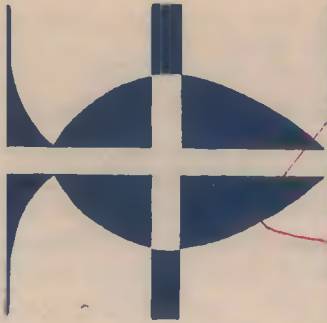


Rosemary ja!



challenge

THE PRICE OF SURVIVAL

THE CHANCE THAT any new magazine will survive for long is pretty small: the chance that a religiously-orientated magazine will survive is still smaller. That CHALLENGE has managed to continue for so long is due to the persistence and sacrifice of a small number of people, some no longer in South Africa, who have helped to finance and produce CHALLENGE over the last four years in a form which has evoked appreciative technical comment. In addition, the response to the contents of the journal, by no means universally favourable, has been sufficiently strong to suggest that we do not always miss the sensitive spots in South African society, church or secular.

We are convinced that there is urgent necessity for open discussion in depth in all fields, particularly in those spheres which have been our main concern—social justice, christian renewal and ecumenical unity. These themes are closely related and are crucial to the future of South Africa. One can, and one does read in overseas periodicals discussion of these issues which is very radical; more of these could be published in CHALLENGE if this would promote, not stifle, local acceptance of responsibility for analysis of our own society in terms of the vital movements of our time. But this lies in the future: what concerns us now is whether some viable form of financial and readership support can be found to enable CHALLENGE to continue, and then to expand.

The cost of producing six issues a year exceeds R2000, which does not allow us to pay contributors or to do any advertising. At present barely half of this is covered by income from subscriptions and casual sales. One of the reasons for the appearance of only three issues in 1967 is that the full complement would have cost another (non-existent) R1000. We are indebted to those who have supported us in many ways, but we must find many more who will do the same if we are to continue to meet, even in our present limited way, the need of the churches for open discussion and intellectual commitment to the cause of

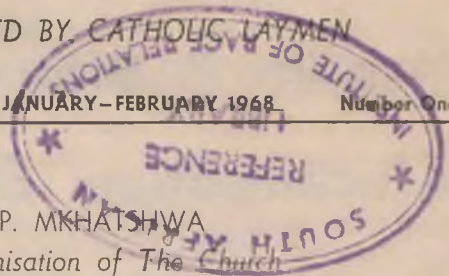
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Number One



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the oppressed in South Africa. For such is our hope, to participate in the radical transformation of South African society.

The options open to us are, roughly, these: (a) to reduce our production costs and, inevitably, our printing standards; (b) to double our subscription rate; (c) to find over 1000 new subscribers; (d) to find additional sources of income. We are extremely reluctant to follow either of the first two courses, though we are trying to reduce costs without dropping standards. The third course is the most desirable one and must be attempted. The difficulties are obvious: to be politically conscious is to confront all the pressures to conform exerted by state, church and society.

Mangaliso P. Mkhathshwa

Africanisation of the Church

THERE ARE CERTAIN subjects which can seldom be discussed dispassionately in South Africa, not even by Catholics. What follows is a dialogue of love, not a harangue of hate or accusation. Some things are better left unsaid, but for how long?

Africanisation (or indigenisation) suggests to some people's minds chauvinism, xenophobia and a host of other unsavoury feelings. To reassure such people may I say this is far from the case here, but I make no apology for what I have written. My sole intention is to state facts as I see them, without reflection on anybody in particular. My discussion will be about the urgency of Africanising the Church, 'making the church go native' if you like.

To be fully intelligible, a discussion of this nature should be placed in its wider 'missionary' context. A professor of mine in the seminary once said: 'A local church should be characterised by its independence of outside control or large-scale help, so that, under the Holy See, it is the equal of others, equally independent and able to provide its own needs: needing only such help as is part of the normal exchange between local churches; it must be financially self-sufficient, having the means of subsistence and development in itself; it must be independent as to its personnel, being able to supply and train all its needs . . . 'As can be seen the professor in question is echoing successive popes' statements on missionary activities. Elsewhere the same man has this to say:

Realistically, therefore, we must rely upon financial support from individuals to bridge the gap for the foreseeable future.

If, for example, 50 persons were willing to contribute R24 p.a. (by monthly stop-order or lump sum payment) we could meet present commitments. If, in addition, each subscriber were to find another we could pay contributors and perhaps advertise to a limited degree in the religious press. Such measures would make us financially viable and would reflect a communal acceptance of responsibility for christian comment upon the injustices of our society, both national and international. Analysis may then lead to deeper involvement. ●

'Its (the church's) bishops, clergy and Religious must be chiefly local; the message of Christ and the doctrine and life of the Church must be mediated to the people through the minds and ways of those who are from the people, otherwise the Church is not fully homogenous with their needs and aspirations . . . ' Because of the vastness of the subject, I shall confine myself to the question of African personnel in the Church.

Missionary endeavour has borne admirable fruits in South Africa, thanks to the indefatigable zeal and dedication of our brothers from overseas. Their task, however, is far from completed. That is one reason why their services will be indispensable for some time to come. The church has been implanted: it is now up to us to do the rest. The missionary is not here to stay: he is the roving ambassador of Christ, sent out to found the church where she does not exist or exists only in an imperfect state. As soon as he has accomplished that he must move on to fresh pastures, if he is not to degenerate into a common Catholic immigrant. Such is his vocation.

Together, then, let us make a survey of the South African scene. Who runs the church? To any impartial observer, it should be evident that control and direction of church affairs is fully entrenched in 'white' hands . . . Bishops, pastors, deans, Bishop's secretaries, rectors of seminaries, the lot. Granted, this state of affairs was necessary and still is, up to a

point. Nevertheless, one cannot help asking how long this position should be tolerated. The very people who, in theory at least, are destined to lead God's people occupy the lowest place in the pyramid of ecclesiastical hierarchy. These are simple facts, which do not carry any insinuation of spiritual colonialism. Without being cynical, I suppose the African clergy will come to enjoy their rights in their 'homelands.'

The black clergy admit their limitations and disabilities; it is precisely for this reason that Africans will never dream of staging an 'ecclesiastical coup', which fiction some white clergy seem to fear so much. We would like to see the church become more and more African in its outlook, life and personnel. The African clergy will in turn determine liturgy, theology, means of self-support in a manner more intelligible to African psychology. Otherwise, the church will remain a 'foreign club', with the indigenous people having no or, at best, little say in the running of that 'pious club'.

Many European priests are able administrators, bookkeepers, church builders, expert fund-raisers and I hope they are also good pastors into the bargain. These abilities are not to be sniffed at, provided one realises that the priest's vocation is not that of building, counting figures etc. Unfortunately, it seems to me, western man is so pathologically concerned about material efficiency that there is a real danger of losing equilibrium.

A number of accusations have been levelled against the African clergy, and sometimes not without reason. 'Look at so and so, he cannot handle money . . . church standards will degenerate . . . it is not yet time . . . look at the natives up north, the poor devils just can't cope with the situation . . .' Let us assume, for the moment, that all this is true. So what? Wait until they are perfect angels, or wait until we are forced, by sheer pressure of circumstances, to 'dump' responsibility into their laps? Should chaos (even of a temporary nature) occur in these circumstances, then you will hear murmuring voices saying 'we told you so'.

EUROPE HAS MADE ITS MISTAKES

Let them make a thousand mistakes for all I care. For surely they learn wisdom in the process. We dare not hide them in our warm bosoms and expect them to be efficient leaders of the church without any effective practical experience. Pardon me if I sound like one blowing a clarion-call to chaos and anarchy. Church history has revealed to me that not even 'Granny Europe' can avoid mistakes altogether. There were times when the church should have suffered

irreparable damage, and yet she survived all the corruption, depravity, heresies, wars etc. African priests will be foolish if they refuse to learn from their brother missionaries, but young missionaries from Europe can also avail themselves of the advice of experienced African clergy on matters like indigenous culture, language, psychology, life etc.

In passing, let me mention one thing which puzzles Africans. A young priest, recently ordained, arrives in the Republic. After scraping together a few words of the African language, he is put in charge of a mission. He gets all the help he needs and in the long run finds himself doing pretty well. But how about Fr. X, a black, who has been a priest for anything up to ten years? Presumably he knows his people, shares their sorrows, their humiliations, their joys, knows their language. He has studied the same subjects as the young missionary. Admittedly, the latter may have a longer tradition of Christianity behind him, he may be more competent in the handling of money. Fr. X is invited to look on and observe what the pastor does. Perhaps my I.Q. is a little below average but, for the love of me, I fail to understand how one can get effective apprenticeship just by watching and admiring. Please note: I do not wish to cast blame on anybody, let alone doubt the wisdom of the authorities in their decision.

Africanisation cannot be forced, it is an evolutionary process. In one way apartheid is a godsend, because whether we like it or not, we shall be compelled to hand over responsibility to Africans who are resident in the Bantustans. Unfortunately, this is not the indigenisation that the church requires.

This article would lack balance if I did not remind my fellow priests that they, too, have a duty to convince the missionaries of their goodwill, maturity, responsibility, willingness to learn. And yet how can we fulfill that obligation if we are denied the chance? Let us accept and, in fact, welcome the new situation and so realise our personality as an integral part of God's People. Handing over responsibility to African clergy should not be seen as surrender, rather it should be seen as the crowning of the wonderful work done by the missionaries.

PROPOSALS

By way of conclusion, I wish to make some suggestions which might help to clarify what I have been saying above:

1. After a period of serious apprenticeship, more responsible posts must be transferred to indigenous clergy.

2. If we mean to be honest, some European priests

should serve under black clergy (a daring thought I know).

3. Financial resources which facilitated the work of missionaries ought not to be withdrawn abruptly on the occasion of an African takeover. The 'home-boy' or 'kith-and-kin' type of church support should be discouraged, however understandable. Benefactors support the church, primarily, not individuals. In future, the African church must be financially self-sufficient.

4. A select number of African priests should be given the opportunity of doing specialised studies, overseas if need be. Not that science is a panacea to all ills.

5. Dioceses entrusted to Religious Institutes should be invited to refrain from monopolising positions of responsibility: the good of the church ought to be their main concern and not 'the prestige of our congregation'.

6. Both sections of the Catholic community (if it is right to categorise in this manner) are in conscience bound to lend a hand in this endeavour, morally, materially and by all other means. For some reason, the laity seem to bring about changes in a status quo faster than the clergy.

7. Properly organised crash courses are long overdue in, for example, church administration, pastoral activity (the latest methods) etc. Seminars, special retreats, lectures and get-togethers can all help a lot.

8. Above all, the African who stands to gain by these efforts must show enthusiasm, openmindedness, humility to learn from the present authorities' mistakes.

9. Last, but not least in order of importance, let us all pray, pray and pray again. Without faith and God's blessing, our human efforts are bound to come to nothing.

Finally, everybody realises that the Catholic in the Republic is caught up in a serious crisis of transition. The church was for a long time 'conditioned' by her environment and the social set-up in this country. For a long time, the church was linked with colonialism, not through her own fault. But now things have changed suddenly. The winds of change are blowing, not only outside the church but, equally, they are howling inside her as well. I hope the authorities will carry on the struggle for Africanisation much more vigorously and with more determination. Not because it has become fashionable in some parts of Africa to 'blacken' the church, but because the good of the church demands it. ●

Helen Suzman

The Terrorism Act

THE TERRORISM ACT was passed by Parliament towards the end of the last Session. This measure forms part of a self-generating series of statutes which have found their way onto the Statute Book since the Nationalist Government came into power.

Extra-Parliamentary opposition to the Government has resulted in tough laws. Repercussions to these laws invariably resulted in further tough measures, and each time the same explanations have been given. Either Parliament was told that law and order must be maintained (forgetting that laws must be just if order is to be maintained permanently), or we were told that the country is in imminent danger of well poisoners, of saboteurs and of terrorists.

It would be well to trace briefly the history of these 'self-generating' statutes. In 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act was passed. Since then no less than 84 amendments have been passed and each amendment introduced further powers for the Minister of

Justice and greater restrictions on individual rights. The Rule of Law has suffered constant assault with banning, house arrest and detention-without-trial an ever more familiar feature of the legislation.

In 1953 there was a passive resistance movement in South Africa. This was put down by the so-called Whipping Bills. In 1960 the Pan African Congress launched its pass-burning campaign. Sharpeville followed and the declaration of a State of Emergency. The African National Congress and the Pan African Congress were banned. In 1961 there was sabotage in South Africa. The 1962 General Laws Amendment Act was passed which defined sabotage as a crime, laid down a minimum term of imprisonment of 15 years and extended the death penalty to this crime.

In 1963, with the Poqo operations as the explanation, a further General Laws Amendment Bill was introduced containing the 90-Day Detention Law. The 'Spear of the Nation' and the Rivonia Trial

generated the 1965 Act in which the 180-Day Detention Law was passed, which applied in the main to witnesses in certain criminal cases. And this year, following on the activities of the terrorist bands operating in South West Africa, the Terrorist Act was passed introducing the most far reaching powers of all. In the words of a Government supporting newspaper *DIE BEELD*, 'the Police will now have a free hand to act without legal restraint'.

Very wide definitions are applied to the type of action for which a person may be found guilty of participation in terrorist activities. The jurisdiction of the Court is completely excluded for any person detained under Section 6 of the Act. Unlike the 90-Day and 180-Day Detention-without-trial provisions, there is no attempt even at dissimulating a limit to the period of detention. It is made quite clear since nobody other than the Minister and the Police has access to the person detained, that he can be held in solitary confinement. The Section does stipulate, however, 'if circumstances so permit a detainee shall be visited in private by a Magistrate at least once a fortnight'. There is no provision in the Law, nor would the Minister give any assurance, that the next of kin will be given any information whatsoever about a person who has been detained.

RETROSPECTIVE

A feature which the Terrorism Act has in common with other Acts of this nature is that it is retrospective in application, and the onus of proof is placed on the accused to prove his innocence 'beyond all reasonable doubt'. Furthermore, like other Acts of this nature, the discretion of the Courts is limited with the imposition of a minimum sentence. An interesting extension provided in the Bill is that whereas under the 1962 Act—the 'Sabotage' Act—a person had actually to commit a wrong and wilful act and no person could be convicted of sabotage if he could prove that the commission of that act, objectively regarded, was not calculated, and that such offence was not committed with intent under the Terrorist Act, if a deed is *likely* to have certain results a person can be found guilty of terrorism.

It is interesting to note that in justifying their support of the principle of the Terrorism Act, speakers for the Official Opposition made the point that the Rule of Law is maintained because nobody can actually be found guilty of terrorism and sentenced unless he has been judged and found guilty in a Court of Law. This astounding argument completely ignores the fact that the Rule of Law has, a priori, been abrogated

when a person can be detained indefinitely at the Minister's pleasure in any place, is not told what offence he is alleged to have committed, is not given an opportunity to defend himself and has not appeared before a Court of Law before he has been indefinitely detained in what may well be solitary confinement. The abuses to which such powers lend themselves are obvious. All laws lend themselves to abuse if they are not laws where justice is seen to be done and which are under public scrutiny. Who knows what goes on behind the closed doors of the Police cells when interrogations take place under such circumstances? What reliance can be placed on the evidence supplied by witnesses who have been so interrogated? What permanent psychological damage is done to the man detained under such circumstances? What is the effect on the Police themselves who can now act 'without legal restraint'?

PUBLIC REACTION

It may be fairly commented that one of the more disheartening features of this latest Act that takes South Africa away from normal democratic practices, is the limited reaction from press and public. Gone are the days of the mass protest meetings, the stirring leading articles such as characterised the introduction of the House Arrest Clause and the 90-Day Detention. It is clear that the threshold of tolerance of the South African public has been raised with ever-repeated assault on the Rule of Law.

Historians writing of this era will have a fascinating time following the vacillations of the Official Opposition in Parliament to measures similar to the Terrorist Act. The United Party voted against the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. It voted for the Whipping Bills in 1953. It voted for the banning of the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. in 1960. It voted against the 'Sabotage' Act in 1962. It voted for the 90-Day Act in 1963. It voted against the 180-Day Act in 1965, and it voted for the Terrorist Act in 1967. Its actions seem dictated by its fear of the propaganda which may be made against it by the Nationalist Press, and indeed such propaganda is made quite ruthlessly against anybody who opposes measures of this kind. Perhaps the most fitting example of this are the remarks made by the Minister of Justice to me in the House when I opposed the Terrorist Act. He said he knew his views were diametrically opposed to those of the Member for Houghton. 'We simply do not see matters in the same light. She has always interceded for elements that seek to bring about the downfall of the White man in this country. She has done that all along. I did not

think she would go so far as to intercede even for terrorists'. It appears, therefore, that where one fights to uphold civilised standards and normal judicial procedures, where one upholds one's belief in the Rule of Law, one is classified as 'pro-terrorist.'

Of greater concern, however, is the unhappy fact that at no time has the Government investigated the basic causes of disorder in South Africa. Indeed, the Nationalists do not even admit that such causes exist. They are oblivious to the fact, apparently, that persons

who express objections to laws which affect their lives so materially, laws such as the Group Areas Act, Pass Laws, Job Reservation, Separate Amenities, etc.—laws about which they have never been consulted and to which they have no constitutional means of objection, resort to unconstitutional methods. In the light of this, therefore, it is highly possible that the Terrorist Act will not be the last of this series of self-generating statutes which will be tabled in the House of Assembly. ●

Paul Goller

The Church Divided

HOW CAN ONE FAIRLY describe the Church in South Africa within the confines of a short article? A Church which contains people of every major sector of mankind—Chinese, Indian, European, African and Coloured—lacking only Arab representation—and yet which belies this catholicity almost as effectively as the segregated South African society of which it forms part. A minority Church, numbering about six per cent. of the population, which exhibits, inevitably, the characteristics of a sociologically insignificant group, characteristics reinforced by the survival of a ghetto complex amongst its administrators of English and Irish citizenship and ancestry. A Church whose intellectual tradition is stagnant (indeed today it harbours a definite strain of anti-intellectualism), which has not become aware of itself through harsh experience of persecution or through cultural achievement, and which has no body of contemporary sociological analysis upon which to develop its self-understanding.

The Church in South Africa is largely isolated from the life of the universal church. The Vatican Council has accentuated this tendency, by widening the gap between traditional forms of piety, organization and relationship to secular life (strongly entrenched in the local church), and the more creative insights and growth-points in the Church in other parts of the world. Firmly enmeshed in a society which fiercely (by savage repression) resists the breakdown of traditional values, the Church has neither successfully articulated nor effectively inspired Catholics with loyalties that transcend nationalism, racialism, capital-

This article, written in the middle of last year, was first published in PAX ROMANA JOURNAL.

ism, militarism, and totalitarianism. To say that the Church has nowhere achieved all this is scant comfort to those who discern in South African society the crystallization of every one of these forces, not merely in potentially explosive measure, but already in corrupting and debasing reality.

There are those in the Church in South Africa who seek an escape from the Christian necessity for social commitment and for rejection of the fundamental bases of South Africa's social structure, in the espousal of a form of ecumenism which is philosophical, liturgical, progressive in approach to problems of sexual morality and problems of church discipline like celibacy and the exercise of authority, but which neglects the basic social, political injustices of contemporary life in the Republic. Proceeding from the valid observation that the Church has not been sufficiently open to the values of Afrikaner language and culture, the exponents of this approach (one to which the Dutch Dominicans seem to be committed) have rapidly lost the power to distinguish between the legitimate values and aspirations of a minority group and the illegitimate exercise of power by the nationalist core of that group at the expense of the majority and other minority groups.

The hierarchy however, has repeatedly asserted the fundamental social teaching of the Church and has consistently grounded its theoretical analysis in justice and charity. The joint pastoral letters of the hierarchy are well known in the outside world and need no repetition here. Their underlying theme and intention is clearly brought out by the following quotation from the writing of our most acute and compassionate

clerical commentator, Fr. Finnarr Synott O.P.:

'The quite extraordinary concentration of our Bishops' Joint Pastorals on this one subject (race) marks the Church's acceptance that this is not a problem, but *the* problem of moral justice in South Africa's social structure.'

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to examine the life of the Church in the light of its responses in this crucial area. The many aspects of sound, unspectacular service and sacrifice, lay and clerical, should not be forgotten, but they do not form the main concern of this analysis.

A recent writer in *HERDER CORRESPONDENCE* has stated categorically that 'no future South African Hochhuth will be able to vilify the Catholic Bishops of South Africa for failure to speak out clearly and often on the apartheid issue.' Whilst, as yet, there are decisive differences between the situations faced by the Church in Nazi Germany and in South Africa, the acid test here, as it would have been had Pope Pius XII and the German bishops spoken out, is the use to which the proclaimed teaching of the Church is put.

The hierarchy itself summarized the existential condition of the Church in these words in 1957:

'The practice of segregation, though officially not recognized in our churches, characterizes many of our church societies, our schools, seminaries, convents, hospitals and the social life of our people. In the light of Christ's teaching this cannot be tolerated forever. The time has come to pursue more vigorously the change of heart and practice that the law of Christ demands. We are hypocrites if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions.'

This particular dilemma is being solved, it seems, by ceasing to condemn apartheid publicly (even Archbishop Hurly no longer seems to believe in the value of verbal protest): nor has there been, in the decade since this statement was made, any attempt to initiate a sustained programme of moral, psychological and sociological reform within the Church: amongst Africans, Indians and Coloureds to encourage them to assert their dignity and function within the Church, amongst Whites to bring home to them the seriousness of their denial of the bond between Christians, between men. The opportunity afforded by the Council to fuse, deliberately, imaginatively, sacrificially, the reforms called for by the Council and demanded by the state of the Church in this country has been almost totally squandered.

The role of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop McGeough, now transferred to Ireland, illustrates this

contention succinctly (and, indirectly, raises the question whether reform of the Curia will extend to its foreign service). Discussion of the grave decisions facing the Church has been consistently repressed—the clerically-controlled Catholic press has been censored whenever controversy has emerged regarding the social teaching of the hierarchy; at the time of the late Archbishop Whelan's capitulation to the demands of white supremacy, an aberration which will plague the Church more severely as time goes on; more recently when *DIE BRUG*, the Catholic Afrikaans-language monthly was accused of advocating racialism, its editor was instructed to keep silent—unnecessarily, as it happens, because the editor had already stated privately that he had no intention of replying. So much for dialogue.

Further, the writings of those priests who see the potentialities of present government policies in stark perspective have been censored when they refer to the possibility of violence in the South African context. Again, when a group of laymen stood with posters outside the Johannesburg Cathedral last Christmas to protest against the deliberate destruction of African family life, Archbishop McGeough's response to this exercise of conscience was to congratulate the local bishop for his good sense in ignoring completely the concern of these laymen.

FOREIGN-BORN MISSIONARIES

Within the framework of a predominantly foreign-born clergy and religious, and the general tendency of vocations to fall off (local seminaries are by no means full), the problems of individual orders and congregations play a crucial part in the Church's response to the racial question. Take for example the Paulists and the Jesuits, both very small communities in local terms. As each begins its overall assessment of its commitments and traditional patterns of work, realistic assessment of the value of its work in South Africa, if conformed to the racial and social pattern of the country, poses only two alternatives: more militant confrontation, beyond what the indigenous clergy and the mass of white laity are willing or able to follow (both the Paulists and Jesuits have declined to do this, the Paulists by pulling out, the Jesuits by severely limiting the number of personnel in this country): or to continue in the muddled, compromising way of the past, a policy increasingly difficult to justify to younger members of the order and to socially-conscious laymen in this country.

The government holds the trump card in its power to refuse to issue or renew visas—how dependent the

Church is upon foreign-born missionaries can be seen from the Johannesburg diocese alone where not more than one third of priests are South African born—and yet acquiescence to these powers is a double-edged sword. It muzzles effectively both local and foreign-born priests to the extent, as has happened recently with the Paulists, that their superiors voluntarily forbid them to preach upon the moral aspects of race and politics.

No ripple of concern disturbed the complacent face of the Church when this was disclosed some months ago. But then the deportation of a priest from South West Africa about the same time has not been followed up by the hierarchy either—one wonders how many priests have been deported voluntarily by ecclesiastical superiors to avoid any clash with the state.

THE LAITY

To concentrate upon the leadership of the hierarchy and clergy is, perhaps, to see the Church merely as institution. What then of the attitudes, habits and priorities of the laity? De facto segregation at all levels of Church life, with certain honourable but minor exceptions, goes completely unchallenged by African and non-African alike. The Church as community suffers from all those limitations which are being diagnosed throughout the world, but this fragmentation is compounded here by the barriers of racial prejudice and segregation. There is no evidence that the majority of white Catholics are scandalized by the rigid separation of communities within the Church on the basis of colour: there is, however, some evidence that African, Indian and Coloured Catholics resent bitterly the subdivision of races in the Church. Gradually non-white opinion is becoming more articulate—in some African parishes in Johannesburg, election of parish councils has been suspended because it is feared that younger more militant Africans will gain control of the councils, a threat more symbolic than real as the power of those bodies is heavily circumscribed. That the inspiration for this militancy lies, possibly, more in African nationalism than in Christian education, is something which hierarchy and white Catholics might well ponder upon.

In white parishes and institutions, priorities are decided without reference to the needs of the Church as a whole, oblivious of the grave scandal given to the poor of the Church. In Johannesburg a hospital, staffed by nuns but to cater for whites only, is to be rebuilt at a cost of R1,250,000. In Pretoria a school for white boys which is run by the Christian Brothers

(founded, ironically, to teach the poor) is to be rebuilt at a cost of R800,000. This amount is roughly equal to the total annual budget of the nation-wide Church mission school system for non-whites, numbering 90,000 pupils. The Rosebank parish in the wealthy northern suburbs of Johannesburg is rebuilding its Church at a cost of R87,000 whilst African priests in Soweto write begging letters for support to build a church costing less than 10 per cent of this amount.

White parishes are liberally staffed with priests (the middle-class certainly knows how to articulate its demands), so that the deployment of priests is grossly over-weighted in favour of white parishioners. Nor is the allocation of teaching religious any better. The Johannesburg diocese, the most important diocese in the country from every point of view, has 279 nuns teaching in 'white' schools, but only 39 in mission schools for non-whites. All of the 14 priests and 51 brothers teaching in the diocese do so in 'white' schools. The numbers of white and non-white Catholics in the diocese are almost exactly 70,000 and 140,000 respectively. There are certain valid reasons, over which the Church has no direct control, for the magnitude of the discrepancies—the government has closed down many mission schools and has hampered the work of the existing ones—but this does not explain away the overall bias in favour of white Catholics which any analysis brings out.

The mission school system, for which Catholics of all races have made substantial sacrifices in the past, needs to be examined ruthlessly to decide whether it should continue. For example, the sacrifices demanded of African lay teachers who are paid roughly 75 per cent. of the pitifully low salaries paid by the government in its schools are a standing reproach to the Church as a whole, and particularly to rich white Catholics. Classes are, in general, twice as large in African schools, teachers' qualifications are extremely low, so-called fringe benefits like pension and medical aid schemes are virtually non-existent (in this respect lay teachers in white schools are not much better off). Teaching aids and sports facilities are usually primitive. Given the present mood and consciousness of the mass of white Catholics, the academic achievements of these schools can only be ascribed to the heroic endeavours of those involved in their maintenance, but the crux of the matter is that the mood (indifference) and the state of consciousness (ignorance) are scandalously inadequate if the Church is ever to become an agent of reconciliation to counter the agents of division only too common in South African society.

Because of the paradoxical nature of Christian

presence in the world, it is, perhaps, hardly surprising that a small number of contemplative nuns are most effective in coming to terms with the challenges of contemporary society and post-conciliar Church. The Little Sisters of Jesus have transcended the barriers of our racially orientated society in ways which hold great promise for the health of the Church. The Carmelites have the courage and the openness to follow them, though they do not yet have the degree of certainty and assurance which comes, in part at least, rather from having inspired the Council than from being inspired by it. The open-ended mysticism of these communities—and of the small Schönstatt movement which knows no form of segregation—infused by and infusing their complete identification with the dispossessed, must grow to fortify those already active and those who must become involved in the more political aspects of the struggle for social justice.

There have been, in recent times, laymen whose political action has been radical enough to bring upon themselves the full range of repressive measures designed to intimidate and frighten off: bannings and exile. Dennis Brutus, David Craighead, Hyacinth Bhengu represent a small core who have not abandoned the Church though the public support given them by the Church has been insignificant. One can only guess how many have left the Church in their search for human dignity and militant opposition to tyranny. Lack of charismatic, sacrificial leadership from the hierarchy, tacit acceptance of the status quo by middle-class clergy and laity, absence of Christian social and political consciousness among the working-class members of the Church—these are the indices of the true state of the Church in South Africa. It may be that the Church is not meant to be the Liberal Party at prayer but neither should it be the Apostles at sleep.

Catholic student life in the past has produced socially conscious laymen, sometimes through a close link with NUSAS, the liberal student association, sometimes through the personal inspiration of a particular university chaplain. If the present generation is not particularly politically conscious, it may be that its current attempts to establish an ecumenical, and where possible non-racial, community within the universities will expose them to social reality. The students were the only Catholics to protest against the deportation of the Anglican Bishop of Kimberley, Bishop Crowther. The comic, but instructive, episode during the recent international Assembly of Pax Romana when the right to vote of the South African delegate

Mr. Wim van Kets was suspended, should be attributed to the S.A. students' lack of political sophistication (the majority was outmanoeuvred by a minute number of white supremacists in his appointment as delegate) rather than to any deeper collapse. Far more important is the total absence of a socialist dimension to student discussion and formation. Non-white students are necessarily more guarded in expression of opinions: their rejection of exploitation can be presumed; their vision of a just society is probably as unformed.

The Church is making many isolated attempts to adapt itself to the needs and values of different African cultures: a missiological institute studies the adaptation of African custom and tradition for use in the liturgy; language laboratories are used to uphold the unequalled record of the Church in producing missionaries who speak the language of their people; other examples could be brought forward in defence of the Church's work but they would not invalidate the premise of this article that the overall life of the Church does little to product adult, responsible Christians able to deny the false values of South African society and to live, in embryonic communities, an alternative of integrity for themselves and value for others.

If the Church were to adopt a more militant attitude towards racialism and injustice, a possibility and perhaps a necessity not discussed within the Church, what are some of the likely consequences? A definite falling away of white Catholics from the Church; an immediate contraction in institutional structure and loss of financial support; the possible loss of the mission school system (its national importance can be gauged from the fact that a third of the students in the tribal university colleges have been educated in Church schools); virulent anti-Catholic propaganda and perhaps persecution; the eviction of the majority of priests and religious who are foreign-born. In fact the whole fabric of Church and Society would have to be questioned, from celibacy to institutional structure, from capitalism to military service.

It is not our aim to outline in detail in this article the options available to Catholics (and other Christians) in South Africa. What is relevant is to suggest that Catholics in the outside world have helped very little to clarify for us (and for themselves) the issues facing us and the demands made upon us. Where are the Catholics who have gone as far as the British Council of Churches in attempting to exercise Christian responsibility towards Southern Africa and its people? If they had, sanctions against

Rhodesia would already have been effective and the 'problem' of Catholic immigration to this country

might have been solved in Europe, whose problem it is after all. ●

Papal Commission Majority Report (2)

Responsible Parenthood

The following is the second and final report of the majority of the papal birth control commission submitted to Pope Paul in 1966. The first was published in the Sept.-Oct. issue of CHALLENGE. This report attempts, in the words of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER, 'an integrated contemporary theory of Christian marriage'.

This document represents the culmination of the work of the papal birth control commission. Its authors are the Rev. Joseph Fuchs, German Jesuit teaching at the Gregorian university in Rome; the Rev. Raymond Sigmond, Hungarian Dominican, president of the Institute of Social Science of the Pontifical

THE PASTORAL CONSTITUTION on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*) has not explained the question of responsible parenthood under all its aspects. To those problems as yet unresolved, a response is to be given in what follows. This response, however, can only be understood if it is grasped in an integrated way within the universal concept of salvation history.

In creating the world God gave man the power and the duty to form the world in spirit and freedom and, through his creative capacity, to actuate his own personal nature. In his World, God himself, as the first efficient cause of the whole evolution of the world and of man, is present and active in history. The story of God and of man, therefore, should be seen as a shared work. And it should be seen that man's tremendous progress in control of matter by technical means, and the universal and total 'intercommunication' that has been achieved, correspond perfectly to the divine decrees (cf. *The Church in the Modern World*, I, c. 3).

In the fullness of time the Word of the eternal Father entered into history and took his place within it, so that by his work humanity and the world might become sharers in salvation. After his ascension to the Father, the Lord continues to accomplish his work through the church. As God became man, so his

University of St. Thomas Aquinas; the Rev. Paul Anciaux, professor at the major seminary of Malines-Brussels, Belgium; the Rev. A. Auer, specialist in sexual questions, Wurzburg Germany; the Rev. Michel Labourdette, O.P., theologian from Toulouse, France, and the Rev. Pierre de Locht of the National Family Pastoral Center, Brussels. Thirteen other theologians and several experts from other fields also signed the document. The report's final wording was worked out in the commission's last plenary meeting, held June 4-9, 1966. Its Latin title is: "Schema Documenti de Responsabili Paternitate": 'Schema for a Document on Responsible parenthood.'

church is really incarnate in the world. But because the world, to which the church ought to represent the mystery of Christ, always undergoes changes, the church itself necessarily and continually is in pilgrimage. Its essence and fundamental structures remain immutable always; and yet no one can say of the church that at any time it is sufficiently understood or bounded by definition (cf. Paul VI in *Ecclesiam Suam* and in his opening speech to the second session of Vatican Council II).

The church was constituted in the course of time by Christ, its principle of origin is the Word of creation and salvation. For this reason the church draws understanding of its own mystery not only from the past, but, standing in the present time and looking to the future, assumes within itself, the whole progress of the human race. The church is always being made more sure of this. What John XXIII wished to express by the word 'aggiornamento,' Paul VI took up, using the phrase, 'dialogue with the world' and in his encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* has the following: 'The world cannot be saved from the outside. As the Word of God became man, so must a man to a certain degree identify with the forms of life of those to whom he wishes to bring the message of Christ. Without invoking privileges which would but widen the separation, without employing unintelligible termin-

ology, he must share the common way of life—provided that it is human and honorable—especially of the most humble, if he wishes to be listened to and understood' (par. 87).

In response to the many problems posed by the changes occurring today in almost every field, the church in Vatican Council II has entered into the way of dialogue. 'The church guards the heritage of God's Word and draws from it religious and moral principles, without always having at hand the solution to particular problems. She desires thereby to add the light of revealed truth to mankind's store of experience, so that the path which humanity has taken in recent times will not be a dark one' (*Constitution on the Church and the Modern World*, I, c. 3, par. 33).

In fulfillment of its mission the church must propose obligatory norms of human and Christian life from the deposit of faith in an open dialogue with the world. But since moral obligations can never be detailed in all their concrete particularities, the personal responsibility of each individual must always be called into play. This is even clearer today because of the complexity of modern life: the concrete moral norms to be followed must not be pushed to an extreme.

In the present study, dealing with problems relating to responsible parenthood, the Holy Father through his ready willingness to enter into dialogue has given it an importance unprecedented in history. After several years of study, a Commission of experts called together by him, made up for the most part of laymen from various fields of competency, has prepared material for him, which was lastly examined by a special group of bishops.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1: THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF MARRIAGE

'The well-being of the individual person and of human and Christian society is intimately linked with the healthy condition of that community produced by marriage and family. Hence Christians and all men who hold this community in high esteem sincerely rejoice in the various ways by which men today find help in fostering this community of love and perfecting its life, and by which spouses and parents are assisted in their lofty calling. Those who rejoice in such aid look for additional benefits from them and labour to bring them about.' (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 47).

Over the course of centuries, the Church, with the authority conferred it by Christ our Lord, has con-

stantly protected the dignity and essential values of this institution whose author is God himself who has made man to his image and raised him to share in his love. It has always taught this to its faithful and to all men. In our day it again intends to propose to those many families who are seeking a right way how they are able in the conditions of our times to live and develop fully the higher gifts of this community.

A couple (*unio conjugum*) ought to be considered above all a community of persons which has in itself the beginning of new human life. Therefore those things which strengthen and make more profound the union of persons within this community must never be separated from the procreative finality which specifies the conjugal community. Pius XI, in *Casti Connubii* already, referring to the tradition expressed in the Roman Catechism, said: 'This mutual inward moulding of a husband and wife, this determined effort to perfect each other, can in a very real sense be said to be the chief reason and purpose of matrimony, provided matrimony be looked at not in the restricted sense as instituted for the proper conception and education of the child, but more widely as the blending of life as a whole and the mutual interchange and sharing thereof' (AAS., XXII, 1930, page 547).

But conjugal love, without which marriage would not be a true union of persons, is not exhausted in the simple mutual giving in which one party seeks only the other. Married people know well that they are only able to perfect each other and establish a true community if their love does not end in a merely egotistic union but according to the condition of each is made truly fruitful in the creation of new life. Nor on the other hand can the procreation and education of a child be considered a truly human fruitfulness unless it is the result of a love existing in a family community. Conjugal love and fecundity are in no way opposed, but complement one another in such a way that they constitute an almost indivisible unity.

Unfolding the natural and divine law, the church urges all men to be true dispensers of the divine gifts, to act in conformity with their own personal nature and to shape their married life according to the dictates of the natural and divine law. God created man male and female so that, joined together in the bonds of love, they might perfect one another through a mutual, corporal and spiritual giving and that they might carefully prepare their children, the fruit of this love, for a truly human life. Let them regard one another always as persons and not as mere objects. Therefore everything should be done in marriage so that the goods conferred on this institution can be attained as

perfectly as possible and so that fidelity and moral rightness can be served.

CHAPTER 2: RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD AND THE REGULATION OF CONCEPTION

To cultivate and realize all the essential values of marriage, married people should become ever more deeply aware of the profundity of their vocation and the breadth of their responsibilities. In this spirit and with this awareness let married people seek how they might better be 'cooperators with the love of God and Creator and be, so to speak, the interpreters of that love' for the task of procreation and education (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 50).

1. *Responsible parenthood* (that is, generous and prudent parenthood) is a fundamental requirement of a married couple's true mission. Illuminated by faith, the spouses understand the scope of their whole task; helped by divine grace, they try to fulfil it as a true service, carried out in the name of God and Christ, oriented to the temporal and eternal good of men. To save, protect and promote the good of the offspring, and thus of the family community and of human society, the married couple will take care to consider all values and seek to realize them harmoniously in the best way they can, with proper reverence toward each other as persons and according to the concrete circumstances of their life. They will make a judgment in conscience before God about the number of children to have and educate according to the objective criteria indicated by Vatican Council II (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 50 and c. 5, par. 80).

This responsible, generous and prudent parenthood always carries with it new demands. In today's situation both because of new difficulties and because of new possibilities for the education of children, couples are hardly able to meet such demands unless with generosity and sincere deliberation.

With a view to the education of children let couples more and more build the community of their whole life on a true and magnanimous love, under the guidance of the spirit of Christ (I Cor. 12, 31-13, 13). For this stable community between man and woman, shaped by conjugal love, is the true foundation of human fruitfulness. This community between married people through which an individual finds himself by opening himself to another, constitutes the optimum situation in which children can be educated in an integrated way. Through developing their communion and intimacy in all its aspects, a married couple is able to provide that environment of love, mutual

understanding and humble acceptance which is the necessary condition of authentic human education and maturation.

Responsible parenthood—through which married persons intend to observe and cultivate the essential values of matrimony with a view to the good of persons (the good of the child to be educated, of the couples themselves and of the whole of human society)—is one of the conditions and expressions of a true conjugal chastity. For genuine love, rooted in faith, hope and charity, ought to inform the whole life and every action of a couple. By the strength of this chastity the couple tend to the actuation of that true love precisely inasmuch as it is conjugal and fruitful. They accept generously and prudently their task with all its values, combining them in the best way possible according to the particular circumstances and of their life and in spite of difficulties.

Married people know well that very often they are invited to keep abstinence, and sometimes not just for a brief time, because of the habitual conditions of their life, for example, the good of one of the spouses (physical or psychic well-being), or because of what are called professional necessities. This abstinence a chaste couple know and accept as a condition of progress into a deeper mutual love, fully conscious that the grace of Christ will sustain and strengthen them for this.

