



PRO VERITATE

IN SEARCH OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Richard Turner

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Editorial

NAIROBI

Die langer wordende lys plekname moet vir die leierskap van die Afrikaans-Hollandse kerke in Suid-Afrika, en veral van die N.G. Kerk, soos die gelui van 'n doodsklok begin klink: Cottesloe, Frankfurt, Lunteren, weer eens Lunteren en nou Nairobi. Al hoe helderder spreek die stem van veroordeling oor die onregverdige rassepraktyk wat in Suid-Afrika landsbeleid geword het en oor die beskermende en verskonende rol wat veral die N.G. Kerk daarteenoor speel. Al hoe duideliker verskyn die skrif teen die muur.

By Cottesloe was dit nog maar 'n fluistering; by Frankfurt 'n broederlike murmurering. By Lunteren het dit reeds 'n vermaning geword, en nou, te Nairobi, 'n ondubbelsinnige teregwyding en 'n kwalik verborge veroordeling. Daar bly nog net een laaste stap oor en, hoewel dit vreemd is aan die gereformeerde tradisie, sien 'n mens nie hoe dit op die lang duur vermy kan word nie.

Tensy natuurlik veral die N.G. Kerk -- wat die vergadering van die Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde Kerke te Nairobi kennelik as van soveel belang beskou het dat hy 13 afgevaardigdes soontoe gestuur het -- in alle erns begin huis skoonmaak en aan Christene hier te lande en in die buiteland in die openbaar begin toon dat hy werklik bewus geword het van sy profetiese taak t.o.v. die owerheid en sy vir Christene onhoudbare en onregverdigebare rassebeleid.

Nairobi het nog duideliker gespreek as enige eku-meniese kerkevergadering tot dusver en het dit gedoen nie by wyse van 'n idealistiese oproep nie, dog by wyse van 'n kale en kille stelling van die feite. Diepe bekommernis is uitgespreek oor "die beoefening van rassese segregasie deur die Afrikaans-Hollandse Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika in hul eie kerklike lewe en oor die indruk wat dit laat dat hulle die regering ondersteun in sy beleid en praktyk van rassese segregasie en blanke oorheersing".

Verder is daar met die grootste stelligheid beweer „dat, aangesien daar volgens die Nuwe Testament nóg Griek nóg Jood in die Liggaam van Christus is (Gal. 3:11), 'n lering of praktyk wat aandring op rassese segregasie as 'n wet van die kerklike lewe, in teenspraak is met die wese van die Christelike Kerk. In sy herderlike bediening moet die kerk daarna

NAIROBI

The steadily lengthening list of place names must start sounding like the tolling of a death-bell to the leadership of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and especially of the N.G. Kerk: Cottesloe, Frankfurt, Lunteren, Lunteren once again and now Nairobi. Ever more clearly speaks the voice of condemnation with regard to the unjust racial practice which has become official policy in South Africa and the protective and placating role being played by especially the N.G. Kerk in this connection. The writing against the wall is becoming ever more sharply defined.

At Cottesloe it was still only a whisper; at Frankfurt a brotherly grumbling. At Lunteren it had already become an admonition, and now, at Nairobi it has become an unambiguous reprimand and a barely disguised condemnation. Only one last step remains and, although it is foreign to the Reformed tradition, one cannot see how it can be avoided in the long run.

Unless, of course, especially the N.G. Kerk -- which obviously regarded the meeting of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches at Nairobi as of so much importance that it sent 13 delegates there -- were to start cleaning its own house in all seriousness and to start publicly proving to Christians in this country and overseas that it has become truly conscious of its prophetic task with regard to the authorities and their racial policy which is so untenable and unjustifiable for Christians.

Nairobi has spoken even more clearly than any ecumenical gathering of churches thus far and did so not by way of an idealistic appeal, but by way of a bald and blunt statement of the facts. Deep concern was expressed about "the practice of racial segregation by the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa in their own church life, and the impression this gives, that they support the government in its policy and practice of racial segregation and white supremacy".

It was furthermore asserted with the greatest positiveness "that, since according to the New Testament there is in the Body of Christ neither Greek nor Jew (Gal. 3:11), a doctrine or practice which asserts racial segregation as a law of the Church's life is in contradiction to the nature of the Christian Church. In her pastoral ministry the Church should

strewe om houdinge van rasse-meerderwaardigheid en -vooroordeel uit te roei deur sy lidmate op te lei tot volle rypheid in rasseverhoudings. Dit moet dringend, aanhoudend en geduldig gedoen word".

Hierdie bevindinge is vir geen misverstand vatbaar nie, en vreemd genoeg het die bewoording van die laaste twee volsinne van een van die vernaamste afgevaardigdes van die N.G. Kerk gekom. 'n Mens kan maar net hoop dat die gees wat hom geïnspireer het by die indiening van sy voorstel, ook vaardig sal word onder die afgevaardigdes van die Algemene Sinode van die N.G. Kerk wat gedurende Oktober in Pretoria gehou sal word en waarna daar met soveel spanning uitgesien word.

'n Mens sou dit ook kon waag om te hoop dat die Sinode wat, tydens sy vorige vergadering in 1966, die Christelike Instituut van Suider-Afrika tot „dwaalrigting" verklaar het juis vanweë sy opvattinge oor rasseverhoudings, ernstige oorweging sal verleen aan die heel laaste besluit van die Wêreldbond in Nairobi waarkragtens o.a. juis die Christelike Instituut uitgekies is „vir heelhartige en biddende ondersteuning" as „'n hoopvolle teken van versoening in Suid-Afrika".

strive to eradicate attitudes of racial superiority and prejudice by leading her members into full maturity in race relations. This should be done urgently, persistently and patiently".

These findings are simply not open to misunderstanding and, strangely enough, the wording of the last two sentences came from one of the most influential delegates of the N.G. Kerk. One can only hope that the spirit which inspired him when he tabled this proposal will also move the delegates to the General Synod of the N.G. Kerk which is to be held in Pretoria during October and which is awaited with so much interest.

One might also dare to hope that the Synod which, during its previous meeting in 1966, declared the Christian Institute of Southern Africa to be an "heretical movement" precisely because of its views on race relations, will give serious consideration to the very last decision of the World Alliance in Nairobi according to which this very Christian Institute was singled out "for wholehearted and prayerful support" as "a hopeful sign of reconciliation in South Africa".

THE W.C.C. DECISION

The World Council of Churches has decided to give financial support to liberation movements in Southern Africa. Our own opposition to *all* forms of violence has been made abundantly clear in the past for us not to have to repeat it again. Yet we do wish to make a few observations.

S.A. churchmen, politicians and secular journalists have reacted. To a man the reactions have been ones of 'shock'; to a man, bar one, they have all been made by whites.

- Our first observation: are we so isolated from world thinking not to know how incorrigible most of the world regards us and our race policies? And are we so isolated from the thinking within the W.C.C. not to have realised that this decision was inevitable? Their views since 1948 have been clearly and publicly stated. So were their resolutions following up on the Notting Hill consultation on race last year.
- Our second observation: one wonders what the 'silent majority' is thinking. Perhaps if we held a consultation of the calibre of the recent Nairobi one - with the same openness and frankness, we may find that our black Christian brothers view the W.C.C. decision differently.

It is interesting to observe that at recent W.C.C. consultations e.g. Notting Hill and Montreux, more and more delegates came from the Third World. Their voices are now helping to mould W.C.C. attitudes. Black Christians in this country are part of that growing Third World.

- Hasty reactions will not make the problem go away. Even withdrawing from the W.C.C. won't help. The problem is too deep. We already alluded to this in our July editorial. Nairobi and this decision makes the need for clarification all the more urgent. We need a careful analysis of the problem areas e.g. power, revolution, the rich and the poor, war and peace, love and hate, violence and non-violence, law and order.
- We need clarity because there are too many inherent ambiguities relating to these issues within Christian history. These are reflected in some of the recent reactions. For example, Jehovah Witnesses have been recently detained by military authorities for opposing war *per se* and hence refusing to do military training. There have been no public statements by churchmen to defend them. Hence we are clearly not opposed to war. Now the Bishop of Johannesburg is reported to have said that one cannot support

those who make violent attacks on law and order and that S.A. needs arms because of the communist threat and to deal with terrorists. But this position depends upon one's understanding of law and order and the conditions we create which make South Africa a fertile soil for communism!

