

PRO

VERITATE



OKTOBER 1972

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PRO VERITATE

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REDAKTEUR: ROELF MEYER V.D.M.

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VOORBLADFOTO

DIE BINNEKANT VAN DIE SAAL VAN DIE ANGLIKAANSE ST. THOMAS-GEMEENTE IN RONDEBOSCH, KAAPSTAD, NA VUURSKADE OP 9 SEPTEMBER 1972. VROEER IN DIE DAG HET DIE CHRISTELIKE INSTITUUT HULLE JAARVERGADERING IN DIE SAAL GEHOU. VIR KOMMENTAAR OP DIE VUUR KYK „GEWEEG EN ...?“ (P. 20—) IN HIERDIE UITGAWE.

COVER PHOTOGRAPH

THE INTERIOR OF ST. THOMAS' ANGLICAN CHURCH HALL IN RHODEBOSCH, CAPE TOWN AFTER DAMAGED BY FIRE ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1972. EARLIER IN THE DAY THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE HAD THEIR ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING IN THIS HALL. FOR COMMENTS ON THE FIRE SEE "WEIGHED AND ..." (P. 20—) IN THIS ISSUE.

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die tyd het aangebreek

Die tyd het in Suid-Afrika vir 'n belydende gemeenskap (of Kerk) aangebreek. Dit het heeltemal duidelik geword dat die onchristelike sisteem met sy streng apartheids-wette en ingeboude geweld nie wesenlik gaan verander nie. Erger nog, die meerderheid blankes steun òf die samelewing wat onregverdig gestruktureer is òf hulle bly stil en geniet die witbevoorregte voordele.

Geen hoop in hierdie sisteem

In die tussentyd het die regering die studente-onrus en -protes oor ongeregtheid met betrekking tot onderwys, met geweld, beperkings en hofsake verbrysel. Twee geestelikes, Theo Kotzé en Bernie Wrankmore, en 'n aantal studente is skuldig gevind omdat hulle geprotesteer het. Op sportgebied het die regering op rugby, die nasionale sport, toegeslaan sodat alle hoop dat 'n Springbokspan wat slegs op meriete en nie op grond van kleur en ras gekies sou word nie, verdwyn het.

Op politieke gebied sal rasse-diskriminasie, -vooroordel en -verwerping met hierdie sisteem bly, selfs as die sogenaamde tuislande hulle onafhanklikheid ontvang. Op hierdie gebied sal niks wesenlik verander nie. Oor 13% van Suid-Afrika sal swart mense regeer sonder ekonomiese onafhanklikheid en hulle sal ly as gevolg van armoede en oorbevolking. In die res van die land sal swart mense steeds die meerderheid wees en hulle sal geëksploiteer word. As permanente bywoners sonder basiese Godgegewe menseregte sal hulle (en die Kleurlinge) altyd as tweedeklas mense in die huidige stelsel beskou word.

Meer geweld aan die kom

Onlangs is meer fondse beskikbaar gestel vir guerilla-vegters in Suid-Afrika. Vir 'n Christen egter is verandering deur geweld 'n kontradiksie van die Christelike boodskap van liefde en lyding. In dieselfde asem egter, moet dit gesê word dat strukturele geweld soos dit deur die apartheids-wette in Suid-Afrika gepraktiseer word ook verwerplik en 'n verloëning van die Christendom is.

Dit is duidelik dat geweld teen S.A. sal toeneem en aan die ander kant sal die Regering dit ook in die struktuur vermeerder om geweldvolle „orde” te hou. Dit is meer of min die situasie wat nou bereik is, en op die oomblik is 'n geestelike, Bernie Wrankmore, in die tronk vir sy Christelike getuigenis. Dit is nou die tyd vir ander Christene om hulleself met hierdie lydende dienskneg van Christus en met die verworpenes en die minder-

the time has come

The time has come in South Africa for a confessing community (or Church). It has become quite clear that the unchristian system with its harsh apartheid laws and built-in force is not going to change basically. Worse still, the majority of whites are either supporting the unjustly structured society or are keeping quiet and enjoying the white-favoured privileges.

No Hope in this System

In the meantime the government has crushed the student unrest and outcry about educational injustices with violence, restrictions and court cases. Two clergymen, Theo Kotzé and Bernie Wrankmore, and a number of students have been found guilty because they protested. In the sports field the government clamped down on rugby, the national sport, so that all hope for a Springbok side to be chosen only on merit and not on colour and race has gone.

In the political field race-discrimination, prejudice and rejection will stay with this system even if the so-called homelands receive their independence. In this field nothing really will change. In thirteen percent of South Africa the Blacks will reign without economic independence and they will suffer because of poverty and over-population. In the rest of the country the blacks will still be the majority and be exploited. As permanent sojourners without basic God-given human rights, they (and the Coloureds) will always be regarded as second-class people under the present system.

More violence to come

Recently more funds were made available for guerilla fighters against South Africa. For a Christian, however, change through violence is a contradiction of Christ's message of love and suffering. In the same breath, however, it must be said that structural violence as practised by apartheid laws in South Africa is also abhorrent and a denial of Christianity.

It is clear that violence will increase against South Africa and on the other hand the government will also increase it in our structure to keep forceful 'order'.

This is more or less the situation that has been reached. And at this moment a clergyman, Bernie Wrankmore, is in gaol for his Christian witness. Now is the time for all Christians to identify themselves with this suffering servant of Christ and with the rejected, under-privileged, suffering majority in South Africa.

A Confessing community as an answer

Why a confessing community? The rulers and those who support them must be challenged by a community

bevoorregtes en met die lydende meerderheid in Suid-Afrika te identifiseer.

'n Belydende gemeenskap as 'n antwoord

Waarom 'n belydende gemeenskap? Die regeerders en die wat hulle steun moet deur 'n gemeenskap Christene met 'n ware Christelike boodskap, wat deur hulle lewens gerugsteun word, uitgedaag word. Hulle moet een in hulle stand en getuienis wees en moet gewillig wees om vir hulle geloof in Christus te ly.

Die boodskap moet die positiewe verklaring omvat dat geen rasse-onderskeid en voorregte vir sekere rasse (en gevolglik diskriminasie teen ander) vir Christelike samelewings geldig is nie. Elke persoon in Suid-Afrika moet as 'n menslike wese met Godgegewe regte, gelyk aan alle ander beskou word. Hierdie belydenis moet baie duidelik en volledig uitgewerk word en die gevolge daarvan moet in die lewens van hierdie groep in alle kerke gerugsteun word.

Dit moet nie gesien word as 'n stigting van 'n nuwe kerk nie, maar dit moet oor alle kerkgrense heen strek. In elke aspek van die samelewing moet God eerder as die mens gehoorsaam word waar onchristelike bepalinge of wette heers. Hierdie gemeenskap moet 'n hegte eenheid vorm en hulle moet vir mekaar bid, saamly, en in alles saamstaan vir die saak van Christus en sy evangelie.

In die laaste paar jaar het kerke en groepe die regering en ongeregtigheid in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing bestraf. Hulle was egter verwerp. Die „Boodskap aan die volk van Suid-Afrika” is gelewer en niks wat die moeite werd is, het verander nie. Die Christelike Instituut en die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke het 'n alternatief vir apartheid daargestel deur Spro-cas (Studieprojek vir Christenskap in 'n Apartheidsamelewing) en aksie-programme. Wat was die antwoord van die regering? Meer persone is ingeperk, gedepoteer, onder huisarres geplaas en paspoorte is ingetrek. 'n Kommissie van Ondersoek is aangestel om op 'n onchristelike wyse vier ororganisasies wat vir verandering werk te „ondersoek”.

Is ons gereed?

Wat bly oor om in so 'n verskriklike situasie te doen? Die tyd het vir alle ware Christene aangebreek om te sê: Hier staan ons vir Christus se liefde en geregtigheid en teen die onmenslike en onchristelike stelsel; ons identifiseer onself (terwyl ons Christus se voorbeeld navolg) met almal in nood en in lyding; en ons gee onself, ons alles vir 'n Christelike verandering. Is ons gewillig, nou?



of Christians with a true Christian message backed by their lives. They must be one in their stand and witness and must be willing to suffer for their faith in Christ.

The message must comprise the positive statement that no race distinction or privileges for certain races (and consequently discrimination against others) are valid for a Christian society. Every person in South Africa must be regarded as a human being with God-given rights, equal to all others. This confession must be worked out very clearly and completely and the consequences thereof must be met in the lives of this group from all Churches. This must not be seen to be the formation of a new church, but it must cut across all Churches. In every aspect of society God rather than man must be obeyed where unchristian rulings and laws prevail. This community must form a solid unity and they must pray for one another, suffer together and stand in everything together for the sake of Christ and his Gospel.

In the past few years Churches and groups have rebuked the government for injustices in South African society. They were rejected. The "Message to the People of S.A." was given and nothing worth-while changed. The Christian Institute and the S.A. Council of Churches have provided an alternative for apartheid through their Spro-cas (Study Project of Christianity in an Apartheid Society) and action programmes. What was the answer of the government? More people were banned, deported, placed under house-arrest and passports were withdrawn. A Commission of Enquiry was set up in an unchristian manner to investigate "four organizations which work for change".

Are we ready?

What remains to be done in such a terrible situation? The time has come for all true Christians to say: Here we stand for Christ's love and justice and against the inhuman and unchristian system; we identify ourselves (following Christ's example) with all those in need and in suffering; and we give ourselves, our all, for a Christian change. Are we willing, now?



REAL BROTHERHOOD IN S.A.

Ben Marais

(Report of the Sprocas Church Commission)

When the editor invited me to write a review of this booklet he forced me to read this publication at once, for which I now feel thankful. Normally I would probably have had time to read it next year. When I started I read it in one sitting. I found it well written and really excellent. Of course, I do not agree with everything I read but I found it very stimulating and for a manuscript of only 90 pages, penetrating. The argumentation is precise and the facts marshalled generally to the point. I wish I had a way of making a 100 000 South Africans read this little volume critically. Every page is challenging. It forces one to think once again on all the issues concerning the church and our specific form of society.

Actions Needed

We, all of us, run the danger of accepting that after twenty or thirty years of thinking and reading on these issues new insights are not likely to be gained. We may never sit back and say: "This is the final word. We have it!". This is a live issue. It moves with us through the years and ever and again confronts us and challenges our consciences, especially when the issue is put clearly and plainly as is done in this manuscript. It is written against the broad background of the ecumenical and missionary thinking of our day and as such is truly up to date. It avoids all the pitfalls by clearly distinguishing between concepts like uniformity and unity, unity and diversity, diversity and division. It stresses the basic unity of the Church of Christ and in this respect is true to the New Testament concept of the Church where all in every place constituted the church, whether it was Rome, Corinth or Ephesus. Diversity existed but division was not tolerated. The diversity of talents in individuals, is rightly acknowledged but these diverse talents may not form the basis for division in the one body but are given to *serve* the whole, the one body, the Church of Christ.

The separation between groups in the church is a purely practical and fluid one and may never harden into an ideological one as if the N.T. teaches that different groups *must* be separate. To further the unity of the Church is and remains a mandate for every Christian. We may differ in method but we may never accept the division of the Church of Christ as normal.



Prof. B. Marais is a Professor in Theology of the Dutch Reformed Church at the University of Pretoria.

Though we may face quite extraordinary problems in South Africa, we just *must* in the interests of the Kingdom of God, find a way to make brotherhood real, also between white and black Christians. Nothing less than the future of Christianity in this land may be at stake. It will be our actions *more* than our words that will count in this ever deepening crisis.

Gradual and Radical

How can we build a church in which diversity is acknowledged but division overcome? In an apartheid society this problem takes on new dimensions. It has for many years been my conviction that under present South African conditions separate ministrations are wise and profitable for practical, not ideological reasons, on condition that ways are found to express our fundamental unity as believers. But I believe as firmly that separate churches in the sense that people are excluded from any Christian Church on the grounds of race or colour are wrong.

I welcome this report's stress on "the gradualist approach while seeking to be radical, that is to go to the roots." I am sceptical about pressure groups etc. in these matters. I have seen too much failure where this has been tried. Too often walls of partition have been broken down but rarely has real communion been

WHY PRIESTS?

Do the following statements sound Protestant or Catholic?

- * "One cannot maintain historically that the bishops are in a direct and exclusive sense the successors of the apostles."
- * "The number of seven sacraments is a product of history ... There is not the slightest evidence that (holy orders) were instituted by Christ."
- * "Ordination is not a sacred investiture through which (the priest) receives a ... 'character' distinguishing him from the 'layman'."
- * "The Eucharistic celebration is not a sacrifice ... The ministry of the sacraments (must be) subordinated to the ministry of the word."

The cover of the newly published book "The Church and apartheid".

established that way.

I rather believe in sustained faithful witnessing until a mutual willingness to fully accept each other as Christian brothers develops.

And yet individual and group action is essential. We may not fail the Gospel; neither must we fail in the practice of our religion. Heresy in practice is as bad as heresy in doctrine. When I put down this little volume I recalled the now famous words of Visser't Hooft at Uppsala: "A Christianity which has lost its vertical dimension has lost its salt and is not only insipid in itself, but useless for the world. But a Christianity which would use the vertical preoccupation as a means to escape from its responsibility for and in the common life of man is a denial of the incarnation of God's love for the world manifested in Christ. The whole secret of the Christian faith is that it is man-centred because it is God-centred. *

DUTCH VERSION OF S.A. BOOK BANNED

PRETORIA.—A Dutch version of the book by Cosmas Desmond, "Het afgedankte Volk", has been banned by the Publications Control Board. This was gazetted here on August 11. The book is banned under its original title, "The Discarded People".—(Sapa.)

—The Southern Cross

They may sound like excerpts from a Reformation tract, but in fact they are the views of Roman Catholic Theologian Hans Küng of Germany's Tübingen University. Küng has long been the Vatican's most persistent and radical antagonist within the church.

