

PCR information

FROM COTTESLOE TO CAPE TOWN

1991/No. 30

*Challenges
for the Church
in a Post-Apartheid
South Africa*



**World Council of Churches
Programme to Combat Racism**

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ERRATA

- Dr Ishmael Noko, the Director for Mission and Development of the Lutheran World Federation should have been included in the list of international participants of Cape Town Consultation p. 109.

PCR information

A faint outline map of South Africa is positioned in the background, extending from the top left towards the bottom right of the page.

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1991/No. 30

The WCC Visit
to South Africa

October 1991

**Challenges
for the Church
in a Post-Apartheid
South Africa**

We acknowledge the assistance of John Evenson
in preparing the texts of the speeches;
also the transcribing work done by Anne-Lyse Nabaffa,
Heidi Schweizer, Monika Grob and Ursula Zierl

With the changes in the structures of the World Council of Churches, the Programme to Combat Racism is now part of Unit III: Justice, Peace & Creation. Arrangements are being made to produce a single publication for the new unit. In the circumstances, PCR INFORMATION in the present form has been suspended. From January 1992, it will be incorporated into the new publication of Unit III.

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Preface

The most permanent impression of our trip to South Africa is the gratitude that was expressed, through us, to the whole ecumenical family, for years of solidarity in the sufferings, hopes and the struggle for a new future. We hope that this book could be one way to share with a wider ecumenical constituency the sense of belonging, the intimacy of relation, the love of common commitment that was our blessed experience during our two weeks in South Africa. Surely, apartheid will crumble down soon and the moment of celebration will come for the people and the churches of South Africa. At that moment, the whole ecumenical community will rejoice all over the world, and surely many of us will be there, dancing, shouting, praising the Lord for the freedom that is coming. Meanwhile, this book also wants to express our steadiness in the support to the friends in South Africa. They have shown during years their resilience, their capacity to organise and hope, and today they are beginning to look to the shaping of a new future. Let us continue in our prayers, in our solidarity, in our support. This is not yet the moment to celebrate, this is the moment to anticipate. If this book helps to share with you the gratitude of the South African people and at the same time assure the South African friends of our permanent solidarity in their struggle, it will have fulfilled its intention.

We refer above to the gratitude that the South African friends expressed to the ecumenical community. Let me close this short preface by reiterating our tremendous gratitude to the struggling people of South Africa, for the testimony of their faith and their belief in the justice of the Kingdom of God. They have been an inspiration to our life and to the whole Church of Jesus Christ. I hope that they could see, through the pages of this book, this our profound sense of indebtedness for their faithful witness.

Emilio Castro
WCC General Secretary
Geneva, December 1991

Introduction

From 12 to 23 October 1991, Rev. Emilio Castro, the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC) visited South Africa at the invitation of Rev. Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). It was the first visit to South Africa by the General Secretary of the WCC since 1970.

In March 1960 at Sharpeville, the South African Police shot to death 69 Africans and wounded 187. The Sharpeville massacre instantaneously became a symbol of apartheid oppression and brutality throughout the world. It marked a turning point in the struggle by Black South Africans against the apartheid system. The massacre also increased tensions between the English speaking churches and the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC).

In response to the threat by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Joost de Blank, to withdraw his church's membership unless the WCC expelled the DRC for its continued support of apartheid after Sharpeville, the WCC called its member churches in South Africa to a consultation at Cottesloe in December 1960. The consultation was memorable in many ways. Its aftermath was that it worsened the relationship between the English speaking churches and the DRC, which was forced by the government to leave the WCC.

The DRC, the Afrikaans newspapers and the South African government found WCC liberalism offensive and objectionable. Worse was still to come in the relationship between the WCC, the DRC and the government. In 1970, the WCC made humanitarian grants to Southern African liberation movements including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The DRC, the government, and even some of the English speaking churches accused the WCC of supporting terrorism and sabotage. The government used its considerable resources in a massive propaganda campaign which characterised the WCC as pro-communist.

Mr John Vorster, the South African Prime Minister at the time, threatened to act against South African churches that did not resign their membership in the WCC. When the SACC and the WCC proposed to meet and discuss the volatile situation, Vorster told SACC that the proposed meeting would not be a consultation but should be a "confrontation by the South African member churches with the World Council of Churches regarding their abhorrent decision re: the terrorists." The angry Prime Minister further declared that any such meeting be held at an international hotel at the Johannesburg Jan Smuts airport - thus denying the WCC General Secretary entry to South Africa.

Therefore if the visit of Castro to South Africa is called "historic", "momentous" and many other similar expressions, its no exaggeration. The visit, was so significant an event that it marks a turning point in relations between the WCC and South Africa. Accompanied by 8 programme staff, Castro visited 4 major cities, gave some 34 lectures, met with political and church leaders, spoke or preached at university gatherings, visited families bereaved in recent violence, paid pastoral calls on victims maimed and wounded in hospital. He also visited communities in Natal ravaged by incessant violence. There were occasions of ecumenical rejoicing such as the reception granted him by the community in Port Elizabeth and the excitement which occasioned the installation of Dr Oliver Tambo, the former President of the African National Congress, as Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare, Alice on 19 October. Castro went to Cape Town as guest speaker at the launching of a book of essays in honour of Bantu Stephen Biko. It was a varied and demanding programme.

The visit marked a departure in relations between the WCC and the minority government of South Africa, and Castro was received by the State President Mr F.W.de Klerk at Union Buildings.

South Africa's churches, whether they were members of WCC or not, were excited by the visit of a world Christian leader who was putting the Christian message forcefully on the agenda of the nation's thinking, at a time when violence, economic and political issues dominated the headlines. Castro came as an ecumenical leader and throughout his addresses he challenged the churches on their ecumenical calling: reconciliation, peace, an end to violence and, what he called, "the inner life of the church". By that he meant the need to attend to the unique marks of the church in mission and evangelism, Christian and spiritual formation, and the witness of the church in the world. He called for a strengthening of the ecumenical instruments like the South African Council of Churches and challenged the churches to build on the experience of last year's Rustenberg Conference.

There has been a detectable shift in thinking and practice in the political and constitutional developments in South Africa. The so called "honeymoon" period, when Mr Mandela was released in 1990, the liberation movements were unbanned, Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes signed, when violence was an aberration that would soon get sorted out, and when the ANC and government seemed to be forging an uneasy partnership, was now over. A year later a sharp bite can be detected in the political rhetoric. Both Mr Mandela and President de Klerk spoke bitterly about one another. There was no language of trust and integrity anymore. On the contrary there were accusations and counter-accusations on responsibility for the violence, even though both the ANC and the government had signed a national Peace Accord in September. There were recriminations on the release of political prisoners and provisions for indemnity for the return of the exiles.

Castro also met with the leaders of the ANC, PAC, the Azarian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) who all gave him

analyses of the situation in the country from their different political perspectives. The General Secretary appealed to the leaders to do all in their power to help end the violence that was ravaging the country.

Castro's visit ended in Cape Town where he participated in a WCC/SACC Consultation "Towards an ecumenical agenda for a changing South Africa". In his opening address to the Consultation, Castro briefly recalled the history and perception of the WCC by churches in South Africa and the government. He praised the role the churches had played as witnesses to the gospel during the darkest days of apartheid tyranny. Castro challenged the churches to commit themselves in word and deed to the upliftment of women within their structures including the leadership. He called on the churches to support SACC and to play an effective role in the ecumenical movement.

Dr Janice Love, a WCC Central Committee member from the USA, spoke of the significance of the work of the WCC and especially of its sub-unit, the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR), both in South Africa and the world at large. She spoke of the socio-economic future of South Africa. She warned her audience not to emulate what other third world countries had done as a result of adopting the 'manipulative' economic and monetary advice they had received from international instruments of capitalism like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

This book has been sub-titled: the Ecumenical Agenda for a Post Apartheid South Africa. We have included only some of the sermons and lectures Castro made in South Africa, which also reflect many of the issues he discussed privately with church and political leaders. With the WCC staff accompanying him, he was making the WCC's contribution to the on-going debates within the South African churches. It is our hope that this historic visit, officially marking the return of the WCC to South Africa, will have added impetus to the pursuit of the ecumenical agenda which focusses on the challenges of the post-apartheid period.

James Mutambirwa
Programme Secretary - PCR

Geneva, December 1991

SACC Press Statement announcing the visit of the WCC General Secretary to South Africa

The changing climate in South Africa has made it possible for the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the member churches in South Africa of the World Council of Churches (WCC) to extend an invitation to Dr Emilio Castro, General Secretary of the WCC, to visit South Africa later this year in October.



The first time in 30 years: a WCC General Secretary arrives in South Africa. The General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Rev. Frank Chikane with Dr Castro.

A full programme is being prepared for Dr Castro's ten-day visit to South Africa. As well as participating in Church consultation, Dr Castro will meet with religious, political and community leaders in Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The SACC is also planning to convene a conference to review the mission of the Church in South Africa, to which all other churches will be invited, and the SACC

intends to organise the dates of the conference to coincide with the visit of Dr Castro so that Dr Castro can participate.

The visit of the General Secretary of the WCC to South Africa will symbolise the formal return of the WCC and will bear witness to the Christian teaching that the church in South Africa is part of the universal Church of Christ throughout the four corners of the world and that we cannot be separated from it. Dr Castro's visit will demonstrate this unity of the Church in its universality since the WCC was barred from relating directly with South African churches from the early 1970s.

Hopes for the forging of ecumenical links within South Africa have grown with the conference of churches in Rustenburg in November and the on-going consultations which have been taking place since. Dr Castro's visit to South Africa is expected to broaden those links towards the international Church community.

History of South Africa and the WCC

Dr Castro's visit to South Africa will mark a significant turn-around in relations between the WCC and South Africa which have been turbulent ever since the 1950s when the problems of racism and colonialism were recognised as major concerns by the WCC. After the WCC Second Assembly, held in Evanston, outside Chicago, in 1954 ruled that segregation based on race, colour or ethnic origin was "contrary to the gospel and incompatible with the Christian Doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ", the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), which then one of eight WCC member churches in South Africa, complained.

After the killing of 67 Black people by South African police at Sharpeville in March 1960, the WCC invited church leaders from throughout South Africa to meet with an international ecumenical delegation at the Cottesloe Consultation. The resolutions, which were approved by 80 per cent of the participants, affirmed that no Christian could be excluded from any church on grounds of race or colour, and called attention to the injustices of apartheid. The response was dramatic when the Cottesloe recommendations were sent out to the churches for ratification. Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd publically dismissed the Cottesloe recommendations and, shortly after, the three South African DRC member churches withdrew from the WCC.

The South African government subsequently and effectively prevented the WCC operating from within South Africa by stopping the sending of subscription fees from South Africa to the WCC. Visas were refused for WCC staff wishing to enter South Africa.

The South African government was particularly opposed to the Special Fund of the Programme to Combat Racism within the WCC, which issued grants for humanitarian purposes to the liberation movements.

Recent Developments re: South Africa and the WCC

Six representatives to the WCC, including one of the Presidents of the WCC, Archbishop Khotso Makhulu, attended the conference in Rustenburg in November, "Towards a United Christian Witness in a Changing South Africa". The Reverend Barney Pityana, Director of the Programme to Combat Racism of the WCC, was one of the two coordinators of the conference.

The DRC decided at their last Bloemfontein Synod to apply for observer membership of the SACC and the DRC was permitted to attend the Seventh Assembly of the WCC in Canberra, held 7-21 February 1991, with observer status. The Dutch Reformed Mission Church on the other hand applied for full membership of the WCC which was granted at this Assembly.

Churches in South Africa which are members of the WCC :

Church of the Province of Southern Africa
Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa
Methodist Church of Southern Africa
Moravian Church in South Africa
Presbyterian Church of Africa
Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa
Reformed Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa
United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
Dutch Reformed Mission Church



Dr Castro holds his first press conference of the tour at Johannesburg airport soon after his arrival. From left to right, Sheena Duncan - vice president of SACC, Frank Chikane - General Secretary of SACC, Emilio Castro - General Secretary of WCC and Jan Kok - director of WCC Communications.

Address by Dr Castro at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

It is with a feeling of excitement that we are encountering people in South Africa because South Africa has been the centre of attention for the ecumenical movement and of the churches of the outside world for many years.

It has been suggested that our conversation today should focus on 'reconciliation as a theological and political problem or dilemma'.

We have been visiting townships, hospitals, and bereaved families. We have encountered the reality of the blind violence that collects more and more sacrifice from the same poor, marginal and powerless people who have been paying the price of apartheid for so many years. So we need to be very courageous to speak about reconciliation. I think that reconciliation is very difficult after 350 years of White people being the guardians of the Blacks.

I have a certain empathy because, next year in Latin America, we are going to celebrate the 500 year-anniversary of the colonisation and evangelisation of our region. The Indians who were destroyed by this occupation and invasion, and the Black people who were taken as slaves from Africa to replace the dying Indian population in the cane sugar plantations, do not have much to celebrate. They continue to be the marginal people of our society today. While our temptation is to sing a Te Deum for the 500th Anniversary, they are asking for a Requiem.

But what shall we do with the gospel of Jesus Christ that obliges us to believe in reconciliation? That is a difficulty we have because, if we could only overcome the question of power relations, we could solve it; but we cannot accept that power relations are solutions to human relations. God was in Christ to reconcile the world to Himself, and entrusted to us the ministry of reconciliation. We may have different doctrinal interpretations of the Cross of Jesus Christ, but all currents of Christian spirituality will coincide in seeing the Cross as the final attempt by God to overcome human alienation and, from the side of the victims and in identification with the oppressed, pronounce the words of forgiveness: "Father, forgive them, they don't know what they are doing".

So this is our dilemma. A reality that makes reconciliation impossible and a vision, a conviction, an obligation and a promise that reconciliation is available. How do we bridge from the reality to the vision or from the vision to the reality? I think the Bible is a very down to earth book and speaks of life, and the writers of the Bible knew that to speak of reconciliation is sometimes a luxury that needs to wait for a while. Remember that family quarrel between Abraham and Lot?. There were some fights and struggles between the two families and when they had rea-

ched the level of violence, Abraham said, "Wait a minute, let us make a practical arrangement. If you go to the left, I will go to the right. If you go to the North, I will go to the South. But let us not quarrel, there is plenty of land".

As a Methodist preacher, I can say that I know that is not reconciliation. You need to embrace, you need to love each other. Abraham said "Let us first assure life; let us first avoid war; let us first be sure that we have the possibility to talk later of deeper things." Until life, as a gift of God, is a privilege recognised for every child of God, there is no way that we can begin to speak of reconciliation. The society that looks toward a reconciling possibility, has a previous task to assure life for all citizens; to ensure the minimum dignity; to guarantee that people may come with free will to speak of reconciliation, and not simply be obliged to accept a scheme of solutions that are provided, because they are too weak to resist. So first: assure life.



The WCC team in Chicken Farm, a shanty town in Soweto, Emilio Castro accompanied by (far center) Canon Clement Janda (Sudan), Dr. Frank Chikane (SACC) and William Smith (SACC staff person).

The second biblical paradigm I would like to call your attention is also in the book of Genesis. It is about the two brothers, Jacob and Esau. Jacob is the clever, dishonest fellow who claimed the primacy and the blessing of his father which rightfully belonged to his older brother. Jacob escaped abroad for twenty years. One day he decided to return. But he was afraid. He knew what he had done. Twenty years

may be time enough to forgive and forget, but it could also be time to concentrate your anger. So Jacob was afraid, and out of fear he begins to organise himself to pave the way for approaching his brother. He begins to send messages: "The Lord has blessed me. I will come back to you my Lord." He had received the primacy but he also recognises the primacy of his brother. He sent seven committees with gifts to try to tame Esau. Esau, beautiful soul, wanted to embrace his brother. But the guilty one was not convinced that it would be possible. So he begins to prepare the way for a potential reconciliation by restitution of part of what he has taken from his brother and by inclining himself in reverence seven times in front of his brother, to recognise his primacy in the family.

We do not know the good intentions of Jacob. Maybe he did not have any. But the Bible is not interested, at this moment, in questioning the intentions. It is interested only in seeing or describing a process by which two persons were coming close to each other and the possibility of a reconciliation that was available. We come back to this later.