- When Fr. Trabard was recently deported from Rhodesia, Bishop Lamont of Umtali is reported to have said that the real terrorists in Rhodesia were the framers of the constitution. Can he be right? Is a terrorist only one who takes up arms to forcefully overthrow a government or can a terrorist, in the words of the Bishop, be one who forcefully maintains law and order? We have already pointed out in July that law and order can be, and sometimes is, a form of institutionalised violence.

If the churches are so strongly opposed to terrorism on our borders (and quite rightly so) are they equally opposed to violence in our country? If they are, what will they do about it (and not just say about it)? If they consider withdrawing from the W.C.C., will they follow the logical step and consider withdrawing from society here? Will they opt out of 'law and order' here?

It seems that to be involved in the one, requires the same involvement in the other.

- The churchmen have assumed that the W.C.C. money will be used by the liberation movements for military purposes. Some of the liberation movements support schools, hospitals, crèches and the like. If the money is used for these purposes, as the W.C.C. believes it will, will our churchmen still be opposed? If they are, will they follow the logical step, on the same argumentation as above, and close their schools, hospitals and crèches here? And what then are the churches' attitudes to U.D.I. Rhodesia? And what is their attitude then to South African and overseas trade with that government?
- No, there are too many ambiguities. We have raised only a few to show the complexity of the matter. Rather than oversimplify such a complex area, we wish rather to search for the truth. We must carefully examine, under God, what is happening and why it is happening. To this end we have placed a first exploratory response in this issue in order to raise some of the many questions involved. We hope to continue this exploration in subsequent issues.

M.C.

IN SEARCH OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Richard Turner

All ideologies are based on a human model. Human models are rooted in understandings of human nature.

Richard Turner, examines various human models which underline some political systems in order to explore the dimensions of modern radical thought. He finds them closely allied to those of the Christian ethic.

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Contemporary radical thought questions not only the structure of modern societies, but also the value systems of the individuals in these societies. For example, the difference between the Black Power movements and previous civil rights in the United States does not only lie in a change of method. A change of goals is also involved. The desire is no longer to be accepted into white middle-class society, but rather to build a new kind of society with a different value-system and a different culture, and, in particular, there is a rejection of the whites' assumption that they have the right to select the criteria of 'acceptability', 'responsibility', 'civilisation' or even beauty. It seems to me that this characteristic of contemporary radical thought is significant for those who advocate a liberal-democratic policy in South Africa both because it embodies a valid critique of democratic-capitalist societies and because it is likely to coincide closely with the aspirations of significant sections of South

Africa's predominantly black population.

SOCIETY BASED ON A HUMAN MODEL

I shall briefly sketch the theoretical base for this critique:

The criticism is based on a particular analysis of the nature of human beings. Ethical concepts such as 'justice' and 'equality' refer to a desired type of relationship between individuals. This relationship is desired because of what it does to each individual in the relationship. That is, we believe that it is good for individuals to be treated justly and equally. Equality and justice are *means* towards the end of individual happiness. The significance of this is that the content which we give to such norms depends on the way in which we believe individuals achieve happiness, or fulfill themselves. I shall refer to a particular idea of fulfillment as a 'human model'. Equality as a norm does not require identical treatment for all individuals in all situations. It means that differences in treatment must be based on relevant differences in the nature or situation of the individuals concerned. In determining relevance, one factor which must be taken into account is this question of human models. The type of society one aims at depends on one's human model. If one sees human fulfillment in terms of a high level of consumption the sort of society one aims at will be very different from that which would be sought if one saw fulfillment as lying in achieving *satori*, or loving God, or communicating with one's fellows, or developing one's intellect, or serving the glory of one's nation. Central to any ideology is a human model. It is crucial to realise this, for often in political arguments the disputants fail to realise that they are operating with different human models, and so that they are giving different meanings to key terms.

IDEOLOGY DEPENDS ON HUMAN MODEL

If one accepts that different ideologies depend on different human models, then the problem arises of what criteria one could possibly use in comparing various models. There are two possible approaches to this problem. The first is to say that an individual is fulfilled when his needs are satisfied, and so that it is necessary to find out what the needs of a human are in order to discover which model is correct. This approach, therefore, suggests that there is an objective, empirically determinable answer to the question. However, such an answer assumes that there are a fixed and constant set of drives and needs: a 'human nature'. Whether approaching the problem from an existentialist or from a marxist viewpoint, contemporary radical thinkers are unanimous in rejecting the concept 'human nature'.

It would require too large a detour to give their reasons for this with any rigour. Briefly, the fact of self-consciousness makes it possible for an individual to reflect on and reject his motives for any particular action. At the most elementary level, the statement 'man needs food' means 'if an individual wants to stay alive, he must have food'. The translation brings out the fact that the initial statement contains an implicit normative judgement, or an implicit choice-statement. Individuals can decide not to stay alive, and then they don't need food. Since nearly all people do in fact want to stay alive, the first statement is adequate for everyday use. In fact, in any given society most people do seem to want roughly the same sort of things, and it is this uniformity which leads people to think in terms of 'human nature' as an explanatory hypothesis. If we are to reject it, we must replace it with a better explanation.

BEHAVIOUR IS CULTURALLY DETERMINED

Once again, it is not possible to formulate such an explanation

behave in terms of their culture and that a culture is largely a social product which is imposed on each individual by the socialising process to which he is subjected in his particular society. He is 'taught' a set of needs, and he acts in terms of these needs. This raises a number of problems; two of which are particularly relevant.

CHRISTIAN MODEL BASED ON OPENNESS, FREEDOM, LOVE

1. Once it is realised that a particular set of needs is merely the particular human model characteristic of that culture, one is faced with a value decision. Should one continue to accept this particular model? What criteria could one use in deciding between it and other possible models? Fortunately I do not have to discuss this problem, since we are operating with a Christian model, which is based on concepts such as openness, freedom, rationality, and love.
2. Why is this particular set of needs imposed by this particular society? Structural functional analysis answers this question by pointing to the function which culture has in the overall social system. In order for the social structure to be maintained in existence, it is necessary for the individuals in the society to acquire the kind of behaviour pattern which is consistent with its continued existence, and the process of socialisation imposes this behaviour pattern. It has been pointed out by critics such as Easton and Buckley that the structural functional approach in terms of systems maintenance introduces a conservative bias by assuming that it is necessary for the society to maintain its present structure, and so legitimising the culture which enables it to

do so. Easton therefore introduces the concept of 'systems persistence'. The distinction between systems maintenance makes it possible to distinguish between, on the one hand, the necessary prerequisites for the continued existence of society as such, and, on the other hand, the much narrower set of necessary prerequisites for the continued existence of a given society with its given structure. One can then ask whether a given culture performs a 'maintenance' role or a 'persistence' role; whether it functions to maintain the given class, economic, and power structure, or whether it introduces the individual to an open-ended search for ways of living together with his fellows.

THE 'OLD LEFT' IS WORN OUT

The 'Old Left' criticised capitalism largely on the grounds that it leads to an unfair distribution of wealth and an inefficient use of productive resources. On the whole it accepted the capitalist human model of fulfillment through the consumption and possession of material goods. The 'New Left' agrees with the initial criticism, but argues, further, that the human model imposed in capitalist society is a function of the needs of the capitalist system, and that it involves the destruction of important human potentialities. Galbraith makes similar points, using a different 'language game', in 'The New Industrial State'. For example, he shows how the concept of 'consumer sovereignty' no longer applies, since ways have been devised of controlling aggregate demand through advertising techniques in order to satisfy the need of the industrial system for a stably expanding market.

He writes, 'But, as we have sufficiently seen, the system, if it accommodates to man's wishes, also and increasingly accommodates men to its needs, and it must,

This latter accommodation is no trivial exercise in salesmanship. It is deeply organic. High technology and heavy capital use cannot be subordinated to the ebb and flow of market demand. They require planning; it is the essence of planning that public behaviour be made predictable, that it be subject to control. And from this control flow further important consequences. It ensures that men and numerous women will work with undiminished effort however great their supply of goods. And it helps ensure that the society will measure its accomplishment by its annual increase in production.... The management to which we are subject is not onerous. It works not on the body but on the mind. It first wins acquiescence or belief; action is in response to this mental conditioning, and is thus devoid of any sense of compulsion. It is not that we are required to have a newly configured automobile or a novel reverse-action laxative; it is because we believe that we must have them. It is open to anyone who can resist belief to contract out of this control. But we are no less managed because we are not physically compelled. On the contrary, though this is poorly understood, physical compulsion would have a far lower order of efficiency.' (321-2). In a situation where productivity has reached a level at which rapidly increasing leisure possibilities open up, an ethic of consumption and need creation is imposed because the economy in its present form needs increasing demand, without there being any attempt to consider whether people need it.

