

PRO

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VOORBLADFOTO

DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE SAMELEWING WAAR ONSEKERHEID EN VREES DIE SWART MAN OORHEERS AS GEVOLG VAN SY RAS. (DIE BUIEBLAD VAN DIE NUUTGE-PUBLISEERDE BOEK VAN SPRO-CAS SE REGSKOMMISSIE.)

COVER PHOTOGRAPH

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY WHERE UNCERTAINTY AND FEAR PREVAIL, DOMINATES THE BLACK MAN BECAUSE OF HIS RACE. (THE COVER OF THE NEWLY PUBLISHED BOOK BY THE SPRO-CAS LEGAL COMMISSION).

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kersfees in s.a.?

Die koms van Christus roep ons onder andere tot eerbied vir die mens omdat Hy hom met al die fasette van die mens se lewe vereenselwig het. Die vreugdeklokke het gelui en die hemelkore het gesing omdat God na die mens omgesien het. Brood en vergiffenis is vryelik uitgedeel. Die vreugde van verbondenheid met God en met mekaar is wêreldwyd (vrede op aarde), hemelhoog (eer aan God) en lewendiep (ons het gesien).

Die mens het egter sy eerbied vir God en sy naaste verloor en hy het die rokende kanon en diskriminasie-politiek vereer.

Waarom geen protes nie?

Ook vir Suid-Afrika is dit waar dat daar geen geloof in God moontlik is sonder protes teen die grondstrukture van die wêreld nie en ook geen gesaghebbende protes teen die strukture sonder geloof in God nie. Is dit dan nie aan die een kant waar dat daar so min getuienis en protes teen die apartheidsfanatisme is vanweë 'n gebrek aan dinamiese geloof in Christus nie? Is dit aan die ander kant nie ook waar dat geregtigheid deur sommige van buite met wapengeweld gesoek word omdat die Christene vrede met die apartheidsafgod en sy willekeurige maatreëls maak nie?

Die Christusfees bring God tot by ons in Suid-Afrika, tot in die swart man se eensame „hostel“-kamertjie en die witman se aparte spoggerige familiewoning, tot in die wurgende „tuislande“ en die uitdyende blanke Suid-Afrika. Maar as God arriveer moet eiebelang en strukturele en ander geweldadigheid verban word; politieke uitbuiting word deur sy oorweldigende liefdeskrag gebreek. Nou staan die krip (en die kruis) tussen 'n geweldvolle stelsel en 'n vaderlandlose swart man, en tussen wit en swart broers wat deur 'n demoniese kleur-vrees uitmekaar gejaag is.

Ons bely 'n Raase-ryk

In Suid-Afrika neem die stryd wat die Christuskind se Ryk gebring het, ook die vorm aan van 'n stryd teen 'n rasse-ryk van hongersnood en diskriminasie. Mag sy liefdesryk by ons in die geestelike en ekonomiese, asook in die private en politieke lewe aanbreek. Kersfees in Suid-Afrika? Laat ons werk en hoop vir die nuwe dag met dié skuldbelydende smeekgebed in ons harte:

O God, ons bely dat ons u mis,
 en daarom het ons ook ons broers verloor.
 Ons het u Koninkryk nie vereer nie,
 en daarom ons nasionalisme eerste gestel.
 Ons het u selfverloënde diens nie nagevolg nie,
 en daarom onself deur uitbuiting verryk.
 Ons het u krip en kruis nie aangeprys nie,
 en daarom noem ons U land blank Suid-Afrika
 en nie Christen-Suid-Afrika nie.

Gee tog met dié fees Christus en ons broers aan ons terug! *

christmas in s.a.?

The coming of Christ calls us among other things to reverence for man because He identified himself with man's life in all its spheres. The joyful bells tolled and heavenly choirs sang because God turned to man. Bread and forgiveness are freely bestowed. The attachment to God and to each other is world wide (peace on earth), as high as heaven (glory to God) and life-enriching (we have seen).

However, man lost his reverence for God and his fellow-being and came to adore the smoking canon and the politics of discrimination.

Why no protest?

It is also true for South Africa that no faith in God is possible without protest against the basic structures of the world and authoritative protest against the structures is also not possible without faith in God. Is it then on the one hand, not true that it is because of a lack of dynamic faith in Christ that such a low ebb of witness and protest exists against the apartheid fanaticism? On the other hand, is it not true that justice is sought by some by way of force of arms because Christians make peace with the idol of apartheid and its self-willed measures? The Feast of Christ brings God right up to us in South Africa, into the lonely hostel room of the black man *and* into the separate show house of the white man, to the suffocating "homelands" *and* the affluent "white" South Africa. But when God arrives, self-interest and structural and other violence must be banished; political manipulation is broken by His overpowering might of love. The manger (and the cross) stand between a violent system and the black man without a fatherland, and between white and black brothers who are driven apart by a demonic fear of colour.

We confess a Racial Kingdom

In South Africa the battle which the Christ-child's Kingdom has brought, takes also the form of a struggle against a racial kingdom of starvation and discrimination.

May it be that his Kingdom of love dawns upon us in the spiritual *and* economic life as also in the private *and* political life. Christmas in South Africa? Let us work and hope for the new day with a prayer of petition and confession of guilt:

O God, we confess that we miss you,
 and therefore we have also lost our brothers.
 We did not adore your Kingdom,
 and therefore we put our nationalism first.
 We have not followed your service full of self-denial
 and therefore we have enriched ourselves through manipulation.
 We have not praised your manger and cross,
 and therefore we call your land white South Africa
 and not Christian South Africa.

Give us back Christ and our brothers at this Feast! *

ONE STAR INN

Prof. Calvin Cook

From the first to last, the earthly career of Jesus had social and political repercussions. These have continued to expand and develop, and the end is not yet. It will only be complete when the one for whom there was no room in the inn will be seen by all as the Alpha and Omega, whose bride is the City of God. This is the glory of which the angels sang; no less is it the heart of peace on earth.

His Birth and Terror

The birth itself was disturbing. Whatever administrative sense registration in the homelands might have made to Quirinius' staff it caused Joseph and Mary hardship. The innkeeper that night had his priorities: he did not put any one else out of their right of occupation; he made other arrangements to feed the animals. (Later he could congratulate himself on the star awarded not for physical amenities but for imaginative service). The shepherds were terrified at first, then rejoiced that the sign was a mystery they could apprehend. The Magi were upset: the star demanded the personal response of a tedious journey and finding suitable gifts. Nor did they foresee that their innocent question about the King whose star they had seen would produce Herod's red backlash. Yet in all the blood he spilt, there was not a drop of that which mattered most to him. By the time he was two, Jesus had known or caused homelessness, flight, exile, terror and the death of the innocent.

Then silence. No one in Jerusalem connected the child of 12 with the cause of Herod's massacre, any more than many beyond its borders will remember Biafra or Bangladesh in 10 years' time. Memory can be synthesised for political purposes, but this child was not yet the stuff of palace politics. So when he starts his public ministry, it is almost anonymously. To some he is John's cousin; the rest grope for his origins. There is contention nevertheless because he disturbs a synagogue which kept its assurance afloat on grievances by suggesting that the God of Israel is not xenophobic. Two key prophets did their most celebrated miracles for those outside the charmed circle of covenant privilege. The remark has immense social implications because it struck at the root of self-esteem: if we are not (as we have been brought up to believe) the specially privileged of God, who are we? Yet for the time being, Jesus accepted the limitation that his

ministry was to the lost sheep of the House of Israel.

Christ's Targets

Despite ingenious attempts of contemporary theologians to argue to the contrary and so to attempt to claim his sanction for their own political partizanship, it is clear that Jesus refused to identify himself with any of the political factions of the time. He dealt with causes, not merely with symptoms. His targets were the universal enemies of mankind; these are indifferent to party labels or interests. Hypocrisy is not foolish enough to invest all its hopes in one faction or group. Self-righteousness, malice, resentment, greed and envy—the things that really defile men and their communities—are not confined to one group. So Jesus withdrew divine sanction from our habit of blaming our enemies for all the world's evils and of congratulating ourselves for all its good. He cut down to size all political claims and social distinctions. We now know that any such claim to being absolute is of demonic, not divine inspiration.

By obliging his disciples to love their enemies as well as their friends, he introduced a new style of both private and public life. He also challenged our deepest habits when he tested our claims to justice by whether we accorded our opponents the rights we claimed for ourselves.

Such a stand made him an object of suspicious investigation by politicians. Those in authority, like Pilate and Herod, concluded quickly and with relief that since he did not seriously threaten their regime, he could be sacrificed if necessary like a pawn. Those in opposition were incensed that he, having the powers they lacked and so badly wanted, should refuse to use what was given for the healing of the nations to further faction. Unlike Burke, Jesus would not "to party give up what was meant for mankind". Ever since he has had to endure the vituperation of those who wished to manipulate him and have found they could not.

Yet he raises the fundamental substance of politics. First, *priorities*: he tells his disciples to seek first the Kingdom of God and its righteousness, thus demoting the normal priorities of political activity: the provision of food, shelter and other physical necessities. At the same time he does not subvert existing authority as such: he pays taxes to temple and to Caesar; he

remains respectful to those who rule; he discourages rebellion even in God's name. His priorities remain to question the order of importance authorities assign to their affairs. Because of what authority did, from the best of its knowledge and intention, to the body and reputation of the Son of God and because of what he warned against its doing to the bodies of the least of his brethren, authority remains haunted by the knowledge that in the end, it will have to account to him on his terms for its use of its power.

When he sets children in the midst of his disciples and heeds the requests of their mothers, he challenges all notions of *privilege*. All proper social arrangements demand that people know their place and keep it. Here he gives precedence to those normally pushed to the back of the queue. When he commends the widow for the gift of her mite, and when he teaches his disciples to pray "Our Father..." he declares that the rightless and the forgotten may more easily reach and be heard by God, the supreme authority than any privileged person can button-hole even a middle-rank bureaucrat.

Finally, when he talks about the *power* available to faith, and what can be accomplished when two or three agree 'in my name' about anything on earth, he makes new powers available on new terms to new groups within society. To accommodate these, existing structures have been amended, added to, supplemented, replaced, superseded or overthrown.

The implications of all this for political and social arrangements have been, and will continue to be, incalculable. Sometimes the saints have held that the presence of the Kingdom authorizes them to take over all political and social power. From such experiments we have learned that morality is not enough: every totalitarian regime has used an ascetic streak to justify its tyrannies in contrast with surrounding immoralities. Authority is never more terrifyingly demonic than when it pulls on the terrorist's stocking-mask of self-righteousness. On the other hand, a community

powered by the reactor of forgiveness, so far from being anarchic, has time and again been the source of clean, cleansing and inexhaustible energy.

His second coming and God's city

For centuries, the promise of the first advent shimmered like a mirage, tantalizing before it crystallized in the starlight of that Judaeon night. What of the images of the second advent that have since then danced on our horizons and promised for the whole universe the final transformations of God: that accusation will become doxology (Rev. 12:10); that those beheaded for their witness to the truth will give orders and rule (Rev. 20:4); and that God will both wipe away all tears and exclude those who cause tears (Rev. 21:4)?

For such is, and will be God's city. It is no utopia, for utopias are the nowherelands we build and to which we flee rather than becoming citizens of such a city, willing to live knowingly in the presence of such a God, whose son took our flesh. But how does this city relate to ours? He was born, lived, suffered, rejoiced, died and rose from the dead in our cities that in our living, suffering, sinning and dying, we might in all our living next bear the form of his life. So his death remains forever the measure of how much we and all our political and social arrangements need reform; his life, the measure and direction of what shall be done; himself, the guarantee that what he has begun is irreversible and will be completed in us. His first coming means that no individual and no group is too small or too insignificant not to be an indispensable part of the transformation that will be completed when he comes again. This is not only the central fact of our history; it is also its beginning and its end, the point from which alone we can take bearings of meaning, judge or be judged for our fears, hopes and actions. Whether the change is on the scale of where a mother is to put her new-born baby to sleep or the replacement of heaven and earth itself, it is a sign that this God is with us. *

SEËNBEDE

MAG DIE HERE, JESUS CHRISTUS, U RYKLIK SEËN GEAGTE LESERS, AS U MET DIE CHRISTUSFEESTYD TERUGDINK AAN DIE GEBORTE VAN ONS VERLOSSER EN KONING.

MAG U SY SEËNRYKE KRAG EN LEIDING IN DIE NUWE JAAR ONDERVIND. MAG SY KONINKRYK MET KRAG KOM, OOK DEUR DIE BESKEIE BYDRA VAN PRO VERITATE.

BENEDICTIONS

MAY THE LORD, JESUS CHRIST, BLESS YOU RICHLY, DEAR READERS AS YOU REMEMBER THIS CHRISTMAS TIME, THE BIRTH OF OUR SAVIOUR AND KING.

MAY YOU EXPERIENCE HIS BENEFICIAL POWER AND GUIDANCE IN THE NEW YEAR. AND MAY HIS KINGDOM COME WITH POWER, AS ALSO THROUGH THE HUMBLE CONTRIBUTION OF PRO VERITATE.

DR. BEYERS NAUDE:

DIE MOTIEWE VIR DIE GRAAD

PROF. G.C. BERKOUWER.

Die volgende is die uitmuntende toespraak van prof. G.C. Berkouwer by geleentheid van die toekenning van 'n eredoktoraat in die teologie aan dr. C.F.B. Naudé. Die graad is deur die Vrije Universiteit en met die goedkeuring van die ander universiteite, toegeken, terwyl prof. Berkouwer die promotor was.

Dr. Beyers Naudé het na die ontvangs van sy eredoktorsgraad sy waardering betuig en met heldere insig die betekenis daarvan vir Suid-Afrika uiteengesit en sy hoop vir die toekoms uitgespel.