Let us take the same realism of the Bible and discover what could be done even with selfish motivations, to advance towards potential reconciliation. Remember the parable of the prodigal son; that young fellow who got the money from his father, went out and enjoyed himself. No more money, no more friends. He was taking care of the pigs and eating like and with them. And so he said: "I am stupid. Here I am, living this way and look what is going on in the house of my father. The work is there, the food is better. So I will go back to my father and say: "Father I am not worthy but make me one of your workers". That son had his own salvation plan, his own strategy. There was no repentance. He was not concerned about the pain inflicted on his father. He only wanted to eat, and that's a legitimate worry. So, out of very poor motivation, he came close to the father. The father came running to him and embraced him. In the forgiveness of the father, the son realised the magnitude of his sin. He could propose no solutions. He could only say, "I have sinned against Heaven and against you". But he could say that only in the presence of the forgiving love of the father.

Sometimes we say "repent, in order to be forgiven". The real repentance comes when we are forgiven. Because it is only when we see the love of a wife forgiving the unfaithful husband that you see the magnitude of his action. It's only in this moment of spiritual embrace that you then come close to what is called reconciliation. Before that, through envy or contention, through good or bad intentions, the prodigal son was walking towards his father and Jacob was walking towards his brother.

Coming back to the experience of Jacob; remember that, in the middle of that marching towards his brother a blessing. In the light of that experience he says: "my eyes have seen the face of God and I am still alive". Then he continued on the road to meet his brother. Only when the brother embraced him, and forgave him, was he able to say "In your face I have seen the face of God".

The Bible, the churches, speak about conversion as one way to reconciliation. But conversion per se is not enough for reconciliation. Conversion is the change of attitudes that puts me face to face with my neighbour, with the victims, with those whose attitude to me will be the real mediation of God's forgiveness and potential reconciliation.

Let me say it theologically this way. In the case of Jesus Christ, He as the victim, was able to mediate restitution and forgiveness, even for those who had victimised him. "Father forgive them, they don't know what they are doing". So the embrace of the father to the prodigal son, and the restitution of Esau, is a giving back of a lost humanness, that could only be given through the victim and which is fundamental for a reconciliation to take place.

In the political debate of your country, we are talking about restitution, the means by which the responsible ones, the guilty, those who have profited from the situation, can be obliged to make restitution for their acts to the others, in order for it to be possible to begin to talk about reconciliation.

But it is a double thing. The victim is not only a recipient of restitution but is also the one who has the key to a real and fundamental reconciliation; because it is in those victims that Jesus Christ is present. It is in those victims that the intention of God for real humanness is manifested. So the reconciliation comes at the end of the road when you have taken steps, from different motivations; when you come close to your neighbour, in relation to whom you recognise your guilt; when you



Praying with a victim of the violence in the township, in Natalspruit Hospital, East Rand.

begin to give an indication of the seriousness of your approach. When you are embraced by those who are your former victims you then have the chance for real building of a new fellowship, a new communion and a new community.

Remember the Gospel story of Zaccheus, that small man who went up a tree. We do not have any information on the menu or the conversation when he went in to supper with Jesus. But he came out from that meal with a strange public confession, "I will give to the poor and I will repay what I have stolen". Then Jesus announced: "salvation has come to this house."

We Protestants and Catholics have quarrelled with each other for centuries about whether we are saved by faith or by works. We are saved by pure grace because neither our faith nor our works are enough. So don't worry about that. But the question here, in this story, is that the objective actions or restitution by Zaccheus is the evidence of what conversion meant and of his willingness to be in reconciliation; it is the social manifestation of the internal reality that has happened to him in the conversation with Jesus. Of course we have a serious difficulty to go from the biblical, theological panorama to the political panorama because in the Bible, with some exceptions, conflicts and reconciliation take place in a face to face situation between individuals. And that is relatively easy to understand and to handle. "I could forgive him" and vice versa. "We are both responsible of our life". But it is quite a different situation when I belong to a social group that has been collectively guilty, or collectively exploited; my attitude of individual forgiveness is not enough and is not complete until I come along with my family or my people to that possibility of reconciliation.

One of the most senior ecumenical leaders of today, Jacques Maury from the Protestant Federation in France, said, "I don't have any problems with the acceptance and the forgiveness of my sins. But I do not know how to accept the forgiveness for my sin of being White, of being a member of a racial group that has profited from the exploitation of so many other nations in the world; and which continues to profit, within the structures of economic relations in the world. So my difficulty is how I can accept forgiveness when the cause of my sin, the sin of my nation as a whole, is still in operation".

The only response is to begin to walk like Jacob, like the prodigal son. Come with your guilt but let us put ourselves on the side of the downtrodden, on the side of the marginalised, in order to try to reverse the meaning of history. We cannot change past history but we can change the significance of that history for this present and future generations.

In fact in the situation in your country, the churches are faced with a temptation. The temptation to be neutral in order to be able to help the reconciliation. The churches have been able to mediate a peace accord, together with the business community, who are supposed to be neutral too!! Do not forget that. And now Dr Mandela has announced that he would like to see other parties accept that the

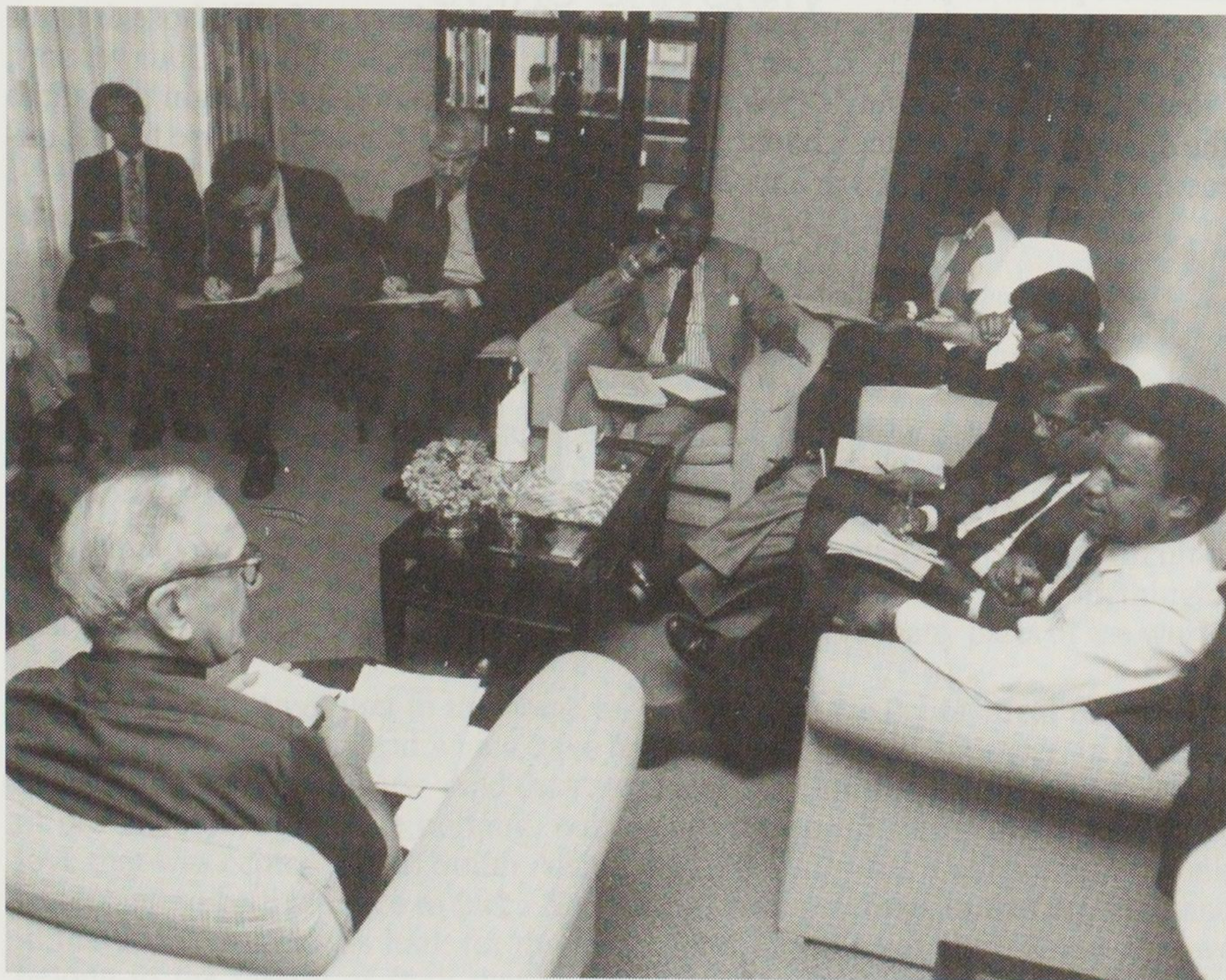
churches and the business community should assume the main responsibility for calling the multi-party conference. It is a very interesting recognition of the church. But watch out! It should never be recognition of a supposed-to-be neutrality, between oppressed and oppressors. That cannot be for the Church of Jesus Christ, who took to himself the destiny of the downtrodden of his time, and who forever walks the roads of the world embracing the children and the powerless. It cannot be that that church could pretend to be above the tragedies. So that, politically speaking, it is not possible to remove the guilt of individuals and it is not possible to remove the guilt of the church. I cannot say it was only the Dutch Reformed churches. That is my church as much as the Methodist Church is my church. I cannot say what was done in Latin America was only the Catholic Church. It was done in the name of the Bible and in the name of the same Lord Jesus Christ whom we worship. So we need to acknowledge that collective guilt and let that guilt motivate all of us to enter into the struggle to overcome the situation, on the side of the downtrodden.

Secondly, I think that the churches, and all people concerned with the situation, should think of which are the sign posts to be planted, the indications to be given, that we care for life. Not only an action pronounced in a statement. But in every local parish, every neighborhood, every slum area, or township, to try to bring people together to see how the preservation of life could be possible, even if only at a minimum level. We cannot proclaim a reconciliation in whose name we refuse to give a cup of water to my neighbour. I cannot be dreaming so much of the ideal that I lose sight of the reality. There are pragmatic things that are not easy, but they are absolutely necessary to develop in the process.

Thirdly, we need to develop structures of conciliation, structures of conversation, structures that oblige people to talk to each other. It may be a silly example but in our encounter with President de Klerk, he was obliged to receive me and I was obliged to see him. But I think the kind of constraint given by what he represents and what I represent, is a good constraint; because it provides the chance to demythologise; provides the chance to put the problems on the table and open the door for future possibilities on the road to a reconciliation far away; a reconciliation that we believe should be possible. So the creation of forums, where people representing the most varied positions in society, contribution, at the political level, on the road towards reconciliation.

Of course we come to the question of restitution. As you remember from the biblical exegesis, restitutions are signs of the honesty of the process. Restitutions are ways to guarantee and protect life. Restitution is a way to prove your honesty and to facilitate the perception of the others of the honesty of your position. But restitution is something deeper. It is the conviction that we cannot say "OK, we have finished a page, now we begin from zero again", without trying to assume the consequences from the past, in the creation of conditions of humanness for everybody in the nation.

The upheaval that was produced in the mass media by one idea, discussed at an ANC seminar, for a levy of 30% on wealth, to compensate somehow for the disadvantages of the majority of the people, demonstrated two things. First that some people are afraid to lose privilege and secondly that others are convinced that something needs to be done. The question is to internalise that conviction and to bring that internalisation to the tables of negotiations. So that the question is not to reject this or that idea, but to bring forward intelligent possibilities that will indicate our willingness for restitution, and for the possibilities involved in the new processes of creating conditions for a real reconciliation.



The WCC staff team hold one of their regular meetings in their hotel.

What is the role of the church in all this? First, to shout very strongly “reconciliation is possible. Do not give up! Do not surrender to violence. Do not accept that violence could become a methodology to assure the maintaining of the prevailing status quo”. ‘No’ to violence, because the promise of reconciliation is there and we believe that God’s promises are stronger than our human obstacles to the fulfillment of those promises.

Second, let us be close to the victims, to the suffering people, to keep steady with them the hope that, even if death is visiting us today, it is not powerful enough to

deprive those who have fallen on the road, of the glory of contemplating, from the outskirts of heaven, how the life of their dear ones is being transformed for better in this country. We must be there, because it's from that perspective, and with the hope generated in that encounter with the people, that we can embrace others in a sincere, honest manner.

Finally let the church provide signposts of the potential of reconciliation, by running a little faster than the political society and providing examples of potential encounters on the road to reconciliation. It cannot be that churches will change because the political parties change. It cannot be that the dreams that we are able to develop are limited to the possibilities that politicians have to fulfill those dreams. No, we come from a higher court and in the name of our God we say, "Reconciliation is waiting for us; let us begin to assure life; let us begin to walk to the encounter with our neighbour; let us begin to restitution; let us hope for the miracle that will surprise us at any moment".

Sermon by Dr Castro
at the University of Fort Hare;
at the Installation of Dr Oliver Tambo as
Chancellor and Dr Sibusiso Bengu as
Vice-Chancellor;
and the 75th anniversary of the funding
of the University



Dear Students, Brothers and Sisters, Dr Tambo, Dr Bengu,

We are under the impact of having spent a few days in your beloved country and we have growing difficulties to control our emotions. We want to stay rational, but when you see suffering and struggling, anxiety and hope, when you see children smiling at you and mothers asking “how long, Lord, how long?”, it is difficult to give a rational discourse. And your singing and embracing signifies something of that solidarity we want to express and want to take back to many parts of the world.

So allow me to greet you in the name of your family, the ecumenical movement, churches all over the world which have been thinking of you in prayer, in hope, in expectation for many years. And they are thinking of our dream, they are thinking of our encounter. We are nothing, but we symbolise the tremendous amount of love that was centralised in South Africa, and that today has a chance to be manifested and to be lived face to face. So receive these greetings in that emotion and in that love. And let us look for the message of the word of God. Know that we belong to the family of faith that is struggling towards faith everywhere in the world.

I am very impressed by the title of this service. Normally, one would do it the other way around — re-dedication and thanksgiving. I don’t know if there was any hidden agenda in putting re-dedication first and then, in the light of our commitment, to look back and to give thanks for the history that has prepared us for this new beauty. I see here that we are remembering Jabakus, Markus, Mandela, Tambo. I have the impression that they stopped because they did not dare to put other names. So it is in the light of this re-dedication that we look back to give thanks for all those who, in resilience, in resistance, in anger, in frustration, in joy and in hope

were able to preserve this house for the new opportunity, and to give to you and us the chance to look forward to a common future. So it is correct — re-dedication before thanksgiving, then thanksgiving will be intense.

You have heard a reading of the letter of Paul to the Philippians where he says, "I have come to regard everything in the past as lost because of Christ". But he does not want to think of merits or demerits. He wants to be sure that he is still marching on, still searching for God in the power of the resurrection. What he likes to have is the capacity to walk in the path of the cross, following Jesus Christ, identifying with the poor and the downtrodden, trying to raise with him all people of the earth, so that somehow the power of new life, the power of new opportunities, the power of the resurrection could be manifested. There may, may not be, things that are glorious, to be thankful for. But he says that that does not matter; that there is still the prize in front of us. What is really important is to know that we have been captured by Jesus Christ, that he has taken us; so that we, under the shadow of the cross, may look forward to discover the road that takes us to resurrection and new life.

It is in the light of this passage that I wanted to think aloud with you. What could be the role of a university in South Africa today? We all know what universities are for: to make the students suffer and to make professors' jokes! However, through that mixture, through that ambiguity, universities are there to prepare people to develop capacities for the future.

Today in South Africa, I think there needs to be three or four basic functions that belong to the vocation of a university, specifically to a tradition that would like to continue as a liberating tradition.

The first responsibility is to enter into the intellectual debate that is absolutely necessary in your country. You have the chance to dream that a new future will be possible. There is a think-tank function that belongs to a centre of research. There is a thinking together about the problems of the models of society, about the economic problems to be confronted, the priorities to be developed, regional development plans, the potential possibility of people's organisation, and the potential of cooperatives; about all those items that need to be confronted and brought back to the centre of discussion. Nothing of the past will be taken for granted because, beautiful as that will be, successful as that will be in terms of producing an economy (that we see the beautiful highways that you have), those successes of yesterday have been built at the service of a prevailing ideology that needs to be challenged, not only in terms of all ideological convictions of liberation, but also in the nitty-gritty of daily priorities, in the nitty-gritty of the daily thinking of the kind of nation that we want to develop. So a university cannot be a factory to produce certificates or to produce papers that qualify you. It should be a living place where the intellectuals, the resources of the libraries, resources of visitors, resources of professors, the eager searching of the students, should be put to the test in words that make contributions to the national debate in front of us.