ELEMENTS OF CAPITALIST MODEL

The capitalist human model includes the following three elements:

- (a) fulfillment through possession and consumption of material goods,
- (b) a tendency to compartmentalise life into a work sphere and a 'living' sphere, with

work being seen as an unfortunate necessity, rather than an area of possible fulfillment. (This is because the work situation in such a society is not designed to be an area of fulfillment. It is designed to increase productivity, which is not necessarily the same thing.)

- (c) the idea that exploitation is the natural relationship between people.

In a capitalist enterprise the employee is essentially a 'means of production', who may be oiled to make him work better, as other pieces of machinery are, but who becomes redundant if he plays no role in the profit-making process. Human relationships become instrumental, rather than areas for finding fulfillment.

ALTERNATIVES

Contemporary radicals suggest two other areas of possible human experience which, they argue, are more fulfilling:

- (a) the idea of work as a creative activity. This means that work satisfaction should be seen as one of the products of the production process, and should not play a secondary role to narrow criteria of economic efficiency.
- (b) the idea of community, love, cooperation with one's fellows as an end in itself.

These two may be united in the concept 'participation'...a human model of fulfillment through creative involvement in the social process.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PROBLEMS

I said earlier that the Old Left had concentrated to a great extent on material problems. The lesser emphasis placed on such problems in contemporary theory is of course at least in part the result of much greater affluence in advanced capitalist societies. In such circumstances it is natural to turn

to other unfortunate results of capitalism. But in South Africa our problems are perhaps closer to those of nineteenth century Europe than to those of contemporary Europe: an extremely inegalitarian society where large section of the population still live at or below subsistence level. Any reasonable human model will include as real needs adequate housing, food, clothing and health, so perhaps at the moment in South Africa issues beyond this are irrelevant. Let us therefore consider the problem of inequality in South Africa.

EXPLOIT YOUR NEIGHBOUR

There is certainly, in South Africa, considerable antagonism between the different 'race' groups. If we reject the thesis that this is due to some inherent incompatibility of the different 'races', we must inquire what the conflict is about. The history of South Africa since the beginning of white occupation is the story of the use by whites of political and military power to ensure first a near monopoly of land, and then a complete monopoly of skilled, highly-paid jobs. This means that today the large share of the wealth which accrues to the white section of the population is as much a result of their control of political power as it is of their actual contribution to production. It is this fact, I believe, that lies at the roots of conflict in South Africa. By this I do not wish to deny the reality of race-prejudice. Race-prejudice may be a way of rationalising one's right to exploit, or it may have other causes. The point is, however, that there is no reasonable basis in reality for race-prejudice, whereas black hostility to white economic exploitation is justified by the facts of the situation, and is not likely to end until white economic exploitation ends.

It seems, to say the least, unwise to assume that blacks will not use political power to end exploitation, since whites used it to install the exploitative system.

The whites are so entrenched in the economic structure that the only conceivable way in which this could be done would be through some form of socialism, that is, would involve a radical change in the white-dominated economic structure. Such a solution, by restoring some relationship between effort and reward, would also be a just solution. Any 'black' government is likely to be socialistic, and will be morally right in so being. The impulse which has lead most independent African countries to declare themselves socialist will be enormously strengthened here by the fact that, in a country with a developed and entrenched business elite there will not exist the possibility of a new black elite rapidly working themselves into a position of power in the private sector.

It is important to ask why the whites used their political power to exploit the other inhabitants of South Africa. After all, they could, 300 years ago, have started off by attempting to cooperate with the others to develop South Africa's resources for the good of all. The reason that they did not do so, I would suggest, is that the society from which they came was an essentially exploitative one, so that they saw exploitation as a natural relationship between men. In general, one cannot dismiss the surge of western imperialism which led to almost total global dominance, as being in some way accidental and extraneous to western culture. Western culture, as the lived norms of a society, as opposed to its written expression in Kant or Marx, Christ or Russell, is still exploitative; the norms of western society are the norms required by the capitalist system for its survival.

EXPLOITATION INHERENT TO NATURE?

This, I think, would be accepted by most people, but what one does about it depends on whether one sees the willingness to exploit as being part of human nature, or merely part of one human model.

If it is part of human nature, which I consider it is not, then it would seem unlikely that change will come about in South Africa without violence. A policy which tries to extend political rights to blacks in such a way that the rights will not be used by them to change their economic status (which, as I understand it, is the essence of Progressive Party policy) is not going to solve the basic conflict problem. On the other hand, if this is not part of human nature then it may be that some whites at least may be brought to accept another human model. It might be possible to show them that they too suffer under apartheid, that it deprives them of important areas of experience, that fear and cultural primitivism go together, and that it might be worth while exchanging a high level of consumption for community with one's fellows. That is, it might be possible to persuade them that loving one's neighbour is more fulfilling than the pursuit of wealth, which, incidentally, is the message of the 'western tradition', from Plato to Marx, and is also the central principle of Christian ethics and of contemporary radical thought.

IN SEARCH OF NEW LIFE-STYLES

Within the white group there are a number of people who may be brought to welcome the idea of the new society, rather than to accept it as a lesser evil. To get such people to accept the loss of a privileged material situation, it is necessary to show them a different human model. This involves making a radical critique of the culture, values and life-style of white society in South Africa. People who want to change South Africa must learn to live differently now. As far as whites are concerned, this does not simply mean being nice to their black servants. It means rejecting money-values and seeing ones political activity as the core of ones life, rather than a spare-time activity. Even a relatively small number of whites living this way

could play an important role in educating the electorate, who, on a personal level are reachable exclusively by whites, and could also help in other activities. Such a radical critique is also necessary to prevent middle-class blacks being caught in the trap of consumer society, thereby depriving the black population of a significant group of possible organisers. There is considerable scope for small-scale social-political organising among the black (African, Coloured, Indian etc.) population. It is likely that most of this work can be done only by blacks. In any event, one of the main purposes of such community organisation is to encourage local community leadership. However, whites might be able to play useful support roles in this kind of activity.

POWER VESTED IN ECONOMICS

Another important feature of contemporary radical thought is the attempt to work out political institutions for a socialist society. Both parliamentary democracy and the soviet model are rejected. It is argued that present forms of parliamentary democracy centralise political power and take it out of the effective control of the people. Five-yearly elections are not an adequate check on government. When the voter's only major involvement with government is to cast a vote once every five years he is effectively alienated from the real political process, and develops little understanding of the issues and of their relation to his everyday problems. The political party as mediator between individual and government tends to take on the characteristics of the system itself; the 'party machine' dominates the membership and the rank and file become increasingly divorced from the actual policy-making. The party tends to become an organisation for the achievement of political offices for certain individuals, rather than a cooperative effort to carry out a coherent program to attain certain specific ends. This effects political campaigning in such a way as

to reinforce the political isolation of the individual. The political arena becomes polarised between an atomised mass and a number of small groups trying to manipulate the mass in order to get political jobs. The result of this is to move the source of power in society out of the political arena and into the control of functional power groups, for the politicians have no real power-basis in popular support, as opposed to popular acceptance. In a capitalist society the major functional power-groups are the economic powers. In a socialist society the central planning body would be the major functional power centre. Parliamentary democracy of the type I have described would not be adequate to control it. There must be other centres of power which can be used by the people to exert their control over the central body.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The most frequently suggested solution to this problem is some kind of workers' control. The advantages of this would be, firstly, that the workers' control of their own factory or industry gives them a source of power and a natural organisation; and secondly that their involvement in the day-to-day running of the business would increase their awareness of economic and political problems, and of the relation between general policy and their own particular area of experience, and so would produce a much more responsible and aware electorate. Of course there are many detailed problems to be worked out before a working model of workers' control is arrived at. For the moment I merely wish to use it as an example in order to make the point that 'responsibility' is a function of degree of integration into the society's decision-making processes, and so that it is necessary to work out more effective ways of achieving this integration than have yet been put into practice.