Now he has published another book, *Why Priests?* from which the above quotations are drawn.

Küng notes in his foreword that he was impelled to write the book because of the mass defection of Catholic priests—some 25 000 during the past eight years. This, and the end of the "third ineffectual bishops' synod since Vatican II," convinced him that it was once again time to nail his theses on the door of the Vatican. Küng admits that he cannot completely clarify the shape of a new Catholic ministry. "It used to be easy to draw a picture of a king," he says. "It took time until a reasonably clear image of a democratic leader emerged."

The basic outlines of Küng's new churchman, however, are already distinct: "The church's ministry of leadership does not have to be full-time ... It does not have to be for life ... It does not have to be celibate ... It does not have to be exclusively male; women should be admitted to ordination." The very title "priest" should be dropped, Küng says, "since, according to the New Testament view, all believers are 'priests'." Thus he prefers the more functional names of the New Testament like presbyter, elder and overseer, or simply the generic title "leader" or "presider", denoting one elected to preach the word and preside at the community's sacramental experiences: baptism and the Eucharist.

—Time

BEYERS NAUDÉ EN SY WERK VEREER

Die Vrye Universiteit van Amsterdam het besluit om 'n eredoktoraat in die teologie aan Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naudé, direkteur van die Christelike Instituut en lidmaat van die Ned. Geref. kerk, toe te ken. Prof. G.C. Berkouwer is sy promotor.

Dit is 'n welkome bekroning van 'n man se onvermoeide en deeglike arbeid vir kerkeenheid, geregtigheid en versoening in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing die afgelope 10 jaar. Pro Veritate wil aan hom en sy getroue eggenote, wat hom so moedig bygestaan het, sê: Hartlik geluk! Ons deel hul vreugde. Dit was 'n harde pad met geweldige teenkating waarlangs hy gekom het, maar sy geloof het hom deurgedra.

Na die uitbarstings van geweld in 1960 en Cottesloe se „mislukte” getuienis was talle se hoop (soos tans nog) op hom gevestig vir vreedsame verandering en versoening in Suid-Afrika. Hy het veel bereik, meer lê nog voor.

Die graad is egter nie net vir sy persoon van belang nie, maar in besonder ook vir die boodskap en arbeid van die Christelike Instituut. Daarmee kom van die Gereformeerde teologiese fakulteit in Holland waardering vir en vertroue in die werk. In Suid-Afrika waar die Ned. Geref. Kerk sonder bewese motivering die werk van die C.I. afgewys het en waar die regering werkers van die C.I. vervolg het en ook deur 'n kommissie die C.I. „ondersoek”, word die toekenning, wat 'n dappere Christelike getuienis is, ten diepste waardeer. Deur dié daad van geliefde mede-gelowiges word in 'n benouende situasie moed geskep om op Christus se spoor voort te gaan met die getuienis en arbeid vir versoening, geregtigheid en liefde in Suid-Afrika. 'n Bekroning en 'n bemoediging; 'n waardering en 'n aansporing; 'n teken van vertroue en van hoop ...

Daar is verneem dat die graad, D.V., op 20 Oktober 1972 toegeken sal word en die volgende berig oor die agtergrond daarvan is van die Vrye Universiteit ontvang.

Die Senaat van die Vrije Universiteit het by sy sitting van 18 Augustus besluit om 'n eredoktersgraad in teologie aan ds. C.F.B. Naudé, die Direkteur van die Christelike Instituut van Suider-Afrika te Braamfontein, Suid-Afrika, te verleen.

Die fakulteit in godgeleerdheid het prof. dr. G.C. Berkouwer as promotor aangewys.

Die oorwegings wat tot die Senaat se besluit gelei het is kortsaamgevat, die volgende:

Ds. Beyers Naudé het deur die oprigting van die Christelike Instituut en deur die wyse waarop hy daaraan leiding gegee het, in 'n moeilike situasie vir



Ds. C.F. Beyers Naudé.

kerk en wêreld, laat sien watter antwoord vanuit die Evangelie op die uitdaging van die situasie gegee kan word. Dit mag gesien word as 'n uitsonderlike verdienste vir die ontwikkeling van die teologiese wetenskap.

Ds. Naudé het, so het die Senaat dit oorweeg, bygedra tot die wyse van die beoefening van teologie waarin die politieke en maatskaplike implikasies van die Christelike boodskap, met name vir die realisasie van geregtigheid en versoening in Rasseverhoudings duidelik gemaak word.

Gronde vir die Toekenning

Die bydrae van ds. Beyers Naudé vir die ontwikkeling van die Christelike teologie kan in 'n drietal punte nader uiteengesit word:

Ds. Beyers Naudé het in sy teologiese arbeid aange-ton dat die Christelike teologie, deur die inhoud van die Christelike oorlewering self, onontkombaar voor die eis gestel word om die samelewing en die evangelie van Jesus met mekaar te konfronteer. Vir sy deel het

ds. Beyers Naudé die konfrontasie deur sy teologiese arbeid tot stand gebring en daarvan publieke getuienis op 'n bevrydende wyse afgelê. Hy het laat sien dat teologie daartoe eers goed in staat is wanneer dit voluit teologie bly en dit nie deur watter ideologie ookal, laat oorheers nie.

In die tweede plek kan 'n mens ds. Beyers Naudé beskou as een van die voorlopers van die veelvuldige pogings wat tans onderneem word om in die teologie te kom tot 'n betere verhouding tussen teorie en praktyk; ds. Beyers Naudé het vanaf die aanvang van sy teologiese arbeid gesien dat teologiese teorie maatskaplike prosesse van geregtigheid en versoening aan die gang sit. In hierdie lig moet 'n mens nie alleen die oprigting van die Christelike Instituut waardeer as die institutionalisering van die nuwe verhouding tussen teorie en praktyk nie, maar ook die weg van vreedsame beïnvloeding en oortuiging wat beide moeisam en moedig is, wat hierdie Instituut by die bestryding van rassisme en apartheid gevolg het.

In die derde plek behoort dit tot die teologiese verdienste van ds. Beyers Naudé dat hy deur kennis van sake rassevooroordeel metterdaad kon terugdring. En dit nie alleen by die blanke bevolking van sy eie land nie, maar ook by die organisasies van die sogenaamde separatiste-kerke waarby miljoene Bantoes aangesluit het; mede deur sy optrede in hierdie opsig is daar 'n begin van die oorbrugging van die kloof tussen hierdie kerke en die sogenaamde historiese kerke. Ook op grond daarvan kan 'n mens die arbeid van ds. Beyers Naudé waardeer as 'n voorbeeld vir wat teologie kan bydra tot geregtigheid en versoening in rasseverhoudings.

Lewensloop van ds. C.F. Beyers Naudé

10 Mei 1915 in die pastorie van die N.G. Kerk van Roodepoort, Transvaal, gebore. Sy vader, ds. J.F. Naudé, was aktief op die terrein van die sending en die bevordering van die gebruik van Afrikaans in kerk en skool. Dit het talle spanninge veroorsaak en die Naudé-kindere was reeds op 'n jeudige leeftyd daarvan bewus om in 'n atmosfeer van kritiek, veroordeling en verwerping te lewe.

1921-1931 basis- en middelbare onderwys

1932 studie te Stellenbosch

1935 B.A.-graad; besluit om predikant te word

1937 M.A.-graad

1936-1939	teologiese studie, aktief in die algemene studentelewe; veel pligte
1939-1942	hulpprediker in Wellington; lid van die „Afrikaner-Broederbond”
1942-1945	predikant te Loxten, Karoo-gemeente
1945-1949	predikant te Pretoria-suid
1949-1955	studentepredikant te Pretoria-Oos; aktief in kerklike jeugwerk; voorsitter kerkjeug-vereniging, N.G. Kerk in Suid-Afrika, Studiereis van ruim 6 maande na Europa
1955-1959	predikant te Potchefstroom; voortgesit met studie oor die Skrif, Kerk, Ras en Ekumene
1957	besoek aan Ger. Ekumeniese Sinode te Potchefstroom
1959-1963	predikant te Aasvoëlkop; moderator van die S. Transvaalse Sinode van die N.G. Kerk
1960-1961	betrokke by die „Cottesloe-Beraad”; hoewel die sinodes van die Hervormde en die N.G. kerke die bevindinge van Cottesloe verwerp het en daarom uit die Wêreldraad van Kerke getree het, het ds. Naudé binne sy kerk getuig vir geregtigheid in die verhouding tussen die rasse
1961	oprigting van die Christelike maandblad „Pro Veritate”
1963	direkteur van „Die Christelike Instituut van Suid-Afrika”, opgerig as voortgesette poging om individuele Christene van alle kerke te verenig om in Christelike eenheid en broederskap groter geregtigheid vir alle inwoners van die land te verkry.



remember the nazism method

john kane-berman

The question of how a civilised democracy like Germany could allow itself to be plunged into the Nazi dictatorship has long intrigued political writers. Two comparatively little-known books, Milton Mayer's "They Thought They were Free", and W.S. Allen's "Nazi Seizure of Power", provide some pregnant insights. (Milton Mayer: *They Thought They Were Free: The Germans 1933-45*, Second edition, Chicago and London, 1966. W.S. Allen: *The Nazi Seizure of Power—The Experience of a single German Town, 1930-35*, London, 1966). Allen attempts to answer the question by examining what happened in a German town of ten thousand people in the years 1930-33, the short time the local Nazi Party took to gain control and establish a dictatorship. The town is a real one, but Allen gives it a pseudonym: Thalburg. Mayer's book is based on interviews he had after the war with ten "little men"—ordinary, decent, law-abiding Germans—in an attempt to discover what made Nazism possible.

TWO COUNTRIES IN EVERY COUNTRY

He concludes that only one of the ten, a teacher, saw Nazism in any respect as we see it today. The other nine did not realise in all the twelve years under Hitler that Nazism was evil—"and they do not know it now. None of them ever knew, or now knows, Nazism as we knew it and know it; and they lived under it, served it, and indeed, made it." None of them thought, either at the time or later, that the rights of man in his own case were violated or even more than mildly inhibited—and then only for emergency reasons—after Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933. Even now, says Mayer, nine of the ten men look back on National Socialism as the best time of their lives—jobs and job security, improvements in housing and health, summer camps for the children, and the Hitler Jugend to keep them off the streets.

None of the ten, except one who helped set fire to a synagogue, ever did anything that we should call wrong by the measure we apply to ourselves. None of the ten even today ascribes moral evil to Hitler.

There were two truths about Germany and they were not contradictory: the truth that Nazis were happy and the truth that anti-Nazis were unhappy. Says Mayer: "There are two countries in every country."

Allen makes a similar point. Hardly anyone in Thalburg grasped what was happening as the Nazis were democratically voted into power. There was no real understanding of what Nazism was. The Social Democratic Party, the Jews, the Lutherans, and even committed Nazi Party members, failed to comprehend

the nature of the Nazi appeal. Each group saw one or the other side of Nazism, but none saw it in its full hideousness. Only later did this become apparent. "The problem of Nazism was primarily a problem of perception."

NO SHOCK BECAUSE OF 100 STEPS

Mayer draws attention to the fact that the Nazis took account of public opinion. In order to function effectively, the more verlig local party bosses took care to remain popular, with the result that controls from Berlin were sometimes relaxed. For example, Pastor Wilhelm Mensching of the village of Petzen in Lower Saxony, preached anti-Nazism to his congregation throughout the twelve years the Nazis were in power but was never arrested, for this would have been an affront to his flock outweighing the usefulness of acting against him. Of course, men like Niemoller had to be silenced, because they constituted a challenge. But the effectiveness of dozens of Menschings could be limited simply by ignoring them.

Mayer also contends that the Nazis had to gauge the point at which atrocity would awaken the community to consciousness of its moral habits. For example, he says, if the gassing of the Jews during the war had begun ten years earlier than it did (say, in 1933, when non-Jewish shops began to stick signs reading "German firm" in their windows), millions of people would have been shocked. But of course it didn't work like that. In between these two extremes came hundreds of little steps, some of them imperceptible, each of them preparing people not to be shocked by the next. It was not until the war with its "necessities" gave them the knowledge that they could get away with it, that the Nazis undertook the "final solution".

I DO NOT SEE HIM AS I KNOW HIM

By then, of course, the Jews had been completely stigmatized. Mayer says that the Germans' acceptance and practice of social anti-semitism in the pre-Hitler years undermined the resistance of their ordinary decency to the persecution to come. But although traditional anti-semitism played an important role in softening people to Nazi ideology, Mayer makes the point that it was *separation*, not prejudice as such, that made Nazism possible. None of his ten friends had ever known a Jew at all intimately in a town of twenty thousand which included a nine-hundred-year-old Jewish community of seven hundred people. Genera-

tion after generation these people had gone on living together in the same town, but as two separate, independent communities. Kessler, one of the ten "little men," an unemployed bank clerk, said: "The propaganda didn't make me think of him as I knew him, but of him as a Jew."

In Thalburg, by contrast, there was very little anti-semitism before the Nazis. There were only a hundred and twenty Jews in the town of ten thousand, most of them small businessmen and "well-assimilated." There was no "Jewish section." But the Nazis set about boycotting the Jews and thus isolating them socially, cutting them off from the rest of the town, so that normal human ties could not work to restrain the dictatorship. This petty apartheid was the beginning of the process leading to the gas chambers ten years later. Here again the question of perception comes in: neither Thalburgers nor Jews saw anti-semitism as a concrete programme, but merely as a sign of intellectual bankruptcy or an electioneering device—an unfortunate temporary excess such as occurred in all revolutions.