Seeing their vocation in all its depths and breadth and accepting it, the couple follows Christ and tries to imitate Him in a true evangelical spirit (MT. 5, 1-12). Comforted by the spirit of Christ according to the inner man and rooted in faith and charity (Eph. 3, 16-17), they try to build up a total life community, 'bearing with one another charitably, in complete selflessness, gentleness and patience.' (Eph. 4, 2-3. cf. Col. 3, 12-17). They will have the peace of Christ in their hearts and give thanks to God the Father as his holy and elected sons.

A couple then is able to ask and expect that they will be helped by all in such a way that they are progressively able to approach more and more responsible parenthood. They need the help of all in order that they can fulfil their responsibilities with full liberty and in the most favourable material, psychological, cultural and spiritual conditions. By the development of the family, then, the whole society is built up with regard to the good of all men in the whole world.

2. The *regulation of conception* appears necessary for many couples who wish to achieve a responsible, open and reasonable parenthood in today's circumstances. If they are to observe and cultivate all the

essential values of marriage, married people need decent and human means for the regulation of conception. They should be able to expect the collaboration of all, especially from men of learning and science, in order that they can have at their disposal means agreeable and worthy of man in the fulfilling of his responsible parenthood.

It is proper to man, created to the image of God, to use what is given in physical nature in a way that he may develop it to its full significance with a view to the good of the whole person. This is the cultural mission which the Creator has commissioned to men, whom he has made his cooperators. According to the exigencies of human nature and with the progress of the sciences, men should discover means more and more apt and adequate so that the 'ministry which must be fulfilled in a manner which is worthy of man' (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 51) can be fulfilled by married people.

This intervention of man into physiological processes, an intervention ordained to the essential values of marriage and first of all to the good of children is to be judged according to the fundamental principles and objective criteria of morality, which will be treated below (in Chap. 4).

'Marriage and conjugal love are by their nature ordained toward the begetting and educating of children' (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 50). A right ordering toward the good of the child within the conjugal and familial community pertains to the essence of human sexuality. Therefore the morality of sexual acts between married people takes its meaning first of all and specifically from the ordering of their actions in a fruitful married life, that is one which is practised with responsible, generous and prudent parenthood. It does not then depend upon the direct fecundity of each and every particular act. Moreover the morality of every marital act depends upon the requirements of mutual love in all its aspects. In a word, the morality of sexual actions is thus to be judged by the true exigencies of the nature of human sexuality, whose meaning is maintained and promoted especially by conjugal chastity as we have said above.

More and more clearly, for a conscience correctly formed, a willingness to raise a family with full acceptance of the various human and Christian responsibilities is altogether distinguished from a mentality and way of married life which in its totality is egoistically and irrationally opposed to fruitfulness. This truly 'contraceptive' mentality and practice has been condemned by the traditional doctrine of the church and will always be condemned as gravely sinful.

CHAPTER 3: ON THE CONTINUITY OF DOCTRINE AND ITS DEEPER UNDERSTANDING

The tradition of the church which is concerned with the morality of conjugal relations began with the beginning of the church. It should be observed, however, that the tradition developed in the argument and conflict with heretics such the Gnostics, the Manichaeans and later the Cathari, all of whom condemned procreation or the transmission of life as something evil, and nonetheless indulged in moral vices. Consequently this tradition always, albeit with various words, intended to protect two fundamental values: the good of procreation and the rectitude of marital intercourse. Moreover the church always taught another truth equally fundamental, although hidden in a mystery, namely original sin. This had wounded man in his various faculties, including sexuality. Man could only be healed of this wound by the grace of a Saviour. This is one of the reasons why Christ took marriage and raised it to a sacrament of the New Law.

It is not surprising that in the course of centuries this tradition was always interpreted in expressions and formulas proper to the times and that the words with which it was expressed and the reasons on which it was based were changed by knowledge which is now obsolete. Nor was there maintained always a right equilibrium of all the elements. Some authors even used expressions which depreciated the matrimonial state. But what is of real importance is that the same values were again and again reaffirmed. Consequently an egotistical, hedonistic and contraceptive way which turns the practice of married life in an arbitrary fashion from its ordination to a human, generous and prudent fecundity is always against the nature of man and can never be justified.

The large amount of knowledge and facts which throw light on today's world suggest that it is not to contradict the genuine sense of this tradition and the purpose of the previous doctrinal condemnations if we speak of the regulation of conception by using means, human and decent, ordered to favouring fecundity in the totality of married life and toward the realization of the authentic values of a fruitful matrimonial community.

The reasons in favour of this affirmation are of several kinds: social changes in matrimony and the family, especially in the role of the woman; lowering of the infant mortality rate; new bodies of knowledge in biology, psychology, sexuality and demography; a changed estimation of the value and meaning of human sexuality and of conjugal relations; most of all, a

better grasp of the duty of man to humanize and to bring to greater perfection for the life of man what is given in nature. Then must be considered the sense of the faithful: according to it, condemnation of a couple to a long and often heroic abstinence as the means to regulate conception, cannot be founded on the truth.

A further step in the doctrinal evolution, which it seems now should be developed, is founded less on these facts than on a better, deeper and more correct understanding of conjugal life and of the conjugal act when these other changes occur. The doctrine on marriage and its essential values remains the same and whole, but it is now applied differently out of a deeper understanding.

This maturation has been prepared and has already begun. The magisterium itself is in evolution. Leo XIII spoke less explicitly in his encyclical *Arcanum* than did Pius XI in his wonderful doctrinal synthesis of *Casti Connubii* of 1930 which gave a fresh start to so many beginnings in a living conjugal spirituality. He proclaimed, using the very words of the Roman Catechism, the importance, in a true sense the primary importance, of true conjugal love for the community of matrimony. The notion of responsible parenthood which is implied in the notion of a prudent and generous regulation of conception, advanced in Vatican Council II, has already been prepared by Pius XII. The acceptance of a lawful application of the calculated sterile periods of the woman—that the application is legitimate presupposes right motives—makes a separation between the sexual act which is explicitly intended and its reproductive effect which is intentionally excluded.

The tradition has always rejected seeking this separation with a contraceptive intention for motives spoiled by egoism and hedonism, and such seeking can never be admitted. The true opposition is not to be sought between some material conformity to the physiological processes of nature and some artificial intervention. For it is natural to man to use his skill in order to put under human control what is given by physical nature. The opposition is really to be sought between one way of acting which is contraceptive and opposed to a prudent and generous fruitfulness, and another way which is in an ordered relationship to responsible fruitfulness and which has a concern for education and all the essential, human and Christian values.

In such a conception the substance of tradition stands in continuity and is respected. The new elements which today are discerned in tradition under the influence of new knowledge and facts were found

in it before; they were undifferentiated but not denied; so that the problem in today's terms is new and has not been proposed before in this way. In light of the new data these elements are being explained and made more precise. The moral obligation of following fundamental norms and fostering all the essential values in a balanced fashion is strengthened and not weakened. The virtue of chastity by which a couple positively regulates the practice of sexual relations is all the more demanded. The criteria of morality therefore which are human and Christian demand and at the same time foster a spirituality which is more profound in married life, with faith, hope and charity informed according to the spirit of the Gospel.

CHAPTER 4: THE OBJECTIVE CRITERIA OF MORALITY

The question comes up which many men rightly think to be of great importance, at least practically: what are the objective criteria by which to choose a method of reconciling the needs of marital life with a right ordering of this life to fruitfulness in the procreation and education of offspring?

It is obvious that the method is not to be left to purely arbitrary decision.

1. In resolving the similar problem of responsible parenthood and the appropriate determination of the size of the family, Vatican Council II has shown the way. The objective criteria are the various values and needs duly and harmoniously evaluated. These objective criteria are to be applied by the couples, acting from a rightly formed conscience and according to their concrete situation. In the words of the Council: 'Thus they will fulfill their task with human and Christian responsibility. With docile reverence toward God, they will come to the right decision by common counsel and effort. They will thoughtfully take into account both their own welfare and that of their children, those already born and those which may be foreseen. For this accounting they will reckon with both the material and spiritual conditions of the times as well as of their state in life. Finally they will consult the interests of the family community, of temporal society, and of the church herself . . . But in their manner of acting, spouses should be aware that they cannot proceed arbitrarily. They must always be governed according to a conscience dutifully conformed to the Divine Law itself, and should be submissive toward the church's teaching office, which authentically interprets that law in the light of the Gospel' (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 50; cf. c. 5, par. 87).

In other questions of conjugal life, one should

proceed in the same way. There are various objective criteria which are concretely applied by couples themselves acting with a rightly formed conscience. All, for an example, know that objective criteria prohibit that the intimate acts of conjugal life, even if carried out in a way which could be called 'natural,' be practiced if there is a loss of physical or psychic health or if there is neglect of the personal dignity of the spouses or if they are carried out in an egoistic or hedonistic way. These objective criteria are the couples', to be applied by them to their concrete situation, avoiding pure arbitrariness in forming their judgment. It is impossible to determine exhaustively by a general judgment and ahead of time for each individual case what these objective criteria will demand in the concrete situation of a couple.

2. Likewise, there are objective criteria as to the means to be chosen of responsibly determining the size of the family: if they are rightly applied, the couples themselves will find and determine the way of proceeding.

In grave language, Vatican Council II has reaffirmed that abortion is altogether to be excluded from the means of responsibly preventing birth. Indeed, abortion is not a method of preventing conception but of eliminating offspring already conceived. This affirmation about acts which do not spare an offspring already conceived is to be repeated in regard to those interventions as to which there is serious grounds to suspect that they are abortive.

Sterilization, since it is a drastic and irreversible intervention in a matter of great importance, is generally to be excluded as a means of responsibly avoiding conceptions.

Moreover, the natural law and reason illuminated by Christian faith dictate that a couple proceed in choosing means not arbitrarily but according to objective criteria. These objective criteria for the right choice of methods are the conditions for keeping and fostering the essential values of marriage as a community of fruitful love. If these criteria are observed, then a right ordering of the human act according to its object, end and circumstances is maintained.

Among these criteria, this must be put first: the action must correspond to the nature of the person and of his acts so that the whole meaning of the mutual giving and of human procreation is kept in a context of true love (cf. *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 51). *Secondly*, the means which are chosen should have an effectiveness proportionate to the degree of right or necessity of averting a new conception temporarily or permanently. *Thirdly*, every method of preventing conception—not

excluding either periodic or absolute abstinence—carries with it some negative element or physical evil which the couple more or less seriously feels. This negative element or physical evil can arise under different aspects: account must be taken of the biological, hygienic, and psychological aspects, the personal dignity of the spouses, and the possibility of expressing sufficiently and aptly the interpersonal relation or conjugal love. The means to be chosen, where several are possible, is that which carries with it the least possible negative element, according to the concrete situation of the couple. *Fourthly*, then, in choosing concretely among means, much depends on what means may be available in a certain region or at a certain time or for a certain couple; and this may depend on the economic situation.

Therefore not arbitrarily, but as the law of nature and of God commands, let couples form a judgment which is objectively founded, with all the criteria considered. This they may do without major difficulty, and with peace of mind, if they take common and prudent counsel before God. They should, however, to the extent possible, be instructed about the criteria by competent persons and be educated as to the right application of the criteria. Well instructed, and prudently educated as Christians, they will prudently and serenely decide what is truly for the good of the couple and of the children, and does not neglect their own personal Christian perfection, and is, therefore, what God revealing himself through the natural law and Christian revelation, sets before them to do.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 1: THE TASK AND FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION OF EDUCATIONAL RENEWAL

When sometimes a new aspect of human life obtains a special place in the area of man's responsibility, a task of educational renewal is imposed in a seriously binding way.

In order that spouses may take up the duty of responsible parenthood, they must grasp, more than in the past, the meaning of fruitfulness and experience a desire for it. In order that they may give to married life its unitive value, and do so in service of its procreative function, they must develop an increasingly purer respect for their mutual needs, the sense of community and the acceptance of their common Christian vocation.

It will not be a surprise that this conviction of a greater responsibility will come about as the effect and crown of a gradual development of the meaning of marriage and conjugal spirituality. For several generations, in an always increasing number, couples

have sought to live their proper married vocation in a more profound and more conscientious way. The doctrine of the magisterium and especially the encyclical *Casti Connubii* notably contributed and strengthened this formation of conscience by giving to it its full meaning.

The more urgent the appeal is made to observe mutual love and charity in every expression of married life, the more urgent is the necessity of forming consciences, of educating spouses to a sense of responsibility and of awakening a right sense of values. This new step in the development of conjugal life cannot bear all its fruits, unless it is accompanied by an immense educational activity. No one will regret that these new demands stirred by the Holy Spirit call the entire human race to this profound moral maturity.

Couples who might think they find in the doctrine as it has just been proposed an open door to laxism or easy solutions make a grave mistake, of which they will be the first victims. The conscientious decision to be made by spouses about the number of children is not a matter of small importance. On the contrary it imposes a more conscientious fulfilling of their vocation to fruitfulness in the consideration of a whole complex of values which are involved here. The same is true of the responsibility of the spouses for the development of their common life in such a way that it will be a source of continual progress and perfection.

The God who created man male and female, in order that they might be two in one flesh, in order that they might bring the world under their control, in order that they might increase and multiply (Gen. 1-2), is the God who has elevated their union to the dignity of a sacrament and so disposed that in this world it is a special sign of His own love for His people. He Himself will gird the spouses with His strength, His light, His love and His joy in the strength of the spirit of Christ. Who then would doubt that couples, all couples, will not be able to respond to the demands of their vocation?

CHAPTER 2: FURTHER CONSIDERATION— APPLICATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF MARRIAGE TO DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD

1. It seems very necessary to establish some pontifical institute or secretariat for the study of the sciences connected with married life. In this commission there could be continual collaboration in open dialogue among experts competent in various areas. The aim of this institute (or secretariat) would be, among other duties, to carry further the research and reflection

begun by the commission. The various studies which the commission has already done could be made public. It would be in a special way for this institute to study how the doctrine of matrimony should be applied to different parts of the world and to contribute to the formation of priests and married couples dedicated to the family apostolate by sending experts to them (cf. *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 1, par. 52).

2. Universal principles and the essential values of matrimony and married life become actual in ways which partially differ according to different cultures and different mentalities. Consequently there is a special task for episcopal conferences to institute organizations for investigation and dialogue between families, between representatives of the different sciences and pastors of souls. They would also have the task of judging which may be in practice the more apt pastoral means in each region to promote the healthy formation of consciences and education to a sense of responsibility.

Episcopal conferences should be particularly concerned that priests and married lay persons be adequately formed in a more spiritual and moral understanding of Christian matrimony. Thus they will be prepared to extend pastoral action to the renewal of families in the spirit of 'aggiornamento' initiated by the *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*.

Under their guidance there should also be action to start in each region the genuine fostering of all families in a context of social evolution which should be truly human. The fostering of the role of woman is of special importance here.

There are many reforms and initiatives which are needed to open the way to decent and joyful living for all families. Together with all men of good will, Christians must approach this great work of human development, without which the elevation of families can never become actual. Christianity does not teach some ideal for a small number of elect, but the vocation of all to the essential values of human life. It cannot be that anyone would wish to elevate his own family without at the same time actively dedicating himself to opening a way for similar elevation for all families in all parts of the world.

CHAPTER 3: DEMOGRAPHIC FACT AND POLICY

The increase of inhabitants cannot in any way be said to be something evil or calamitous for the human race. As children are 'the most excellent gift of matrimony' (*Constitution on the Church in the*

Modern World, II, c. 1, par. 50) and the object of the loving care of the parents, which demands from them many sacrifices, so the great number of men pertaining to a certain nation and constituting the whole human race spread over the globe is the foundation of all social sharing and cultural progress. Thus there should be afforded to it all those things which according to social justice are due to men as persons.

The Church is not ignorant of the immense difficulties and profound transformations which have arisen from the conditions of contemporary life throughout the world and especially in certain regions where there has been a rapid rise in population. That is why she again and again raises her voice to urge various nations and the whole human family to help one another in truly human progress, united in true solidarity and excluding every intention of domination. Then they might avoid all those things both in the political and in the social order which restrict or dissipate in an egotistical way the full realization of the goods of the earth which are destined for all men.

The Church by her doctrine and by her supernatural aids intends to help all families so that they might find the right way in undertaking their generous and prudent responsibility. Governments which have the care of the common good should look with great concern on sub-human conditions of families and 'beware of solutions contradicting the moral law, solutions which have been promoted publicly or privately, and sometimes actually imposed' (*Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, II, c. 5, par 87). These solutions have contradicted the moral law in particular by propagating abortion or sterilization. Political demography can be called human only if the rights of parents with regard to the procreation and education of children are respected and conditions of life are fostered with all vigour so that parents are enabled to exercise their responsibilities before God and society.

CHAPTER 4: THE INAUGURATION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF MEANS FOR EDUCATION OF COUPLES AND YOUTH

1. Couples are burdened by multiple responsibilities throughout the whole of life; they seek light and aid. With the favour of God there will develop in many regions what has already been initiated often by the married couples themselves, to sustain families in their building and continual development.

Maximum help is to be given to parents in their educational task. They strongly desire to provide the best for their children. The more parents are conscious of their office of fruitfulness, which is extended over

the whole time in which the education of their children is accomplished, so much the more do they seek a way of acquiring better preparation to carry out this responsibility. Moreover, in exercising this educational office, the spouses mature more deeply in it themselves, create a unity, become rich in love, and apply themselves with the high task of giving themselves with united energies to the high task of giving life and education.

2. The building up of the conjugal and family community does not happen without thought. Therefore it is fitting everywhere to set up and work out many better means of remote and immediate preparation of youth for marriage. This requires the collaboration of everyone. Married people who are already well educated will have a great and indispensable part in this work. In these tasks of providing help to spouses and to the young who are preparing to build and develop a conjugal and family community, priests and religious will co-operate closely with the families. Without this co-operation, in which each one has his own indispensable part, there will never be apt methods of education to those responsibilities of the vocation which places the sacrament in clear light so that its full and profound meaning shines forth.

The Church, which holds the deposit of the Gospel, has to bring this noble message to all men in the entire world. This announcing of the Gospel, grounded in love, illuminates every aspect of married and family life. Every aspect, every task and responsibility of the conjugal and family community shines with a clear light, in love toward one's neighbour—a love which is rich with human values and is formed by the divine interpersonal love of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. May the spirit of Christ's love more and more penetrate families everywhere so that together with John, the beloved disciple of Jesus, married couples, parents and children may always understand more deeply the wonderful relation between love of God and love of one another (1 John 4, 7-5, 4).

Society of Friends

Racial Conflict

THE HUMAN RACE IS in the throes of a great evolution, so rapid and far-reaching that it is not wrong to call it a revolution. Throughout the world its impact on relations between racial groups has been devastating, threatening the beloved community we are called upon to build.

Wherever discrimination, exploitation and injustice have been kindling hatred over the years, subterranean fires threaten to erupt. Some of these conflicts are in the very act of exploding, as in the United States. Others, as in South Africa, are being forcibly repressed by increasingly ruthless policies. No country has a right to be complacent. Each one of us is challenged to a personal response.

We do indeed believe that God is love and that the seed of that love is implanted in every person. We do affirm that every society has the basic obligation to nurture this God-given capacity to love and to be loved. Friends must now, with a renewed sense of urgency, ask God's help to understand how our personal attitudes and our political and economic institutions too often destroy the capacity to love, to function fully as human beings, in those exploited and disfully as human beings, in those exploited and discriminated against. No less surely, when we withhold love our own hearts wither as well. Too many of us enjoy the benefits of an economic system characterised by inequality and the exploitation of inequality, and often justified by claims of racial superiority. Such a society is defended by entrenched power no less violent, in truth, than the frenzy that erupts from the embittered hearts of the exploited and despairing.

Much of the prevalent racial exploitation and oppression is being practised, sometimes unconsciously, by peoples calling themselves Christian. May we who feel this tragedy seek to begin the process of redemption by entering into the agony of our Master whose gospel has been thus betrayed. Words alone will not suffice. Acts by which we involve ourselves in personal commitment must be our present response to the divine command.

Fundamental changes will be needed in the systems under which most of us live; we shall not be able to end exploitation and degradation by mere palliatives. Every Friend and every Meeting must study their own situation and must decide how each can rightly help in this process of change. Love must be 'the first motion'. Love must bring about a sincere desire to know the facts and to understand the minds and hearts of those who have been separated by barriers of law or custom or background. In the tradition of John Woolman we must seek out how our own actions cause some of the very things we should be changing. All of us, even those who may feel the problem remote, carry a share of the responsibility as consumers, or investors, as neighbours, or fellow-employees, as citizens whose representatives determine local, national and foreign polity. Rhodesia's racial issue has become the responsibility of the international community in a

special way. Our concern is for the value of each person in that country, and that the economic, social and political rights of all individuals be assured.

There are many opportunities for action, not least in being sure that in every Meeting our religious fellowship is open to all. There are Friends in many parts of the world whose work in bridge-building, in relieving the effects of discrimination, deserves our unreserved support. But the particular genius of Quakerism challenges every one of us to identify ourselves as personally as we can with the oppressed. We must make their struggle our own, recognising that our own roles will often be those of subordinates and not leaders. We must affirm that men who have been denied a share in economic and political power must experience its reality in order to attain a full sense of self-respect and personal dignity. It must be our task—and for some it will mean the commitment of a whole life—to work shoulder to shoulder with our fellowmen of every race and creed in bringing about constructive social change. We are called, with what courage, wisdom and strength we can muster, to witness to those in power, to alleviate the plight of those in distress: to accept whatever price in harassment and even bodily danger we may have to pay.

We believe God requires us to respond wholeheartedly and sacrificially to this challenge as his children and as brothers one of another. ●

Letters

BAD TASTE

Sir,—It is with regret and reluctance that I must ask you to discontinue my subscription to CHALLENGE. While not an issue has reached me that has not contained some stimulating or consoling feature, it is becoming increasingly clear that the good in your paper is outweighed by the bad. How can I view Mark Collier's article *Shalom* other than as a smack in the face for Our Holy Father who has frequently expressed concern regarding the experiments of this group?

Secondly, your publication of the so-called 'majority report' on birth control strikes one as being in shockingly bad taste. That document was intended for Our Holy Father only and the fact that someone betrayed a confidence and made it public in no way justifies your publication of it. Your choice of a caption moreover—'Rebuttal to Conservatives'—is most unfortunate in that it implies an anticipatory judgment

on your part. On at least one point (and not an unimportant point either) the report contains a statement that can only be described as fatuous, viz., 'there is no sound basis for fearing that a change in this particular point would cause a loss of trust in the Church's teaching authority.' It is true that confidence in the 'infallible magisterium' may remain but confidence in the 'fallible magisterium', from which flows the overwhelming bulk of the judgments which affect our daily lives will be shattered forever. If you doubt me, make your own enquiries—something the authors of the report obviously did not do!

D. A. MONTGOMERY, *Wynberg.*

SIN

Sir,—I should like to comment on Fr. Oswin Magrath's excellent, pointed and balanced letter in your Sept.-Oct. issue. It seems to me that he has cut through all the social, economic and political entanglements, side-trackings and criss-crossing of our South African situation and has gone right to the heart of the matter—as a theologian should—namely, sin (actual and original). I agree with everything he has so calmly and ably said but, more particularly, his warning about the terrible seeds of future disunity germinating in the midst of the Church in South Africa at this very moment.

However, I would like to draw out certain implications of Fr. Magrath's letter. We do not need any more joint pastorals nor do we need political sermons (I had to listen to one the other Sunday which naïvely and quite crudely canonised the status quo especially the tie-up between political power and wealth). All we require is a conscious Church, one aware that it is a multi-racial body in the South Africa of 1967 and also awake to the fact that, membership-wise, it is a predominantly non-white Church. By Church I mean, of course, all Catholics.

We need a Church vibrant with an alive conscience rather than one dulled by a pseudo-prudent silence. We need bishops, priests, religious and laity who will make the Gospel relevant to the current South African situation. We do not need protests, petitions or demonstrations but rather the straight, uncompromising Gospel of Christ with its insistence on the beatitudes and the primacy of charity. We most certainly do not need any sentimental gush but we could do with a crash programme of Catholic adult education.

The Church cannot be true to herself, her mission or her children if she always steers clear of controversy even where Catholics form a minority group. One of the major tasks of the hierarchical Church is to mediate divine grace to us and to combat sin. And,

incidentally, sin, as we all well know, can arise by way of commission or omission. Fr. Magrath has brilliantly and lucidly outlined a sinful situation which involves all of us but which is rarely seen as such. The popular, grass-roots Catholic idea of sin is still frightfully old-fashioned, individualistic and inward-looking. According to the norms of our Catholic upbringing, if we are reasonably chaste and sober and attend Mass and the sacraments regularly, then we are classed as 'good' Catholics. But are we: Is that enough? It reminds me of the quip of the famous Afrikaans writer, Langenhoven, 'Goed genoeg was nooit goed genoeg nie.' For the rest, we can simply live out the prejudices of our milieu and be indifferent to our brother's plight—usually because he is a non-white.

We know that, among white Catholics, some of our bishops and many clergy and laity feel that we Catholics should play it very cool in the present situation. On their side, they certainly have numbers—at least as far as the whites are concerned—but, unfortunately for them, not history. But since when is the Church entitled to pick and choose among the teachings of Christ? Do the pressures of the environment absolve the Church from her task of witness, her essential commitment to the Gospel? In pre-conciliar days we used to boast about the Church militant but that title is no longer a popular one. What should we call the Church in South Africa? The respectable Church? The comfortable Church? The uncommitted Church? The silent Church? The irrelevant Church? The accommodating Church? The acquiescent Church? Any one of these titles is damaging but, regretfully, each one of them contains at least a grain of truth.

The Church does not have to court martyrdom but it is morally obliged in dilemma situations to choose the way of the lesser of two evils. However, we must always be convinced that what we are choosing—with its resultant action or inaction—is, in the long run, really the lesser of two evils. This, of course, is a frightening and hazardous, yet inescapable, duty of every Christian. Hence, extremely pertinent is Pope Paul's recent advocacy of 'a change of climate, through the even more daring practice of Christian love' as the solution to the problem of race discrimination.

It is fruitless and foolish to attack those who make and administer our country's laws. It is unprofitable and unfair to attribute malice and baseness to them. But it is important to bear witness to Christ by concentrating our concern and our conscience on the objective evil (whether it be intentional or unintentional) in the structures and functioning of our society. By so doing, we Catholics will be loyal to South

Africa's best, most lasting and long-term interests as well as being true to the demands and example of that same Christ we claim and adore as the Son of God. ●

RYK DE LANGE, *Johannesburg.*

AFRICAN DESPOTISM

Sir,—As a student of African studies, I am distressed to read Mr. Edward Higgins' comments on African politics in your latest issue (passed to me by a friend). It seems to me that he writes so loosely and so vaguely that he can only do harm to the people, whoever they may be, that he offers a patronising apology for.

He seems to be saying, if it is possible to read him correctly, that colonialism and 'the social structure and value system' of African nations together brought about 'a tendency to veer off into some form of despotism'. This is nonsense. That is, African tribal society does not necessarily produce despotism of its own accord after independence any more than, say, the need to plan in an industrial society. Perhaps if colonialism destroyed the texture of African tribal society, despotism would come more easily to that society. But Mr. Higgins does not say that.

Democracy, modern democracy, is as hierarchical as any tribal society, as 'undemocratic' in fact, if by democracy you mean some egalitarian state where everyone can say 'Yes' or 'No' all the time with equal force. African tribal societies have in the past been subtle, complex, organic units where the chief's power was carefully regulated by his relationship with his counsellors and by tribal law. As Monica Wilson points out, chiefs have been known to consider themselves as merely the instrument of the advisors' consensus, having rather less power than the present British Prime Minister, if such a comparison is possible. There is a Ghanaian proverb that the tribe is like an egg held between the chief's forefinger and thumb. This gives one insight into a tribe's awareness of the fragility of its structure, and of the need for the chief to exercise care and tact.

I do not think the black governments need 'help and understanding'. I think it is tragic that there should be black governments organised by conquering powers without considering what the people are and what they need, who still have Western countries meddling with their affairs for their own financial gain. It is a pity that African states have to learn new techniques of government while repairing the damage done to them by the white invaders.

PAUL BARNES, *Cambridge.*

ANSWER

I am glad that my column provokes some reaction. This is one of my reasons for writing, sometimes provocatively, sometimes more soberly, viz., to stimulate thinking, discussion and possibly even dialogue.

Apropos the contents of his letter, I think Mr. Barnes is being somewhat idealistic, if not doctrinaire. As much as Mr. Barnes, I dislike the foisting of foreign political patterns by outside powers on newly independent nations. In addition, I never have been kindly disposed towards imperialism in any shape or form; neither do I approve of the interference by one country in the internal affairs of another country.

Mr. Barnes appears to romanticise the tribal system. In former times under a subsistence economy, tribalism represented a useful and workable adjustment to the environment. My main contention is this: to adapt the tribal system to a money economy, industrialisation, urbanisation and full political power in a modern state is a most difficult task. Per se, tribalism does not produce despotism but, in certain instances, tribalism plus all the forms of subservience and dependence bred by colonialism combine to give us one-party rule and a type of despotism. This type of government may well work in a particular milieu but it can hardly be called a democracy.

To have a sympathetic interest in the problems facing newly independent African nations cannot be equated with "the patronising apology" referred to in Mr. Barnes' letter. In conclusion: a column such as mine rarely allows for all the distinctions and qualifications which your correspondent obviously demands.

EDWARD HIGGINS.

Our next issue will contain reports on the Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate held in Rome last October.

The statement by the Society of Friends (Quakers) was issued at the fourth World Conference of the Religious Society of Friends held in July last year in the United States.

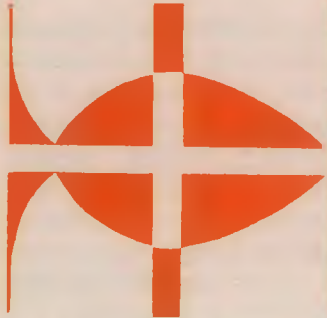
MRS. HELEN SUZMAN, M.P., is the Progressive Party Member of Parliament for Houghton.

FR. MANGALISO P. MKHATSWA writes from the Sacred Heart Mission in Witbank.

EDWARD HIGGINS, lecturer in sociology at the University of Natal, writes a regular column for CHALLENGE.

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'IMPROPER' POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

OUR POLITICAL LIFE is about to suffer more grave distortions. The mutilation and final destruction of the political rights of the Coloured people has been a sorry tale of broken promises, crude manipulation and political despotism. The representation of Coloureds in Parliament has, quite honestly, done very little to protect them from the effects of the policy of apartheid. Clearly, only in a totally re-created, integral political order will the Coloureds find any respect for their dignity and any opportunity to exercise a genuine political function within the full community. The lesson is obvious for other minority groups, whether they be Jews, Catholics, Indians or Whites: their rights will never be realised unless the rights of all men in the community are granted upon an equal basis.

In the final analysis, however, Coloured representation in a white Parliament is merely one example of what is to be understood as 'improper' interference in the politics of other race groups. All political activity which crosses the artificial barriers of race will shortly be outlawed. By statutory law only, of course, because natural law denies the validity of such arbitrary distinctions. We challenge anyone to substantiate the claim that the common good requires the suppression of multi-racial politics. On the contrary we assert that the common good demands the destruction of legal, political, economic and social barriers between races. The key to harmony in South Africa is not merely personal contact across racial lines (important though this is): it lies in common political activity, profoundly understood and broadly based. If, however, we are forced to undergo a period of black nationalism before this is recognised this will be because of our bitter experience of white nationalism.

Politics is concerned with how men live in community. It is concerned with the accumulation and use of power. It is concerned with the creation and distribution of wealth. It is concerned with universal participation and control. It is concerned with choice of

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Ut omnes unum sint

priorities, choices made openly and freely, to which men can commit themselves freely. It is concerned with growth, personal and social: it is concerned with the quality of life men live, their freedom and their responsibility.

In none of these inter-related areas can racialism be elevated into a definitive and mutually-exclusive principle. Yet this is precisely what proposed legislation regarding 'improper political interference' aims to do. It has attempted to emasculate the body politic first by driving underground all genuine non-white political activity and now by destroying constitutional multi-racial political activity. These are the two fundamental pseudo-achievements of Nationalist rule: neither can, in fact, be destroyed and the longer they are denied constitutional means of expression and avenues for bringing about radical change the greater will be the eventual, inevitable reaction.

Afrikaner nationalists have always understood the primacy of political awareness and solidarity. Others must now learn the same truth. In particular, the role of the Churches in South Africa must encompass the stimulation of this understanding. Our leaders must preach openly that all men have rights and have the duty to claim these rights, as marks of their dignity and as essential pre-conditions for the fulfilment of their duties as fathers and citizens. Such teaching will, of necessity, be directed towards the oppressed peoples of South Africa. This is as it should be: we are sick and tired of fascist, elitist solutions of any kind. ●

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

THE CORE OF America's problems is rapidly being exposed. The question is no longer how the negroes will be integrated into a substantially unchanged society: it is how much American society itself must change. A significant number of Americans are beginning to challenge the basic assumptions and values of their society, just as the young, the politically conscious, the poor of the world are doing.

The civil rights movement, the peace movement are both manifestations of this same rejection of many of the 'positive' as well as the destructive elements of affluent, western society. To the outside observer, these movements were coalescing in the person of Dr. King, as did the convergence of Christian and humanist insights into the predicament of man.

If you look for Dr. King's concrete achievements, you may be disappointed: his legacy lies elsewhere—in the creation of a compelling vision for men of the solidarity of mankind forged through common aspirations and achieved, realistically, through common suffering. His most immediate achievements may have been centred in the Negro people of the United States: more than any other man, he has brought them awareness of their innate dignity. Others were also involved in the harnessing of the power that this awareness has released—his own commitment to non-violence is not shared by all—but his pivotal role in this awakening cannot be denied.

His understanding of love was a militant one and this brought out clearly what his followers and his opponents were most deeply committed to. It is the kind of leadership we need in South Africa. ●

ZAMBIA

ZAMBIA PRESENTS an interesting test for African socialism. Unlike Tanzania, the Zambian economy is based on its mining industry with a highly developed technology, intricate capital structure and dependence (for the present) upon white managerial skills. The country's current prosperity and its present development programmes depend almost entirely upon continued production of copper at a high level. For this reason Dr. Kaunda will proceed warily with his understandable plans for effective internal control of the wealth of his country. President Frei's experience in Chile, with a similar copper industry, shows how difficult, but necessary, this process is.

Like South Africa's experience of the gold-mining industry, Zambia's copper will foster and develop secondary industry. To some degree this has occurred already and it is these industries which Dr. Kaunda has now decided to nationalise—the construction industry, quarrying, transport, fisheries, breweries. First reports do not give much information about future management of these companies, except to say that co-operative principles will be invoked.

Certainly the overall impression is that Dr. Kaunda intends to rid his country of the economic and social effects of neo-colonialism. A danger for the new states of Africa has always been that they might strike a bargain with the (largely foreign) controlling capitalist interests to the detriment of the long-term interests of

the mass of their people: accepting a 'political' revolution where a social revolution was required.

Zambia seems to be aware of the danger: perhaps Katanga needs a similar drastic realism. ●

LAY COUNCIL

RECENTLY SOME of the delegates to the Congress of the Lay Apostolate in Rome have taken up the question of representative, lay organisation in South Africa at a national level. Our aim here is to raise some of the considerations which underlie any concrete practical proposals which may be made.

The first question is whether the laity want a national lay council. Do the laity see a clear necessity for full, responsible participation in the life of the organisational church at all levels, either within its present framework or within a radically different network of social relationships? Where such a need is recognised, can laymen articulate this need in theological terms? The two greatest dangers facing lay organisation are these: first, that it will see itself as existing merely to achieve a kind of managerial efficiency in church affairs; second, that it will tear itself to pieces over the problem of christian responsibility in a situation of grave social injustice. We have here a crucial problem which cannot, in our view, be avoided at any level if lay participation is to bring about renewal in any meaningful sense.

Assuming that a lay council is, however, generally recognised as potentially a valuable part of church life, how would it best be composed? By nomination by the bishops? By delegation from existing organisations? By election? How would it involve the great majority of people not previously attracted into traditional church societies? One's answer to these questions will be profoundly influenced by one's concept of the church and its likely development in the years to come.

If the council is set up how will it exist? How will it be financed? By its own fundraising activities? By parish levy? By allocation of funds from the hierarchy? Will it require a secretariate, however small? Will it have a permanent headquarters, or will it move from diocese to diocese?

Perhaps most important, and most difficult, what will be the status and function of such a council? Will it be solely a co-ordinating body? Will it have a life and programme of its own? Will it have access to information about all aspects of church life? Will it have representation upon all decision-making bodies within the church? What will be its relation to the hierarchy?

Will lay formation form part of the function of the council? Could it expect to have priests, religious and laymen seconded to it for specific educational purposes? What latitude would it have to participate in ecumenical activity? How would it express the church's concern for social justice? How would it foster mature, responsible, courageous commitment to the message, the example of Christ in our own situation?

These are some of the questions which come to mind in considering the value of a national lay council. There are many others. What do our readers think of the possibilities and problems? Certainly, South African delegates to international congresses will never be fully effective until lay representation and responsibility are greatly extended here at home. ●

CHALLENGE

AS A GESTURE of confidence this issue has been expanded to 24 pages. The response to the appeal in our last issue was very encouraging, though it does not cover our deficit. Some new subscribers have been found; a number of individuals and institutions have made donations of R24 for 1968 (a full list of sponsors will be published in the next issue); a regular supporter of CHALLENGE has donated R350. In addition a sales drive outside the Cathedral in Johannesburg sold 200 copies with apparent ease.

Sister Mary Jean's article on Vietnam was written before recent developments but has lost none of its relevance. The resolutions of the Lay Congress in Rome in October, published in this issue, were all passed by the Congress, except the draft resolution on Vietnam. The latter did not come to a vote because of lack of time. Mr. Thom Kersteins article formed the keynote address at the Congress and illustrates remarkably the level and tone of the Congress as a whole. ●

Mary Jean Pew

Vietnam

OF ALL THE ISSUES currently on the scene in American politics none is causing more anguish and division than that of Vietnam. Casualty figures are announced as higher for the past month than the first five years of the war; top government officials resign in silent protest against the priorities currently controlling national policy; U Thant announces again that if the United States would cease the bombing in the north peace talks could begin. Yet President Johnson, impervious apparently to all signs of dissent, immune to pressures from within and outside his own party, increases the manpower commitment, takes more targets off the restricted list for American bombers, and talks of honor, commitment and freedom and peace. How did the United States get involved in such a debacle? What of the arguments advanced in justification for United States policy? What are likely consequences of this policy?

The serious involvement of the United States in post war Southeast Asia began with the Communist victory in China in 1949; this victory placed the French struggle against the nationalist-Communist forces under Ho Chi Minh in bordering Vietnam in new perspective, and United States aid began to flow to the French. The French effort to re-establish its control failed despite the U.S. financial assistance, and the Geneva Conference met to write an end to French colonial efforts in Southeast Asia. The results of this Geneva conference appeared in two documents: the armistice between Ho Chi Minh and the French, and a Final Declaration of all the participants.

The armistice established a provisional demarcation line, provided for the mutual withdrawal of forces, prohibited the entry of new arms or equipment, and called for election to unify the country. The Final Declaration, in which the United States did not join, set the date for the elections in July, 1956, with consultations between north and south on time, place and conditions to begin the preceding year. This provision was apparently what the United States objected to; however, in its separate statement it did reaffirm its support for the principle of free elections. Whatever

the reluctance of the United States, the other participants at Geneva anticipated the 1956 elections, and foresaw, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, that Ho Chi Minh would win them. He undoubtedly anticipated victory; he had defeated the French, was the victor at Geneva and there would have been little reason for him to accept an armistice unless he had also foreseen that the ultimate goal of a united Communist Vietnam was attainable with less cost than continuation of the war. When Diem, in a U.S. backed decision, refused to begin even the preliminary consultations required by the agreements, Ho Chi Minh realized that strategy would have to be altered again to achieve the goal. By 1958 the Vietcong guerilla activity in the south was well under way and the Saigon government under Diem was unable to build a viable political base from which to resist the extending Vietcong challenge.