Dr. Beyers Naudé, dit is vir my 'n groot eer om u te mag gelukwens met u erepromosie aan ons universiteit en om daarby iets te mag sê oor die motiewe wat ons fakulteit en ons universiteit by die verlening van die eredoktoraat gelei het. Ons was steeds bewus gewees dat u arbeid, met name in die Christelike Instituut, in u land 'n saak is wat baie omstrede is en wat nou reeds byna tien jaar lank met allerlei felle, emosionele en pynlike aspekte wat óók diep in die persoonlike lewe ingryp, bestaan en dat dit nie ondenkbaar is nie dat die daad van ons universiteit uitgelê sal word as 'n onderdeel van 'n kampanje teen Suid-Afrika. Ons as 'n universiteit sal dit baie betreur as 'n miskennis van ons diepste motiewe en ook omdat ons so lank op persoonlike en op universiteitsvlak veel goeie verhoudinge met u land en baie studente aan ons universiteit, wat hulle studies meermale met uitnemende verhandelinge voltooi het, gehad het.

'n Publieke Daad van Solidariteit

Des te meer stel ons dit op prys om 'n toeligtig op ons motiewe te gee. Samevattend sou ek wil begin om te sê dat die erepromosie verstaan moet word vanuit 'n *herkenning* wat steeds duideliker word van die motiewe wat u gelei het en van die aktiwiteit wat daaruit voortgevloei het temidde van die verhoudinge in u land wat so gekompliseerd is. Ons toeligtig spreek van 'n *wyse om teologie te bedryf* waarin die politieke en maatskaplike implikasies van die Christelike boodskap vir die realisering van die interrasieël geregtigheid duidelik na vore kom. Dit val op dat in hierdie formulering nie gesprek word van spesiale vakwetenskaplike studies en verdienste nie, maar van 'n wyse van teologiseer. Nie alleen word u werk in ons land met diepe belangstelling en simpatie deur die verskillende kerke begelei nie, maar nou ook deur 'n publieke daad van ons universiteit, en dit hang daar-

mee saam dat die bedryf van teologie nooit 'n *abstrakte, lewensvreemde* aangeleentheid kan en mag wees nie, maar dit kan *alleen* 'n diepgaande besinning oor die *inhoud, betekenis* en *krag* van die evangelie, wat altyd op die konkrete lewe gerig is, wees.

Teenoor al die verwyte van humanisering moet hierdie konkrete insig altyd weer vanuit die *aard* van die evangelie beskerm word in ooreenstemming met die veel indringende fasette van die Bybelse boodskap wat alleen geloofwaardig vertolk word wanneer dit nie vreemd bly aan die werklike lewe nie.

Brûe word gebou

Hoeveel dit alles vir u tot 'n bewoënheid, tot 'n passie geword het waarin ook vir persoonlike offers nie teruggedeins was nie, blyk uit u belangrike arbeid vir die „onafhanklike kerke” in Suid-Afrika, waarin veral die stimulering tot Bybelstudie in veelrassige Bybelkringe 'n direkte plaaslike uitsig gee op die nie-vryblywende teologiese besinning temidde van kerke wat hulle weg al tastende moet soek om die waarheid en die geloofwaardigheid van die evangelie te verstaan. Ons weet dat dit aan u bekend is hoe moeilik die kommunikasie met dié groepe is wat so lank in isolement geleef het en dat u daarvoor nooit in illusies geleef het nie. Des te meer het ons respek vir die wyse waarop u die kontak, wat eenmaal begin is, dwarsdeur alle moeilikhede voortsit. In al u arbeid herken ons nie 'n eenheidsstrewende waarin alle verhoudinge en mense gelyk geskakel word nie, maar die diepe oortuiging van die noodsaaklikheid om brûe te bly bou en kloue op te vul tussen mense en rasse wat van mekaar vervreemd is. Teenoor allerlei aksente op die spesifieke identiteit van mense en groepe wat bewaar moet word, het u onvermoeid daaraan herinner dat daar 'n diepere dimensie aan die identiteit van die mens is en word die vraag gestel of 'n realiteit in die evangelie nie sigbaar word van 'n volstreekte nuwe perspektief wat *ondanks, nee in* alle komplikasies van 'n plurale samelewing op 'n onthullende wyse die denke en die daad telkens weer verontrus en oproep tot 'n spiritualiteit wat elke handeling op 'n beslissende wyse moet bepaal, altans wanneer ons iets verstaan het van die woord van Johannes dat die duisternis verbygaan het en dat die waaragtige lig skyn, en van Paulus se woord oor die geheimenis van Christus wat aan „*die kinders van die mense*” bekend gemaak is. Meermale word in hierdie verband elke *pseudo-teologie* afgewys; 'n woord wat nie bedoel is om te irriteer of te polariseer nie, maar



Prof. Berkouwer en dr. Naudé by geleentheid van die toekening.

wat saamhang met die oortuiging dat 'n mens nie kan en mag volstaan met *vryblywende algemene* uitsprake oor die gelykwaardigheid van alle mense nie. U protes teen elke „algemeenheid” en „vryblywendheid” as 'n *wolk sonder reën* sluit onmiddellik aan by 'n groeiende konsensus dat die fundering van 'n pseudo-teologie ten opsigte van die rasse, ook al word dit met die skepping of met die voorsienigheid van God in verband gebring, 'n miskenning is van die sentrale Nuwe Testamentiese boodskap.

Daarin het u aktiwiteit—met name as 'n wyse van teologiseer—ondanks alle verset ook in u eie land, veel gewetens bygekry, ook van hulle, wat self nog aarsel temidde van veel vrae, probleme en alternatiewe. Dit is die aarseling wat opgekom het uit die Bybelse getuienis van die realiteit van Christus as die diepste gemeenskap, wat Paulus gebring het tot sy radikale uitsprake, wat onthullend in *sy* tyd was en relevant in *ons* tyd is. Ek dink in hierdie verband aan u deelneming aan die belangrike rapport: „Apartheid and the Church”, waarin op duidelike wyse beslissende aspekte van die evangelie na vore kom, nie in asemrowende nuwe fondse nie, maar in 'n nuwe appellerende *eenvoud*.

Daarin lê beslote die onmoontlikheid van elke aristokrasie van *geslag, nasie* en *ras*, en van alle vorme van diskriminasie wat tans wel as 'n vloedgolf oor die wêreld gaan en waarby wel *niemand*—geen enkele *land* ookal—hulle hoogmoedig bo ander sal mag verhef nie. Vanuit die ontdekking van hierdie *eenvoud* word dit duidelik dat *geen enkele vlug* uit hierdie nuwe verant-

woordelikheid moontlik en wettig is nie. U appél wat op nuwe begaanbare brûe gerig is, omvat dan ook tereg 'n protes, 'n duidelike kritiek op allerlei pogings om in 'n vals uiteensetting te vlug met name wanneer dit 'n „religieuse” karakter of 'n „Bybelse” gewaad sou voordoen. Ek noem—sonder aanhalings uit u publikasies—enkele opvallende uitvlugpogings:

Uitvlugpogings

1. Die vlug in die *eshalon*, na die *toekoms*, waarin hierdie radikaliteit *wel* 'n werklikheid sou word in die viering van die avondmaal van die Lam, wat dan vir almal moontlik en draaglik sou wees, wat egter 'n ondraaglike visie op „die laaste” sou wees, omdat die werklikheid van die lewe dan nie nou deur *die* „laaste”, deur *hierdie* toekoms beslissend bepaal word en nie die invloed van die kragte van die toekomstige eeu vertoon nie.
2. Ewemin is dit moontlik om te vlug in 'n „*onsigbare*” *kerk*, waarin die kerklike gewete gesus word en die radikaliteit waarin die teenstelling, vervreemding en die distansie wél oorkoepel sou word, dan eers 'n plek sou kon kry. U herinnering aan die reformatoriese visie op die kerk—*onsigbaar* nie as 'n *vlughawe* nie, maar as 'n waarskuwing teen institutionalisering—is 'n bewys dat daar altyd weer nuwe en een-

voudige ontdekkinge moontlik is wat stimulerend vir alle vorme van die bedryf van teologie is.

3. Ewemin sal 'n vlug moontlik wees in 'n sodanige *dualistiese twee-rykeleer*, waarin wel *teoreties* erken word dat die twee regimente één Heer het, maar dan het die verband met *hierdie* Heer temidde van die kinders van die mense meer en meer vaag geword sonder sy seënende en bevrydende krag, met die dramatiese gevolg dat die gestalte van die Heer óók binne die kerk begin vaag word.
4. Daar is ten slotte die laaste uitvlug nl. dié van *die gekompliseerde lewe*. In baie diskussies klink meermale die verwyf van 'n gebrek aan *analise* van die gekompliseerde situasie in u land en *wie* sal nie wil erken dat hierdie gevaar—om uit die verte te oordeel—altyd werklik en akuut bly nie? Juis die *konkrete* betekenis van die evangelie ook vir interasiële verhoudinge *impliseer* die analise en waarsku teen ongegronde oordele. Hierdie verwyf van gebrek aan analise vind egter daarteenoor 'n stroom van informasie wat steeds groter word en ons motiewe hang saam met die oortuiging van hulle in Suid-Afrika wat self, *nie uit die verte*, maar *van naby* van die spanninge en komplikasies bewus geword nie, maar *nooit* as kontra-instansie teenoor die veront-rustende radikaliteit nie. Daarin lê die besef dat die evangelie *altyd* in uiters gekompliseerde situasies vir homself 'n weg gebaan het.

Dat u oog—ek dink aan veel artikels in „Pro Veritate” sonder enige harde en onbillike oordeel oor ander—hiervoor oopgegaan het, blyk vir my besef nog die meeste uit die feit dat *juis* die komplikasies—in 'n dinamiese evolusie—u vervul met 'n diepe besorgdheid oor die vraag of dit in die nabye toekoms nog *moontlik* sal wees om brûe te bou vanweë allerlei moeilikhede van dreigende ontploffings en vanweë 'n groeiende vervreemding van rasse en vanweë die moeilikheid om die verkondigde boodskap van die *kerk* nog as volstrek *geloofwaardig* te verstaan.

U lig sal deurbreek

Temidde van *hierdie* sorg wat u vervul—dit is gelukkig sonder 'n verlamende effek—sal die verwyf van staatsgevaarlik en van 'n revolusiegees u nouliks

meer kan skok, ook nie die verwyf van humanisering of sekularisering nie. Die oortuiging moes wel veel gegroei het dat die evangelie *juis* op werklike onoorkomenlike situasies gerig was en dat dit dáárin 'n nuwe weg kom baan het. Sonder om op irriterende wyse jouself aan te dien met 'n profetiese verleiding sal dit moontlik wees om jouself sinvol te herinner aan die profetiese kritiek in Jesaja op *alle* vorme van godsdienstigheid—tot in die vas en in die ootmoed—wat nie merkbaar word *op die strate en pleine van die wêreld nie*. As alles konkreet word—volgens Jesaja—en die boeie van goddeloosheid word losgemaak, die bande van die juk word ontknoop, die verdrukters word vrygelaat, brood word vir die hongeriges gebreek en arme swerweling word in die huis ingebring en die naaktes word gekleed dan sal *u* lig deurbreek en *u* mond sal swyg, *u* heil sal voor *u* uitgaan, die heerlikheid van die Here sal *u* agterhoede wees. As *u dan* roep, sal Hy sê: Hier is Ek. En wanneer *u* uit *u* midde die juk verwyder, die vingerwysing laat staan en aan die hongerige dit voorsien wat uself begeer, dan sal *u* donkerheid soos die middag wees.

Hier word geloof en lewe op *onlosmaaklike* wyse met mekaar verbind; ook op 'n *kritiese* wyse net soos in die gelykenis waarin iemand sy eie skuld kwytsgekeld gekry het, maar die vergewing van 'n ander nie oor sy hart kon kry nie en dan—in die dramatiese punt van die gelykenis—*sy eie skuld weer terugkry*. Dat al *hierdie* momente in *u* arbeid weer *nuwe* aksente kry in 'n gekompliseerde land en in publieke verantwoording, moet wel reaksie wek. Uiteraard kan hierdie reaksie in 'n konteks geplaas word waarin die evangelie gladnie of nouliks meer deurklink nie, maar dit kan ook tot 'n getuienis kom wat steeds meer duidelik word. Mag die gevolg—hierdie duidelikheid—die weg baan tot 'n steeds noukeuriger en meer verantwoorde analise van *alle* faktore wat met die rasse-probleem in *u* land—en elders—saamhang en *u* so bemoedig in *u* verdere lewe, wetende dat die evangelie nie na die mens is nie, óók *nie in sy konsekwensies nie* en daarom altyd weer *krities* en *verontrustend* vir *ons almal* is.

Mag die nuwe verhouding tussen *u* en ons universiteit—in hierdie eredoktoraat—verhewe wees en bly bo elke vereenvoudiging van *u* probleme, maar mag dit tegelykertyd 'n teken wees van 'n nuwe luister na die betuiging van die een Here wat op 'n wonderlike wyse elke hoogmoedige voordoenery uitskakel: Julle is die lig van die wêreld, 'n stad op 'n berg en die sout van die aarde. Mag dit in waaragtigheid en sonder bitterheid aan *u* gegee word om in liefde met woord en daad en in voortgaande besinning oor die evangelie vir al die kinders van die mense, die kinders van *u* volk te dien *

DIE EREDOKTORSGRAAD:

'N TEKEN VAN SOLIDARITEIT

BEYERS NAUDE

Meneer die Rektor, Geagte Aanwesiges,

Vergun my om my hartgrondige dank te betuig aan die Kollege van Dekane van die Vrije Universiteit vir die groot eer my aangedoen deur u toekenning aan my van 'n eredoktoraat in teologie. Vergun my verder om my diepe waardering te betuig aan die teologiese fakulteit van die Universiteit op wie se voordrag die toekenning geskied het en by name aan my hooggeagte promotor, Prof. dr. G.C. Berkouwer vir sy gewilligheid om as sodanig op te tree. As ek in ag neem nie alleen die hoë standaard wat u universiteit nog altyd gehandhaaf het in die toekenning van u doktorsgrade, maar ook die hoë vereistes wat u nog altyd gestel het vir die toekenning van 'n eredoktoraat, dan verkry u besluit vir my nog groter waarde.