FALSE JUSTIFICATION OF EVER-INCREASING VIOLENCE

Allen describes how the Nazis deliberately made use of violence first to get themselves into power and then to maintain their rule. In the years 1930-33, there were thirty-seven political fights in Thalburg, nearly all of them intentionally provoked by the Nazis. The effect of this ever-increasing violence was that the middle and lower-middle classes—unsure of the future in a depression environment, always conscious of the possibility of unemployment, and terrified of "Communism", whose spectre was so skilfully conjured up by the Nazis—became more and more vulnerable to extremist appeals, and were finally driven into the Nazi laager.

In control of the city's government and therefore of its police, the Nazi Party quickly put into operation a system of institutionalised violence, of political and social terror. "The Nazis had to prove in the first month after the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor that they were willing to use the power apparatus in a ruthless and effective way. If this could be done, if Thalburgers came to believe implicitly that they might expect no mercy from their new Nazi rulers, then later terrorism would not be needed. The initial investment of terror would multiply itself through rumour and social reinforcement until opposition would be looked on as wholly futile." This is exactly what happened. By July 1933, any Thalburger knew that if he were indiscreet, the whole arsenal of the police state might be used against him. Justification was provided by alleged Communist plots, the Reichstag fire, and discoveries of arms caches by the police. Thalburgers were given the impression that the town was an arsenal, which was deemed a sufficient justification of police raids and



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arrests. Where there was smoke, there had to be fire.

RUMOURS AND FEAR THE TOOLS

Press publicity about arrests and police activity increased the deterrent effect of the terror. People were given an idea of the arbitrary nature of detentions and house raids, and of the often minor reasons for such action. By the midsummer of 1933, Allen says the people in Thalburg knew that even to express themselves against the regime would be to invite persecution. Moreover by this very awareness they reinforced the terror apparatus. Each time someone cautioned his neighbour or friend, he was strengthening the atmosphere of fear. The general feeling was that the Gestapo was everywhere: at least five people were identified as being Gestapo agents, though in fact there was probably only one for the whole town. Hence it was partly through rumours and fears that the Gestapo became extremely efficient.

Overt actions were occasionally necessary: for example, police ostentatiously taking down names at a dissident church. *In general, however, Thalburgers knew what was expected of them and acted accordingly, with the result that there was no need for the Nazi Party to increase actual terrorism in the first few years of its rule. "More than anything else," Allen writes, "rumour and social reinforcement maintained the system of terror ... A sort of equilibrium existed whereby Thalburgers did what was expected of them and in return were spared the potential rigors of the police state. This kind of tacit agreement, based on the possibility of terror, was the essential prerequisite for the maturation of totalitarian rule in Thalburg. It was always held in reserve while the slow process of moulding the various institutions in the town into*

acceptable instruments of Nazism went on."

Allen also makes the point that some people were quite unaware of the terror system, which squares with his own observation that Nazism involved a problem of perception and with Mayer's point that "there are two countries in every country."

ONLY THOUSANDS KNEW OF GOVERNMENT ATROCITIES

What of the failure of these ordinary decent people to "do anything" about Hitler?

In a Germany fabled for the efficiency of its civil service, Mayer points out, it took relatively few to manage the Nazi apparatus, probably no more than one million (out of a population of 70 million). The community at large had nothing to do except mind its own business and keep out of trouble. "Only the Communists were in trouble." You were sorry for the Jews but glad that you weren't a Jew, and you watched your step, more carefully than ever.

In any case, what could the ordinary man have done? Mayer says that while millions probably guessed about the atrocities, only thousands knew—knew in the sense of certainty. It was all too tempting to dismiss rumours as enemy propaganda, and in any event people had their own lives and problems to worry about. The public responsibilities which Nazism placed on ordinary people exceeded their capacities. Anti-Nazi action of any sort would have required them to burden themselves beyond their limit, and consequently they denied responsibility and detached themselves from a reality they did not want to face.

CONDITIONED TO DEADLY DANGER

In the words of a philologist which Mayer records, what happened in Germany was *the gradual habituation of the people, little by little, to being governed by surprise; to receiving decisions taken in secret; to believing that the situation was so complicated that the government had to act on information that people could not understand, or so dangerous that it could not be revealed for national security reasons. To live in this process was absolutely not to be able to notice it (sic).* Each step was so small, so inconsequential, or on occasion so regretted, that unless one were detached from the whole process from the beginning, unless one understood what the whole thing was in principle, what all these "Little measures" that no "patriotic German" could resist, must some day lead to, one could no more see it developing than a farmer sees his corn growing—until one day it is over his head.

GOOD CITIZENS MADE NAZISM POSSIBLE

Mayer and Allen have provided some important insights into how the practitioners of systematic inhumanity can get away with it. They were of course

OPENAIR MEETING

Os staan oppie hoek
vannie dimlylit ewinjoe
wat hulle kôl Bloegumstriet, Bônehiewil,
Moet os se Bybels
moet os se katare
moet os se temberiens
in bëndjoes.

Die vrouens loep verby
moet styfgepropte shopping bêgs
innie mans
loep smile-smile verby
sommage djive
as os korises sing.
Wiet 'ille nie die mêttir is erinstag nie?

Is wee rie hanneklop ghêng se hulle
Is wee rie wieder doepes,
issie appistolieks flyste hulle
in hulle smile.
'n paa loep vinag veby.

Die Bônihiewil isse iewil plek
Os moerie Hoot (woord) vikonnag
an allie mense
al lagille oek vi os

Kô broes in sistes
stram dai bëndjoe
moeker rai tembourien
os het 'n miesjin om te kompliet.

Howard Eybers

●

writing about the specific case of Germany, but their observations can be generalised. The point about the German people is not that they were innately evil. Indeed, to put it more strongly, it is that they were *not* particularly evil, but ordinary, church-going, law-abiding citizens. But it was they who through their passivity, their "sins of omission" rather than "commission," made Nazism possible. Similarly, in other countries, the acquiescence of the "silent majority" facilitates inhuman practices. Allen's words ring all too true: "In this respect, Thalburg's difficulties and Thalburg's fate are likely to be shared by other men in other times in similar circumstances."

*

THEOLOGY AND AFRICAN SIGNS

To a great extent the theological language, including the language used in the Christian communication in general, is analogical and symbolic in nature. What can be called 'signs' ("This pencil in my hand") are not so often employed in this language.

J. Baillie defines theological symbolism as

a way of thinking and speaking which, while pointing to the infinite, the divine and the unseen, describes it in terms of things seen, human and finite (*The Sense of the Presence of God*, p. 113).

Statements on God as the 'Father', Jesus as the 'Son' and 'Lamb of God', 'redemption' and 'justification' are a few examples of the analogical and symbolic nature of the theological language. Even terms like 'almighty', 'eternal' and 'infinite' can be regarded as analogical in the sense that they are based on human experience either *via analogica* or *via negativa* (here Baillie does not agree, *op. cit.*, p. 117-119).

VEHICLES FOR THE GOSPEL

Theological language could hardly be anything else but symbolic and analogical in the sense indicated by the quotation above. Communication takes place through words. In the Christian communication, if it is to be effective, no 'angel's language' nor 'imported language' can be employed. Here we find ourselves in the midst of semantic problems.

There are semantic problems even in connection with traditional tribal descriptive names of God. For example, it is not enough to say: "The Meru (Tanzania) call God *Mamwavi*. Also the God of the Bible is Giver of Gifts. Here is a point of contact." This is why we kept emphasizing that the existing points of contact must be objectively analyzed *and* elaborated upon. In what sense do the Meru speak of *Iruva* (God) as *Mamwavi*. (Giver of gifts)? What are his gifts? On what basis are they granted to man? What is the role and significance of prayer here? To what direction should the concept of *Mamwavi* be elaborated upon in the light of the Christian faith?

REAL TRANSLATION

Furthermore, 'translation' in our description of

African Theology often means real linguistic translation, i.e. wrestling with words in a given tribal language or *lingua franca* and sweating to find proper words and terms to be used as vehicles for the Gospel. This is the case not only in translating the Bible, but also in African Theology and the Christian communication in general. Here theology must make use of the knowledge of the language in question as well as know God's self-disclosure. An example might shed light upon this point.

When the first missionaries started to work among an East African tribe they tried to find a fitting indigenous word for the central Biblical concept of God's 'grace'. At last they thought they had succeeded and so a certain word was accepted and introduced as a translation of 'grace'. Only after years, after gaining a better understanding of the language and the culture of the tribe, did the missionaries realize that the accepted and used word actually meant something a son has a *right* to get from his father—just the opposite to the Biblical idea of God's grace.

GIVE US OUR DAILY 'PORRIDGE'

One should be reminded that the question of relevance too is an aspect of theology as translation. An illustration often mentioned at this point is the replacing of 'God's Lamb' with 'God's Baby Seal' in some parts of Greenland. In the areas where there are no sheep and people have no idea of a lamb at all, speaking of 'God's Lamb' would be irrelevant and meaningless. If properly elaborated upon, 'God's Baby Seal' may convey the New Testament idea of 'God's Lamb' to the people in question.

Another example, which at least is true, is the part of the Lord's Prayer for 'daily bread'. In the Church universal terms like 'bread', 'porridge', and 'rice' are employed to convey the idea of the daily necessities of life depending on the local relevance of these terms. Even whole biblical thought—complexes may be more relevant in some parts of the world than in others. As an example we can mention here *one* of the biblical approaches to 'salvation': the 'perfect sacrifice of Christ' as contrasted to the 'manifold of sacrifices' in the Letter to Hebrews. This approach is more relevant in Africa than, say, in Europe. *

HELPER OR PARTNER ?

liberation in feminine perspective 4

LETTY RUSSELL

Like other oppressed groups, women have to liberate themselves in communion with others. The others in this case are men, men who often resist the fact that women no longer wish to receive their identity from their fathers, husbands or children, but to be full persons in their own right. This self-liberating process requires new life styles, new roles and new ways of communicating.

New existence in dialogue is a key factor in learning to be "pro-woman". Women have been enculturated in western society to express horizontal violence against one another as they compete for the favour of men. Because they are taught to devalue themselves, they also devalue other women. This negative attitude toward one another is only increased by the modern nuclear family structure which isolates women from other adult companionship and urges them to view the full-time wife-and-mother-role as the highest fulfilment of her abilities. Existence in dialogue means learning to share world and experience with other women of every race and culture. It means learning to accept them as sisters who share in common alienating experiences which can only be changed through joint political action.

This awareness provides a bridge across which women of all races can dialogue with each other. In spite of the differences of culture and in immediate goals, women need to open up dialogue with one another and to form coalitions which resist the attempts of the oppressive society to enhance horizontal violence and negate all efforts for unity. The recognition that imperialism, racism and sexism are intertwined is essential if dialogue is to lead to building human community.

A Shared World

New existence in dialogue is also a key factor in developing new relations of equality with men. Women continually live with their oppressors. The only hope

for changed attitudes on both sides is a new openness to share ideas and feelings in this situation of "shared world". This in turn calls for an increased awareness that marriage and family are changeable institutions of society and not fixed orders of creation. Many women and men are not ready for these changes, yet they need to begin to be aware of the possibilities of the changing structures of marriage, family and work in such a way that human communication and communion is enhanced.

Certainly human growth on every level depends on new understanding of humanization, new consciousness of the possibilities of liberation, and new opportunities for communication and communion. The search of women who are living within changing institutions and struggling to change those institutions which are dehumanizing, is for true dignity and partnership as full members of the human race. This dignity in no sense denies the need of all people to find fulfilment in mutual service of others. Yet it calls for a new examination of the meaning of that life for others.

Partnership

Perhaps in this regard it would be helpful to all of us if we remember that the story of women's creation as man's *helper* in Genesis 2:18 does not degrade her to servant, but makes her a partner with God who is man's other helper. This word *ezer* in the Old Testament never indicates an inferior who assists, and often refers to Yahweh. For Christians this indicates that servanthood needs a profound re-interpretation so that men and women alike can find themselves free to be a Christ to their neighbour (a servant or minister) without implying any inferiority of either person. Partnership is a possibility for human beings and for human groupings across the world. It is toward the reality of this partnership in human liberation that men and women work as they join God in his Mission of reconciliation. *

the changing situation in christian education:

IS A BIBLE-BASED COURSE UNBIBLICAL?

THE BIBLE STANDS AT THE CENTRE OF A REVOLUTION IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION CIRCLES. It is not the centrality of the Bible that is in question in this revolution but the way it is used. But revolutions can be disturbing and when new truth penetrates our minds, it can be painful.

In the past, teachers have taught that the best approach to Christian Education was to ensure that lesson guides and other material used were based directly on the Biblical narrative. The result was that most sessions were based directly on a story from the Bible. Recent research throws considerable doubt on this kind of approach and makes us ask whether, if we are really concerned to share the Bible's insights into human life and God's purpose with His people, we can continue to use courses based on this method.

After all, the purpose of instructing young people in the Scriptures is not just that they may know the Scriptures, but that they may have faith in God as He is revealed in the Scriptures. The quantity of Scriptures known is largely irrelevant, for one passage rightly heard and understood, may open the way to faith, while a hundred passages which have no definite meaning for the young person's life may produce only confusion.

Experiences before written record

In approaching the Bible we are looking at the experience of men through the ages. These experiences precede the record which describes the respective happenings and the meanings which the participants drew out of these events. Man's personal experience is the first aspect of the Bible narrative. In his searching and struggling, man finds an answer and records what he has found.

When, therefore, we begin in the sessions with the normal experience of our young people we are simply following the Biblical pattern. Life is the starting point for our experience of God. To begin with the Biblical narrative is to short-circuit the very pattern of education and understanding upon which the Bible itself is based. As someone attempting to put it in a nutshell has said: "The Bible-based course is un-Biblical!"