AMERICAN COMMITMENT

The explicit United States commitment to South Vietnam is usually dated from an October 1954 letter of President Eisenhower to President Diem offering assistance in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means. This aid to Vietnam was part of the larger foreign policy designed by Secretary of State Dulles that of containing Communist China through military alliances, most notably the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. From 1954 on, the United States, forced by the logic of an anti-Communist foreign policy, has argued the necessity of increasing continually its manpower and financial contributions to South Vietnam, to prevent control of the country by Communist forces.

The increase was slow at first. Prior to 1961 there were no U.S. casualties and the advisory group was about 800—900 men. From 1961—1965 the manpower commitment reached around 23,000 'advisors'; casualties were below one thousand and the annual expenditure had reached 700 million dollars. But efforts were still not producing a stable South Vietnam.

So early in 1965 there was a marked change in United States policy with the decision to enlarge, by both numbers and area, the scope of the conflict. Hurt the enemy more and he would negotiate sooner was the rationale. The advisory fiction was dropped, U.S. combat units were assigned, bombing began in the north and expenditures rose sharply. At present the U.S. forces number approximately 525,000 but this is predicted to be increased by at least 100,000 more in the next few months in response to the Tet offensive action. Annual expenditures are over the thirty billion thousand million dollar mark, and predicted upward to 40 billion if the war continues into the next fiscal year. Most tragic of all are the casualty figures: 136,951 Americans have been killed or wounded since 1961; the four weeks from January 28 to February 24 of this year saw more men killed (1829) than had been killed in the first five years of the war. And these figures just give American casualties; there is no accurate count on Vietnamese civilians and soldiers killed and wounded, although frequently American military losses are higher than the Vietnamese.

The State Department presents legal and political justification for present policy. Since this is a clear-cut case of external aggression, it argues, of North against South Vietnam, the United States is legally justified within the meaning of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter in aiding the victim of aggression. Furthermore, the United States is legally required to abide by its commitments, both treaty and presidential. And whatever non-compliance with the Geneva accords there it is justified because North Vietnam first violated them in intensification of the guerilla war; hence South Vietnam was freed from compliance and the introduction of American arms and personnel is legally justified.

Politically, of course, U.S. policy is dominated by hostility to, and fear and mistrust of Communist China and of Communist expansion in Southeast Asia. If Communist aggression is allowed to succeed in Vietnam, it will succeed elsewhere in Asia, and thus threaten an area of great strategic significance in the forward defense of the United States. This so-called domino theory therefore demands that Communist take-over in Vietnam be prevented; if it is, the rest of the area is secure; if it is not, then other countries will most probably become Communist. By preventing a Communist take-over in South Vietnam the military and political expansion of China will be limited. Or so the State Department argues.

Legally and politically United States policy in Vietnam is *undefensible*; it is not achieving its stated goals and is producing disastrous domestic and foreign consequences. Legally there is little basis for the claims made; aggression there might be in Vietnam but it is far from certain that it is of two states against each other. The division of Vietnam was provisional pending the election results, with neither north nor south being recognized as independent states. Even the 1954 Eisenhower letter referred to the country as temporarily divided and it was only gradually that terminology changed for the policy-makers in the State Department. Any legal commitment to a land war in Asia, with only token support from two of the SEATO allies is non-existent. Membership in SEATO does not oblige the United States to an involvement of present magnitude, and none of the presidential statements until those of President Johnson define commitment in these terms. It seems simplistic at best and deceptive at worst to argue that our present policy is the same of the preceding presidencies of Kennedy and Eisenhower. For there is more than a quantitative difference between 23,000 men and 550,000; between 700 million dollars and 35 billion; between 500 men killed and 19,000. And the last legal point asserted, that North Vietnam broke the Geneva Agreement first flies in the face of *some* facts, at least. For the first substantive change in the Geneva accords came with the South Vietnamese refusal to even proceed with consultations over the holding of elections; following that, by about two years, the guerilla effort increased in the South, and the American buildup began. One could, then, advance the thesis that the South Vietnamese violations justified the increased North Vietnamese aid to the Vietcong in the South.

PREMISES AND CONSEQUENCES

But it is not the legal weaknesses of the administration case that are most disturbing. The political premises and consequences raise even more serious questions. Is the United States gaining support for a non-Communist 'freedom-loving' ideology by the bombing of targets of questionable military value where it is impossible to distinguish civilian from military victim? Is military power on the massive scale used by the United States forces going to gain support for the Saigon government in a way that it has not yet been able to do for itself? Is not the U.S. making the same mistake the French made (except they had the courage to admit it) — failing to build a viable political alternative to Ho Chi Minh? And is there really much

difference between north and south in terms of exercise of meaningful freedoms, i.e. of dissent, press, speech?

The assumptions about China which underly the policy are equally dubious. The equation of Vietcong with Hanoi with Peking seems disastrously non-discriminatory and naive. The degree to which Hanoi does actually control the National Liberation Front has been increasingly questioned as a result of the recent Tet offensive if not before. And granted the existence of parallel interests and some strong ideological affinities between Hanoi and Peking, there are also historical differences which could be capitalized on. The hostility between Vietnam and China is centuries old; why not, instead of increasing a reluctant dependence of North Vietnam on China make it less likely by making it less necessary? Limitations on Chinese aggression would be more easily attained if a Communist North Vietnam shared the same desire to limit Chinese expansion. If the U.S. approach to China itself were dominated by a spirit of compromise, even if not returned in kind by China; if the U.S. would recognize some Chinese aspirations as legitimate, the international climate might be more hopeful and peaceful solutions more likely.

In short, then, United States policy has not resulted in a South Vietnam more viable, stable or democratic than it was ten or fifteen years ago, but instead has compounded the difficulties immeasurably in attaining a better life for the Vietnamese.

Additionally, the domestic consequences are harmful and far reaching. The allocation of resources and energies being put into the war are forcing limitations where there should be expansion in efforts to deal with the pressing racial and poverty and urban problems. The crisis of confidence in the national administration

RESOLUTION ON THE HANDICAPPED

THE INCREASING NUMBER of handicapped persons; the blind, the paralysed, the mentally deficient and the mentally ill, caused by the present day living conditions and by the numerous traffic and work accidents; the cultural and social betterment of the blind, the paralysed and the handicapped, developed by modern means of education and reeducation are new realities in our time.

The handicapped are created by God and are Sons of God, just as anybody else, and they want to hold

over this war cannot be minimized. The government would better serve its own cause by honestly facing some of the criticisms raised, by realistically assessing the consequences of escalation instead of denying it has taken place and dealing with critics in the most pious of platitudes. When simplicisms and cliches are the major response of the administration to its critics, the anger and frustration of these critics is intensified, an intensification which leads too easily, and perhaps justifiably, to a rejection of the whole process of politics.

Another long term consequence of U.S. Vietnam policy is the major set back it constitutes to developing the rule of law among nations. By its refusal to define Vietnam as a local conflict, by its ignoring the legal significance of the distinction between civil and international war, the United States has weakened a principal constraint upon the scope of violence and has thus done a major disservice to the possibility of law replacing force in international society. If war is ever going to become an institution of the past, it will be when powerful nations accept limitations on their decision making capacity to conduct war and agree to abide by standards reached through reasonable discussion.

There are other options for the United States in Vietnam. It could stop the bombing; it could reduce its manpower commitments and insist on the Vietnamese increasing their efforts; it could promote contact and negotiation with the National Liberation Front and other forces. But any of these demand new premises and assumptions becoming operative with the policy-makers, and to date there is little reason to hope this is about to happen. ●

an equal position with others in the Church and in society.

To respond to the legitimate aspirations of the blind and the handicapped, who want to find in society and in the Church, and in apostolic and spiritual lay movements, the normal growth of their professional, spiritual and apostolic life, the Congress wishes that individual Christians and apostolic lay organizations will make every effort to understand them and to work in collaboration with their movements and their specialized organizations. ●

Cosmas Desmond

Priests, Protest and Politics

THE PRIESTS WHO SHOWED interest and concern over the recent removal of African families from Meran to Limehill, were accused of meddling and interfering and were warned by friends that they should be careful. Archbishop Hurley, in their defence, pointed out that they were simply fulfilling a basic Christian duty of helping those in need. True. But surely there is more involved than that? This hardship should never have arisen and could never have arisen unless the lack of Christian leadership, witness and protest had lulled the vast majority of the White population into a sense of indifference to the application of Christian principles to the political and social spheres. The events of Limehill should serve to highlight the question of what it means to be a Christian in our particular social set-up. Can we simply mind our own business and not risk getting into trouble?

An other-worldly, individualistic, ritualistic religion may be very cosy and conducive to the building up of my own spiritual edifice. But it is not Christianity. As Martin Redfern writes: 'Christianity means nothing at all unless it means utter commitment to and in the world. Christianity is, in very essence, about politics and not about religion, about this world and no other'. And the Vatican Council warns us that '... the expectation of a new earth must not weaken but rather stimulate our concern for cultivating this one'. We cannot as Christians opt out of our involvement in our social situation. Nor can we satisfy our obligation by paternalistic 'charity'.

The Bishops of South Africa have repeatedly stated the Christian social principles as they apply in the South African context. But these have never been pushed to their logical conclusion by the Bishops themselves, Catholic institutions, priests and the vast majority of the laity. They have certainly never led to any concerted Christian protest against a system which the Bishops themselves have described as 'intrinsically evil'. There has been and is compromise all along the line. This compromise has no doubt kept many Catholic institutions in existence; it has saved the Church from open persecution; it has kept hundreds in the fold, (though it has doubtless driven out many more). But

can such reasons ever justify the compromise of basic Christian principles? The judgement of history has certainly not condoned such compromise in other times and places.

In his very incisive article on the Church in South Africa, Paul Goller speaks of the 'tacit acceptance of the status quo by the middle class clergy and laity'. It may well be here, especially with the clergy, that the main fault lies. In the present structure of the Church, the clergy are looked upon as leaders and have the opportunity of instructing and forming their parishioners. But are we really trying to form committed Christians or are we satisfied with playing the role of tame spiritual medicine men? How can we proclaim the Gospel Sunday after Sunday without relating it to the immediate concrete situation? Experience has shown that it is no good preaching general principles; it is not even enough to point out the universality of the law of love of neighbour. For many people it seems that a person with a different colour skin is not even included in the concept of 'neighbour'. Hence the need for every detail to be spelt out. We do not compromise on other, less important aspects, of Christian doctrine, e.g. divorce and sexual morality in general—yet we shrink from telling a white parishioner what exactly his Christianity would involve in relation to an African employee if it would cause an unpleasant scene and mean the loss of a R10 pledge.

Love of neighbour and concern for the world in which he lives is not just a part of Christianity; it is Christianity. It is true that, in the South African situation, background, upbringing, inborn prejudice etc. tend to cloud the vision when it comes to White-African relationships. These considerations may mitigate the culpability for the failure to practise Christianity and may call for a tremendous effort. But they cannot change the basic demands of Christianity, which we are obliged to preach "Proclaim the message and, welcome or unwelcome, insist on it". (2. Tim. 4.2.).

But it is not enough to proclaim this message—the message of love which Christianity is all about in

sermons, instructions, discussion groups and through other educational media. Human relationships, especially love, cannot be effectively taught, they must be experienced. Therefore, the only way to educate the consciences of Christians is by action. It is completely unrealistic even to consider the possibility of re-educating the conscience of every White Christian in this country through the ordinary means of communication. Do they want to see? 'How many times can a man turn his head and pretend that he just doesn't see?' But there can be no excuse for the official teaching Church not seeing. Do we, priests and Bishops in particular, know what Christianity means? If we do, then why don't we practise it? The Vatican Council, which deliberately tried to avoid condemnations, said: 'The church rejects (reprobat) as foreign to the mind of Christ any discrimination against men or any harassment of them because of their race, colour, condition of life or religion'. How then can we refrain from action? We must show by our actions that we realise what it means to be a Christian and that we are willing to do this whatever the consequences. This is the most effective way of proclaiming the message of Christ, who was and always will be 'a sign of contradiction'. Christianity is not just a body of truths. It is a way of life and therefore demands action.

On the part of the Bishops this will involve an elimination of any semblance of apartheid in the official Institutions of the Church. (No one could claim that our house is in order at the moment. To take a few simple examples which are the ones that matter in the long run there is no law which says that an African must use the back door, drink out of a jam jar, eat from a tin plate etc.). It will demand further an unequivocal application of Christian principles to every situation which may arise even though this may entail any amount of loss to the institutional Church in terms of position, privilege and personnel. For the priest at the parochial level it will mean not trying to titillate pious ears but applying the Gospel teaching with all its social demands, regardless of what this will cost financially and otherwise.

LAY RESPONSIBILITY

The greatest effort will be demanded of the layman. He must be willing to act as a Christian in relation to his own servants, his fellow workers of another race and in any occasional contact with such people. This may well leave him open to ridicule, loss of friends and even social ostracisation. But there are many

others, non Catholics and non Christians, who have been willing to suffer far more than that in the struggle for justice and the recognition of human dignity. We, as Christians and Catholics, have the clear teaching of Christ and the Church to guide us yet we still hesitate and compromise. Catholics seem determined not to rock either the barque of Peter or the ship of State.

The Cross is meant to be a scandal and a stumbling block to many. It is not meant to be comfortable and accommodating. It is such a stumbling block that we cannot hope to convert the whole world into fully committed Christians. Therefore, we are faced with the choice: do we water down Christianity so as to ensure as large a nominal role as possible or do we preach Christianity in its entirety, with all its most exacting demands, even though this will mean having a small number of committed Christians? Christ promised that His Church would be rejected. How then can we justify compromising his demands in order to avert this very rejection? How can we ever get around Christ's own insistence on the necessity to love and serve 'even the least of these my little ones'? This is the basis of the obligation to become involved in the political and social welfare of our brothers. There seems to be no other response open to a Christian. He must love his brother no matter what this may entail or he must stop calling himself a Christian. If his conscience tells him that he cannot fulfil these demands of love then it must also tell him that he cannot be a Christian.

The treatment of Africans being removed from Meran and other 'Black Spots' is only another example of the indignity to which Africans are subjected. Such situations can only arise because we as individuals and as Christians have failed. By our failure in our ordinary everyday relationships with members of other races we have created the climate in which such injustices can be perpetrated and not cause a public outcry. We have failed and are failing to recognise in practice the dignity of any human being whatever his race, colour or social standing. Yet we claim to follow Christ, who said: 'Whatever you do to the least of these my little ones you do to me'. ●

SISTER MARY JEAN PEW, *L.H.M.*, is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, California. Recently she lectured at the University of the Witwatersrand for some months.

FR. COSMAS DESMOND, *O.F.M.*, has been deeply involved in the Meran-Limehill situation.

EDWARD HIGGINS, senior lecturer in sociology at the University College, Durban, resumes his regular column.

THOM KERSTENS, a Hollander, played a prominent part in the Lay Apostolate Congress in Rome.

Political comment and sub-editing in this issue by A. P. Goller, 703 Caroladene, Soper Road, Berea, Johannesburg.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

1— WE AS MEN OF TODAY'S world are truly grieved by the fact of war in Asia and the state of tension in the Middel East. We realize that the world is standing on the verge of nuclear war. Conscious of our *urgent responsibility* as laymen of the Church, we pledge here our sincere collaboration to the utmost of our ability for the achievement of peace and we appeal to the conscience of the world.

2— We demand in particular that an end be put to the war which is destroying the *people of Viet Nam* and which is a major obstacle to development, because of the tensions it provokes between nations and men and because of the enormous loss of life and of the destruction of resources which it entails.

3— We condemn the bombing and massacres of *civilian population*.

4— We demand:

a) that *negotiations* for cease fire be initiated immediately, taking as base the agreements of Geneva.

b) that for this purpose the *bombing of North Viet Nam* be immediately stopped.

c) that the negotiations would be followed by a rapid *withdrawal* of all foreign troops from Viet Nam, under the supervision of the United Nations.

5— We appeal to all men of goodwill and particularly to all Christians to personally engage in the *re-* to all Christians to personally engage in the *re-* construction task of Viet Nam and to help to establish as quickly as possible an international fund for this reconstruction. We also appeal to the Governments of all nations to organize international teams for this purpose under the supervision of the United Nations.

6— We appeal to the *people of the USA* including their pastors and their hierarchy, asking them to lose no time in doing everything possible, in conformity with the unceasing efforts of men such as U Thant and Pope Paul VI, to persuade the Government of the United States to take the initiative and to use all the necessary means to start negotiations. ●

RESOLUTION ON PEACE

THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS for the Lay Apostolate, considering that world peace is necessary for the survival of mankind and for the development of peoples in accordance with the demands of human dignity;

and that the promotion of peace and unity and of the integral development of the human person in accordance with his high dignity is an essential element of the mission of the Church and the vocation of the Christian;

deplores the scandal of all wars at present in progress, urges that all possible steps be taken to terminate it;

and expresses its strong support for the peace-making activities of Pope Paul VI and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant;

recommends that a humane and equitable solution be found as soon as possible as regards the problem of Palestinian refugees and the outcome of the populations affected by the war in the Middle East. calls for a reform of the economic, social and political structures, national and international which will promote greater social justice and regard for the human needs and rights;

approves gratefully the work of official international organizations, directed to this end;

urges all Christians to support the Pontifical Commission 'Iustitia et Pax' and expresses the respectful wish that it be strengthened in its composition and competence;

requests that the existing world communities be strengthened so as to make possible complete and universal disarmament, with adequate means of control; and that all efforts be fostered to achieve a truly universal participation in the United Nations by lay people from every country;

calls for a cessation of the present arms race and the diversion of armament funds by all nations so engaged to building peace through development of peoples;

we appeal for the gradual diminuation and final abolishment of nuclear weapons, and for the use of atomic energy for the peace and the development of all nations;

calls for an observance, by the whole Church, of the Church's condemnation of racial and religious discrimination even where required by law;

welcomes the advent of the International Human Rights Year in 1968 and calls for study of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the light of the Church's teaching and initiatives;

urges intensification by all of the education of public opinion on the realities and needs of the world community and peace, particularly by those responsible for the education of youth and for the use of the mass media;

urges an ever more active engagement by the entire Church in fulfilling its mission for peace; thereby, working with all men of good will; it will be a sign of unity while presaging and helping to achieve unity, peace and brotherhood for the human family. ●

Edward Higgins

On Reflection

SAINTS FOR OUR TIME

AS A RESULT OF OLD-TIME hagiography and generations of popular sermons on saints and sanctity, countless Catholics probably believe that sanctity consists in something akin to martyrdom and is not for them. Books and sermons about saints nearly always refer to the concept of heroic virtue. This is perfectly logical because Canon Law lays down the practice of the theological, cardinal and subsidiary virtues in an heroic degree as a prerequisite for consideration as a candidate for canonisation. It is a pity that not all Catholic preachers and writers take the trouble to find out the precise meaning of some of the key phrases which keep cropping up in Catholic life. Heroism in the sanctity context is one of those notions demanding closer scrutiny.

The most authoritative treatise on canonisation was penned by the eminent canonist, Pope Benedict XIV (1740-58), but even in this masterly document the notion of heroic virtue remains somewhat amorphous and abstract. Another pope, Benedict XV (1914-22) brought this concept down to earth with the straightforward statement that heroism in this context consists 'simply in the faithful and constant accomplishment of the individual's duties and office.' On another occasion the same pope declared: 'Sanctity properly consists in simple conformity to the Divine Will expressed in an exact and constant fulfilment of the duties of one's proper state.'

These observations remove heroic virtue from the realm of the abstract and plunge it right into daily life. No longer is the concept of heroism tied to some perfect and immutable world of ideas; saintly heroism manifests itself in concrete circumstances of time, place and condition. Therefore, this heroism will be relative, not absolute; concrete not abstract. Heroic virtue thus becomes a variable norm because the life circumstances and statuses of individuals differ, sometimes greatly. The question of temperament must be considered as well as one's state (married, single, priestly or religious). Much will depend on the sort of job the individual is doing and the era and cultural

community in which he lives. Obviously, the norms for the reformed rake and the virgin-martyr must and do differ. The history of sanctity in the Catholic Church is nothing if not varied and particularistic. Unfortunately, shoddy hagiography ignores this quite vital factor.

Heroic virtue cannot exist without the quality of constancy. Constancy may seem something quite matter-of-fact or pedestrian but it certainly is not. In discussing sanctity, Pius XI once alluded to the 'terrible duties of every day.' To be faithful to these, in season and out of season, is definitely a criterion of heroic virtue. The daily round can be suffocating and excruciatingly painful at times although it may involve ordinary things, routine duties and the like. The lives of most of us consist mainly of humdrum, repeated activities; the commonplace fills our life; we do not make the headlines. After all, glamour and excitement belong to the few, not the many. However, sanctity is not restricted to the extraordinary but can be found in what is most ordinary because what is ordinary frequently demands an heroic response. Therefore, when the Church talks about the universal call to sanctity, she is not indulging in empty rhetoric or pious romanticism but in sound theology and evangelical realism. ●

PAULIST JOURNEYS

NEXT YEAR THE Paullist Fathers leave South Africa for good. Throughout our country they will be long remembered for their positive preaching and their kindly openness towards non-Catholics as well as for their example of the value of good public relations. The laity will bless them for the new and fresh dimensions they gave to the lay apostolate. New converts to the Church will recall with gratitude the help and understanding they received from the Paulist missionaries. The clergy will miss them as co-operative confreres whose hospitality was warm and practical.

For over a century the main aim of the Paulist Congregation has been the conversion of non-Catholics. The Paulists have certainly been specialists in the

convert-making apostolate. In pre-Council days they succeeded both in the United States and in South Africa in making many of the laity and some of the clergy convert-conscious. But Vatican II plus the contemporary stress on ecumenism have compelled the Paulists to make something of a goal-switch from convert-making to ecumenism. This is a most logical step and the Paulists by tradition, spirit and training are well qualified to make a solid contribution in the ecumenical field.

The convert specialists are now busy becoming ecumenism experts. Precisely because of this new development, it is unfortunate that the Paulists have decided to close their South African establishment. Of course, it is true that the Paulists have always been a small body of men with many taxing demands being made on their limited manpower. And for an American community, it is obvious that America's needs must come first.

There are other factors behind this withdrawal which ought to be considered. Unlike many other religious communities coming to South Africa, the Paulists never took over a vicariate or diocese; being responsible for a given ecclesiastical territory is not part of their function. They managed one parish which became the base for their retreat and mission work throughout South Africa. In particular, the Paulists became well-known for their missions to non-Catholics and their convert classes. In the light of the pre-conciliar Catholic mentality, their apologetics were able and effective, if possibly a trifle slick. Wherever they went, the Paulist preachers made a distinct hit with Catholic teenagers.

For the nearly thirty years of their South African sojourn, Paulist work has been confined mainly to English-speaking whites; their contact with Afrikaners and non-whites has been negligible. This fact alone was sufficient to compromise them in the eyes of certain sections of American Catholicism. Furthermore, the two South Africans who became Paulists have worked chiefly in the United States and have become American citizens. Unlike many other religious communities who are more cosmopolitan in personnel, the Paulists are overwhelmingly North American in composition and mentality. Consequently, their approach has possibly been somewhat over-Americanized at times. Perhaps it is this factor which has constituted a barrier to a fully Pauline accommodation to the South African situation.

The Paulist Fathers originally came to South Africa in 1938 at the invitation of Bishop O'Leary, vicar apostolic of the then Transvaal vicariate. Their call

to South Africa had been arranged by an indefatigable and eccentric priest, the late Father Thomas Pierce. Naturally, the Paulist Congregation formally committed itself to this step but it is undeniable that the rank and file of this religious body never took to the idea of a Paulist outpost in South Africa.

Of late there appears to have been complications about visas, alien status, residence permits and all the rest of the harassing paraphernalia of government red tape. Taken together, these factors make the decision of the Paulist Congregation to terminate its South African foundation logical and intelligible. Indeed, the Paulist interlude in South Africa underlines the paramount, if not overriding, importance of a clergy totally committed to South Africa and free to express that commitment in all possible ways. ●

MOTHER CHURCH

THERE IS HARDLY a word in our language about which more sentimental rubbish has been written and uttered than the word mother. As far as mammals are concerned, motherhood is a completely natural condition. Of itself, there is nothing mawkish about it; it is factual and functional though human cultures with this or that orientation can sentimentalize motherhood and so obscure its meaning and purpose.

Psychologists tell us that birth is a traumatic experience for the human infant; it is a kind of shock because we are suddenly expelled from the comfort and security of the womb into an uncertain and bewildering world. Our bond with nature and our natural mediating agent is our mother. It is she who gives us life and protection, assurance and guidance. She feeds us and cares for us all the while glorying in our absolute early dependence on her.

There are times, perhaps, when a mother's love becomes too indiscriminating, too smothering. But time tends to cure that for the essential aspect of motherhood is that it must gradually prepare the offspring for an ultimately independent existence. The separation of the child from the mother's body at birth is only a beginning; it heralds the commencement of a life cycle from utter helplessness to full independence. Mothers who thwart this growth towards full independence harm both themselves and their children.

The Church is truly a mother, not in any pious or purely sentimental sense but theologically and precisely. The Church is the community which Christ willed in order to give new life to the redeemed. We become members of the Church by baptism and baptism means re-birth of the most essential kind.

(continued on page 20)

Congress Resolutions

RESOLUTION ON DEVELOPMENT

INSPIRED BY THE TEACHINGS of Pius XII, John XXIII and Paul VI on peace, justice and development, in view of the danger constituted by the growing gap between rich and poor nations, conscious that traditional attitudes towards investment and trade cannot lessen it, the participants in the Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate:

Appeal to all national and international institutions, as well as to public opinion, to bring about a radical transformation of world economy mainly in the flow of capital and in the structures of world trade.

With this goal in mind they ask:

1) That between now and 1970 the governments of developed countries introduce an integrated strategy designed to stabilize export earnings in the developing countries, and to reverse their declining share of world trade.

2) That the *government aid* from developed countries be free from political and economic conditions leading to a new form of alienation on the part of young nations.

3) That between now and 1970 the governments of developed countries agree to transfer 1% of their *gross national product* in genuine capital assistance to the developing nations.

4) That the rich countries give their interest and attention to all the suggestions made by developing countries during the *Second Conference of Trade and Development* that will take place in New Delhi in 1968.

5) That *developing countries* develop as much as possible their natural resources and plan the necessary legal, administrative and social reforms and structural changes.

II In view of the agonizing problem of *demographic expansion* they recall:

1) the duties of states to have a policy that is realistic and respectful of man, in particular of responsible freedom of the couple, but that such a policy should not be an excuse for a delay in development, nor a substitute for efforts to realize it, and free from any geopolitical intervention of the great powers.

2) the social duty of husband and wife towards responsible parenthood.

3) the duty of Christians to participate in the efforts towards education.

4) the very strong feeling among Christian lay people that there is need for a clear stand by the *teaching authorities of the Church* which would focus on fundamental moral and spiritual values, while leaving the choice of scientific and technical means for achieving responsible parenthood to parents acting in accordance with their Christian faith and on the basis of medical and scientific consultation.

III As Christian lay people they ask in particular:

1) a deep *theological reflexion* on creation, on Christ's role in creation and on the new creation;

2) that lay people participate not only to the diffusion of the 'social doctrine of the Church' indispensable for development, but also in its elaboration, mainly by bringing the necessary anthropological base, result of their technical competence and of their experience;

3) a *spirituality* which will provide laymen engaged in the struggle for development and the change of social structures the necessary spirit and dynamism based on the unity between temporal and spiritual, Church and world life and faith;

4) that the Church to be truly "sign of unity" among men (*Lumen Gentium*) play a prophetic role in men's concern for international and social justice; fight against the continuation of wealthy and poor within the Church itself; renounce to a standard of living which is often a counter-sign; encourage the collaboration of an active working together of Christians of every denomination; ensure an integration in the structures of the Church, in order to form a real people of God, of a participation and a democratic representation of the masses who play a leading role in development;

5) that within the Church the *organisms* for fostering development be distinct from those that have a charitable function.

6) that the organizations of the lay apostolate encourage and form in the developing countries committed Christians, who accept a voluntary commitment for a limited period in the service of development, and that they also help in forming Christians and non-Christians in those skills and techniques which are indispensable to the work of development.

7) that the Churches and private institutions, both in developing and developed countries, revise their programmes by establishing close co-operation in their realization; co-ordinate their programmes with those of international organizations; give greater attention to the formation of all those who are engaged in works of development, and co-operate in establishing and promoting grass roots communities. ●

RESOLUTION ON RACISM

IN A WORLD TRYING to realize its full human brotherhood and solidarity through the acceptance of responsibility and the setting up of structures at the service of men, as urged in *Populorum Progressio*, nothing so contradicts this great effort as the continued practice of racial discrimination. It denies men and women the requirements to live up to their full dignity. It divides communities and nations. It retards development and stifles the action of human resources and initiatives. It presages violence and even war. It is a constant menace to Peace.

We assembled in the Third Congress of the Laity condemn all forms of racial discrimination. We ask the magisterium of the Church to continue to make clear without equivocation that racism is totally unacceptable, contrary to all human values, and to the Christian faith. We urge Christians all over the world to put into practice this teaching of the Church.

We appeal to all authorities and international institutions to be concerned about this problem, and therefore to intensify their action for the eradication of this situation.

We further appeal to all men of good will to involve themselves in campaigns, information meetings and positive action in lay life which will seek to defend and promote the equal dignity and rights of all men. ●

RESOLUTION ON LAY ORGANISATION

WE, THE HEADS OF DELEGATIONS to the Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate Propose:

1— That this Congress express its profound gratitude to the Holy Father for the organization of the Council of the Laity,

2— That this Congress respectfully request the Holy Father to enlarge the composition of the Council of the Laity in accordance with democratic processes so that it may become truly representative of the multiple cultures, organizations and forms of the Lay Apostolate in all parts of the world, taking into account a just geographical representation,

3— That the enlarged Council of the Laity accelerate the democratic establishment of structures of the Laity at all levels across the world,

4— That all delegates to this Congress labour immediately and consistently for the democratic implementation at all levels of the purposes of the proposed lay councils throughout the world upon their return to their respective countries. ●

RESOLUTION ON WOMEN

CONSIDERING THAT BAPTISM, incorporating human beings (both men and women) in Christ, constitutes them "persons" in the Church without distinction of any kind,

Remembering St. Paul's words (Gal. III. 28) condemning all discrimination between human beings,

Convinced that woman's place in the Church depends on social and cultural circumstances and that her status in most countries is evolving towards complete equality of rights between man and woman.

The Third World Congress for the Lay Apostolate wishes to express its desire that women be granted by the Church full rights and responsibilities as Christians, and a serious doctrinal study be undertaken into the place of women within the sacramental order and within the Church.

Furthermore, the Congress requests:

- 1— that competent women will be included in all Pontifical Commissions,
- 2— that qualified women be consulted on the revision of Canon which concern women, in order to give full recognition to the woman's dignity and to all women greater possibilities of service to the Church. ●

RESOLUTION ON OPPRESSION

THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS for the Lay Apostolate, meeting in Rome, basing itself on the Gospel, and on Christian tradition as expressed by Vatican II concerning the right of each man and of human groups to have and develop freely their own personality in a given society;

noting that everywhere in today's world persons and groups are suffering oppression in the political and economic sphere, as well as in the religious, social and cultural spheres;

urgently calls to mind the Christian's duty to side with those who are oppressed, regardless of their race, ethnics, religion, ideology and social class;

requests those Christians who through their geographic location are closest to the oppressed, to come to the assistance of their brothers; to participate actively in their efforts to achieve freedom from oppression; and to take part in any action that seems to bring about their emancipation;

requests those Christians who cannot directly influence the situation to give witness to their solidarity with those being oppressed, by giving them moral and material support, and by using their influence whether through the U.N., or through governments, or through appropriate international bodies, whether non-governmental, Christian or non-Christian. ●

Thom Kersteins

God's People on Man's Journey

JEAN FOURASTIE ENDS his latest book "Essais de Morale Prospective"⁽¹⁾ with the following sentences: "Whether one believes or not in the divinity of Christ, one of the sources of our civilization we find in Him, and that source is still alive. Allow me therefore to judge what can help me to live".

Fourastié's opinion is typical for a growing part of the world which is calling upon the Churches to make their contribution in the search for what constitutes the best way to live, grow and progress.

In this search we committed Christians are co-participants, whilst at the same time being challenged, and this is why we are meeting here. We are here for perception, penetration, persuasion and pleasure.

Perception: for we perceive that Vatican II made a special appeal to the layman, and we therefore need insight and vision, courage and endurance, to shoulder our new responsibilities. This requires from us an opening of doors to let in fresh air. It also demands the fulfilment of a number of exigencies by us personally, as well as by the institutional Church.

Penetration: for we realize that the world is once again in a process of mutation, and in such periods pressing questions are put to us as Christians. That was why Vatican Council II was summoned. The follow-up period of this Council, which brought with it a wealth of new thinking, demands an open dialogue with and between the laity. The dialogue has started on several levels in different countries and continents, but now we have come here to help in dialogue with each other, to penetrate deeper into the mystery and demands of our faith. We realize full well that God's plan is inscrutable and that each of us must be responsive to the light of the Holy Spirit, trusting to make thus a contribution to the whole. We should also realize that the increasingly complex questions with which mankind is faced do not call for simple answers. Therefore we should approach this Congress with two virtues which are easy to acquire but nevertheless seldom practised: those of modesty and openness towards others.

Persuasion: for we must realize that notwithstanding Vatican II and the perspective of openness it has

brought, a good deal of mankind either ignores the Church, distrusts it as an element of power, or disqualifies it as an increasingly irrelevant and outdated institution. The first group we have to persuade that it is *not force but service* we are interested in, and that we are not only willing, but capable, of serving by our witness to the transcendental. The second group we have to convince that the Church is truly involved in temporal concerns and to persuade "that the People of God and the whole human family of which they form part are of assistance to each other—that the Church's religious mission is by the same token a human one"⁽²⁾. To be able to play our part we must finally persuade the Church Hierarchy that we are with them, not as meek children, but as responsible collaborators.

Pleasure: for what greater pleasure can there be than to congregate together, from all parts of the world around the rock of Petrus, in a spirit of humility, humanity and with a sense of humour, so that the Holy Ghost will be better able to help us all. This spirit demands a willingness not only to overcome the language barrier which separates us, but also the social and cultural barriers which keep us apart. Only if we are willing to listen with our hearts will we achieve an exchange of mind. In this way our Congress should become a living example of the "See how they love one another" or to put it in modern terms one prolonged "love-in".

OUR STATUS

We are here as representatives of a myriad of groups and institutions representing the Catholic communities in our respective countries, or national or international Catholic organizations. What we all have in common is our commitment to Christ and our membership of a Church founded by Him. This means that we must not repeat the failures of the past and consider our own group, organization or method, as the most effective, or the most authentic one in the eyes of the Church. We must stop behaving like the man who, on his wedding day, after having duly carried his bride over the threshold of his house said to her:

"Mary, you heard what the priest said this morning you and I are one, and I'm the one". We must also go beyond the sharp distinction drawn in the past in our action between the spiritual and the temporal. Christians should realize that their spiritual and temporal vocations are directed towards the same work. As Maritain puts it: "The temporal vocation concerns the object of the work, the spiritual vocation the way or manner in which it is accomplished; the spirit in which it is undertaken"⁽³⁾.

We are therefore here as committed Christians and not as representatives of institutions, organizations, nations or continents, social classes or races, but as men who want to impregnate themselves better with the responsibility they have as men redeemed by Christ, towards Him, His Church and the world in which it is embedded.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote in 1932:

"He alone can believe in God's kingdom who journeys, who loves the world and God at the same time"⁽⁴⁾.

We who are studying the theme: "God's People on Man's Journey", must keep this in mind during the Congress. What we want to talk about essentially is our life as men and our life as Christians, and these two dimensions we do not want to separate but rather see in relation to one another. Therefore in this Congress we must first of all concentrate on the problem of men today, who have to be dynamic and forward-thinking in a world which constantly puts new challenges to them. We must try to discover and analyse these new challenges and see what they mean to us in our relationship with God.

At the same time we must see and this will also constitute our contribution to the post Council Church period how we can answer these challenges as Christians. In this the new insights opened up by Vatican II should help us, but there are fields which have not been treated by the Council, or not sufficiently in depth, and which we must look into. We should be particularly attentive to those tasks which we as laymen must assume, and which do answer the real needs of modern man. For instance this might mean that we must make our contribution to what I would term the "democratization of theology". By this I do not mean a vulgarization of theology in the sense of adapting its formulations to the language of the world, however necessary that might be. I do mean that we must put questions to the theologians, questions which are not necessarily the same as those of the clerics, nor put in the same form or seen from the same aspect. The problem for the Church, if it does not want to fail in its message, is to try to answer the true questions posed "in vivo" and not "in vitro", in men's hearts.

These questions often coincide with those put by our fellow men, who are not Christian or not religious. Questions about war and peace, about a world divided into a small opulent part and a vast part wallowing in misery, about the increasing alienation of men in an economy of abundance, about racial prejudice and the absence of solidarity, about the behaviour of a youth which is not given worthwhile enough causes to fight for. Modern man wants to see things from the view point of his daily existence; what he is in such a situation, what God is and what He has to reveal to the whole of mankind about Himself and man. Modern man seems to be very interested in a theology in which we can all collaborate.

The search for such answers, for a response to such challenges, is urgent. If it is not undertaken we will quickly and increasingly see Christians slipping out of the door to join a world where they will feel honestly more at ease. If we do not attempt to answer those questions, then we must not be amazed if humanity considers us laymen as useful as hippies and our clerics as interesting as the bird in the cuckoo clock.

THE CHALLENGES

Therefore I now want to say something about the challenges the world is facing and what they mean for us as Christians. Secondly what are the conditions we must fulfil to be able to answer these challenges, and thirdly what kind of responses we should search for.

If we want to analyse man's situation today, the first phenomenon which strikes us is that the mood of the world is for change. To be effective we must therefore try to show a certain perspicacity in what these changes are leading us to, and how we should behave accordingly.

Changes we see on all levels. Let us simply enumerate some of them.

On the cultural plane:

1. The rapid rise in the number of people being educated and the length and quality of education.
2. The breakthrough of women in modern society, with peer relationships on the civic and social planes.
3. The breakthrough of youth. The phenomenon of teens and tweens, with their own style, language and code of behaviour.
4. The breakthrough of the non-white races, which rightly are no longer content with living in a white man's world and are claiming as blacks, browns or yellows their rightful place under the sun.

On the socio-economic plane

1. The era of rising expectations which leads to the

welfare state in Western society and effervescent societies in the developing countries.

2. The scientific-technological breakthroughs. It is estimated that at the moment 106 major breakthroughs in industry in the United States alone are in operation. The time lag between the invention and putting into production of the motor-car was 40 years, the aeroplane 14 years, television 10 years, space-craft 5 years. The new technical civilization is on the march also in the developing countries, but with the abandoning of the ox-cart and the spinning wheel we also see the jettisoning of a spiritual concept of life which cannot be replaced by tractors or computers.
3. The growing gap between rich and poor countries, the world being more and more divided between a small but rich northern part and a vast but relatively poor southern part, with all the problems this entails, as is masterly set forth in the last Encyclical, "Populorum Progressio".

Politically:

We note the rise of new nations, the groping for greater entities (common markets). The influence of world opinion in political affairs, the striving for democratic forms of government, the growth of world institutions, like the U.N. and its specialized agencies.

Religiously:

We note the fading away of mythological religions—the rise of secularization as well as atheism, the growth of ecumenism.

CHANGE

It is understandable that many people are disconcerted by all these changes, that they want to withdraw and reflect in peace in order to adapt themselves, but times does not stand still. A Christian, however, should not be afraid of change, he should welcome it for it is the logical consequence of our continuous efforts in the ongoing process of creation. The whole history of the Chosen People shows that they were future oriented people, led by God to unknown places. In addition let us not forget history, let us not confuse the new with the forgotten. Change has always been with us and the churches have often played an enormous role in it, as at the end of the Roman Empire. It is as difficult to compare the influence of change in the past and now, as it is to measure the intensity of your headache and mine. What is true, however, is that the great people of the past were precisely those who were sensitive to change and who did look ahead. Therefore we must be in the vanguard and not at the rear, so that we can determine in time the character of those

challenges put before us Christians and how we must respond.