DIE BETEKENIS VAN DIE DOKTORAAT

Vergun my verder om, afgesien van die besondere persoonlike erbetoon wat dit inhou, aan u te probeer oordra die betekenis van hierdie besluit soos ek as Suid-Afrikaner dit sien:

- (1) Ek sien dit as 'n openbare erkenning van die doelstellinge en arbeid van die Christelike Instituut. Die Vrije Universiteit het reeds op verskeie maniere gedurende die afgelope aantal jare sy instemming betuig met die arbeid van die Christelike Instituut o.a. deur finansiële steun aan sommige van sy opvoedkundige projekte en deur publisiteit aan sy werk. Nou volg die erkenning voor die oë van almal van 'n nege-jaar lange arbeid onder moeilike omstandighede as 'n stuk Christelike getuigenis wat ongelukkig op hierdie tydstip nog deur baie blankes in Suid-Afrika veral uit die kringe van die 3 Hollands-Afrikaanse Kerke, óf negeer óf verwerp óf verdag gemaak word.
- (2) Ek sien dit verder as 'n openbare vereenselwiging van u kant met die stryd om rassegeregtigheid in Suid-Afrika, 'n daad van Christelike solidariteit met wit en swart wat impliseer dat u aan al die instansies in Suid-Afrika wat soek om die Christelike Instituut verdag te maak deur leuenpropaganda, deur intimidasie en nodelose ondersoekte duidelik te kenne gee: Ons aanvaar nie die verwronge

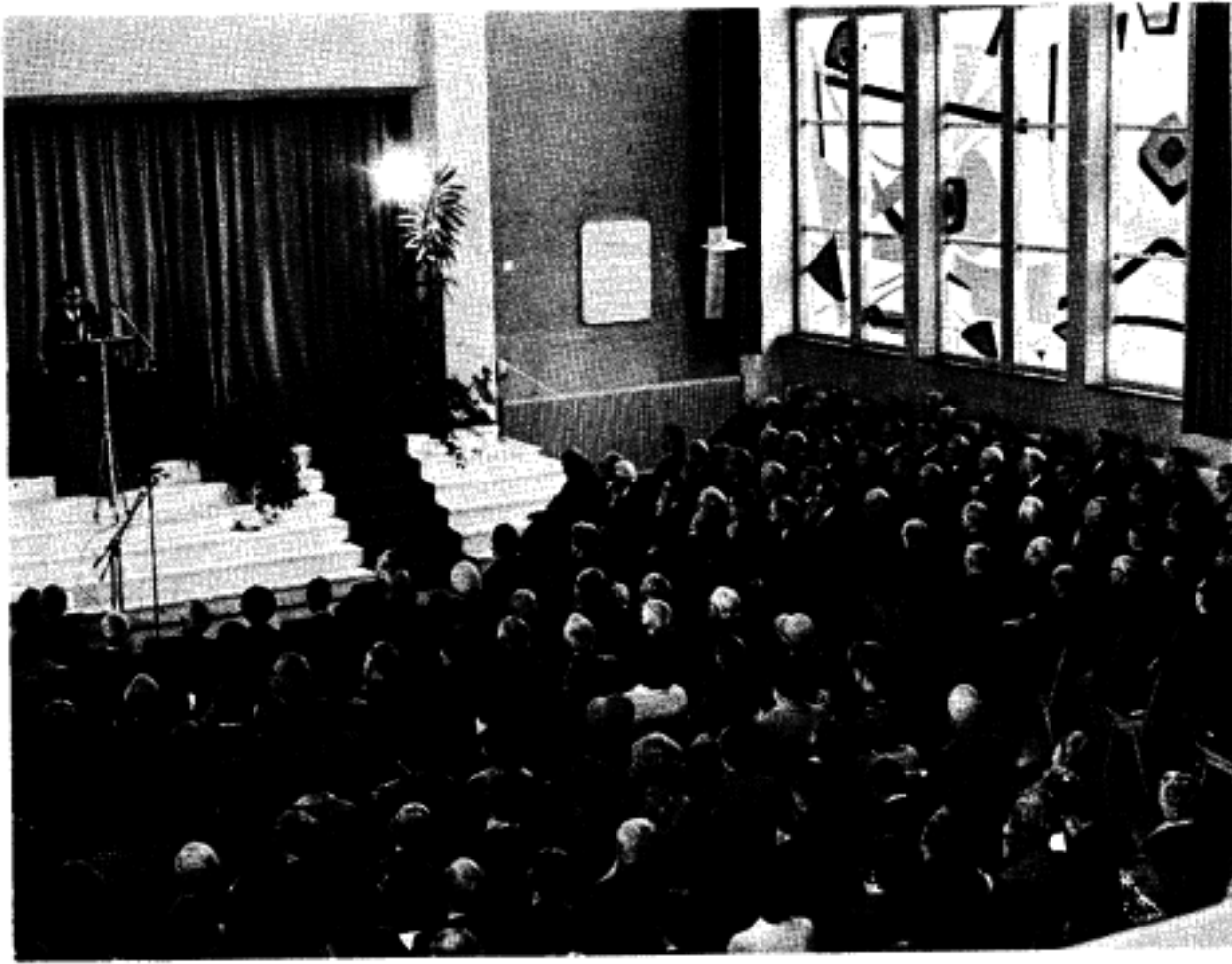
beeld wat u voordra nie, want ons weet wat die C.I. is en wil. Maar dit hou ook verder in dat u 'n appél doen op die gewete van almal in Suid-Afrika wat die Christelike Instituut veroordeel en verwerp om hulle houding en optrede te hersien en te verander—nie ter wille van die C.I. in die eerste plek nie, maar ter wille van die waarheid van die Evangelie en die welsyn van die hele bevolking.

- (3) Maar van allergrootste belang vir my is die boodskap wat die besluit inhou vir die swart gemeenskap van Suid-Afrika (die Afrikane, Kleurlinge en Asiërs): dat hulle daarin sien 'n teken van hoop—hoe klein ookal—wat aan hulle oorgedra word deur dieselfde volk wat 320 jaar gelede voet aan wal gesit het van 'n land wat hulle gesien het as 'n Kaap van Goeie Hoop. Vir baie jare het die swart bevolking gehoop dat die bevryding van die swartman uit sy situasie van verontregting en verknegting sou kom deur 'n verandering van hart by die blankes; toe dit blyk 'n ydele hoop te wees het die swartman sy oë hoopvol gevestig op die buiteland—ook tevergeefs, hoewel hy met dankbaarheid erken watter bemoediging hy haal uit die morele en finansiële steun van simpatiekgesindes buite Suid-Afrika. Vandag egter groei die besef meer en meer dat, hoewel steun van blankes binne sowel as buite Suid-Afrika met dank erken word as bewys van besorgdheid en as betuiging van solidariteit, die ware bevryding van die swartman in ons land alleen bewerkstellig kan word deur die Suid-Afrikaanse swart gemeenskap self.

DIE HOOP VIR DIE TOEKOMS

Ek glo dat dit van pas is om by hierdie besondere geleentheid in die bestek van 'n paar minute 'n kort samevattende antwoord te gee op die vraag van die hoop en die uitsig wat daar lewe in die harte van almal in Suid-Afrika wat die doelstellinge en arbeid van die C.I. onderskryf of ondersteun. Daarom net die volgende:

- (1) Suid-Afrika is 'n veelrassige land en geen besluite of beleidsbepalings, politieke of ekonomiese, vrywillig of gedwonge, gaan



'n Gedeelte van die skare met die rektor, Prof. Diepenhorst, aan die woord.

enige wesenlike verskil aan hierdie werklikheid maak nie. Self al sou al agt Bantoetuislande onmiddellik volwaardige onafhanklikheid kry (en ek betwyfel baie sterk die moontlikheid dat dit binne die volgende 15-20 jaar sal gebeur—as die huidige Regering dit ooit sal toelaat—dan bly daar nog binne die sogenaamd blank-verklaarde Suid-Afrika minstens 8 miljoen Afrikane, 2 1/4 miljoen Kleurlinge en 3/4 miljoen Asiërs—dus 'n totaal van 11 miljoen swart en bruin teenoor 4 miljoen wit. Geen ideologiese wensdenkery of politieke toutrekkery gaan aan hierdie feite en werklikheid wesenlik iets verander nie. En die blanke wat hardkoppig of vreesbevange bly weier om dit te erken, verhaas net die dag dat daar gevolglik, *nie* vir die swartman of die bruinman nie, maar vir die witman, geen plek meer in Suid-Afrika sal wees nie.

- (2) Suid-Afrika staan by die ingang van 'n tydperk waar hy die wrange vrugte van sy beleid van gedwonge rasseseiding begin pluk. Die eis om erkenning van swart identiteit volg op die oorbeklemtoning van wit identiteit; swart bewuswording groei uit die miskenning van swart menswaardigheid; swart apartheid, swart solidariteit en swart mag, groei as noodwendige psigologiese verweer teen wit apartheid, wit solidariteit en wit mag. Die positiewe waarde en bete-

kenis van hierdie grootskaalse ontwaking van swart bewussyn in Suid-Afrika word met dankbaarheid en vreugde deur die Christelike Instituut begroet, maar ons durf nie ons oë sluit vir die feit dat die jarelange miskenning van die swartman noodwendig skerp negatiewe reaksies van aggressie en verwerping by ons swart gemeenskap na vore gaan roep wat op sy beurt weer die blanke as groep in 'n sterker solidariteit van vrees en verset gaan dwing. En sodoende groei die proses van polarisasie wat onafwendbaar uitloop op botsing en geweld—tensy dit betyds gekeer of beheer word.

- (3) In hierdie situasie word Kerke en Christene geroep om 'n besondere taak te vervul:
- (a) Om erkenning te verleen aan die gewettigde politieke aspirasies van die swart gemeenskap
 - (b) om erkenning te verleen aan al die positiewe oogmerke van swart bewuswording, vrymoedige steun daaraan te verleen en die blanke te help insien watter fundamentele verandering daar in die lewenshouding by die swartman plaasgevind het
 - (c) om volle steun te verleen aan die verwydering van alle vorms van rassedis-

A MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA

The following open letter was signed by 333 protestant pastors and professors of theology from France and from Switzerland, and 102 laymen and women and given to the delegates of the South African Huguenot societies on the 8th of September by M. Jean Courvoisier, President of the French Protestant Federation. These delegates came to France to attend a meeting of Huguenot societies from the world over, on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the "Saint Bartholomew massacre".

The purpose of this address is to express the concern of French-speaking Huguenots about the present situation in South Africa and their feeling of brotherhood towards the Christian witnesses fighting against apartheid in South Africa.

We understand that you have come to France to pay tribute to the memory of those Huguenots who, in the 17th century, were persecuted for having chosen to "obey God rather than men".

We are greatly concerned, however, to think that the Reformed Churches, to which you belong, are at present divided on the basis of race and that they offer theological support to the notion of "Christian Nationalism" and of the "mission" of the white South African minority, a mission which consists of keeping in subjection your fellow-countrymen who are black.

This concept of a "national mission", the idea held by a racial minority, seems to us not only politically wrong, but also morally untenable. Most serious of all, it seeks to hide under the cloak of religion a perversion of the true Christian faith.

In saying this, we are only repeating what 78 of your theologians said in 1968 to their fellow-countrymen when they solemnly declared the total incompatibility of apartheid and Christianity, in their "Message to the people of South Africa".

Authentic Voice

White students who, last May and June, demonstrated against oppression.

We would have you know that, as we see it, the voice of these theologians is the authentic voice of the Church of Christ in South Africa. We hear it again in the utterances of the Lutheran bishops of Namibia, who stand as witnesses for their people, in the voice of the catholic priest Cosmas Desmond, who has been interned and condemned to silence for having publicly denounced the enforced repatriation of so-called "unproductive Africans", in the voice of the members of the Christian Institute of South Africa and of the South African Institute of Race Relations, all of whom are harassed at this time by the Security Police, in the voice of the African, Indian, Coloured and

Far from being a special case, South Africa represents in a strikingly extended way (because there racial discrimination is declared to be legal) the problems of our own white Western Christian World,—a world which still lends itself to all that goes with dominance, be it direct or indirect, military, cultural, or economic, over hundreds millions of people who are non-white and poor. We know well that the judgment we make about apartheid is the one by which we ourselves are judged. That is why this call to repentance and radical change is no accusation of you. It is instead the word of hope which both we and you should hear as from God. Beyond what we hear of the word of God, what we see of obedience to faith as it is made manifest to us by the minority of persecuted Christians in South Africa, every celebration of the exiled Huguenots, persecuted and accused of "subversion" as they were, seems to us to be nothing less than scorn and derision.

Doubtless, I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith (Phil 3:8). *

kriminasie en rasse-onreg

- (d) om aftief mee te werk om toe te sien dat die proses van polarisasie tussen wit en swart tot 'n halt geroep word voordat die verwydering so vër ontwikkel dat versoening nie meer moontlik is nie. Duidelik moet daarop gewys word dat die werklike vyande van Suid-Afrika nie die kampvegters teen apartheid is nie, maar wel die kampvegters vir apartheid (of vir enige sisteem van "selfstandige ontwikkeling" wat die onreg van die huidige rassebeleid van ons land inhou).

WERK VIR 'N NUWE DAG

Dis op hierdie gebied waar Kerke en Christene in ons land hulle primêre taak van getuienis en diens moet sien in die volgende dekade. Suid-Afrika staan

op die vooraand van ingrypende veranderinge in ekonomiese en sosiale verhoudinge. Die magte van verandering wat in beweging gebring is deur tegnologiese ontwikkeling gaan onafwendbaar voort en is besig om 'n gisting van nuwe denke te veroorsaak wat nie teëgehou kan word nie. Dis die taak —en die voorreg—van die Kerk om dié magte van verandering te ontdek, te verwelkom en te ondersteun. Dis die bewys van die mens se gewillige en vreugdevolle meewerking aan Gods vernuwende werk. En waar die Kerk as instituut dit nog nie insien en sy samewerking verleen nie, is Christene as enkelinge en as klein groepies geroepe om as instrumente van vernuwing hulleself tot beskikking van God te stel—soos ons probeer doen—om aktief mee te werk aan die koms van die nuwe dag waar die euwel van rassisme uitgewis is en waar die vreugdevolle vryheid van die bevoorregtes onder Gods kinders die erfdeel van al sy kinders sal word. *

Churches' Challenge on Race

The following are some of the resolutions taken at the meeting of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod recently held in Australia.