Along with the rejection of parliamentary democracy as a solution goes a greater willingness to use extra-legal and extra-parliamentary

methods in the attempt to bring about change. Violence is only one such method, and has been advocated or used by a relatively small number of radicals in Europe or the United States. It has been realised that power cannot be divorced from organisation, and that organisation (as distinct from an organisation) can only be meaningful and lasting when it is related to specific and immediate problems. For example, in the United States black leaders have been organising tenants associations to take direct action against slum landlords. The importance of such organisation is that through it individuals learn to cooperate, learn that cooperation gives them power to achieve changes in their environment, and learn, through the attempt to deal with problems, the relation between their immediate problems and the wider political and social structure. In the present situation in South Africa this type of organisation is perhaps the only avenue left for fruitful political activity, on the part of both whites and blacks.

LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOUR

To conclude, I would suggest that contemporary radical thought is particularly relevant to South Africa in the following aspects

- (a) The rejection of the materialistic human model characteristic of capitalism in favour of a more open model which is much closer to the Christian ideal.
- (b) The attempt to rethink the political problems of socialism and to go beyond the Soviet model towards a participatory society.
- (c) The realisation that to limit one's actions to the institutionalised political arena is self-defeating. Political activity must be accompanied by change-oriented activity in all sectors of society, in particular in the cultural sphere, and around people's daily work and living problems.

In my previous article I discussed the responsibility - or lack of it - of the "Afrikaans" churches in South Africa for the parlous state of our society and alleged that a major share of the guilt must be attributed to them. This does not, however, completely exonerate the so-called "English" churches. They, too, must accept their fair share of the blame for the situation in which South African society finds itself. In this, the third article in this series, I propose to deal with this rather contentious subject.

By and large, the term "English churches" has, it would seem, come to mean what this term conjures up in the politically and ecclesiastically dominant Afrikaans mind, i.e. all strictly non-Afrikaans churches, but most specifically the Anglican Church, and, most terrifyingly, the Roman Catholic Church - the dreaded "Roomse Gevaar" - with the various Lutheran churches occupying a place somewhere on the fringes of the South African denominational spectrum.

LEFT IN THE LURCH BY THE CHURCH

The third in a series of articles on the Church in South Africa.

Cheap and facile generalisation is, of course, always a major danger in, dealing with something of this nature. Who, after all, are the "English" churches? By no means even as uniform a concept as the "Afrikaans" churches, who in themselves constitute no composite body such as the "D.R.C." (Dutch Reformed Church) to which English speakers are wont so glibly to refer.

When one speaks of the "English" churches, one may, in fact, only be making a linguistic distinction and refer to churches whose membership are essentially English-speaking - which would certainly exclude the German-speaking Lutheran Church in South Africa.

Conversely, one may be making a confessional distinction, derived from the fact that all the major "Afrikaans" churches confessionally adhere to the Reformed, i.e. Calvinist faith. This would again exclude the Lutherans, putting them into the "English" camp, but also causes grave complications as regards the Presbyterian Church (confessionally most intimately related to the "D.R.C."), the Congregational Church (which has just become more closely related to the churches of Reformed faith through the merger between the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the International Congregational Council at Nairobi) and the Baptist Union which, politically speaking, in any case, stands far closer to the Afrikaans churches in their overt and covert support of the Nationalist government and its racial policy of separate development than does, for instance, the Presbyterian Church.

Another way in which basic disparities can be highlighted, of course, is to point to the distinction between the outspokenly evangelically-minded churches (sometimes verging on sheer pietism) and the more ecumenically-inclined churches. This distinction, for which there is factually a great measure of justification, cuts across so many other distinctions, however, that it complicates rather than solves the problem.

The "English churches", therefore, form a rather amorphous entity. But this amorphousness does not render them either anonymous or entirely guiltless.

They display, on the whole, certain common characteristics which are indicative of an ecclesiastical malaise peculiar to the non-Afrikaans-speaking sections of the Body of Christ in South Africa.

CLERGY/LAITY GAP

What almost universally strikes one about them, in the first place, is that the English-speaking clergy, by and large, are almost vociferously outspoken in their criticism and condemnation of the government's apartheid policy: whilst their laity, though apparently assenting, quietly carry on running with the mainstream of political and social opinion in South Africa, except, as is now beginning to happen, when political and social events start touching their pockets economically. This certainly smacks of hypocrisy. One cannot cheer, sometimes even egg on, one's parish minister in his bold stand against immoral and un-Christian government practices and yet quietly (usually profitably?) carry on with the "South African way of life" and actively strive to maintain an ultimately untenable status quo. One cannot, on the one hand, shout: "Jolly well spoken, old chap!" and, on the other, bring financial and other pressures to bear on one's minister of religion on account of his disconcerting outspokenness. Too many "English" churchmen have I met who have been reduced to silence, acquiescence and impotence essentially because of the non-support of the members of their fold.

This "English" ambivalence in approach and attitude also finds itself reflected in the very life of the Church itself. Ostensibly and sometimes almost provocatively most of the "English" churches welcome non-white members on an equal basis. But the instances of discriminatory practice in the running of English church schools have become

notorious on more than one occasion. And among the "English" churches it is not only in the Roman Catholic Church that one has recently discovered signs of discontent among non-white clergymen and lay members because they are virtually accorded only second-class citizenship in the Kingdom of Christ.

Again, if one starts looking for the real roots of this phenomenon, one finds that it is basically

Dr. W.B. de Villiers

the laity of the "English" churches that neutralises all the good intentions of the clergy and acts as an agent of stultification and frustration. The roles appear to be directly reversed in the "Afrikaans" and in the "English" churches. In the former, the hierarchy are the dedicated apostles of apartheid and all its attendant evils, leading an often deliberately uninformed or misinformed laity along a (Calvinistically) predestined path of "separate development". In the "English" churches, he who pays the piper, calls the tune and an essentially apartheid-loving laity is effectively pressuring the well-meaning clergy into impotence.

Sadly, it would seem that perhaps the greatest talent of the "English" churches has itself become a trap reducing them to virtual imprisonment in their own house of the spirit. One refers, of course, to the tradition of enlightened liberalism which is one of the main characteristics of the English-speaking churches and which significantly includes their loyalty to the English tradition of civil liberty and political equality. Their impassioned defence of these values through all the years of their history in South Africa, even in the face of harsh opposition by the civil authorities, has had a most decided and beneficial influence on the struggle for a just society in this country.

SPIRITUAL ARROGANCE

This very excellence has, however, all too often led them into the temptation of spiritual arrogance. All along there has been an inclination to look down upon their dour and obdurate Afrikaner neighbours and to refer disparagingly to their Old Testament style of theology which appears perennially to be bogged down in the 17th century. This caused Afrikanerdom to withdraw even further into their spiritual laager, brought about a hardening of hyper-Calvinist attitudes and led to an increasing distrust of all "liberalists" and "humanists", i.e. of the "English" themselves. Lofty liberalist idealism also unfortunately led the English-speakers to make

light of and even to disregard the harsh realities and exigencies of the South African situation which so deeply concerned the Afrikaners. For, being generally less affluent than the English, the Afrikaners were always compelled to live closer to the realities and accordingly started regarding themselves as far greater realists than their English fellow-countrymen. This in turn, led to a kind of counter-arrogance among the Afrikaners which only drove the wedge in deeper between the two groups and ultimately caused the almost complete cessation of all meaningful dialogue between them - on the church level in any case.

THE THIRD FORCE

Neither side is apparently prepared to make any real concession to accommodate the other and both share in the guilt for this unhappy state of affairs which can only be regarded as most gravely detrimental to the cause of Christ and His Kingdom; a state of affairs, incidentally also, which has been partly responsible for the emergence of that remarkable "third force" on the level of the churches: the rapidly growing body of African Independent Churches.

The measure in which the "Afrikaans" churches have through their obduracy and ideological intransigence, been responsible for the seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the two church groups has already received wide attention. Far less notice has been taken of the quite considerable measure of guilt attaching to the "English" churches in this connection. They can, of course, be partially forgiven because they have in a very real sense been hamstrung by history - most eye-catchingly in the persons of men like Reed and Van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society and later of contentious personalities like Reeves, Huddleston and De Blank - which caused Afrikaner suspicion, resentment and distrust to harden so disastrously.