You face immediately the challenge of a new constitution. I do not think that Fort Hare should write the full constitution! But you could take aspects of it: How do you address the fear of those who have power today and who know that they are obliged to share that power tomorrow? How do you address the expectation of the masses of people deprived of their basic rights? and who would like to be sure that those rights have a chance to be exercised in the coming days. There are many specific projects that could be chosen. You will need to discuss the difficult question of restitution. How do you do that? How do you take the economy that is already in place and transform it into a potential source of blessing for the majority of the population?

There are also questions of culture and value: How do we collect and keep the cultural values of our many languages, of our many songs, of our many different expressions of life together, a non-racial society in a united South Africa?

There are still things to be done. Your country was obliged for years to serve only one particular ethnic group in this country. That was never the vocation, that will never be your vocation. But it is necessary to think fast in order to provide the country with new values; to go forward without depriving people of the expression of their very being, of the richness of the history, but to bring this history; into the communality of cultural richness that will belong to everybody in this country. You could add your own perception. But I think that the time calls for solid intellectual work that needs to be done in every single university of this country.



Left to right, Barney N. Pityana, Aruna Gnanadason, Jan Kok, Dr Gama (a friend of Dr Mandela), Emilio Castro (obscured), Nelson Mandela, Ofelia Ortega, Clement Janda, Tarek Mitri at the reception following the installation of Dr Oliver Tambo at the University of Fort Hare.

The second area of reflection on the role of a university today, has to do with the need, not only for you in South Africa, but all of us in the Third World to obtain our liberation. So many countries have been liberated but have never ceased to be colonies. The whole economic system of the world is organized in such a way

that there are countries at the centre and countries at the periphery. If we are going to train students for a real liberation, we need to tackle the challenge of scientific training at the highest possible level. We cannot accept to be reduced to the level of producers of raw materials and buyers of sophisticated gadgets that others design for us. We cannot be called second-class citizens in this world, drinking Coca Cola and paying royalties for it! We need to rediscover the mental capacities that God has given to our children, and to go for coalitions between universities and corporations, universities and governments, in order to create those laboratories, those possibilities to investigate, to do research that is the only potential for real independence in the future to come.

We cannot simply accept a role of applying what others have thought of. We need to contribute, learning from everybody, with humility. Yes, we may go to whatever university will be necessary, but the actual research should equip the students with all the potential, so that we are not be satisfied with projects of life that help us to earn our living but will not help with the real freedom of the nation.

So liberation is a notion, it is a slogan, it is a struggle, but it is also long hours of steady intellectual work, long hours of sacrifice to guarantee that this liberation has meaning and that it is liberation of the mind and of the heart, liberation of the total human being, liberation of the total community. So the university needs to rethink its standards, its demands of excellency, not only for pride, not only to get recognition from other universities, but fundamentally to participate in the liberation of the nation.

There is a third dimension which is very important today. That is a challenge to all the universities, but specifically to a house like this which wants to rededicate itself to the ideals of the people you mentioned. Barney Pitso and some others were able to make it, but many others were not able to make it; their dreams were shattered, they did not have any possibility of studying. I remember with tremendous emotion our encounter in 1985 in Harare with representatives of the youth of your country who came to us to say: "We need liberation first, education later." They would surrender their future for the sake of the nation. Now we are six or seven years later, many others have been in jail for many years. What are we going to do as a university to retribute them? Restitution is a beautiful word to shout at the others, but restitution begins in the house of God, restitution begins in this university. If we are not able to develop a force that helps people to catch up and recover.

When I heard that slogan: "liberation first, education later", I thought they were crazy. Yes, maybe they were crazy. But it was the craziness of Don Quixote trying to fight against the windmill and shouting "justice, justice, justice", glory to the God of for those crazy people. They are searching for a way to tomorrow, they are providing life for our children. So let us embrace them, let us recognise them, let us address them in their present situation but bring them to their potentialities, to their maximum.

The fourth dimension of university work is specifically addressed to the students. Do you realise the privilege that you and I have? We belong to the less than 1% of humanity that has had the chance to come to university. Less than 1% in the whole world. Why? Why me? I have behind me six brothers and sisters who went into the market place to make it possible for me to go beyond primary school. Why me? I don't know why. I do not have the answer. But I know that what we received is simply the equipment to give. We are not trained for ourselves, but to be of service. When a new government will come, and a new day will dawn, you will see the economy of the country opening, projects multiplying, and you will be tempted. You will be called to occupy positions of power and prestige; you will be tempted to believe that you have made a great effort to come to university and that you now deserve this or that privilege. May God protect you from that temptation.

What we have received is what we have to give, multiplied, and this is how it should be, a permanent calling to vocation, to unselfishness. We are not interested in equipping persons for their own benefit, we are interested in equipping all of us in order to be partners in society, in order to participate at all levels in the creation of a solidarity network, in the creation of a caring society, in the creation of new potentialities for all our fellow citizens.

If I forget from where I come, may God curse me. If we forget the mother who put us into the world, the name of those who played with us, if we forget their sacrifices made in order for us to enjoy our situation, may God call us to judgement. So a university today cannot, and should not be, a centre for the creation of well-trained egoists. It should be a temple where we train people who individually and collectively are committed to the welfare of all of society.

So let us say with the Apostle Paul: "All our history, beautiful as it is, is nothing compared to what is coming; compared to the dream that is in front of us; compared with the beginning of an opening in the light of our nation; compared with the challenge to think through the future of the nation; compared with the challenge to build the independence of the nation from the old up to the youth; compared with the solidarity that will be manifested in the restitution that is due to those who offered the best years of their lives for our sake and our liberation".

Above all, let us walk together with Christ on the path of solidarity, the path of incarnation with other people knowing that in that way, through the cross, we come together to the resurrection. May God bless you very richly.

Address by Dr Castro during a visit to Port Elizabeth

You can imagine our emotions as we tour your country and meet so many old friends and we begin to make new friends. After years of prayers, concern and solidarity we have now come to the crowning of our vision, for South Africa.

I was thinking while listening to our two friends here (who had spoken in the welcome), "How will we be able to transmit to the churches of the world this sense of your gratitude; the meaning of the ecumenical solidarity which, in your love, you multiply in its importance?" Finally we were only ancillary supporters of the struggles of your people. We were expressing in prayer and in love that we belong in the same family of God but that you were risking your freedom and your life. You were having sleepless nights. So whatever you may say in relation to the World Council, is only a kind of gratitude that comes back to you, to your people, to those who paid, who tried to protest their dreams of a different day with their lives and with their freedom. So, thank you. But, with you, let me assume some kind of responsibility to tell the rest of the world, the depths of the bonds of fellowship that unite us.

You have seen, in the introduction of my colleagues, a little microcosm of the WCC. In the staff of the WCC we have about 60 different nationalities; in our Central Committee there are 80 nationalities and in the Assembly we have 120 nationalities. With all the problems that exist in the world, how did this family of churches come to focus their attention in the struggle against apartheid?

From the inside you may know apartheid as an unjust system, an unhuman situation. But seen from outside, it was also tied up with the idollic nature of the doctrine that was submitted for consideration, not only by this State, but offered as a model to be followed somewhere else. In the light of their experience with national socialism in Germany, the churches of the world knew immediately the risk involved in this kind of ideology or philosophy that concentrated first on separation, and then later on the superiority of one group over the others. Yes, it was a problem of injustice. But it was more serious than that. It was a temptation from inside the Christian soul, because people were trying to defend it in biblical terms and categories. And, as such, it needed to be resisted.

Sometimes people said, "There is so much injustice in many countries in Africa, why do you care about South Africa?" Because we know the Communists were of this or that philosophy; we know the dividing lines. That was no temptation for us in that. With dictators, we know the dividing lines. That is pure, naked power. But here it was something more subtle. It was the attempt to root, in the Christian tra-

dition, a division among human beings that was a denial of the reconciling power of the Cross of Christ.

So, the focus of attention of the World Council came to be centred on South Africa. It was and remains absolutely necessary. But thanks to God we are here. So we need to be honest and recognise that some things are changing in this country. It will be unfair not to recognise that, due to the pressure of the people, to the action of the Spirit of God, and to many other factors including international pressure, new possibilities are beginning to emerge in your country. Political life is in evolution.

So I would like to centre our conversation this morning, not so much on what outside forces like the World Council of Churches will be able to do. But on the other side: what we are expecting from you. What the world Christian community is looking for from South Africa for today and for tomorrow. Because in a family we all give and take. You have given us a lot, with your sacrifice so far. But as you are enter into the new period in the life of your nation, there are contributions that are absolutely necessary. Let me open up some of those for your consideration.

The first one has to do with the need to stop the violence that prevails in areas of your country. We do not need to elaborate on the tragedy of the poor people who have borne the consequences of discrimination under apartheid and are now also paying with their lives in the growing violence in the townships and small towns. But that is not the angle I would like to highlight today.

Looking from the outside, we see how, in the powerful countries of the world, a new wave of racism has appeared, because they feel comforted in their understanding that Black people, poor people of the South, are not able to live in peace with one another.

Just a few days ago, in this country, there was a radio programme in which people were asking questions. One of the questions was formulated as an affirmation: "Under apartheid we were living in peace and we were eating everyday. Now without apartheid, you can see what is going on". This is an attempt to put the blame for the outbreaks of violence on people who have been discriminated against because of their colour, their economic conditions or their geographical location. To overcome violence, it is absolutely necessary, not only to preserve the lives of human beings, but also to show the world that we are able to master our own destiny; that we are able to deal with our problems and shape a common future together.

So it is very important that the churches and the business community continue what they have done in shaping the process of peace, that has brought agreement for peace in all the sectors of the country. But now it must be implemented. Because what is lacking, as far as we know, are the mechanisms for this agreement to be implemented in every city, in every township, so that the system can begin to



Some of the the WCC staff team, Left to right Christopher Duraisingh (India), Barney Pityana (South Africa), Aruna Gnanadason (India), Ofelia Ortega (Cuba), and Tarek Mitri (Lebanon).

Photo: James Solheim

function and peace can be affirmed. We can no longer tolerate that the lives of people can be discriminated against to gain points in the political structure. They cannot be instruments of political partisanship. They are precious creatures given by God and as such, should be honoured. It will be a calamity if we win the formal freedom of the law and at the same time, lose the fundamental freedom of every child of God.

The second dimension of what is in front of you, and that those of us outside would like to see as your contribution, is the possibility of developing a multi-party system democracy. You know that in Africa, after independence, most of the countries decided to follow a model of one-party system. This was not an imitation of the socialist countries. This was an attempt to overcome the basic problem of tribalism and the colonial influence in most of those countries. You cannot touch the borders of countries without opening a Pandora's box; you need to develop new loyalties, a new consciousness of nationhood that will rally people together. And the one-party system was offered as the model which would facilitate that inside the structures, discipline and ideology of one party. People from different ethnic backgrounds could live together and, in that laboratory, constitute a model for the all of society. We can see the model of the single-party system is coming to the

end of its possibilities in most of the countries of Africa. It is being challenged almost everywhere.

But, as churches, we are not called to defend the one-party system or multi-party system. What we are obliged to point to is the need for having political structures that, from the very beginning, ensure that ethnic or racial background is an incidental factor and is not a fundamental or important factor in the self-definition of your political identity.

The worst calamity could be the development of parties which are limited to one particular language or ethnic group. That could be peace for today, trouble for tomorrow. That would be another way to preserve apartheid and sanctify it without realising what we are doing. So we need to oblige every party to exist in all sectors of the nation and to incorporate the cultural values that will contribute to the total richness of the nation.

So South Africa could become a tremendous laboratory of democratic learning for the rest of the continent and for the rest of the world. It is not only your destiny which is at stake; it is the destiny of democracy on the soil of Africa. So whatever may happen to your constitutional discussions, whatever is happening to the formation of political entities, it seems to me that it is fundamental that plurality of backgrounds should be assured; so that, in that process, you can embrace the totality of the gifts of your people and confront the totality of the tensions that prevail among your people.

In Europe, proud Europe, which believes it has solved all the problems related to tribal organisations or societies, we are seeing the calamities that pertain to the unity of one party, one ethnic group and sometimes one church. What is going on in Yugoslavia today is the tragic result of a history in which a political structure, an ethnic group, a religious ideology or a confession, have been melded together and have found it impossible to constitute themselves as useful or valid units of national life.

Let me say that, in most countries of Africa, for reasons of language facilitation, missionary work developed along tribal lines. So it is churches and not only political parties, that need to confront these problems. How do they express the reality the totality of the people of God and not become toys or instruments of one particular ethnic group against another?

So what we need is a multi-party democracy with multi-ethnic cultural ingredients, in order to ensure that the nation as a whole searches for, and confronts, its totality.

The first dimension of what I think you are being confronted with, and which will be your contribution to the rest of the world, is of course the whole question of justice, especially economic justice, in the years to come. For the majority of your

people in this country, apartheid is still a reality. They rejoiced that some political prisoners have been freed, that some refugees have been able to come back, and they wait for more. But, daily life has not changed. They have not had the chance to move from one place to the other. Of course, the law has been removed but the money has not been provided to really move from one side to the other. Unhappily, the law which allows interracial marriage came too late; most of us are married already. So the end of apartheid still has to have some meaning for those at the bottom of society, the five million unemployed.

So it will be very easy and demagogic to proclaim an overall revolution that will promise wonders for tomorrow. Unhappily we are in our real world where no nation is totally economically free. The interdependency of the world system of economics is such that the margins for manoeuvre of any government are limited. All kind of agreements exist. When you come to take power you soon realise that you can take only a portion of power. This realism cannot be understood by people who are suffering the lack of basic needs and at the same time should be assisting in the shaping of projects for the future.

I was very intrigued and amused by the debate in your media about somebody (who deserves to be recognised as an agitator for a good cause in this society) at an ANC seminar, who proposed that 30% of everybody's assets should be levied



The WCC team visit Kwa Khothe settlement for displaced persons in Edendale.

for a period of X number of years in order to compensate those who have been the victims of apartheid. It seems they have even been discussing this proposal even in Bangkok, where the International Monetary Fund has been meeting. Of course everybody rejected it. But this unknown person has shaken the world, and has called the attention of this society to a reality: ways and means need to be found to speedily facilitate restitution, without disrupting the whole economic fabric.

The word restitution creates fear among many people. Because they think that, tomorrow, Black people who have had only 13% of the land, will be claiming the 87% they are entitled to and exchange the 13% with the White people. While that might be ideal in a world of pure justice, you know that we live in a world of reality. What you want to have, if I understand you properly, is a new chance to start, a new possibility to go forward towards a justice that will be for everybody. It is not a question of jumping at everybody's throat. It is a question of fitting together, to engage in taking the consequences that will be the mandate for building up a caring community. Once the principle of restitution is accepted; or more important than that, once the principle of reciprocal responsibility for the welfare of the whole people is accepted, then it will be for the economists, the trade unions, and the industrialists to work together on the model that will most rapidly provide justice and the assurance for everyone that the future will be different.

Let me illustrate this with the case from my own country, Uruguay. For several years slum areas were being developed around the city. Those slums, you may call them townships, were a place of hope for people coming from rural areas to the lights of the city, looking for work in the factories. They were poor situations but they were full of hope; and everyone of us, poor children of the streets, knew that we could become president! The poverty was a poverty accepted in a joyful expectation of days to come. Later on, as the economy of our country collapsed, those slum areas changed in their populations; no more were they those who had come to the lights of the city but those rejected by the city and pushed to its outskirts; people who could not pay the rent, unemployed people. Those slums are the depositories of hopelessness today. There is misery, no more poverty. Somebody said that at least we would like to come to a level of poverty with dignity, of poverty with hope. Then you could work, you could organise, you could multiply the co-operatives; then you could multiply the economic life of the country. But without hope, there is no way forward; 'without a vision the people perish', without the first fruits, the anticipation of the society to come, there is no way that people can be motivated to endure to wait, and to work towards tomorrow.

I often use the example of the aperitif. The aperitif is real food but it opens your appetite for more. What we need immediately, when something called democracy is announced, and the end of apartheid is announced, is some kind of aperitif for the poor of the earth that will indicate to them: "Oh yes, this food is real. Oh yes, the morning is here. Oh yes, it is worthwhile to go forward."

If South Africa is able to work with the fantastic infrastructure that prevails in this country and that today benefits the minority, and to use the industrial infrastructure, the economic reality, for the benefit of the majority, then South Africa will be providing an example and a stimulus, not only to Africa, but for many other parts of the world. So we plead with you to use your imagination, to live in tension between 'It should be' and 'It-cannot-be-all', and find the road forward that will open the future; that will not kill the spirit but will facilitate the participation of the masses of this country.

So we are waiting for a political model from you that will embrace all the cultural values of your multiplicity of ethnic and cultural groups. We expect from you an economic system that will clearly indicate the solidarity of the community as a whole; the belonging together in the future of South Africa.