A definitely new phenomenon of our age is that, thanks to science and technology, we have acquired more power than ever before, and that we could do much more with it than we are doing. This might well be the reason for the restlessness of our times, the scurrying around to get answers to questions that are not yet clear, to get a grip on them to be able to handle them. Is this not the explanation of the era of rising expectations? Those of us who are well off for instance in the West feel that we can do better still, and those in the developing countries who have nothing perceive that they could share in the good. The world is looking to the future, and this is nothing new, for history has shown us that people have always dreamed of the future and future values. "But all Utopias have postulated a future world in which past values would be fully realized. Even our contemporary anti-Utopias, like 'Brave New World' or '1984' derive their horror from a point by point violation of the values that we know and cherish now" (6).

VALUES

Today we notice a shift in attitude, an eagerness to reconsider the whole question of values. For we are beginning to notice that the values the ends of our society are determined to a great extent by the tools of society, and the tools among which we must count science and technology are quite new. It seems as if the world is looking for a renewal of values, an up dating which will not take into account only the lessons of the past, but also the possibilities of the future. It gives greater importance to evolution, to sincerity coupled with realism. In our traditional value system great emphasis was placed on obedience and resignation. These values remain, but they will be given a deeper significance and a new light will be thrown upon them. This up-dating of the value system cannot come merely from science. Some people believed so in the 19th century, but the horrors of the recent past have sufficiently discredited this expectation. Neither can it come from Marxism.

Could Christian morality help? It has passed an extremely important test, that of 2,000 years of existence and progress, and Vatican II as well as certain studies now under way show that it can and will evolve. I believe that we must help in this. We need to revive the Christian code of ethics in a world in which increasingly people will grow up in smaller families than before, living in larger cities than before, enjoying more wealth than before. For too long we have considered

Christian principles as our safety belts, not realizing that if we do not strap them to the human body we might still find ourselves sailing through the car window.

PRE-CONDITIONS

However—and here I come to the second part of the Congress—a prerequisite for our contribution to the changes taking place is a change in our personal behaviour, as lay people, as well as a change in the climate in which we work. The great new insight which Vatican II has opened up for us, and which Paul VI is developing is, it seems to me, that it has changed the diptych of being in the world, but not of the world, into a triptych, through service of the world. If this thinking could be further developed, life for a Christian would become more exacting perhaps, but so much more gratifying, rewarding and interesting.

It would become more gratifying, because we could become more easily convinced that in whatever situation we find ourselves and in whatever profession we work we can contribute daily to the ongoing creation of the world. It would become more rewarding, because we could then convince humanity that we would not be the drop-outs if the going gets rough, with the motive that after all we are not of this world. Has this not been our attitude towards the demographical explosion in some parts of the world, the terrifying scientific developments in the field of nuclear energy, medicine or cybernetics, or the dehumanizing aspects of totalitarian regimes? It would become more interesting because it might lead to a breakdown of clericalism and anti-clericalism on which we now lose so much energy, and replace this by teamwork. Certainly life would become more exacting for a committed Christian as we would be obliged to speak out, to try to read instantaneously the signs of the times, and God's design, so as to bring them into harmony. This might imply having to say no to the world, but then it would be a no from someone whose motives are clear and therefore easier to accept.

A development of the notion of a Church in service to the world leads directly to a question about the autonomy of the committed Christian. The layman today needs freedom; that freedom which comes from a spirit made free in the Evangelical and Paulinian sense of the word. The freedom of an adult and responsible person in the psychological sense. In the past we must admit that many Christians felt alienated on being faced with a pre-fabricated concept of the Church in which their role and function was all spelled out in the job description made by the clerics. In this the function of fund-raiser appeared all too often, but

that of thinker all too seldom. Vatican II has realized that it is not the cleric who must dictate to the layman the way to act, just as in the promotion of women it is not men who ought to dictate how women should become personalities. It is women themselves who should experiment in all walks of life the conditions of an authentic liberty. The decree on the Apostolate of the Laity states: "Led by the light of the gospel and the mind of the Church, and motivated by Christian love, let them the laymen act directly and definitively in the temporal sphere" (6). This autonomy embraces also a freedom of speech and enquiry. Regarding freedom of speech, I plead for a constructive and not a destructive freedom, whether the latter is of an ultra-progressive character which criticizes all tradition, or an ultra-conservatism, which places itself out of this world and is aggressive from fear of the world. Freedom of enquiry does not mean creating noisy busy-bodies, but doing away with the idea that many questions in the Church are outside the interest, competence or scope of lay people. This concept of autonomy, freedom and responsibility, is very closely linked with that of authority. In the Church, as in worldly institutions such as the army or industry, most people agree that the responsibility for decision-taking must remain with one person on the appropriate level. But the decision-making cannot and should not remain the exclusive domain of one. It must be the result of a process of consultation and cross-fertilization, linked with data-gathering.

The rightness of this we see in the Vatican Council's decision about collegiality. But it should not be applied only on the horizontal level between bishops but also on the vertical level between bishops and priests, between Hierarchy and God's People. This autonomy and freedom which we need to be able to take our responsibility should go together with a great effort to improve the lay clerical relationship. For too long in many of our Churches this relationship has been marred by clericalism, and its twin, anti-clericalism.

COMMON TASK

If we together make up the People of God, with different responsibilities, then there is no reason why we should not arrive at team work. Although endowed with different gifts and responsibilities, we can respect and learn from each other. If things today are not right, it is easy to put the blame on the other person, but we are also guilty. If, in former times, in certain areas, our habit was to put our priests on pedestals so that they would not be too contaminated by the world, which allowed us to complain that they did not know the realities of modern life, and were too paternalistic,

it now looks as if we only want them to be completely and utterly immersed in worldly things, which will consequently allow us to complain that we no longer hear the word of God in any sermon, or that priests, because they dress as laymen, want to run everything as clergymen. Let us not forget that the cleric was and should remain the germ bearer of faith 'par excellence'. However, this should not constitute a reason for us to isolate him or prevent him from experimenting with new ways to spread the faith. In the clerical Church we see a growing manpower problem. Vocations for the priesthood as well as for brothers and nuns are going down, at least in Europe. If this is only a temporary problem, or if other areas of the world were to see a quick growth of vocations, then the situation might not become drastic. It would not be a bad thing for European Christians to be one day administered by priests from India or Africa or Latin America. However, today we have a problem almost everywhere, and more could be done to avoid the waste in manpower in our Churches in Europe and North America.

ROLE OF PRIESTS

I honestly feel that the world today is less in need of the diplomatic priests, the fund-raising priests, the singing or Beate priests, than of the praying priests, administering the sacraments, who find in their spiritual armoury enough resources to move with the times and sometimes to lead them, and who have that humbleness of heart and faithfulness which mark them as true disciples of Christ. Let us leave the stars to the public relations man, who makes them live briefly enough. A more rational employment of clerics can, however, only be achieved if laymen and clerics can arrive at team work, and if laymen are willing and capable of renouncing worldly careers and engaging themselves more actively in the Institutional Church. Are we willing?

This leads me to a further condition of change and one which concerns each of us directly. Witness on our part demands on the one hand that we make a serious effort to ensure that our religious culture is on a par with our secular formation. There is no more sorrowful sight than the layman who has attained a far-reaching specialization in his professional life, but who, in his religious culture, has remained at the 5th grade of primary school. His witness is likely to become contra-productive as he looks like a dressed-up gorilla in God's earthly paradise.

On the other hand, it is an equally necessary condition of the layman that he be competent in his professional field, whether he is a bricklayer, doctor, metallurgic engineer or a radio commentator. In our

world to be nice is never a sufficient excuse for being incompetent, for then we might want to appear as tigers but we are in fact cows that nobody is interested in milking. We forget only too often that the one thing this world of ours is crying out for is competence, mixed with that wisdom which comes from religious contemplation. To help in the creation of the conditions which will allow us to become adult Christians who have the competence to serve modern civilization and its redemption, we need institutions and organizations which must be forward-looking and open to change. I cannot possibly agree with those who feel that the Church does not need institutional forms to incorporate itself in civilization.

In theory it is very attractive to speak of the animating spirit which should replace Christian organizations. However I am afraid that this mentality belongs to medievalist dreamers, who should study why totalitarian governments, whether from the right or the left, have always started with initially suppressing Christian lay organizations before moving directly against the Church Hierarchy. I am with Daniélou if he says that: "The proclaiming of the gospel message demands publishing houses and the media of press, radio and films. The formation of Christians demands schools, youth movements, adult groups. Maintaining a place in the world of ideas demands research centres and universities"⁽⁷⁾. This does not mean, and history proves it, that without organizations nothing can be done. We have amongst us, and I would particularly like to salute them for they are an example and inspiration to us all, committed Christians from countries where all forms of the apostolate are strongly hampered by oppressive governmental measures. Similarly we have also delegates from countries and I sympathize with them equally where the hierarchy does not seem to realize the importance of the organized apostolate in the temporal sphere.

OPENNESS

However the condition sine qua non of lay organizations or institutions is that they are flexible and forward-looking and open to change, for the aim of the organization can never be its very existing. One field in which they can and should experiment is that of ecumenism, as we shall see in our discussions. We already note today, and this might be more so in the future, that organizations involved in the temporal sphere sometimes hold opposite views, which is why they cannot involve the Church as an institution directly in their work. Nevertheless, their activities can be of great use to the Church, as they can bring new ideas and thinking to the fore on subjects which require an

ongoing knowledge of intricate situations or facts, provided that all sides are in favour of a dialogue with the common good as its aim. In the future such organizations will grow and we must start getting used to the idea that in our Church on certain points we must agree to differ.

Much of the tension existing today, and many of the mistakes made in the past, can be attributed to a failure in communications. This does not only mean that lines of communication between the hierarchical Church and the laity must be established, but also that we are mutually willing to communicate. Again in this organizations and institutions of different kinds can help greatly. This problem is not only a local or national one; it might be of greater dimension on an international level. The Church, since Vatican II, is moving very rapidly into an era of change and experimentation. The measure of change and the kind of experiments will depend greatly on regional circumstances. To safeguard the unity in diversity of the Church demands thorough information and knowledge of many complex situations. We therefore rightly rejoice in the efforts now under way to set up advisory councils, comprising committed Christians, at parish, inter-parochial and diocesan levels, and we are grateful for the creation of the Pontifical Commission "Justice and Peace" and the Laity Council. It will be extremely important, after perhaps an experimental period, that democratic procedures should be followed regarding selection of candidates, terms of office, meetings, etc. This Congress might well set the tone for such democratic procedures, in that nobody should hesitate to speak his mind, but that all should be willing to give way to majority opinion. In this regard we might draw attention to the experience of the Conference of International Catholic Organizations, whose activities threaten to be over-shadowed somewhat by the new institutions now created.

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE

I now come to my last point. Whilst we are updating ourselves and our instruments we should try to give valid answers to the questions put to us. Let me formulate some and you will be discussing many others.

Must we not develop a new economic philosophy which is neither liberalistic nor socialistic, but which has as its finality men redeemed by Christ and collaborating in His design of ongoing creation a philosophy which will strike a balance between economic efficiency and human fulfilment?

Is there a morality in international trade and commerce, as there is on the national level, and without which we cannot overcome the injustices now exist-

ing in the relationship between the developing and developed countries?

If "Gaudium et Spes" states: "If a person is in extreme necessity, he has the right to take from the riches of others what he himself needs"⁽⁸⁾ and "Populorum Progressio": "If the world is made to furnish each individual with the means of livelihood and the instruments for his growth and progress, each man has therefore the right to find in the world what is necessary for himself"⁽⁹⁾ what then should our attitude be towards revolutionary movements in different parts of the world? Must we see revolution as the consequence of an illusion lost about evolution, or revolution as an illusion of evolution?

Is racial discrimination a sin to be confessed?

What new fields are open for Christians in the "Secular City" about which Harvey Cox wrote such an interesting book?⁽¹⁰⁾

Must we forget the values of meditation and contemplation for a world in a hurry and substitute the psychiatrist for the parish priest?

What ideals does Christianity offer to modern youth?

If there is "no alternative to peace" and "development is the new name for peace", what do we do to ensure the conditions for such a peace?

Let me go briefly into the last two questions. There is an increasing danger that the Christian Churches, especially in the Western nations, will be ignored by youth. Our youth has presumably no more nor no less faith than the youth of the past. However, it is better educated, better nourished, and has less financial worries than its forefathers had. It is also, I believe, more sincere as well as a bit more cynical about big theories and lofty ideals which are not seriously practised. We note this clearly in the Communist run countries of Eastern Europe as well as in Russia, where we find youth groping for an authentic humanism which puts man at the centre of things. With us in Western Europe we notice somewhat the same process. Young people do not turn away from Christianity because they find it too exacting, but because they find it too "bourgeois", not demanding enough, not capable of galvanizing the generosity of youth for worthwhile causes. They get bored with life, but remain very sincere in their search for authenticity. Therefore some of them turn to pseudo-religious experiences, as in Zen, or to L.S.D. or psychedelics.

MORE RADICALLY EVANGELICAL

What we should offer in our Christian institutions is a more radical evangelical approach, especially regarding the problems of peace and development. The American Peace Corps has shown that youth is willing

to serve its fellow men; can we not invent a similar service? Paul VI has now twice launched an appeal to create a world fund, to be made up of part of the money spent on arms, to relieve the most destitute of this world. What reactions have we had so far? Praise in the papers and pooh-ha-ha's in the chancelleries. If, however, we were to mobilize our Christians to induce the governments of a number of nations to start giving the example, something might be accomplished. A disarmament of the nations in Latin America which have such a great Christian tradition cannot possibly upset the world balance, but might make enormous resources available for the development of their countries. The same could be said about the Benelux countries in which Christian parties play such a big role in governments. Furthermore, in some countries the possibility now exists for young people, if they are willing, to serve in development projects in order to be exempted from military service. However, we note that many of these young people are frustrated because they do not know to whom they should turn, or because organizations are unable to pay their travel or a minimum salary.

Could not this Congress support efforts in this field? Could we not slowly but surely move to a state where compulsory military service would be replaced by compulsory social service, for men as well as for women. Men to be available to fight against poverty at home or abroad, girls to be available for social services, caring for the aged, the physically handicapped and other categories of our modern marginal men. Is it a fool's vision to believe that maybe if we start, a situation could arise whereby, if our children were to be asked: "Where did you serve?" they would not have to reply: "In the 15th Division" or "In the Royal Navy", but could state: "I served in a hospital in the Congo, a school in Cochabamba or a road building project in Cambodia".

- (1) 'Essais de Morale Prospective', Jean Fourastié, Editions Gauthier, 1966.
- (2) 'Gaudium et Spes', par. 11.
- (3) 'Le Paysan de la Garonne', Jacques Maritain, pp. 304-305. Desclée de Brouwer, 1966.
- (4) 'Dein Reich Komme', Dietrich Bonhoeffer.
- (5) Talk on 'Managing the Modern World'. Address to NCEM by Emmanuel Mesthene. Chicago, January 1967.
- (6) 'Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity', par. 7.
- (7) Article by Jean Daniélou, S.J. in 'The Critic', June/July 1967.
- (8) 'Gaudium et Spes', par. 69.
- (9) 'Populorum Progressio', par. 22.
- (10) 'The Secular City', Harvey Cox, MacMillan Company, New York, 1965.

On Reflection

(continued from page 11)

The Church shows us a motherly love by spiritual care and protection but also by pointing the way towards Christian maturity.

There have been times in the long history of the Church when the protective maternal role nearly ousted the fostering role, so delaying Christian adulthood and independence. Human mothers have constantly to watch themselves lest they become over-protective and so mar and retard the development of their children. Especially in these days, the Church is also watchful of this occupational hazard threatening all mothers. Wisely, the hierarchical Church is on her guard because there is ample historical evidence to suggest that she has sometimes acted towards her children more like an unholy despot than a holy mother.

The main task of the Church is to lead us to her bride, Christ. Indeed, the Church does not exist in her own right; she exists because Christ willed it so. Love for Christ is the supreme norm for all Christians but this love can be side-tracked and diminished if the Church encourages—or even tolerates—a mother-fixation on the part of her children. This constitutes a crippling barrier to spiritual maturation. It can lead to a sort of religious Peter-Panism. The simplicity enjoined by the Gospel is no warrant for us to remain spiritual infants all our life.

A close look at the liturgy underlines the maternal function of the Church. The liturgy's stress on God's care, community, togetherness and common destiny most aptly reflects the true motherhood of the Church far more than, let us say, dubious Mariological devotions and press-buttons novenas. Fortunately the whole spirit and movement of Vatican II rejects an inward-looking, stunting motherhood in favour of an outward-going, creative motherhood which trains men for real life. Pope John summarised this motherhood in the opening paragraph of his encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*: 'Mother and teacher of all nations, the universal Church has been instituted by Jesus Christ so that all who in the long course of centuries come to her loving embrace may find fullness of higher life and a guarantee of salvation'.

Letters

WHITE-BLACK CONTRAST

Sir,

Your remark in your front-page article of the Jan/Feb. issue: "that there is urgent necessity for open discussion in depth in all fields ..." does give me hope

(against actual experience with other publications which claimed to be liberal), that you might publish comment contrary to your own beliefs.

I don't know whether the simultaneous publication of articles by the Rev. M. P. Mkhathshwa ('Africanisation of the Church') and P. Goller ('The Church Divided') was coincidence or design. Their juxtaposition appears to me most revealing!

Let us first consider P. Goller's article: leaving aside the attacks on all and sundry, including the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop McGeough, the local hierarchy ("Apostles at sleep"), the Jesuits and Paulists (running away from the problems), Marist Brothers and Nuns (spending disproportionate amounts of money for the sole benefit of Europeans and not giving enough attention to the Non-Europeans), the Catholic Laity (accused of "indifference", "ignorance", "selfishness" and the Dutch Dominicans (who really are the limit, "having rapidly lost power to distinguish between the legitimate values and aspirations of a minority group and the illegitimate exercise of power by the nationalist core of that group ..."). Oh, Yes! P. Goller did not forget the "Overseas Catholics" who failed in their duty, "Christian responsibility", to boycott Rhodesia.

The stated premise of Goller's article is: That the overall life of the (Catholic) Church does little to produce adult, responsible Christians, able to deny the false values of South African Society. These are: "Racial prejudice", "rigid separation of communities on the basis of colour", "absence of Christian social and political consciousness". What P. Goller advocates: A socialistic, non-racial society.

THE AFRICAN APPROACH

Now what are the Rev. M. P. Mkhathshwa's complaints? His basic complaint is pointedly summarised in the headline of his article: "Africanisation of the Church" and by the sentence "Making the church go native if you like".

He quotes: "Its (the church's) Bishops, Clergy and Religious must be chiefly local", "the message of Christ ... must be mediated ... through the minds and ways of those who are from the people ...". "Local" for him very clearly means not: all the Catholics resident in South Africa or Southern Africa, but for him the term "local" means "making the Church go native". His complaint is not that the control of the Church is vested in these or those (unsuitable (?) individuals. His complaint is that the control of the

Church is vested in "white" hands (from "Bishops, Pastors, Deans, Bishop's Secretaries, Rectors of seminaries, the lot"). He states: "We would like to see the church become more and more African in outlook, life and personnel. The African clergy will in turn determine liturgy, theology, means of self-support in a manner more intelligible to African psychology". And "In one way apartheid is a godsend, because whether we like it or not, we shall be compelled to hand over responsibility to Africans who are resident in the Bantustans. Unfortunately this is not the indigenisation that the Church requires". He concludes his article: "The winds of change are blowing, not only outside the Church but, equally, they are howling inside her as well. I hope the authorities will carry on the struggle for Africanisation much more vigorously and with more determination. Not because it has become fashionable in some parts of Africa to "blacken" the Church, but because the good of the Church demands it".

P. Goller exhorts the Catholic Church as Organisation and the Catholic laity to plump for an egalitarian, socialist, non-racial society within the religious framework of the Catholic Church and within the political framework of a non-racial state. In short: the only politically acceptable philosophy for a true Christian is that of the S.A. Liberal Party.

Rev. M. P. Mkhathshwa (He and I are from the same Diocese and I am willing to vouch for his intellectual sincerity) most clearly repudiates such an approach! For him the Church is a "foreign club", a "Pious club" as long as she does not become "more and more African in outlook, life and personnel".

The conclusions to be drawn from these two articles appear obvious to me. The vast majority of the European Catholics do not want integration (non-racial society), otherwise P. Goller had no reason to "tear the skin" of the Catholic laity. The African does not want it either!

And I? My sympathy goes to the African priest's approach! He wants a church, Catholic in its content and African in its outlook, life and personnel. By the same token he will grant me my Church, Catholic in content and European in its outlook, life and personnel.

I am sure P. Goller (and his spiritual fellow-brethren) will ask: "How can you be "Catholic" and at the same time "separate"? My answer is: United in Christ and the Church he founded (e.g. common dioceses) with mutual help and understanding but separate (I repeat again) in outlook and life. Only once we acknowledge the obvious fact that there are

fundamental, *inherent* intellectual differences amongst races (not "superior" or "inferior" but different just the same) and adapt our approach accordingly, will there be a chance for a universal Christian Brotherhood from community to community and across international boundaries!

That is basically Rev. Father Mkhathswa's plea and I second that. ●

DR. K-H. GRIBNITZ, *Barberton.*

AFRICANISATION

Sir,—Concerning the article 'Africanisation of the Church', I should like to draw your attention to some facts which the writer did not bring out clearly. I think he has simplified matters somewhat. For instance, it has been shown by experience that the African clergy have not taken the initiative, on the whole, to Africanise the church. Especially where they have been left to themselves, there has often been strong opposition to such changes. This attitude certainly has complex roots. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged as a fact. It is an illusion to assume that Africanisation will come simply by handing over to African clergy, no less than we can say that the European clergy have found the proper methods of pastoral work as demanded by our times in European parishes or that we can safely say that they will find it merely by the fact that they are Europeans. Much more is demanded to achieve this goal.

Fr. Mkhathswa also suggests that European priests should serve under black clergy and describes it as a daring thought. Is it not possible that this is being done in some parts of the country and that there is no opposition to this from the European clergy, especially not from the younger clergy?

With most of the other points raised in his article I would wholeheartedly agree.

Following upon your appeal in the last issue of CHALLENGE, please find enclosed a cheque for R24. This is money which I have received for mission purposes. Judging from what CHALLENGE has done to me to keep me spiritually alert and to stir my conscience when there has been danger that it be dulled, I think this money is well spent on a missionary effort of the utmost importance. ●

EUROPEAN MISSIONARY.

PUBLISH AND BE LOVED?

Sir,—I felt very sad, too, when I read Mr. D. A. Montgomery's letter in the last issue of CHALLENGE. He was so sorry to be obliged to discontinue his sub-

scription to this paper which he had found so consoling at times in spite of certain things of which he disapproved. But now the bad certainly outweighed the good. Mark Collier had administered a slap in the face to the Holy Father in his article *Shalom*.

We have all heard so much criticism (adverse) of the Sjaloom group that perhaps Mark Collier thought we should know just what it was they were doing.

The Holy Father had condemned any celebration of the Eucharist, as we understand it i.e. in the Mass, at these suppers. I don't know if that had ever been done. One can understand a certain nervousness in this regard resulting in complaints to the Holy Father. But a highly respected Catholic lady told me some months ago of her attendance at these suppers and there was no use of the words of consecration, so presumably no intention of celebrating Mass. She had gone to this supper with the express intention of finding out what happened, and fully resolved, she told me, to walk out if there was any suggestion of a consecration of the bread and wine.

That the spirit of love which is the essence of the Eucharist should be sought with such beautiful earnestness in these days of terrible strife and tension should surely have been one of the 'consoling' items.

And in the 'scandalised climate' of these days Mr. Montgomery finds the publication of the majority report of the papal birth control commission an offence against good taste, not to mention another breach of loyalty to the Holy Father. Actually I did not bother to read the report in CHALLENGE because I had already read it in the TABLET, a Catholic magazine generally considered more conservative than CHALLENGE. I found it very fine reading, modest, balanced and breathing a spirit of charity. In direct contrast was the minority report, also published verbatim in the TABLET. I compelled myself to read this horrible document because I thought I should know what the supposedly more conservative element in the church thought on these matters. I admit that I was very nearly sick. I wondered if all moral theology was presented on the same disgusting level. I was even shocked that a respectable paper like the TABLET could print such things. But I didn't write in protest. I thought that if the Holy Father had to read that, we might as well suffer it too.

What does 'fallible' magisterium mean if not that magisterium which can be mistaken? Though, the principle involved here is surely one of growth, not of correction of error. No one is suggesting that the teaching of the church was at fault in the past. They

are merely asking that in this respect it be modified for the future in order to be more truly related to man as he is today.

And now, of course, my sorrow is that Mr. Montgomery won't be reading this letter.

UNSHOCKED CATHOLIC, *Pretoria.*

TOO LITTLE VARIETY

Sir,—I have just been reading your latest edition of CHALLENGE. It is so easy to criticize a magazine, or cancel one's subscription just because one does not agree with one or other of its articles. Periodically we read people's reasons for doing this in your correspondence section. I too do not agree with everything that is said in CHALLENGE. Who does? A review like CHALLENGE is read to stimulate thought and discussion and in any case it keeps me (at present away from S. Africa) informed about the religious cum socio-political scene — that is, from a different view point than most South African papers and magazines.

It's rather sad that people who disagree with CHALLENGE should discard it. These people, if they had the courage of their convictions, could be a real source of constructive dialogue within the review.

I think that the editor and the small number of people whose 'persistence and sacrifice' keep CHALLENGE going now that the novelty of it all has worn off, deserve a big vote of congratulations. Surely the aim of stirring consciences and provoking Christian and humanitarian ideals in South African society is being apostolic. It is very easy to be unaware of injustices and unconcerned about matters of vital importance when one is not personally affected oneself. We need to be reminded that it is precisely in being silent and unconcerned that we perpetrate these injustices and hardships.

On the other hand it is rather discouraging to learn that the magazine has only a thousand subscribers. Would it be possible to increase this number by expanding the review's field of interest? After all it does become a little monotonous to have little more to choose from than the hardy perennials of race, the family and the liturgy. Perhaps you could expand interest and readership by becoming more ecumenical or perhaps dealing more with other worthwhile topics like education and the apostolate both lay and clerical. When there is more to 'sell' in CHALLENGE then we as subscribers can become more apostolic by talking people into taking out a subscription or by giving subscriptions to people for presents. This would also do credit to the many really good articles in CHALLENGE

which deserve a much greater readership. As Robert Kennedy said in Johannesburg in 1966 — we must try and reach out to the unconverted and not just preach to the converted!

RICHARD EARLE, *London.*

TOO MUCH LECTURING

Sir, — I suppose that, in this benighted country of ours, your magazine does perform a service by keeping alive the voice of protest but

Is CHALLENGE an independent political manifesto or a religious monthly?

Is it possible to change people's opinions and prejudices by lecturing them? Is it possible to convert approximately three million Nationalists with their hangers-on to your type of Liberalism by circulating your paper among approximately a thousand subscribers who are already Liberal? Is it possible to influence people in general to accept that their ideas are wrong when they are either convinced they are right or don't care two hoots either way?

I do not think that our Government is forcing a political ideology down the throats of an unwilling electorate: I think that they are merely carrying out as a well-thought out policy, with all the machinery that it requires, a vague, woolly conviction of the majority (about 90%) of the electorate. I think that the South African voter is solidly behind the government, in the first place because the Nationalist Party has a colour policy which the official opposition has not — at least not a positive constructive one. I think that even those voters who do not agree with government policy accept it, because they doubt whether any other policy would work.

They are confirmed in this belief by the foolish clap-trap of half-baked African leaders like Dr. Kaunda and the savagery of out of hand Congo mobs, by the unreasoning and unreasonable 'Afro-Asian' walk-outs which make the 'might-be' liberals afraid of what might happen if such persons ever had a chance to get on top in South Africa.

For these, and other, reasons, I believe that any attempt to change the status quo through the medium of a political magazine is hopeless. It is necessary to convert, in other words, not merely three million Nationalists but countless millions of Afro-Asians as well.

The root cause of the Separation which is your review's main target is not some wrong idea in your readers's minds which a few good articles (like Mkhathshwa's) can correct: it is the self-centred nature

of unregenerate man. The solution is not one of informing the intellect, but of kindling love in strong hearts. The problem is not so much political as spiritual. I can see only one teaching that has any hope at all of changing men's hearts and that is the teaching of Jesus in the Gospels, especially Matthew. But, I submit from my own unregenerate and doubtless ill-informed point of view, the Christian churches — all of them — teach not Jesus' New Commandment of Love one another, but the traditions of men (Matt. xv. 7-9), starting from St. Paul, through Calvin etc., right up to the present day.

In enclosing my subscription for 1968, I wish to make it clear that it will probably be for this year only. ●

H. B. PHILLIPS, *Johannesburg.*

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Sir,—I had occasion to read Helen Suzman's article on The Terrorism Act when I saw your January-February issue in possession of one of the more ardent local protagonists of Socialist International.

I want to accentuate by referring to it the one little gem of indoctrination contained in Mrs. Suzman's article: "They are oblivious to the fact that persons, who express objections to laws to which they have no constitutional means of objection, resort to unconstitutional methods".

This can but be construed to mean that there exists an undeniable right for permitting people, lacking constitutional means to attain their objectives, to resort to unconstitutional means. "Unconstitutional means", according to Mrs. Suzman's interpretation, include the right to use petrol bombs, conventional bombs and grenades and arms every description against people who are unaware of the fact that they are to be attacked. Presumably the lady's intention is to include as "unconstitutional means" all those things which the Terrorism Act proscribes.

For these people, the likes of Frederick John Harris who is capable of placing a bomb on a station bench next to women and children who can in no way be said to be privy of apartheid laws, for these suppressed heroes who scheme and sneak in the blackness of the night, Mrs. Suzman claims the full protection of laws devised for times when the plans and perpetrations of Communism and Socialism were not contemplated even in madmen's nightmares.

Mrs. Suzman's tacit applause for "unconstitutional means" of attaining 'objectives' brings us to the objectives themselves. What are these objectives — the

same ultimate ends envisaged by Socialist International? The taking away from those who have and to give it to those who have not? To take away from the white man what he has built and accumulated through his industry and ability and to give it to the non-whites, who, but for the intervention of the white man would still be living in mud huts or in caves? To take from the have's and give to the have-nots that which the latter is forever incapable of attaining for themselves?

I suggest that the S.A. Government is doing and giving more for the non-whites than they would receive from any black dictatorship which would result should Mrs. Suzman and Socialist International have their way. I suggest that there is no duty incumbent on the white man to surrender his to the non-whites, Mrs. Suzman's feelings despite. I suggest that anybody who does not like the system in this country, avail themselves of the free right of exit and emigration existing here. Possibly while doing so, they can spend some time comparing that right with, say, the rights of the people in East Berlin. ●

S. E. BOTHA, *Riversdale, Cape.*

TUT TUT, MR GOLLER!

Sir, — I refer to Mr. Paul Goller's article 'The Church Divided' published in your January-February issue.

It seems to me that Mr. Goller is making the mistake of assuming that his own particular politico/social approach to the South African problem must, of necessity, be the only one that Catholics can rightly adopt. Thus he does not hesitate to strongly criticise bishops, priests and laity, and, incidentally, the late Pope Pius XII. I can best illustrate my attitude to the matter by saying that I would not be so bold as to criticise Pius XII and the German bishops because I am not in possession of all the relevant facts that they were then in possession of, and accordingly, in charity, I must conclude that they acted according to conscience in choosing what they sincerely believed to be the lesser of two evils. I believe we must extend the same principle of Christian charity to the situation the Church is facing in this country, and not take it upon ourselves to moralize over, and condemn, those of our fellow Catholics who do not happen to share our own particular politico/social approach to the problem. Mr. Goller would be well advised to examine his own conscience here, for it seems to me that the most dividing factor in the Church today is precisely the intransigence he himself displays. ●

V. G. DAVIES, *Cape Town.*

25 JUL 1968



challenge



AN AFTER-DINNER BURP

THERE APPEARS TO BE general agreement that there is no essential conflict between capitalism and christianity in South Africa. Whatever injustices there may be these are considered to be the results of racial apartheid. The underlying capitalist sub-structure is a healthy one which would remain essentially the same were apartheid to be abolished. Capitalist economic and social patterns are assumed to be just and inevitable, particularly when one examines the alternatives. These other systems are seen to be totalitarian because they claim the total allegiance of the whole man, because they seek to control all aspects of men's lives and thus deny them freedom, because they deny any transcendental dimension to the destiny of man.

Capitalism, both in theory and in practice, is thought to be neutral in its moral content: it leaves men free to exercise the real choices which should be open to them, it allows men to have different objects of loyalty in different spheres, it frees men to follow any rigorous code of ethics, whether western or not; it allows men to live genuinely human lives in harmony with their fellowmen.

Thus the young Anglo-American executive, fresh from a church school, will find nothing incongruous in asserting that profit is the ultimate end of economic activity: the Anglican parishioner will liken, appreciatively, his vestry meeting to a shareholder's meeting the young African will say that were racial discrimination to disappear he could accept the social structure of this country: the young Catholic priest will measure his success in a new parish by the speed with which he can build up the material structures of a property-orientated church.

But is capitalism the neutral agent it is taken to be? Does it not permeate all social relationships, giving them a distinctive and ultimately destructive quality? Does it not distort the lives of its 'successful' practitioners almost as much as it does the lives of its more numerous victims? Does it not pre-determine all social priorities in a way which must result in private afflu-

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Ut omnes unum sint

ence for the few and public squalor for the rest? Does it not degrade religious values of community and service to an insulting 'charity'?

The assumptions underlying free enterprise, personal ownership of the means of production, monopolistic competition and the rest are little examined in this country. There are, of course, many reasons for this: a lack of consciousness among the working class of the real nature of the exploitation to which they are subjected; the fact that the churches are riddled through and through with the values of capitalism, and the skillful use of capitalists of all means available to obscure the real issues involved—to name a few.

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer has recently welcomed what he sees as a 'change of wind' in Africa to reverse the 'wind of change' which Mr. Harold MacMillan discerned nearly a decade ago. Well-known as a supporter of the Progressive Party's policy of political assimilation of rising elites, he is uniquely qualified to draw out the necessary relationship between political reformism and the needs of an expanding, yet flexible, capitalist social and economic system.

The picture he draws is a singularly unattractive one. For the authority of the United Nations he offers the

uncontrolled power of the international money market, epitomised by the gnomish bankers of Switzerland. Their chief hostage, the British government, he attacks for no longer wishing to bear the futile burden of protecting the sea-arteries of the international capitalist trading system, and for refusing to supply arms to the South African government, that last bastion of classical capitalism. What a shame that the armament manufacturers will not be able to make a respectable profit from selling such perfectly constructive merchandise!

He praises the so-called 'outward-looking' policy of Mr. Vorster: naturally because it ensures that as long as South Africa's satellites have capitalist governments the 'flow' of labourers to the goldmines will continue and increases in their real wages can be deferred another couple of decades.

Mr. Oppenheimer and Mr. Vorster are not-so-reluctant partners in the same struggle to secure privilege and wealth for the whites of Southern Africa. Mr. Oppenheimer's 'change of wind' speech was merely a revealing after-dinner burp, perfectly acceptable to his limited audience of bankers, a dying class whose control of our economy will one day pass to its legitimate owners. ●

John Davies

Thomas More

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF Sir Thomas More can be summed up in the statement that he was a conservative person who suffered the extreme penalty at the hands of an anti-democratic government for an alleged political offence. It is a rare and dangerous state of affairs when conservatism leads a man into being a victim of right-wing violence; but when the normal principles of law are abrogated, and when authorities act on the assumption that might is right, then it is logically inevitable that people of a conservative cast of mind should find themselves in opposition, as More found himself. More, of course, was not a blind reactionary; he was too much of a scholar, too much a son of the Renaissance, to be unintelligently conservative. He was more of a mediaevalist than, for instance, Erasmus; but his relationships with other learned men of his day enabled him to avoid any absolutely partisan commitment to either side of the struggle. The distinctions and demarcations between Catholicism and

Protestantism were hardening, but scholars on both sides were influenced by the universalism of both mediaeval and Renaissance world-views, and for a time, at least, their academic integrity and their awareness of a fellowship of interest enabled them to avoid a total and unthinking commitment to a rigid position on one side or the other. For instance, Pole, Tunstall, and Gardiner were all deeply influenced by humanism; they were offended, like Erasmus, by what seemed to them to be a depreciation of human nature implied in the theology of Luther; in the end, they found themselves politically polarised, Pole in one way, Tunstall and Gardiner in the other; but genuine scholars were not much use to either side, except as guarantors of some sort of respectability; they were too unwilling to give up the community of academic society, too reluctant to surrender their minds to ideologies.

Henry VIII was sensitive to overseas opinion. For instance, he felt under obligation, after More's execu-

tion, to have rumours spread abroad concerning a conspiracy, rumours which everyone accepted and no one believed. But, for Henry, overseas opinion contributed to disorder, and in the interests of asserting and maintaining order it was necessary to minimise the effect of overseas opinion. The fear of disorder was very strong in English politics throughout most of the 16th century—there are signs of this in Shakespeare's history plays—and Henry's policies were directed at order. The entry of the Reformed tradition, in England at least, was marked by a concern for order at the expense of freedom; elsewhere, it might have had the character of a liberation from religious imperialism; but in England, this aspect was in practice outweighed by considerations of quite a different kind.

Apart from the issue of the papacy, Henry was religiously conservative himself. On the whole, he wanted to keep the doctrine and practice of the Church unaltered, and was less interested than More in the real need for reformation. He believed that Catholicism without the Papacy was not a contradiction in terms but a reasonable settlement. It is remarkable how little he was opposed; very learned and conservative scholars like Gardiner could agree that the Papacy was not essential to Catholic Christianity; most of the clergy were quite uninterested in the question, and the doctrinal content of Protestantism spread so slowly as to cause great disquiet to theologians like Bishop Hooper who were committed to it as an essential expression of the Gospel; the Six Articles of 1539, for instance, published about four years after More's execution, were still a very conservative expression of doctrine. While other conservative Catholics tolerated Henry's policies, More and Fisher paid for their opposition with their lives, not because they were a degree or two more conservative than the others but because they insisted on a certain relationship between doctrine and politics.

More believed a doctrine which set limits to the power of the state, the government, the king—limits represented by a universal law of the whole of Christendom, applying all across history and all across humanity. Now this is a doctrine which has immense difficulties; who, for instance, is to uphold and represent such law in a situation of real testing? Only a supranational figure or agency a Pope, maybe. But such a functionary needs an organisational structure and financial support, which is not likely to be extracted without resentment. The Curia in the 16th century, for instance, was financed partly from Annates; the ill-feeling generated by this taxation was certainly more widespread throughout England than that which is felt

against contributions to United Nations. In the absence of such a supra-national authority, every nation must develop along its own lines and not be restrained by laws which are not congenial to its own traditional (or not-so-traditional) way of life. This is the way of nationalistic humanism, as against mediaeval universalism.

Cromwell was the first English disciple of Machiavelli, and advised Pole to study *The Prince* as the epitome of political wisdom. He represented a novel idea of law as a force justified by the power of the lawgiver, rather than by righteousness or reason. The mediaeval view of law was that it was the judge rather than the creation of its agents, that it had to be in accordance with the principles of Natural Law put into man's reason by God; human law had to be a reflection of eternal law, and the more universal a particular law was across time and space, the more likely it was to be such a reflection of eternal law. Laws contrary to Natural Law were reckoned to be null and void, however powerful the law-maker; in such a case, it was not merely a right but a duty to disobey.

WORDS BECOME HIGH TREASON

Cromwell's idea of law, put at the disposal of Henry VIII, was that law should serve the interests of the power-bearers; therefore, man can *create* law and not merely reflect it. An authority should use the power which he has got. More warned against this view; he advised Cromwell to tell Henry only what he *should* do and not what he *could* do; 'For', he said, 'if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.' The advice of More came too late. Henry and his associates became so used to the unfettered management of power that the lack of a precedent ceased to be regarded as a hindrance to legislation. Thus, the Treasons Act of 1534, for the first time in English history, made *words* high treason, for which the penalty could be death a novelty as remarkable as including the writing of words under the definition of 'sabotage'. Indeed, as the 'words' concerned could include a mere denial (of the Royal Supremacy), this Treasons Act came close to legislating against thought.