But they are by no means blameless. Whilst it can be said of many Afrikaans churchmen that they have made sincere attempts to come to an understanding of the English liberal mind, one knows of too few among their counterparts who have made any real effort to find out what makes the Afrikaner tick, ecclesiastically and theologically in any case. The only notice taken of him has all too frequently been only for the purpose of criticising and condemning, not appreciating and objectively appraising: One fails to understand how such barely concealed condescension, such unappraising readiness to judge and condemn, can be reconciled with the true spirit of liberalism. One also fails to see how, with such a highhanded approach to the foibles of their fellow-Christians, any compromise can ever be achieved the Pharisees and the Publicans.

And such a compromise *must* be achieved if the *una sancta* is ever going to become a meaningful concept and reality in our country.

In June 1970, Mr. Neil Wates, managing director of Wates Ltd., one of Britain's biggest building and construction companies, visited South Africa. He came to examine the possibility of investment in South Africa by franchising the Wates System of industrial building.

He found this prospect ethically unacceptable. Mr. Wates' assessment is naturally his own and in no way commits his colleagues. Yet his reasons for refusing to invest in South Africa are so important that we publish them in full.

They at once both challenge the church and industry.

- they challenge the South African churches to examine their business practices, how they justify church investment and spending and to what end they use their financial power,
- and they challenge Christians again to work at the ethical norms of commerce and industry. (In our next issue we plan to place an article on this subject by the British economist, Dr. F. Schumacher who is presently visiting South Africa).

.....AND SAID

In January this year - about the time we received news of our success in operation 'Breakthrough' in the United States - we also received an invitation from a firm of South African developers to franchise our System to them. You will recall that we refused to do so, on the general grounds that we felt we could not be true to our company goal "to grow people" if we were forced at the same time to work within a system which limited the opportunities of some people "to grow" according to the colour of their skin.

Our South African friends responded, very properly, that we did not know our subject, that we were totally misled by hostile propaganda and that we simply could not take such a decision 7,000 miles away. Accordingly we agreed that I should go out on behalf of the company to look at the situation at firsthand.

Ideal Investment Area

I must report prima facie South Africa is the ideal land for investment; stability is a relative term, but in the foreseeable future there

can be few more stable countries than South Africa. The economic outlook is excellent.

Yet totally unacceptable

Notwithstanding all this, I must report that the idea of doing business in South Africa is *totally unacceptable*; we could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose our integrity in the process. We should have to operate within a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute and where there is virtually no communication between the races; we should be locked into this system. We should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralise and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance.

We should have to operate within a legal climate where the rule of law has been abolished in favour of rule by decree, which bids fair to become a reign of terror.

WHAT

WATES

SAW

The cumulative effect of all these factors in the long term must be self-defeating; within the short term it must make it impossible for ourselves individually, or as a company, to connive at anything which would serve to perpetuate a system which in the last analysis has no other justification than the preservation of white supremacy as an end in itself.

To analyse each of my points in a little more detail

1. "There is virtually no communication between the races"

This is a wellknown fact to the African; they simply cannot afford to "tell it like it is"; the tragedy is that most whites are totally unaware of the way they are isolating themselves by limiting their contact with non-whites to a purely functional or master/servant relationship. In the first place there is very little physical contact - there are of course the well-known, albeit incredible to a foreign visitor on his first encounter - "non-European" park seats, bus-stops, airport entrances, lavatories, taxis, buses, etc. etc.

(the duplication of services would be absurd if it were not often tragic; witness the collapse of a grossly overloaded non-European footbridge over a railway, causing the death of many Africans, while the adjoining "white only bridge" was empty).

In the second place there is very little social contact; white and non-white cannot sit in the same office, eat in the same public place and enjoy simultaneously the same cultural or physical recreations. Of course, a white can invite a non-white to his home - but it would be fraught with difficulties. In the first place his servants - not to mention his neighbours - would raise their eyebrows; in the second place, unless the African had his own transport, the white could not run him home at the end of the evening without a permit. It would, of course, be illegal for the African to stay the night.

Above all - following the Improper Interference Act 1968 - whites and non-whites cannot attend the same political meetings or join the same Party;

Small wonder that with such little communication between the races, so much fear and misunderstanding is engendered, together with a siege mentality among the whites. As visitors we found it almost impossible to talk to Africans and we had the usual absurd stories about "them" from our fellow whites - their ignorance, their criminality, their immorality, etc. etc. For contact with 'the African' we had to wait until we visited Zambia where Africans were obtaining levels of responsibility and acquiring skills which would have frankly astonished the storytellers in South Africa.

These tales were greeted there with the laughter they deserved, but it was an incredible shock to realise that our dinner party with the President of Zambia - truly one of the world's great men - would have been virtually impossible in South Africa, and the consumption of alcohol would have been illegal. On second thoughts,

the President being a teetotaler perhaps we did not break the law.

2. A scandalous under-utilisation of human abilities

In the first place the policy of reserving key jobs for whites virtually means that 3.6m whites must provide the entire management capability and key skills for a population of over 19m. In the second place the sheer bureaucracy of running such a dirigiste economy to go with the systematic arrest of 5% of the population a year and imprisonment of 4%, has increased the percentage of economically active whites involved in the public sector from 30% in 1960 to over 36% in 1969.

The real scandal lies in the fact that all the real job opportunities one can see being grasped by Africans both in supervisory management and in the area of technical skills in a country like Zambia are totally denied to them in South Africa. It is impossible to say how many firstclass minds are doing the most menial jobs and it is, of course, impossible to measure the waste of ability.

The theory of separate development is plainly nonsense all the time the whites depend on the blacks for their industrial manpower - and of course there can be no meaningful development in the home lands where most of the blacks are working in white areas. Only 8.7% of employed Africans are working in the home lands - whilst over one-third "live" in the home lands, but work away from home on annual contracts. This self-defeating policy prohibits any prospect of career development for them, let alone the building up of any loyalty to the company and reduces the non-whites to the level of a "Labour Unit".

Of course we would ensure that any business we set up would be a beacon of good employment practices, with basic principles of equal-pay, equal-fringe benefits and working conditions. But we could not open the career to talents

in the way we strive to do in this country and in the States through our policy of "optimising individual and the company goals" - because some goals are simply not open to some individuals.

3. "A climate designed to demoralise and maintain an industrial helotry"

White industry needs African labour; but each one of those Africans must have a permit to "work, live and be". It is true that he can establish certain residential qualifications to live in a township - if for example he has worked in the area for fifteen years, or ten years in the same job. But he may not necessarily be able to live with his wife - he certainly cannot invite a friend in for the night without permission and he is liable to lose all his rights if he is found to be "idle and undesirable" - whereupon he will find himself sent to a "homeland" which means nothing to him.

What he needs, of course, is a home and not a Government fabricated myth of a homeland. What he gets is life in a transit camp, without property, political - and precious few legal rights. So far from being a protector the law is seen as a persecutor; incredibly 934,000 people were convicted of offences in 1968, 674,000 were admitted to prison during that year and the average daily prison population was 80,000.

Since it is virtually impossible not to break the law in a small way each day, major and minor offences become blurred and respect for the law goes to the wall.

It is small wonder that there is virtually a reign of terror in the native townships by night; in Soweto, the average number of murders on the peak night of the week is 7; nobody knows how much unreported crime of violence takes place - but then none of this would be obvious to the superficial white observer; there is a curfew for all non-Europeans in the centre of Johannesburg which makes it probably the safest city in the

world for the white man to walk about at night. Yet the price of all this - and indeed of the whole agreeable servant supported way of life in the white suburbs - is being paid for by the blacks who are kept out of sight in the townships.

It is no defence to point out the undeniable truth that the black South Africans are better off than blacks in any other country in the world; the important factor is their relative well-being to their white fellow citizens; the Africans constitute 68% of the population, but their share of the National cash income is 19% - whereas the white constitute 19% and their share of the cash income is 73%.

This is only one measure of inequality - the facts are that political, social and economic inequalities of the system are such that we would find it impossible to give effect to our ideas for "creating a sense of partnership within the company, where people are encouraged to give of their best to their work".