And finally, we would like to receive from you something more of what you are already giving to us: your spirituality. Of course, we have the spirituality of your suffering; your poems, your theological reflections, some of your life. In the next few days in Cape Town we will be launching a book on Steve Biko, which contains something of what he meant as a personality; but beyond him, the searching for African identity and dignity which is a spiritual contribution to the universal church. So we expect much more.

It was interesting that, at the end of our conversation with the State President Mr de Klerk, he said : "Before you leave South Africa, I think you should transmit to the church that they should do more in their own terrain." You could think that he meant "Why don't you remain as churches and you forget about the rest". No, I wouldn't be unfair to him. I don't think that it was his intention. He was saying, "Could you not risk, in the search for reconciliation in this nation, showing the way by opening the door of reconciliation among the churches?"

It's a risky exercise. Much more risky in the political arena, and we are asking the politicians to do it! Maybe the word reconciliation is a too big a word. What we are asking them to have a *modus vivendi* of working together, to live in peace, to recognise each other, to develop a common vision for the nation.

You have indicated that, for many years, some churches or church leaders were not supportive of the actions of the WCC and did not understand the nature of the struggle against apartheid. But if that is a collective sin, can we not develop a spirituality that will call all of us to repentance together, and to the recognition that we will all falter at a given moment? Some may have seen the light before the others but, in God's mercy, when does the moment come when we will say, "Even if I cannot yet trust you entirely, you are my blessed brother or sister and we need to walk together."

So we are looking for a spirituality that indicates the road towards the future, out of the depths of a Gospel conviction. We are looking for a spirituality that will be

able, (and this is a tremendous thing we are asking from you) to receive the tremendous load of the past and not transfer the hate and revenge to the future. Humanly speaking, this would be a logical thing to do. How can we, as on the cross of Jesus Christ, assume the sins of the world, recognise them in all their ugliness, and still be able to say "Father forgive them, they did not know what they were doing".

Maybe it is too early. Maybe it will be political nonsense today. But when the day comes that apartheid is declared dead and you have to face all the difficulties and ambiguities of history, then the voice of the gospel of Jesus Christ calling all people to forgiveness under the grace of God, should not be absent. This will be the moment in which we will need to discover the role and vocation of the churches that embrace the political spectrum, but also cares for consolation of the victims, for accompanying the dying ones, for celebrating the wedding of two young people, for baptising children, for affirming life, for celebrating the glories of God in Jesus Christ.

So we are expecting from you, not only actions for overcoming apartheid at that level, but the fruits of your tragic, glorious experience, in terms of a spiritual testimony, for the health and healing of your people and humanity as a whole.

In your search, let us be sure that we will always be together; be it in the attempt to overcome violence or in developing political instruments that embrace the community and ensure a solidarity in society, or in the search for the gospel of Jesus Christ in the coming situation. Be assured that you are enlightening us, you are helping us, and you may count on our sympathy, our friendship and support. All blessings to you.

Address by Dr Castro during a visit to Durban

Let me express our gratitude for the hospitality we have received in South Africa so far, and here in Durban in particular. The programme that you prepared for us, the exposure we had yesterday, and today, not only gives us information to share, but experience to share, realities to live. Let me assure you that we will be spokespersons for the struggle of the people of South Africa wherever we are in the world.

The topic that has been announced is one of the main concentration points of the work of the World Council of Churches. But I hope it is also one of the major rallying points of ecumenical life and solidarity everywhere in the world. It was in 1983, at the Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver, we gained an awareness that the problems of justice, peace and the preservation of creation could no longer be considered in isolation from each other; but that all three should be conceived as entry points into the total problematic that humankind faces today. At that time, there were three major problems confronting humankind. The first was the fear of the potential use of atomic power in super power confrontation. They were the years of the Cold War, of the war in Afghanistan. Humanity had developed the power to blow up the whole earth. It is a new phenomenon. It is something unique. We have learned how to kill each other since the times of Cain, but we have learned how to destroy everybody only in the last fifty years. So that pending doom was very real in the minds of the Assembly delegates, who were trying to see how, as the church, we could respond to that threat.

The second major world dimension was the increase of the financial debts of the so-called Third World countries (today we speak of the South). The weight of trying to pay the interest on the debts, and the impossibility of repaying anything of that debt, constituted a major problem for the whole economic system, and a tremendous injustice to poor populations. It raised the problem from the realm of economics to the realm of morality and common responsibility. What could the churches say in a world divided among rich nations, poor nations? When inside the nations minorities control the majority of the resources and majorities live at the brink of starvation?

The third problem present in the minds of the delegates in Vancouver, was the so-called greenhouse effect; the effect of the warming of the earth's atmosphere, that will liberate enormous quantities of water from the Antarctic and the Arctic, with consequential flooding of the low regions of the world. More than that was the elimination of the protection in the atmosphere which controls the potential evil effects of the sun's rays. There was an awareness of our responsibility for the ecological protection of nature.



Dr Castro speaking at Diakonia, the Durban Ecumenical Centre.

The delegates put the three things together and invited the churches, not only to address the global nature of the problem, but also the local impact. Very quickly we discovered that atomic power was providing a protection for those who had it, so there was no war between the big, powerful nations; but they had carried on their wars with the blood and bodies of the people of the South. So the civil wars in Central America were converted into confrontations between the West and the Communist Bloc; the struggles in many countries of Africa were perceived precisely in that light. In your country, if you were against apartheid, of course, you had to be a communist or somebody representing that particular ideology or perspective. The big nuclear powers were prevented from direct involvement in the world—with exception in Lebanon—but were keeping the conflicts going in countries where poor people were killing each other without realizing that they were being used by other powers in the world.

Very soon we also realized that the question of justice was not at all limited to the question of economic imbalance between the nations of the world and the structural system between the nations. That it was also a question of injustice built into many processes of marginalization in the countries of the world, of which South Africa was one fundamental example. Of course, apartheid is very much linked to the economic distribution of power in this country, but has an intrinsically evil character of its own, that is not simply the manifestation of difficulties at the economic level. It has to do with the way people are treated because of their colour, or because they belonging to different ethnic groups. So the notion of justice could not be reduced to the notion of economy, even if economic justice is a vital com-

ponent of the same; that justice for women, justice for children, justice for the young people, justice for all marginalized groups, is an essential component of our concern.

The whole area of human rights came strongly to the forefront, to be used as a yardstick to assess the situations in most of the countries in the world. And also, of course, the ecological responsibility, the preservation of creation, was not only a problem of the macro effect on the whole climate of the world, but it was also a question of daily life for people suffering in the sub-Sahara region, or for the people of the main metropolises of the world, where new kinds of diseases appear as a consequence of the deterioration of the habitat, of the environment.

So in Vancouver, the World Council was invited to develop a programme that would include both the global dimension and the local expression of that concern. But the novelty in Vancouver was that we saw it at three different levels. We were to consider the three problems, Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation, as totally interlinked and not to isolate any one of them. Sometimes in our churches we



WCC staffer Ofelia Ortega (Cuba) during a visit to the shanty town in the centre of Durban.

have a specialized department for one aspect or the other. But what we are learning is that it is impossible to address one of those issues without touching the others.

Ecological responsibility means justice for the coming generations. If we are consuming the goods of this earth in this generation, we are depriving our children of the right they have to an earth that is the gift of God to the whole of humankind and to the whole of history, and not to one particular generation. If you want to relate it more closely to your own experience: you see in the country villages, women carrying bunches of wood for the fire necessary for their cooking. For that they need to cut tree branches that compose an ecological problem in this country, that consumes 62 percent of the total electricity produced on the African continent. So you see electrical wires passing by the huts, but the people are obliged to make ecological attacks in order to survive. Because they are put in a second-class citizen position, because they are considered non personae in the prevailing system, we have a situation where the whole society is going to suffer from the growing desertification of many thousands and thousands of acres of land in this country. So unless you control the problem of justice—and this is a simple example or illustration—there is no way that you can stop the ecological crisis in your country, in my country, or in the rest of the world.

And you cannot talk of justice without peace. You know what is going on in your beautiful country; that just when we hope there are conditions to be creative, to facilitate the political development and confronting the problems of injustice in this country, violence erupts in a wild, yet very intelligent manner. What kind of Machiavellian intentions may be behind that? But all attempts of violence, breaking the peace, have as a consequence the impossibility of developing, at a normal speed, the processes of justice in the nation. So we need to say 'No' to violence, in order that a climate of tentative trust is created, to encourage the minimum trust necessary to create the new political and social structures of this nation.

So you could enter from the justice/economic side, from the ecological- preservation of creation side, and from the peace side, and you have a conglomerate of belonging together. So we need to address the three problems together.

Of course, we need to stop violence; so in one way we enter into the dynamic through the question of peace. But we know that we are stopping violence in order to have justice, in order to enjoy the creation that God has given to all of us. So our first learning was that the global system, and the local entry point into this problem, were all intertwined, and belonged together.

In the process, we have had to learn to be more specific than when we began with those three major concerns in Vancouver. Last year in Seoul where a major consultation on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation took place, we were more precise in identifying racial justice as one component of the justice situation which needed specific attention and concentration today. The Assembly of the World

Council of Churches at Canberra accepted those four dimensions as the centre of our work in the coming period. We call this a conciliar process, or a covenant for justice, peace and integrity of creation.

The second novelty was that the churches, at the Assembly level, were saying that, even if it is difficult for the churches to accept it in their daily life, the attitudes we develop vis-à-vis this problem, are part of our faith. It has to do with the content of the Gospel. Normally we tend to develop a theology of two times. First, you convert to God, you have an experience of conversion, and then, if there is time, you turn around to serve your neighbour. But for a period of time we are so happy with God, why do we need our neighbour? It is the Apostle John who called this a terrible lie. He doesn't say that it is a theological mistake. He said: "If somebody says that she/he could love God without loving their neighbour, that person is lying". It is simply impossible to affirm an authentic experience of conversion to the God of Jesus Christ, and separate a first and a second step, a vertical and a horizontal dimension. There is nothing of that kind. There is only an invasion of God's love in history that takes all our love in response, in participation with that love. We cannot not respond to that love except with the totality of our being, the totality of our attitudes.



A Community meeting with police in Mlazi, Durban, following an attack by INKATHA the previous evening. PCR Director Barney Pitsoa Molea in the centre.

We are not saying that caring for justice, peace, for creation, for racial justice is a consequence of the Gospel. We are trying to say this is the Gospel. We are trying to say that this belongs to the very heart of the faith.

So the World Alliance of Reformed Churches decided to send away some Dutch Reformed churches of this country, because they considered that their attitude vis-à-vis apartheid, was not an opinion, not a misreading of the consequence of the Gospel, but a betrayal of the Gospel.

The confession of our faith, that has been articulated and expressed in beautiful terms of creeds, from former times to today, needs to be enriched with the confession of our faith in confrontation with the daily problems of survival in the world today. So it is not a matter of opinion. It is a matter of obedience. It is not a matter of second movement. It is a matter of concentration on the Cross of Jesus Christ, and to take from that Cross the clue for our lives in society.

The ecumenical debate is inviting the churches to test their faith in their attitude in relation to justice, to peace and to creation. I mentioned yesterday in another meeting that when Zaccheus had his private supper with Jesus, he came out of that conversation indicating that he would give to the poor and that he would make restitution. Then, and only then, Jesus said: "Salvation has come to this house". I am sure that what I call a conversion experience took place in the encounter with Jesus Christ. But Jesus could not proclaim the reality of that experience until this man was able to recognize, not only guilt, but also responsibility. It is a beautiful biblical passage because of what today we call restitution, which is an attempt to do away with what has been wrong in the past. But it is more beautiful than that. It is an awareness of our common responsibility for the whole of society. "Half of my goods I will give to the poor." So the second component of novelty in JPIC is very serious to the spiritual life of the churches, to the testimony of their very being.

There is a third dimension that brings novelty to this encounter. It has to do with the question of the unity of the church. This is called a conciliar process (covenant) towards justice peace and the integrity of creation. This phrase is so innocent, who would be against the conciliar process? It has made all the headquarters of the major churches tremble; because they are afraid that we are saying that Christians of different confessional origin—Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox—when are together in jail, out of their love for their neighbour, could celebrate holy communion together. Heresy. Impossible. And we are trying to suggest—we do not have the courage to say it—that is the Holy Spirit's doing and that our church authorities should discuss it with the Holy Spirit and not with the people in jail.

So there is an experience of unity that help us to challenge and to be impatient with the processes of organized unity that are under way. The Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church have a beautiful bilateral dialogue. They have discussed all theological problems. They have practically solved everything and then: Anglicans began to ordain women! What will we do with the search for unity

now? My goodness, for 500 years there was not a single woman ordained, and we were not able to unite. Now we are going to blame women for our division!

We need those dialogues. I am very glad that we have here today a person who has been appointed by the Holy See to participate in the Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches. And I hope that she will bring to that Working Group something of your local experience, of your spirituality, so that together we could remember that, yes, we need to draft our common credo; yes, we need to overcome our past historical divisions; but we need to let the Spirit glow, we need to let the Spirit bring novelty, we need to let the Spirit give us a sign.

This question of the implications of a conciliar process, a covenanting together, a living together, for the unity of the church is a fundamental one. That is the novelty of this time. Because, for centuries, Catholics were living here and Protestant there. In fact, we find it hard in Africa or Latin America to understand how much we have been victims of accidents in European history. Because you know that, at a given time, you had war among the princes, and then they decided to make peace, establishing that the religion of the prince should be the religion of the people who were living under him. Because of that kind of political agreement there are sectors of Germany, Holland, Austria, or Switzerland, which are Protestant and others that are Catholic. Then of course they developed their own spiritualities. But it could have been the other way round. It could have been that a prince wanted to marry this beautiful Catholic, and then we would all be Catholics!

Now we should speak very seriously about theological difference. Yes, they are serious. We need to work on that. But with a tremendous sense of humility. Because most of them are the consequence of a historical accident. Why am I a Methodist and not a Roman Catholic, the church in which I was baptized? Simply because 200 metres from my home was a small Methodist chapel where we, first, went to throw stones, second to play, and thirdly to organize. And one fine day this blessed Jesus Christ took hold of my life. So why go anywhere else if that experience has taken place there? But to claim that I have been in an elaborate process to reject the Pope or the doctrine of this or the other, is nonsensical. We were born into this, and then we defend the party line that we have. So to be together, to go to jail together, to parade together, that is the kind of unity that is beginning to break the strait-jacket that has been imposed by our own history. So the existentiality of the unity we experience is calling the theologians to articulate, to explain a given reality. It is my contention that Catholics and Protestants in general, are more united, than our theology is able to articulate. At the same time, unhappily, we are divided from other Christians, not because their theology is different from ours. In your country, there is the Dutch Reformed family. We have been painfully talking with all sectors of that family during the last few days and we are aware that they have the same credo, the same basic documents, the same structure, the same history, but a different attitude towards justice, towards society, towards JPIC.

So the novelty of this process is that it provokes a reconsideration of the question of unity of the church, not only at the level of doctrinal discussion, but influencing, challenging, that level of discussion from the experience of the poor, of the militant and from the experience of the whole of the Spirit giving all of us a sense of community. So this process of Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation, is full of promises; that hope is full of demands for the World Council of Churches, for the respective churches and for Christians committed to the Gospel of Jesus Christ everywhere in the world.



In happy mood - Mrs Virginia Gcabashe (WCC Executive Committee) and the women, welcome Dr Castro to the Ecumenical Centre in Durban.

I would like to thank the churches and the people of South Africa, because they have provided a fabulous model of covenanting for justice, peace and the integrity of creation. What you are doing in this organization; what we are doing together, with the international solidarity of the World Council of Churches and your struggle in South Africa, is covenanting; that is becoming specific, that is risking together. This needs to be multiplied. For example, you can be in a covenanting relationship with the Black people of South America that were taken out of your continent as slaves. They will develop a sense of pride encountering you, with your theological reflection, your testimony. And surely you will also be enriched by their capacity to transmit their struggle in terms of music, of dance, of joy, of anticipation of justice to come.

So covenanting should not only be at the centre—let me call it for a moment the World Council of Churches or the Holy See—but should be a covenanting of all the people of God, to support particular struggles in a given place. Because of the defense of human rights in Singapore, the government expelled the headquarters of the Christian Conference of Asia from there. So our solidarity with those brothers and sisters and our challenging the dictatorial ways of the Singapore government was one way of covenanting very concretely, for the sake of justice. So we hope that we will be able to develop for the future, a cry, an action, a dream of a just society; so that we can look into the future to replace the traditional theory of a just war with the most basic theory of a just peace. We must try to find the conditions needed in society to assure that there will be peace in the future, and replace our selfish exploitation of Nature with a caring and responsible attitude. It is a process in which your testimony here in South Africa, your contribution, is an inspiration and is a necessary component of the total world ethic.