The approach which sees the task of Christian Education amongst the young as based upon the presentation of the actual biblical narrative has most certainly been brought into serious question. The importance, however, of the Biblical witness to the ways and purposes of God remain at the very centre of this teaching ministry. *It is not, therefore, a matter of whether one is to teach the Bible or not that is at issue,*

but rather an emphasis upon how to make known these great truths to which the Bible witnesses. (In one sense the Bible could be likened to John the Baptist—"Don't look at me; look at Him".)

We neglect at our peril the insights being made available by contemporary investigations in regard to methods used. The great number of young people flowing out of our Churches suggest perhaps that we have in the past been on the wrong track.

Stress on Church or Human lives?

A significant question to ask of oneself is this: "Am I, as educator, trying to make the Bible and the Church relevant or am I trying to help some people discover the meaning of their lives?" Many of those who claim the latter as their purpose are nonetheless still caught up in the former.

The Bible is a most important document, but we have absolutized it and idolized it to such an extent that we assume that mere exposure to its contents will produce beneficial results. Meanwhile the treasure it contains is lost.

In regard to teaching the Bible to children some important and disturbing questions are now being raised. Ronald Goldman, a Senior Lecturer in Educational Psychology at the University of Reading, England, in his book "Readiness for Religion" says:

"The Bible is the major source book of Christianity *for adults*. It is written by adults for adults and is plainly not a children's book. To help children become familiar with it too early is to invite boredom and confusion, and even the most enthusiastic religious educator would not wish for this result to occur. What we must try to do is to help children to encounter the experience of which the Bible speaks at suitable stages of their development. This means a severe pruning of Bible content in the early years, for it is only later that an understanding and appreciation develops of what the Bible has to say."

Father Sloyan, a leading Roman Catholic educator, has pointed out, "The Bible is a book of poetry for sophisticated adults." We could certainly ruin a child's capacity for literature appreciation if we forced Shakespeare, Milton, Auden or Dylan Thomas on him at the first or second grade level.

If life and its meaning is to be our area of concern, as it seems to have been Jesus' concern, perhaps we can get some clues from his teaching ministry. (We do have to read the Bible to find these).

How did Jesus teach?

First of all he was *not a teacher of Scripture* as such. In all of his teaching in Mark's Gospel, for instance, he makes only fourteen Biblical references. He used whatever was at hand to help people face the reality of their lives—sheep, weddings, farming, politics, money, taxes, clothing, wine, building construction, jewels, economics. In fact in all the thirty-six parables, which provided his chief teaching method, he made not a single Scriptural reference.

In his book entitled "Jesus and His Parables" J.A. Findlay says that when we turn to the parables concerning people, "we become aware with what would be a shock, if we were not so accustomed to these stories that we rarely let them play freely about our minds, that we are not hearing so much about prayer, and still less about Church-going, or Sabbath-keeping, or the life of devotion, but rather about losing things and looking for them, about such mundane things as a poor man suddenly coming into money, or a ne'er-do-well son returning home in rags and getting the kind of welcome he got from his people, or the misery of getting the sack from the office and looking for a job, about domestic difficulties and the law's delays, or the kindly stranger who is always ready to give first-aid when there is an accident on the roads, while the churlish fellow next door will not even bother to get up out of bed to help a friend in difficulty."

Both James Stewart in his "The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ" and Douglas Hubery in his "The Teaching Methods of Jesus" remind us "that much of Christ's profoundest teaching was elicited by quite casual incidents and events. The *real experience*, the life situation, whether it was the presence of members of His family on the edge of the crowd, or a lame man being healed, or a storm suddenly blown up on the Galilean Lake, became the opportunities Jesus took in order to teach His disciples something of the inner significance of things".

Furthermore, his teaching was *dialogic*. He engaged people in conversation. There is little evidence that he preached many sermons as such. Even the so-called Sermon on the Mount has been identified by scholars as a series of disconnected sayings from different occasions that Matthew strung together in this way since the original contexts had been lost. Rather he talked with people about things that were binding them, and he paid careful heed to their responses. Here was no teacher of abstract concepts, nor of mere polite conversation. **HERE WAS ONE WHO CHALLENGED MEN TO FACE THEMSELVES AND THE MEANING AND VALUES OF THEIR LIVES.** The emphasis was on each individual's search and journey. *

Adapted from the Confirmation Notebook produced by J.E.D. (Joint Education Development) of the education departments of the Churches participating in the Church Unity Commission.

SKOLLIE

As djulle rie donker straat afkom
in julle sien vir my,
dan loep djulle vêrlangs om
want djulle is bang vir my ...

Vi my
moet my keppie bokant my oë
vi my
moet my broek wat op my stêre hang.

Innie girls
as hulle verby loep moet
hulle bellbottims en hulle hotpants;
en hulle miniskirts ...

en ek sê, Hallo There en smile
dan sê hulle
Voetjek!
Hoe moet ekke voel?
Is ek dannie mens nie?
Dis nou my reward vir 'n compliment.

Dissie keer wat ek my GOANY uitruk
van stainless steel
en slice net waar ek kan.
Verskoon my tog,
miskien was ek te gou.
Ek soek maar net 'n bietjie Love
en understanding please ...

Te laat, hier kom die POLICEVAN!
Gly manne daa swai oubaas!
STAAN julle D ... STAAN ...
of ek skiet!

Howard Eybers

MODERNE AFRIKANERIDENTITEIT

en die onmoontlikheid van

AFRIKANERNASIONALISME

(slot)

Jan Loubser

Ek wil my nou wend tot die ontleding van enkele kenmerke van die Afrikaner as moderne mens. Hoewel daar 'n groot persentasie Afrikaners is wat wel die kenmerke van die moderne mens het, is die doelwit hier nie om 'n beskrywing te gee van 'n realiteit wat reeds bestaan nie. Dis iets waarna 'n mens moet strewen en sodanig moet ons dit sien as 'n idee of 'n gedagtestelsel, wat teenoor die standpunt dat die Afrikaner moet strewen om sekere kenmerke van die verlede te handhaaf, gestel moet word. Die oriëntasie is nie na die verlede nie, maar na die hede en die toekoms. Die moderne Afrikaner kan nie opgaan in die geslotenheid van 'n vergange identiteit nie; hy sien die demoniese in 'n kunsmatige volkseenheid en besef dat dit alleen kan lei tot Van Wyk Louw se „Inferno” van die sterre wat sal uitvlug uit die „geselligheid van melkweg en van ligte lig” en „uitreik na die duisternis wat buite lê en wrokkend nog opstandig teen die saam-wees is:”

dat die groot koordans wat hulle dans
traer sal word, tót hulle staan,
en soos groot slakke weg sal sleep
na koue hoeke uit die baan

en daar, onmeeklik uitgewyk,
elkeen sy eie grou gebied
met dowwe gloed en eensaam haat
in selfgenoegsaamheid besit.

ONS MOET SAAMLEWE

Watter kenmerke moet die moderne Afrikaner besit wat nie bevrees is om saam te wees en in die „ligte lig” te lewe nie? Die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing, Afrika met al sy probleme van ontwikkeling en die moderne wêreld met al sy strominge en konfrontasies van groot moondhede is die „melkweg” waarin ons ons saamwees moet uitwerk. Suid-Afrika is 'n dinamiese, ontwikkelende land met 'n pluralistiese samelewing waarin verskeie volke moet saamlewe. So 'n samelewing kan alleen tot sy reg kom as 'n gemeenskaplike waardestelsel aanvaar word en norme daargestel word wat regverdig van toepassing is op alle burgers en

volksgroepe. Dit het 'n politieke stelsel nodig waarin alle volke tot hulle reg kom en hulleself kan handhaaf tot die mate wat hulle in selfhandhawing geïnteresseerd is. Dit moet 'n ekonomiese stelsel daarstel en ontwikkel waarin elke volk 'n regmatige aandeel kan hê en bydrae kan maak. Dit moet 'n oop samelewing wees wat kontak tussen die verskillende volke bevorder sodat hulle mekaar kan leer verstaan en mekaar se kulturele skatte kan leer waardeer, terwyl hulle hul eie identiteit en eie kultuur handhaaf. Hierdie soort samelewing moet waak teen die polarisering van volke; dit moet bou op dit wat hulle in gemeen het en dit wat hulle verdeel op die agtergrond skuiwe. Dit moet die konflikte van die verlede omskep in geleenthede vir samewerking om historiese veronregting reg te stel en die kloue wat mense op politieke en ekonomiese gebiede van mekaar skei, oorbrug. Dit moet imperialisme, onderdrukking en uitbuiting van een volk teenoor die ander bestry. Dit moet positief werk aan die daarstelling van 'n samelewingsgemeenskap wat alle volke insluit en 'n nasionale identiteit skep wat nie bots met dié van enige van die volke nie.

SOSIALE BEWUSTHEID

Hoe kan die Afrikaner sy rol speel in so 'n samelewing en sy volk handhaaf? Dit bring ons by die kenmerke van die moderne Afrikaner. Ons bepaal ons hier by die Afrikaner, maar hierdie is eintlik kenmerke wat gekweek moet word in alle lede van so 'n samelewing, afgesien van die volk waaraan hulle behoort. Sonder om te probeer volledig wees, let ons kortliks op die volgende kenmerke: sosiale bewustheid, openheid, empatie, persoonlike verantwoordelikheid en vertroue. Hierdie kenmerke is nie volksvreemd by die Afrikaner nie, maar sluit aan by sy tradisionele kenmerke soos individualisme, regverdigheidsin, godsdienstsin en onafhanklikheidstrewen.

Sosiale Bewustheid: Die moderne Afrikaner moet 'n positiewe bewustheid hê van die samelewing en wêreld waarin hy lewe. Hy moet die geleenthede en gevare van die situasie nugter en realisties opsom en 'n begrip ontwikkel van sy rol en bydrae daarin. Hy moet die dinamika van 'n veelvolkige samelewing probeer verstaan deur 'n bewustheid van die ideale, aspirasies en

probleme van elke ander volk te ontwikkel. Hy moet bewus wees van die implikasies van beleide en van ontwikkelinge, nie net vir sy eie volk nie, maar vir alle volke, vir die samelewing as 'n geheel, asook vir die ongewing van die samelewing en sy natuurlike bronne. Hy moet die internasionale situasie probeer verstaan om in staat te wees om 'n ingeligte mening te hê oor buitelandse, asook binnelandse sake. Hy moet die werklikheid van die internasionale kommunistiese offensief begryp en homself vergewis van die soort maatskaplike toestande wat vrugbare teelaarde vir Kommunisme bied. Hy moet die kommunistiese ideologie en strategie bestudeer en homself verantwoord daarteenoor. Die dinamika van die moderne wêreld kan nie verstaan word sonder 'n deeglike kennis van die Kommunisme in sy verskillende vorme nie.

KOMMUNIKASIEKANALE OOP!

Vir hierdie sosiale bewustheid is hy afhanklik van onbelemmerde toegang tot informasie wat vereis dat die informasiekanale onafhanklik en vry en oop gehou moet word. Die moderne Afrikaner is 'n ingeligte mens wat nie kan bekostig dat hy geïndoktrineer word om die wêreld te sien en te verstaan deur die oogklappe van 'n noue en bevange ideologie wat sy informasiebronne beheer en verdraai nie. Hy moet hom verset teen die soort propaganda wat 'n mens op „Sake van die Dag” hoor, of in praatjies soos Van Jaarsveld se *Afrikaner Quo Vadis*, of in koerante wat deur politieke partye beheer word of altyd dieselfde party-politieke standpunt inneem. Hy moet die verbanning van boeke wat noodsaaklike inligting bevat, teenstaan. Hy moet ook bewus wees dat inligtingsbronne selde objektief is en homself blootstel aan verskillende bronne sodat hy 'n gebalanseerde perspektief kan verkry.

Om inligting te verkry en bewus te wees van die maatskaplike situasie waarin 'n mens jou bevind, is egter nie genoeg nie. Dit sou niks help as 'n mens jou mening reeds gevorm het en jou standpunt ingeneem het, voordat jy die inligting kry nie. Daarom moet die moderne Afrikaner ook gekenmerk wees deur *openheid*. Openheid beteken dat 'n mens bereid is om inligting te oorweeg en alle standpunte aan te hoor voordat jy tot 'n gevolgtrekking kom. Dit beteken dat jy in staat is om jou mening te verander as die inligting duidelik daarop dui dat jy nie alle aspekte van 'n saak in ag geneem het toe jy jou mening gevorm het nie. Die moderne Afrikaner het die kapasiteit om te verander en om verandering te aanvaar as sy inligting oor die situasie waarin hy hom bevind daarop dui dat sodanige verandering nodig is. Hy is ontvanklik vir nuwe idees en is bereid om hulle in nuwe dade te omskep. Hy besef dat die mens en die samelewing oop sisteme is wat in onafgebroke simbiose met 'n steeds veranderende omgewing lewe. Om jou toe te sluit vir hierdie veranderinge beteken stagnasie en dood, geestelik en andersins.

Vir hom is daar geen klaargekookte en ingelegde ant-

woorde op probleme nie. Hy moet betrokke wees en moet sêlf worstel met hierdie probleme. Wat gister goed was, werk nie noodwendig vandag nie en mag môre fataal verkeerd wees. Hierdie openheid kan 'n mens alleen handhaaf as jy selfvertroue het, en indien hierdie vermoëns doelbewus aangekweek word in die opvoedkundige instellings van die samelewing, sodat alle lede van die samelewing openheid en ontvanklikheid kan ontwikkel.

STEL JOUSELF IN SY PLEK ...