4. "The rule of law has been abolished"

If there is a physical reign of terror in the townships, all the ingredients are there for a legal reign of terror within the country. Legally speaking, it is extremely hard to distinguish the situation in Vorster's South Africa from Hitler's Germany in 1933; Hitler engineered the Reichstag fire and then declared an emergency decree "for the protection of the people and the State"; he set up Peoples' Courts for political offences; he interfered in criminal cases to protect his officials; he had the right to banish or imprison people whom he thought had been too lightly treated in the Civil Courts and he placed his Gestapo beyond the law.

In South Africa, under the 1967 Terrorism Act (which created new offences and made them retrospective to 1962) it is explicitly stated that "no Court shall pronounce on the validity of any action for

the release of a detainee under this Act". Under the Bantu Administration Act the President is supreme and his actions cannot be challenged in respect of the African right to remain, reside or work in certain areas. With the Suppression of Communism Act 1967 which virtually says you are a Communist if the Minister "says so" (Lord Gardner) there are wide powers to arrest, together with the right to bar Counsel - and if you obtain your discharge under this Act you can simply be re-arrested in open Court and detained *sine die* under the Terrorism Act - as happened to the 22.

Clearly the Terrorism Act is itself an act of terror; in accepting the security of the State, rather than that of the individual as the overriding consideration, the rule of law has been abolished and a potential reign of terror through rule by decree has been established. It is true this is currently mainly directed against the black, but it is already beginning to be used against the white and must ultimately prove self-defeating.

Clearly South Africa is becoming a very difficult - not to say dangerous - place for anyone who values the right of free speech.

I will confess that I travelled South Africa hoping that I would find good reasons for doing business there; privately I had always considered critics of South Africa to be shrill and emotional - to whom everything black was good and everything white was bad. But the parallel between Hitler's treatment of the Jews in the 1930s and South Africa's treatment of the blacks today, became daily more obvious to me in the course of my visit and was brought home most vividly to me when I saw blacks being literally herded like cattle through the Bantu Administration Courts - just as I think with hindsight it would have been totally wrong to do anything to connive at Nazism in those days, so also do I think we should do nothing that would help to perpetuate apartheid.

Business should be ethical

I was frequently pressed in South Africa to say whether we were looking at it as a business or an ethical problem; there can, of course, be no difference.

During the course of my visit I came to see more clearly how South Africa is the battle ground for the major issue which threatens the world - including within it of course the world of business - the problem of race. There is a direct confrontation in South Africa and another confrontation in the United States - and increasingly in this country.

Towards a non-racial world

It is crucial that as individuals and as a company we make our stand known and play our part in promoting a non-racial world. In the face of my negative conclusions, I put forward some positive proposals:-

1. We put our own house in order. We need a company audit to determine how far we as a company are colour blind in our employment, sales and rental policies, together with the articulation of positive strategies.
2. We should make our reasons for not doing business in South Africa known within the business community; we should challenge those British companies who do business there to say why they are doing it; and how their employment practices really are a beacon in that land of darkness.
3. We should take positive steps to ensure an exchange of visits and fact-finding tours between industrialists in this country and in South Africa.
4. We should keep open the channels of communication we have established in Zambia and review the business opportunities there in the light of future developments in Rouse/Wates.

VERSLAG OOR MY SUID-AFRIKAANSE BESOEK

PROF. J. VERKUYL

Die laaste aflewering van 'n reeks van vyf artikels oor sy besoek.

1. DIE DREIGENDE DILEMMA IN SUID-AFRIKA EN DIE WEG NA DIE OORWINNING VAN DAARDIE DILEMMA

Aan die slot van hierdie reeks artikels oor 'n reis na Suid-Afrika wil ek heel kort saamvat wat die kerndilemma in Suid-Afrika is en word. Op die oomblik is Suid-Afrika 'n land waarin die sentrale mag gemonopoliseer word deur 'n *bepaalde groep* van die „blanke bolaag”. Niemand kan ontken nie dat deur dié groep vir die ander groepe veel gedoen word, maar alles geskied binne die raamwerk van die „blanke magsmonopolie”. Elkeen wat oë het om te sien, sien dat die blanke magsmonopolie prinsipiëel en prakties onhoudbaar is. 'n Kind kan teweens sien dat die strewe na „black power” alom aanwesig is, ook al word die organisasie daarvan met harde hande die kop ingedruk. Daar is 'n polarisasieproses aan die gang tussen die feitelike „blanke magsmonopolie” en die strewe na 'n ewe eksklusiewe magsmonopolie.

Suid-Afrika staan in die spanningsveld van 'n *feitelike* blanke magsmonopolie en 'n *potensiële* swart magsmonopolie. Soms lyk dat asof die ontknoping van die dramatiese dilemma verloop soos in 'n Griekse tragedie. Maar die teken van hoop is dat sowel in die „gekleurde”, die Bantoe- en Indiërgemeenskappe as onder die

„blankes” vele hoop op 'n situasie waarin *nie* die een magsmonopolie deur andere vervang word *nie*, maar waarin die mag herversprei en *gedeel* word in samewerking tussen alle groepe.

In Suid-Afrika sal, indien *reg moet geskied*, gestreef moet word na die opbou van 'n moderne, pluralistiese samelewing, waarin alle groepe *deel* in die sentrale verantwoordelikheid en *deel* in die sentrale gesagsuitoefening.

In die Bergrede klink die „wee julle” oor die „rykes en magtiges” wat *nie* wil *deel* *nie* en klink die saligspreking oor die hongeriges na geregtigheid (Lukas 5: 20-26) en klink die oproep om te *deel* (Mattheus 5: 40 - 42). Die *deel* van die politieke mag, die *deel* van die *ekonomiese* mag, die *deel* van die *kulturele* mag, die *deel* van die *sosiale* mag, is die enigste alternatief teenoor die *dilemma* van die monopolisering van die mag deur *één* van die groepe. Die weg van geregtigheid is *nie* die weg van die *gedwonge*, arbitrêr-opgelegde skeiding *nie*, maar die weg van die *deel* van die mag en die weg van hegte samewerking tussen alle groepe om aan *almal reg te doen*. Suid-Afrika is 'n land met 'n redelik klein bevolking, met 'n uiters groot geografiese ruimte en met 'n onvoorstelbare ekonomiese *potensiële*. Dit is 'n land waarin *welvaart* en *reg vir elkeen gereël* en

bewerkstellig kan word, indien die blanke bolaag, wat volhard in apartheid, van mentaliteit verander en die geheim van die woord *deel* leer verstaan en toepas in die praktyk. James Baldwin het gelyk gehad toe hy in Uppsala gesê het dat die kerke in Suid-Afrika die sleutels tot verandering in hierdie gees in die hande het, en dat 'n verandering *kán* kom, *indien bepaalde kerke dit wil* en die moed het om in dié rigting te werk. Ons het in die vorige artikels reeds aandag geskenk aan die kerklike groepe in Suid-Afrika wat dit insien en hierdie verandering begeer. Ek wil nou eindig deur die vraag te stel: wat kan vanuit Nederland gedoen word om in dié rigting te help?

2. WAT KAN VANUIT NEDERLAND GEDOEN WORD OM DIE STRYD OM RASSEGEGEGTIGHEID IN SUID-AFRIKA TE STEUN?

Dat die Nederlandse samelewing in die algemeen en die kerke in die besonder in die geheel van die volkere-samelewing en van die kerklike ekumene 'n besondere taak het ten opsigte van Suid-Afrika, spreek vanself.

Nie die *afbreek* *nie*, maar die voortsetting van die dialoog is ons roeping, *nie* die *afbreek* van *brûe* *nie*, maar die *bou* van *brûe* is ons taak. Maar daarby is dit ons roeping om liefde en eerlikheid

te kombineer en party te kies vir die stryd om rassegeregtigheid.

Wanneer Nederlandse diplomate, politici, wetenskaplikes en kerklike leiers na Suid-Afrika gaan om goed te praat wat nie goed te prate val nie, d.w.s. om die apartheidsideologie en -praktyk te verdedig en goed te keur, dan verrai hulle nie alleen diegene wat openlik in Suid-Afrika die stryd daarteen stry nie, maar veral ook diegene wat tot swye gedoem is en wat hoop dat vreemdes sal sê wat hulle nie kan sê nie. As hulle hulle laat „gelykskakel” met die apartheidspolitiek maak hulle bowendien die les van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog tot niet. Wie toe teen die nasionaal-sosialisme gestry het en in Suid-Afrika 'n rassitiese kastesistiem verdedig, verloën die stryd wat toe gestry is en is gelykgeskakel.