Amongst others, the Dutch Reformed Churches (Black, White, Coloured and Indian) of South Africa were represented there as well. These resolutions as a clear witness of the gospel of Christ are a tremendous challenge to the apartheid-structured society in South Africa and to the life of the "white" churches.

The Pastoral Ministry

The church should strive to eradicate attitudes of racial superiority and racial prejudice by leading her members into full Christian maturity in race relations. This should be done urgently, persistently and patiently. True love among men requires that we should accept our neighbour of whatever race or culture as a creature of God, created in His image. We must be able to put ourselves in his place, in order that we may be able to understand how we ought to act towards him under all circumstances.

It is the calling of the church to point out to its members, the government, and fellow citizens, the ethical principles which are demanded in regulating relations of groups and nations.

Combatting racial superiority, discrimination, and racial tensions is not a one-sided matter which is only the responsibility of one side towards the other, but is a problem which should be grappled with by all concerned. It is the common and mutual calling of all Christians.

Various practical suggestions which could be implemented in this respect are:

- (a) Giving due attention to this matter in sermons.
- (b) Giving attention to it during pastoral visits.
- (c) Discussions at church council meetings.
- (d) Contact on the local level between clergy of the older and younger churches for discussion, Bible study, prayer, etc.

The Church's Mission

In obedience to the mission mandate of Christ, the church must bring the Gospel to all nations regardless

of race. The principle of love for the neighbour requires that this mission respect the character and culture of the recipients of the Gospel so that new churches may come to self-expression in harmony with Scripture. Members, office-bearers, and ecclesiastical bodies shall refrain from every kind of domination the one over the other, as Christ reigns supreme over His church. It is stressed that financial support should not endanger the autonomy of any church. The God-given unity of the church should be expressed on congregational, presbyterial and synodical levels as the situation requires. If a church within a certain community finds it necessary to put emphasis on certain issues which may differ from that of other churches, the churches should deal with these matters in accordance with Matthew 18 with special reference to churches in the same family.

Common Worship

The unity of the Body of Christ should come to expression in common worship, including Holy Communion, among Christians regardless of race. It may be that linguistic or cultural differences make the formation of separate congregations often with their own type of preaching and worship advisable; in these cases it is wise not to force an outward and therefore artificial form of unity but to recognize the differentiation within the circle of God's people. Even though different churches for different indigenous groups may exist, no person may be excluded from common worship on the grounds of race or colour. The worshipping together of people of different races, is a sign of the unity of the church and the communion of saints and can be a Christian witness to the world.

Mixed Marriage

Holy Scripture does not give a judgment about racially mixed marriages; contracting a marriage is primarily a personal and family concern. Church and state should refrain from prohibiting racially mixed marriages, because they have no right to limit the free choice of a marriage partner on the ground of race or colour. (RES NE 10/3/72).



Torture in South Africa?

Defence Counsel: "I merely want to find out why these people commit suicide?"

Chief Interrogator: "I can't see why I should answer this. I can't see how you are going to find out why these people committed suicide. Nobody will ever find out. How can you read the mind of a dead man?"

(Pietermaritzburg Trial, "Sunday Tribune" 28.11.71).

Between 1963 and 1972 over 20 people detained under South Africa's "Security" Laws are known to have *lost their lives* —they were:- Ngudle, Tyitya, Saloojee, Gaga, Hoye, Hamakwayo, Mayekiso, Shonyeka, Pin, Ah Yan, Madiba, Tubakwe, a man whose name was "unknown", Kgoathe, Haron, Lenkoe, Shityuvete, Monakgotla, Modipane, Cuthsela, Timol.

In that period of time another 50 people at least made sworn affidavits that they had been *tortured during detention*. They alleged:-

- Solitary confinement for unlimited periods;
- Being made to stand for long periods, without sleep or the opportunity to visit the lavatory;
- Being struck, and being struck while blindfolded;
- Deprivation of sleep coupled with third degree methods of interrogation, threats of assault and death;
- Electric shock treatment, sometimes applied to genitals;
- Being forced to stand barefooted on the edges of bricks for hours;
- Being compelled to lift weights above the head for long periods, and this sometimes while wearing shoes containing pebbles;
- Being handcuffed to a tree all night;
- Being forced to squat on an imaginary chair until one's muscles collapsed;
- Being tied upside down, with one's hands handcuffed through one's legs;
- Being struck on the genitals, being hit across the legs, being kicked and punched;
- Being tied by the hands above the head so that feet barely touched the ground.

(See various newspaper reports on evidence given in Court, and Race Relations Survey, 1971).

State Paid Out

The State has either paid or made out-of-court settlements with the following detainees or their next-of-kin following demands for damages for assault:

R1 000 to Miss Stephanie Kemp "without

??

R3 000

R1 100

R1 100

R1 000

R5 000

admitting liability and to put an end to litigation" (Sunday Times 31.7.66).

to Mr. Alan Brooks who demanded R4000 (settlement not publicly announced) (Race Relations Survey, 1966).

to Mr. Gabriel Mbindi "without any admissions whatsoever" about the alleged assault (Race Relations Survey 1968).

to Mr. A.S. de Oliveira and

to Mr. F.S. Gordinho (R.R. Survey 1970).

to Mr. Cedrick Mkencele in the Supreme Court, damages for assault in the "local Security Police headquarters" (Eve. Post 21.5.68).

ex gratia to Mrs. Haron in connection with the death of her husband, Imam A. Haron, because of legal "risks" (Cape Times 19.5.71).

There is a reluctant admission by the Government that there are a few "black sheep" in the "ordinary" Police force (the C.I.D. and Uniform branches).

General J.P. Gous, former Commissioner of Police, said in March, 1971 that the figure of 455 policemen retained in the force after convictions for violence in the last two years was a "very low one". Of these 75 had previous convictions. The Sunday Tribune 5.9.71 said "The S.A.P. owes it to the public and to the majority of decent policemen to take the strongest disciplinary action against criminally violent policemen. And that means sacking them."

That torture by electric shock is not unknown to such policemen is evidenced by the case of Mr. Temba Mkize:

"In a case in Port Elizabeth this week (Sunday Tribune 5.9.71) a policeman was fined for his part in the brutal interrogation of a suspect. The court heard how the suspect had his knees forced through his arms, had a broomstick thrust under his knees and was hung up between two pieces of furniture and repeatedly shocked with a hand-operated generator. *How many times, in recent court cases and inquiries, have we heard mention of this diabolical electric machine allegedly used to shock information out of suspects?...*"

The Rand Daily Mail commented editorially

on 15.11.71:

"Again a case involving serious allegations of ill-treatment by the police has been settled out of court without any public investigation or explanation. The police have made a payment to a Port Elizabeth African, Mr. Temba Mkize, who claimed he had been subjected to electric shock and other torture."

The question is: If this sort of thing is known to happen among the "ordinary" police, is it possible for it to happen among the Security police? Official response to public protest against alleged assault of detainees by the Security Police is unyielding and emphatic. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet, the Commissioner of Police, the head of B.O.S.S., the head of the Security Police and the interrogators themselves unite to smear those who suspect torture as "all part of a Communist-inspired plot to discredit South Africa". (Cape Times 24.5.69).

Those who have protested include top religious leaders, Opposition Members of Parliament, the Civil Rights League, the Institute of Race Relations, Student bodies, The Black Sash, etc. As the Rand Daily Mail said editorially on 26.2.72:

"... two judges have now given it as their considered opinion that a detainee was probably assaulted—and they have also severely criticised the conduct of a very senior Security Police officer. Whatever the Appeal Court may finally decide, there can obviously be no suggestion that these two judges were part of what Mr. Vorster alleges is a conspiracy to smear the Security Police."

In parliament in September 1971 Mrs. Catherine Taylor, United Party M.P., said she had information from confidential sources that Imam Haron had been assaulted by a Security Policeman. She named a policeman whom, she said, was involved in such an assault which was responsible for the decline in the detainee's physical condition during the last week of his life. She identified two other policemen whom, she said, knew of the assault.

These men are still in the Security Police.

Sunday Times 2.4.72: "Mr. D. Soggot gave examples to the Pietermaritzburg trial court of replies given by *State Witnesses* about their detention by the Security Police:

"Van Wyk threatened to kick me."

"I feared torture at the hands of Spyker (van Wyk)."

"I believed the allegations against the police and I believed that Spyker had murdered the Imam. *All of us believed the allegations.*"

From the Inquest proceedings on Imam Haron:

Counsel, questioning Sgt. van Wyk about bruises alleged to have been received by the Imam when he fell down a flight of stairs, asked whether it was not a coincidence that Mr. Alan K. Brooks was alleged to have broken his ankle on the stairs.

Counsel: "There was also another case in which you were involved—Stephanie Kemp's case. There was an allegation that you assaulted her."

Sgt. van Wyk: "Yes, there was an allegation."

Counsel: "In that case the Minister of Justice paid her one thousand rand."

Sgt. van Wyk: "Yes, *but I was not charged.*"
(*"Personality"* 16.7.70 p. 105).

Why is nobody charged?

The head of the interrogators, Col. T.J. Swanepoel insists there is no torture. He said in the Pietermaritzburg Trial:

"Allegations have been made against me in the United Nations.

Persons gave evidence there before a committee on the human rights and all that ...

And to combat that kind of campaign, it was decided that I would disclose *to a limited extent* (not his underlining) the methods of interrogation."

"Col. Swanepoel said there was no secrecy about his methods, but that he was able to win the confidence of people by talking to them. He added that psychology was part of winning their confidence. Putting it in a nutshell he agreed his method could be summed up by saying that he and his men would resort to nothing but psychological persuasion in order to win the confidence of detainees."—(*Rand Daily Mail* 24.11.71).

On the other hand, Rapport 7.11.71 said: „Vandag praat die hoofondervraer van die Veiligheidspolisie, kol. Theunis Swanepoel, alias die Rooi Rus en 'The Beast' openhartig met *Rapport* ..."

Rand Daily Mail 13.8.71: "Colonel Swanepoel was allegedly called an out and out sadist according to evidence given in a trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court."

Rand Daily Mail 8.2.72: "John Schlapobersky, Wits. student, detained 13.6.69, in an affidavit stated 'Swanepoel said I was on my high horse. Stay that way. I like them better when they're rebellious. It's more fun breaking them.'"

And Col. Swanepoel himself said: "Defending Counsel should tell the communists to *stick to the*

Queensberry Rule and the Security Police would do the same."—(Rand Daily Mail 24.1.71).

Why aren't these allegations capable of being proved in court? Why is nobody charged?

"Mr. Phillip Golding, a *State Witness* (A.N.C. Trial, Pretoria) said he was assaulted at Compol Buildings, Pretoria and kept standing for 2 days. Among those who had questioned him were Major Swanepoel, Lieut. Ferreira, Sgt. Truter and two other officers. He told the court he had been kicked, punched and beaten after his arrest. In nearly 20 British Consular visits Mr. Golding made no complaint about illtreatment or his health. Later, after giving evidence, he was allowed to return to England, where he stated that he had not told the Consul about any illtreatment *because police officers were also present.*"—(Sunday Times 14.12.69 and 11.1.70 and Cape Times 9.12.69.)

Why is it so difficult to prove Allegations of Torture?

1. *The detainee is held incommunicado.* This means that an allegation of assault becomes a matter of his word against that of two or more policemen. Should he live to lodge a complaint he would have no witnesses to call to support his allegations.

A policeman who might be a party to such an assault, or witness it, would be unlikely to assist in his own conviction by confessing. Indeed he would endeavour to protect himself and others from exposure.

2. *There is no truly independent visitor to the people detained under the Terrorism Act.* A magistrate *may* (if circumstances permit) visit once a fortnight. *If* he visits, to whom does he render report, and who acts? After all due respect has been accorded to magistrates, they are still essentially in the employ of the Minister of Justice.

This is possibly the most powerful argument for declaring that South Africa is at present in a situation where the government cannot scientifically prove that torture does not happen.

3. Even should a detainee manage to get a message to the outside world that he is being tortured, the *Courts may not issue interdicts ordering, for example, that the detainee be released.*
4. Unless a detainee is well supported by an efficient lawyer, (i.e. to the extent he is able to act at all), he may die in detention and there may be *delay in informing the next of kin.* How is the next of kin to know

promptly, how secure the services of a private pathologist to attend at the "usually" prompt post mortem? Then again, the private pathologist may only observe and ensure that prescribed procedures are in fact carried out by the District Surgeon. Private pathologists have been known to undertake these tasks willingly, and even to stand up in a court of law and risk political "smearing", but it requires unusual courage.

5. *People who do in one way or another glean information regarding the treatment of detainees tend to seal their lips out of fear—of banning, withdrawal of passports, being detained themselves?.*
6. *It is not always a simple matter to secure an Inquest.* In the Haron case there were inordinate delays, coupled with statements that an inquest would not be held. The Rand Daily Mail 30.12.71 reported that the Attorney General of the Eastern Cape would not supply statements and documents in his possession relating to the death of a detainee, Mr. M. Cuthsela to attorneys acting for the Cuthsela family. On December 14th, the date set down for the inquest, the magistrate ruled that he was not satisfied that Mr. Cuthsela's death was not due to causes other than natural causes, and did not proceed with the inquest.

Mr. and Mrs. Timol have testified to the correctness of this account of a dialogue between Mrs. Timol and policemen on the day before her son's death:

Mrs. Timol: "When can I see my son again?"
Police: "You won't see your son again."
Mrs. Timol: "Why won't I see him again?"
Police: "He needs a hiding."
Mrs. Timol: "I've never hurt my son, so you must not hit him."
Police: "Because you didn't hit him, we will hit him."
(Rand Daily Mail 29.10.71).