Residents in Mlazi township, near Durban, wait the arrival of the WCC team.

Radio Phone-in Programme on
RADIO 702, Johannesburg
The Host was John Robbie
with Emilio Castro and Barney Pityana

John Robbie : In a nutshell, why are you here?

Emilio Castro : South Africa has been the centre of attention of the world opinion and of the Christian churches. We have been concerned with apartheid, which in the Christian perspective is considered a heresy. So we were praying; we were in support of the churches here trying to change the system. And now when there are possibilities for changes, when dialogues and conversations, full of tensions, are opening up, we want to be here to encourage people to go forward in the process.

JR : What about Barney? You are a South African by birth.

Barney Pityana : I come from Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. I have been living overseas for many years. And I am the director of the WCC Programme to Combat Racism.

JR : Is this your first time back?

BP : No, I was back a year ago, for the first time in many years. And this is my second visit.

JR : What are the differences between last year and this?

BP : The violence is the most prominent thing one notices. One also notices a mood of despair. Maybe because of the violence. And a tone in the political leaders that is a bit sharper than it was a year ago. So when we were here for the Rustenberg Consultation, in November 1990, there was a lot of hope in the air. I think since then the violence has become much more pronounced and there appears to be some despair.

JR : What about you, Dr Castro? Have you also picked up this doom and gloom?

EC : Yes. When we began to plan my trip it was something of a crowning of years of struggle; to enjoy, with the people of this country, the fruits of this new opening

of a new day. Unhappily the violence, the random killing of poor people, has created almost a panic situation; putting into jeopardy all the efforts made to develop a new possibility for this country. So come here to say 'Stop the violence' and at the same time say to everybody 'Do not let violence prevail. Do not let violence disrupt the process of peace and justice that was on the way.' So, in this sense we detect that climate of gloom. But our role, and the role of the churches and, I think, the role of every good citizen, is to say "It cannot be that violence will stop the progress towards justice in this nation".

JR : Let's hope you are right. What about your preconceptions of South Africa? You said the Church has been concerned with South Africa for many, many years. And certainly the World Council of Churches has been very much involved. What did you expect to find here?

EC : I was expecting to find here what indeed I actually found. A very friendly people, eager to live in peace. But my pre-knowledge of South Africa is that of a society divided by apartheid. That means a people divided, because of the colour of their skin. And that is totally intolerable from the point of view of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and that is totally intolerable from the point of view of human decency in the world. So the struggle against apartheid was not the struggle against



WCC Communication Director Jan Kok (centre) and PCR Director Barney Pityana (right) meet the press outside Union Buildings, Pretoria after the meeting with President F.W. de Klerk

just any kind of injustice. There are many other countries in the world that are under dictatorships etc. But here was a specific; that you could not do anything with your life because, when you were born a Black you would remain a Black forever; and that will mark your social destiny. In the name of Jesus Christ we could not endure that kind of Nazism, that kind of racial theory. That was the sense of our passion to help the people of South Africa to get rid of that yoke. Happily it seems the process is engaged.

JR : Let's find out a little about the World Council of Churches because I have a newspaper article in front of me from the Weekly Mail in October and they call. The World Council of Churches, "the Anti-Christ". The headline says "The Anti-Christ returns to end the myth". Why do you think they called you the anti-Christ in South Africa for so long?

EC : You should put that question to those who called us that way. We know that we believe in Jesus Christ as our Lord and Saviour. We know that we pray to that Jesus Christ. We know that we want to facilitate the spreading of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. So we invite everybody to faith in Jesus Christ. If all of this means to be anti-Christ, then OK. But it's strange to be anti someone you love and whom you want to serve. Hopefully, I think those are words of the past. It indicated the passion with which people were not able to accept criticism of the prevailing system. I hope that we can overcome that period and look forward in a more relaxed manner to the re-building of the nation and human relations.

JR : What is the relationship between church members here and the World Council? Because, in the past, that has also been a rather difficult relationship with some churches in South Africa.

BP : The World Council of Churches has member churches in South Africa. Probably all the main churches that are members of the South African Council of Churches are also members of the World Council of Churches. That unhappily excludes the Dutch Reformed Church which withdrew its membership in 1960, under pressure from the Government.

JR : Let's be clear. They withdrew. They weren't kicked out?

BP : They withdrew. They were never kicked out of the WCC. They withdrew, from the Government, following the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960 in Johannesburg. There is also the new development in this country of African Indigenous churches, which happily have recently become members of the South African Council of Churches, but which are not yet members of the WCC.

Since Rustenberg we have also become aware of other churches which are not members of the WCC; the Charismatic and Pentecostal churches, and the Baptist churches. So we are here to raise the profile of this ecumenical vision and encou-

rage churches to work together towards unity and to raise their commitment to witness for justice in this land.

Caller 1 : Dr Castro, I won't say welcome to South Africa, because I firmly believe that the World Council of Churches has played a major role in the bloodshed and the spilling of blood in South Africa. I would like to ask one question. What is the aim of the WCC?

EC : The aim of the World Council of Churches is to call the churches of Jesus Christ to unity in the service of humankind. And if you believe that the WCC has been involved in bloodshed in this country then I am really very sorry. I hope that you would understand that you are wrong. We have been trying to help the churches to serve this country; to facilitate people's lives in difficult situations. So we have been denouncing apartheid because we thought, and we believe still, that apartheid damages White and Black equally.

So our attempt has been, in every time and moment, to express our love to the people of South Africa. If we have made some mistakes I am ready to apologise. But to say that we shed blood! You are talking about the Church of Jesus Christ. I hope that you understand what you are trying to say.

Caller 1 : In the first place Dr Castro I would like to quote a member of your church, the President of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Peter Storey. He said 'We declare our deep understanding to those who have turned to guerilla warfare'. He implied that Blacks are not to be morally condemned if they plant car bombs which blow innocent passers-by to pieces. These are his words; Dr Castro, I would remind you of something. In 1970, the WCC gave the Communist government of North Vietnam 157,000 Rand or dollars and between 1980-1985 the WCC gave 740,000 to the South West Africa's Peoples Organisation.

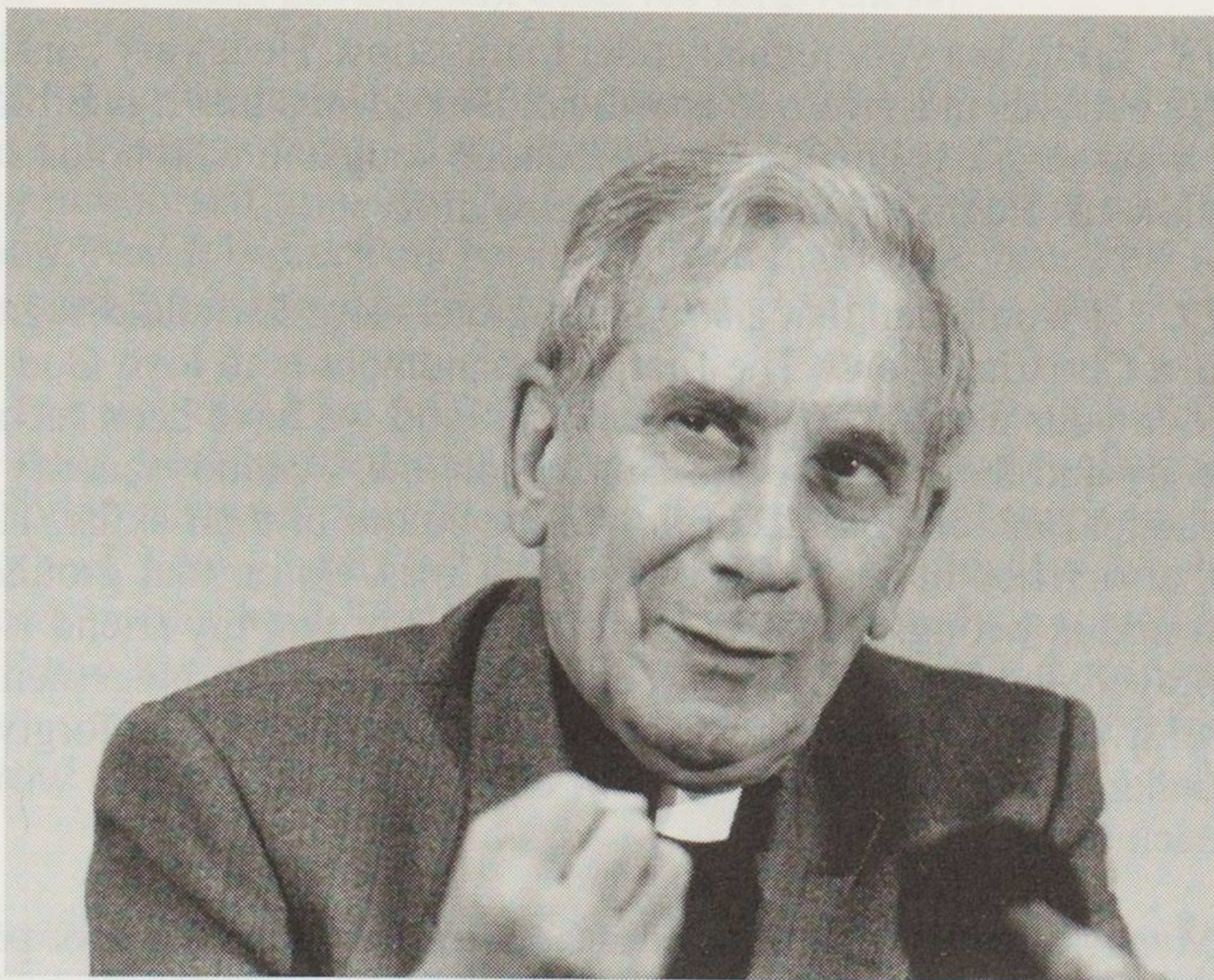
JR : Let me come in here. You are talking about liberation theology. The church getting involved in the liberation of people.

Caller 2 : Well Dr Castro, listen. While you are so worried about this oppressive regime of South Africa apartheid, 20,000 people Black people are dying every day of hunger in Africa. Why didn't you help those people? Why are you so worried about this set-up in South Africa, where not one Black man was dying of hunger? That is what amazes me.

EC : We are helping those people in every country in Africa. You will find the churches in action, and the WCC supporting them. What we have given to the liberation movements is peanuts in comparison with the millions that we are pouring through Inter-Church Aid, Diakonial services. I invite you to come to see our books in Geneva.

Would you criticise the Red Cross because they are serving in the liberation movements' camps? They are there because that is their vocation. The vocation of the Church of Jesus Christ is to be with the children of God wherever they are. Who were the leaders of the liberation movements? They are the children of our churches. They were raised in our Sunday schools. They are the fruit of the missionary work of the White churches in this country. Are we going to desert them? Or are we going to support them in their struggle for dignity for the whole people.

Caller 1 : Dr Castro. I tell you, that you people have destroyed apartheid. Apartheid, my friend, comes out of the Bible and you know it! Because every man had one ethnicity at the Tower of Babel, and God said it is not good that man speaks one language, are one people. He spread them out and ever since then ethnicity has been too powerful a base. And because of apartheid being destroyed in South Africa, in 15 months. 26,000 have died because of you Dr Castro and the PAC and Nelson Mandela.



*Dr Castro during his
meeting at the ANC
Headquarters*

JR : Let me come in here. This caller, Eddie van Malttetz, has been a guest on our show before. He is a very well known Right wing military leader. Is that right Eddie?

Caller 1 : Yes sure.

JR : The question I want to ask is: when Eddie came on the show with Robert van Tonder, the Boerestaat leader, the first thing they did, just before they went on the air, was to hold a prayer meeting. To ask Jesus Christ to bless them. Am I right?

Caller 1 : That's right.

JR : It was a very genuine thing. You asked for guidance from Jesus Christ to bless you on your way. Now we have the World Council of Churches, who are also supporting the same God, supporting the same Christ, and yet have got a totally different idea on politics. How can that be? How can it be reconciled? Eddie, give us your views.

Caller 1 : I firmly believe that one of us must be wrong. One of us must be a counterfeit. Either he or me must be a counterfeit. The Bible says you shall know a tree by its fruit, my brother. And if a man bears the fruit of the devil, then he is a child of the devil. And I tell you, I firmly believe I am responsible to Africa and its people. And I firmly believe that, while I was in control, there was peace, stability, and security. So what if there wasn't the vote. Who wants the vote when a man is dying of hunger? I say that the churches are right in the front line of the revolution in this country, fuelling the flames of the devil.

JR : Eddie is a very regular caller to this show. He is very consistent with his views. He believes in a return to apartheid. He believes that it is Biblically inspired. What I want to ask is how can you reconcile someone who holds such strong Christian views as Eddie? Your policies are so different.

EC : I would call that a strong religious view. I would disagree with you that that is a Christian view. The first commandment is to love God and the second is to love your neighbour. If, by Jesus's blood we have been reconciled in one single body and there is no more Greek, nor Jew, I cannot sanctify human divisions; I cannot rank citizens according to the colour of their skins. That is simply against the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the Cross. So on that ground, I believe that our friend is wrong. However, I would not say that my friend is not a Christian. He prayed and I prayed. We are both submitted to the judgement of God and we are all living out of the mercy of God, in the hope of God's forgiveness. And one day, under God's judgement, we will be there and maybe we will be able to embrace each other.

Meanwhile it is my duty, under God, to strengthen the poor people of this land, as they struggle to overcome a situation of oppression that is simply intolerable. That is part of my understanding of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But it is not done in hate to anybody; It is not done with any pretensions of infallibility. It is done in the expectation that we all will be corrected, that we will all be forgiven.

JR : I want to take a question from Karen from Oaklands.

Caller 2 : Dr Castro, I want you to know that I am a committed Christian, I go to church and I give my collection. And I want to know that, if my church is a member of the World Council of Churches, if you can reassure me that my contribution is not going towards terrorism and armed struggle. Who actually controls that

money, to see that it is used for food, shelter and medicine and not for arms and so on.

EC : No money of the WCC, or through the WCC, is given for terrorist action. Of that you can be totally reassured. But secondly, the money that goes through the World Council to support the anti-racism programmes of liberation movements or other anti-apartheid groups anywhere in the world, is received by the World Council for that specific purpose. No normal contributions of the churches, given for the support of the World Council, are used in that direction. People who are committed to this struggle, and who believe in this symbolic gesture of support, provide the money for these special programmes. And every year, depending on the amount we have received, we distribute that money, through our Executive Committee.

Caller 3 : I would like to talk to Barney. Welcome back to our country. I know that you were detained and burned by the Nationalist government. Are you bitter? And also, do you think the Nationalist government deserves forgiveness?

BP : Yes I am bitter; against injustice, against oppression, and all forms of oppression. I think that is a human factor. But I think the bitterness is what enables you to love and commit yourself to justice, and to the total transformation and liberation of our country. And it is precisely because of that that I have been able to do what I can, to get engaged in the process of liberation.

Secondly, you need to know that I am a Christian, and a minister of the Church. That is an important thing, because it enables one to commit oneself to people, and to see the image of God in other people, and hold out the possibility of forgiveness for oneself and for others. I am glad to say there is no Nationalist this day, worth anything, who believes in apartheid. That's a great transformation. Its a transformation, except for Eddie and others. But everybody says apartheid is not justifiable. Once there is a sense of repentance, of a desire to change, metanoia, being prepared to turn around and chart a new course, I, as a Christian, should be ready to forgive.

EC : That's an interesting question. Are you going to forgive the government? I think that the only way the government could be forgiven is through electoral processes. Its not me, or Barney, who are going to forgive the government. It is the elections. That is the way which, in democratic processes, people reward or punish; people forgive and accept. So that the process which South Africa is going through, in order to spread out the vote possibilities to everybody, will be the way to redeem history and to embrace each other. But if we do not come to that process, there is no way that forgiveness can be expressed. It will be made only worse. It is in the voting, in the polls, in the real democratic exercises of the right of the people, that you will have a chance for forgiveness and reconciliation.

JR : Let us talk to Gillian of Camptown Park.

Caller 4 : I believe the guest speaker should be hailed as a saint for supporting those who fight oppression and apartheid. My question is : why has the World Council of Churches not ploughed as much money as they have into the oppressed freedom fighters, into the townships where there is a large majority of Black people who do not support the freedom fighters and who live in peace but in poverty?