Die moderne Afrikaner moet ook in staat wees om homself in die plek van die ander man te stel. Hy moet 'n saak kan sien uit die oogpunt van die andersdenkende, van die lid van 'n ander volk of samelewing. Hy moet empaties wees of die vermoë van empatie hê, soos ons dit hier wil noem. Hy moet in staat kan wees om homself af te vra: Hoe sou ek gevoel het as ek gedwing sou word om my vrou en kinders in Outdts-hoorn te los as ek in die Kaap wou kom werk, 'n permit moes hê om dit te doen, 'n pas moes dra en summier in die tronk gestop sou word as ek my pas nie by my sou hê nie en op 'n trein gelaai sou word terug Outdts-hoorn toe, omdat my vel swart is. Hoe sou ek gevoel het as ek 'n opgevoede, gekultiveerde Afrikaner was wat gedigte skrywe wat deur die hoogste outoriteite geloof word, en verbied word om met my kultuurgenote om te gaan, omdat my vel bruin is? Hoe sou ek gevoel het as my belastingbydraes gebruik sou word om 'n elf miljoen rand kultuursentrum te bou en ek nie toegelaat word om dit te gebruik nie, omdat my vel bruin of swart is? Hoe sou ek gevoel het as ek aan die beste Afrikaanse universiteit wou gaan studeer omdat ek myself as 'n Afrikaner beskou, en ek verbied word, omdat my vel bruin of swart is? Hoe sou ek gevoel het om elke goddelike dag van my lewe in tekens vas te kyk wat my lewe bekamp en my en my kinders uitsluit van die beste geriewe en geleenthede wat die samelewing bied, omdat my vel bruin of swart is? Die moderne Afrikaner moet homself kan indink in die situasie en rol van ander volke en homself kan afvra: Sou ek so 'n lewe vir myself kon aanvaar en regverdig en op watter gronde? Sou ek daarmee genoë neem en indien nie, watter reg het ek om van enigiemand anders te verwag om dit te doen? Ons ken almal die antwoorde op hierdie vrae. Ons eie geskiedenis skreeu dit oor die bergtoppe van ons land vir almal om te hoor. Die moderne Afrikaner moet sy eie geskiedenis met sy strewe na vollke waardigheid en sy stryd vir vryheid en vir reg teen imperialistiese magte in ander volke kan projekteer en homself verantwoord teenoor daardie geskiedenis in sy optrede teenoor daardie volke. Ons geskiedenis het geweld geken. Ek staan nie geweld voor nie; ek keur dit as 'n middel tot beide onderdrukking en opstand ten sterkste af. Maar ons moet onself vergewis van die implikasies en gevolge van ons dade.

KERK OF PARTY MAG NIE VIR JOU BESLUIT

Die moderne Afrikaner is ook 'n *persoonlike verantwoordelike* mens. Hierdie kenmerk sluit aan by die individualisme en onafhanklikheidsin wat so dikwels opgehaal word in pogings om die tradisionele kenmerke van die Afrikaner te bepaal en ewe dikwels betreur word as faktore wat die eenheid van die volk bedreig. Maar met persoonlike verantwoordelikheid het ek meer as net dit in gedagte. Dit beteken die aanvaarding van persoonlike verantwoordelikheid om te besluit wat my te doen staan in 'n situasie waar my sosiale bewustheid, my openheid teenoor en empatie met ander mense sekere gevolgtrekkinge op my afdwing. Dit beteken dat die moderne Afrikaner nie vir die Kerk of vir die Party of vir die Bond kan gaan vra wat hom te doene staan nie. Hy bekommer hom ook nie oor wat hierdie instansies van sy optrede sal dink nie. Hy kan ook nie sy persoonlike verantwoordelikheid ontduik deur 'n gerieflike versie in die Bybel te gaan opsoek om God sodoende by sy daad te betrek nie. Hy is 'n protestant wat die protestantse beginsel ernstig opneem en nie instellings met hulle historiese gebondenheid nie. Paul Tillich, die toeloop wat van Nazisme na Amerika gevlug het, stel die rol van die protestantse beginsel, só in *The Protestant Era*: Hy merk op dat oral in die Westerse wêreld mense geneig is om nie vir hulleself te dink nie:

These people do not want to decide things for themselves; they do not want to decide about their political beliefs, about their religion and morals. They are longing for a leader, for symbols, for ideas which would be beyond all criticism. They are longing for the possibility of enthusiasm, sacrifice, and self-subjection to collective ideas and activities. Autonomous thinking and acting is rejected as liberalistic and, consequently, as the cause of meaninglessness and despair in every realm of life. (p. 228).

Tillich beweer dat die protestantse beginsel totaal teenstrydig is met hierdie houding en ek stem heelhartig met hom saam. Dis die moeite werd om Tillich self hier aan die woord te laat:

The central principle of Protestantism is the doctrine of justification by grace alone, which means that no individual and no human group can claim a divine dignity for its moral achievements, for its sacramental power, for its sanctity, or for its doctrine. If, consciously or unconsciously, they make such a claim, Protestantism requires that they be challenged by the prophetic protest, which gives God alone absoluteness and sanctity and denies every claim of human pride. ... (This principle) implies that there cannot be a sacred system, ecclesiastical or political; that there cannot be a sacred hierarchy with absolute authority; and

that there cannot be truth in human minds which is divine truth itself. Consequently, the prophetic spirit must always criticise, attack and condemn sacred authorities, doctrines, and morals. And every genuine Protestant is called upon to bear personal responsibility for this. Each Protestant, each layman, each minister, has to decide for himself whether a doctrine is true or not, whether a prophet is a true or a false prophet, whether a power is demonic or divine. Even the Bible cannot liberate him from this responsibility, for the Bible is a subject of interpretation: there is no doctrine, no prophet, no priest, no power, which has not claimed biblical sanction for itself. For the Protestant, individual decision is inescapable. (p. 226).

'N VALSE GEBRUIK VAN DIE BYBEL

Ons beroem ons daarop dat ons 'n protestantse volk is. Wat het van die protestantse beginsel in ons godsdienstige lewe geword? Ons het dit in die kerk opgesluit en die spook van Calvyn as wag voor die deur gestel en as die beginsel sy kop uitsteek, dan slaan die predikant hom met die Bybel oor sy kop. Ons is almal bekend met die aanspraak wat ons volk op God maak en hoe ons kerk en meeste van ons dominees elke aspek van die rassebeleid met vers en kapittel uit die Bybel regverdig. Daar is geen beter voorbeeld hiervan as Treurnicht se *Op die Keper* nie. 'n Mens kan nie met die man redeneer nie, want hy beroep hom elke keer op die Skrif. Die enigste uitweg tot die onontwykbare persoonlike verantwoordelikheid wat jy as protestant het, is om die gesag van die kerk en die predikant te verwerp in soverre hierdie gesag nie met jou eie sin van verantwoordelikheid strook nie. Die gesag van die Bybel bestaan alleen in die persoonlike verantwoording van elke individu en ons moet, soos Tillich sê, alle ander aansprake op daardie gesag verwerp.

Die moderne Afrikaner moet selfstandig wees en volle verantwoordelikheid aanvaar vir sy daad as godsdienstige en morele mens. Sy sosiale bewustheid, sy openheid vir verskillende moontlikhede in sy werklikheidsituasie, sy empatie met die posisie van sy medemens, sal niks tot stand bring as die persoonlike verantwoordelikheid wat hy voel, weer uit die Bybel wegverklar en weggepreek kan word nie. Die moderne Afrikaner onderwerp alle vorme van tradisionele gesag aan hierdie beginsel en neem selfstandig sy eie besluite en aanvaar volle verantwoordelikheid daarvoor, hier en in die hiernamaals.

VERTROU MEDEMENS

Die moderne Afrikaner is 'n *vertrouende en betroubare* mens. Vertrou in jou medemens en in die same-

lewing is die sement wat die samelewing aanmekaar bind. Sonder vertroue sou 'n mens nie geld kon gebruik nie, want geld is niks werd as jy dit nie later vir iets wat jy kan gebruik, kan verruil nie. 'n Geldstelsel slaag alleen omdat daar 'n algemene vertroue is dat 'n mens waarde vir jou geld sal kry. En 'n moderne komplekse samelewing is 'n onmoontlikheid sonder geld. Daar is ander dinge in die moderne samelewing wat alleen op die basis van vertroue moontlik is. As iemand jou sy woord gee, vertrou jy dat hy dit sal hou en daarooreenkomstig sal handel. Beloftes wat nie nagekom word nie, ondermyn vertroue in iemand wat sy woord breek; hy word nie maklik weer vertrou nie. As jy iemand nie vertrou nie, laat jy hom nie toe om oor jou goed of jou lot te beskik nie. As 'n man sterker is as jy, moet 'n mens vertroue kan hê dat hy nie sy mag sal gebruik om jou onder te hou of te onderdruk nie. As 'n man sy mag een keer op dié wyse misbruik het, vertrou jy hom nie maklik weer nie. As jy met iemand ooreengekom het dat jy die spel volgens gemeenskaplik-aanvaarde reëls sal speel, en jy verbreek die reëls, sal hy nie weer maklik met jou saamspeel nie. As iemand die mag of gesag het om te verdeel of om reëls neer te lê, vertrou ons dat hy dit regverdig sal doen. As kinders iets onder mekaar moet verdeel, laat ons die een deel en die ander een kies. Sonder vertroue en betroubaarheid is 'n samelewing onmoontlik, en verbrokkel dit.

ONS DEEL EN HULLE KIES?

Die Afrikaner het vandag die hef in die hand in Suid-Afrika. Ons wil die land onder die verskillende bevolkingsgroepe verdeel. Is ons bereid om te verdeel en hulle te laat kies? Kan die ander volke ons vertrou? Vir vier-en-twintig jaar het ons die land regeer. Het ons dit só gedoen dat die ander bevolkingsgroepe, as hulle stemreg sou hê, weer die mag aan ons sou toevertrou? Bestaan die swart gevaar nie miskien hoofsaaklik daarin dat ons bevrees is dat, as hulle aan bewind sou kom, hulle ons sou behandel soos ons hulle behandel nie? Ons praat graag van voogdskap. Wat sou ons dink van 'n vader of 'n voog wat 'n voorbeeld stel aan 'n kind en dan die kind slaan as hy die voorbeeld navolg? Ons beroep ons daarop dat ons die waardes van die Westerse beskawing hier in Suid-Afrika moet handhaaf. Watter waardes? Het die res van die Westerse beskawing nie miskien ook iets te sê oor wat die waardes eintlik is nie? Is daar miskien 'n element van waarheid in hulle aantygings dat ons die basiese menslike waardes wat deur eeue van stryd gewen is, onder ons voete vertrap en juis daarom die Westerse beskawing ondergrawe, nie net hier nie, maar in die hele wêreld, tot so 'n mate dat hulle ons as 'n bedreiging vir wêreldvrede beskou nie? Wat van 'n waarde soos *godsdienstvryheid*? Ons het onlangs etlike godsdienstige leiers verban terwyl so iets ongekennd is in enige ander demokratiese Westerse land. En wat word van mense wat uit godsdienstige oortuiging nie militêre

diens wil doen nie? Wat van vryheid van spraak en beweging? In watter ander Westerse land word vryheid van spraak en beweging so arbitrêr en op so 'n groot skaal beperk as hier?

Wat van die gesag van die regbank en die burgerreg op 'n regverdige verhoor? In watter Westerse land word soveel mense so stelselmatig hierdie reg ontsê?

RESPEK EN VERTROUEN MOET HERWIN WORD

Kan ons werklik sê dat ons die waardes van die Westerse beskawing handhaaf, en kan mense ons vertrou as ons dit sê? Hoe kan ons weer die vertroue van die wêreld en dié van die ander volke van Suid-Afrika wen?

Daar is niks wat die Blanke se voortbestaan in hierdie land meer bedreig as hierdie krisis van vertroue nie. Die moderne Afrikaner moet hierdie krisis die hoof bied. Hy moet die vertroue van die wêreld en van die res van Suid-Afrika in sy regverdigheid en betroubaarheid herstel. Hy kan dit alleen doen deur daarop aan te dring dat wanneer mense aan bewind is, hulle regeer soos hulle graag regeer sal wil word wanneer hulle nie aan bewind is nie. Mense wat ander mense regeer op 'n manier waarop hulle nie self graag regeer wil word nie, staan nie graag die bewind af nie. As 'n mens eers die onderlinge vertroue in 'n samelewing ondermyn het, stuur jy maklik op 'n diktatuur af. Die moderne Afrikaner mag homself nie aan so 'n bewind oorgee, of dit ondersteun nie. Hy moet sy bewustheid, openheid, empatie, en persoonlike verantwoordelikheid só gebruik dat hy die vertroue van die ander volke kan wen en hulle kan vertrou, sodat die onderlinge vertroue waarsonder die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing nie kan voortbestaan nie, opgebou en versterk kan word.

MOBILISASIE

Soos reeds opgemerk, hierdie kenmerke word nie daargestel as unieke kenmerke van die moderne Afrikaner nie; dit is slegs sommige van die eienskappe wat 'n mens moet aankweek om in 'n moderne samelewing te lewe. Dieselfde geld vir ander volke in die land. Daar is ander kenmerke wat ons sou moes insluit as ons volledig op die saak wou ingaan en tyd gehad het, soos byvoorbeeld die aanvaarding van algemeen menslike waardes, regverdigheid, verdraagsaamheid, en basiese menseregte; met ander woorde, die waardes van die Westerse beskawing wat ons so graag in Afrika wil handhaaf.

Hierdie kenmerke kom nie sommer outomaties tot stand nie, hoewel 'n mens verbaas sal wees hoe natuurlik dit vir mense is om dit aan te kweek as hulle net die geleentheid gegee word. Die geleentheid moet geskep word, daar moet georganiseer en gemobiliseer word om hierdie kenmerke by die Afrikaner te bevorder, veral omdat die bestaande Afrikaanse instellings en

organisasies hulle daarvoor beywer om die ontwikkeling van die moderne Afrikaner te vertraag en hierdie eienskappe by hom afstomp. Die pogings hoef nie tot die Afrikaner alleen beperk te word nie, want 'n mens wil eintlik hierdie eienskappe by alle bevolkingsgroepe aankweek. Daarom bied so 'n program dan ook die geleentheid vir kontak en samewerking met ander bevolkingsgroepe en stel gemeenskaplike doelstellings daar sodat, wanneer 'n mens kontak soek, dit nie maar net om kontak terwille van kontak gaan nie.