In this setting, More stuck to the old mediaeval idea of a universal law. Even before the passing of the Treasons Act, More and Fisher had the distinction of being the first people in English history to be punished for thought; they found themselves unable to swear *in toto* to an oath devised by the Privy Council, and were committed to the Tower for their refusal. More was not unwilling to compromise on many issues; he was a much less vigorous opponent of Henry

than was Pole; he asked the liberty, not to lead his majesty's opposition, but merely to follow his own conscience as a retired and private citizen. It was precisely this liberty which was denied to him. Such a liberty stood for a force too dangerous for Henry to allow the force of conscientious commitment to a universal set of values by which even governments are to be judged. His death was an abrogation of law, an immoral act, because it was brought about not only by a court which was itself by-passing the processes of law but also by a legal enactment which exceeded the limits of what a law may require. It is possible to maintain this even if one agrees, with Henry, that obedience to the Papacy is not an essential part of historical, apostolic, or catholic Christianity; the problem arises not out of the abstract content of a statement about Christian doctrine but out of a deep difference concerning the character of authority, freedom, and conscience.

THE PLAY AND THE FILM

The current interest in More derives from Robert Bolt's play and the film made from it. More himself was motivated by a fear of offending against a law of God, the knowledge of which was derived from divine revelation. Bolt has found More a useful figure by which to examine questions of political morality; in the play, More's motivation emerges not as a religious concern so much as an intellectual quest to find a lawful way of avoiding compliance with the law. Many common problems appear in the figure of More; for instance, what is the highest price which one should pay for the ability to exercise influence? Or, how does one retain the ability to communicate without betraying the message which one is concerned to communicate?

More is a proud and triumphant figure, yet he is also pathetic, because of the unreliability of his chosen defences, because of the inability of his saviours to save. He trusts, for instance, in words 'an oath is *made* of words' (92) but at a time when words can be more treasonable than actions there is no salvation in words.

More trusts in silence; but if words can be treasonable, so can the absence of words, and a man can be punished for not-saying; he can be punished for what he thinks. And indeed, although it may be legally inadmissible, Cromwell's argument about More's silence is undeniable: 'Silence can, according to circumstances, speak . . . This silence was not silence at all, but most eloquent denial.' (108) There is no salvation in silence.

More trusts in conscience: 'The loyal subject is more bounden to be loyal to his conscience than to any other thing.' (109) But one man's conscience can break another man's life. 'The King's a man of conscience and he wants either Sir Thomas More to bless his marriage or Sir Thomas More to be destroyed. Either will do.' (89) The Church should be the government's conscience; but this fact is not a protection but a danger to the church. There is no salvation in conscience.

More trusted in the orthodox universal idea of law which we have been considering; this was, and is, correct belief, in a way which is beyond analytical proof. But where the individual is not protected by the sophisticated development of 'conscience clauses', he can be penalised for his thinking. There is no salvation in orthodoxy.

More trusts, above all, in law. For More, the law is a device to protect the uncommitted, innocent, private citizen. 'I'd give the Devil benefit of law, for my own safety's sake.' 'Whoever hunts for me will find me hiding in the thickets of the law!' '. . . the law is not an instrument of any kind. The law is a causeway upon which so long as he keeps to it a citizen may walk safely.' (pp 60, 109) More insists that justice has a character of its own, that it is the master and not the creation or the servant of its agents; he believes that 'justice is not a minister'. This appears most clearly in the following unanswerable argument:

More: You threaten like a dockside bully.

Cromwell: How should I threaten?

More: Like a minister of State, with justice!

Cromwell: Oh, justice is what you're threatened with.

More: Then I'm not threatened.'

This is a magnificent summary of the hopes of the law-abiding man. But, in the upshot, the law is like the sword it is only as righteous as the arm which uses it. He who lives by the sword will die by the sword: and he who lives by the law will die by the law. And maybe Cromwell, whose opinion of human nature was about as low as anyone's could be, merely served to prove the pessimistic view of Luther against which the old-fashioned humanists like More revolted. Who shall guard the guardians of the law? There is no salvation in the law. And this is More's final disappointment; only on the far side of this disappointment, when all his props are down, does his real courage emerge. More's faith, his commitment to the core of his belief, was of the type that enables a person to stand most firmly as a person when all the secondary objects of trust have failed; this is, maybe,

what he means when he says: 'A man's soul is his self!' (109) In other words, a man has a real identifiable and reliable kernel of humanity which cannot be destroyed by inhumanity and illegality. There is an authority, a creative power, compared to which the selfish and partisan manipulation of law by lawless administrators are mere temporary vanities. In short God is not mocked.

What the law did succeed in doing was to ensure that in the end there was at least a semblance of a trial. It is not so in South Africa, where 'administrative convenience' (64) can get round the law altogether. And whenever the processes of ordinary law are bypassed, the administrators of such law are ultimately in much greater danger than the immediate victims (see bottom of p 93).

The Passion story in Saint John's Gospel shows Christ as the upholder of the normal processes of law, in face of illegal prosecution and police brutality. While he does not vainly put his trust in law as an abstraction, he protests unanswerably against the lawlessness of the law's agents 'If I spoke amiss, state it in evidence; if I spoke well, why strike me?' John 18, 23. The law cannot be relied on to control its own representatives, and this is clear from such aberrations as 90-day detention and banning without accusation, trial, or conviction. The problem of Christ, according to Saint John's Gospel, is much the same as that of More or of Ralph in *Lord of the Flies*; it is the problem of the just man in the setting of the breakdown of law. This is a tragic situation; but it is a constructive tragedy, insofar as its very appeal to us is based on some awareness of righteous in us. It is in the situation of breakdown that the lawfulness of the righteous man is really visible; it was in the utter breakdown of law in the crucifixion that the law of God was most

absolutely vindicated, in the refusal of Christ to compromise and to accommodate himself to those who were illegally manipulating the law; and, Christians say, the resurrection proves this victory of law, and asserts that, in spite of so much evidence, this is a law-abiding universe. The righteous man's righteousness is most surely vindicated when the law has to descend to illegality in order to condemn him. And More expresses the logic of this situation with humble clarity:

'... If we lived in a state where virtue was profitable, common sense would make us good, and greed would make us saintly. And we'd live like animals or angels in the happy land which *needs* no heroes. But since in fact we see that avarice, anger, envy, pride, sloth, lust and stupidity commonly profit far beyond humility, chastity, fortitude, justice, and thought, and have to choose, to be human at all... why then perhaps we *must* stand fast a little even at the risk of being heroes.' (101)

(Page references throughout are to the edition of *A Man for All Seasons* in *New English Dramatists* 6—Penguin Plays 1963).

N.B. 'Annates' was a system of taxation, in the first instance supposed to be voluntary, whereby the first year's stipend of a newly-appointed bishop or parish priest was paid into the papal exchequer; this started at the end of the 13th century, and in the forty years before Henry's final clash with the Pope is said to have yielded £160,000. The system was the cause of vigorous protest by such saintly and orthodox men as Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln. A disgraceful system, no doubt, with all sorts of unseemly side-effects; but, in the absence of a more sophisticated method of assessment, how else do you finance a supranational authority? ●

Professor Pont

Challenge and Liberalism

IT IS FAIRLY INTERESTING to follow what some English-speaking churchmen are thinking about the present situation in South Africa. From the magazine, CHALLENGE, which is published by Roman Catholics in this country, one gets some idea of how things are sometimes argued in these circles, under the apparent conviction that theirs is genuine 'christian thinking.'

In the Jan/Feb issue of CHALLENGE, the editorial complains that it is an uphill struggle for the magazine to remain in existence. It then stresses the necessity for its continued existence because it emphasises 'the need of the churches for open discussion and intellectual commitment to the cause of the oppressed in South Africa. For such is our hope, to participate *in the*

radical transformation of South African society' (my italics).

It is certainly an interesting world in which we live. As these words stand, one can almost agree that the primary task of the Church is to be concerned with these matters. But, as has already been shown by Ian Henderson, one must keep in mind the 'double-think' and 'double-talk' of those involved in ecumenism. Some articles in this magazine are, also, no exception to this.

The first question which must be answered to be able to understand CHALLENGE is: 'Who are the 'oppressed' in South Africa? Would it be the poor, the blind, the crippled, those who struggle with the burden of sin? Would it be those upon whom Our Lord Jesus Christ had mercy, as the Gospel tells us? I doubt it. If I think back to different issues of CHALLENGE, I cannot remember reading one article in which a concern about or pleas for greater compassion towards the poor, the blind and the crippled is expressed—certainly not among whites.

What I do well read in the same issue is an article by Paul Goller in which he discusses the problem with which I am concerned when he says: 'there have been, in recent times, laymen whose political action has been radical enough to bring upon themselves the full range of oppressive measures designed to intimidate and frighten off; bannings and exile. Denis Brutus, David Craighoad, Hyacinth Bhengu, represent a small core who have not abandoned the Church, though the public support given them by the Church has been insignificant. One can only guess how many have left the Church in their search for human dignity and for militant opposition to tyranny.' (In passing, this is the first time that I learn that people in the church must look, *par excellence*, for 'human dignity' and 'militant opposition to tyranny'—where would one find this in Scripture or in papal statements?)

Is it wrong to conclude that the 'oppressed in South Africa' about whom the editorial speaks are none other than people like Denis Brutus who have been here in South Africa because of their participation in and promotion of anti-christian communism? Would Brutus, in spite of his communist affiliations, still be a believing member of the Roman church? Would Brutus still have free access to the sacraments in the Roman Catholic Church?

Or are the 'oppressed' only the Bantu? And what is this terrible 'oppression' then? Apparently nothing other than the privilege granted to the Bantu to develop independently in his own areas, with his own people, at the rate which suits him best. Here, apparently, 'oppression' is the policy of separate development. Imagine that!

This 'oppression' is linked with the 'radical transformation of South African society' which CHALLENGE wants to propagate. This 'radical transformation' must apparently be, if we take Goller again as spokesman, the same as has been worked out for us in the booklet *The Future of South Africa*, by the British Council of Churches. This advocated 'the multi-racial society' and the 'one-man one vote system' as the ideal South African community. The B.C.C. admitted with sanctimonious crocodile tears that this obviously meant the end of the Afrikaner volk, but of course this is the price of progress.

CHALLENGE apparently wants the same thing—and perhaps it is only to be expected that a Roman Catholic magazine has no particular interest in the continued survival of a white, protestant people who made this country habitable so that the Roman church could come and do its mission work here and its members publish magazines such as CHALLENGE.

But it is remarkable how gladly the Roman and ecumenical fanatics like the B.C.C. would build a new future for us Afrikaners and our Afrikaans churches—a future where we, today a free, white, christian volk will eventually be the slaves in a 'multi-racial society'. If I understand these people correctly, this new future begins where we as Afrikaners and whites give up our colour and cultural differences and where we will finally give up our will to be a group.

The only problem we have is that these agitators and propagandists of the 'multi-racial society' cannot cite one single example in Africa to show that a 'multi-racial society' has brought advantages to the inhabitants of any of the 'liberated' lands of Africa. Think only of Ghana, Nigeria where a violent civil war rages: the Congo, Burundi, Tanzania where the whites were robbed before they were thrown out of the country: Kenya where the Indians in their thousands must flee because they are not granted any right to exist.

All that the liberalists in Africa have accomplished has been to help communists to power so that they (the communists) can exploit their people and where the communists do not rule, it is dictators who enrich themselves. There is not one bit of evidence to show that a multi-racial society in South Africa will see the dawn of paradise—on the contrary. Then our fatherland will be changed into a land where unspeakable misery is suffered by the non-whites as well as the whites. Then our country will be something like the Congo, Kenya or the Sudan.

In this 'open discussion' which CHALLENGE is so concerned about, maybe one should listen for a change to the *Rhodesia and World Report* of February 1968

which says: 'it behoves White Rhodesians (and us in South Africa also) to recognise that as an intellectual elite they are the target of egalitarian movements such as Communism and Fabianism. To reduce a country to stagnation, it is merely necessary to destroy its intellectual elite. This policy has been consistently followed by the Communists wherever they have gained control of a country . . . Fabian socialist ideologists follow the Communists in this policy, but as Western peoples would not tolerate murder under any

name, their methods have been more subtle. The usual method is to eliminate the elite from the leadership of the nation . . . in Africa by handing over control to Black Nationalist governments, whose racial intolerance soon leads to the emigration of the white elite'.

We have to consider carefully the propaganda which assails us from all sides. It is in any case not aimed at the advancement of the Afrikaans churches and the Afrikaner volk. ●

Vietnam and Elsewhere

Napalm

NAPALM, AN INCENDIARY substance made by the gelation of gasoline, has assumed an important role in warfare since its invention by L. F. Fieser in 1942. Named for naphthenate and palmitate, two constituents of the gelling agent, napalm has unique physical properties that have led to the perfection of various incendiary weapons . . .

The preparation of napalm is a simple procedure, utilizing inexpensive, abundantly available materials. A powder, consisting of the aluminium soaps of coconut acids, naphthenic acid and oleic acid, is added to gasoline in amounts varying from 5 to 12 per cent by weight, depending on the desired thickness of the gel. Gelation occurs in three to 20 minutes. No special techniques are required for mixing; napalm gel can be made under field conditions with the use of vehicle gasoline. An improved gel, napalm-B, prepared by the combination of polystyrene, gasoline and benzene (in proportions of 2:1:1), is currently in production.

The gel produced by these simple methods, a cloudy, white, jellylike material, has unusual properties that make it an adaptable and effective incendiary agent. It is an extremely tough and stable substance, capable of withstanding the blast of an explosive charge without shattering. It will not thin out at 150°F. (operations in the tropics) or become brittle at -40°F. (the temperature reached at a bomb bay). It can be stored indefinitely and will not deteriorate during transport. The gel is adhesive while burning and will stick to metals and other repellent surfaces, and to ceilings, walls and moving objects.

Gel formation greatly enhances the destructive properties of burning gasoline by containing the flame

and prolonging the burning time. Unmodified gasoline is an inferior incendiary agent because of its light weight, volatility and transient, flash flame. The temperature of a napalm flame will vary with environmental conditions, but can approach 2060°C.

Napalm has non-Newtonian properties; unlike that of most fluids, its viscosity varies with the rate of shear. With high shearing forces, as in the nozzle of a flame thrower, napalm assumes the low viscosity of a lubricating oil and can achieve a high initial velocity. When the shearing forces are released, at the nozzle tip, napalm recovers its gel form, and a continuous column or rope of flaming gel can be projected with speed and accuracy to a small target over 150 yards away. The range of early flame throwers, using Newtonian liquids, rarely exceeded 30 yards.

White phosphorus, used in the ignition systems of napalm bombs and land mines, complicates the control of napalm fires. At the time of ignition a TNT charge drives finely divided particles of white phosphorus into the gel; these particles burn spontaneously on contact with oxygen and will reignite when fire control agents disperse. Burning phosphorus also produces a dense, white smoke, which retards fire fighting and rescue operations.

Napalm has been used in incendiary bombs, fire bombs, land mines and flame throwers. Incendiary bombs, 6 to 500 pounds, penetrate structures and distribute napalm by explosive charge. Tactical fire bombs, or canisters, containing 165 gallons of napalm, are dropped from low-flying planes. One such bomb spreads napalm over approximately 2,500 square yards. Land mines, or booby traps, containing 5 to 55

gallons of napalm, are detonated by TNT charges that first raise the mine and then rupture the casing. Flame throwers, mechanized or manual, project a stream of napalm under pressure.

Napalm casualties are caused primarily by thermal injury and carbon monoxide poisoning. Napalm burns are likely to be deep and extensive. The adhesiveness, prolonged burning time and high burning temperature of napalm favour third-degree burns in all affected areas, with coagulation of muscle, fat and other deep tissues likely. Burns of this depth will probably result in severe scar contractures and deformities, especially when conditions make early skin grafting difficult.

Nephrotoxicity will be a serious complication, and the mortality will be high in proportion to the total body-surface area involved. A deep burn of only 10 per cent of the body may result in renal failure. Such burns may indicate primary amputation.

Napalm wounds contaminated with white phosphorus may continue smoldering long after the initial trauma. The phosphorus in napalm is finely divided and may lodge deep in the tissues. Adequate debridement of such contaminated wounds will be difficult at best, and under field conditions may be impossible.

The combined effects of wartime conditions and inadequate medical facilities will influence the course and management of napalm burns. Mortality from respiratory embarrassment, shock, fluid loss and sepsis will be high. Children will suffer a disproportionately high mortality and morbidity because of the special problems, acute and chronic, presented by the burned child. Pre-existing anemia, often present where parasitic infection and malnutrition are endemic, may necessitate both early and late blood transfusions after a napalm burn. Such measures are seldom available in the areas in which napalm is being used.

Napalm burns are often complicated by carbon monoxide poisoning. Toxic concentrations of carbon monoxide are commonly observed in confined areas during a napalm fire, but lethal levels have been reached in open areas as well. The possibility of carbon monoxide poisoning must be considered whenever unconsciousness occurs in the presence of napalm burns. Unburned persons may also succumb to carbon monoxide in the presence of burning napalm.

Panic is more likely to be observed among napalm victims than among those wounded by other agents. Seasoned troops, accustomed to bombardments with conventional agents, have been known to break from cover during a napalm attack. The fear of fire may lead to maladaptive reactions, such as irrational flight or immobilization, that increase vulnerability to serious

injury. Panic may also favour cardiovascular collapse in the presence of severe burns.

Incendiary bombing is potentially as destructive as atomic warfare. Fire storms can be created by planned bombing patterns. The effects of a fire storm, with high-velocity winds, smoke, toxic gases and extreme heat, create the conditions for a medical disaster. Loss of life under such circumstances overshadows all other considerations. Saturation of Japanese cities with napalm during the last months of World War II caused many more deaths than the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Although burns will be a major cause of injury in fire bombing, many of the casualties will result from secondary effects not involving direct burns. These effects can also occur in napalm attacks on troop concentrations and villages.

Environmental temperatures rise to intolerable levels, and victims may succumb to heat stroke during attempts to escape from the area; rescue workers entering the area after incendiary raids may also suffer from heat stroke. Air-raid shelters become death traps from the combined effects of heat, anoxia and carbon monoxide. Hot winds and radiant heat have marked dehydrating effects, leading, in the extreme case, to the *Bombenbrand - schrumpfleichen* ("incendiary - bombshrunken bodies") seen in the fire storm in Hamburg.

Carbon monoxide poisoning becomes a major cause of death in large incendiary raids . . . Shelters develop extremely high concentrations of carbon monoxide during incendiary raids and often cannot be entered after the fires have subsided. Concentrations of as much as 95 per cent have been found in the shelter dead.

The problems presented by casualties from incendiary raids may exceed the capability of facilities for medical care in modern, urban centres. In an underdeveloped country such casualties, even on a lesser scale, will present an almost hopeless problem. Patients with burns in particular may overtax the capacity of existing facilities in areas where medical care is in short supply. ●

AT SAN MINIATO, FLORENCE

O tall Lord Christ, triumphant, dread,
Who sit in that ancient apse's bowl
Challenging the live and dead,
Imprint the retina of my soul.

COLIN GARDNER

Homosexuality

WHAT HAS BEEN THE traditional Christian view on this subject? First of all we notice that it has been influenced by Orthodox Jewish thought. The Jewish Law forbade all homosexual acts, as it condemned certain sexual practices like coitus interruptus because such activities denied the possibility of procreation and the continuing mission of the Jewish people in history.

Then again, a great deal has been made of the Sodom and Gomorrah story of Genesis. In most arguments on this subject you may be sure that Genesis—Chapter 19 will be waved in the air as evidence of Divine Judgement upon homosexual practices. In fact the story of Sodom which has given its name to one form of our subject is a piece of slanted rewriting by Jewish scholars of the post Exile period in the understandable interests of patriotism and rigorism. I do not believe that the Sodom and Gomorrah story has any authority in our subject at all although in the popular mind it has every authority.

Nevertheless, there appear to be six places in the Bible where Homosexual practices are condemned. St. Paul is our great authority here and he undoubtedly denounces such practices as inconsistent with membership of the Kingdom of God. But even as we accept this we remember what kind of a world it was in which Paul wrote. The social underworld of the first century of the Christian era was corrupt enough, and I believe that the people Paul had primarily in mind were the male perverts and pederasts whose activities abound in the literature of those times. But do the Apostle's strictures apply to all the homosexual acts of the genuine invert? Is he condemning all physical experiences of love and affection between two persons of the same sex who affirm that they are genuinely 'in love?' The new Testament seems to me to be less than definite in this matter, apart from which we now know a great deal more about the homosexual condition than was known then. In the Middle Ages the Church was much more understanding of homosexuality than is sometimes believed. Homosexuality was considered a 'state to be reckoned with.' It was not according to righteousness and it had to be punished, and the

various penitentials of the time are extraordinarily detailed attempts to control it, correct it, to live with it in some way. To the best of my knowledge and I think this is important, the Church tried to deal with this problem as essentially moral and spiritual and did not just hand offenders over to the State for punishment.

A great deal of the difficulty in this subject revolves around the question 'Is homosexuality natural?' Is it a deviation? Is it (and here we are not at this stage apportioning any blame) is it 'off centre' from true natural expressions of love? In spite of the evidence that can be adduced from biological studies, and in spite of the Freudic theory of instincts, that is that the sexual instinct has no definite and precise object by nature but only tends to its own satisfaction, I believe the homosexual condition to be a human eccentricity whose tragedy lies in the fact that a deep and fundamental drive and desire cannot find its outlet and expression in a way that is creative and acceptable to society.

I cannot myself see homosexual practices as anything else but against nature. St. Thomas Aquinas, as far as I know is the only great scholastic theologian to discuss the subject in any detail. He deals with it in the *Summa Theologica* in the course of a treatise on the virtue of temperance and argues as follows: 'One of the vices contrary to temperance is lust, the essence of which is that it exceeds the order and code of reason where venereal acts are concerned. Discordance with right reason is evident whenever something is done which 'is inconsistent with the proper end of such acts—and this, it was held universally, is the generation of children. Since the *peccatum contra naturam* in any form is directed only to the satisfaction of venereal pleasure, it clearly offends against reason and fails, therefore to be considered as one of the species of lust.'

So it seems to me that homosexual acts are against nature. If homosexuals claim that their particular mode of sexual expression is 'natural' for them and 'they were made like this by God,' it could be argued that

inversion can no more be regarded as God's will for a person than can, e.g. deformity or mental deficiency. A homosexual is an anomaly who bears his (or her) own tragic witness to the discordance of humanity in its (as a Christian would say) fallen condition. Such a situation should involve an enormous compassion for those who have to suffer and labour under such a deprivation. Let me say here that I am trying to discuss the question of the genuine invert. Little of what I have said so far refers to the deliberate pervert, the seducer of the young, or the wilfully vicious. This again raised another problem in my mind. Are all homosexuals unhappy and do they need these gestures of Christian tolerance? I believe that a goodly number of homosexuals are unhappy but again is perhaps a considerable amount of their unhappiness due to the fact:—

- (a) that Society seems to reject them and so they suffer from social or religious guilt?
- (b) that the law at this moment in this country punishes them severely?

CHRISTIAN COMPASSION UNNECESSARY?

I think we must face the fact that very many homosexuals are quite content to be so and in fact enjoy being so. All they would ask for is a change of the law allowing them to indulge in homosexual practices. If such a change of law came about they would be quite happy. Christian compassion is unnecessary for such folk although Christian concern would still be there. At this point it might be appropriate for me to give my thoughts on the question of law reform. I would take my stand fairly and squarely behind that liberalizing of the law which took place recently in England based on the findings of the Wolfenden Commission. The Archbishop of Canterbury was a strong protagonist of this view and I would certainly subscribe to it. It seems to be indefensible that private homosexual acts between consenting adults should have to be considered criminal and punished by spells of goal. As somebody has said, you might as well incarcerate an alcoholic in a brewery. If the reform of law in this made many present homosexuals much happier on the grounds that they were no longer liable to be apprehended by the police, do we believe virtue can spring from fear?

Let us go back to the question as to whether all homosexual practices are necessarily bad and wrong in a moral sense. In as far as homosexual associations and acts are casual and promiscuous I would say 'yes.' I am not concerned to defend male prostitution as 'heterosexual one night stands.' But I am trying to

get to grips with what might be called the 'conscientious homosexual.' What can be said e.g. about two men who are in a loving, loyal situation where there is affection and mutuality, and where each wishes to give himself to the other in faithful and hopeful union? What happens when such people want to express this love, this awareness of permanence in physical acts? Is this to be forbidden? Now there are some Christian thinkers today who believe that such liaisons should be permitted by the Church, and while not exactly blessed, at least some form of recognition could be given. This would not remotely be 'marriage' of any kind but at least 'a recognised state' which would allow them, even so living, to receive the sacraments of the Church and be accepted into a loving and caring fellowship.

Can Christians—ought Christians—to say to the homosexual, 'Your condition is not normal, your drives are abberational, nevertheless if you are prepared to enter into some form of permanent liaison we can only pray to God, with you, that the best can be made of a situation that is less than perfect. To do other than this is to drive you away, to separate you, to deepen and accentuate your sense of guilt.' I am prepared to say that if I were very certain of such a relationship I would myself be prepared to go a long way with this view. If I was aware of a permanent loving relationship between two men, (one in which there was sexual desire) and if I felt that to force separation upon them would produce not just pain but deep psychic injuries, I would feel bound to counsel that they stayed together, even if that seemed to condone physical contacts which expressed love and concern.

I may say I have never given this counsel and I doubt whether I ever will and this is partly because experience has taught me (and facts seem to bear this out), that very few homosexual relationships are permanent, in the sense that a man-woman relationship can be permanent. And is this not to be expected? By nature men and women are obviously made for each other not only physically but perhaps even more important, psychically. Men and women are complementary to each other in a way, I believe, that two men or two women can never be no matter how feminine the men, no matter how masculine the women.

Summing up, I believe Biblical evidence is conclusive on homosexuality as far as it refers to vicious perversion, but that there is every reason to suppose that Christ would be indeed can we not say was infinitely sympathetic to the genuine invert, struggling with his own complex and perplexing nature. I believe that casual homosexual sex is as reprehensible as

casual heterosexual sex, loyalty, integrity, permanence, commitment, these should be the ingredients of any sexual relationship. Homosexual acts therefore, can only be judged on their deep motives and it is possible, I think, for homosexual acts to express true love and true Christian mutuality even though, paradoxically, the mode of doing so is less than God's perfect will for mankind.

Finally, I believe that the worst thing that can be done is to invoke the law in this matter, except in the

crucially important matter of the protection of the young or public indecency. I would think therefore that any greater stringency in the application of our present law in South Africa is most definitely a step in the wrong direction and in the long run would only confuse the issue, strengthen prejudice, increase suffering, and fail, above all, to reflect the compassion of Christ which should be extending to every sphere where men and women struggle and suffer in deprivation, doubt, and perplexity. ●

John Sebidi

Cringing Christianity?

'NOW A MAN CAN scarcely arrive at the needed sense of responsibility unless his living conditions allow him to become conscious of his dignity, and to rise to his destiny by spending himself for God and for others. But human freedom is often crippled when a man falls into extreme poverty, just as it withers when he indulges in too many of life's comforts and imprisons himself in a kind of splendid isolation.' (Church In The Modern World, Vat. II).

In these few compact words the Council managed to crystalize the age old truth that adverse conditions do have a parlous and crippling effect on the normal life of men. But I think this is even more so when these conditions are the results of a preconcerted plan or system. The other day when I was reading these lines, I suddenly fell to thinking, rather ponderously, about life in our South African locations; about what it really entails in the way of heroic courage for the average location dweller to 'rise to his destiny by spending himself for God and for others' amid man-made circumstances that are far from being conducive to that sort of ideal. Then I felt a lump in my throat . . .

Robbery, murder, rape, beer halls, shebeens, Friday-to-Sunday drunken orgies, dope addicts, gambling, nocturnal prowls, squalor, baby-waifs, family ructions, extra-marital and teenage pregnancies, divorce cases and so on and so forth ad infinitum—quite a sickening catalogue, no doubt about it, but a true picture of the average S. African location life. If you are skeptical about this picture, cast a cursory glance at any of these papers, POST, WORLD, DRUM,

and others of the same stamp and you will soon convince yourself that headlines such as 'Gang rape girl aged 13 and stab her in the back' exemplify the smutty bulk of news that is fed the location dweller day in and day out. However, the burden of this article is not to reveal to anybody what dank and morally reeking conditions are created by the South African 'Racial Moloch'; it is but a humble attempt at awakening our Christian moral conscience in the face of what may be described as morally enervating or demoralizing forces that are purely man-made, forces that not only could but should be changed by any one who believes in the name of Christ and holds firmly to the principles of Christianity as founded by Him.

It is amazing how soon one's moral sense gets anaesthetized to a given situation, so that after a time things are accepted as 'normal' which in point of fact ought always to be taboo to a Christian conscience. All too many of us South African Christian men and women have reached that stage where newspaper reports and incidents like the above fail to stir our pulses, wound our Christian moral sense and galvanize us into action. The majority of us salve our consciences by labelling the matter as a 'purely political problem' or a 'purely social question', 'all we can do about it is just to pray and wait' etc. etc.

But really this is just a facile way of sneaking out of the problem a camouflage of cowardice. The myth about a 'purely social and political matter' has long suffered a shattering blow. It has long ceased to be a plausible excuse for our inertia amid a situation bristling, at almost every turn, with challenges levelled at

our Christian moral sense. No human event, no human situation, no human problem is amoral in the concrete simply because man is basically an 'Animal Religiosum'. For this reason all his problems will basically be religious, moral problems. So any ideology or philosophy of life that fails to take cognizance of this fundamental fact is bound to go by the board or forfeit its relevancy vis-a-vis man and his human situation. One writer succinctly puts it this way: 'The Church which remains securely within the 'spiritual realm' will annoy no one and convince no one, for secular man is a political animal par excellence'. Most happily the Second Vatican Council has also come around to realizing this fact in a more vivid manner: 'The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts . . .' (Church In The Modern World). Therefore, any South African Christian who fancies that he/she has no vital role to play, as a Christian, in this seething atmosphere of racialism and irrational hatred is labouring under a regrettable delusion. Let everybody get this quite straight: the problem in South Africa is glaringly a moral issue from top to bottom. And Christians of this Republic are therefore challenged and called upon to take sides. No neutrality! One is either for or against Christ, either a Christian or not a Christian notwithstanding the amount of Rand notes one throws every Sunday into the 'collection plate'. Such a contribution alone can never constitute one a Christian. Christianity is a way of life not just a decorative appendage tacked on to one's every-day life. It is a life that affects every facet of our day to day dealings with our fellow men; a life, therefore, that is and should be in evidence at our polling booths, in the factory, in the mines, in our cafes, in the streets, everywhere.

There is no getting away from this fact. One cannot be a genuine Christian in South Africa and yet remain as cold and insensate as the Sphinx in the sight of all that is taking place in our Republic.

WORDS NOT ENOUGH

Loud denunciations are necessary but not the only weapons at our disposal. In fact I must say that denunciations will only be exercises in futility if they are not backed up by some positive action. Concerted Christian action is what is called for today. I must hurry to say that I am not at all suggesting that the government be forced to alter its chimerical policy by

firearms! Such would not be the style of Christ. Our swords, as followers of Christ, were sheathed once and for ever on that momentous day in the garden of Gethsemane when Christ ordered Peter to lay his hand off the sword. But since this order is not to be understood as an exemption from joining the fray against the forces of evil, what Christians can and must do is imitate their forbears in the faith stalwarts who when confronted with the bitter and unhappy choice between doing God's will and the will of the powers-that-be did not hesitate to thunder 'Obedience to God comes before obedience to men'. (Acts 5, 27-28); stout hearts who braved the fury of powerful secular bodies in order to follow the dictates of their consciences.

'DO NOT BE AFRAID'

Take the verse I have just quoted. Peter and John were warned and threatened by the Jewish Sanhedrin to stop speaking about the Name of Christ. Nothing daunted, they nonchalantly continued proclaiming the Truth of the Gospel in the teeth of this powerful body which not only had the power to clap them in prison but also to order them to be stoned to death. They were ready for this type of treatment because they well remembered the words of their Master: 'You will be dragged before governors and kings for my sake, to bear witness before them and pagans . . . Do not be afraid of them therefore . . . Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul'. (Mt. 10, 17-28). Didn't the prophets of old also give us an example of what is expected of every Christian man and woman? They would launch fearlessly into blistering diatribes against the social and political abuses and injustices of their day. Of course our Lord is the model of this fearlessness where moral principles are trodden down and set at naught. We all know that the full weight of the Sanhedrin's venomous hate was brought to bear on Him because of His preaching and actions. He had proceeded to unhinge the status quo and disturb the sleek and comfortable way in which these 'privileged' worthies were carrying on their lives.

Now, as I try to contrast the tenor of our Christianity in South Africa with the above examples, I simply cannot divest myself of the feeling that Christianity in the South African context is a far cry from that virile and robust type of Christianity. Ours, I feel, is an attenuated Christianity, a whey-faced Christianity, a cowering, cringing Christianity indeed a Christianity that has been too easily lulled into complacency and false contentment. It seems to be a Christianity that comfortably admits of departmentalization in one's life. A Christian (forgive the misnomer!) can easily

afford to be an exemplary man at 10.30 on Sunday morning and yet be conveniently amoral at the polling booth! Let's face it. Our Christianity has not yet reached that state where a person is forced to turn against mother, wife, brother, sister and even self! for the sake of Christ. (Mt. 10). It has not yet succeeded to force a show-down between the Christian-self and the Pagan-self. It is to be strongly feared that it has struck a compromise between the two an unholy pact sealed daily with the sweat of hundreds of thousands of African men and women grinding themselves down to a nub in the economic machine of South Africa, the fruits of which are the enjoyment of the 'privileged' minority. No need labouring this point. Up till now Christianity in the S. African politico-social arena has failed to make any palpable impact. Oh yes, occasionally, it has caused a ripple here and there through the voice of one or two of our great Churchmen. But then what is the voice of one or two people pitted against a whole chorus of the indefatigable apostles of racism?

I firmly believe that if Christianity is to recapture her pristine fire and push, concerted action should be taken now. All Christians, of whatever denomination, should band together and prepare to fight for the rights of their fellow men in S. Africa. I repeat: not only in words but in deeds as well. I make no bones about it priests, ministers, messengers of the Word should be the initiators of this all round campaign for human rights. Justice and love, the dignity of man, essential equality and freedom of all men, brotherhood of all in the fatherhood of one God etc. ought to be the type of preaching that is thundered, without apology, from our pulpits. Some 'christians', no doubt, will not be able to stomach this sort of preaching. A pity. But let them peacefully disband and leave the ranks of genuine Christians who are willing to do a little bit more than just 'going to church', genuine Christians who are willing to carry the principles of their Christianity even outside the four walls of their local churches. It is incumbent upon preachers of the Word to educate their congregations out of the idea that the 'Christian Way' is the easy way. They should open the eyes of their congregations to see the racial policy of S. Africa for what it is. They ought to see it as a new and insidious form of social and psychological slavery something akin to, if not worse than genocide. Hitler's genocidal manoeuvre was directly aimed at asphyxiating the bodies of millions of Jews in his gas chambers. But protracted slavery of any kind is worse than bodily death because it is diametrically opposed to the very nature of man, a being endowed with the

faculty of decision-making and self-direction, a free being. Deprive man of that faculty and you reduce him to the level of brute animals or automata. Death, however undesirable it may be, is not against the nature of man . . . man is mortal by nature. I am only trying to bring out the point that slavery, in all its myriad forms, is a heinous crime against humanity. This is the Sin Christian S. Africa is faced with today. The South African Christian electorate must be made to feel that as they approach the polling booth they have in their power the fate of more than 12 million dark skinned human beings who have the self-same aspirations and yearnings as they themselves have. They must be reminded over and over again by our priests and ministers that it is they (the electorate) who decide whether or not Julius Seato will have the 'privilege' (oh, perish the word!) of living with his wife and children at the place where he is employed; it is they who decide whether or not equal talent, black or yellow hued talent, calls for equal recompense; it is they who decide whether or not it's fair that the government spend about R12 per capita on African Education as against R156 a head for White Education; it is they who decide whether or not it's quite sane that the happiness and very often the moral integrity of millions of people should be sacrificed on the altar of a policy that is patently utopian; it is they who decide and judge whether the government's back-to-the-Reserves policy has a built-in egocentricity or not . . . In other words, these Christians are the mind and the will of more than 12 million people—a frightful responsibility, if you ask me, which will be the object of a very strict accounting the day we will be face to face with our eternal Judge.

KING AND LUTHULI

This then should be the burden of most of our sermons. And any preacher who fails to do this should know that he is being seriously remiss in his duty of witnessing to the true Gospel of Christ. I believe that if this is the type of education that is frequently drubbed into the minds of those Christians who haven't yet awakened to these vital issues very soon we must expect to see some positive action. There will be no brandishing of sabres and bayonets but there will be action, non-violent, Christ-like action; action in the Gandhian tradition, Satyagraha, a movement akin to that advocated by thoroughly Christian leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King and our late Chief Albert Luthuli, stalwart votaries of social justice and Christian love. Christian lay men and women, priests, ministers, religious all, will answer the call and

all will peacefully picket our streets, factories, mine compounds etc. in protest against whatever they will deem unjust; non-violent strikes, boycotts and marches will and should be the normal and usual lash in the hands of us Christians.

Please, let's not shy away from the vision of priests and nuns joining the picket line. This should be the normal thing in a sock society such as ours. Listen to what one writer says about this point: 'Ministers and nuns on picket lines for racial justice today are not just signs of the church's 'social concern'. They are evangelists, telling modern man what the Gospel says'. Christians will have no truck with whatever smacks of Apartheid. Their Christian sense will force them to stop patronising whatever shop, cafe, cinema, or anything that stands for discriminatory practices because then they will remember that 'non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good'. This is the great principle of non-cooperation a principle that can never fail to have substantial effects once put into practice.

Admittedly, the line of action suggested above is going to demand a great deal in the way of personal sacrifices and this is going to be difficult. But whoever said that the path of righteousness, this side of the grave, was paved with caramel and strewn with roses? The traditional Christian way is the way to Golgotha . . . I also know that many will condemn this line of action as naive, as highly impudent. Government reprisals would be quick and sharp, with summary deportations, house arrests and all the rest of the usual stuff, some will argue. But I still say, let us give our Government a fair chance of coming out in the open and showing the world at large how unchristian it can be. Let us give it an opportunity to tear down its present Christian facade so that it may be known to the whole Christian world for what it is. Has it ever occurred to anybody that we haven't yet given it that chance? Other leaders who have been hustled away to Robben Island have already given it quite a fair chance of showing itself to the whole Western world how undemocratic it is and how far it can stoop in its violation of the Rule of Law. Today these prisoners cannot be but eloquent witnesses to man's natural dignity and freedom in a land where arbitration and discretionary powers enjoyed by petty officials are the Law.

Why should we Christians fear to be given our Robben Island or its equivalent? Or do we think that the issues at stake are not worth all that amount of suffering? Why does our mind balk at the idea of the 'Church in chains'? Who knows whether the Church in chains or the Church whisked off to a dreary and

cheerless island would not be the ideal Pilgrim Church—the Church that lives up to its highly apt name 'Ecclesia Militans'? It is about time we stopped identifying the Church with our marble-walled cathedrals, presbyteries, imposing institutions etc. These may be very snug and comfortable places of prayer but they are not the Church. So even if they could be razed or taken by the government the Church would still be the Church. Christ had nowhere to lay his head. Yet the Church he founded had all the necessary marks of the true Church. Which local congregation today would dare compare itself with the congregation that gathered around Christ on the dusty way-sides and hill-sides of Palestine? The Church in chains would be the sacrament or the symbol of Christ fettered and hauled before the Sanhedrin and Pilate. It would be a suffering Church all right. 'Suffering cannot be avoided by those who speak and act the truth in S. Africa today. Each Christian who makes a choice for the truth must do so in the knowledge that he might be cutting himself off from every human hope and ambition he has ever nurtured', thus wrote Clifford Meyer (CONTEXT, Autumn 1967, page 18). Such suffering would be purposive, creative suffering, as every suffering that stems from love is necessarily creative. Why should we allow Communists to take the shine out of our Christianity? We all know that they are all-out sloggers who are not easily contented with half measures where their convictions are concerned. They are afire with zeal in their godless faith. They put us to shame.