The Timols have also had to proceed to the Supreme Court to secure sight of papers relevant to an inquest on their son. While parents are in a state of extreme anxiety because of the uncertainty as to whether an inquest will be permitted, influential people are allowed to make such remarks:

General H.J. van den Bergh, Security adviser to the Prime Minister and Head of the Bureau for State Security: "It is not necessary for a public inquiry to be held into

the suicide of Mr. Timol."—(*Sunday Times* 7.11.71).

Mr. J. Loots, Minister of Coloured Affairs, said that the opposition United Party 'come with a ridiculous story that a man must be brought before a court.' There was laughter from the audience when Mr. Loots described how Timol 'jumped' to his death from a window while being questioned by police.—(*Cape Times* 24.3.72).

7. *The State protects police informers:* Witnesses whose evidence would support a prosecution can be jailed for a year for refusing to testify, but witnesses whose evidence might be damaging to the "State" can be silenced by a certificate signed by the Minister, or official to whom he can delegate these powers.

Mr. Vorster told Parliament that "protection of the police informer ran like a golden thread through South African law". (*Cape Times* 27.2.57).

Yet some state witnesses and informers have been completely discredited in court:

Agent X 54 was not charged with perjury and the Minister declined to say whether his services had been terminated. During the trial of 21 Africans, Mr. Justice Theron said *Agent X 54*, who had given evidence for the State, had lied. "It made one shudder to think that someone with the line of thought and mentality of *X 54* could be placed in the position where, as a police witness, he could have an interest in the arrest of members of the public."—(*Reported in Rand Daily Mail*).

"The Chief Justice said there were several unsatisfactory features in *Jordaan's* evidence. He referred to several untruthful answers made by *Jordaan*. ...Another unsatisfactory and striking feature of *Jordaan's* reports is their vagueness, particularly those portions which tend to incriminate the appellant in some unlawful activity. ...I come to the conclusion that *Jordaan* was a wholly unsatisfactory witness and that the trial court erred in accepting his testimony where it conflicted with that of the appellant."—(*Dean's Appeal, Rand Daily Mail*, 8.4.72).

8. *It costs a lot of money to litigate:* "Justice is not dead in South Africa, if you can afford it. I have no knowledge of what my trial and

appeal cost, but the cost must be enormous. However, justice was eventually done. Had the money not been available for my appeal I would have gone to jail for 5 years. How many people are convicted because they do not have the money to go all the way? How many Africans have the means to fight for justice?"—(*Very Rev. G. ffrench-Beytagh, after his acquittal, reported in Sunday Times* 16.4.72).

"There is no procedure in South Africa by which costs can be awarded against the State in criminal cases." —(*Sunday Times* 16.4.72).

Detainees, or their next-of-kin, who have no money for legal costs will be unlikely to undertake the hazardous task of proving assault against the Security police.

9. *Government spokesmen create an atmosphere in which it is regarded almost as treasonable to criticise the Security laws or Security police:* "The Minister of Labour, accusing the English Press of treason, said it was 'waging a deliberate action to weaken the morale of our own people.'"—(*Rand Daily Mail* 9.11.71).

"In further clashes on security matters in the Assembly yesterday, the Minister of Justice, Mr. P.C. Pelsler, at one stage accused the United Party M.P.s of assisting the Communist Party."—(*Argus* 4.2.72).

Mr. Pelsler, Minister of Justice, Stated in Pretoria: "The Terrorism Act authorizes me as Minister of Justice to order the release of any detainees and I can assure the public that I am at all times kept informed of all the circumstances concerning a person's detention under the Act."—(*Cape Times* 29.5.70).

Question: Was the Minister fully informed of all the circumstances pertaining to Imam Haron, who died on 27.9.69, and had injuries for which the Inquest Court could not establish the cause?

Question: If the Minister is *always* kept informed of *all* the circumstances, why did he state: "The Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsler, said last night that he was unable to give any information about the detainees or what had happened to Mr. Essop, a medical student at the University of the Witwatersrand. *They are being detained by the police, as you know. Within a few days (not his underlining or the newspaper's) time they (the police) will send me a report saying they have*

taken so and so, and so and so, and giving me the reason why they have been taken.”—(*Natal Mercury* 28.10.71).

Question: Is it possible for a detainee to suffer at the hands of his interrogators for days before the Minister of Justice even knows he has been detained? At what stage does the Minister begin to be “Fully informed” of all the circumstances concerning the detainees?

Is the Head of the Security Police always fully informed of all the circumstances concerning detainees?

“I asked General Venter if he could comment on, or give an explanation of, the circumstances of the man’s death.” (Mthayeni Cuthsela was taken by the police for questioning and brought back in a coffin two months later, in February, 1971). “He replied that he did not know about the case, and that it had not been brought to his attention.”—(*Sunday Times* 1.8.71).

“General Venter did not know exactly how many people were detained by the Security Police.”—(*Rand Daily Mail* 7.1.72).

“Major General P.J. Venter said he could not say off-hand how many detainees were still being held by the Security Police. ‘But I can tell you that they will appear in court in Johannesburg at the latest early next week.’” —(*Rand Daily Mail* 19.1.72). (In the event court appearances were delayed for several weeks.)

Question: If the head of the Security Police is not fully informed, how can the Minister be kept fully informed?

What must be done?

1. Return to the rule of law

“Let’s stick to the well-tryed principle that no person should be deprived of his liberty unless he has been charged in a proper court of law, found guilty and sentenced.”—(*Mrs. H. Suzman, M.P. Sunday Times* 15.3.70).

“Professor A.S. Matthews, head of the Law faculty at the University of Natal, said there was little to choose between the detention laws in South Africa and Northern Ireland except that in South Africa the laws were entirely without checks and restraints. ‘I think it can safely be said that there is a lesser departure from the rule of law in Ulster than there is in South Africa.’—(*Cape Times* 31.3.72).

2. *An Independent, judicial investigation into allegations of torture and irregular methods of interrogation.*
3. *A Judge (not a magistrate) must have the power to visit the detainees.*
4. *Change the system of taking confessions. Allow magistrates to play a part in taking statements.*
5. *Provide for the next of kin to be informed when someone is detained so that people cannot just “disappear into the night”.*
6. *Spell out the conditions of detention which at present are determined under the Terrorism Act by the Commissioner of Police subject to the direction of the Minister.*
7. *Let the appellate division take the first opportunity to rule against the admissibility of confession or admissions made by detainees and the acceptability of a detainee’s testimony given in court in view of the conditions under which he has been detained.*—(*Sunday Tribune* 5.9.71).

“But in the final analysis I myself determined the degree of my isolation, the extremity of my evasions, and the extent of my ignorance ... whether I knew or did not know, or how much or how little I knew is totally unimportant, when I consider what horrors I ought to have known about and what conclusions would have been the natural ones to draw from the little I did know.”

—*Albert Speer (Nazi; convicted at the Nuremberg Trials).*

**(a paper prepared for
the civil rights league)**



VIOLENCE IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

MICHAEL RAMSAY

There are agonising problems of violence in the contemporary world. I shall set myself a limited and modest aim. I shall try to see how the various factors are related to the perspective of Jesus Christ and the Christian tradition, and I shall try to draw some practical guidelines for our own attitudes and actions.

Is total pacifism possible?

Through the centuries probably only a minority of considering Christians have held that Christ's teaching demands the totally pacifist position. I would hold myself that the injunction to turn the other cheek and to offer no resistance to evil, like many other of Christ's injunctions, concerns motive. Faced with a violent attack the follower of Christ must have total selflessness in motive; so far as his own pride or comfort or security is concerned he must be ready to accept death and have no self-concern. But given that selflessness of motive which Christ demands he may strike, or risk killing, or even kill if his concern is to protect others, whether family, friends, neighbours, enemies or the community itself. It has been found possible, however hazardous, to strike in defence of others without hatred, anger or self-concern; and conversely it is possible to be physically passive while bearing anger and hatred. It is such considerations which cause many conscientious Christians not to endorse total pacifism. So too there is Christ's recognition of the State as the organ of order and justice, a recognition which St. Paul and St. Peter enhanced and developed. Perhaps a stronger argument for total pacifism is the centrality of the Cross in Christianity with its corollary of the identity of divine sovereignty and sacrificial love. Is it not by the total acceptance of the principle of the Cross that evil in the world is to be overcome? Even here, however, we note that the principle of self-sacrifice can have a variety of manifestations in different contexts, and that in Christ's teaching the doctrine of the divine judgment upon the world's wrongdoing includes the working out of calamity and pain in the disciplines of humility into obedience to God.

Just war and just rebellion?

I turn now to the concepts, held in the past in non-pacifist Christianity, concerning the *just war* and the *just rebellion*. It is well to notice what the theory of the just war has included. St. Thomas Aquinas elaborated the theory as embracing six conditions. "(1) The cause fought for must be just. (2) The purpose of the warring power must remain just while the war goes on. (3) The war must be the last resort when peaceful methods

have failed. (4) The methods employed must be just. (5) The results for humanity must be expected to be better than if the war had not been fought. (6) The concluding peace must be just." On this basis Christian consciences have defended wars fought to defend the weak against aggression or oppression or to overthrow tyranny. Yet where the theory is accepted in the main, the hazards are always immense: the hazard that a war waged with idealistic motives may see those motives corrupted as the process goes on, and the hazard that the outcome may be unpredictable—as if to say "it will be a just war if we win it." We shall see presently what happens to this concept when it moves into the catastrophic conditions of our modern world.

Alongside the tradition of the just war there has been the no less respectable tradition of the just rebellion. In the Apostle's teaching the State has a divine function to uphold law, order and justice; but it is a function exercised under God's supreme authority. And there are two ways in which the State may vitiate its function and stultify its claim to obedience. It may deify itself by claiming an ultimacy which it does not possess. It may so practise injustice as to make its proper role unrecognisable. Hence there emerged an orthodox doctrine of the just rebellion similar in form to the doctrine of the just war. I quote St. Thomas Aquinas: "On the third point it must be said that a tyrannical regime is not just, since it is not directed towards the common good but towards the private good of the ruler ... and therefore the violent overthrow (*perturbatio*) of such a regime does not partake of the nature of sedition—unless perhaps the violence involved is so extreme that the mass of the governed suffer more harm from the ensuing upheaval than from the rule of the tyrant. A tyrant is rather himself guilty of sedition, inasmuch as he fosters discord and strife among the people subject to him so that he can more safely dominate them." Do not these words have a very contemporary ring?

In subsequent history, however, Roman Catholic teachers have made little appeal to the just rebellion theory, being more concerned to uphold existing orders; and only a very mild suggestion of the just rebellion as a possibility was made by Pope Paul's Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* in March 1967. Meanwhile, however, the concept has come to have a familiar place in democratic social theory. No document is more symbolic of this, or had more influence, than the American Declaration of Independence. I quote: "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing

its powers in such forms as then shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This declaration, which owed its inspiration to Thomas Paine, brings the just rebellion within democracy's lawful pursuits, for how else do you alter or abolish a regime which is destructive of man's proper ends?

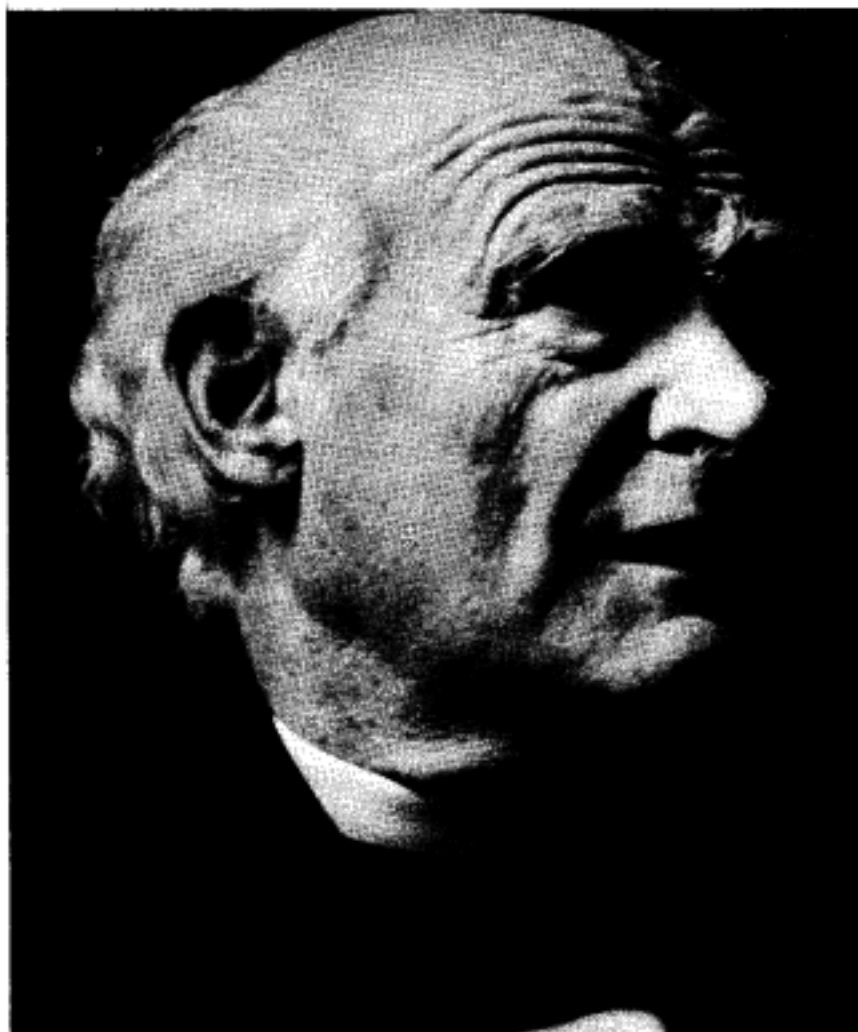
The modern world

It is with these traditions in its thinking that Western Christendom has passed through the centuries and entered the modern world. Now I ask what is happening in the modern world to these traditional concepts.

First, the older doctrine of the just war has become difficult to uphold with conviction, not impossible in any context perhaps, but difficult. We may still think of possible limited wars to which criteria of justice might be applied; but Vietnam with its continuing destruction without winners is no convincing illustration. When, however, the weapons of war are such that a possible result of a war is the indiscriminate destruction of nations on either side and perhaps the doom of all civilization, how do the old criteria apply? It is partly this consideration which has given a big impetus to *total pacifism* in recent times. More Christians are convinced pacifists than used to be the case. And the increase of what may be called "near pacifism" is greater still.