Maar Nederlandse diplomate, politici, en wetenskaplikes, wat van die moontlikhede wat hulle gegee word, gebruik maak om liefdevol en eerlik die stryd om rassereg te steun en die verdedigers van die apartheidsideologie te waarsku, kan tot groot seën wees, nou en in die komende jare.

Daar is geen ruimte om dit breër uit te werk nie.

Ek wil eindig met enkele opmerkings oor die besondere taak van die Nederlandse kerke in die stryd om rassegeregtigheid in Suid-Afrika.

Dié vraag het ek aan die einde van my besoek aan allerlei ekumeniese instansies voorgelê. Die aantekeninge wat nou volg gee 'n baie kort samevatting van die antwoorde wat ek ontvang het.

(i) KENNIS

Die Nederlandse kerke moet hulleself beter op hoogte stel van al die groepe wat hulle onder die inspirasie van die Evangelie van Jesus Christus geroepe vind om te streef na alternatiewe teenoor die apartheidspolitiek. Hulle (die Nederlandse kerke) moet hulleself afvra of hulle hierdie arbeid openlik nie veel meer moet steun as tot dusver nie.

By amptelike besoeke behoort ook aandag geskenk te word aan die Raad van Kerke in Suid-Afrika, aan die Christelike Instituut en alle ander instansies wat in noue samewerking met hierdie Raad van Kerke in 'n uiters moeilike situasie hulle stryd stry, en sulke besoeke moet nie beperk bly tot kontak met die N.G. Kerk en die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika nie.

(ii) SAAMWERK

Die Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland moet indien moontlik saam met die *Hervormde Kerk* in amptelike kontak op sinodale vlak voortgaan met die dialoog. Hulle moet hierdie dialoog so duidelik moontlik voer sonder kompromie en sonder toegewings, maar met insig in die ingewikkelde problematiek van Suid-Afrika.

(iii) POLITIEKE DIAKONIA

Die merkwaardige groei van die diakonaat in Nederland en van die wêrelddiakonaat, waar ook aandag geskenk word aan die *politieke diakonia*, moet in Suid-Afrika verduidelik word. In die kerke in Suid-Afrika is daar uiters bekwame leke wat betrek kan word by projekte watingryp in die ontwikkeling van die omgewing. Dit sou goed wees indien persone uit Suid-Afrika die geleentheid kon hê om kennis te maak met die vernuwing van die diakonaat en tewens as iemand uit Nederland, wat die moderne diakonaat aan Suid-Afrika kan voorstel, vir 'n toer kan kom.

(IV) SENDING AS TRANSFORMASIE

Die begrip „sending” is in Suid-Afrika nog uiters beperk en gebonde aan tradisionele konsepsies. Dit is nuttig en nodig as andere voortgaan om die sending te sien binne die horison van Gods Ryk. Dan word daar ook aandag gegee aan die transformasie van die makro-strukture. Vele jong Bantoes verlaat in die leeftyd tussen 20 en 30 jaar die „historiese kerke” omdat in prediking, vorming en kategetiese die lig van Gods Woord nie op die vroeë gewerp word nie.

(v) VERNUWING VAN TEOLOGIE

Nie slegs die vernuwing in die missiologie nie, maar in die hele teologie, moet deur Nederlandse teoloë vertolk word. Ook in Suid-Afrika staan mense voor die vraag op watter wyse die Bevrydingsboodskap van God in hierdie tyd vertolk moet word. Onder die jonger lektore is daar vele wat die bemoediging nodig het, en verlang, van leidende figure in die „nuwe teologie”. Uitwisseling van jonger hoogleraars en lektore is uiters wenslik.

(vi) VOORSIENING VAN STUDIEBEURSE

By die voorsiening van studiebeurse vir Suid-Afrika aan Nederlandse teologiese fakulteite en hoërskole moet ook, en veral, gedink word aan die toekenning van beurse aan „Kleurlinge” en „Bantoes” en aan die skepping van fasiliteite om bepaalde belemernisse te oorbrug wat nou nog bestaan t.o.v. die toelatingseise vir Nederlandse teologiese fakulteite.

(vii) UITWISSELINGS-PROGRAMME

Dit is uiters wenslik dat daar tussen jongmense (veral studente) uit kerklike kringe in Nederland en studente van Afrikaans- en Engelssprekende universiteite korrespondensie plaasvind en dat uitwisselingsprogramme daargestel word. Hiermee dink 'n mens nie aan groot groepe studente nie, maar aan klein groepies goed voorbereide studente daar en hier.

Hierdie sewe punte is in die bogenoemde finale byeenkomste deur Afrikaans- en Engelssprekende personeellede van ekumeniese organisasies geformuleer en sommige ouer en jonger persone uit Stellenbosch en Potchefstroom het ook instemming betuig met hierdie sewe punte. Ek het hulle hier weer-gegee en sal hulle ook in allerlei organisasies amptelik ter sprake bring omdat hulle myns insiens alle aanneming waardig is.

ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS

Peter Randall

The announcement that the World Council of Churches has decided to give money to guerilla groups in Southern Africa will force Christians in this country to examine their own positions, motives and strategies. The apparently simple question whether one supports or condemns the WCC's move involves a complex of convictions, hopes and fears. In fact it is not a simple question at all, and hasty or panic reactions are quite unhelpful.

LAW AND ORDER - THE NUB

The immediate reactions of local Church leaders, as quoted in the press, seem to fall into this category. The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg is reported as saying that it is intolerable for support to be given in the name of Christianity to subversive movements which stand for violent attacks on law and order'. This begs the most important questions: what is law and order - the present position in South Africa? Is the maintenance of 'law and order' in our country by such violent means as arbitrary detentions, the break-up of African family life, and the whole vast machinery of discrimination and oppression tolerable to the Christian conscience? Since local efforts, including those of the Churches, to bring about meaningful change have been ineffectual, it is at least understandable that the WCC should look for more extreme methods. This is not necessarily

to condone the methods they have chosen.

CLOCKWORK PREDICTABILITY

The totally predictable response of the Actuary of the N.G. Kerk, that the WCC took its decision because it 'is biased in favour of Communism', merely shows the dangerous effects of isolation from the mainstream of Christian thinking. The amazement and incredulity of the 'Archdeacon of the Cape' is similar evidence of an even less forgivable lack of understanding of what has been happening in the Christian Church outside the Republic. No one who has been aware of this can be particularly surprised by the WCC's decision.

It looks as though we are heading for a polarisation among South African Christians, which may unfortunately largely follow racial lines, between those who support and those who condemn the WCC for its decision. There will undoubtedly be a great deal of theological argument in the coming months to justify standpoints one way or other.

DISASSOCIATION - GREATER ISOLATION

There are at the same time a number of mundane and practical aspects of the matter which should not be lost sight of in what will probably be an emotion-laden debate. Undoubtedly there will be a stronger movement for all the Churches in South Africa to pull out of the World Council. If this succeeds it will only worsen the position within the country,

making us, in our greater isolation, all the more impervious to desperately-needed change.

Some of the more mundane considerations can be expressed in the form of pertinent questions which one would like the WCC to clarify:

The amounts of money granted to the liberation groups such as the ANC and SWAPO (between R14,280 and R17,850) are hardly sufficient to do more than give some moral encouragement to them. In the face of the economic and military might of the South African government, which these groups are openly working to overthrow, and which thus will take every step to protect itself, the sums of money are pitifully inadequate to bring about change in the Republic.

AID AN INEFFECTUAL GESTURE?

So do we have here yet another futile and ineffectual gesture which the gentlemen of Geneva have made from the safety of their committee rooms to appease their own consciences or to appease the world's desire for radical change in Southern Africa?

Is the WCC in fact guilty of the crime, the old man's crime, of encouraging young men to go to war and lose their lives, while they sit comfortably behind the lines? Few will be naive enough to believe the pious assurance that the money given to the liberation movements will be used for 'non-military' purposes. The liberation movements are essentially military in nature and whatever

resources they command will ultimately be used for military purposes. Or is the WCC trying to persuade White South African Christians of the seriousness with which they view apartheid? If so, then their chosen method indicates a misunderstanding of the psychology of White South Africans, most of whom will merely be strengthened in their prejudices and determination not to change. It would also be merely a repetition of previous ineffectual moral gestures, with the possible distinction this time of causing a few deaths.