Until Christianity in South Africa sees the need for action, the Church in this country will not be very much different from, say, a bowling club. It would be something good but not frightfully necessary. Until all South African Christian men and women sally out en masse and lash out against the evils that appear in the wake of our country's racial Juggernaut, Christianity will always be at a discount among the bulk of the people of South Africa. ●

REV. JOHN DAVIES, the Anglican chaplain at the University of the Witwatersrand, is a leading theologian in the Church in South Africa.

PROFESSOR A. D. PONT, columnist in DIE HERVORMER recently lost a libel case against Professor Geyser and Mr. C. F. B. Naude. We reprint our translation of his recent comments upon CHALLENGE. Floreat dialogue!

EDWARD KING is the Anglican Dean of Cape Town. His article, based on an address to the Rational Thinkers Forum, is reprinted with acknowledgements from SOUTH AFRICAN OUTLOOK.

JOHN SEBIDI, a Catholic Seminarian, is due to be ordained later this year.

ADVOCATE ERNEST WENTZEL was a leading member of the Liberal Party.

COLIN GARDNER lectures in English at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg.

RYK DE LANGE is a freelance journalist.

NAPALM—100,000 tons of napalm have been dropped over South Vietnam since the end of 1963. It was recently reported that South Africa had developed its own napalm.

Political comment in this issue by A. P. Goller (address below).

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Ernest Wentzel

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The Liberal Party

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT to think of a more frail-looking candidate than Marion Friedmann. But her election meeting was packed out while her U.P. opponent's, a few nights later would have been empty but for Gerhard Cohn and his little band of hecklers and questioners from the Liberal Party who attended this meeting against the wishes of the party election organisation which did not want to 'make' our opponent's meeting.

The Liberals did not win Houghton in that 1959 Provincial election but we polled nearly 1,500 votes on a policy of total equality, and we had the attention of that constituency in a way that our opponent could never hope to equal. What caused the interest?

In the hall in which Marion Friedmann spoke there was a huge banner with the words 'there is no force so strong as an idea whose time has come'. And for a brief moment it looked as if the time had come for South Africa to re-examine itself and where it was going. Liberals had tried to show that South Africa was a multi-racial country and part of a black continent, and in those days White South Africans had not yet oozed so deeply into smugness and deafness, and Liberals appeared at least to know something about the density of South Africa even if they might not actually hold the key to it.

Now that the Liberal Party is about to be destroyed, let us recall something of its story and something of what it set out to achieve.

In 1953 the Liberal Association grew into the Liberal Party.

The 1953 general election, with all the glamour associated with the Torch Commando and the huge majority which voted, in vain, against the Nationalists who romped home with a delimitation victory, had left people feeling helpless to stop the Nationalists. The elation of the electioneering soon became the depressing reality of defeat. Those who had waited for the United Party as a replacement for the Nationalists saw that their efforts had landed them instead with an opposition only in name without the will or wit to oppose.

The Liberal Party was an essentially moderate organisation formed by men and women who believed

that sooner or later South Africa would either voluntarily or by coercion become part of the mainstream of the dramatic social changes taking place in Africa. Its founders were men characterised by compassion and it was this which made them set their face against dogmas for which ordinary people are so easily sacrificed. From the beginning the Liberal Party was non-racial in a real and vital sense, believing that only a non-racial party could secure the future for a multi-racial country.

This non-racialism, both in theory and in practice, was a distinctive mark of the party. At about the same time, also in 1953, the Congress of Democrats was formed as a White-wing of the Congress movement. This in itself, apart from the ideological differences, was enough to prevent White Liberals from joining the C.O.D.

The policy of the Liberal Party in those early days was, in many ways, similar to that of the Progressives today. The party stood for a qualified franchise and an economic policy which would have done credit to the English Liberal Party in the nineteenth century. A feature, however, was the party's 'opposition to all forms of totalitarianism, whether Communist or Fascist', which remained a hallmark of its programme.

The Liberal Party grew encouragingly and attracted decent men and women of all races, including a growing band of dissidents from the U.P. There were Liberals representing Africans in Parliament such as Margaret Ballinger and Walter Stanford in the Assembly and Leslie Rubin and William Ballinger in the Senate. Together with the Labour Party members and other African representatives, they played a part in public life far beyond what their numbers might have suggested. Margaret Ballinger acquired for herself a reputation as an outstanding Parliamentarian, as did her colleagues, and it came as little surprise when African representation was abolished and the Liberals were out of Parliament.

There was hope among some sections of the party that eventually the left-wing of the U.P. would find its way into the Liberal Party. Those who thought this way wished to keep the Liberal Party's policy accept-

able to these hoped-for recruits. Others in the Liberal Party did not see the future in this way. As the Government moved ever more to the right, they saw Parliament ever less as a place where the future of South Africa would be decided. They saw the role of the Liberal Party as working increasingly among the non-White voteless.

Many debates were held at congresses on what all this meant for the party. Was the Liberal Party in truth a 'party' or was it a pressure group? And people cared desperately about which definition would win the day.

Meanwhile the future decided the Liberal Party's role for it. The split in the United Party came, but the dissidents formed their own Progressive Party instead of joining the Liberal Party. They were the realists, they said, who had an electoral future which must not be destroyed by our kiss of death. Not we, but the electorate, gave it to them.

Being a party of the left, and a party far from power, we were not an especially well-disciplined group. This was probably just as well, as the days of the late 50's were days of intellectual experiments. It was felt that change was in the air, and many and varied were the remedies prescribed in a party which included in its ranks a wide range of political opinions.

This was difficult for outsiders to understand, especially those to our left who seemed, at least, to be more uniform in their standpoints. The widely-divergent views within the party about the Congress of the People at Kliptown mystified some observers and we were accused of knavery and effiteness in the same breath. The truth was that, even then, the communion of Liberals was founded in its non-racialism, and, important though these ideological disputations were, Liberals found them of secondary importance.

CONTACT

Similarly the role played by CONTACT had subtleties which some of our critics mistook for deliberate chicaneries. CONTACT was not a Liberal Party mouth-piece despite Alan Paton's column 'Long View'. It was privately owned, and largely followed whatever point of view Pat Duncan happened to favour at a particular time. It was too hostile to the Congress movement, in the opinion of many Liberals, and too uncritical of the Pan Africanists.

But here again we felt that in the broadest sense CONTACT did a valuable job and there was always the sanction of Paton's roar, and the threat of withdrawal of his column, to be used when CONTACT became, as it sometimes did, too much for even a very tolerant party to take.

The P.A.C. breakaway from the Congress-movement was a central controversy at that time. Most of us tried to keep out of it in any active sense but in a hullabaloo of that size this was obviously not possible. There were Liberals, especially in the Cape, who were openly on the side of the P.A.C. group. There were other Liberals, both in the Transvaal and Natal, who were strongly critical of the P.A.C. CONTACT was widely accused of open campaigning against Congress. Jordan Ngubane, at that time a Liberal Vice-President, was closely associated with the P.A.C. leadership. It is small wonder that some observers were exasperated at the ideological free-for-all and others whispered about our Machiavellian tactics.

In truth most of us took a middle position. We did not think that all was well in the Congress movement; or that the P.A.C. complaints of lack of democracy in the A.N.C., or of a 'stunt mentality', were quite without foundations. But we did not believe that one could ride the road to non-racialism on the back of the tiger of racialism.

Within the party it was the franchise which was the central issue. It was also the touch-stone of deep differences. The party was recruiting numbers of peasant and working-class Africans. What were we to be? A broadly-based movement or an elite? There was at least some coincidence between this dispute and the dispute on the franchise.

Canvassing was vigorous. Articles on the franchise were written by Tony O'Dowd, Pat Duncan, David Craighead and John Didcott. It became clear that there was a growing consensus in favour of a universal suffrage and that a group of Whites, especially in the Cape, would leave if it became party policy.

It was the non-racial character of the party which determined the result of the franchise debate. In our ranks were men of little formal education but great wisdom whose presence we valued. Who could doubt the result of this controversy?

SHARPEVILLE

And then, quite suddenly, came the 1960 emergency. The P.A.C. demonstrations against the pass laws gathered momentum as nothing had before. On 21st March, 1960, the police opened fire at Sharpeville, the Liberals found themselves in a key position in dramatic times. White South Africa came face-to-face with reality and shuddered and recoiled. The Stock Exchange tumbled; people emigrated; nobody could sell his house; the police suspended the pass laws; there were huge demonstrations in Cape Town,

with Pat Duncan and others playing a vital role in keeping them peaceful.

Liberals were in the thick of it everywhere. The Transvaal division organised lorries to take food and clothing to Sharpeville as it had done during the Sophiatown removals. Two party members were the attorneys for the Sharpeville dependants and wounded, and spent days at Baragwanath Hospital, until their arrest, taking statements on what had really happened.

Meanwhile the Government slowly recovered from its panic and learned the lesson that if you are not going to share power, you must keep your grip tightly on it.

On 30th March, 1960, the police pounced and a state of emergency was declared. Many politicians were arrested, including leading Liberals such as Peter Brown, Hans Meidner, Derick Marsh, Elliot Mngadi, John Brink, Colin and John Lang, Jock Isacowitz and Ernie Wentzel.

It all had its comic overtones. The police had made their arrests before the emergency was proclaimed. Habeas Corpus applications followed in the Supreme Court. In Johannesburg, counsel for the Government assured the judge that the emergency regulations were being flown up from Cape Town by jet, and the Habeas Corpus applications were postponed. When the regulations arrived it was found that the potato board regulations had been sent by mistake, and the 'accused' were free. But only for a day. The emergency was properly proclaimed and most spent four months in goal.

1961 ELECTIONS

The Liberal leaders came out from goal into a different South Africa. What the government had failed to achieve in the treason trial it set about doing by bannings and proscription of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. It seemed again to be the Liberal hour. White South Africa had been shaken out of its complacency and Liberals were strategically well-placed. White Liberals, so it seemed to many other Whites, knew what was going on. If few were prepared to join the party, many, and especially influential ones, listened carefully to what it had to say.

Among non-Whites the good record of the Liberals, typified by the imprisonment of many of its leaders, paid dividends, and the party's strength grew rapidly, especially in the rural areas. In the Transkei, Rustenburg, and rural Natal, branches flourished. In Pretoria an Afrikaner mother wrote to the press that she could not understand how it was that her sons had joined the Liberal Party. There was even a party office in

Springs. In the proceedings of the All-In African Committee at Orlando which led to the Pietermaritzburg conference in March, 1961, Ngubane, Julius Malie and Bill Bhengu played leading roles.

In the 1961 elections Liberal candidates were supported by enthusiastic multi-racial teams of canvassers. Meetings were held regularly, literature was distributed, and articles and letters from Liberals were a feature of the daily press.

But the signs that White South Africa was regaining its control were there. The stock market recovered, despondency turned to determination and the finger which so recently the Liberals had seemed to point to hope in the future became resented and seen as the finger of accusation.

The proposed three-day strike in 1961 was a flop and was called off by Mandela after the first day. Non-violence had failed again in the opinion of many African leaders, and Umkonto and Poqo were the result.

Suddenly White South Africa was deaf again. The Liberal meetings on the Johannesburg City Hall steps, which started with big interested audiences, became ugly, and hooligans started hurling abuse then eggs.

Quickly the hopes for change of 1961-1962 faded. In the party there was an undercurrent of unrest among the younger members. They had a sense of urgency, a belief that the future was being shaped then and there, and that Liberals had to be part of it. While the Liberal Party's leaders felt increasingly the power of the government and the impotence of the opposition groups, some of the younger members felt that the situation was ripe for a chain reaction of change if only it could be triggered off.

The lack of enthusiasm at the 1963 National Congress for proposals for a new and radical economic programme with strong socialist overtones, disillusioned many young members. The party leadership's desire not to split the party but to try to hold some of its more conservative White members, brought some of these younger members to a feeling of estrangement. A party of compromise and tolerance was not their idea of the radical group which would lead South Africa to change.

A.R.M.

The pressure of shame at being young, White and privileged became too much for some people to bear and the A.R.M., a sabotage organisation, was born. In 1964 there were isolated incidents of sabotage, and then the station bomb. Among those involved were several young Liberals who were arrested, detained for

90 days, and then charged with sabotage. Some testified against their fellows, others were goaled for many years, and John Harris was hanged. At the 1964 conference the party resolved that all members who had taken part in A.R.M. activities should be expelled.

In 1960 Alan Paton had spoken of Liberalism as a third force in South Africa: a non-racial and non-violent counter-balance. This was the claim we had made for ourselves, but the A.R.M. was thrown in our faces and we were accused of hypocrisy. Antagonism towards Liberals among Whites became ever more marked and the Nationalists denounced Liberalism ever more fiercely. Bannings and house-arrests without trial, passport refusals, smear and innuendo all combined to weaken the party. The price of opposition became a heavy one.

Nevertheless, the party kept going, under the dogged leadership of Alan Paton and Edgar Brookes. Meetings and conferences were held regularly, especially in the Transvaal and Natal. Frequent public statements, denouncing every piece of unjust victimisation,

ensured that the Party remained a living reality, however attenuated, for those who had any perception—a sharp prick of conscience to the privileged minority and a small ray of consolation to the silenced majority.

And now we are finally to be stamped out as a party not because we pose an active and present threat to Nationalist power but because we are a vision of the future they fear. Our great strength always was our non-racialism: in these days it is our only remaining strength. To try to carry on at its expense would be plain silly, for a Liberal Party without non-racialism is Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

In 1961 our candidates distributed stickers saying: 'The future non-racial, the path non-violent'. Both the goal and the way seem remote now, and South Africa will surely pay a terrible price for that. But when that price is paid who knows if our way will not be found to be a good one? In the words of a sad yet triumphant song 'We shall overcome'. Not ourselves, perhaps, but certainly the ideas for which we stand. ●

Colin Gardner

Vatican II and Culture

VATICAN II'S PRONOUNCEMENT ON 'The Proper Development of Culture' Chapter Two of Part II of the document somewhat quaintly entitled 'The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World' is a most important and exciting piece of work. It is admittedly short, and in places generalized, but this may be all to the good: it would perhaps be wrong for the Church, in its official hierarchical capacity, to say too much or to go into too much detail about culture. (Indeed the Church must obviously beware of interfering with that very autonomy of secular culture which this pronouncement eloquently and properly insists upon).

I propose to preface my comments on the Chapter with a number of quotations from it. Vatican II was one of the most remarkable and momentous gatherings the Roman Catholic Church has ever had: it behoves Catholics and all interested people to pay attention to what the Council actually said. Needless to say, we must not allow superficial and indeed ambivalent publicity in glossy magazines to make us blind to the fact that the Council's true impact, if any, will be upon the everyday lives of Christians.

But before the quotations, I should like to give a brief sketch of the general tenor of the Chapter on Culture, as I see it. Like many other things in this 'Constitution', and in other Council documents, the Chapter shows the Catholic Church's new, fuller, more definite acceptance of man in his natural capacity. The Church now takes a large and generous cognizance of 'the world'; of man's life in this world; of the importance of distinctively worldly achievements and fulfillments *in their own right*, as well as the necessary and inevitable accompaniments of man's supernatural meaning and destiny. The Chapter shows the Church passing beyond the rather exclusive 'supernaturalism' that has obtained since the Council of Trent and indeed for most of the time before that. The Church now accepts, more explicitly than ever before, the rich complexity of man: soul, mind and body; natural and supernatural; a creature of the earth and a creature destined for heaven. And moreover, as I've implied, these different facets of man are not seen as essentially and tragically opposed to one another, in a Manichean way (even though of course human life, with its evils and its imperfectness, *has* many tragic possibilities).

Man as creature of the earth is seen as essentially one with man as destined for heaven.

The source and the fulfilment of this vision is of course Christ. 'All things have been created through and unto him, and he is before all creatures, and in him all things hold together'.

The Church has often in the past admitted *in practice* the value and the beauty of human culture; never before, however, has it been so deliberate, so theologically precise in its acceptance . . .

'It is a fact bearing on the very person of man that he can come to an authentic and full humanity only through culture, that is, through the cultivation of natural goods and values. Wherever human life is involved, therefore, nature and culture are quite intimately connected.

'The word 'culture' in its general sense indicates all those factors by which man refines and unfolds his manifold spiritual and bodily qualities. It means his effort to bring the world itself under his control by his knowledge and his labour. It includes the fact that by improving customs and institutions he renders social life more human both within the family and in the civic community. Finally, it is a feature of culture that throughout the course of time man expresses, communicates and conserves in his works great spiritual experiences and desires, so that these may be of advantage to the progress of many, even of the whole human family.

'Hence it follows that human culture necessarily has a historical and social aspect and that the word 'culture' often takes on a sociological and ethnological sense. It is in this sense that we speak of a plurality of cultures.

'Various conditions of community living, as well as various patterns for organizing the goods of life, arise from diverse ways of using things, of labouring, of expressing oneself, of practising religion, of forming customs, of establishing laws and juridical institutions, of advancing the arts and sciences, and of promoting beauty. Thus the customs handed down to it form for each community its proper patrimony. Thus, too, is fashioned the specific historical environment which enfolds the men of every nation and age and from which they draw the values which permit them to promote human and civic culture'.

That is the introduction to the Chapter. Every form of valid human activity social, practical, scientific, artistic, political, legal, economic is taken into account.

Section I deals with 'the circumstances of culture in the world today'. It sketches some of the advances that the world has made in knowledge and in practical skills and power.

'Hence the culture of today possesses particular characteristics. For example, the so-called exact sciences sharpen critical judgment to a very fine edge. Recent psychological research explains human activity more profoundly. Historical studies make a signal contribution to bringing men to see things in their changeable and evolutionary aspects. Customs and usages are becoming increasingly uniform. Industrialization, urbanization and other causes of community living create new forms of culture (mass-culture), from which arise new ways of thinking, acting, and making use of leisure. The growth of communication between the various nations and social groups opens more widely to all the treasures of different cultures.

'Thus, little by little, a more universal form of human culture is developing, one which will promote and express the unity of the human race to the degree that it preserves the particular features of the different cultures'.

A NEW HUMANISM

In this situation, men become newly aware that *they* are largely responsible for their own worldly destiny:

'In every group or nation, there is an ever-increasing number of men and women who are conscious that they themselves are the artisans and the authors of the culture of their community. Throughout the world there is a similar growth in the combined sense of independence and responsibility. Such a development is of paramount importance for the spiritual and moral maturity of the human race. This truth grows clearer if we consider how the world is becoming unified and how we have the duty to build a better world based upon truth and justice. Thus we are witnesses of the birth of a new humanism, one in which man is defined first of all by his responsibility towards his brothers and towards history'.

This sounds all very well; but there are many cultural problems, and these the Council faces directly and honestly, and in some detail. There can be no doubt about the seriousness of the Church's concern:

'In these conditions, it is no wonder that, feeling his responsibility for the progress of culture, man nourishes higher hopes but also looks anxiously upon many contradictions which he will have to resolve:

What must be done to prevent the increased exchanges between cultures, which ought to lead to a true and fruitful dialogue between groups and nations, from disturbing the life of communities, destroying ancestral wisdom, or jeopardizing the uniqueness of each people?

How can the vitality and growth of a new culture be fostered without the loss of living fidelity to the heritage of tradition? This question is especially urgent when a culture resulting from the enormous scientific and technological progress must be harmonized with an education nourished by classical studies as adapted to various traditions.

As special branches of knowledge continue to shoot out so rapidly, how can the necessary synthesis of them be worked out, and how can men preserve the ability to contemplate and to wonder, from which wisdom comes?

What can be done to make all men on earth share in cultural values, when the culture of the more sophisticated grows ever more refined and complex?

Finally, how is the independence which culture claims for itself to be recognised as legitimate without the promotion of a humanism which is merely earth-bound, and even contrary to religion itself?

'In the thick of these tensions, human culture must evolve today in such a way that it can develop the whole human person harmoniously and at the same time assist men in those duties which all men, especially Christians, are called to fulfil in the fraternal unity of the one human family'.

CHRISTIAN RESPONSE

Section 2—'some principles of proper cultural development' begins to suggest a specifically Christian response. The first paragraphs are eloquent and beautiful:

'Christians, on pilgrimage towards the heavenly city, should seek and savour the things which are above. This duty in no way decreases, but rather increases, the weight of their obligation to work with all men in constructing a more human world. In fact, the mystery of the Christian faith furnishes them with excellent incentives and helps towards discharging this duty more energetically and especially towards uncovering the full meaning of this activity, a meaning which gives human culture its eminent place in the integral vocation of man.

'For when, by the work of his hands or with the aid of technology, man develops the earth so that it can bear fruit and become a dwelling worthy of the whole human family, and when he consciously takes part in the life of social groups, he carries out the design of God. Manifested at the beginning of time, the divine plan is that man should subdue the earth, bring creation to perfection, and develop himself. When a man so acts he simultaneously obeys the great Christian commandment that he place himself at the service of his brother men.

'Furthermore, when a man applies himself to the various disciplines of philosophy, of history, and of mathematical and natural science, and when he cultivates the arts, he can do very much to elevate the human family to a more sublime understanding of truth, goodness, and beauty, and to the formation of judgments which embody universal values. Thus mankind can be more clearly enlightened by that marvellous Wisdom which was with God from all eternity, arranging all things with Him, playing upon the earth, delighting in the sons of men.

'In this way, the human spirit grows increasingly free of its bondage to creatures and can be more easily drawn to the worship and contemplation of the Creator. Moreover, under the impulse of grace, man is disposed to acknowledge the Word of God. Before He became flesh in order to save all things and to sum them up in Himself, 'He was in the world' already as 'the true light that enlightens every man' (Jn. I, 9-10).

And so it goes on. The *tone* of the passage, its warmth, its generosity, its imaginativeness, is very significant.

The Church confronts the dangers of an exclusively scientific attitude, which tends often to produce agnosticism; but asserts that such dangers must not be allowed to blind us to the many positive values that modern attitudes have brought forward.

SECULAR AUTONOMY

The Chapter then deals with the relationship between the Church's ministry and specific human cultures: the Church has worked within different cultures, but has bound itself exclusively and indissolubly to none. Moreover, 'the good news of Christ constantly renews the life and culture of fallen man'—or it *should!*

The Chapter then proceeds, interestingly:

. . . the Church recalls to the mind of all that culture must be made to bear on the integral perfection of the human person, and on the good of the community and the whole of society. Therefore the human spirit must be cultivated in such a way that there results a growth in its ability to wonder, to understand, to contemplate, to make personal judgments, and to develop a religious, moral and social sense'.

'The integral perfection of the human person': in such a phrase one apprehends a rich amalgamation of the traditional values of the Church and the best values of the world of, say, the glory of the Middle Ages and the grandeur of the Renaissance. And the emphasis upon wonder, contemplation, personal judg-

ment upon a sense of the mystery of life and of its problems is well in harmony with the whole treatment, in Part I of the 'Constitution', of 'the situation of men in the modern world', their 'hope and anguish'.

'Because it flows immediately from man's spiritual and social nature, culture has constant need of a just freedom if it is to develop. It also needs the legitimate possibility of exercising its independence according to its own principles. Rightly, therefore, it demands respect and enjoys a certain inviolability, at least as long as the rights of the individual and of the community, whether particular or universal, are preserved within the context of the common good'.

That is very important. Human culture has its own world, its own rights; it isn't merely the handmaid either of ideology or of religion. The Church believes that everything that is valid in human culture will be God's, and will harmonize subtly if not obviously, ultimately if not immediately with the work of the Church.

This point the Chapter develops at some length. One of the elaborations is this:

'All these considerations demand . . . that, within the limits of morality and the general welfare, a man be free to search for the truth, voice his mind, and publicize it; that he be free to practise any art he chooses; and finally that he have appropriate access to information about public affairs'.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Section 3 enumerates 'some especially urgent duties of Christians with regard to culture'. Many 'duties' are associated with 'rights'—for example:

'Energetic efforts must . . . be expended to make everyone conscious of his right to culture and of the duty he has to develop himself culturally and to assist others'.

The section deals with the importance of cultural education, and the necessity of developing 'the whole human person', with a proper harmony of the different aspects of culture. It mentions the place of the family in this process, as well as the other more obvious forms of education and self-education. Other facets of 'the whole human person' are discussed too:

'The widespread reduction in working hours, for instance, brings increasing advantages to numerous people. May these leisure hours be properly used for relaxation of spirit and the strengthening of mental and bodily health. Such benefits are available through spontaneous study and activity and through travel, which refines human qualities and enriches men with mutual understanding. These benefits are

obtainable too from physical exercise and sports events, which can help to preserve emotional balance, even at the community level, and to establish fraternal relations among men of all conditions, nations, and races.

'Hence let Christians work together to animate the cultural expressions and group activities characteristic of our times with a human and a Christian spirit'.

Every good and enriching human activity is embraced by the Church. Perhaps no detail in the whole Chapter is more momentous than that phrase, 'with a human and a Christian spirit': in such a formulation one senses a new and richer relationship between 'humanity' or humanness and the Church.

Finally, the Chapter deals with the duty of Christians to 'harmonize culture and Christian formation'. The great difficulties in this task are faced squarely; but it is suggested that these difficulties are part of a bracing and valuable challenge. And this is how the Chapter ends:

'In pastoral care, appropriate use must be made not only of theological principles, but also of the findings of the secular sciences, especially of psychology and sociology. Thus the faithful can be brought to live the faith in a more thorough and mature way.

'Literature and the arts are also, in their own way, of great importance to the life of the Church. For they strive to probe the unique nature of man, his problems, and his experiences as he struggles to know and perfect both himself and the world. They are preoccupied with revealing man's place in history and in the world, with illustrating his miseries and joys, his needs and strengths, and with foreshadowing a better life for him. Thus they are able to elevate human life as it is expressed in manifold forms, depending on time and place.

'Efforts must therefore be made so that those who practise these arts can feel that the Church gives recognition to them in their activities, and so that, enjoying an orderly freedom, they can establish smoother relations with the Christian community. Let the Church also acknowledge new forms of art which are adapted to our age and are in keeping with the characteristics of various nations and regions. Adjusted in their mode of expression and conformed to liturgical requirements, they may be introduced into the sanctuary when they raise the mind to God.

'In this way the knowledge of God can be better revealed. Also, the preaching of the gospel can become clearer to man's mind and show its relevance

to the conditions of human life.

'May the faithful, therefore, live in very close union with the men of their time'.

Here I must break in to say that this sentence seems to me to be a blemish, a memory of outmoded ways of thinking. The point of many of the assertions in this Chapter, surely, is that 'the faithful' *are*, partly, 'men of their time'.

'Let them strive to understand perfectly their way of thinking and feeling, as expressed in their culture. Let them blend modern science and its theories and the understanding of the most recent discoveries with Christian morality and doctrine. Thus their religious practice and morality can keep pace with their scientific knowledge and with an ever-advancing technology. Thus too they will be able to test and interpret all things in a truly Christian spirit.

'Through a sharing of resources and points of view, let those who teach in seminaries, colleges and universities try to collaborate with men well versed in the other sciences. Theological inquiry should seek a profound understanding of revealed truth without neglecting close contact with its own times. As a result, it will be able to help those men skilled in various fields of knowledge to gain a better understanding of the faith.

'This common effort will very greatly aid in the formation of priests. It will enable them to present to our contemporaries the doctrine of the Church concerning God, man and the world in a manner better suited to them, with the result that they will receive it more willingly. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that many laymen will receive an appropriate formation in the sacred sciences, and that some will develop and deepen these studies by their own labours. In order that such persons may fulfil their proper function, let it be recognized that all the faithful, clerical and lay, possess a lawful freedom of inquiry and of thought, and the freedom to express their minds humbly and courageously about those matters in which they enjoy competence'.

IN OUR SITUATION

There is one aspect of the Chapter on Culture that is particularly relevant to South Africa—to the Nationalist policy of 'Bantu Education':

'Universal recognition and implementation should be given to the right of all men to a human and civic culture favourable to personal dignity and free from any discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, nationality, religion or social conditions.

'Therefore it is necessary to provide every man with a sufficient abundance of cultural benefits,

especially those which constitute so-called basic culture. Otherwise, because of illiteracy and a lack of responsible activity, very many will be prevented from collaborating in a truly human manner for the sake of the common good.

'Efforts must be made to see that men who are capable of higher studies can pursue them. In this way, as far as possible, they can be prepared to undertake in society those duties, offices, and services which are in harmony with their natural aptitude and with the competence they will have acquired . . .'

In my view, the complete separateness of Bantu institutions, the smallness of the amount of money spent on each African schoolchild, the refusal to allow non-Europeans to attend the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Natal, all constitute the sort of injustice that the Council warns us against.

But some people will say: 'Ah, but Africans must have their own culture'. Such people I would refer to the paragraph immediately before the one I have just quoted, which says:

'It is not the function of public authority to determine what the proper nature of forms of human culture should be. It should rather foster the conditions and the means which are capable of promoting cultural life among all citizens and even within the minorities of a nation. Hence in this matter men must insist above all else that culture be not diverted from its own purpose and made to serve political or economic interests'.

I think it is undeniable that political considerations lie behind Bantu Education . . . By all means, for example, let there be non-European university colleges, for all those people who would like to go to them; but *why* refuse to allow non-Europeans the opportunity of attending those older universities where their elder brothers and sisters had been well educated?

THE NON-HATERS

(The liberally-minded in S. Africa)

We walk the dry bed of the sea:
Heaped waters lour, abstract, black.
Our bursting hearts are history,
No God's decree holds this tide back.

COLIN GARDNER

Poem

Baas Government is my Shepherd: and I shall want
for nothing.
He hath set me in a tribal homeland.
He hath brought me up on the water of self-determina-
tion:
He hath changed me from Native to Bantu, he hath
led me along the paths of separate development,
for his own identity's sake.
For though I should walk in the midst of the shadow
of multi-racialism,
I will fear no evils for you ban them.
Thy Commissioner-General and Thy Special Branch:
they have comforted me.
Thou hast prepared a separate table before me against
liberalists that would integrate with me.
Thou hast placed a tribal authority over my head; and
my separate freedom which inebriated me, how
goodly is it!
And thy ethnic groupings will follow me all the days
of my life.
And that I may dwell in a Bantustan unto length of
days.

RYK DE LANGE

Letters

AFRICANISATION

Sir,—I write in response to the article by Patrick Mkhathshwa on "The Africanisation of the Church".

In the Witbank/Lydenburg diocese, where there are no more than three African priests, his ambitions for the African clergy, though valid, must be considered premature. This "outburst" on his part has so far received only an emotional response from those whose business it is to understand the frustration which must have motivated this article.

The fact that he serves in a diocese where it is the policy to "play it cool" in the present South African situation, must serve to aggravate his frustration. To crown all, there is the humiliation he must endure at the hands of whites whenever he enters a post-office or shop. (Those custodians of Christianity to whom he must owe his eternal gratitude.)

Amongst other things (common failings with us all), he stands accused of being hyper-nationalistic. I must remind his accusers that where Christians indulge or tolerate discrimination and injustice (in which case they have become hyper-nationalistic themselves), they share the responsibility when others respond reciprocally.

"Let them make a thousand mistakes for all I care, for surely they learn wisdom in the process". Hastily voiced opinion has it that this statement by Fr. Patrick smacks of rank irresponsibility. However, both history and contemporary living show that men learn from personal experience, and to deprive them of this right, is to lessen their dignity, which, we are taught, is sacrosanct. ●

N. F. TWYFORD, *Witbank*

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES

Sir,—Mr. S. E. Botha (Letter, "CHALLENGE", March/April) seems to have overlooked two fundamental doctrines that have been held by the Church since the earliest era of its history.

Firstly, that Natural law (i.e. God's law), is by definition superior to statute law; that a law promulgated in contravention of the dictates of natural law is not binding on any person; and that it is the duty of the Church and of every individual Christian to oppose by all means possible such travesties of the natural order. That discrimination on the grounds of colour or race is such a contravention of the divine law can hardly be doubted. (Col. 3. 11; I Cor. 12. 13; Gal. 3. 28).

Secondly, that an accumulation of wealth, whether in the hands of an individual or a group, is intrinsically evil, since it is necessarily the result of some degree of exploitation (this is particularly true of South Africa, where the wealth of the white man is almost wholly the product of the black man's labour). Is it necessary to remind Mr. Botha that the early Church practised a form of communism? (Acts 4 and 5.)

It is unfortunate that Mr. Botha should have taken upon himself the task of refuting (largely by means of such emotional phrases as 'Socialist International', 'black dictatorship', 'petrol bombs' etc.) what has been held '*semper, ubique, ab omnibus*'. ●

A. KIRKLAND, *Cape Town*

CLAIMS REJECTED

Fr. Mangaliso P. Mkhathshwa's demand for the 'africanisation or indigenisation of the church' makes sad reading at a time when so many are discovering that in very truth man is but one family.

He writes: 'control and direction are fully entrenched in white hands how long should this be tolerated?' and quoting a former professor, 'the doctrine and life of the church must be mediated to the people through the ways and minds of these who are of the people otherwise the church will not be homogeneous with their needs and aspirations' and elsewhere 'Europe has made its mistakes'.

Might not the above argument be another of Europe's mistakes, having as it does a hint of apartheid?

In the cause of indigenization he recommends that 'white priests should serve under black clergy'. It does seem odd that a white priest 'not of the ways and mind of the people', not homogeneous with their needs and aspirations, could under a black bishop radiate to the people 'the doctrines and life of the church' whereas a black priest under a white bishop is in an intolerable situation.

The crux of the matter is the same old African bid for supremacy in all spheres, camouflaged here by the needs of African psychology.

What is African psychology?

It is dishonest, or it would acknowledge that the moment the first black man encountered his first white man, his Africanism was westernized, his psychology altered, for it was forced to admit a concept from the west formerly unknown to him. His language gradually changed for he had to describe the white man and his goods. His culture changed for it came to include, to a greater or lesser degree, in the concrete or the abstract, the culture of the white man, his appearance, his tools, his mode of living, of travel, his amusements, his sport, and with education his thought.

In effect, African psychology doesn't exist — it is Afro-western psychology.

This so-called African psychology is vociferous. It says: 'white man, you came to our land, you ploughed it, dug deep and released its treasures, harnessed its waters and made it fruitful. You have built roads and cities, rid us of the scourge of malaria and sleeping sickness enabling us to multiply, you have taught us to write our language, brought us the word of Christ, but because you are not indigenous these things are grievous wrongs. Therefore, go white man and in your

going remember, because of your crimes, you are in conscience bound to assist us and give us or your wealth'.

It is whining. 'Forgive us our trespasses (not as we forgive you yours) but because we can't help it, we know no better, we do not have centuries of tradition behind us, we are a 'young' people'.

Of what value are centuries of tradition? Is there anything to choose between the cold savagery of Nazism and the gory brutality of Uhuru?

The small white child of seven has learnt right from wrong, to search its conscience and is expected to govern itself, for it says in confession: 'I firmly resolve by the help of the grace never to offend thee again and carefully to avoid the occasions of sin.'

Is the African adult incapable of doing this, is he unable to learn the commandments, of recognising his sin and governing himself? Is he younger than the white child of seven?

Is this the mystique of the African heart and mind or does it lie in the externals of skin, hair, beting a drum of saying Inkosi instead of Lord? It lies in neither, for the mysticism of race, language and culture is as false as the golden calf.

True psychology has discovered that 'a fundamental psychic kinship exists between all humans no matter what their civilization, race or religion.' because man is divided into eight types or families, but each type hardly ever exists as such, its characteristic being merely the predominant one. Just as in each psyche there is a masculine element and a feminine element: in the male it is the animus which predominates and in the female the anima.

Before his passion Jesus Christ prayed 'that they may all be one Father as thou in me and I in thee' (John xvii:21). Surely what God prayed for is not beyond the powers of the men he made? We in South Africa could be rich beyond words, having contact with the East, West and Africa, if it were not for that our heritage is being stifled by those who advocate physical and spiritual apartheid, under the pseudo-mysticism of race, language and culture.

As a tailpiece, may I point out that the claim of indigenization is based on an untruth. No less an authority than Vuzamazulu C. Mutwa writes that the Bantu travelled south from Central Africa to the land of the Bushman. Would you believe it that before the white man ever came to the shores of Africa the African was himself a colonist, an imperialist, a 'common immigrant'?

MR. GOODWIN, *Rustenburg*



challenge

PULPIT AND PLATFORM

CHRISTIANITY IS nothing if it is not incarnation. When God became man He consecrated the value of mankind irrevocably as He made known to us the divine life of the Trinity. For Christians, this is the fundamental vindication of human value in community, human and divine.

Those who are called to profess Christ's message, to preach the Gospel, are caught up in this same interpenetration of human and divine life. The Gospel is no individualistic, purely spiritual message: it is a call to men to salvation in community. It is as men that we will be saved. The Word was made flesh and the flesh must be made flesh if it is to respond to the Word.

If men are denied the right, and therefore cannot fulfill, their duty to realise themselves in this way: if this denial is imposed in the name of Christ as it is in our country—the Church is obliged unceasingly, in the accents of the prophets of the Old Testament, to bring home to those who claim to follow Christ that there can be no escape from the full demands of the Gospel.

This will be done most naturally on those regular occasions when the christian community assembles. In the present situation of most churches, this will be done primarily by the priest or minister at the congregation's weekly service of worship. Because of the church's failure in the recent past, early attempts to integrate social and political life with religious life—to see them as facets of the same human life—will seem to be as violently unnatural as sodomy. But, theologically and sociologically, there is no more proper place for the reconciliation of falsely opposed aspects of human life—religion and politics—than in church assemblies of worship. Liturgy is the work of the people of God and their work is the restoration of society.

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Number Four

ALAN MURRAY

Student Unrest

MISSION ETUDIANTE DE FRANCE

French Christian Students

S.A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ~~X~~

Message to the People

IAN THOMPSON

For Christ's Sake?

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Ut omnes unum sint

Indeed we go further to suggest that church situations are the sole remaining ones in which the divisions of our society, of race and class, can be brought out into the open in all their horror with some possibility of genuine reconciliation with a minimum of violence. If this is not true, renewal of worship, experiment in worship, even the worship experience itself is a farce and religion, Christianity included, is the opium of the people.

The church is to be a sign of the unity of mankind. It exists to reconcile man to man, man to himself, and man to God. Our prime responsibility in this country is to reconcile man to himself. When Africans, Coloureds and Indians are reconciled to themselves, when they are made more whole insofar as the church can do this, it is they who, by assuming their rightful place in the community, will bring reconciliation to the white community and to us all.

To bring this about, a dynamic whole must be fused from the different activities of men—social, religious, cultural, economic and political—to create a common vision, a common purpose in which Mr. Vorster's theologising will be as irrelevant as his ruthless use of political power.

For the churches, there is no more proper place to begin than in the pulpit. Mr. Vorster will, of course, bring to bear all the power of the state upon those who act in this way. They may find it useful to remember that he is merely our current, and temporary, Prime Minister elected from out of 20% of our genuine electorate. ●

A NEW BIRTH

ACCORDING TO OUR understanding of natural law, the use of contraception in marriage, whether achieved by pill or other 'artificial' means, is moral. According to our understanding of natural law, use of contraception in marriage is not only permissible: in certain circumstances it may even be obligatory. To advocate the use of contraception in marriage is in no way to propose a lesser ideal than any other mode of conduct, whether

it be abstention or free acceptance of all children born to parents. The use of contraception, according to the responsible exercise of conscience informed by the teaching of the church, contributes to the experience of marriage as it should be. It relates, in proper balance, rational and sensual elements in this crucial area of human existence.

Contrary to traditional expositions of the church's teaching, of which the encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*, is the latest example, we are convinced that a proper understanding of human nature, integral and evolutionary, oblige us to conclude that contraception is fully human. The writers of the symposium *Contraception and Holiness* and the majority report of the papal commission provide the theoretical backing for our position: the experience of many Catholic parents supplies the practical test of its effect upon the integrity of christian life. Though the authors of the majority report set aside the categories and cast of mind of later scholastic philosophy they do not, if we understand them correctly, discard natural law. Nor do we: we believe it to be the stem upon which personalist, existentialist values are to be grafted.

Nor is our position based on arguments drawn from the primacy of conscience, demographic explosion, collegial authority or ecumenical experience, important though each of these is to the creation of the understanding which allows Catholics today to change their belief. It is based upon our understanding of Christian responsibility, founded on a natural law development of the totality of sex in marriage, and supported by what we believe will come to be accepted as the authentic teaching of the church, the people of God.

