training? I am sure I can mention Churches in Africa that have almost all of these posts catered for by Africans.

But where this is not yet possible, it is precisely for this reason that we must ask missionaries to leave in order that Africans can take over these jobs or alternatively, if they do not think they are important enough, formulate some new methods and structures that would suit both their budgetary capacity and personnel.

money not central issue

Take medical personnel. If all foreign personnel leave then the national host Church will have to take over, if they think it necessary, or else close it down—which

would perhaps reveal to us that our work has been a surplus contribution. For theological teachers, the local Church will have to look seriously at the priorities.

Maybe another kind of training will be more beneficial and relevant to the Church, a Church serving different needs from what we see to be the role of the Church today.

While I have no reason to challenge Dr Ibiam when he says that the African Church has a chronic shortage of adequate finance, I would nevertheless challenge the idea which makes money the central issue or the axis in the mission of the Church. It is certainly not a New Testament idea but an emanation of the thinking of the industrial society that can only see value in terms of money.

At a time when government officials seem to be flying to different parts of the world for development loans, isn't the Church providing a very good corollary of the same kind of dependence? This makes the Church a satellite of North American and Western Churches—the more the money, the greater the complication of accounting and administration systems, and the Church becomes a colonial plant that blooms because of foreign cultivation.

Church leaders commute between Geneva, New York, London, Paris and Nairobi to raise money for various projects, some of which were proposed by mission boards. The more money a church leader brings back after a trip overseas, the more successful the trip has been.

The best example to describe this church leader is the story of the lame man carried to the Beautiful Gate who stretched his hand to Peter and John, asking for alms. But his need was greater than money. It was restoration of power.

We cannot build the Church in Africa on alms given by overseas churches nor are we serving the cause of the kingdom by turning all bishops, general secretaries, moderators, and presidents into 'good ecclesiastical beggars' by always singing the tune of poverty in the churches of the Third World.

The need is commitment and decision to go forward in faith, for Africa has money and personnel, and until we have produced the 'two loaves and five fishes' Our Lord continues to say, 'Give them something to eat.'

why missionaries?

I have always heard the question asked: Who should decide when to give and when not to give? Who should decide to withdraw missionaries?

Granted, the poor can hardly refuse to accept. But I am also saying that we in the Third World must liberate ourselves from the bondage of Western dependency by refusing anything that renders impotent the development of our spiritual resources; which in turn makes it impossible for the Church in the Third World to engage in the Mission of God in our own areas.

The concept that in a given Church there is a class of people called missionaries (in the American attitude, these are people who can no longer fit into the present culture...) is part of the Western industrialised mentality which has produced professionalism and class distinction to a degree never known to the world before.

For every person who confesses Jesus Christ to be Lord is by the same token a missionary, to tell the good news of Him who called us from darkness into the marvellous light. Since the churches of the West can no longer cater for this class called 'missionaries', it is no wonder there is every attempt to find new fields for them that would keep them away from the Western and American societies.

If our idea of mission is Monumental Mission, then we shall continue to send people to maintain the so-called historic relationship, and sons will continue to be missionaries where their parents were missionaries. The Mission then becomes "in remembrance of me", meaning a missionary or mission board. The Gospel says, "in remembrance of Christ".

At times missionaries are accepted in order to avoid taxing the local church for projects that can be received from the churches in the West; also to avoid ethnic or tribal confrontation and conflicts where these exist, thereby providing someone neutral. In my opinion this is another way of evading facts of life which must be accepted as part and parcel of the Church and nothing is to be gained by delaying the day of this confrontation.

I have heard others say that we need missionaries in order to maintain the international character of the Church or the community of the people of God. Surely there are many other ways of ensuring this in the faith of the Church than by participation of missionaries.

If we accept the fact that a church does not have its character of a 'community of the people of God' only by having missionaries, and that God the Holy Spirit is at work, as He has always been in the past; if we accept the fact that each church has to think of mission in the context of the contemporary challenges and opportunities, "first of all in Jerusalem"; if we believe the Vasco da Gama era of the Church must be brought to an end; if we accept the fact that the Church in Africa must find her identity without the tutelage of the West, then *we must let the Church be the Church, and not an extension of our personal, denominational and historical connections that are being put to question today. And let the mission be the mission of God in the world, but not of the West to the Third World.*

—Africa Acts