Second, there has been within movements for social change or revolution a rise of the *ideology of non-violence*. Perhaps this is the reflection within states and countries of the pacifist trend about relations between states and countries. Ghandi in India, Chief Luthuli in South Africa and Martin Luther King in America have all been instances of this. I think that a range of different ideas has been at work amongst these movements and their leaders, with at one end the religious idea that to witness and to suffer patiently is itself a spiritual power by which evil is overcome, and at the other end ideas more akin to a general strike or a mass protest, the ideas that the right course is to upset the community by weight of numbers while avoiding any killing or causing pain. In neither case have we seen the end of these ideas or their application, whether martyrdom in the spirit of the Cross of Christ or protest in the spirit of a general strike.

Third, while in both these ways the non-violent attitudes have grown considerably there has also been the upsurging of new demands for *violent revolution* as both a good idea to hold and a good thing to do. Nothing accelerated this more than the story of Mandela and his friends in South Africa. Long, patient use of non-violent methods failed; and they were crushed by the regime's own use of violence. So they asked: "What then is left to us but violence?" The situation fitted pretty closely to St. Thomas Aquinas's classic words which I quoted a few minutes ago: "the



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violent overthrow of such a regime does not partake of the nature of sedition." But inevitably there is the anxiety lest rebellion in desperate circumstances may issue in enhanced suffering for the very people it is designed to help: as St. Thomas says in the other words I quoted: "unless perhaps the mass of governed may suffer more harm from the ensuing upheaval than from the rule of the tyrant."

So we have seen in relation to the world scene an increasing pacifist trend within Christian thought, overtaken by a revival of the doctrine of violence in relation to particular situations. It is in this scene that we have to make our own decisions as Christians about right and wrong. There are probably many of us who in world terms veer towards pacifism, as there can be no just holocaust; and then feel the case for just rebellions in more limited contexts. What are we to think or do?

Guidelines for problems

I must refer to a kind of violence which lies right outside the kinds which we are discussing in relation to justice. I mean a use of violence which is neither just war nor just rebellion, but cruel killing in order to injure or to frighten or to advertise a point of view. We all agree that that sort of violence is odious and deplorable. Our sympathy goes out at this time to those who suffer bereavement from such cruelty.

I suggest first that we must avoid positions which are

so inconsistent as to involve a kind of Pharisaism. We cannot applaud Europeans who resisted the tyranny of a Hitler and then be shocked when Africans want to resist a tyrannical regime today: we can discuss the wisdom or the expediency, but we cannot indulge in facile moral censures. We too easily form a habit of exculpating the violence in our own sphere of history and censuring the violence of other races.

Then, we need to avoid a selective mentality in our moral judgments generally. There are reasons, which I shall mention presently, for our concern about white racism through our own involvement in it. But we need to remember that there are African countries where tribal majorities are unjust to tribal minorities, and where killing and suffering have had appalling dimensions. We need to remember the sufferings, which still continue, of Christians and Jews and others under Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Neither the right eye nor the left eye alone can easily see the whole field of human suffering and moral judgment.

Then, we need to watch the ways in which we can be involved in ethical situations not only by our actions but also by our inactions. Let me give one instance. In the matter of the World Council of Churches grants to combat racism I approved generally the act of identifying with oppressed populations, but I did criticise the grants in two or three instances where the organisation assisted was one with a violent purpose. But if I or anyone shrinks from that, one must not be tacitly helping to uphold a regime which is using violence towards its population. This compels us to ask ourselves questions about our practical relations with such regimes.

Then, we cannot honourably commend to other people idealistic Christian actions which we ourselves are unwilling to practise or share. This error can take two forms. We can encourage people to belligerence while ourselves keeping out of the conflict, or we can say to other people that of course their Christian calling is to suffer patiently in the spirit of the Cross of Christ. In either case we can safely say anything at all only if we are ready to be one with those who are suffering. It is this that is imperative; it is also this that is sometimes so hard as to be near impossible. That is our tragic situation.

So I put to you these guidelines. They do not answer our questions, but at least they can sheer us away from those ethical absurdities which make a right judgment impossible.

Why the focus on S.A.?

Let me illustrate these issues of moral decision from the problem of South Africa. I will not now recall the impressions borne upon me by my own visit to South Africa fifteen months ago when I tried to encourage and befriend those churchmen who are witnessing bravely to humanity and to some of the direct implications of the Gospel upon which the South African

regime tramples.

First, there is the place of South Africa in our consciousness. I agree with those who say that in a world filled with many varieties of evil and injustice it is wrong for us to become obsessed with any one particular country. Yet South Africa is bound to loom large in our consciousness because its regime claims to be a bastion of Christian civilization and to represent Christian civilization on the African continent, and also because South Africa is the most tragic outcrop of a phenomenon in which we all share, the phenomenon of white supremacy in history. We are part of an era of history in which the white man has been supreme, and can tacitly be sharing in the assumptions of that superiority. Southern Africa is the part of the world where that supremacy is challenged and is resisting the challenge with violence.

Then we must realise that any attitude on our part towards either violent or non-violent policies is going to be very costly for us if we try to be Christian. If we say to Africans "do not act rashly, a violent revolution is likely only to bring to yourselves terrible suffering", we are saying in effect "go on accepting your present suffering," and we can say that to any people only if we somehow are ready to suffer with them. If we say "why don't you fight?", then we may be advocating something we may not ourselves be aloof from, something which could be a widespread war with hazards about its outcome. In either case *our opinions will be Christian and ethical only if we are ready to identify ourselves, and somehow to share in the pains of it all.*

Again, we may urge that the best chance for social change lies not through war or the ostracism of any regimes, but through contact with all the influence that may come from *social* and *trade* relationships. If so we must remember that there are forms of contact which help the situation and forms of contact which do not. It does not help when white immigrants go and fill the *jobs* which should be filled by skilled Africans. It does not help to make investments, unless such investment is designed, as is sometimes only possible with difficulty, to help African advancement. It does not even help, as some of the Churches in Southern Africa have found, to subsidise *education*, unless it is for an educational syllabus which aids advancement and not downgrading. I believe that contact rather than ostracism can achieve something; but it needs to be contact in the right way and with the right care. Otherwise contact may only serve the bolstering up of injustice.

One other issue, paternalism. We need to understand both the big role it has played, not ignobly, in the past, and its obsolescence today. In the earlier years of the development of Africa as the unknown continent the paternalistic spirit of Christian missionaries did a great work, with qualities of love, care for persons, self-sacrifice and heroism. That is why there are good Christians today in Africa and elsewhere who find it hard to shed the paternalistic assumptions of

CONCEPT OF LIFE AND DEATH

Human life obeys yet another rhythm of nature that nothing can destroy. On the individual plane this cycle encompasses birth, puberty, initiation, marriage, procreation, age, death, and entry into the community of the dead. These are significant key points in the life of the individual. On the communal or national plane there is a cycle of seasons with different kinds of work such as sowing, cultivating, reaping, hunting, etc.

If anything unusual happens, something that does not fit into this rhythm, e.g. an eclipse of the sun or moon, drought, or even the birth of twins, this is regarded as a bad omen or an event demanding particular attention. These unique happenings in the life of the individual and the community are often marked by religious rites.

The older the individual becomes, the more he moves out of the present into the past time. His birth is only the physical completion of a process of events which began before his arrival as a baby. In many societies a person is not regarded as a full human being before he has undergone the process of birth, name-giving ceremony, puberty, initiation and marriage. Only then is he a complete human being. So death also is not an event which takes place at a definite time. Death is a gradual transportation from the present to the past time. After death the human being lives on and does not disappear immediately from the present time. He lives on in the memory of the surviving relatives and friends. They recall his name, his

personality, his character, his words, his circumstances of life, etc. If he appears to the people, he is identified by name. The dead only appear almost exclusively to the older members of the family and never or very rarely to children. They appear to the people whose present time is longest. This identification by name is very important. It may stretch right into the fifth generation, as long as someone who has known the deceased personally and by name is still alive. But when this last person dies too, he goes beyond the present time and the earlier person is only then completely dead as far as family relations are concerned. As long as the deceased is remembered by name, he is not really dead but alive, and such people I should like to call the "living dead".

The dead still living

The living dead is a human being who is physically dead, but who lives on in the world of spirits and in the memory of his relatives. As long as someone remembers this human being, he experiences *personal immortality*. This is also embodied in his children and descendants, who bear the features of their progenitors. This notion of personal immortality is extremely important in understanding the religious significance of marriage in African societies. If a person has no closer relatives to remember him after his death, he is really nobody and disappears like a spark. Therefore everyone must marry, and if a man

violence (cont.)

their own past. We need to understand this. But while paternalism is understandable as a hang-over, it has no future now. As Bishop Muzorewa of Rhodesia said the other day: "They say I am a revolutionary; I thought I was a person". That is the voice of the future.

The True Perspective

The hope lies in the existence of Christian men and women who know that these questions about violence and non-violence are crucial for humanity, who do not claim to know all the answers but are passionately keen to try to find answers which are both intellectually serious and congruous with the Spirit of Christ. I have done no more than suggest to you some of the pitfalls of inconsistency to be avoided and some of the paths to be followed. I believe that if we follow these paths we may often discover in particular situations what the Spirit of Christ who is the Spirit of truth will show us if we ask in integrity of mind and sincerity of prayer. Some differences of view may never be re-

solved for a long time. If my own view is, as it is, not the view of total pacifism, I shrink from commending it to you as the one Christian view, as I remember that the two best Christians I ever knew personally differed about this. William Temple was, very gently, a non-pacifist. Charles Raven was, violently, a pacifist. In either case we are called upon to be without concern for our own selves, to be ready to identify ourselves with those who suffer, to be indiscriminating in our distributing of moral censures, and to be sure that our strivings for justice and humanity will have fulfilment in a world beyond this. To emphasise the otherworldly goal of Christianity is no escapism, no slackening of our hope for God's reign here in this world. Rather does it give us the true perspective of our present conflicts, showing us that many of our judgments can only be relative, that we never know as much as we think we know, and that every man, woman and child created by God is eternally in God's keeping, as we look to a day when we shall love as we are loved and know as we are known. *

THE METHOD OF AFRICAN THEOLOGY

If *Theologia Africana* is to be the critical translation of God's self-disclosure, especially in Jesus Christ, in and for an African context, as is outlined above, and if it is to wrestle with topics such as have been mentioned, *Theologia Africana* must keep at least the following points concerning its general character in mind:

(a) *A dynamic inter-action is needed between traditional theological disciplines.* Theologians presenting various fields cannot work efficiently in isolation. Without the help of Exegetics and History of Doctrine, Systematic Theology is in danger of becoming a mere channel of one's favourite thoughts and emphases. Without close ties with Systematics, Exegetics for its part easily loses from sight the basic lines in God's self-disclosure becoming a mere mixture of linguistic, semantic and sourcial details. In isolation from other disciplines History of Doctrine and Church History are in danger of changing into a mere collection or report of various opinions and events. The 'limits' between theological fields must be 'open' for fruitful inter-action. The same must be said of the classic division between 'theoretical' and 'practical' ('applied', 'functional') disciplines. States O. Nyblade:

Thus the theoretical that doesn't have its practical side—the theoretical that doesn't touch the lives of men in their everyday affairs is excess baggage, something which most of us trained in the Western tradition have in abundance. On the other hand the practical that isn't theoretical—that isn't built on rigorous reflection and self-examination is merely tinkering, gimmickry that tries to compensate for lack of proper understanding and sound theory ("An Idea of Theolo-

gical Education in Tanzania", *Africa Theological Journal* 1970, p. 72).

(b) If an individual theologian as a representative of a particular field cannot work efficiently in isolation, the same is true concerning theology as a whole. If *Theologia Africana* is to be the critical translation of God's self-disclosure in and for an African context, it has to be 'open-minded' towards the theory and findings of the Social and Behavioural Sciences, such as Anthropology, Economics and Linguistics. It has to take the findings of these Sciences seriously and to make use of them. Theology must be 'open' even to criticism from these Sciences, as it is to be hoped that these Sciences will be 'open' to theological criticism and evaluation. A close co-operation, 'openness' on both sides, is needed between theology and the Sciences in question. Theology cannot be properly done in isolation from the Sciences.

(c) The African context, in and for which theology is done, often is multi-denominational. This is why *Theologia Africana* must in the last instance be *ecumenical and inter-confessional*. This is the only way to escape the danger of over-emphasizing certain elements in one's own theological tradition and background.

There are practical implications of this approach to *Theologia Africana* for theological education needing consideration, such as:

—Does the location of theological colleges and seminaries offer contact enough with other disciplines, especially with the Sciences?—Can the theological task in Africa be carried out by colleges and seminaries with a high denominational character?—Should the approach to theology in theological education be more inductive growing out of the contact of Gospel with the 'world'?

A Challenge

To many of us in Africa *Theologia Africana* is one of the most challenging ventures in theology today. It probably has much to give to Western theology through modern ecumenical channels—not only in terms of inspiring impulses, but also in terms of methods and through its being closely connected with the Christian communication. *Theologia Africana*, however, is not only a challenging venture, but it is something necessary, if the Church of Christ in Africa is to fulfil the last commission of the Lord of the Church Universal, and if the *Christians here are to be rescued from the danger of losing their identity*. The task of *Theologia Africana* is very difficult; much patience, love and faithfulness is needed. But our Lord's last commission includes a joyful promise: "And lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age." This promise belongs to *Theologia Africana* also. *

african thinking (cont.)

has no children, particularly boys, he will undoubtedly seek another wife in order to be sure that he has someone to survive him and preserve his personal immortality.

No Ancestor Worship!