This means that many of the teachers of the church in the recent past have taught wrongly, or at best incompletely. Thus those who believe as we do are obliged, not merely to dissent in private, but to make known their conviction, openly and charitably, so as to contribute to the wider establishment of genuine teaching and authentic married life within the church. ●

Alan Murray

Student Unrest

IT MUST BE EMPHASISED from the start, however, that anyone analysing the current student revolts, which are phenomena of the present, is hampered by the lack of documented information. The only student revolt of this century which has been examined extensively is that which took place in Berkeley, California in 1965, and even in this case one is presented with more theories than hard facts. (1) As far as the more recent unrest is concerned, then, we have no choice but to rely too heavily on press reports, pamphlets, and the few articles which have appeared in contemporary journals. Any attempts at a definitive analysis, at this stage, must therefore be viewed with the scepticism deserved by all 'first off the press' works.

In addition, in focussing on the present, we must not neglect to take note of the past—the students of Berkeley and Berlin in the mid-sixties are not the first of their kind. Students played an important role in the European revolutions of 1848(2) and there is a direct line of descent from the students of the thirties who fought (and died) in Spain, through those who marched with the Civil Rights movement in the early sixties, to those who protest today about the war in Vietnam. The violence of the most recent disturbances is not new either—as early as the 13th. and 14th. centuries, in Oxford, fierce battles were waged between Town and Gown(3).

In the international section I shall be dealing with the student scene in the industrialised world as opposed to what is known as the Third World—this division is not an artificial one, and in fact defines itself. The student revolts which have made the most impact on their societies have taken place almost exclusively in the industrialised world. In the Third world students by and large are absorbed directly into the main stream of political life—either in the struggle for independence, or to form the new elites after this independence has been granted, or to join a radical political movement whose aim is to remove the new elites and establish a more egalitarian society.

CAUSES OF THE UNREST

There are many theories on the causes of the student unrest—almost as many as there are people comment-

ing on the disturbances. Furthermore, one cannot deny that in each instance of student activism there are particular local issues involved which give it a speciality and uniqueness. All this should not prevent one, however, from seeking out the central causes, common to each particular case, and constructing a general explanation. This is what I have attempted to do.

In order to discover what lies at the heart of the student unrest in the liberal democratic societies it is necessary,

firstly to analyse the present international situation, secondly to look at the objective conditions of the metropolitan societies in which the students find themselves, and

thirdly to see why it is that the student in particular has become subjectively aware of these objective international and domestic conditions, to the extent that he wishes to change them fundamentally.

It is necessary to refer to the contemporary international situation as well as the domestic societies of the industrialised nations, because it is the linking of the international scene with the domestic one which has done much to produce the student unrest. In fact in most cases, particularly in Western Europe, it has been a focus on foreign affairs initially—particularly the war in Vietnam—which subsequently has caused students to turn back towards their own societies and examine them critically. For American students, the examination of their society began during the campaign for Civil Rights, but the Vietnam conflict has forced a much more fundamental re-appraisal of the nature of American society.

The war in Vietnam has for many people in western societies—prominent among them students—changed the nature of the Cold War. In the immediate post 2nd world war period, and through the fifties, the Cold War was subjectively perceived by the vast bulk of people in Western societies—the majority of the working class, intellectuals and students among them—as being between two equals, America and the Soviet Union. The horrors of Stalin's purges in the 30's, his pact with Hitler, Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe after the war, and Hungary in 1956, drove many, who had been sympathetic to Marx and the revolution of 1917,

back into the camp of hostility and fear towards Communism in general. The working class, in particular, in the liberal democratic societies, faced with indigenous Communist Parties which were slavishly pro-Soviet and pro-Stalin, turned their backs on Communism, and accepted the policy of containment and the tensions of the Cold War.

In the sixties, however, the thaw set in, with increasing contact between the Soviet Union and America, the first anti-nuclear proliferation treaty, and the lessening of tensions in Central Europe. But as the ice melted round the old Cold War, a new conflict began to rear its head, one which has made a very different impact on western societies; the war in Vietnam. Unlike the Russians, the Vietnamese, in both the north and the south, are perceived by significant elements in western societies—in both America and Western Europe—liberal intellectuals, students, Trade Unionists, social democratic politicians, and other as being poor and brown, and certainly unequal opponents to the vast might of the American armed forces. Modern communications—television in particular—have brought the horrors of the war into the living rooms of millions of people in the western world. They have balanced Vietcong assassinations against napalm and helicopters and B52 bombers and civilian casualties and refugees and the blatant corruption of the South Vietnamese regime, and have found the American defence of its actions wanting on theoretical, practical and humanitarian grounds. A very deep revulsion has been sweeping through the youth of the industrial nations against what they consider to be certainly an unequal war and also an unjust one. They are unwilling and unable to see it in old Cold War terms. They do not belong to a generation which grew up under the shadow of Stalin, they have no living memory of the 30's and even Hungary, to many of them, is an event of the past, and at any rate a legacy of Central Europe rather than the Asian world. Their vision of the problems and dangers of their world is one which focuses on the growing gap between the rich and the poor nations, the wealthy whites and the poverty stricken browns, and their sympathies lie with those who have and are struggling to overcome poverty and oppression and to build equal and shared societies.

It is in this perspective that they view the American presence in Vietnam and its role throughout the Third World, and the foreign policies of their own respective nations. The questions they ask are: Is America on the side of the forces of change, the forces seeking to bring dignity and freedom from hunger to their countries? What regimes do the Americans and our

governments support? The answers they have discovered are that America, not only in Vietnam, but elsewhere in the Third World is not on the side of progressive regimes, and is not in the forefront of the battle against corruption and inequality. In fact they observe just the contrary—in its starkest form in Vietnam they see America bombing a poor, backward, peasant country back into the Stone Age, destroying villages in order to save them, and supporting an unpopular regime. And they observe a less open but no less real policy being pursued elsewhere, particularly in Latin America. For Cuba is, on the one hand, for them the shining example of a poor nation which through a process of struggle has rid herself of a corrupt and dictatorial America backed (until the last stages) regime, and is in the process of establishing an egalitarian society based on mass participation; but then, on the other hand, it is much vilified, hated and ostracised by the United States government.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

It is this conflict over what is right and what wrong in the Third World, over attitudes and actions towards Vietnam, Cuba and China, which initially brought the youth into the streets to protest. This started a chain reaction, with the first links focussing outwards towards Vietnam and the later ones turning inwards onto the societies themselves, probing deeply and asking—What sort of societies can support a war such as this? Is there not something wrong with them? With their values and structure?

In order to provide some insight into the answers which the students discovered after they had asked the above questions, it is necessary to outline some of the objective conditions of the post 2nd world war liberal democratic societies. Given the comprehensive nature of this paper there is not the time or the space to go into a lengthy appraisal of these societies, and so I shall present just a few of the sort of facts about the two most prominent examples of liberal democratic countries which the students live in: the two examples are the United States of America and Britain.

In America, on the domestic front, the failure of the liberal democratic system to cope with the problems of racial discrimination and poverty have been revealed so drastically over the last decade that most casual readers of the daily press are aware of the crisis which exists at the heart of American society. A report of the influential Citizen's Crusade against poverty entitled 'Hunter USA' showed last month that 10 million Americans are chronically malnourished. Said the report: "no other Western country permits such a large proportion of its people to endure the

lives we press on our poor. To make four-fifths of the nation more affluent than any people in history we have degraded one-fifth mercilessly'. It is a widely accepted fact that of the 200 million Americans 29,700,000 live below the recognised 'poverty line'. In recent speeches, one by the Under Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Howard Samuels, and another by the candidate for the Democratic nomination, Senator McCarthy, further facts and figures were presented which vividly portray the alarming objective conditions to be found in contemporary American society. In his speech to businessmen Mr. Samuels pointed out: 'We spend as much for chewing gum as model cities. We spend as much for pet food as on food stamps for the poor. We spend more on tobacco than government at all levels spends on higher education. We spend R200 million for jewellery and quarrel over R7 million for the Teachers' Corps (which helps poor children)'. In his speech at Dartmouth College on March 3rd. Senator McCarthy had this to say: 'Federal statistics show that the male negro is two times as likely to be unemployed and three times more likely to be working at an unskilled occupation than his white counterpart. The President's commission (the Commission on Civil Disorders) recommended the creation of more than 500,000 jobs in 1969, 300,000 of them to be financed by private industry and 250,000 by the public sector. But two weeks ago the President issued his call for more jobs and proposed only 100,000 jobs in 1969, all to be financed by private business, but the government reports more than 700,000 non-whites out of work in the nation today. Without massive redirection the future is bleak . . .'

The above then is just a brief glimpse of the failure of the American political and social system to solve some of the most fundamental problems facing it—and it is these and other objective facts about the society which students and black people find subjectively unbearable.

BRITAIN

In Britain on a more modified, but none the less real scale, the objective facts of the post-war welfare state provide evidence for a subjective appraisal by elements in the society, which is highly critical and despairing. In the fifties in Britain after the machinery of the welfare state had been established with its basic aim of creating a minimal standard of living for all, there was a fairly widespread optimism throughout the country that the basic problems of poverty and deprivation had been solved. But the sixties have brought a reappraisal of the achievements of the welfare state which have revealed a picture which to

some extent at least is not as healthy as was first supposed; for example, it is generally accepted that in Britain 8 to 10% of the population live below the British poverty line. The academics like Brian Abel-Smith, Peter Townsend, James Meade, and Richard Titmuss have done revealing research⁽⁴⁾ which shows, for example, that redistribution of wealth in Britain has been minimal since the turn of the century; a widely quoted figure is that in 1960 5% of the population in Britain still owned 75% of the wealth. Professor Meade points out that inequality in the ownership of wealth is significant apart from any income inequality which it implies. 'A man with much property has great bargaining power and a great sense of security, independence and freedom; he enjoys these things not only vis a vis his propertyless fellow citizen but also vis a vis the public authorities . . . an unequal distribution of property means an unequal distribution of power and status even if it is prevented from causing too unequal a distribution of income'.⁽⁵⁾ The recent appraisals of the Welfare State in Britain generally agree that it has helped to place a bottom on poverty—although this is by no means a bottom without holes as the figures quoted above reveal—but, what they also agree upon is that the question of equality—economic and social equality—has not been tackled to any significant degree in the post war period.

And so here again one comes across an objective situation which can logically be interpreted as being unsatisfactory and requiring criticism and change—and it is just this that students in Britain are doing, focussing their dissent on their educational institutions, and also on the society at large.

Beyond the obvious inequalities and injustices which they found when they looked at their own societies, however, and which I have illustrated above, students began to be conscious of a more subtle feature of their environment, which moved them to work for change as well. They became aware of their own alienation from men around them and 'the system', and in broader terms, of the absolute triviality of suburban man's life. The major political and social questions of his life had been taken care of for him, and he was left with only the most unimportant matters about which to make a direct decision. The vital issues of public policy, of peace or war, of change in the society, were being decided for him by the leaders of the established parties on Television screens after dinner, and by secretive Civil Servants behind closed doors. The mass media presented him with consensus politics, and gradually he had become less and less aware of any real alternatives, as he sank into apathy, anonymity, and unquestioning dependence on the status quo.

WHY THE STUDENTS?

To be a student in the modern industrial society is to be given the chance to escape from this dependence on the leaders of the status quo. It is as John Rex has said 'to find oneself living in a community of equals among whom morals and political and cultural issues are likely to be discussed, in which alternative standards of judgment are on offer, and in which one is challenged to have opinions of one's own'.⁽⁶⁾ Particularly at some of the modern universities in England and America where the teaching of the social studies is strong, students are taught to think critically and to be iconoclastic, and so it should not be surprising when they apply what they have been taught to the icons confronting them most directly. If they learn about the brotherhood of man it must be expected that they may want to go out and fight for it. Sociology in particular is frequently cited as one of the causes of student discontent—the old fashioned philosophers call it a 'pseudo-science', economists a 'leisure subject', and physicists a 'non-subject'—but the fact of the matter is that the nature of the discipline is such that it can give students a theoretical framework from which to approach such problems as power in institutions and societies, and forces them to examine the burning questions of poverty and inequality, thus contributing directly towards their social awareness and possibly to their desire for radical change.⁽⁷⁾

Once the fundamental issues have been raised and the radical alternatives embraced, it is, as Rex further points out, inevitable that there is little possibility of a fruitful dialogue between the students and the administrators of their educational institutions or the established political parties. Faced with the knowledge that the traditional lines of communication are closed to ideas challenging the very foundations of society, students after initial, but nearly always disastrous attempts to broach their views through the normal channels, have taken to demonstrating on their campuses and in the streets with increasing boldness and decreasing restraint. Even at the explicitly more permissive institutions like Essex university in England concessions made by the authorities have been viewed by the students as skillful hand-outs to side-track and stop them short of the ideal: an ideal which the 'modern and sympathetic' universities hierarchies, by their own admission, reject almost as fundamentally as do the more openly conservative academics and administrators. It is fashionable at the more liberal universities to concede greater student participation in areas which are considered relevant to student concern and competence, like planning, building, finance, and

even on rare occasions, limited representation on the Senate. What is described as 'fruitful discussion', but not 'decision making', on teaching methods, is also encouraged. All this, of course, is conceded in addition to the extra mural matters such as sport, students union, student clubs, and limited self-discipline. Where the line is drawn, and where the conflict arises, just as vociferously in the more progressive institutions as in the more conservative ones, is over the question of student control over crucial academic issues like teaching appointments, examinations and syllabuses, and over discipline. Most authorities seem willing to discuss these issues with students but not to allow them, ultimately, to participate in the actual decision making process.⁽⁸⁾ (The above refers specifically to England but as far as I have been able to determine these limits apply elsewhere. It is just possible, however, that more extensive concessions may result out of the French crisis, although in view of the Gaullist electoral triumph this seems unlikely, for the moment at least).

When I outline the theoretical background to the student unrest, the reasons why the students are unwilling to accept the partial concessions made by the authorities will emerge.

Students when they have been moved to act have focussed on two interrelated areas—their immediate environment, institutions of higher learning, on the one hand; and the horizons immediately beyond this—the societies at large and the international situation, on the other. Both in theory and in practice, however, they have been careful not to separate the two areas of protest into different compartments even when on some occasion a particular demonstration may appear to be concerned, for example, just with the war in Vietnam, or just with student participation in university administration. At all times it is insisted that both their grievances and their aims are directed against a particular social and political system, the logic of which makes oppression in Vietnam and in the universities coherent and connected, and *towards* a system the logic of which would bring liberation to both Vietnam and the universities. In some instances the vital connection between the two areas is done for them—for example at Oxford university this year when the university authorities attempted to forbid students from distributing pamphlets to workers urging them to strike, and at Berkeley, where slightly different attempts on the part of the university authorities were made to restrict student political action in the society at large: in both these cases protests were about the right of students to participate actively against what they considered an oppressive political system. ●

Mission Etudiante

French Christian Students

FROM THE START numbers of Christians were present in the recent movement of French student youth. Everywhere, in the provinces as in Paris, Christian students felt at home in the movement, regardless of their age, their speciality, their religious formation, their belonging or non-belonging to one or other Catholic group.

Everywhere the Christians took part spontaneously in the first demonstrations of every type, whatever turn events took (Numerous Christians were in the famous 'night of the barricades', 10-11 May).

Then they took responsibility everywhere within the different committees and working groups . . . without any problems of conscience arising.

The majority of Christians, however, found themselves in preference in places where there were less immediate decisions to be taken and where they did not feel too useless (University commission, guards or disciplinary force, social service, crèche, buffet, infirmary for medical students). Some—but these were a minority—took responsibilities in the direction of the movement (in the action committees for example).

Everywhere at a rate which was often too rapid for them, the Christians had to make political decisions of greater or lesser importance. The main difficulty for them does not arise in the domain of ethics, nor does it concern their present membership of the Church. The major difficulty arose from their lack of previous civic and political formation, a consequence of the evident and recognized passivity of the mass of students in recent years (The Christian students are quite representative of this mass!) One should also remember the loaded legacy of fears, and even taboos concerning politics in general, and Marxism in particular that they had been bequeathed. It is true that a certain number of Christians rushed headlong into the different left-

wing groups which played a decisive role as active minority (pro-Chinese, Anarchists, Trotskyists). But these Christians were nevertheless only a minority and we will see further on to what extent in fact the Christians as a whole felt themselves helpless. Two points should be noted: 1) the very clear secularization of Christian students and their awareness, which grew day by day, of the autonomy of political option with regard to the Church; at the same time the discovery that in each of the positions, from the left to the right, there were Christians. 2) the lack of previous political formation.

For a great number of less discerning Christian students the recent events produced a brutal and irreparable awakening.

First of all they awakened to the discovery of the collective dimension of their existence.

Each student found that the malaise he felt as an unshakeable burden, a malaise that he scarcely thought of expressing, was shared by all and not merely by some of his Christian fellow-students. It was this that led to the blow-up of a situation which had become, at times, intolerable. And it was this that led to the extraordinary feeling of liberation experienced by each one in discovering the possibility of taking his destiny into his own hands (One should not smile too soon at what seems, in the eyes of many adults, disorder, incoherence, anarchy or folklore). For many this was a necessary evolution.

Then there was the rapid discovery that the whole movement, in its deepest dimension, could not concern the university alone; this led to each student's becoming aware of his insertion in society as a whole and also to an awareness—admittedly in rather romantic fashion—of the problems of the less privileged classes which had, until then, been unknown to the majority of students.

The fact that the 'contestation' of society is obligatorily a political act, whatever the political options chosen, was also something new.

The complexity of certain human problems was also discovered: the complexity of the problem of violence, for instance, which in the actual situation appeared to them as essentially a political problem, depending only

1. S. M. Lipsset and S. S. Wolin—'The Berkeley Student Revolt facts and interpretations', V. Y. Doubleday, 1965.
2. The Times—May 27th, 1968—Page 8.
3. The Student Conflict—E. Rudd, New Society, March 14, 1968. Page 378.
4. Publications:
 - R. Titmuss—Income Distribution and Social Change. George. Allen & Urwin, London, 1962.
 - B. Abel-Smith—'Whose Welfare State', Conviction, 1968.
 - P. Townsend—Liberty, Socialism and Labour in Power—Fabian Trust, 369.
5. J. E. Meake—Efficiency, Equality, and Ownership of Property.
6. Students and Revolution—J. Rex. Professor of Social at Durham University, New Society, May 30, 1968. P. 792.
7. E. Rudd, 1968, op cit.
8. The Observer—16 June, 1968. Page 21.

secondarily on ethics. Violence was not chosen for itself: we found ourselves in a 'situation of violence'. And then there were the problems concerning legality, illegality, etc. Finally there was the concrete discovery for the Christian that the options and the ruptures in his life cannot be dictated by principles and laws, nor by the authority of 'Father', but that the options and ruptures operate within the events themselves, within the human experience which is always mixed and searching, feeling its way.

Distress is now experienced by those who committed themselves to the movement with generosity but who were totally unprepared. This distress is common to all students whether they form part of organized groups or not. It is not due to the apparent failure of the movement (for deep down there is no failure and we know that several stages are necessary for a real change of mentality). It is due rather to the deterioration of the present stage of the movement following on the evolution of the political situation in the country, following on the recuperation by the parties, the trade-unions and the authorities, of a movement whose initiators and origin they are only too happy to forget. The university is progressively being isolated through the clever moves of the government which is driving the less farsighted or the more utopian of students to commit one error after another, so that public opinion turn against the student movement and so that it can no longer 'contaminate' the rest of the nation.

Lack of political formation is a cause of distress for many Christians as we have already said. Quite incapable of analyzing a situation in order to reflect on it and take distance, especially with regard to the traps laid at present a great number of students—Christians particularly—are discouraged and this upsets the movement and creates a momentary division also. (This is the aim of the authorities!)

Only those Christians who have some political formation or are humanly a little more mature, overcome this distress and try, with the rest, to surmount new difficulties.

The anguish was familiar to Christians challenged by their faith and very much at ease in the movement pursuing new values; these students never hesitated to commit themselves. Without any qualms of conscience they felt on the contrary a basic harmony between their faith and what was at stake for the movement. For them it was not only a socio-economic revolution but a human revolution.

Aware that nothing is easy that nothing is clear, aware especially that this was just a beginning, they were not frightened or stopped by what was understood

outside as disorder, confusion, anarchy, etc. (Many seized upon this to ridicule the movement in the eyes of non-aware public opinion).

These Christian students have, however, discovered what sin really is and have been profoundly disconcerted by this. (No number of talks could have elicited this discovery in a period of which it is said—a little too easily—that the notion of sin does not exist for youth).

And here when we speak of sin, we are speaking much less of the violence of the streets than the doing of violence to minds and spirits in matters of truth and freedom of thought and expression.

The students have had the sad experience of witnessing the counterfeiting of this truth (from the domain of public information to the domain of voting in general assemblies).

They have had the experience of dogmatism and lack of dialogue on the right wing as on the left, in the political and ideological domain as well as in the religious one (during 'contestation' assemblies organized by Catholic student groups).

This experience, which was certainly beneficial, has had a shattering effect on many Christians who were not prepared for such 'spiritual' confrontation. Here we stress strongly that the main question for Christian students is not so much one of commitment (to use a term we consider outworn). The main question is on the level of 'Christian being'. Spiritual, sacramental and catechetical bases are terribly lacking in the life of faith of Christian students. And in this connection we strongly insist on the necessity of inventing a catechetical form which fits into the new culture forming new mentalities.

From all that has been said above, the following points deserve reflection: the secularization of Christian students and a considerable awakening of a great number of them to what one could call a little simplistically 'a more responsible life'; the discovery for many, on a very practical level, that spiritual experience is lived, in fact, and finds its meaning at the centre of human experience; on the other hand, distress and paralysis of the majority of Christian students on account of 1) a lack of previous political formation; 2) a lack of spiritual and catechetical formation for their life of faith faced with the counterfeiting of what is most precious in man.

(We must mention, before ending, that we have only spoken of Christians participating in the recent movement of French students. It should be known that a good number have been totally disinterested in what is going on, from the beginning, and are at the moment at home on holiday, or at work, preparing for exams in September).

S.A. Council of Churches

Message to the People

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

is the good news that in Christ God has broken down the walls of division between God and man, and therefore also between man and man.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that Christ is the truth who sets men free from all false hopes of grasping freedom for themselves, and that Christ liberates them from a pursuit of false securities.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that, in the crucifixion of Jesus, sin has been forgiven, and that God has met and mastered the forces that threaten to isolate man and destroy him.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that, in the resurrection of Jesus, God showed himself as the conqueror and destroyer of the most potent of all forms of separation, namely death, and he proved the power of his love to overthrow the evil powers of fear, envy and pride which cause hostility between men.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that, by this work of Christ, men are being reconciled to God and to each other, and that excluding barriers of ancestry, race, nationality, language and culture have no rightful place in the inclusive brotherhood of Christian disciples.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that God is the master of this world, that his is the mind and purpose that shapes history, and that it is to him alone, and not to any subsection of humanity, that we owe our primary obedience and commitment.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that we live in the expectation of a new heaven and a new earth in which righteousness dwells; that the Kingdom of God is present already in Christ and through the Holy Spirit; and that it therefore now demands our obedience to his commandments and our faith in his promises.

OUR CONCERN

This, in summary, is the Gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ. It offers hope and security for the whole

life of man; it is to be understood not only in a mystical and ethical sense for the salvation of the individual person, and not only in a sacramental and ecclesiastical sense within the framework of the Church; the Gospel of Christ is to be understood in a cultural, social (and therefore political), cosmic and universal sense, as the salvation of the world and of human existence in its entirety. Further, the Gospel of Christ is not only the object of our hopes; it should be experienced as a reality in the present.

For this reason, Christians are called to witness to the significance of the Gospel in the particular circumstances of time and place in which they find themselves. We, in this country, and at this time, are in a situation where a policy of racial separation is being deliberately effected with increasing rigidity. The effects of this are to be seen in a widening range of aspects of life—in political, economic, social, educational and religious life; indeed, there are few areas even of the private life of the individual which are untouched by the effects of the doctrine of racial separation. In consequence, this doctrine is being seen by many not merely as a temporary political policy but as a necessary and permanent expression of the will of God, and as the genuine form of Christian obedience for this country. But this doctrine, together with the hardships which are deriving from its implementation, forms a programme which is truly hostile to Christianity and can serve only to keep people away from the real knowledge of Christ.

There are alarming signs that this doctrine of separation has become, for many, a false faith, a novel gospel which offers happiness and peace for the community and for the individual. It holds out to men a security built not on Christ but on the theory of separation and the preservation of their racial identity. It presents separate development of our race-groups as a way for the people of South Africa to save themselves. Such a claim inevitably conflicts with the Christian Gospel, which offers salvation, both social and individual, through faith in Christ alone.

This false offer of salvation is being made in this country in the name of Christianity. Therefore, we believe that the Church must enable all our people to

distinguish between this false, novel gospel and the true eternal gospel of Jesus Christ. We believe that it is the Church's duty to enable our people to discriminate more carefully between what may be demanded of them as subjects or citizens of the State of South Africa and what is demanded of them as disciples of Jesus Christ.

THE GOSPEL'S CLAIM

The Christian Gospel declares that there is no other name than that of Christ whereby men must be saved. Thus salvation in Christ exposes the falsity of hope of salvation through any other means.

The first Christians, both Jews and Gentiles, discovered that God was creating a new community in which differences of race, nation, culture, language and tradition no longer had power to separate man from man. We are under an obligation to assert this claim and to live by it. We are under an obligation to assert that the most significant features of a man are not the details of his genetic inheritance, nor the facts of his ancestry. The most significant features of a man are the characteristics which enable him to be a disciple of Christ—his ability to respond to love, to make choices, to work as a servant of his fellowmen; these are the gifts of the grace of God at work in the individual person; and to insist that racial characteristics are more important than these is to reject our own humanity as well as the humanity of the other man.

But, in South Africa, everyone is expected to believe that a man's racial identity is the most important thing about him. Until a man's racial identity is established, virtually no decisions can be taken; but, once it is established, it can be stated where he can live, whom he can marry, what work he can do, what education he can get, whose hospitality he can accept, where he can get medical treatment, where he can be buried—and the answer to multitudes of other questions can be supplied once this vital fact is established. Thus, we are being taught that our racial identity is the final and all important determining factor in the lives of men. As a result of this faith in racial identity, a tragic insecurity and helplessness afflicts those whose racial classification is in doubt. Without racial identity, it appears, we can do nothing: he who has racial identity has life; he who has not racial identity has not life. This amounts to a denial of the central statements of the Gospel. It is opposed to the Christian understanding of the nature of man and community. It, in practice, severely restricts the ability of Christian brothers to serve and know each other, and even to give each other simple hospitality. It arbitrarily limits the ability of a person to obey the Gospel's command to love his neighbour as himself.

Attempts have been made to support racial separation from Scripture. For instance, it is said to have the authority of an order of creation, which was divinely confirmed by the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel and emphasized again at Pentecost. The fact is, however, that the event of Pentecost asserts and demonstrates the power of the Holy Spirit to draw men into one community of disciples in spite of differences of languages and culture and it is thus the way by which the disunity of Babel is healed.

The Bible's teaching about creation has nothing to say about the distinctions between races and nations. God made man—the whole human race—in his image. God gave to man—the whole human race—dominion over the rest of creation. Where differences between people are used as badges or signs of opposing groups, this is due to human sin. Any scheme which is proposed for the rectifying of our disorders must take account of this essentially sinful element in the divisions between men and between groups of men. Any scheme which is claimed to be Christian must also take account of the reconciliation already made for us in Christ. The policy of separate development does not take proper account of these truths. It promises peace and harmony between the peoples of our country not by a faithful and obedient pursuit of the reconciliation wrought by Christ, but through separation, which, being precisely the opposite course, is a demonstration of unbelief and distrust in the power of the Gospel. Any demonstration of the reality of reconciliation would endanger this policy; therefore the advocates of this policy inevitably find themselves opposed to the Church if it seeks to live according to the Gospel and if it shows that God's grace has overcome our hostilities. A thorough policy of racial separation must ultimately require that the Church should cease to be the Church.

Everywhere, sin corrupts God's creation, particularly, it exploits differences to generate hostility. The policy of separate development is based on the domination of one group over all others; it depends on the maintenance of white supremacy; thus it is rooted in and dependent on a policy of sin. The Christian Gospel declares that God has acted to overthrow the policy of sin. God is bringing us from a living death to a new life; and one of the signs that this has happened is that we love the brethren. But, according to the Christian Gospel, our 'brethren' are not merely the members of our own race-group, nor are they the people with whom we may choose to associate. Our brother is the person whom God gives to us. To dissociate from our brother on the grounds of natural distinction is to despise God's gift and to reject Christ.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ declares that God is love. This is not an easy doctrine. It is not 'sentimental humanism'. It is far easier to believe in a god who is less than love and who does not require a discipleship of love. But if God is love, separation is the ultimately opposite force to God. The will to be separate is the most complete refusal of the truth. The life of separation is the most plain denial of life. The Christian Gospel declares that separation is the supreme threat and danger, but that in Christ it has been overcome. According to the Christian Gospel, we find our identity in association with Christ and with each other. Apartheid is a view of life and a view of man which insists that we find our identity in dissociation and in distinction from each other. A policy of separate development which is based on this concept therefore involves a rejection of the central beliefs of the Christian Gospel. It calls good evil. It rejects as undesirable the good reconciliation and fellowship which God is giving to us by his Son. It seeks to limit the limitlessness of God's grace by which all men may be accepted in Jesus Christ. It seeks to confine the operation of God's grace within the barriers of human distinctions. It reinforces divisions which the Holy Spirit is calling the People of God to overcome. This policy is, therefore, a form of resistance to the Holy Spirit.

OUR TASK

People should be able to see the Gospel of Christ expressed in the life of the Church. They should be able to see in the Church an inclusive fellowship and a freedom of association in the Christian brotherhood. They should be able to see the power of God at work in the Church changing hostility into love of the brethren. We are indeed thankful for these signs of God's grace where they are to be seen in the life of the Church. But, even in the life of the Church, there is conformity to the practices of racial separation; and the measure of this conformity is the measure of the Church's deviation from the purpose of Christ.

Our task is to work for the expression of God's reconciliation here and now. We are not required to wait for a distant 'heaven' where all problems will have been solved. What Christ has done, he has done already. We can accept his work or reject it; we can hide from it or seek to live by it. But we cannot postpone it, for it is already achieved. And we cannot destroy it, for it is the work of the eternal God.

GOD RATHER THAN MEN

The Gospel of Jesus Christ declares that Christ is our master, and that to him all authority is given. Christians betray their calling if they give their highest

loyalty, which is due to Christ, to one group or tradition, especially where that group is demanding self-expression at the expense of other groups. Christ is the master and critic of all of us and of all our groups. He is the judge of the Church also. If the Church fails to witness for the true Gospel of Jesus Christ it will find itself witnessing for a false gospel. If we seek to reconcile Christianity with the so-called 'South African way of life', (or any other way of life) we shall find that we have allowed an idol to take the place of Christ. Where the Church thus abandons its obedience to Christ, it ceases to be the Church; it breaks the links between itself and the Kingdom of God. We confess, therefore, that we are under an obligation to live in accordance with the Christian understanding of man and of community, even if this be contrary to some of the customs and laws of this country.

Many of our people believe that their primary loyalty must be to their group or tradition or political doctrine, and that this is how their faithfulness will be judged. But this is not how God judges us. In fact, this kind of belief is a direct threat to the true salvation of many people, for it comes as an attractive substitute for the claims of Jesus. It encourages a loyalty expressed in self-assertion: it offers a way of salvation with no cross. But God judges us, not by our faithfulness to a sectional group but by our willingness to be made new in the community of Christ. We believe that we are under an obligation to state that our country and Church are under God's judgement, and that Christ is inevitably a threat to much that is called 'the South African way of life'. We must ask ourselves what features of our social order will have to pass away if the lordship of Christ is to be fully acknowledged and if the peace of God is to be revealed as the destroyer of our fear.

But we believe that Christ is Lord, and that South Africa is part of his world. We believe that his kingdom and its righteousness have power to cast out all that opposes his purposes and keeps men in darkness. We believe that the word of God is not bound, and that it will move with power in these days, whether men hear or whether they refuse to hear. And so we wish to put to every Christian person in this country the question which we ourselves are bound to face each day; to whom, or to what are you truly giving your first loyalty, your primary commitment? Is it to a subsection of mankind, an ethnic group, a human tradition, a political idea; or to Christ?

May God enable us to be faithful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to be committed to Christ alone! ●

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Ian Thompson

For Christ's Sake?

THE INDIAN PEOPLE of South Africa have been a law-abiding, hard-working part of the population since 1860. They were first brought to South Africa by the Natal Legislative Council to work on the sugar plantations. Neither Britain nor India were keen on the idea but, with many assurances of no discrimination towards Indians once they were free from their five-year indentures, they allowed the migration in fits and starts till India stopped it in 1911.

The Indians have served South Africa well as plantation workers, small traders, tailors, waiters, factory workers, businessmen and doctors.

But from the beginning in Natal till now there has been prejudice against them. Indians entered the Transvaal in 1881, opened shops and did well. Europeans, jealous of their success, started a campaign against them in the newspapers and the Volksraad. Law No. 3 of 1885 enacted that Asians 'cannot obtain the burgher right of the South African Republic . . . they cannot be owners of fixed property in the Republic . . . except in certain locations.

Mahatma Gandhi, then a young lawyer in Johannesburg, led the Indians in a movement to overcome harsh laws. (The movement was called Satyagraha from satya 'truth' and agraha 'firmness', and it involved peaceful non-cooperation and overcoming by 'soul force'). But the Whites still denied the Indians full civil rights. The Gold Law of 1908 further prohibited Asians from owning land on the Reef. Gandhi wrote to Smuts (June 30, 1914): 'complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been conceded to the resident Indian population'.

In 1927 the Governments of India and South Africa entered an agreement in Cape Town allowing for repatriation of Indians but affirming that 'the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people'. Nevertheless, Smuts' Government passed the discriminatory Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 which contravened the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations of which Smuts was one of the architects.

On March 29, 1948, Dr. Malan in his election manifesto announced a more determined 'apartheid'

for Indians. They would have to live in completely separate areas and their right to trade anywhere else would be gradually abolished. When the Nationalist Government came to power (1948) two committees were appointed to work out this policy. In their joint report (Section 331) they stressed: 'In its most advanced form this theme reads: repatriation and failing which, compulsory segregation with boycott to induce repatriation'. These were the foundations of the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1957.

Mr. W. A. Maree, who became Minister of Indian Affairs and later of Community Development said at Newcastle (June 1956): 'the Indians would be only too pleased to get out of South Africa after the effects of the Group Areas Act have been felt'. In Parliament, however, Dr. Dönges, piloting the Group Areas Bill, said that its object would be achieved without recourse to discrimination between the races.

Let me close this section by quoting from the statement Mr. Nana Sita made at his trial under the Group Areas Act in Pretoria Magistrate's Court (August 7, 1967): 'In the three principal areas declared in the Transvaal as Indian Group Areas, namely for East Rand at Benoni, for Johannesburg at Lenasia and for Pretoria at Laudium no White man had to be removed from his place of residence or business. The removal order fell on Indians only . . . In 26 other towns and dorps that are proclaimed, except at Standerton and Rustenburg, no Europeans had to move, only Indians will be removed from businesses and residences . . .'

He then spoke of the hardships of being uprooted, the insecurity for the future, the extinction of businesses built up by the service of three generations and summed up this way: 'I would say that the cruel treatment meted out to Indians by the enforcement of the said Act is a crime against humanity and a sin against God. One day the framers of the Group Areas Act will stand before a much higher authority than the South African Parliament . . .'

JOHANNESBURG

Johannesburg has only one group area for Indians, i.e. Lenasia, 20 miles from the city centre. The city council's General Purpose Committee proposed that

Burghersdorp and part of Fordsburg be given to the Indian community. The Government insists on Lenasia only.

Over 20,000 people have shifted to Lenasia, and the Department of Community Development intends to make it a home for 73,000 people. Now, Indians have entered trade in large numbers which is natural since other avenues e.g. obtaining farms, or entering professions or skilled jobs, have been largely closed to them. It stands to reason that if they are expected to trade only in their own isolated community many will be ruined in the process.

There is already overtrading in Lenasia. And ultimately about 1,200 traders in the city are still to be pushed out to Lenasia! They are under notice to move from Vrededorp, Fordsburg, the Market Street area, Newclare, Martindale and other suburbs.

MARTINDALE

Against this background let us look in more detail at the treatment of Indians in one particular area of Johannesburg.

Ten years ago there were about 300 traders in the Martindale-Sophiatown complex of Western Johannesburg. They were a community of small traders, law-abiding, hard-working and honest. There have been no crimes nor insolvencies among the Martindale traders for 20 years.

When Sophiatown was broken down, the land owned by Indians in Sophiatown and Martindale was expropriated by the Native Re-settlement Board and handed over to the National Housing Commission.

In October 1961 notices to move were served on the 76 traders on the Main Road, Martindale. By September 1967 only 36 traders were left there.

The Indians made an investigation to find out what happened to 40 traders who left the area after 1961. Here is a summary of their findings:

- 5 traders died
- 3 became insolvent
- 11 became workers
- 8 are unemployed (because of old age)
- 13 found alternative shops and are struggling to keep their heads above water.

Yet the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. W. A. Maree, speaking at Laudium Civic Centre on November 4, 1965, gave the assurance that no Indian trader would be deprived of his livelihood by the application of group areas.

The Martindale traders were keen to stay where they had lived and traded for as long as 35 years. They were prepared to rebuild or improve to the specifications of the City Council and the Department

of Community Development. Otherwise, they were eager to rent shops that businessmen were prepared to build for them in that area. But it was made clear to them that as Indians they would have to get out. The Whites were taking over.

The trouble was and is that there are no places to go. Except Lenasia, where there are too many shops already. Other places where the Department of Community Development said they could get shops were unsuitable for starting up viable businesses as we shall show. While alternative areas and shops suggested by the traders were disallowed by that Department.

At one stage the Department of Community Development announced that traders could get shops in 21 industrial areas. Of these, 18 areas had no vacant shops. Nevertheless, some traders found shops in the other three areas that they wanted to buy or rent. But sellers or landlords were unwilling to wait till permits were issued to the Indians. They wanted rentals the day they were approached.

For small traders to manage this was impossible. Contrary to the mythology held among Whites about Indian traders many of the Martindale people are relatively poor, owning no cars and living in cramped houses.

In shifting anywhere they would lose heavily, leaving behind an established clientele to build up a new one. In industrial areas people could only come to buy before and after work and at breaks. To take over these shops some were asked to pay heavy 'goodwill' and all to pay much heavier rents than they had hitherto managed.

The irony of it all is that Martindale itself is scheduled to be an industrial area. Factories are rising there now!

In 1964 the Department of Community Development drew up a list of 30 shops which they offered the traders as alternatives. The Indians investigated and found:

- 11 not vacant;
- 3 not to let;
- 2 in a delapidated condition and 2 otherwise suitable;
- 1 suitable for an office and 1 for a storeroom only;
- 7 in localities where there were no prospects at all;
- 3 shops enumerated were non-existent (one e.g. had been scheduled for demolition and was demolished shortly after the official saw it).

It seems clear the Community Development sent a man to scout round, and he made a hurried list of

places apparently vacant, without enquiring thoroughly into their availability, present use, or suitability. This ridiculous list of 30 shops was offered to 45 traders.

In turn the traders made a list of genuine alternatives which the Department turned down as being proclaimed and White areas. Community Development said that besides Lenasia and parts of Fordsburg it could not issue permits. The trouble with Fordsburg is that the traders were offered very poor business places there and that, in any case, the Government wants to make Fordsburg White (except for the very limited Asian Bazaar) and so the traders would only be secure there for a few years.

The Indian traders, though sore, are willing to shift. Many are living in Lenasia already. As far as business is concerned, they only ask genuine alternatives where they can re-develop viable businesses. One could scarcely ask for a more reasonable approach. They have e.g. suggested (in a letter dated August 20, 1968) that a business area be created for them on open land near Soweto. But will anyone pay any attention?

Meanwhile, they are constantly visited by officials who threaten and sometimes insult them by the way they talk to them. Now police action and evictions are threatened.