JR : But I think that has been dealt with before. A lot of money goes into fighting poverty. Is that right Dr Castro?

EC : Yes. Now that the World Council has a normal entry into this country (remember that we have been banned for many years) we will be able to operate here. Remember that the churches here were prohibited from receiving money from the World Council for many years. It was a crime in this nation. Now that situation has changed we are multiplying our efforts and we will multiply them more. Before our visit our aid agency and support agencies from Europe, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, met with church leaders here, to organise a massive campaign to overcome poverty in this country. Of course this plight is our plight and we are here to be in total solidarity with these people.

JR : Is it therefore mischief-making that in the perceptions of some many people, when they hear 'World Council of Churches' they think of liberation and providing guns for freedom fighters, and yet to ignore the work that is being done on other fronts. Is that mischief-making?

EC : Listen. The World Council of Churches has a department of Mission; a department on Evangelism, one on Christian education and one on theological education. The struggle against racism in the World Council of Churches, is only four or five of our colleagues in a total staff of three hundred people. But as it gets into the headlines of the press and as a hitting target in the problems of this country, then of course it is magnified. And we are proud of that. Being a cutting edge in the struggle against racism is perhaps one indication of the depth of our commitment to the vision of the Kingdom of God, and to overcome these obstacles which prevent humans living in peace and love with each other. But the daily work of the WCC goes in the direction of building the life of the churches; overcoming doctrinal problems that separate the churches; thinking how to relate faith and science; how to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ in relation to other religions ; how to live harmoniously with other religions. All those challenges that confront the churches everywhere in the world, are on our table of work everyday.

JR : There is a question I want to ask Barney. I believe you have met the State President, F.W.de Klerk and also Dr Mandela? Having been through the experiences you have been through, what are your thoughts on the State President now?

BP : I have to say that, at the human level, the State President received us cordially and we felt that he was an honest politician who was wrestling with the problems

of this country. The overall impression we had was that he was trying to see how this country could be moved into a different style and understanding, and of a commitment to peace and justice. And nobody can gainsay that. That was very clear and evident. And Dr Castro and I firmly accept that.

The problem though is: how does one really take the bull by the horns in a country whose very structure, at the most basic level, has been almost irretrievably broken and oppressive; and how does one build systems that will enable people to have more hope and commitment to the future? Its a great burden on the State President. I would rather him than me! He runs the country and I don't. And so my job is, at one level, to begin to encourage the process of change and therefore to encourage the State President to move more confidently into the future.

My job is also to say to the people of South Africa that they need to work together towards a transformed society. And it is my job, in the third place, to say to the people who are victims of the history of oppression in this country, that they ought to continue their struggle for justice and peace in this land.

The State President needs all those factors in order to help him move towards meaningful and final, irreversible change.

JR : I notice in the newspapers you are quoted as saying you still support sanctions against South Africa. Is that right Dr Castro?

EC : Yes, that's right. Because sanctions is a non-violent methodology that has proved to be efficient in obliging people to reconsider their position.

JR : But surely if it leads to poverty then it can also lead to violence? You could say sanctions are a violent method.

EC : Listen. Poverty in this country has been prevailing before anyone talked about sanctions. Sanctions is the self-sacrifice that the poor people impose on themselves in order to overcome their situation. Then the suffering, that we try to mitigate as much as we can through other means, will be redeemed by the emergence of a new society where justice will be done to them.

JR : Barney has just said that the State President seems an honest politician, struggling with a process of moving forward. Surely that would indicate that, with a man like that at the helm, the economy must now be built up. You should be calling for the dropping of all sanctions.

EC : The economy will be built up when the conditions for the building up of the economy are here. Who will be investing in a country that is ridden with violence? You read the newspaper every day and see violent and random killing everywhere. Let us put the house in order. Let us come together with a government that re-

presents the whole people of South Africa and that will give a chance for investment and relations etc.

JR : And on that day will the World Council of Churches be standing up and saying 'invest in this new country'?

EC : Of course. And even before that day, when we are at the door of that day, when the constitutional assembly is holding its meeting and there is no way back because the people have elected the constitutional assembly etc. These are the sign-posts that need to be planted in order to be sure that you could say: 'Now is the moment'. Then the question of sanctions will belong to history.

Caller 6: I would like to direct my question to Barney. Could you tell us briefly about your Programme to Combat Racism and how effective it has been?

BP : The Programme to Combat Racism is a small unit within 15 other programme units of the WCC. In that programme we seek to express the churches' commitment to a world without racial oppression; a world of justice among all God's people. We do that within the Programme by researching and monitoring the situations of racial injustice in the world; embracing not just the problem of apartheid in South Africa but also racism, racial minorities and ethnic minorities in Europe, Asia, North and South America. We are also concerned about the issues of the Indigenous peoples of the world, which includes Indigenous peoples in the Americas, the Maori in New Zealand, the Dalit people in India, the so-called 'Untouchables'. Especially after our meeting in Australia we are concerned about the Aboriginal people of Australia.

Once we have done that, we advise the WCC on its policy as to how racism can best be combatted. So we work through the structures of the WCC, to enable the churches to understand that something can be done to bring racism to an end in the world. And to bring churches into an effective network of structures that work with the racially oppressed to bring racism to an end. Finally we seek to strengthen, facilitate and encourage the racially oppressed people themselves in order for us to be able, as churches, to live out our Gospel in solidarity with them; to make sure there will be a more loving, more tolerant, transformed and reconciled world.

JR : Am I right that you are also going to meet Chief Buthelezi?

EC : We meet him tomorrow.

JR : Everything you have said seems to parrot the ANC policy. Are you aligned with the ANC? Can Chief Buthelezi get a fair hearing from you?

EC : I hope so. I am eager to meet him; to know him. He is like President de Klerk and many others in this country we have visited like the PAC, and AZAPO. At the political level I think we are covering more or less all the territory. We are aligned

with the people of South Africa because we are aligned with the Gospel of Jesus Christ who has made His own the destiny of the poor of the earth. Our commitment is to the Gospel, is to Jesus. And in Jesus, to the poor. That may coincide, in a given moment, with this or that particular political line. But that is not the game of the church, to support this or that particular party in politics. We encourage all people who have some political vocation to confront, to engage, in the overcoming of the injustices and the divisions of society. But then it is up to the people to make their choices in democratic processes.

JR : Are you meeting any of the Right Wing leaders?

EC : I don't like the way you use the expression Right Wing leaders. We have met President de Klerk . What do you call him?

BP : I think we need to say that our hosts in this country tried to see if it was possible to arrange meetings with the Conservative Party for example. And I understand that wasn't successful. It's not for want of trying on the part of our hosts who were determined to give us as full and fair an exposure as possible. So if the so-called Right Wing people you talk about, would like to see us, then we are available, through the South Africa Council of Churches. And Dr Castro is ready and willing, if possible, to meet as wide a spectrum as possible.

EC : We are not here to say what is the good political solution for South Africa. That is for the South African people to find among themselves. We are here to say "Hope is still alive. A new future is possible. Don't give up. Come back to the conversation table. Come back to the work to shape this new future." That is what we are trying to do.

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*Dr Castro and
State President
F.W. de Klerk after
their meeting in
Pretoria.*



*Dr Castro meets the
President of the Inkatha Freedom Party,
Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.*



*After their private
meeting Dr Castro and
Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, President of
the Inkatha Freedom
Party, speak at a press
conference.*

Address by Dr Castro at the launching of a Book on Steve Biko, "Bounds of Possibility"

It gives me a great pleasure to take part in the launch of the latest book on Steve Biko, published appropriately by David Philips. The book is the result of a symposium on the legacy of Biko organised in Harare two years ago by the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism. It is significant that the idea of the symposium came from Barney Pityana, the director of the Programme to Combat Racism, who was a close collaborator with Steve Biko in the Black Consciousness Movement.

Many very close friends of Biko, especially Dr Mamphela Ramphele, took part in the symposium. The book vividly recaptures the dynamic views of Biko and his clear perception of what the Black people of this country had to do and go through to liberate themselves from the evil tyranny of apartheid.

Since October 12, I have been visiting your great country. I have met with political and church leaders. I have visited Tokoza and seen the pain and suffering that are the sad results of the apartheid system. I have also seen this in the Natal and in the Cape Town areas. Steve Biko's life was dedicated to the total eradication of this system which has caused so much brutalization among the oppressed, separated and destroyed families and has alienated and marginalised millions of young South Africans today.

Steve Biko did not call for half measures - he called for the total physical, mental and spiritual liberation of the Black people. He understood more than anyone else that nobody but the people themselves could free themselves from the mental slavery of colonialism, racism and apartheid. Biko understood that the most effective weapon of the conqueror and exploiter was control of the mind. Liberate the mind and prisons, torture, detentions would soon cause nightmares and imprison the jailers themselves.

Steve Biko understood clearly that the evil purpose of Bantu education was to inculcate inferiority and to imprison the mind. Such an education would ensure that the Black people would not only graze in green pastures but accept that situation as their destiny. Bantu education would forever consign the Black people to second class citizenship in the political and economic life of the country. Bantu education was supposed to create an intellectual atmosphere that would impose self control on the Black people to accept their station in life and not challenge white supremacy.

To Steve Biko Black Consciousness was the weapon to turn the tables against Black education. It was Black Consciousness that intellectually exposed the fallacy of Bantu education and the claims of inherent white superiority. Black Consciousness enabled the Black students throughout South Africa to emphatically reject Bantu education and to assert their dignity as human beings. The events of the 70's and 80's have proved Biko's thesis. The keys to apartheid tyranny have been irrevocably broken.

Years of racist oppression have led to internalized racism which Black Consciousness sought and still seeks to eradicate. Internalized racism will not disappear immediately; it will linger for a long time. Continued study and analysis of the legacy of Biko must remain major guiding principles that eventually will lead to the total mental and spiritual liberation of the majority of the South African people.

Steve Biko was a great man who sacrificed his life for his country. The struggle for a new South Africa owes a debt of deep gratitude to Steve Biko and all who worked closely with him in the Black Consciousness Movement.

The World Council of Churches is proud to have played a part in the publication of this book on the legacy of Steve Biko.

The book is essential reading to an understanding of the turbulent history of the recent past and for the possibilities of a truly new non-racial democratic society. I recommend it to all of you.



At the launching of the book commemorating Steve Biko. His mother, Mrs Alice Biko with Dr Castro.

Address by Dr Castro at the Opening of the Cape Town Consultation

The Programme to Combat Racism invited a number of church leaders from around the world, the South African Council of Churches invited church leaders from throughout South Africa, to meet in Cape Town, 21-24 October. Their theme : “Towards an Ecumenical Agenda for a Changing South Africa”.

The following is a selection of papers from that Consultation and the final Statement and Proposals for Action.

Address by Dr Castro at the Opening of the Cape Town Consultation

Let me convey to you the greetings of the World Council of Churches, represented in the many participants from churches and the personnel of the Council, who are gathering here to express our common belonging to the Lord Jesus Christ and our common obedience in the struggle against evil.

You can see the importance of this encounter even in the title of this Consultation, 'Towards an Ecumenical Agenda for a Changing South Africa'. Things have changed enough for it to be necessary to call churches leaders to think together of new strategies, to address a new reality. We want to help to speed those changes; to take them to the dawning of a new just society. We want to celebrate with you the signs of a new day. But we would also like to stop in silent prayer and respect, to mourn with you, for the victims of violence. To remember those who are only numbers in the newspapers; who are used as props in the drama that the strategists of the political arenas are playing. To mourn with you and to recognise them as martyrs, as saints, as jewels in the crown of Jesus Christ.

Perhaps one of the most moving moments of our visit was when we visited the family of a sister murdered on her way back from the cemetery. She had no responsibility; she was an anonymous person passing by. We tried to proclaim a word of comfort, a word of eternal life to the bereaved family. It is at that level, of belonging together in this despair and this conviction of faith, that we would like it to be with you.

What should be next for the Church, in the ecumenical agenda? Your role, friends of South Africa, is an important one. You are the real actors in this drama. We will advance hypotheses, we will suggest lines. But they are only to provoke your response; to test our common convictions and experiences. And always to work with the humility of those who know that it is you who have the particular responsibility to live day by day with your people. Of course, we foreigners, hope to gain enough information and material from this Consultation to decide the style and the scope that our solidarity should take in the common future.

My first consideration has to do with the overwhelming impression that you get visiting this country, which is of the importance of the church in the life of people. Go to any neighbourhood, start singing an African tune, and you will find immediately that everybody seems to know that hymn and joins in the singing. Address a university group or a politicians' group, invite them to pray and you will see that it belongs naturally in their daily life. To visit the President of this State and be in-



The WCC team visited families of the victims of violence in the township of Thokoza. Here they pray with the Maja family.

vited to pray, is a reminder that here we are on Church territory. I hesitate to use 'Christian' territory because that's a very dangerous category. But a territory where church language is taken for granted and where the political themes of the conflict are developed in theological categories; where reference to the Bible carries weight; where the church is respected as a main actor in the development of the national situation.

A peace initiative, the peace accord, was possible when church leaders and the business community were able to take the initiative in calling all political parties, all sectors of society, to participate. And now, President Mandela of the ANC took the opportunity of our visit to the headquarters of that organisation to announce to the media that he was asking the churches and the business community to assume responsibility for calling a multi-party conference. I suppose, of course, that the churches and business community will wait to hear from the other actors in that process before moving into action.

This is important because it places a great responsibility on the shoulders of the churches. They have direct access to all sectors of society and have more politi-



With the President of the ANC.

cal power that they have the courage to use. What is important to realise is that, with this fact, there is now no way for the churches to retire to individualism or to “other-worldly” attitudes. They are obliged to have a public ministry, even if sometimes they would like to believe the time has come for the churches to rest because the liberation movements are free on the streets.

My second consideration is that, precisely because of the importance of the presence of the churches in the life of a nation, it is necessary to strengthen the internal life of the churches. I may be totally wrong but I have the impression that the South African Council of Churches has been obliged, by the challenges of the situation, to provide much energy to accompany the process of liberation, the struggle and the attempts to stop the violence. Consequently, it has not been challenging the churches, or been challenged by them, to strengthen its capacity to support the churches in their daily life, in their evangelism, their Christian education, theological education and so on. We have a real problem here, because the political relevance of the church’s participation in society is proportionally related to the vitality of the churches in their internal life. We have had many situations in the world where we had many generals and very few soldiers. Or where we ecumeni-

cal leaders run so far forward that the troops from the parishes confuse us with the enemy and shoot at us.

So bringing the people of God together into the struggle implies a tremendous task of internal reflection and internal education. While the World Council of Churches has been very busy promoting liberation education and the process of conscientisation, we have forgotten the poor pastoral catechists need curricula. They need books and they were being provided free, or at a very cheap cost, by people who were not at all interested in the liberation struggle or methodology. And so we were betraying ourselves. We were prisoners of our own rhetoric of liberation, while the building up of the Body of Christ was left to other sectors in the total life of the church, who were not at all interested in supporting that struggle.

Let me give some examples. Take the question of women's participation in the life of the church in this country. If we are dreaming of a non-sexist South Africa we need also to dream of a non-sexist church. It is elementary that if the church is not the testing ground of the society to come, where else will the models for that society be encountered? If the church is not concerned with expressing its solidarity with women, promoting them, giving them the possibility to get the experience that will enable them to assume responsibilities in society, who will be doing it?

You could say exactly the same about theological education. You have many beautiful institutions of theological education in this country. But we need to multiply those efforts, and make them more co-operative, in order to multiply our capacity to produce the Christian leaders, not only for the church, but for society as a whole.

Let us be sure what is going to happen, when the end of apartheid appears and participation in power by other political parties is a fact. At that moment there will be tremendous need for people who are capable of administration. Where will they come from? The experience of Africa in the 60s, when most of the countries became independent, indicates that they were recruited from the ranks of the churches. At that moment many pastors heard the call to serve society through the secular employment of the State. That produced a void of leadership in the life of the church. So our theological education today needs to multiply its effort, needs to expand and embrace many more people, so we can have people who will go to serve society with a certain theological perspective, carrying with them the scientific capacities that correspond to each one of their disciplines.

So let us seek spirituality. After so many years of resistance, how do we maintain the stock of the spirituality which has been developed? How do we collect the testimonies; how do we profit from the theology people have been developing, in poems and in hymns, so that this treasure is carried forward to the present and coming generation? It is important to build the life of the church because the relevance of the public ministry of the church is proportional to the help and the allegiance of the people in everyone of the local parishes.