AFRIKANER IS UITGEWEKENE

Die moderne Afrikaner het in die verlede té dikwels weggedryf en 'n uitgewekene geword. Dit het die Afrikanersaak in die hande van die konserwatiewe organisasies gelaat sonder dat daar positiewe alternatiewe vir die moderne Afrikaner daargestel is. Die daarstelling van organisasies, mondstukke en programme wat sulke alternatiewe aan die moderne Afrikaner kan bied, het nou 'n noodsaaklikheid geword en moet met mening aangepak word.

Hoe kan hierdie mobilisasie aangepak word? Daar is reeds baie bemoedigende tekens en bewegings. Daar is die onmisbare tekens dat die stads-Afrikaner smag na die „ligte lig van die melkweg” en gereed is om gemobiliseer te word vir hierdie doel. Daar is die geweldige betekenisvolle ontwikkelinge aan ons universiteite en by die jeug in die algemeen. Ons dink hier aan die interessante bladje *Loog* van Potchefstroom wat in my dae nog Christelik-Nasionaal was, wasgoed ingesluit; aan SAAK op Stellenbosch en die pogings van die Studenteraad om kontak te maak met hulle medestudente van ander bevolkingsgroepe; aan die besluit van die Studenterade van die Afrikaanse universiteite om die A.S.B. te vervang met 'n organisasie wat onafhanklik van die Afrikanerkultus kan optree, en so meer. Die Afrikaanse student het 'n sentrale rol in die taak om die kunsmatige eenheid van die Afrikanerkultus op te breek, om ons universiteite te bevry van die volksbevangenheid waarin hulle verkeer, en om leiding aan die moderne Afrikaner te gee.

'N ONAFHANKLIKE KOERANT!

Maar daar moet ook 'n organisasie van moderne Afrikaners gestig word wat hom ten doel sal stel om die moderne Afrikaner te mobiliseer op alle lewens-terreine en om hierdie eienskappe stelselmatig by ons volksgenote en andere te kweek. 'n Hele reeks programme moet geloods word om hierdie doelstellings te bereik. Jeugbyeenkomste moet behou word om die huidige indoktrinasiëprogram aktief teen te werk. Ons opvoedkundige stelsel moet van bo tot onder bestudeer word en 'n opvoeding wat die opgroeiende geslag sal toerus vir die eise van die lewe in 'n veelvokige snelveranderende, moderne samelewing deur hierdie eienskappe stelselmatig te kweek, moet aktief bevorder word. Volwasse opvoedingsprogramme moet geloods

word om ons mense wat reeds in beroepe staan, te betrek. Daar moet te velde getrek word teen die kultus-propaganda wat aan ons oor die radio opgedis word. 'n Mens moet briewe skrywe aan die koerante en die eienskappe van die moderne Afrikaner en Suid-Afrikaner propageer, en die „verkrampde” en bekrompe standpunte aan die kaak stel. Daar moet geywer word vir 'n vrye en onafhanklike pers en vir vryheid van spraak, godsdiens, en gewete—waardes wat vandag ernstig bedreig word. 'n Nuwe onafhanklike koerant moet gestig word wat hom ten doel sal stel om betroubare inligting te verskaf, sosiale bewustheid, openheid, en empatie te bevorder en te velde te trek teen die gespletenheid in die samelewing en verdoeseling van die waarheid. Miskien kan menere Oppenheimer en Rupert saamspan om so 'n koerant te loods, solank hulle net sy onafhanklikheid waarborg. Daar moet nou reeds begin beplan word vir televisieprogramme wat hierdie kenmerke sal uitbeeld.

Ons hoor dikwels dat ons van binne moet werk en ons nie moet onttrek nie. Ek glo ook daarin; daarom het ek hierdie geleentheid gekies om te sê wat ek te sê het. Maar ons moenie toelaat dat die strategie om van binne te werk ons oneffektief maak nie. Laat ons binne begin met die besef dat die binnehof soms ondeurdringbaar is. Ons moet nie toelaat dat ons ontman word, die swye opgelê word of gedwarsboom word in belang van 'n kunsmatige eenheid wat ten alle koste behou moet word nie. Waar eenheid nie bestaan nie, is die erkenning van verdeeldheid die enigste eerbare uitweg.

KONFRONTEER BROEDERBOND!

Op politieke gebied moet gewerk word vir 'n nuwe bedeling. Die moderne Afrikaner kan hom nie laat kortwiek deur die etikette Nat en Sap nie. Hy moet hom binne sy party beywer vir hierdie eienskappe en as die party nie reageer nie, moet hy die party verlaat en by 'n ander een aansluit wat bereid is om hierdie eienskappe in sy platform, beleid en program in te bou. Op godsdienstige gebied moet hy sy persoonlike verantwoordelikheid teenoor die God wat hy ken in sy eie hart onbevrees aanvaar en die kerk konfronteer daarmee, veral die dominees. En as die kerk nie reageer nie, moet hy dit verlaat en sy eie heil op 'n ander weg soek. Duisende priesters en predikante en leke het dit reeds in ander Westerse lande gedoen omdat hulle die kerk onrelevant en selfs stremmend vind in die moderne samelewing. Waar 'n mens met 'n kerk te doen het wat nog nie in die twintigste eeu aangekom het nie, is dit soveel te meer noodsaaklik dat 'n mens hom moet agterlaat as hy homself nie wil vernuwe en hervorm nie. En ten laaste, die Broederbond moet in die openbaar aangeval word en lede wat bekend is, gekonfronteer word en tot verantwoording geroep word oor hulle rol in ons volkslewe. Die bewyslas is op hulle om ons te oortuig dat hulle geheime organisasie nie volksvreemd is nie, die eerlikheid en selfrespek van ons volk nie ondergrawe nie, en die vertrouwe van ander

volke in ons volk nie ondermyn nie. Ons moet 'n beroep doen op alle lede van die Broederbond en die Ruiterswag om hulle selfaangestelde rol persoonlik te verantwoord teenoor hulleself en uit die organisasies te bedank as hulle dit nie kan doen nie en die besluit in die pers aan te kondig. Miskien kan een van die koerante vir ons 'n lys van lede publiseer. Miskien kan ons sommer vanaand al begin.

Deur hierdie mobilisasie kan die moderne Afrikaner aansluit by die grootse in sy verlede waarop hy trots kan wees en wat die respek van ander volke afdwing en dit verder uitbou tot iets wat ook groots sal wees in die tweede helfte van die twintigste eeu en wat die Afrikaner se volwaardige plek in die geskiedenis en die werklikheid van Afrika sal verseker.

DEURBREEK VALS VREDE ...

Daar is sommige mense wat 'n mens alleen in die werklikheid van die twintigste eeu sal kry deur hulle al skoppende en skreeuende daar in te sleep. Dis 'n onaangename en ondankbare taak, maar 'n mens moet hulle ten minste met die werklikheid konfronteer. Daar is ander, veral die ouer geslag, wat 'n mens liefs in vrede moet laat want hulle lewensopvattinge en benadering is in 'n ander tydvak gevorm. 'n Mens moet hulle respekteer vir wat hulle is, solank hulle dieselfde doen en hulleself nie aanmatig om hulle benadering op die jonger geslag af te dwing en die moderne Afrikaner se ontwikkeling probeer dwarsboom nie. Mobilisasie moet sy perke ken en sy kragte ingooi waar dit mees waarskynlik vrug sal afwerp en dividende sal lewer.

Ten slotte, twee kaviate: Dit sal interessant wees om die reaksies wat hierdie toespraak gaan uitlok, dop te hou. Die reaksies sal die skape van die bokke skei; ons sal weet wie die moderne Afrikaners is.

Secondly, a word to the English-speaking press. The same holds for you. This was a domestic affair of Afrikaners. I was looking at the beam in the Afrikaner's eye without considering the mote in his English-speaking brother's eye. We expect that you will observe common decency in reporting or editorializing on it. I trust you will avoid self-righteous complacency, for a very similar analysis could be made of your group and its establishment and I hope some English speaker will do it soon. You can help the modern Afrikaner or you can place a very serious obstacle in the way of his development by your reactions and in your reporting on Afrikaner affairs in general. Remember empathy? Thank you. *

In this, his fourth open letter to Mr. M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Rev. David Russell pleads for an end to resettlement townships such as Dimbaza, near King William's Town.

MUST AFRICANS CARRY THE LOAD?

Dear Sir,

It is as if I have become prematurely old. The other

morning I felt too weak to finish making my bed; so I decided to wait until I had had some food to give me strength. I feel like a tyre with a slow puncture, and have to push myself to keep going.

This is what it is like trying to live on R5 a month. Most people at Dimbaza get less. It is this horrifying fact which provokes and stirs me to continue. Some say I am wasting my time writing to you—that you will not respond to any pleadings. I wonder if they are right.

To my knowledge the Blacks of the Ciskei never asked for resettlement townships—they were never even consulted. They were never in a position to say no, as the Transkei has done. There is a common refrain among Blacks in these parts—"iDimbaza iyakhathaza". The interpretation is "Dimbaza is a burden". Thus it appears that you came to preside over the handing over of a headache—instead of dams for development. These resettlement townships are pools of poverty.

To people thirsting for almost any sort of freedom from the White yoke, it is a bitter "choice" to have to be at the receiving end of a vast resettlement policy when work is so scarce, wages so low, and land so chronically insufficient.

Is it the Black people's fault that they have not the finances to carry their own economic development along? I will not bore you with the facts about job reservation, the Government refusal to recognise Black trade unions, the disparity in per capita spending on White and Black education, the sinful gap in wages. You are an expert in your knowledge of these South African realities.

As I sit writing these words in a house in Dimbaza, it strikes me as the final humiliation that Blacks should be made to carry the burden of resettlement schemes they never asked for.

If anything of what I have said above angers you, I would ask you to understand and accept that my brief experience of living on R5 per month has sharpened and focused my awareness of just how iniquitous it is that Whites, claiming to be Christian, should allow such poverty and rigidly maintain the discrimination which perpetuates it.

I beg you, Sir, to give a public assurance that:

- * no more resettlement will be undertaken to these poorly sited townships;
- * instead, the much-needed housing be provided in *city* areas where there is work potential;
- * an independent economic commission be appointed to investigate the capital requirements needed to create work with living wages and to provide better facilities for those already in the resettlement townships like Dimbaza.

If we do not do this, if instead we persist in talk of "easing the White man's burden" by obliging Blacks to be resettled in Dimbaza, then history will find us guilty of making people expendable because they were born Black not White.

If you believe I have overstated my case, then I can only say try living on R5 a month, amongst people living on this and less, and you will begin to discover that I have been speaking of what is real for people at Dimbaza and beyond.

Yours sincerely in Christ's Service.

Rev. D.P.H. Russell.

—*Rand Daily Mail.*

GEWEEG EN...?

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.

Hierdie maand beoordeel ds. Beyers Naudé (B.N.), direkteur van die Christelike Instituut, dr. John de Gruchy (J.de G.), direkteur van kommunikasie en studie van die S.A. Raad van Kerke en sekretaris van die kommissie vir kerkeenheid, en ds. Cedric Mayson (C.M.), Methodiste predikant op Witbank, sommige van die items.

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.

BROEDERBOND

Die Broederbond staan weer fel onder die soeklig. Hierdie organisasie moes al jare lank en herhaalde kere aanslae van sy lyf af hou—tot dusver met welslae. Die Bond kon voortgaan om in die geheim noodsaaklike kultuurdienste vir die Afrikaner te verrig.

Dit is ook nie net die Engelse pers wat in die sake van die A.B. krap nie. 'n Belangrike deel van die Afrikaanse pers begin ook met nuwe oë na die organisasie kyk, begin al meer vrae stel en agter die toe deure kyk. Dit geskied in 'n groeiende gees van groter selfstandigheid waarmee die Afrikaanse perswese die nuus en sake van die dag hanteer.

Dis nie dat hierdie koerante skielik self besluit het om meer „stout” en „ongehoorsaam” te word nie. Dis wat die nuwe geslag stads-Afrikaner van hom verlang. Die jong en vroeë middeljarige Afrikaner toon nie meer dieselfde blinde loyaliteit teenoor Party en die „establishment” as vroeër nie.

'n Liggaam soos die A.B. sal ook nie meer uitgelos word soos voorheen as iets heiligs nie. Die jong gemoed sal aan die aantygings teen die A.B. begin peusel, en 'n skeptiese gestel sal ook begin wonder of dit nog nodig is dat 'n uitgesoekte boonste stand oor sy belange moet waak.

Moet die A.B. op dieselfde patroon onveranderd voortgaan, of moet hy by veranderde omstandighede aanpas en herbeplan en op 'n nuwe lees funksioneer?

Weens die blootstelling en uitbuiting waaraan die A.B. onderwerp is, moet hy hom afvra of sy optrede in huidige gedaante nie onbewustelik die Afrikanersaak ook kan skade aandoen nie.

Inleidingsartikel—Die Vaderland.



BROEDERBOND IS GEVAARLIK

Die onthullinge deur mnr. Jooste van die huidige magstryd binne die geledere van die Broederbond bevestig weereens die diepe besorgdheid wat baie Afrikaners gevoel oor die rol van die A.B. in die politieke en die kerk. Of al die aantyginge wat

WEIGHED AND...?

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.

This month Rev. Beyers Naudé (B.N.), Director of the Christian Institute, Dr. John de Gruchy (J. de G.), Director of Communications and Studies of the S.A. Council of Churches and Secretary of the Church Unity Commission, and Rev. Cedric Mayson (C.M.), Methodist Minister at Witbank, evaluate some of the items.