The Indians have tried to defend what is theirs in the courts. Now they ask only for human treatment. They say; 'We put ourselves in God's hands (or Allah's hands, depending on their religion). He is the Almighty. He knows best'.

But what cuts me to the core is when they add: 'But why do Christians do this to us? It is not Christ's teaching, is it?'

THE PEOPLE INVOLVED

Before summing up the situation here are one or two specific examples of it. Mr. A. M. Patel trades at 225 Main Road, Martindale. He is 63 years of age, with a family. With four other traders he is facing a case in the Supreme Court brought against them by Cash Discount Services who have bought this part of the expropriated land on which they are trading.

Mr. Patel has tried hard to find alternatives. For example, with others he approached a Mr. Hassen, owner of land at Klipspruit, well out in the country beyond Soweto, to build shops for them. After long and expensive negotiations with the Department of Community Development and other relevant bodies they were refused permits for shops in that area.

Mr. Patel runs a small drapery shop, if he were to move to Lenasia he would have to change his stock completely as he sells for the African trade. He would not then survive the high rents and poor business.

Mr. P. Naidoo who is a greengrocer at 235B Main Road, Martindale, is 46 with a wife and six children. His shop is one of ten declared slums. Yet he was offered a room in a dingy, deserted army camp in Lenasia as an alternative!

He was also offered shops in Fordsburg which will be due for demolition before long.

Mr. Harry Badal is one of three Badal brothers, men of character, warmth and civility. His grocery shop is also affected by the Slums Declaration. At that time it did not look anything like a slum. Now it is crowded, because Bee Hive Brushware are building behind him and the authorities came and broke down his storeroom (and lavatory).

Mr. Badal and the others affected by the Slums Declaration are at the time of writing being threatened with arrest by the Deputy State Attorney.

An old Mr. Bhoola with a frail wife suffering from dropsy was confronted one morning by a gang sent by Community Development to break down part of his house behind his shop at 219D, Main Road, Martindale. It was a bad shock to his wife, and the old man says that if he moves his wife will not survive it.

CHRIST OR ANTI-CHRIST?

To sum up the Martindale situation. There are 30 traders still there all under notice to move and threats of arrest or eviction. To the right and left of them are the delapidated shells of shops where their friends have been pushed out. Behind them rise factories built on expropriated land. One calls to mind Trevor Huddleston's words in 'Naught for Your Comfort': 'One day Sophiatown will be a White suburb: or perhaps a White industrial zone, with factories and workshops standing where the rubble now lies . . . But it will be stolen property. And nothing that man can do will alter that'.

What should we do about such treatment by 'Christians' of 'non-Christians'?

I believe, we should feel the guilt of it, first. We are seeing it being done, we are bound up in the nation doing it.

I suggest that we should go to meet these traders, buy from them and talk with them, to share something of their position and give them our moral support.

We should leaven public opinion about the cruelty of the Group Areas Act and speak out for the humanizing of policies so that people may live, trade and work where they would like to and are able to. We should speak in social circles and church circles relating the gospel to these issues that so deeply affect

men's lives. We need only found our approach on our Lord's word, to love God and our neighbours as ourselves.

We are in circumstances similar to the Old Testament prophets in that the believing community itself (not pagan overlords) is responsible for the injustices in our midst. We ought, then, to speak to the officials concerned, the Government directing them, and the voters pressing the Government. (Although each of these is moved by the other in a connected series, they all share in the responsibility).

We could hold meetings or carry round petitions to

bring the issues home to the public. Or there may be some still better ways of living out our Christian calling in this situation. The traders ask us not to forget to pray.

Can it be that this is the kind of situation which will lead to the fulfilment of our Lord's words (Matthew 8: 11, 12): 'I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and gnash their teeth'?

Edward Higgins

Contraception and Natural Law

DURING THE LAST two years Catholics throughout the world have been waiting with mounting impatience for the pope's statement on the much-debated question of contraception in marriage. No doubt many hoped for a change and prayed that the pope would see fit to leave this delicate and intimate matter to the individual conscience. Very few, one imagines, actually expected Paul IV to do this. The pope is in many ways a prisoner of his office and he must have felt bound by the related teachings of some of his recent predecessors.

The pope made it clear in *Humanae Vitae* that the basis of his ban on all forms of contraception other than rhythm or abstinence springs from the natural law. This, rather than divine revelation, constitutes the informing principle of the recent encyclical. My aim in this article is to question the adequacy and relevance of the scholastic framework—the pope's teaching is based on this—as a means of understanding the sexual act in marriage.

If natural law was really natural and universal, as its exponents claim, then it would be understood by all men everywhere and at all times. One could not then dispute it no more than one could argue with the multiplication table. However, this does not appear to be the case since only certain Roman Catholic celibates of a particular philosophic persuasion seem able to detect and understand just how and why contraception violates this natural law. Other Catholics, Christians and non-Christians apparently lack the superior insight and wisdom enjoyed by certain Catholic upholders of

the natural law hypothesis vis-a-vis contraception. As one critic aptly remarks: '... the natural-law doctrine is really a kind of gnosis attainable only by the initiates of the mystery'.

Scholastic have always taught that man can come to a knowledge of natural law by means of unaided reason. We see it with our minds, not with the eye of faith—so they tell us. Nevertheless, many reasonable and God-fearing men do not find the scholastic interpretation of natural law as related to contraception in any way convincing. Yet scholasticism possesses a pretty water-tight framework and, as regards the morality of contraception, if you grant its first premiss, then you simply cannot avoid the conclusions: they are ineluctable.

The Aristotelian-Thomist philosophy forces upon its adherents an essentially static and inflexible world-view. These philosophers maintain that we know reality as *being*, not as *becoming*. According to them man has come from God's hand like a finished product; he does not evolve; there is nothing even of the Augustinian 'rationes seminales' in Thomism. Thomism is, of course, the strictest and most dominating form of scholasticism. In Thomist terminology man is a universal or a nature rather than a living particular individual. It is the essence that matters; all else is simply by the way—this is the process of abstraction running riot.

Contemporary thinkers, on the contrary, look at life in the light of history and evolution; the world is interpreted in terms of natural history and man's

development is categorised in terms of cultural history. Everywhere we find the principle of relativity operative because science and history do not easily lend themselves to rigid ethical and moral standpoints.

Before one judges the morality of any human act, one must consider its nature, intention, circumstances and the evolutionary stage in which this human act is located. Just so, in marriage and with regard to the many acts that take place in marriage, the morality of these acts cannot be properly assessed without advertence to the question of the evolutionary stage in which the particular act occurs. This latter requirement is often overlooked by tradition-bound moralists—the pope included—who have been brought up on the intellectual island of scholasticism.

SUSTAINING ROLE

Marriage is an evolutionary reality; there is nothing static about it whatsoever. Two fundamental stages or levels immediately compel our attention, viz., procreation and sustenance; it is the task of married couples to beget children and to create the proper climate for rearing these children in an atmosphere of mutual love. From one point of view, a stage in a temporal sense is involved; from another angle, a level of endeavour is to be understood. The stages are not always temporally distinct; sometimes they are successive while at other times they are simultaneous; they may follow each other or co-exist and, for some period of time, they can, as it were, double back. Neither of these levels can be isolated from their temporal setting but this is what the scholastic approach tends to do.

The procreative role of sex is widely understood and frequently expounded in the Catholic philosophy of marriage while the sustaining role remains a veritable cinderella. The sustaining stage or aspect of marriage does not simply pertain to the rearing of children; it includes that, of course, but its embrace is much wider. Husband and wife do not relate to each other merely as parents of the same child or children but they must relate to each other as two separate individuals of the opposite sex. The sustaining stage is triangular; it involves two parents and their child or children; in a sense, it is more than triangular because every additional child implies a fresh doubly-reciprocal relationship. The unity of a family does not consist only in the unity between parents and children but between the two parents themselves as well as between them and their children. It is not a matter of we-they but rather one of I-Thou-Them.

Catholic teaching has been inclined to lump together children in the same way as it has lumped the parents

together. Marriage and family have still to be seen in true and full perspective—this the pope admits. The sustaining stage can be immensely complicated in certain families by the abilities and/or disabilities of individual family members. There are many examples but one thinks at once of the extremely gifted child, the crippled child, the retarded child and so on.

SCHOLASTIC BLINKERS

As one reads the latest encyclical and allied documents in the past, one is struck by the frightening lack of grasp celibate theologians and moralists manifest. At times, even in encyclicals, this unawareness is crude and unsophisticated. Marriage has to be seen in the context of a disabled and fallen race rather than in the light of absolute perfection or in the perspective of some ideal order. The fact of the matter is that in marriage, as in every single sphere of human living and activity, compromise is required because of the differential distribution of talents and disabilities. It is precisely here that one sees contraception most clearly as a form of realistic compromise for the sake of the sustaining stage of marriage. Even though we are married, we remain imperfect people in an imperfect world.

Some celibate theorists assume an immediate unity with the couple's 'I will' on their wedding day and thereafter married life is conceived of strictly in terms of a dualism (parents-children) whereas this extremely inchoate unity begins with the marriage vows and is worked out progressively and continuously throughout the various stages of marriage. In addition, people do not cease to function, think and feel as individuals once they are united in matrimony. Consequently, nothing is to be gained from under-playing the sustaining power and the peace-making power of the sexual act right throughout marriage.

For generations the Catholic view has been that the sexual act exists primarily for procreation. Pope Paul's encyclical, while not formulated in harsh terms like some previous papal observations, nevertheless still gives pride of place to the procreation-first-and-foremost approach.

Outside of scholastic textbooks there are two distinct types of sexual acts in marriage, i.e. those that take place before the occurrence of the menopause and those belonging to the post-menopause period. It is nature that limits the woman's reproductive span. After the menopause all sexual acts are non-procreative yet scholastics will argue that all sexual acts are *per se* procreative. Biologically considered, this is pure nonsense. Certainly, even in the scholastic sense, the sexual act is not permanently procreative.

Until the menopause or, in some cases, the early onset of sterility these two stages (or levels) of procreation and sustenance intermingle and interpenetrate and then the sustaining stage takes over and exists alone. The second stage exists implicitly right from the beginning of every marriage. In the course of time it is spelled out with all its manifold implications.

The absolute value that scholastics give to procreation in marriage should be measured against the fact that the procreative principle is operative for a limited time only whereas the values associated with family-rearing and the growth in holiness of husband and wife (the stage of sustenance) plus other values—all of which are minor and lesser in the minds of scholastic moralists—exist throughout marriage. Taken in isolation and absolutised, the procreative purpose actually distracts from the totality and validity of marriage. Marriage is not just a question of a parents-children bond but also one of a husband-wife relationship; the parent-child relationship is temporary while the husband-wife relationship is more enduring. To overstress one temporary value pertaining to the marriage act can do serious harm to other equally important values in marriage. Not only is such an emphasis lopsided but it is also distinctly harmful.

INCOMPLETE TEACHING

Official Catholic teaching on marriage seems to mistake the part for the whole. It accentuates the first stage, the beginning (procreation) at the expense of the longer, more on-going purpose of sexual sustenance and family-rearing. The traditional Catholic view orientates itself to conception and birth rather than to the goal and end-product, i.e., the fully grown and reared family and the matured parents. Catholic teaching almost deifies the first stage or level of marriage while it regards the second stage as purely subsidiary. This seems totally illogical: the full meaning of the sexual act must be seen in the light of the final stage; it must not be arbitrarily confined to the first stage of marriage. In fact, it is the second stage or level (the sustaining) which gives the sexual act its crowning meaning. The official Catholic view is patently a narrow one. By analogy, it is like regarding food in terms of growth exclusively and ignoring its vital role in the preservation of growth already begun.

The pope has urged the necessity of responsible parenthood on all Catholics but he has severely limited their range of choice as to the methods to achieve this responsibility. Only the hazardous and frustrating rhythm method is permitted and it is common knowledge that this method imposes severe burdens on countless couples. The use of rhythm has many adverse

effects on parents and their families and can jeopardize certain important values in marriage. This method can be extremely deleterious to the sustaining aspect and level of marriage. The scholastic position which the pope clearly upholds attempts to maintain the procreative integrity of the sexual act even at the risk of not only endangering the marriage itself but also of threatening the spiritual peace and salvation of many individual Catholics.

From an evolutionary viewpoint the sexual act is not essentially reproductive; rather, in terms of its ultimate finality, this act is primarily sustaining and preservative. It is invalid to equate the first stage or level with the ultimate purpose. What pertains to one part of marriage does not *ipso facto* pertain to the whole of marriage. To predicate the essential procreateness of the sexual act univocally for every stage of marriage is logically untenable and empirically false.

MARRIAGE A PROCESS

In real adult life marriage takes the shape of a process even though some moralists imagine it to be a static institution. The final stage of marriage gives meaning to the entire process and this final level is unmistakably non-procreative but still sexual. The production of new life is only one of the purposes of marriage and, though it enjoys a temporal priority, it cannot claim an absolute priority over other equally important purposes and levels of marriage.

The precise duration of the reproductive or procreative stage will be peculiar to each individual couple. Consequently, some will wish to redefine and reconstruct the sexual act by the use of contraceptives in order to strengthen and preserve the sustaining elements of their marriage and so attain that finality intended for marriage by God and nature. Many, including numerous Catholics fail to see how this sustaining and preservative procedure can be regarded as unnatural or morally reprehensible.

Because the scholastics employ deductive logic in their reasoning, they do not have to worry over much about particulars or concern themselves with facts of time and situation. They are happiest when blithely extracting metaphysical essences and universalising from one particular case. The scholastic removes the marital act from the time sequence, decides what its essence is, labels it suitably and then replaces it in time. As far as he is concerned, there are no dimensions or structures to marital sex but only strict homogeneity and monolithic univocality. The scholastic now defines the whole of marriage by his procreation-only notion

of the sexual act. He has substituted essences for persons and universals for individuals.

The scholastic is committed to giving the sexual act in marriage an absolute procreative value which contradicts human experience and scientific knowledge. What he forgets is that it is specifically marriage that makes the sexual act meaningful, not the converse. We are human beings not mere animals existing solely for breeding purposes. Yet the teaching of the present pope and some of his predecessors, in many cases, demands that married couples sacrifice the real for the possible.

Humanae Vitae represents a logical document in terms of its basic premiss. Scholastics must oppose contraception because of their static and absolutist *a priori* philosophy. They do allow the use of the rhythm method—for grave reasons only—because in

this case it is nature, after all, that is frustrating nature's purpose. If one accepts a scholastic frame of reference and the peculiar mind-set accompanying it, then the pope's directive is valid and binding. Fortunately, however, it still remains true that it is baptism which makes me a member of Christ and His Church, not any obligation to think in a scholastic way.

Whichever way one looks at the latest encyclical one cannot help but feel a deep sympathy for the pope who has been moulded and formed by an inflexible scholastic tradition. But to many sincere Catholics who have to save their souls in the real day-to-day world much of the encyclical appears bizarre and unreal. In truth, daily experience, clinical evidence and incontrovertible scientific knowledge demonstrate the irrelevance and inadequacy of the scholastic categories for a full understanding of the morality of contraception. ●

George Tavard

The Non-Encyclical

IN MARCH 1963 POPE John formed a small commission to study the moral problem raised by the manufacturing of progesterone anovulant pills and the revolutionary method of birth-control provided by this medical advance. As formulated by theologians, the question was: Do these pills fall under the traditional ban of artificial birth-control devices by Catholic theology? Admittedly, Pius XII, in an address pronounced in 1958, had already classified the anovulant pills among the artificial means condemned by Catholic ethics. Yet the possibility remained that the contemporary pills were not quite those which Pius XII spoke about. And, after all, a mere speech, even made by a Pope, is not unquestionable; the doctrine of Pius XII could still be revised in the light of further research. As asked by many lay people personally concerned about birth-regulation because of the need to limit their family without impairing their marriage relationship, the question ceased to be academic, and it became an acute pastoral problem.

When Paul VI succeeded John XXIII, the special commission had not finished its investigation. During the second session of the Council, several conciliar Fathers asked for a further examination of the problems

of the family, in connection with what was then called 'schema 13', which later became the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. They wanted an enquiry to be made, not only into the problem of anovulant pills, but also into all our teaching about matrimony and birth control. Patriarch Maximos, Cardinal Suenens and Cardinal Léger emphasized the need to overhaul our theology of the marriage relationship. The notion that procreation is the primary purpose of marriage does not correspond to the modern experience: men and women marry for the sake of their mutual relationship of love, which finds one of its expressions in sexual intercourse even apart from any thought of begetting a child. The Church should face the reality. By the same token, we should re-examine our attitude toward birth-control in general, and admit the right of the marriage partners to make the moral options which they deem necessary, even though the means they select for limiting their family may have been considered, in principle, wrong by our theologians.

Partly in order to meet these requests, partly under the pressure of those who objected that such an enquiry, in its very principle, suggested that Catholic

doctrine was in error, Pope Paul, in 1964, made a double decision. On the one hand, the commission created by Pope John would be enlarged in scope and membership. It would study the whole question of marriage and birth control in the light of the population explosion and the discovery of anovulant pills. This at first sight pleased the reformists: at last, they thought, the Pope would receive expert advice on the matter. Granted, several shades of medical, sociological and theological opinion would be represented in the enlarged commission. But the discussions that would take place were likely to orient the conclusion towards a new theology of marriage. On the other hand, Pope Paul placated the opponents of reform by reserving the final conclusion to himself. The commission's report would not be made public; the Pope would study the conclusion and he alone act upon its findings according to his conscience. Meanwhile, bishops and theologians were to abstain from public utterances on the matter under study.

FALSE START

I must admit to some doubts on my part, when these decisions were made, as to their wisdom. In the first place, the Council, with its cumbersome procedures, was not the proper platform for discussing an item of this importance. This had not been among the topics assigned to the conciliar or pre-conciliar commissions, so that no preliminary work had been done concerning it. To force a commission to report to the Council itself would push it to do hurried work, or else to prolong the Council indefinitely. And, after all, Pope Paul could be trusted to arrive at his final decision in the spirit of the Council.

In the second place, the very idea of debating the whole question of birth-control—and not simply the new problems raised by the pill—implicitly threw doubt on the principle that there should be no artificial interference in the process of life. By the same token, the previous Catholic attitude to birth control seemed to be in error. I therefore saw this, at that time, as a most unwise move. To debate the whole issue of contraception all over again, in spite of the unquestioned pronouncements of Pius XI and Pius XII and the consensus of Catholic theology on the matter, was an open invitation to consider the problem yet unsolved. It would have been wiser to confine the task of the commission within the only new issue, namely the question of anovulant pills. By thus replacing Pope John's small commission with another that was given a broader aim, Pope Paul sowed seeds that eventually bore fruit in the later opinion that Catholic doctrine on birth-control was, as a whole, in doubt. Archbishop

Roberts in England and Gregory Baum in Canada were early exponents of this new view. Pope Paul attempted—vainly, as it turned out—to stem the tide by insisting that Catholic doctrine was 'not in doubt but under study'. This came too late: the movement for revision had been directly strengthened by the purpose he had himself assigned the enlarged commission.

In the third place, the request addressed by Paul VI to bishops and theologians, not to make public statements on the matter before he would have pronounced his judgement, was itself an ominous decision. It meant that the Pope would have to act as a final judge in an affair that would be deprived of the benefit of preliminary public debates, exploratory discussions and tentative conclusions. He would have to decide about the Church's consensus without disposing of the tools necessary to assess where the consensus lies. It was quite possible that, while Pope Paul made up his mind one way, the rest of the Church travelled another way. On the face of it, this constituted a tactical mistake of major importance. One cannot answer to this that, in the words of the encyclical, *Our Lord made Peter and the apostles 'totius de moribus legis certos custodes interpretesque'* (n. 4) (sure guardians and interpreters of the entire moral law). For, whether it deals with the interpretation of the Gospel or that of the natural law, the apostolic charism cannot exist in a void. It is in the Church that the magisterium functions. A decision affecting the whole Church cannot be made without consulting the whole Church.

THE COMMISSION'S REPORTS

The commission eventually handed in its report, which the Holy Father studied for a long time. Various rumours flew around: the commission had not been unanimous; two reports were actually transmitted to the Pope. Little by little it became known that the majority favoured opening Catholic theology to the possibility of birth-control even with artificial means, whereas the minority rejected any change in the previous positions. The details, however, were unavailable for a long time; and where the pill stood in this confrontation was unclear.

Meanwhile, the problem had passed from the realm of academic discussion to that of urgent pastoral care. The growing availability of anovulant pills on the market, the generally favourable medical opinion as to its use, in spite of possible uncomfortable side-effects and of serious hesitations about the after-effects of taking them for a long time, the increasing threat of world-starvation through the population explosion contributed to the formation of a theological opinion

which, giving up the long wait for a pontifical statement, already affirmed the acceptability of the pill as a moral means of birth-regulation. Father Jansen at the University of Louvain, Bishop Bekkers in the Netherlands, Bishop Reuss in Germany, had already published important studies, of a theological or pastoral nature, about the pill. This now became a matter for debate in theological journals. In a course on Moral Theology, and in an interview for the New York Times at the end of 1966, I then expressed my own conclusion that the pill does not amount to an artificial means of birth control. While Pope Paul pondered over the reports he had received, the eventual outcome of his study became more and more irrelevant to the life of Catholics in many countries. Following the growing theological opinion in favour of the pill, millions of Catholic women, unable to wait for the too long-delayed papal judgement, solved the question for themselves.

The next event was the leakage by which the conclusions of the two reports of the special commission were made known to the press. Published by newspapers first in France, then in America and finally everywhere, issued later in Paris as a book with Latin text, translation and theological commentary, the reports witnessed to the Pope's dilemma and constituted a telling illustration of the fact that a tactical mistake at the beginning may provoke a catastrophe at the end. The two reports directly contradicted each other. The majority conclusion, leaving aside scholastic categories and considerations, started from a philosophy of the human person and responsibility; it looked at that person in the context of the whole life and the moral choices that life demands; it viewed marriage as a mutual commitment of two persons who create together a community of love, in which love is expressed in many ways, to which sexual expression is indispensable, and which finds one of its fruits in the birth and education of children.

DISTINCTIONS BYPASSED

The old dichotomy of primary and secondary purposes of marriage was by-passed. In this perspective, birth-control appeared to be a frequent necessity of family life. The purpose and the intention of it being viewed as good, the problem of the means was shelved to a place of relative unimportance. No special consideration was given the pill, which was treated together with other means, natural or artificial, of birth-control. The classical distinction between artificial and natural means, on which Pius XII had so strongly insisted, was itself by-passed: given a choice of methods by medical science, a married couple could in their

conscience select any of the means recommended to them by their medical adviser. In other words, the majority report, without denying the previous theological conclusions, which were negative regarding artificial contraception, proposed a new problematic in which the means posited no specific problem. What mattered was the fecundity of married life as a whole, not that of each sexual act. The 'principle of totality' justified making a sexual act infecund as long as the overall fecundity of life was protected.

There was, as I see it, a difficulty in this position. If theology must develop, developments should assume, rather than contradict, the conclusions of previous ages. To assert the rights of the person, the reality of marriage as an interpersonal relationship, the necessity of birth control, cannot do away with the problem of the morality of the available methods. If the goodness of a human action taken in its totality requires the goodness of the act itself, of the actor's intention and of the accidental aspects of it that come from the circumstances, one may indeed give priority to the intention. Yet a good intention, plus the urgency of the circumstances that impose birth-limitation as a duty, cannot suffice to solve the problem of the objective morality of what takes place in a contraceptive sexual intercourse. And since the structure of the act depends on the means of contraception used, the solution of the moral problem requires still an enquiry into the morality of these means. By slurring over this problem, which lies at the heart of all papal pronouncements on the matter, the majority opinion left itself open to a devastating criticism.

CROSS-PURPOSES

It was only too easy for the minority opinion to object that a good intention never justifies an evil action, and that, should the method adopted to control birth be evil, the whole action was sinful. The minority showed this with massive reliance on the older theology and complete disregard of the point of departure and the problematic of the majority. The two positions argued at cross-purposes and never met. Only on one point did the two sides agree in both cases the specific problem of the pill was forgotten, drowned as it was in the broader consideration of birth-control as a whole. Thus, the two opinions followed indeed the logic of the terms of reference that had been given the commission. By the same token they proved themselves unable to answer the more specific question previously asked by Pope John; and they shut the door to any solution that would consider birth-control and its means as other than either black or white, wrong or right. They begged Pope Paul, either to endorse the

new problematic and approve birth control with all its methods, or to reject absolutely all means of birth control except those which Pius XII had already approved. In these conditions, it is not surprising that Pope Paul took so long to issue the result of his reflection. He had to work with bad tools. Nor is it entirely out of the ordinary that, facing two altogether exclusive opinions, he selected the one for which there was clear precedent in the writings of his predecessors.

When all has been said to explain the delay and the orientation of *Humanae vitae*, it remains that, from a theological point of view, it is a shocking and shoddy document. I can think of only one kind of precedent: the texts presented to Vatican Council II by the Preparatory Theological Commission. In spite of the fact that the Commission had had two years to do its work, the drafts that came from it were rejected by common consent at the Council; they were ill-informed, totally unacquainted with modern theology, couched in pseudo-scholastic language, and they rejected positions and opinions without adequately refuting them. The same remarks must be made, I am afraid, of *Humanae vitae*. It would have been proper to explain why the majority report was considered unsatisfactory. Instead, the text (n. 6) brands some of the ideas in it as contrary to the constant teaching of the magisterium, an accusation which at least deserved to be substantiated with some evidence, if the theologians in question were to be persuaded—and not simply told—that they were wrong. Further on, the text alludes to some principles of judgement proposed by the majority, like the ‘principle of totality’; yet, far from refuting the suggested application of this principle, it rejects it out of hand by merely stating the opposite opinion: not only family life as a whole, but every single act of sexual intercourse, must ‘remain in itself destined to procreate life’ (n. 11). Contradiction has never amounted to a proof. Admittedly the sort of legerdemain by which positions recommended to Paul VI are rejected without showing why they are unacceptable, can be explained: in the passages which contain the heart of its teaching, *Humanae vitae* is nothing more than a summary of the minority report of the commission. But whereas this report did attempt to tackle the arguments of the majority, the encyclical simply sums up the conclusions of it. It is a digest of the minority report.

It even seems that the question explicitly formulated at the beginning of the encyclical begged the answer. N. 3 posits the problem in this way: *An, ratione habita sive vitae conditionum quae nunc sunt, sive significationes quam maritales amplexus quoad concordiam mutuamque fidelitatem conjugum habent, normas*

morales quae hodie obtinent recognoscere non conveniat, si praesertim reputetur eas nonnisi per gravia incommoda aliquando fortissimorum virorum digna, servari posse? (Considering the present conditions of life and the meaning of marital intercourse for the harmony and mutual fidelity of the spouse, it is not expedient to change the current moral norms, especially when these are said to be applicable only with serious inconveniences which are sometimes bearable only by very strong men?) Should we change the moral norms hitherto admitted? If this is the question, only a negative answer is admissible. For moral norms do not change. But this is not the problem at all. The true question is: Do the moral norms condemn all means of birth control, even those that have been newly discovered and on which no prudent judgement could be passed formerly? No surprise, indeed, that a loaded question led to an unacceptable answer.

FAILURES IN LOGIC

Humanae vitae is not only a summary which needs more elaboration than its text provides; it also contains extraordinary inconsistencies. I will give two examples of this failure in logic.

N. 14 starts with a condemnation of abortion. This is of course not new or startling, as direct abortion (that is, an intervention by which the foetus is killed directly, as distinguished from one by which it is removed so that death will follow, but without being directly killed) has been constantly reproved by Catholic theology and the papal directives on medical ethics. But the form of this condemnation is, in our text, self-contradictory: . . . *omnino respuendum esse, ut legitimummodum numeri liberorum temperandi, directam generationis jam coeptae interruptionem, ac praesertim abortum directum, quamvis curationis causa factum.* (One must completely reject, as a lawful way of limiting the number of children, a direct interruption of the process of generation after it has begun, and especially a direct abortion, even therapeutic). It is, in proper terms, absurd to condemn ‘direct abortion, even therapeutic’ as a birth control method, since therapeutic abortion, by definition, is not a contraceptive method, but a health-protecting measure. Forgetting now this inaccurate language, we find a plain contradiction in the text. For, if direct abortion is condemned, we may conclude that indirect abortion (with sufficient reasons) is not. This is in keeping with standard medical ethics. Yet the first half of the sentence condemns ‘direct interruption of the process of generation after it has begun’. The process of generation starts at conception. An indirect abortion, whatever the means adopted to provoke it, remains a

direct interruption of the process of generation. In other words, the first part of the sentence forbids what the second part permits!

Another illogism is found in nn. 14 and 16. N. 14 asserts that '*quavis respuendus est actus qui, cum conjugale commercium vel praevidetur vel efficitur vel ad suos naturales exitus ducit, id, tanquam finem obtinendum vel viam adhibendam intendat, ut procreatio impediatur*'. (One must condemn every action which intends to obtain the result of, or to open the way to, making procreation impossible, whether the conjugal act is future, present or already tending toward its natural consequences). The point I want to make bears on antecedent contraception. No action, are we told, may, while sexual intercourse is still to come, intend to make procreation impossible. As this is clearly the purpose of taking anovulant pills, their use is implicitly condemned at this point. Yet the decision to practise the rhythm method is also an action intending to make procreation impossible; it is therefore equally condemned by this sentence and by the principle contained in it. Yet n. 16, in keeping with previous pontifical statements, explicitly considers the rhythm method to be lawful. The encyclical cannot have it both ways. Either all antecedent measures are immoral, and the rhythm method is unlawful; or the rhythm method is lawful, and it is false to assert that all antecedent measures are immoral.

DEFICIENCY IN APPROACH

The chief deficiency of *Humanae vitae*, however, does not lie in its language or its lack of logic, but in the very approach toward the problem of birth control. As already noted, the commission appointed to study the question had itself been misled into antithetic positions by being asked to pass judgement on birth control in general rather than on the new problem of the pill. Thus it spoke for, or against contraception. The majority implicitly approved all methods by focusing attention on the personalistic aspects of moral decisions and prescinding from the question of the objective morality of means. The minority banned all contraception by declaring all artificial means immoral.

In turn, Pope Paul was misled by these antithetic findings. The specific problem raised by the anovulant pills is not even envisaged and one looks in vain for a mention of 'the pill' in *Humanae vitae*. Is the pill a natural or an artificial means of birth control? As I understand it, it is neither natural nor artificial: it is medical. It does not work like an artifact—chemical or physical—placed between the spermatozoids and the ovum. It works biologically by affecting the frequency

of ovulation. By what extension of the concept of artificiality can this be condemned as being against nature I fail to see. Yet this is done implicitly by the Pope's rejection of all antecedent planning to make procreation impossible or unlikely. Admittedly, medical interventions 'to cure bodily diseases' (n. 15) are allowed even though they may accidentally have a contraceptive effect, and medical science is invited to seek for means of birth control that are according to nature (n. 24). The reference to Pius XII in this last passage suggests that science may make the feminine cycle completely regular—which was one of Pius XII's explicit wishes. Clearly, therefore, the encyclical does not assimilate regularisation of the cycle to an anti-natural action. But it does not show why regularity of ovulation should be considered more natural than irregularity. Women whose cycle is irregular find themselves so by nature. If man is free to regularize the cycle with progesterone or other pills (and thus to make contraception through rhythm possible), he is just as free to irregularize it, or to regularize it with longer periods with similar medication (and thus to make contraception possible without the rhythm method). Both regularity and irregularity of ovulation are natural. By the same token, each, for adequate reasons, may be medically induced, and the period may be medically shortened or lengthened. It follows from this that n. 14, which bans all antecedent contraceptive planning, condemns both the pill and the rhythm method. Yet nn. 15 and 24, which permit medical cycle-control, implicitly permit birth-control through cycle-control. Once again, the text is self-contradictory; the concepts are unclear; the language is misleading; the doctrine does not answer the questions raised by contemporary medicine.

The same n. 14 contains another point, concerning sterilization, which I think is questionable. The second sentence runs as follows: '*Pariter, sicut Ecclesiae magisterium pluries docuit, dammandum est seu viros seu mulieres directe sterilitate, vel perpetuo vel ad tempus, afficere*'. (Likewise, as the Church's magisterium has often taught it, one must condemn the direct, perpetual or temporary, sterilization of men or of women). There is indeed ample precedent in the teaching of Pius XII for the condemnation of direct sterilization, either perpetual and temporary. It is because he identified the effect of progesterone pills with temporary sterilization that Pius XII, in his address of 1958, banned the contraceptive use of the pills. One cannot blame Pope Paul for referring to this precedent. Yet one may wonder about the meaning of the very concept of temporary sterilization. I have always found this phrase meaningless. For a woman who is

not, at this moment, ovulating, is not thereby sterile, inasmuch as she still can ovulate; to induce a period during which she does not ovulate, or to prolong her natural period of non-ovulation does not make her sterile, for still is endowed with the capacity of ovulating. As a point of fact, the pill has been identified by medical opinion as an anovulant rather than a sterilizing agent. Thus the above statement on sterilization can hardly be determinant for the problem of birth-control through control of ovulation periodicity.

THE CENTRAL IDEA

I now come to my last and most important remark. *Humanae vitae* is focused on one central idea, from which everything else is deduced: the Church teaches '*id necessarium esse, ut quilibet matrimonii usus ad vitam humanam procreandam per se destinatus permaneat*' (n. 11) (the necessity, for each use of marriage, to remain open by itself to the procreation of human life). The formulation of this principle as an absolute requirement contradicts what the encyclical says elsewhere about the use of matrimony during the 'safe period', when precisely it is not open to the procreation of human life. The principle is therefore too absolute even by the standards of *Humanae vitae*. Admittedly, the sentence is qualified by the Latin expression *per se* (by itself). These terms denote an objective datum, the sexual act in itself, in its internal, given, structure. This structure must remain open to procreation, and therefore must not be altered by the introduction of an external agent or obstacle in the sexual organs. But the association of this objective requirement with the subject of the sentence (*usus*) introduces an ambiguity which actually deprives the sentence of meaning. For *usus* denotes a subjective experience, an intention manifested by an action. While *per se* refers to a physiological fact, a given structure, an *actum hominis*, *usus* connotes a free and voluntary action, an *actum humanum*. To state that the given structure of sexuality orients it toward procreation is one thing; to assert that the use of sexuality must always be so oriented is another. The former statement is unimpeachable; the latter is unacceptable. For according to the encyclical itself the use of sexuality may, through rhythm, be separated from procreation; and according to all Catholic theology today the subjective purpose of sexual intercourse in marriage may simply be the expression of love, apart from any positive intention to procreate. The central principle posited by the encyclical is, thus, self-contradictory and, furthermore, opposed to accepted standards of Catholic ethics.

My approach to *Humanae vitae* has adopted the objective categories of the encyclical rather than the personalistic standpoint of the majority report of the commission on birth-control. This is deliberate. For although the personalistic theology has a great deal to commend it, it makes dialogue impossible with the theology of the encyclical. This actually renders my criticism much more acute. For it is within its own basic methodical assumptions that *Humanae vitae* does not make sense. I say this with all the greater sorrow as I have until now considered Pope Paul as one of the most effective instruments of the needed reform of the Church.

WHY A NON-ENCYCLICAL?

I will now explain what I mean by a 'non-encyclical'.

Pope Paul has spoken, not infallibly, yet with a solemn appeal to his authoritative function as interpreter of the natural law (n. 4; n. 28) on birth-control. He has not done so in the spirit of Vatican II; for, by his own choice, he forbade public debate of the issue and thus cut himself off from the only way to arrive at a theological consensus, which is free discussion. In this isolation, he struggled with two antithetic reports, neither of which studied at length the precise point on which guidance was needed, the use of anovulant pills for birth control. The result has been a document which abounds in contradictions, misleading statements, unacceptable formulations of principles, arbitrary applications of principles.

There have been unsatisfactory or even false statements in previous papal history. Pope Vigil, Pope Honorius, Pope John XXII present classical cases of theological muddling, hesitancy or error. *Humanae vitae* belongs in the same category as the documents and statements that made these Popes notorious. For this reason I call it a non-encyclical, a document intended by the Pope to be an authoritative statement of ethical doctrine, but which turns out, after theological scrutiny, not to be one, by defect of content.

This non-encyclical has plunged the Catholic world in a series of unprecedented crises.

There is a pastoral crisis. For one cannot ignore the moral dilemma of millions of Catholics, who have in the past few years followed the judgement of theologians in good standing. Thanks to this judgement, the use of the pill enjoys what the moral theory of probabilism calls 'extrinsic probability'. This extrinsic probability does not seem to be non-existent simply because of the Pope's diverging opinion; and this is no likelihood that the condemnation of all birth control

(except rhythm) will be obeyed by most of those who have found matrimonial peace in the use of the pill.

There is a theological crisis. For the careful judgement of reliable moral theologians cannot be disregarded, even by a Pope, without damage to the entire theological enterprise.

There is an ecumenical crisis. For the content of the papal document contradict the attitude of the majority of the Protestant and Anglican world. The timing itself of the non-encyclical made it appear to be a gratuitous insult to the Anglican bishops, then meeting at the Lambeth Conference.

There is a crisis of authority. For those who feel that they have been given a stone instead of bread will now be prone to ignore whatever Pope Paul or his successors will wish to say in the future.

In the meantime, what should the layman do?

The non-encyclical is not binding, in my judgement, concerning the points that were not previously settled by Catholic consensus, namely the moral use of the pill and of similar present or future medical discoveries. Catholics may use anovulant pills with a good conscience. The artificial means of birth control on which there was previous consensus remain condemned.

The only good result of the non-encyclical that I can foresee will be a revision, now long overdue, of the exercise of papal authority. The days of pronouncements to which all the Church submits for the sole reason that they come from the Pope's office are over. The credibility of the Pope's ordinary magistratum has been effectively killed. ●

Letters

THE WHORE OF BABYLON?

Sir,—I found your latest (June-July) issue challenging. I was particularly interested to read Professor Pont's views. Here indeed was a profound declaration of Afrikanerdom *uber alles*. To maintain such a vision of *angst*, is Napalm enough?

I thought your leader very good. Calloused as we are by gusty anti-communist-liberalist-humanist winds, why not our own anti-capitalist soundings? Indeed why not an Anti-Cap conference?—at Stutterheim? You can count me in. We might even produce an Anti-Cap play—Who's Afraid of Charlie Brown?

But I am afraid I take issue with you on detail. Capitalism is not the virile, masterful force you make it out to be. It has rather always been the embarrassed though willing mistress to ideological circumstance. Thus, in Scandinavia, it wears the rather prim dress of the Welfare State, in the U.S.A. the bargain-counter left-overs of democracy—and here, in South Africa, it has been thoroughly bewitched by what must surely be the most dangerous of all arrogances—Afrikaner National Socialism.

Through two decades we have witnessed this stately seduction and now finally we are promised the spectacle of the two-backed beast industriously at it in the twilight border areas—between the homeland sheets so to speak.

This particular lust affair has its precedents. Our hope must be that there are still enough concerned people of all races and Kultures around to inhibit it from the ultimate of all guilt-ridden ecstasies:

'Following our verbal discussion regarding the delivery of equipment of simple construction for the burning of bodies, we are submitting plans for our perfected cremation ovens which operate with coal and which have hitherto given full satisfaction . . .'
(Letter from C. H. Kori, G.M.B.H., bidding for a furnace at a Nazi camp at Belgrade. Page 1156—*The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.)

BODE WEGERIF, *Roodepoort*.

OPPOSITION? YES. SACRILEGE? NO.

Sir,—Your poem 'Baas Government is my Shepherd' is a sacrilegious parody of Psalm 23. Please stop sending CHALLENGE to me.

CHAPLAIN, *Lesotho*.

ALAN MURRAY lectures in Political Science at the University of the Witwatersrand. This article forms part of an address given some months ago to a students' seminar.

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S.A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES: this message is the work of the Theological Commission of the Council and readers are invited to sign it and associate themselves with the work of developing its consequences. (Address: Box 31190, Braamfontein).

IAN THOMPSON is a Presbyterian minister who is involved in Industrial Mission.

FR. GEORGE TAVARD, a consultant to the Secretariate for Christian Unity, attended the Vatican Council. He is a regular visitor to South Africa where this article was printed.

Political comment in this issue by A. P. Goller.

EDWARD HIGGINS lectures in Sociology in Natal.

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