Remembrance of the dead is expressed in many African societies by the pouring out of libation, mostly beer, milk or water, and by the symbolic giving of a small quantity of food. Drink and food are symbols of the communion and expressions of people's remembrance of the dead. They are the mystic ties between the living dead and the surviving relatives. The libation is made within the family, mostly by the oldest member of the family who has the longest present time behind him and can remember the greatest number of the departed. He does so on behalf of the entire family. So there is no so-called ancestor worship although it may appear so to outsiders! *

GOOD NEWS TO MODERN WOMEN

Over the centuries God's Mission in the world has been experienced by his people as liberation. First in the Exodus and later in the Resurrection of Christ, God acted to free his people from bondage. This experience of the actions of God as a liberating force in history is one of the ingredients of the rising expectations of people today as they long for a world of righteousness, justice and peace. Those who identify their lives with Jesus of Nazareth are becoming particularly aware of the importance of God's Mission in and through his Son as a restoration of full humanity.

We belong to a humanity that cries passionately and articulately for a fully human life. Yet the very humanity of man and his societies is threatened by a greater variety of destructive forces than ever. And the acutest moral problems all hinge upon the question: What is man? ... There is a burning relevance today in describing the mission of God, in which we participate, as the gift of a new creation which is a radical renewal of the old and the invitation to men to grow up into their full humanity in the New Man, Jesus Christ. (The Uppsala Report Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968, p. 27).

God's Action as 'Humanist'

If God's Mission through his Son Jesus Christ is one of restoration of created humanity, then certainly his purpose in history can be understood as one of humanization; one of making people whole. As Karl Barth has pointed out, God is a humanist. He is not just a Christian! God's desire is that all men and women should be restored to a relationship of love and obedience with their Creator, with others, and with themselves. This restoration of humanity includes all the social, political and physical aspects of life. It is concerned with two biblical themes: not only with salvation, but also with the blessing of life in society.

God's action as a "Humanist" leads us to be concerned for ways in which we may participate in his action in society. Christians participate in his Mission, not only through carrying the Gospel to the ends of the earth, but also through sharing with their brothers and sisters as "shalom-makers"; as builders of a more human society and of more humane institutions. In short, Christians find that Mission and Humanization are not contradictory. They are united in God's action and also should be united in the actions of those who participate in that action.

It would perhaps help to avoid unnecessary conflicts if we could make it clear that the Mission of the People of God is both a "sacrament and instrument of salvation" as an "evangelizing community", and a blessing as part of institutions. (Hans Hoekendijk, "Working Paper on the Role of Christians Within Changing Institutions" (mimeographed, Fall 1971), p. 23. See also "Toward a Purposeful Study of Man (Humanum Studies)", *Study Encounter* (1:4 1969), 151-162.)

Return to Person of Jesus

For Christians the key to understanding what it means to be human is Christological. This is not to say that the church is unconcerned about the latest data of the social and physical sciences, and the latest self-understanding of women and men in various cultures. The cultural data remains important as a perspective for trying to understand the Gospel in that particular culture. It also makes possible the process of translating the meaning of Christ's humanity in relation to today's search for human identity. Yet, ultimately, we must return to the person of Jesus as we find him in the Gospel records in order to search out that quality of relationship which is the key to understanding God's intention for humankind.

The whole biblical message concerns God's relation with his world and affords insight into the meaning of human nature. Yet it is especially in Genesis and in the Gospels that Christian tradition has sought an understanding of the nature of the creatures whom God has made in his own image. Man and woman have been created to live in relationship with God as his covenant partners.

The nature of this covenant partnership and of human responsibility for the world before God has been understood in various ways over the centuries. In the modern world the ferment of liberation leads to re-examining traditional assumptions concerning the biblical text. The interpretation of their meaning only becomes *Good News* to modern woman and man when it illuminates the situations of dehumanization which they face... when it speaks of future and hope to those with no hope; of liberation to those who are oppressed; of wholeness to those who are divided.

The world of today asks the question: "What does it mean to be human ... to be free ... to be me?" These questions are authentic echoes of the biblical message of God's liberating action on behalf of all humanity.*

WEIGHED AND...? GEWEEG EN...?

This column in English and Afrikaans comprises short extracts from reports on news, views, happenings, standpoints, etc., and an evaluation of some items by various people.

Readers are invited to express their opinions on news items or on the evaluation of items, or to send in questions on current items.

Hierdie rubriek in Afrikaans en Engels bevat kort uittreksels van berigte oor nuus, opvattinge, gebeure, standpunte, ens. en 'n beoordeling van sommige items deur verskillende persone.

Lesers word genooi om hulle opinies oor nuusitems of die beoordelings van items te gee, of om vrae oor die beoordelings van items te gee, of om vrae oor alledaagse items in te stuur.

BANTOES BY N.G. DIENS IN PRETORIA SKEP ONMIN

PRETORIA—Twee Bantoe predikante en hul vroue het gisteraand die diens in die NG Kerk Universiteitsoord bygewoon. Die vier het in die ouderlingbank gesit.

Die twee Bantoe predikante is ds. Buti en ds. Thema.

Ná die diens het 'n gemeentelid, wat nie sy naam genoem wil hê nie, Die Transvaler gebel en gesê dat daar onmin in die gemeente oor die saak geheers het.

Hy het beweer dat verskeie mense die kerk verlaat het nadat die vier Bantoes binne gestap het. Party teologiese studente aan die Universiteit van Pretoria het volgens hom ook te kenne gegee dat hulle van kursus gaan verander as gevolg van die voorval. Universiteitsoord is die studentegemeente.

Dié bewerings is gisteraand laat deur die gemeente se predikant, dr. F.E. O'B Geldenhuys ontken.

Hy het ontken dat mense die kerk verlaat en dat teologiese studente besware teen die Bantoes se teenwoordigheid gehad het.

Volgens hom het die gemeente se kerkraad die twee Bantoe predikante en hul vroue genooi om die diens by te woon. Ná die diens het die twee predikante die SAKJV oor sendingwerk toegesprek.

—Die Transvaler

GEE SIENING VAN N.G. DIENS

Bantoeleeraar se „Grootste Dag”

'n Bantoeleeraar wat Sondagaand 'n gewone erediens van die blanke N.G. gemeente Universiteitsoord bygewoon het, het gister aan die Transvaler gesê dat dit „die grootste belevens van sy lewe was”.

Die leraar, ds. S.P.E. Buti (van die N.G.K. in Afrika, met sy gemeente in Alexandra), het gesê die diens het op hom 'n indruk gemaak wat blywend sal wees, hoewel hy al in blanke kerke in Australië, Nederland, Duitsland en Engeland gepreek het.

—Die Transvaler

„LIBERALE' N.G. KERK SKOK STUDENT

Geagte Redaksie—Na aanleiding van die berig „Bantoes

by N.G. diens in Pretoria skep onmin”, wil ek graag die standpunt van die gemeentelid wat nie sy naam genoem wil hê nie, ondersteun. Die bewering dat daar onmin in die gemeente heers, wil ek onderstreep. Vir my was dit 'n ontsettende skok toe ek eers werklik besef het dat my kerk, die N.G. Kerk, in 'n liberale rigting neig.

Dit is waar dat daar mense is wat die kerk verlaat het nadat die vier Bantoes binnegekom en op die ouderlingbanke gaan sit het. Ek was een van die studente wat uit protes die kerk verlaat het.

As teologiese student, oorweeg ek dit sterk om van kursus te verander, aangesien ek beslis beswaar het teen die Bantoes se ongemotiveerde teenwoordigheid.

Ek wil die hoop uitspreek dat 'n voorval van hierdie aard nie herhaal sal word nie.

Teologiese Student—Pretoria

—Die Transvaler.

WIL STUDIE STAAK

Geagte Redaksie—As teologiese student aan UP wil ek graag hiermee my instemming betuig met die berig in u koerant van 23 Okt. aangaande die twee Bantoeleeraars wat onmin geskep het met hulle teenwoordigheid by 'n diens in die NG Kerk Universiteitsoord.

As iemand wat my geroepe voel om my lewe in diens van my Meester te stel voel ek beswaard oor die aangeleentheid en oorweeg ek dit sterk om my studie te staak.

—Die Transvaler

STEUN VIR KERKRAAD

Geagte Redaksie—Die Vereniging van Teologiese Studente van die N.G. Kerk van UP met die naam Deo Gloria was bewus van die besluit en optrede van die kerkraad van Universiteitsoord en keur dit van harte goed as synde in die gees van ons roeping, opleiding en Kerk. Dit is immers ook in ooreenstemming met 'n sinodale besluit.

Deo Gloria—Bestuur

—Die Transvaler

DS. BUTI

In Pretoria is 'n klompie mense (ons hoop net 'n enkeling of twee) omgekrap omdat twee Bantoeopredikante 'n erediens van die Blanke gemeente Universiteitsoord bygewoon het.

Hulle is nie gewone Swart leraars nie. Hulle is lede van die Suid-Transvaalse Sinode van die N.G. Kerk (Afrika), 'n dogterkerk van die Blanke N.G. Moederkerk. Ds. Buti is as Moderator gevra om die Sendingkring van die Universiteit van Pretoria ná die erediens toe te spreek—en dit nogal oor skakeling tussen Moederkerk en Dogterkerk.

Die kerkraad het wyslik besluit om die twee Nie-Blanke leraars na die kerkdiens self te nooi. En nou kla 'n paar mense (weer: hopelik net 'n enkeling of twee) daaroor en die aangeleentheid vind sy weg na die pers.

Oor hierdie geval hoef min onsekerheid te bestaan. As Nie-Blanke kerkleiers wat so na aan ons Kerk staan en in die spesiale omstandighede nie eens 'n plek binne die kerkgebou gegun word nie, is dit laat in die dag. Dan het ons nie gevorder van die Trekkerdae oor menseverhoudinge nie. Darom verdien die kerkraad alle eer vir sy positiewe houding. Dit staan tot krediet van die Afrikaanse saak.

—Die Vaderland



SWART PREDIKANTE IN N.G. KERK

'n Mens moet sekerlik dankbaar wees dat twee swart predikante van die N.G. Kerk in Afrika onlangs die voorreg geniet het om die erediens by 'n blanke gemeente, Universiteitsoord (Pretoria) by te woon. Veral as 'n mens die feit in aanmerking neem dat die N.G. Kerk 'n kerk is wat wemel van alle soorte drogredenasies van die apartheidsteologie.

Aan die anderkant egter, moet ek sê dat die blote feit dat die besoek by die diens spesiaal 'n georganiseerde affêre was, vooraf goed beplan en voorberei, juis die natuurlike spontaneïteit, wat die merkteken van Christelike kontak behoort te wees, beroof het. Volgens berigte is die kerkraad behoorlik omtrent die besoek geraadpleeg en het hul toestemming daartoe verleen. Alle moontlike voorsorgmaatreëls moes getref word om te verseker dat geen onaangename insident sou plaasvind nie. Vooraf is besluit presies waar die twee manne sou sit.

Een van die swart predikante het so vër gegaan om te verklaar dat die gebeurtenis, (die feit dat hy in 'n blanke diens was en veral in Pretoria), die grootste belewenis van sy lewe was en dat die diens op hom 'n indruk, wat blywend sal wees, gemaak het.

Nogtans bly dit 'n feit dat die blanke gemeentes van die N.G. Kerk geen begeerte daartoe het om enige soort algemene en natuurlike deelname aan hul kerkdienste of ander byeenkomste deur die swartes aan te moedig nie. Ek bid die Here dat die dag sal aanbreek dat ek, 'n swarte, in 'n blanke kerk sal kan instap en dat ek nie aangegaap sal word asof ek 'n besoeker van 'n ander planeet is nie.

As lid van die N.G. Kerk in Afrika glo ek nie dat daar enige grief onder die lede van my kerk bestaan oor die feit dat ons in 'n eie kerkformasie leef nie, maar wat my (en hulle) grief, is dat die Ned. Geref. Kerk die politieke beleid van apartheid met al sy teleurstellings en leed goedkeur en dit selfs met die Heilige Skrif wil regverdig en op die praktyk van die kerk wil toepas.

—Sol Selepe

Students not to have 'privileged position'

ACTION AGAINST DEMOS TO GO ON

The Government will take action against demonstrating students again in the future, in spite of the acquittal by the courts of students and others charged under the Riotous Assembly Act recently, following the student unrest in June.....

The Commissioner of Police General Gideon Joubert, today said he could not predict what degree of force or what weapons would be used against future demonstrations threatening law and order.

'I cannot say we will confine ourselves to batons. We may even be compelled to use firearms, depending on the degree of violence used by the demonstrators, the threat to public order, and the degree of danger to people and property. Every occurrence will be judged on its merits,' he said.

—The Argus

STUDENTS: POLICE WON'T HESITATE

DURBAN—The South African Police would not hesitate to act against students involved in unlawful acts should it become necessary in the future—in spite of the findings by the judge in a recent court case, the Deputy Minister of Police, Mr. J.T. Kruger, said here yesterday.

The Deputy Minister, who was speaking at the Natal congress of the Nationalist Party, said the case against the students involved in the recent hearing had been dismissed on technical grounds.

He wished to appeal to students not to be led by the nose by a very small anti-South African minority.

Cape Times

VORSTER TACKLES U.P. IN NATAL

It was a sad day for South Africa when the attitude of Mr. Eric Winchester on bilingualism was the attitude and spirit that prevailed within the United Party, the Prime Minister (Mr. B.J. Vorster) said in Durban...

MUTUAL RESPECT

Mr. Vorster said there was only one way to achieve co-operation between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and that was by showing mutual respect for one another's rights and language, culture and religion.

—Argus



RE: UTTERANCES BY 'CHRISTIAN' NATIONALISTS

The first news item is about the obvious intensification of the government's reign of terror, with more and more threats to non-conformists every day. This time it's the Commissioner of Police, General G. Joubert, in this bastion of 'Western Christian civilisation', warning that (quote): "He could not predict what degree of force or what weapons would be used against future demonstrations threatening law and order." "I cannot say we will confine ourselves to batons. We may even be compelled to use firearms, depending on the

degree of violence used by the demonstrators, the threat to public order, and the degree of danger to people and property. Every occurrence will be judged on its merits', he said.