I come back to the question of people's participation in the churches, as the source of spiritual and political power. Not in the sense of party politics, for there are other actors for that; but in terms of conveying to the politicians the importance of them paying attention to the debate that takes place in the life of the churches. Politicians listen to power. They will always be nice to the church, but will listen only to the numbers that are behind those churches.

For that reason, I think that we have a real problem here and that will be my next point as we recognise that we need to strengthen the ecumenical structures in this country. I judge only from our experience of less than two weeks in this country, but I have the impression that the organised ecumenical movement in South Africa has exactly the same weakness the ecumenical movement has in many other parts of the world: the incapacity to mobilise people directly. There were more people in meetings organised by a denomination than in those called under ecumenical auspices. I have the impression that the churches in this country have not yet recognised the importance of the conciliar structures of the South African Council of Churches. They are using the South African Council of Churches for those things that they cannot do for themselves, but are not committing themselves to work together, through the South African Council of Churches, to make an impact in the life of the nation.



SACC General Secretary, Rev. Frank Chikane, speaks at the opening of the Consultation in Cape Town. Also at the table are Dr Khoza Mgojo, SACC President and Dr Castro.

What I am trying to indicate is that the South African Council of Churches merits the support of the churches, so that it may embrace the widest spectrum of churches in the country and be a meeting place where we can reflect, and pass on to society, the testimony of our reading of faith for today. Is it not a pity, is it not sad, that major denominations are considering the question of sanctions, and taking actions on sanctions, unrelated to the processes in the South African Council of Churches? Somebody needs to say: "that is wrong". If that somebody needs to be me, then let me say it. I do not know whose fault it is. But having been together in the struggles against apartheid, it is not possible that we should now go in different directions.

While in South Africa, we from the World Council have been saying that we are here to play second violin in the orchestra to support the struggle. You are the commander-in-chief of the struggle. When we see those who should give us hints about where we are going, acting separately, we then have confusing signs to interpret when bringing some intelligence to our solidarity.

Let me go to my fourth point: the public testimony of the ecumenical movement. I think the first challenge we face is to do whatever is possible to address the question of violence in this country. We are full of gratitude and admiration for the role of the churches, especially the SACC, in bringing all parties together to agree on the processes and procedures for peace. And now it is fundamental that parishes should be encouraged to enter into the local implementation of those processes. We run a tremendous risk that the rank and file people of the church, and the grassroot people of this country, may become sceptical of any agreement reached at the level of the chiefs of parties and churches, when they see that the killing continues in the neighbourhood. So it is important that the churches, at all levels, should encourage participation in this mechanism.

I think it is also important that the churches give a little publicity to their tasks of consolation, of supporting or rehabilitating the victims of violence. It is important that it should be known, because it is testimony that the churches are not only talking about or against violence, but are also trying to side with the victims and beginning the difficult task of rebuilding families and community relations. And also because the publication of what is done, in terms of rehabilitation, works as a denunciation of the calamity of political violence.

There is also a growing and difficult responsibility for the church to be able to speak with more clarity on the responsibilities that should be attributed to the protagonists in this tragic drama of the violence and oppression of people. Because the moment is coming when we cannot hide, or be reticent to speak, with names, about the situation. It is clear that the police, to put it mildly, have tremendous difficulty investigating the prevailing violence. But churches have a parallel structure to the structure of the police that could be used to do some investigation. We have parishes in every corner where violence has occurred. Much of the violence has occurred around your buildings, around funeral services.

Maybe the moment has come for the churches to produce a white book, giving evidence of what is happening; so that nobody can hide or wash their hands by saying they do not have the evidence or cannot act because nobody dares to come forward to provide testimony of the perpetrators of the violence. One thing is fundamental. We should not allow violence to prevent the political process continuing. Tragic as it is, the outcome of violence will be growing mistrust between political leaders, and will allow people to escape from the real confrontations at the table of negotiations, as they shape the future of this nation.

The second public task and challenge is to clarify the notion of reconciliation. This is a very dear Christian word and we could not eliminate that word from our vocabulary because it would be to renounce our Christian vocation. We have been entrusted with the ministry of reconciliation. But we need to clarify our notions about this reality.

We Protestants especially have difficulty with this because we are accustomed to believing that salvation by faith means, that in a given moment, you accept your forgiveness and that you are reconciled. If you read the Bible, the question is not so simple. There are several itineraries on this. I do not say that Catholic theology is right when it says first repent and then you are forgiven. That's not biblical. In the Bible forgiveness comes first and repentance comes after.

Take the example of Abraham and Lot. They could not work together. They were fighting each other. Then Abraham said: "Listen, we cannot reconcile. You go to the right, I go to the left; you go to the North, I go to the South." After that they came together as we see.

Or look to the reconciliation between Jacob and Esau. You see how that rascal, who had robbed his brother of his primacy and blessings, was coming back trembling with fear, sending gifts to prepare for the encounter. En route he has a conversion experience. But until he was embraced by his brother, who as ready to forgive, he did not have peace; he could not feel he had been reconciled.

So there are steps towards reconciliation. There are positions, processes towards reconciliation. What we need to create is a structure of dialogue, a structure of co-operation that makes it possible for reconciliation to happen.

Take the parable of the prodigal son. The son comes back with a salvation plan. He had not repented. He wanted to eat. He was coming close when his father saw him and ran to embrace him. At that moment, he repented. But it was impossible to have that reconciliation if he had not come close. So there is an action to be done.

So when we plead with SACC to consider ways in which the churches, that were once defenders of apartheid, may be included in their fellowship, it is not to say "We have reconciled. Nothing has happened. We are friends. Come we embrace each other." No, It is in order that together we are obliged to confront the problems



Dr Castro and Archbishop Desmond Tutu during a service at St George's Cathedral, Cape Town.

of this country; to confront the actions that must be developed. We are obliged to try to discover what could hold us together under the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

In the World Council of Churches we have a tremendous document called the Toronto Statement. There are beautiful things in that statement, but there is one thing that I do not like at all. The assertion that a church's participation in the World Council of Churches does not imply that church recognises the other as churches. It only means that we confess Jesus Christ as Lord together, and that we want to work and grow together, to see if one day we will recognise each other as churches. I hope we have grown into that reciprocal recognition. But the Toronto Statement was useful to start the ecumenical pilgrimage. May be something similar - a new beginning - could be thought of for your situation.

Reconciliation is not a preamble to conciliar action, to a structure of dialogue; putting ourselves under the obligation of working together, hoping that the miracle of reconciliation will happen in the process. I am convinced that, in the reality of the WCC, we have more communion, more reconciliation, than we are able to articulate with doctrinal or dogmatic formulations. But we needed to start walking together in order to arrive at some place.

When you are calling for a multi-party conference, you are not saying that everybody should be there to embrace each other. But that everybody should be there to consider the national situation with realism and responsibility and put themselves under the obligation to give and take in the necessary compromises of political life as they shape the future of this nation. So a theology of reconciliation will help us to hold the notion that the miracle is possible, but that at the same time, we do not need to wait for the culmination of that reconciliation before walking and dreaming together. In this sense we may have a tremendous contribution to make and to mobilise the participation of our people.

I think the third public task of the ecumenical movement is the demand to the government for a total and unconditional amnesty for political prisoners and refugees. I have read with much care the agreement the Government has made with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to facilitate the return of about 40'000 people. Churches in the ecumenical family are already organising to provide help when those people arrive to rebuild their lives in this country. But the provisions of that agreement indicate that every person will be processed individually, and that a tribunal will be established by the Government to consider them case by case. That will cause a growing irritation, and is a misunderstanding of the situation. Those who some people hold as criminals, other people hold as heroes of the liberation struggle. So let us not put ourselves under the obligation to decide these things as a nation. Let the future electoral process indicate the judgement of the people on the past and the present.

At this moment the country needs another psychological shock, another moment of truth, another sign of hope. We told the State President that he was losing a tremendous opportunity by wanting to deal with the remaining political prisoners case by case. He told us some extraordinary cases of White and Black perpetrators of violence who are now in prison. We agreed with him that it could be that some of those people did those actions, not out of political motivation but out of sadism or psychological conditioning, and could indeed be a danger on the street. But when you consider the phenomena in its entirety you will collect more support, more understanding, more hope, more solidarity in these people and more joy in the streets, by making a total gesture in relation to a closing of the past, than you could expect by dealing with them case by case. Then we warned him that something similar may happen when the new government comes into power and, in the name of justice, would like to imprison those who were never called to task for their crimes; the torturers, the killers, who in name of a peculiar ideology have been putting fear and horror into the minds of the children of this country. We need to stop the criminal cycle of violence that is passing from generation to generation.

The churches have a role to play here. I have not heard a single voice in this country addressing this question. Maybe people are tired, or have become used to the fact that the Government is taking its time. Yet the issue is there. In the middle of one of our meetings yesterday a young boy came to me, wanting two minutes of my time. He was the brother of a man in a nearby prison, condemned to 108 years

imprisonment when he was 19 years old. He has been there for about 12 years so far and his case could be submitted to the tribunal as well. But he is required to sign a paper admitting that he was a criminal something which, out of dignity and conviction, he refuses to do. Why should these people be under the humiliating exercise of begging for their freedom at the moment when the nation is planning to open a new future?

The fourth public issue is the question of sanctions. We need to clarify our position on sanctions. Because we risk that, at any moment, political actors will decide whatever they like and we will be left hanging in the air, allowing others to take the initiatives we dared not take.

Let us remember that it was the WCC which pioneered the international action for the isolation of South Africa; the campaign against banks involved in apartheid and the consumer boycotts emanating from research and action promoted by the WCC in the early 70s. These people's actions confronted many individuals with a personal responsibility for the elimination of apartheid, and created a worldwide network of ordinary people engaged in anti-apartheid action. We are very proud to have played this role at the very early stage of concentrating international actions against apartheid.

We are proud of that history of the WCC. Remember that for some time the churches in South Africa would not agree with the action of the WCC. The agreement became visible, only in 1985 at the Harare Consultation, when we were together in our support of the liberation movements and our endorsement of economic sanctions.

In a speech in February 1990, President de Klerk invited all of us to review our thinking once again on the light of the unfolding developments in this country. The VIIIth Assembly of the WCC has ordered us to engage in that process. And that is what we are doing. A process of consultation with the churches in South Africa, and the solidarity network of churches around the world, to determine the moment, or the criteria, that could help us to know that the end of apartheid has come and the constitutional processes are irreversible.

I think this consultation will provide useful and necessary guidelines to enable us to make the decisions needed to respond, in a meaningful manner, to the changing situation.

In all our discussions during this visit, we have detected many ambiguities on the question of sanctions and we would like to have it clarified as soon as possible. I am glad that three days before we arrived Frank Chikane spoke very clearly for sanctions. So I have taken my singing tune from him. I have been saying: "So far so good, sanctions need to stay. That sanctions are still operating is very evident. And anyway there is the carrot that the lifting sanctions can be used as an extra argument for the demand to speed the democratic process." That is what we need to

analyse together, to get out of our ambiguity. We cannot remain in ambiguities and not face the challenge in front of us. Too many voices outside South Africa are wanting to be able to buy fruit salad from South Africa. Many voices are interested in the lifting of sanctions and they run to congratulate Mr de Klerk instead of congratulating the victims of the process. Our thinking needs to be from the perspective of the victims; to detect ways of strengthening the actions against trade and against economic participation in South Africa, or to lift those sanctions that will benefit the people as a whole.



A general scene of the opening of the WCC Consultation in Cape Town.

The fifth point: I think we need to address basic questions of national importance. And I hope the SACC could be considered as the coordinator for this. For example, you need to address the issue of political pluralism. In general, after their independence, African States have taken the route of a single party structure. That was not a random decision, nor arbitrary. It was the way they found to counteract the artificiality of the frontiers provided by the colonial enterprise, and to have a counter force to the dangers of tribalism. Inside the structure of one party, people from all regions of the land were obliged to guarantee that, at all levels, there would be a plurality of the cultural values of the nation, to avoid the party representing specific tribal loyalties and projecting the seeds of division into the future.

Look what is going on in Yugoslavia. Forty years of communist domination have gone, but during that time we did not do all we should to bring Catholic and

Orthodox, Croats and Serbians to a dialogical situation. We need to avoid that tribalism coming back here.

Today, all over the world, the growing conviction supports a multi-party system. And the obligation of pluralism inside the parties should remain. For example the obligation for every political party to be present in at least three quarters of the districts in the nation. That is fundamental. The obligation for each political party to be open to every ethnic group in the nation is also fundamentally important. We need to create a political structure that does not follow the colour ethnic line. We cannot be blind to the reality that there are cultures and values that people cherish from the past. The cultural preservation of those values is a contribution to the total life of this country; they belong to the future. So the debate on how to ensure a multi-cultural reality inside a single pluralistic-political reality is a fundamental challenge, and the churches should be at the avant-garde. Both in this thinking, and the search for models and analysing their own structures, the churches must be aware of how much they have learned to live together, embracing each other out of their respective richness and spirituality, while not allowing that richness to become an idol that would make us prisoners of our human loyalties.

The second basic issue we need to address is the search for models of a caring society. The economic debate in this country, concerning the future, is very interesting. Someone, in one of the ANC seminars, proposed a levy of 30% on the property of every person in order to provide a certain amount of initial financial capital for the new government to begin the process of redistribution and restitution and to begin to challenge the prevailing injustices of today. That was one idea in a seminar of many ideas. But one journalist took that suggestion and it has become a national and international debate. Even the International Monetary Fund in Bangkok was talking about it.

This particular idea may be nonsense, but unless some way is found to address the question of restitution; to address the question of a preferential option for the poor; unless we address what the Americans call 'positive action' or 'positive discrimination', there is no way the people in the townships will believe that apartheid is gone merely because they are able to vote for middle class people to sit and to discuss among themselves. If the economic model is the same one from the past there is no hope for the future.

It will be stupid not to build on the successes of the economy in South Africa today. When you see the thousands of kilometres of highways you know that you have a tremendous infrastructure here. When we know that South Africa alone consumes 62% of all the electricity produced on the African continent, you see what tremendous industrial capacity there is here. Nobody wants to throw that through the window and create chaos. But technical ways need to be found that will allow the processes of reconstruction and restitution to be built on the economic reality of a participatory economic democracy.

I call that a caring society because the word 'restitution' may create fear in the minds of some people who believe that what you want to do is to throw all the White people in the sea and give restitution to the Black people. That puts fear into other sectors of society: Asian people, Coloured people etc.

The intention is to build a society where the less powerful are the most privileged. A society where attention to the needs of the poor gets some structural manifestation. In the search for that, the researchers, theologians, economists, sociologists and politicians need to be together, because it requires minds with the best imagination and a tremendous capacity for interpretation, to show that the people of this land understand the processes of correction that need to begin.

Finally I think that we need to open up a national debate on anthropology. One will say it is a Christian anthropology, another will say Buddhist, Hindu or Marxist. This country has been working under a theory of guardianship, meaning the White people are guardians of the the Black people who needed to be protected from themselves. How much harm has been done to the psychology of all sectors of society? How much hate has been accumulated? How many fears?

Who is the human being we want to construct? What is the Christian family we want to be in? What is the kind of society it is necessary to be develop?. A debate on the human being we want to project is very important, so that we do not merely imitate the consumption society of the West and merely encourage a process of catching up with the abundance of the West, in which the values of humanness, of extended families and human solidarity that are the treasures of your traditional society, will be sacrificed.

I have been talking about the challenges to the churches in the public issues arena. But then there are also the actions by the churches. First let me concentrate on pastoral care, especially to the victims of violence and to those who have paid the price of the struggle. I think the church, as an institution, has a particular debt to those who sacrificed their careers in order to build the future of the land. I remember with tremendous emotion and trembling the Harare consultation in 1985, when a student from South Africa came to say to us "First liberation, after education". And we tried to say: 'No. Education will be needed no matter what kind of society.' He looked at us as though we could not understand that they could not indulge in the luxury of dreaming for a future society, when the reality was so ominous for them and their parents.

That generation of the 70's have dropped out from the school system, have dropped out from any progress in the economic life of society. They need to find particular care in society and the particular care of the church. I would like to see universities create special programmes to address this question, and to facilitate the re-entry of the people who cannot bring diplomas with them. This is like people coming as political refugees to some countries in Europe, and not being accepted because they do not have a passport. How can you produce a paper if you are es-

caping to save your life? How do you take the reality from where it was stopped at a given moment and help it to catch up with today and with the future?