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

deur leiers van die H.N.P. gemaak is waar is of nie, is nie ter sake nie; wat wel ter sake is, is die feit dat die Broederbond deur leidende Afrikaners gebruik word om hulle eie politieke oogmerke deur geheime manewering te bereik—en dat daardeur die Afrikanervolk sowel in die politiek as in die kerk ernstig verdeel word.

Dit is dringend noodsaaklik dat die leiers en lede van die A.B. die ontwrigtende en verdelende uitmerking wat die organisasie het, onder oë sal sien, die geheime karakter van die Broederbond sal be-eindig en dit 'n ope kulturele vereniging sal verklaar. Hierdie stap is noodsaaklik

- 1. ter wille van die Afrikaner self. Niemand kan ontken dat deur sy aard en optrede die Broederbond, sonder om dit te bedoel, verdeeldheid, jaloesie en agterdog tussen Afrikaner en Afrikaner saai. As leiers van die A.B. beweer dat hulle hoofoogmerk is om die toekomstige bestaan van 'n verenigde Afrikaner-volk te verseker, is die beste manier om dit te verkry die verwydering van geheimhouding wat verdeeldheid en agterdog binne Afrikaner-geledere saai;*
- 2. ter wille van nasionale eenheid tussen Afrikaner en Engelssprekende blank Suid-Afrikaners. Dit kan nie van laasgenoemde groep verwag word om die aanspraak van die Afrikaner dat hy nasionale eenheid opreg begeer, ernstig te neem solank as 'n magtige geheime organisasie, wat in sy geheel uit gekeurde Afrikaners in sleutelposisies bestaan, die totale lewe van die land wil be-invloed en beheer nie;*
- 3. ter wille van die swart gemeenskap. Die beeld en voorbeeld wat deur die Broederbond aan die swartes in Suid-Afrika gegee word, is dié van 'n geheime organisasie wat optree met die volle morele sanksie van die 3 Afrikaanse Kerke en die volle seën en steun van die Nasionale Party. Ek sal glad nie verbaas wees as dit later sou blyk dat 'n swart geheime organisasie, geskoei op die lees van*

die Broederbond, reeds binne die geledere van die Bantoe-, Kleurling- of Indiergemeenskap (of binne al die gemeenskappe) ontstaan het of besig is om gevorm te word nie. (Laat niemand op grond van hierdie bewering nou na vore kom met die belaglike bewering dat ek gevaarlike idees in die koppe van swartmense plant nie. Dink die blankes werklik dat leidende swartmense so naief en onintelligent is?) Die uitwerking van so 'n ontwikkeling in 'n situasie wat alreeds gespanne is, kan ernstige konsekwensies hê vir die maatskaplike harmonie en vrede van ons land.

Ten slotte: Wat ookal die uitslag in die politieke arena mag wees van die magstryd in die Broederbond, behoort een ding duidelik te wees: geen predikant van enige kerk behoort lid te wees van 'n geheime organisasie soos die Broederbond nie. Of sodanige predikant dit bedoel of nie, die feit bly dat sodanige lidmaatskap 'n ernstige binding en selfs bedreiging word van sy vryheid om die evangelie onbevangen en onbevooroordeeld te verkondig. Wat ons vandag in Suid-Afrika nodiger het as ooit tevore is die openheid tot mekaar as mede-Christene en mede-mense—en hierdie openheid kan nie bestaan en groei in 'n atmosfeer van geheimhouding en gebrek aan ouderlinge vertrouwe nie.

—B.N.

BROEDER POWER RULES

A Secret Society composed of sinister, shadowy figures answerable only to themselves rules South Africa. That is the grave import of the latest Broederbond disclosures reported elsewhere. For long we have suspected that our affairs are conducted in this deplorable manner but only now has this been confirmed and the confirmation comes from no less than the high priest of the Broederbond, the chairman, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, MP.

Everyone should read what he says and take note of the fearful implications. For here is the scandalous admission that our destinies are being shaped by sinister, unknown people sitting in secret conclave. They conduct themselves as a supra-Cabinet leaving us with the strong suspicion that the real Parliamentary Cabinet dances to their tune like a puppet.

The Disclosure

Dr. Treurnicht's disclosure came when he was asked by a reporter to answer allegations that the Broederbond dictated the country's sports policies. He replied: "The policy is the responsibility of the Government. But it is the right of any organisation to make representations to the Government and if the Government thinks these are impractical it can reject them. The Government is the responsible body".

Equally illuminating was his failure to describe exactly how the Broederbond made its so-called "representations" to the Government.

This would all be above board and in keeping with normal democratic practice if the Government, through the Cabinet, was a separate organisation. But the Government is fully involved in the Broederbond. Several members of its Cabinet, probably the majority, are Broeders. According to Mr. Jan Jooste, of the Herstigte Nasionale Party they

include the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and his heir apparent, Dr. Connie Mulder, the Minister of the Interior. Here we have them in the remarkable position of making "representations" to themselves.

Rand Daily Mail.

WCC WITHDRAWS FUNDS FROM FIRMS DEALING WITH WHITE AFRICA

UTRECHT—The World Council of Churches overwhelmingly voted to withdraw its funds from countries dealing with six Southern African countries and to mount an international campaign for the withdrawal of foreign capital from these countries.

The countries are South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

WCC officials agreed that the size of their investments was not enough to carry much economic weight. But, the council wanted to make a dramatic gesture against White domination in Southern Africa, they said.

The central committee urged its 250 Protestant and orthodox member churches, representing 350-million Christians "to use all their influence, including stockholder action and disinvestment to press corporations to withdraw investments from and cease trading with these countries."

FUND

The central committee, winding up a 10-day session, approved a doubling of its special fund to combat racism from \$500 000 (R385 000) to a minimum of \$1-million (R770 000).

The year-old fund channels cash to anti-racist organisations, including militant African liberation movements.

—*Rand Daily Mail.*

The debate on the withdrawal of foreign investments has gone on for a considerable period of time, and many arguments have been heard both for and against. I still believe it naive to think that foreign investors will withdraw in sufficient numbers to affect the social order in South Africa. I am also sceptical of the belief that economic investors will attach enough moral and economic strings to their involvement in South Africa to change a situation which enables them to make such large short-term profits. But the latter has more likelihood of producing some possibilities for change, and we hope that our scepticism proves unfounded. Indeed, if investors do not withdraw in any large number, there is only one alternative, namely, to encourage them to provide better wages, better opportunities, better working conditions and better benefits. Whatever the end, these are good and necessary in their own right, as many black leaders have indicated.

The W.C.C. action is one of protest and whatever its moral power it is economically impotent. This much the W.C.C. recognises, and we of all people, cannot judge such acts of conscience. Nevertheless, we are part of the situation, we cannot easily appease our consciences as we may wish, we cannot jump out of our white/black skins or our confused history—nor can we boycott South African food! We have

only one possibility—others outside may have more. We have to deal with reality "in situ" and attempt what is possible. And it is possible to raise wages, etc. Recent indications are that foreign businesses are now much more concerned about their black staff than previously, and that this concern is even penetrating South African business circles. Perhaps there is insufficient time to produce change possibilities this way, but we have little option—the attempt must be made both for its own immediate effect on human lives and for the possible future end it may—or may not—achieve.

—J.W. de G.

TERRORISM—FOCUS ON MUNICH

We bow before the dead who have become victims of a senseless attack motivated by hatred—Willy Brandt.

A deplorable crime committed by sick people against humanity, to which the criminals do not belong—King Hussein.

This is not a question of an act of terror. It is an action in a war of liberation. People forget that we are at war, we the Palestinians ... I hate the people who occupy my land, the Israelis—Habbash.

I am not a criminal, I make war on criminals ... As long as I am convinced that these methods serve our cause we will persevere. I agree with it. Who can prevent us?—Leila Khaled.

While Church leaders and governments, organisations and individuals advocate and subsidise terrorism this type of thing will occur again and again until such time as peaceable people will find it difficult, if not impossible, to gather for any purpose. If the shock of this deplorable deed is not followed by action, one can foresee greater tragedies in which more innocent people will be victims.—John Vorster.

I am too busy liberating my people—Amin.

* The Munich Massacres have produced an incredible burst of emotion, fear, grief, arrogance, and political opportunism throughout the world. It is not the deaths as such—we kill more on the roads and in Soweto every weekend—but the employment of callous criminality for political ends, the peril of modern weapons in the hands of nationalistic madmen. The world is being blackmailed: some group might grab me next.

* Terrorism, by whatever name, appears to result when people feel there is no way out for their aspirations except violence, and yet sufficient violence is denied them. They seek to keep the fight alive, their cause publicised and their passions satisfied by their activities, although they cannot raise an army to topple their enemies.

* Whilst people have the means of violence readily to hand—and this is everywhere—and are encouraged to think that the way of violence is acceptable—and all governments so insist—there will be those who take violence into their own hands for their own ends.

* There is no difference in the effect of a terrorist's bullet, whether it comes from Arab, African, Irish, South American, or any other source: it spells death and heartbreak.

There can be a difference in the cause. Some hijackers are simply criminals after cash. Some terrorists have no cause except an unquenchable hatred which prevents them accepting or even seeking a just solution. Others have a cause to remove injustice or oppression and it is their method not their opposition that appals.

But nothing can make terrorism less than plain bloody murder, whether it be in prison or palace, in an alley or an airfield.

* No one can prevent a madman performing mad acts, but we can prevent the causes of some terrorist acts. We can alter the circumstances in our land which load men with impossible circumstances, and open the doors to hope, opportunity, and development so that he does not feel locked in a corner from which there is no escape except through violence.

Give a man food in his belly and a place to lay his head in security, give him education for his children, and the chance to go ahead as far as he is able, let him develop a strong family life living in his own home, with a place to possess and a few pennies in the bank, give him a responsible say in his affairs and let him be a man—and we have removed the main causes of the terrorism which is closest to our land. Happy people do not make good terrorists: our peril is that we breed unhappiness.

* The real answer, as Christians know, is that the human race will only work by love, but Christians are too busy supporting their national and racial political leaders to obey their Lord, or even to wonder what it means to obey him. The really terrifying thing in our country is that the Christian people have the answer in their hands and refuse to put it into action.

—C.M.

WHITE ATTITUDES

The attitudes of most whites in South Africa are not simply the result of racialism, prejudice and what often seems like an almost medieval unenlightenment, which could conceivably be influenced by persuasive rational argument, education or by passionate exhortations. These attitudes are also very deeply rooted in and logically related to the material and psychological self-interest of whites. The attitudes have, in large part, a very rational basis, whether individual whites are consciously aware of it or not.

Extract from *Towards Social Change*, the report of the Spro-cas Social Commission.

VERGADERPELK VAN INSTITUUT DEUR BRAND VERWOES

Die saal waarin die Christelike Instituut Saterdag sy algemene jaarvergadering gehou het, is gisteroggend kort na middernag deur 'n brand verwoes. Die Veiligheidspolisie ondersoek die saak. Brandstigting word vermoed.

Die saal was dié van die Anglikaanse gemeente St. Thomas aan Campground Road, Rondebosch. Die skade bedra duisende rande.

Die grendel van 'n deur agter die verhoog is na bewering gebreek om toegang tot die saal te verkry. Die brand is vermoedelik met petrol gestig.

Mnr. Naudé en ander bekende lede van die Christelike Instituut was gister baie uitgesproke oor die brand en het gesê dit was duidelik brandstigting en is teen die Instituut gemik.

„Ek voel verskriklik hieroor”, het Mnr. Naudé gesê. „As hierdie mense (die brandstigters) iets teen die Christelike Instituut het, waarom haal hulle dit nie liever op onself uit pleks van op 'n gemeente wat ons as gasheer ontvang en heeltelmal onskuldig is nie?”

„Ons veroordeel alle vorms van geweld, wreedheid en terrorisme, waar dit ook al plaasvind.

Eerw. Kotzé het gesê: „Hierdie soort ding gaan al 'n hele ruk aan. Ek het reeds twee petrolbomaanvalle by my huis gehad en daar is na die huis geskiet”. Hy is seker daar is 'n verband tussen alles.

Ds. R.D. Adendorff van die Kaapstadse tak van die Christelike Instituut het gesê dit lyk of die mense wat hierdie soort ding doen, nie omgee of iemand beseer word nie. Dit kon maklik gebeur het. Uit die naamlose telefoonoproep blyk dat dit niks anders as „terrorisme” is nie. „Ek wil graag hoor wat die Eerste Minister hieroor sê”.

Die kommentaar van Mnr. Roelf Meyer, redakteur van Pro Veritate en teologiese studiesekretaris van die Christelike Instituut, was: „Dit is absoluut vandalisties. Vir ons is dit duidelik dat dit vervolging van die Christelike Instituut is. Dit lyk vir my weer soos die vroeë tyd—Christene word weer vervolgt terwille van hulle getuienis”.

„Ek sal baie graag wil sien wat die reaksie van die kerke op hierdie geweld is en of hulle—veral die N.G. Kerk—net weer passief sal bly”.

„Ons verkondig juis 'n boodskap van versoening en liefde”, het hy en die ander instituuitleiers gesê.

—Die Burger

RIGHT-WING THUGS GET AWAY WITH IT

It would be a feather in the cap of the police force if they were able, just once, to arrest one of the thugs who terrorise Government opponents by throwing petrol bombs at their houses and firing shots through their bedroom windows.

The police are highly efficient when it comes to arresting Government opponents who engage in anything even vaguely unlawful, but when it comes to tracking down the Right-wing thugs who take it on themselves to make the



Di. Beyers Naudé en Theo Kotzé, direkteur en streeksdirekteur van die Christelike Instituut op die verhoog van die saal wat deur vuur verwoes is.

lives of Government opponents a misery the police always seem to draw a blank.