Nobody can even call that a 'veiled threat', for it is blatant intimidation and rule by fear. On 'Black Friday' (2nd June) the U.C.T. students at St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town offered no resistance when brutally attacked with batons by the police, and the only violence was that of our defenders, the police. The police went absolutely berserk, in fact, and were an undisciplined mob. Now, Mr. J.T. Kruger, the Deputy Minister of police, is very peeved because "the cases against the students involved in the recent hearing had been dismissed on technical grounds".

Secondly, Vorster is reported to have said in Durban on Thursday night that: "There was only one way to achieve co-operation between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and that was by showing mutual respect for one another's rights and language, culture and religion". I would suggest to the prime minister that another equally important way was to stop the Nationalist Party's vicious Boerehaat campaign, originated by that arch English-hater Mr. Piet Botha, immediately. The Bible says 'Love one another'; but the Nats say 'Hate one another'. Vorster harps on the 'bilingualism' gimmick, but ignores a hate campaign which is splitting the European population of this country in two, namely, his own party's infamous 'Boerehaat' campaign. And we all know that it is merely a strategem to win the six by-elections now in progress,—after its roaring success at Oudtshoorn in April this year. To think that a so-called Christian political party can sink to such depths to win a few by-elections.. That is why, as Lord Acton warned, 'power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. And the Nats' lust for power is insatiable.

— "Despairing Christian."

CHURCH HITS AT POLICE 'VIOLENCE'

Port Elizabeth—The Methodist Church of South Africa yesterday voiced its contempt for the way the South African Police had "resorted to violence" in their handling of protest meetings on the cathedral steps in Cape Town and on the University of the Witwatersrand campus.

Rand Daily Mail

Polisiehoof Waarsku

STERKER WAPENS TEEN BETOGERS

Die Polisie sal in die toekoms selfs van ernstiger wapens as knuppels gebruik maak om vrede en orde en handhaaf as omstandighede dit vereis.

Dit is die Kommissaris van Polisie, genl. Gideon Joubert, se antwoord op die uitdagende houding van betogende studente.

—Die Vaderland

MET DIE WETBOEK IN DIE EEN HAND EN 'N ... KNUPPEL IN ANDER

Al moet die Polisie met die knuppel in die een hand en die wetboek in die ander staan, gaan hulle optree teen studente wat onwettig betoog.

—Die Vaderland

BETOGINGS

In Kaapstad is veertien en in Johannesburg 38 studente wat aan die betogings deelgeneem het, vrygespreek. Na ons howe se hantering van die sake, kan met geen vinger gewys word nie.

Hoewel die howe dus die studente, tereg, verygespreek het, is die onwettige aard van die betogings self nie deur hulle gekondoneer nie.

Onnodige geweld deur die Polisie kan natuurlik nooit goedgepraat word nie. En in sommige geïsoleerde gevalle is daar miskien selfs te vryelik knuppel ingelê.

—Die Vaderland

BAR ON FOREIGN 'INVESTIGATORS'

Mulder

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, intends to bar foreign visitors who come to South Africa to investigate the operations of overseas business concerns.

He said concern was forever being expressed about what was taking place in South Africa and he frequently received visa applications from people wanting to visit foreign companies.

According to Sapa he said the concern of these people was whether the companies were carrying out their policies with regard to employment.

He had had enough of these investigations and in future he would refuse to admit such persons.

Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party, said he could think of no statement more likely to kill off overseas investment in South Africa.

Anthony Holiday

—Rand Daily Mail

STAN NTWASA SENTENCED FOR CONTRAVENING BAN

Mr. Sabelo Stan Ntwasa, former Director of Black Theology for the University Christian Movement, under the Suppression of Communism Act in February this year, has been sentenced to six months imprisonment (suspended for three years) for contravening his banning orders by being a member of a gathering of more than two persons.

Mr. Ntwasa is banned to the Magisterial district of Kimberley, and his banning orders expire on the 28th February, 1977.

—Nusas Newsletter

SERMON REJECTED

GRAHAMSTOWN—A Rhodes University theology professor, Dr. Calvin Cook, has had a sermon censored by the SABC.

The SABC announced last night that the broadcast, due for transmission on Sunday was "unsuitable" and would be replaced by another studio service.

It said that broadcast was unsuitable "because it is regarded as being in conflict with the regulations governing religious broadcasts".

These said that "no matter shall be allowed to be broadcast during any service which is of a contentious or controversial nature or likely to cause offence to any section of the community or is political".

The regulations were adopted by the SANC Board in 1936 and were agreed to by all churches represented on the Religious Advisory Committee, the SABC said.

Dr. Cook declined to comment last night. "I cannot understand why the SABC had to make this public", he said. "They need give no reason for rejecting a script".

—Cape Times

TUCSA WARNING ON AFRICAN STRIKE DANGER

John Imrie

The tendency for strike action by African workers was increasing, the general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, said yesterday.

He said the strike by Durban stevedores this week heavily underlined the need for Africans to have proper channels of communication.

"Between 1959 and 1969 over 30 000 Africans were involved in strikes", Mr. Grobbelaar said.

"Significantly the majority of these have been in the last 36 months or so".

"Employers are now increasingly beginning to realise that they need the safety valve of trade unions".

—Rand Daily Mail

BROEDERS WIL N.P. HELP

Piet Meyer sê hul kan en moet

Die Broederbond het vroeër vanjaar besluit dat hy saam met die Regeringsparty moet werk om 'n oorwinning in die volgende verkiesing te bewerkstellig. Daar is noue skakeling, want, sê die A.B. by monde van dr. Piet Meyer, die lede van die Kabinet is met enkele uitsonderings lede van die Broederbond.

Hierdie standpunt is vervat in 'n dokument van die uitvoerende raad (U.R.) van die Broederbond wat gister deur die Hertzog-party aan die pers beskikbaar gemaak is. Dit is 'n verdere „lekkasie" wat begin het toe mnr. Jan Jooste op die kongres van die H.N.P. die Broederbond in die groot klok gehang het.

—Rapport

Amazing speech to Bondsraad shows Premier's claims are wrong

PIET MEYER REFUTES VORSTER

J.H.P. Serfontein

Broeder plots in politics revealed

Dr. Piet Meyer, former Broederbond chief and head of the SABC, has made it abundantly clear that the Broederbond was a secret organisation deeply involved in party politics, that the Nationalist Party was the Broederbond's political front, and that the Broederbond actively campaigned behind the scenes on behalf of the party at election time and between elections.

This revelation, made in a speech by Dr. Meyer to the Bondsraad of the Broederbond on April 6, is in direct conflict with the pious statements by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and Dr. Andries Treurnicht, MP, the new chairman of the Broederbond.

They have strenuously denied that the Broederbond has anything to do with politics and they stress that it is merely "a cultural organisation" whose only aim is to promote Afrikaner cultural interests.

Dr. Meyer's confidential disclosures to the Broederbond are a complete refutation of what Mr. Vorster and Dr. Treurnicht are saying in public.

—Sunday Times

Calviniste praat hard oor Kleurling-regte

„STAAK DIE ONREG!"

Politiek kan nie wag nie

In 'n sterk verklaring het 'n vereniging met aansienlike invloed in die Afrikaanse Kerke sy standpunt gestel oor Kleurlingsake—en hom o.m. uitgelaat oor die „onreg" van blanke dominasie oor die Kleurlinge.

Op sy jaarlikse kongres het die Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging 'n verklaring aanvaar waarin hy dit ook stel dat die Kleurlinge „in alle opsigte gelyke geleenthede" moet kry; desnoods met 'n sekere skeiding in woongebiede.

Duidelikheid oor die Kleurlinge se politieke toekoms mag nie vertraag word tot die sosiaal-ekonomiese en ander opgeffingsplanne op dreef kom nie.

—Rapport

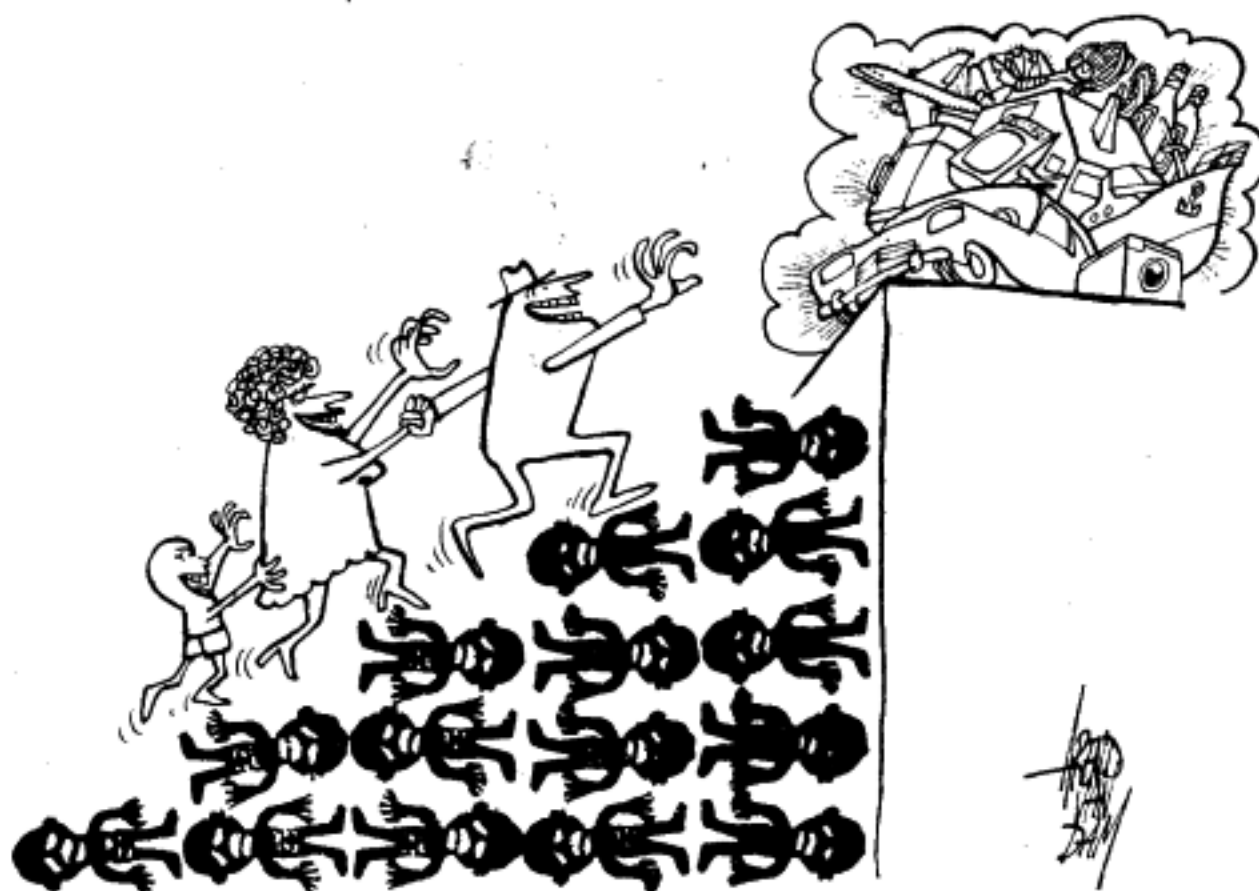
NATS OPPOSE IT, BUT TRANSVAAL MUNICIPAL BOSS SAYS:

Black Pay move may snowball

Johannesburg's lead in upping the salaries of its Black doctors to White levels could be followed by other local bodies employing African, Coloured and Indian doctors.

Mr. C.F. de Wet, leader of the Nationalists, said the move would spark off a chain reaction with unknown economic consequences throughout the country.

—Rand Daily Mail



V. U. Magazine October 1972.

s.a.?

TIME TO STOP JUGGLING

We must face up to the consequences of a double devaluation of more than 16 per cent in less than one year. Admittedly the devaluations have already produced a spectacular recovery in our balance of payments position and our total reserves have topped the magical R1 000-million mark. But we are already paying a heavy inflationary price. The effective 4 per cent revaluation will prevent inflation from spiralling even more dangerously than it might otherwise have, but it is not going to stop it.

What matters now is this: will the Government face up to the fundamental structural weaknesses of the economy that arise primarily from socio-political ideologists? This is what has caused the need for two devaluations. Unless the inherent problems of the domestic economy are tackled realistically and unless we indulge in true economic patriotism, no amount of juggling with exchange rates can bring long-term balance—high growth and moderate price increases—to this country.

—Rand Daily Mail

POLICE MAKING MORE SPIES IN CHURCHES

Recruitment is by 'Terror' say clergy

Clergymen representing three major religious denominations in South Africa said this week that they had personal knowledge of attempts by the Security Police to enlist informers from their congregations.

They are the Rev. Dr. Alex Boraine, president of the Methodist Church in South Africa, the Rt. Rev. Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, and the Rt. Rev. Kenneth Hallows, Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Natal.

—Lawrence Bartlett

—Sunday Times

CRUELTY IN S.A.

Banning is cruelty. It is cruel to cut someone off from all meaningful contact with others.

Detention without trial is cruelty. It is cruel to hold people incommunicado for indefinite periods.

The *pass laws* are instruments of cruelty. It is cruel to separate a man from his wife, children from their mother, to prevent a man from using his skills and abilities, to force a man to spend his working life doing farm labour, to evict a widow from her house just because she is widowed.

The *Group Areas Act* is cruelty. It is cruel to move people from their homes because you don't like the colour of their skins, and to deprive them of their livelihood in the process.

Resettlement is cruelty. It is cruel to take people from their homes and to put them miles from anywhere in the open veld, or in tents, or in corrugated iron huts.

Starvation is cruelty. It is cruel that there are hungry children in a land of plenty, destitute people in the midst of prosperity.

Apartheid is the acme of cruelty. It is cruel to deprive a man of all his freedoms and to deny his humanity because his skin is a different colour from ours.....

No blood flows when a woman is ordered to leave her husband, or when someone is served with a banning order, or when the lorries take people from their homes, and, because there is no blood, this cruel Republic carries on rending people's lives and tearing them apart. The degree of cruelty is the greater because the acts are committed knowingly, rationally, coldly and deliberately.

This is how history will know us—the cruel Republic. We cannot deny the justice of history's verdict.

The Black Sash