AFTER VIOLENCE - WHAT?

Giving support to Frelimo, the ANC etc., implies that the WCC would like to see these organisations succeed in their aim of taking over control of the White-led countries of Southern Africa. Have the members of the responsible committee of the WCC given thought to the kind of society that they would like to see emerging in this region, or have they, again, merely made a gesture, hoping that after the take-over everything will turn out well? The aftermath of a bitter guerilla war in Southern Africa does not augur well. Are the WCC leaders satisfied that they have exhausted every other possible approach before giving tacit approval to violence?

These are some of the questions that arise in the mind of at least one White South African who is probably as passionately eager for change in his country as the members of the WCC executive committee. It is possible, of course, that the latter gave full consideration to these matters when they made their decision which has so many implications for Christianity in South Africa and the world at large. Christians in this country will be hoping that the committee will share fully with us their thinking and motivation. Even those whom the WCC would, by implication, like to see killed, have a call on the compassion of their fellow Christians. Or have White South African Christians finally been written off as beyond redemption?

A SOCIAL WORKER NEEDED

Woman Social Worker required to assist part-time in a Community Development Project among the women of the African Independent Churches. A recognised qualification will be a recommendation, although not essential.

Phone: Mrs. te Siepe - between 8.30 and 9.00 a.m.
724-0346.

ENDORSED OUT - TO IRELAND

David Shanahan

At the end of July 1970, Father David Shanahan received a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated July 24, 1970, informing him that his exemption from having to get a permit to remain in South Africa had been withdrawn and that a temporary permit had been granted allowing him to stay until August 31st 1970. He was further informed that the privileges usually accorded to citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies had been withdrawn in his case and that if he ever wished to visit South Africa he would have to apply for a visa, which he was advised to do well in advance. No reasons were given for this action either in the official letter or in subsequent interviews which Father Shanahan had with various officials.

On August 26th, five days before

the expiry date of his permit, Father Shanahan was told by his Religious Superior to be ready to leave that evening. This he did.

Father Shanahan had been in South Africa for only one year, after having spent six months studying in Sesotho in Lesotho. He was first stationed in Sharpeville and moved to Evaton Township, near Vereeniging, in January, 1970.

At the airport Father Shanahan insisted that he had not been involved in any political activity and did not understand why he had been refused permission to stay. The only reason that he could think of was that he had "preached against unjust laws, in particular the migratory labour system".

THE GENESIS OF COMPUTERS II

Rory Short

In the previous article we took a brief look at one of the central concepts on which computers are based - the fact that it is quite legitimate and meaningful to represent one thing by another thing provided that we agree on the representation - and we saw too how this fact had been long utilised to produce language, writing and arithmetic to name but a few applications.

CENTRAL CONCEPTS

Now let us look at the second of the central concepts behind computers. This is the idea of setting up a machine or mechanism to perform a pre-defined sequence of operations without further human intervention. We now call such a sequence a program.

Musical Boxes are probably one of the earlier applications of this idea. The ones I have seen consist of a single row of adjacent metal reeds, one per note, and these are plucked by little pegs projecting from a cylinder so placed that when it rotates the pegs strike the reeds.

Now in order to get a particular tune the pegs are so arranged on the cylinder as to cause the reeds to be struck in the desired sequence when the cylinder is rotated in a particular direction. Thus we can say that the arrangement of the pegs on the surface of the cylinder constitutes a program.

Another early application of the idea of programming machines to perform sequences of operations was the use of patterns of holes punched in cards to guide weaving looms.

How do these two ideas lead on to computers? Well now imagine yourself having the job of performing a set of calculations a thousand times or so, like calculating the wages for a 1000 monthly paid

employees each with different deductions etc. One of the first thoughts that would come into your head no doubt would be a wish that somehow this business could be mechanised.

CALCULATING MACHINE

Obviously a first step in this direction would be to obtain a calculating machine to aid you in your arithmetic. Such a machine makes use of the representation idea in that each digital position, the units through to the millions say, is represented by a wheel with the digits 0 through to 9 written round its periphery. The position of any wheel therefore represents the quantity held in that digital position and by providing the wheels with a little lug between the nine and nought positions so that in turning from nine to nought or vice versa they drive their left hand neighbouring wheel through a tenth of a revolution backwards or forwards we have a machine which can add and subtract decimal numbers. All that is needed now is a facility for inputting the numbers and this can be provided for by allowing the wheels to be individually positioned by rotating them by a finger push. Actual calculating machines are much smarter of course. They allow you to adjust the positional counters by depressing numbered keys.

After having given something of the origin of computers, we will start opening some of the possibilities and problems computers raise. Our attitude to computers in the years to come will largely answer the persistent question: Computers - friend or enemy?

ONLY PARTIAL MECHANISATION

So now the wages calculations have been partially mechanised but the actual standard sequence of operations per employee i.e. inputting numbers, adding, subtracting them etc. etc., on the calculating machine and writing the results out, has still to be done by you 1000 times in all. It is a pity that the calculating machine can't be programmed to do it all automatically.

TOWARDS FULLER MECHANISATION

Let us see what would be required.

Firstly, as the calculator couldn't read from paper, the relevant numbers per employee would have to be held in some way, such that the calculator's counters could be set mechanically from them in turn.

One of the earliest ways in which this was done was to take standard sized pieces of card and to regard them as divided into 80 vertical columns. Each column was now eligible to be regarded as a digital position in a decimal number. The actual value held in the column was represented by a punching in one of the ten punching positions allowed for the decimal numerals - 0 through to 9.

CARD READER

Now all that is needed is a device to sense the holes in the card and set the calculator's counter accordingly: it is not

surprisingly known as a Card Reader.

So we now have a means of getting the relevant numbers per employee into the calculator's counter, usually called a Register. The sensible thing to do here would be to keep the numbers for each employee on a separate card or set of cards.

The next requirement is for some way in which the calculator's results can be output. The simplest way in which this could be done is to link up a printing machine, such as a typewriter, so that in moving from left to right across the register the value held in each counter wheel would cause the equivalent of the depression of the correct key on the typewriter and so print out the result number in full.

We are left with a problem here, however, as we will have a list of calculated results for example salaries, but we won't know to which employees they apply.

OVERPUNCHING

The way around this is to have a further two punching positions allowed in each of the 80 columns of our standard size cards. Then in a column, a punching in the first of our extra positions plus a punching in the decimal 'one' position can be used to represent an 'A' or a punching in the decimal 'Two' position a 'B' and so on. This is called overpunching and by using the decimal nought position for overpunching too, we can represent 27 letters which is fine as we only require 26 letters in all.

Anyway this means we can now have the man's name on the card too and this can be read, in the form of electric pulses for each hole straight through to the printing device and printed before the result is calculated.

We are left with one last problem, a mechanism for controlling and sequencing these various operations as desired, i.e. a means of programming our input device/calculator / output device combination to do what is required of it.

ELECTRONICS

Until the advent of electronics such a mechanism was not easy to produce and even if one could have been made the program would have formed an integral and therefore immutable feature of the mechanisms structure. So we would only have been able to calculate these particular wages with our machine and nothing else.

By means of electronics however it is possible to have a memory device in which programs can be magnetically stored in such a way that they can then be read out as a series of patterns of electric pulses.

These patterns of pulses are then interpreted by a controlling mechanism. That is it is designed to perform a certain action on the receipt of a certain pattern. e.g. one pattern will cause the contents of the calculator's register to be printed, another will cause a card to be read and so on.

So to program the machine we merely have to store the appropriate patterns (they are called instructions) in the sequence in which we desire the actions to be performed and we are ready to go.

'STORED PROGRAM DATA PROCESSING MACHINE'

We now have what is known as a 'stored program data processing machine' and because the program is stored, not built in, we can write an infinity of programs for the machine to follow.

This places at our finger tips a vastly enhanced data processing capability compared to that which is available when the only data processors around are human beings.

To return to our data processing machine once more; having provided memory storage for the program of instructions the logical thing to do is to increase the size of the storage so that our input data, intermediate results, and final results before output can all be held here as well. This enables a great complexity of operations to be performed on the initially input data.

SCHEMATIC SYNOPSIS

Finally to recap let us look at a schematic illustration of the data processing machine we have conceived in this article.