This Right-wing thuggery has been going on now for at least 10 years, and the list of their terroristic activities is long and alarming.

—“Sunday Times”

DIE BRAND IN RONDEBOSCH

'n Brand het in Rondebosch die kerksaal van 'n Anglikaanse gemeente, waarin die Christelike Instituut op 8 September 'n byeenkoms gehou het, gedeeltelik in puin gelê. Dit is vermoedelik die gevolg van brandstigting. Vroeër het daar al verskeie insidente in die omgewing voorgeval waarin blykbaar gepoog is om eiendom te beskadig van mense wat nou verband met die C.I. het, of in die diens van dié organisasie staan. Tot dusver was dit vir die polisie nog nie moontlik om 'n skuldige aan die pen te laat ry nie.

Of die daad van geweld nou egter onderneem word om uiting te gee aan 'n gevoel van bitterheid en wraak teen die C.I. en sy medewerkers, dan of dit bereken is om spesiaal die aandag van die publiek op die bedrywighede van die C.I. te vestig, dan ook of dit op so 'n misplaaste wyse simpatie vir die organisasie probeer opwek (selfs laasgenoemde moontlikheid is in die omstandighede seker nie totaal ingesluit nie), bly dit 'n feit dat dit puur en simpel *misdade* is wat die N.G. Kerk net so seer veroordeel as wat ons nog alle daad van terreur elders veroordeel het.

Ons sou derhalwe self graag wil sien dat die polisie alle pogings in die werk stel om spoedig die oortreders aan die man te bring en bloot te lê *wie* en *wat* agter die insidente sit.

—Die Kerkbode

**REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE
PUBLISHED**

The report of the Parliamentary Select Committee of Inquiry into Certain Organisations was published on Thursday, 10th August. The report sets out the activities of the Select Committee, but gives no details of any of the evidence thus far submitted to it. It is also evident from the report that the greater part of the Committee's time has been spent on the National Union.

Activities of the Committee may be summarised as follows:

- 23 February: Resolved to request the four organisations to submit documents
Resolved to protect identity of witnesses
- 6 March: Resolved to request the four organisations to submit documents
Resolved to protect identity of witnesses
Mr. A of the Bureau for State Security submitted documents and was examined
- 13 March: Ordered that Paul Pretorius, NUSAS President, be summonsed to appear before the Committee
Mr. Bill Deacon, MP, submitted documents and was examined
Mr. B of the Bureau for State Security was examined
- 16 March: Resolved to allow counsel and/or attorneys to assist witnesses
Mr. B was further examined
- 20 March: Paul Pretorius was examined
- 23 March: Mr. B was further examined and submitted Volumes I, II, and III of a Report on NUSAS compiled by the Bureau for State Security with accompanying exhibits
- 13 April: Mr. B was further examined
Paul Pretorius was further examined
- 14 April: Mr. A was further examined
- 20 April: Mr. C of the Bureau for State Security was examined
- 21 April: Mr. C was further examined
- 27 April: Mr. D of the Bureau for State Security was examined
- 28 April: Mr. D was further examined
- 4 May: Brig FD Aucamp of the Department of Prisons was examined
- 5 May: Mr. D was further examined, and submitted a copy of the depositions of Miss Alison Joanna Norman

and Peter Michael Evans Lombe, witnesses for the accused in the trial the State v. Gonville Aubie French-Beytagh, TPD 1972

- 18 May: Resolved to summons the SRC Presidents of Rhodes University, University of Natal (Durban) and University of Cape Town to appear before the Committee
- 25 May: Mr. B was further examined
- 26 May: Mr. B was further examined
- 1 June: The SRC Presidents of the above three universities were examined
Resolved that the evidence taken by the Committee not be made public

At this stage, the Committee submitted its report and requested that the Select Committee be changed into a Commission of Inquiry to continue sitting during the Parliamentary Recess.

Paul Pretorius, President of the National Union, has been summonsed to appear before the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations in Pretoria on August 28. The summons was served on him on Monday, 14th August.

The summons follows an invitation from the Commission last month to submit evidence to the Commission. NUSAS informed them that the National Union did not intend tendering evidence or advancing arguments before the Commission.

—Nusas Newsletter

THE THEOLOGY OF CHANGE

The idea that change is good just because it is change is a deep theological commitment. It springs straight out of the only native American philosophy, *pragmatism*, which holds that progress is the highest virtue and the ultimate explanation of cosmic history. In the church we experienced this hope by those who wanted to rip up the Establishment just because it was the Establishment. Then, they said, social justice and a new church would emerge automatically. But the hope that we are inevitably progressing was rudely shattered by the revelations of the bestiality of our military adventures, the social injustice, and the ecological raping which we have witnessed in our generation. So Americans, churchmen too, have been reduced to the whimpering evangel that while progress doesn't seem to progress much these days, at least change, any change, is good just because it is change.

That theology is less than credible when exposed to the facts of history. Rather, as Montesquieu said, we should probably be safer and more accurate if we say "the more things change, the more they are the same." Human foibles are not diminished by changing and change.

—The Lutheran Standard

21 INCIDENTS: NO ARRESTS

No arrests have yet been made by the Cape Town police after investigations into recent violent and intimidatory attacks on certain academics and members of the clergy. Following is a list of unsolved incidents since last year.

August 4, 1971: The parked car of Dr. Michael Whisson, senior lecturer in social anthropology at UCT, was damaged and the rear window smashed by a brick outside his Mowbray home. No arrests.

August 4, 1971: The windscreen of the car belonging to Dr. Francis Wilson, senior lecturer in economics at UCT, was smashed outside his Constantia home. No arrests.

August 10, 1971: The front tyres of cars belonging to Dr. Whisson and his wife were punctured. The cars were parked outside their home in Mowbray. No arrests.

August 26, 1971: A rock tied in a handkerchief was thrown through the windscreen of a parked car belonging to Mr. Barry Streek, vice-president of Nusas, in Claremont. No arrests.

August 27, 1971: Communist slogans were painted on the Christian Institute buildings in Mowbray. No arrests.

August 28-29 1971: Anonymous telephone calls were received late at night by several members of the Christian Institute. No arrests.

October 15, 1971: The tyres of the car belonging to the Rev. Theo Kotze, regional director of the Christian Institute, were slashed and deflated for the third time in six weeks. On this occasion his car and that of a friend were both damaged outside Mr. Kotzé's home in Simonstown. No arrests.

June 6, 1972: An attempt was made to set fire to the Ecumenical Centre, Mowbray, where the Christian Institute has its offices. No arrests.

June 7, 1972: An anonymous death threat was received over the telephone by Mr. Kotzé. No arrests.

June 8, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown into the grounds of Mr. Kotzé's home in Claremont. No arrests.

July 10, 1972: A second petrol bomb was thrown at Mr. Kotzé's house in Claremont. No arrests.

June 22, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown at the former home of Mr. Geoff Budlender, president of the Students' Representative Council at UCT, in Queen Victoria Street, Claremont. No arrests.

July 16, 1972: Libellous pamphlets were issued falsely under the name of the World Council of Churches "with the help of the Rev. Theo Kotzé and SPRO-CAS" (Study Project of Christianity in an Apartheid Society). No arrests.

August 19, 1972: Similar libellous pamphlets were issued falsely under the name of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town. No arrests.

August 30, 1972: Libellous pamphlets were issued again falsely under the name of the Most Rev. R. Selby Taylor and the Anglican Church. No arrests.

August 21, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown at an outside wall of the Rondebosch Town Hall and sneezing powder was strewn inside while a public civil rights meeting was being held. The meeting was organized by the UCT SRC. No arrests.



The grande piano destroyed by fire in the Anglican Church Hall.

August 21, 1972: The Mowbray home of Mr. Budlender and four other UCT students was destroyed by a petrol bomb. No arrests.

August 23, 1972: Shots were fired at the Claremont home of Mr. Kotzé and a bullet shattered a bedroom window. No arrests.

August 26, 1972: Communist slogans and swastikas were sprayed in red paint on the walls of the Methodist Church, Buitenkant Street. Other slogans were painted on the Caledon Square Police Station and the Cape Town Magistrate's Court. No arrests.

August 27, 1972: An attempt to set fire to the Ecumenical Centre, Mowbray, where the Christian Institute is based, was discovered. No arrests.

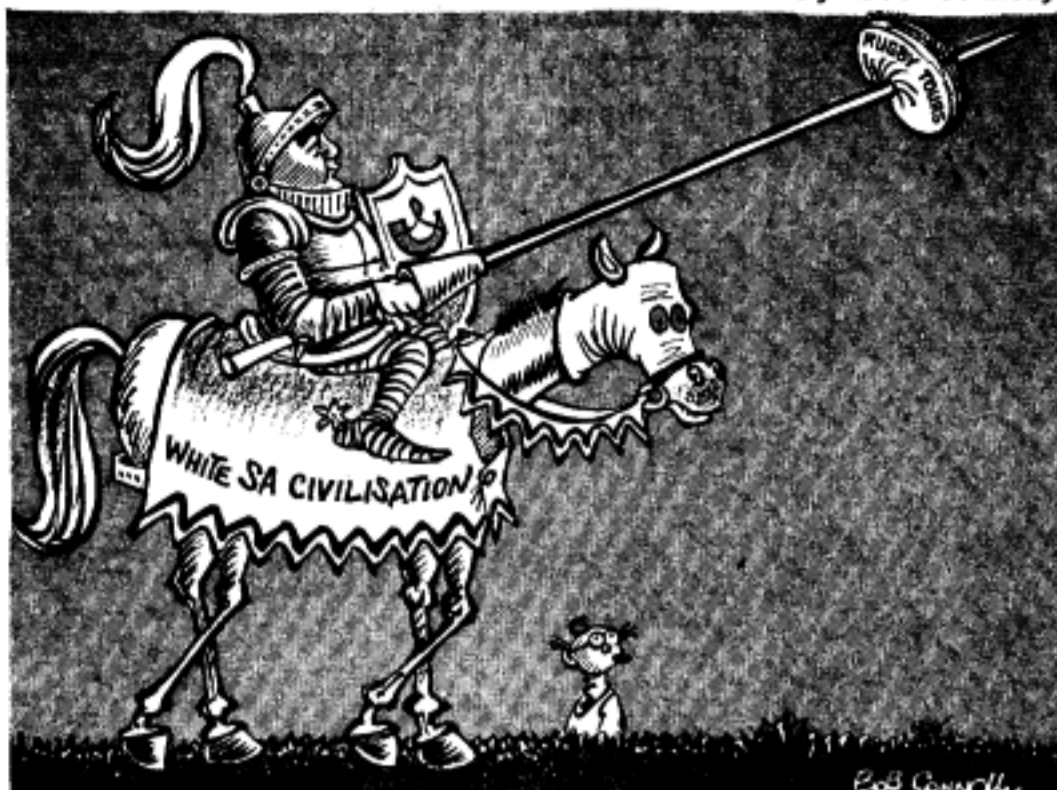
September 9, 1972: A fire damaged the interior of St. Thomas' Church Parish Hall in Rondebosch. Police are investigating.

—Cape Times

2 KERKMANNE VERBAN

WINDHOEK—Nog twee Lutherse kerkmanne is deur die Regering uit Suidwes-Afrika verban. Hulle is pastoor Siegfried Groth, Afrika-sekretaris van die Duitse Verenigde Evangeliese Sending en dr. Lothar Engel.

—Die Transvaler



—Rand Daily Mail 18.9.72.

POLITICIANS—KEEP OUT

All the arguments about next year's rugby tour to New Zealand return inescapably to one crucial question—why can't the Government keep its politics out of sport?

Its interference grows more blatant daily.

—The Star

WRANKMORE SAYS: I'LL GO TO JAIL FOR MY CATHEDRAL PROTEST

CAPE TOWN—The Rev. Bernie Wrangmore, an Anglican priest, yesterday chose the alternative of 75 days jail rather than pay a fine of R150 when he was convicted in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court of failing to disperse from a prohibited gathering on June 5.

After the trial, in which 14 people were found guilty under the Riotous Assemblies Act of failing to disperse from a prohibited gathering on the steps of St. George's Cathedral, Mr. Wrangmore, said he was making a "protest stand".

"I refuse to pay the fine, and I don't want anyone else to offer to pay it for me."

"Unless you're prepared to suffer for what you believe in, what use is a protest? I want to show that I really mean what I say."

"There are so many in our country who can't afford to pay fines or have legal assistance and I want to identify with them."

"In any case, there would never have been any of this trouble if the police hadn't behaved in the manner they had on that Friday."

Rand Daily Mail.

COLIN EGLIN TELLS OF TERRORISM IN S.A.

A call on the Prime Minister (Mr. John Vorster) to state emphatically where he stands on the subject of terrorism inside South Africa, and what he intends to do about it, was made in Sea Point last night by Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party.

Mr. Eglin said at a Progressive Party meeting that he was speaking of 'the cowardly thugs resorting to terrorism right here in South Africa and in Cape Town—people who resort to violence and intimidation.'

The bombings and shootings were not only despicable but dangerous, before violence could destroy the whole fabric of South Africa.

'I am surprised that there has not been a single arrest. I would have thought our Special Branch was reasonably proficient after several years of practice', said Mr. Eglin.

—The Argus

TREURNICHT ADMITS BOND INFLUENCE ON STATE

BROEDER CHIEF: WE DO LOBBY

In what must be the frankest admission yet of Afrikaner Broederbond influence on national policy, the secret organisation's reputed chairman, Dr. Andries Treurnicht MP, yesterday defended its right to make representations to the Government.

Since the Broederbond is known to number top-ranking Cabinet members in its hierarchy, who would be present when Bond policy was formulated, this statement may well be interpreted as meaning that the Government merely rubber-stamps Broederbond decisions in certain instances.

Anthony Holiday.

—Rand Daily Mail