Restitution is not a word to shout that the government should do this or that. Restitution should begin in the House of God. Restitution should begin in all our institutions. Restitution should begin in all our planning for the future. These actions belong to the churches, in fact to the whole of society. But the churches must be in the avant-garde of the reconstruction of the fabric of civil society.

In your country, beyond the churches and the political organisations, it is very difficult to find middle of the road human organisations. In fact two or three years ago the churches were the only meeting places for people because all rallies and political activities were controlled; all popular organisations were practically impossible. No society can build a democratic system only from the top down. The fact that you will have a democratic government elected with your vote, does not guarantee that society as a whole becomes democratic and that this government is protected from the temptation of forgetting where they have come from. So it is absolutely necessary to create a structure of a civil society, trade unions, co-operatives, neighbourhood groups, and sports activities; to create a network of action groups that are taking responsibilities together. Not waiting for big father State to solve their problems but preparing themselves for whatever may go wrong in the future. And also facilitating creative bonds of humanness, bonds of communion, in terms of concrete activities together.

This will demand a tremendous generosity from the churches because, first, they were the only actors, then came the liberation movements and some pastors and members of the churches went into political activism. I would say there will be many more doing that in the near future. When civil society comes, many Christians will not have time to come on Monday to prayer meetings, on Tuesday to choir rehearsal, on Wednesday to Bible study, on Thursday to prayer meetings, on Friday to fasting, and Saturday to go to preach. They will need time to strengthen that society as a whole. So we need to train our lay people to be participants in all those sectors of society; to develop the pastoral work of our churches in terms of assuming responsibilities for the whole, not only for those institutions that depend directly on our church treasury or are under the authority of the church. This is a fundamental service to be rendered, in order to ensure that the whole of society is multiplying structures that contribute to democracy and the protection of democracy.

Finally, we have a vision. I am reluctant to quote Martin Luther King's famous dictum, but I think it could be very appropriate. We have a vision that it is possible for the children of God to live together in neighborhood; that it is possible for people who hated each other, to come to see that hate broken on the Cross of Jesus Christ. We have a vision that it is possible that South Africa and its churches could become a hope for the whole continent. We have a vision that the solidarity you have experienced from the churches around the world is only an investment in the

potential for love and participation that you have in relation with many other oppressive situations in the world. And the churches, notwithstanding the ugly reality of violence, notwithstanding the difficulties of the political processes, need to hold that vision in front of the people and repeat again and again "It is possible, it is possible. It is God's future and it will be our future".

The World Council of Churches and the Struggle for Racial Justice in Southern Africa: Past, Present, and Future*

1970 was an important year in my life, in the life of my church (the United Methodist Church in the USA), and in the life of the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement. In 1970, I was 18 years old and living in Alabama in the deep South of the United States. I was blessed to be born into a family that, while struggling economically, nonetheless had a deep commitment to racial justice.

From the time that I was four years old, through my parents' guidance I was deeply impressed by the struggle of Black people for dignity, human rights and economic well-being. In 1970, I was named as a youth representative on the Board of Directors of a national agency in my church, the Methodist Board of Missions. In that arena, I was exposed to the issue of apartheid in South Africa and quickly became involved in anti-apartheid work in the United States.

In 1970, the WCC Executive Committee made the first allocation of funds to liberation movements from the Special Fund of the Programme to Combat Racism, a consequence of the decision in 1969 to establish the Programme, which was itself a response to a clear mandate from the 1968 Uppsala Assembly. I honestly cannot remember which term I heard first — the World Council of Churches or the Programme to Combat Racism. For several years they were synonymous in my mind. The WCC was PCR and the PCR was the WCC.

In 1970, my church was in the middle of a national process of dissolving its own administrative structures based solely on race. During the same period, my church, through the Board on which I served, decided to give a grant of US\$ 100,000 to help establish the PCR. (For about 18 years, this was the only money my church gave to the Special Fund of PCR). From that point on, I knew I was an ecumenist. If somewhere in the world, and in my country, there were church people bold enough to claim their unity in Christ, to address the scandal of racism in the world and in the church, I wanted to be a part of such a group. I learned how to be con-

Address by Dr Janice Love (USA) member of the
WCC Central Committee
“The World Council of Churches and
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menical in small rural towns in Alabama as my parents engaged in the civil rights struggle. I learned what label to use for such work. I learned the world ecumenical, when I learned about the PCR.

During this meeting, we have heard many moving testimonies of heartfelt gratitude from South Africans in their appreciation for the solidarity the WCC has shown for them. I want to use this opportunity to express my personal thanks, and that of many in the WCC, for the courageous witness of the people of South Africa, the ecumenical movement of South Africa, and of the churches of South Africa, in their struggle against one of the most insidious forms of oppression the world has known. You are an example. You are an inspiration for us all, both for our work at home and abroad. Even on occasion when you hesitate or falter or fail, we learn from you and pray that we, too, can find within ourselves the persistence and resilience to carry on. From the depths of our hearts we thank you.

I want to address myself this afternoon to several topics:

1. some reflections on the PCR and its role in the WCC, including some of the challenges that PCR and work for racial justice face in the future;
2. some issues that have been with us and are likely to remain with us in the WCC in our work related to international affairs, racial justice, and Southern Africa. These issues are:
 - a) the church in politics;
 - b) the church and violence;
 - c) the church and economics.

Reflections on PCR and the WCC

Despite what friends and foes alike may think of the strength, courage, coherence and perseverance of the WCC, it is a fragile institution. This has never been more true than in recent years when we have groped to identify our role and mission and to chart our course in a world, in a church, and in an ecumenical movement vastly different from 1948 when the WCC was founded, and vastly different from 1968 when the "second generation" of ecumenists (as I call them) left its indelible imprint on the life of the Council at the Uppsala Assembly. We have not yet found that vision that will capture our energy and move us forward. We yearn for it, and pray for it, and anxiously await it. I hope someday soon we will decide to get busy and create it.

In preparation for this presentation, I reread the records of Central Committee minutes and public issue statements related to Southern Africa and the PCR. The Central Committee minutes are a vivid reminder of how fragile, too, has been the life of the PCR. For example, from 1975-1981, there were repeated and pointed

attacks on PCR and attempts to fundamentally reorient its direction. These attacks came from some (not all) church leaders in South Africa, North America, the United Kingdom and Germany. As I mentioned already, my own church gave a large grant to help establish the PCR. After reaping a whirlwind of controversy from conservative politicians, the media, and constituents, however, my church backed off and failed to give the Special Fund any contribution until token amounts were donated again beginning in 1988.

The same kind of story can be repeated in many denominations in the United States. Indeed, often whenever the WCC was discussed in my church, officials would defend the Council and assure people not to worry - none of our money was going to the Special Fund. I will speak later on the nature of these controversies.

The point here is that I believe that the PCR survived because it was a crucial symbol of hope for those in the church engaged in liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Middle East. Church leaders from those parts of the world, and those in solidarity with them from other parts of the world, regularly insisted that if ecumenical witness, mission and service was to have any depth of meaning in their regions, PCR had to continue and remain strong. These ecumenists argued that a fundamental issue of the unity of the church was at stake and a fundamental issue regarding methods for seeking unity was at stake. We can thank God for the regular and tireless energies of Christians from these parts of the world (and a few others) in ensuring the endurance of our struggle against racism by the World Council of Churches.

The WCC is 43 years old. The PCR is 22 years old - more than half the life of the Council itself. In the future, work on racial justice in the Council will face new and different kinds of challenges. Church leaders from certain Western countries no longer try openly to derail such work. Yet as new opportunities, exciting challenges, and fresh demands confront us out of the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, I believe we will need to maintain our determination to keep a focus and priority on struggles for racial justice on South Africa.

Outside of this confrontation of one of the deepest schisms in the life of the church, the PCR is vital in the on-going work of the Council for at least two reasons:

1. Methodology. We speak a great deal in the WCC about action-reflection methodologies, but in the PCR we actually do it. It is not the only place in the Council where we are boldly engaged in active witness, but in the total sum of things, overall in the Council we put substantial emphasis on the reflection. We spend a great deal of time talking about doing things. So we need immersion in struggles for racial justice (among others) to keep us honestly involved in a methodology we claim to cherish.
2. Women's concerns and perspectives. Christian women have always been involved in and vital to ecumenism in its broadest sense. If we think of those

committed to life in life and death struggles and to healing divisions in society and in the church, we remember the contributions of our foremothers - many unnamed and most unrecognized.

Yet ecumenical institutions (including the WCC) have always been dominated by men, and male patterns of conceptualization of key questions, of style of organization and work, and in decision making bodies. This is beginning to change, but we move very slowly and timidly towards being a true community of women and men in the church. PCR also reflects the predominance of male influence in its life and work.

Yet outside the women's subunit in the WCC, PCR has been the only program in the life of the Council that early on embraced the concerns and perspectives of women as legitimately its own; and it has been one of few programs in the life of the Council to put its money where its mouth is — to back up rhetoric on behalf of women with careful programmatic work, staff time, and other resources. The focus for PCR, of course, has been the pivotal issue of women under racism.

From my childhood onward, people struggling for racial justice often renewed my faith in the church. I fundamentally believe these people and their struggles are much of the reason that I as a Christian have remained within the church. Certainly my experience of church life as a woman would have compelled me leave long ago. Yet when I see Christians try to reach beyond and heal this deeply infected wound of racism in our common body, I take heart. If we can move boldly to challenge and heal the longstanding idolatry of racism in our lives, maybe one day we will honestly attempt with equal courage and conviction to challenge and heal the longer-standing, more deeply rooted idolatry of sexism.

So, again, we need the work of the PCR because it is a model for how we can begin to move forward as women and men together shaping a common struggle and witness in the life of the church and the world.

The Church and Politics

You know well the arguments for why being a Christian inescapably means being political. It is impossible to read the Bible, or to know the history of the church, or to engage in theological debate without being conscious of politics and political struggles.

I am by profession a political scientist. Today I want to approach this question of the church and politics from the side of politics rather than from the side of the church. We political scientists have a number of definitions of politics which we debate. I offer for your reflection three of these definitions.

1. Politics is about who gets what, when and how (from Harold Lasswell).

2. Politics is the authoritative allocation of values (from David Easton).
3. Politics consists of all deliberate efforts to control (i.e. create, maintain, modify, or abandon) shared meaning (from Peter Sederberg).

Discussion and debates about politics quickly move into substantive areas that lie at the heart of any religion, including Christianity. Religion is vitally concerned with values, their shaping and allocation; establishing shared meaning and its significance for community; and who benefits and gains life from the social order vs. who loses. Whether viewed from the perspective of the church and religion or from the perspective of politics, these matters are inextricably intertwined. This is the easy part to admit. Much harder is the task of figuring out the implication of such a marriage.

In politics, as in religion, symbol is as important as substance. The WCC, through its work in international affairs, is very highly regarded around the world by adversaries and friends alike in governments and intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations. Our work is usually considered to be highly professional, well informed, and carefully crafted. We have a great deal of credibility and are perceived as an organization with integrity.

Yet it is precisely our political engagement that has provoked the most controversy within some governments and among some of our constituents in member churches. This is a tension with which we live now, and with which we will continue to live, if we are to be authentic witnesses of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I consider this tension to be a creative one that is full of promise, not a destructive one to be avoided in order to present some false facade of peaceful relations among ourselves and with others.

In particular, I want to address two terms that I find very problematic: neutrality and objectivity. As Archbishop Tutu said in his presentation this morning, as members of the body of Christ, we are unapologetic about our bias on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. Furthermore, he emphasized that to be in solidarity does not imply suspending critical judgement.

We do not disengage from critical analysis of those with whom we take sides, just as we hope they maintain a critical position towards us. Furthermore, we do not cast our lot with the African National Congress or any other political party. Neither do we necessarily withhold our support from such groups when they deserve it based on our understanding or our own faithfulness. We cast our lot with Jesus Christ and then find ways to affirm other institutions that come closest to reflecting our values.

We need to remember, however, that being biased and being subjective is a part of the human experience. We in the church are not peculiar in this regard. At a very fundamental level, all human beings and all institutions are partial, biased, subjec-

tive and full of particularistic perspectives. To strive for glorify or neutrality is to delude ourselves about the human experience and to be captive to a particular epistemology of scientism whose most ardent proponents no longer really believe in objectivity. Whether we are conscious of it or not, we all take sides in one way or another, directly or indirectly, critically or uncritically. The really important decisions to make are about which side we take.

This does not mean that we as churches or in societies are hopelessly lost in relativism. Nor does it mean that there are only two sides, such that we always attempt to achieve some balance or equilibrium. What it means is that we must strive, not for neutrality or objectivity, but for accountability, transparency and integrity of process. In this regard, the process through which we make choices or help others to make choices is as important as the outcomes we reach.

Whether we are negotiators among conflicting parties (as is beginning to be the case now for some of you in churches here) or whether we are partisans in the political contest, our calling first of all is to side with those who insist on very fundamental principles of accountability, transparency and integrity (i.e. democracy) and against authoritarianism. We can only do this by insisting that all of us be held accountable for the decisions that we make; that all decisions are made in an environment that is open and transparent, thereby building trust; and that we honor the integrity of promises made or agreements reached.

An appreciation of pluralism does not necessitate appreciating or applauding the position of another group or party or the sides they take, especially when they benefit from and violently defend privilege. An appreciation of pluralism necessitates a critical commitment to a fundamental value about the process through which we struggle together with each other or against our foes — a process that will only be credible and faithful if it embodies the possibility for participation for all those who must live with the consequences of the decisions made. I hope in the Church we are never neutral, but I hope we are always accountable.

The Church and Violence

There are several people in this audience who have spoken eloquently and written brilliantly on issue of violence and nonviolence. I do not want to repeat old debates, but I do want to highlight some of our history.

When discussing PCR during the 1970s and most of the 1980s, North American and European Christians repeatedly raised the issue of violence. Much of the official response from ecumenical offices in these regions always pointed out the reality that the PCR Special Fund gives grants of humanitarian aid to liberation movements. These movements sometimes engaged in warfare or sabotage, but we were reminded, PCR money steers clear of such. Furthermore, the Special Fund

only spends monies designated specifically to it, not money from general church treasuries donated as a whole to the WCC.

This explanation, however, begs the question that our detractors know so well; the WCC and the PCR deliberately take a high profile stand in solidarity with movements that used violence. Whether or not they use our money for weapons, these movements still engaged in armed conflict. Indeed, some part of our constituency argued on occasion that we should take a further step in joining in arms with them. Clearly the WCC and the PCR have not chosen this route.

There are three traditional positions regarding Christian teachings and violence: pacifism (an exclusive affirmation of nonviolent action); just war (the application of a strict set of criteria before resorting to violence in extreme circumstances); and crusade (the use of religion to endorse and promote conflict or war). More recent analyses point to ethical positions of just revolutions (the application of a strict set of criteria before resorting to violence in reaction to extreme circumstances of domestic oppression that may not otherwise be changed) as well as the complex dilemmas that arise in circumstances when there is already a situation of violence. In the latter case, the question becomes one of how to reduce the extent of violence and how to humanize the means of conflict.

Most Christian denominations, just like the WCC and the South African Council of Churches, are not pacifist organisations. Although almost all the positions we take and resources we use (even in PCR) are for nonviolent purposes, unlike the historic peace churches, we do not use pacifism as an organising principle to define who we are and what we do. If we concede that we are not pacifists (although I hope such a concession is not taken lightly - just as I hope we can never be accused of supporting crusades) and if we start from the point of view that in certain rare circumstances violence may be warranted, then the terribly difficult dilemma arises regarding what exactly those circumstances might be.

Confronting violence cannot be avoided in South Africa. It is already, and has been for centuries, endemic to the situation. You in South Africa know well your own history, but I would point out that European conquest and settlement in Southern Africa occurred at about the same time as the colonization of the Americas. The American colonist took little more than one hundred years to launch a revolutionary war against an unjust government, and this war is widely praised in the West as being not only just, but also important to the cause of freedom all over the world.

In addition to carefully analysing our position regarding violence, we must be clear-headed in our analysis of nonviolent action and acknowledge that it can be highly political and extremely controversial. Again, as you know well from your own history, nonviolence may produce unanticipated or uncontrollable violent outcomes. Such was the case in pacifist campaigns conducted by Ghandi and King, for example.

I am deeply saddened to discover repeatedly in my enthusiastic and public defence of the PCR that I am able quickly to convince most people that some sort of armed conflict on the part of Blacks to achieve majority rule in Southern Africa can be justified. I am deeply troubled, for example, at the readiness of most American Christians to accept violent behavior as necessary in certain persuasive circumstances. I spend a great deal of my time trying to convince Americans and the American government to disarm, to demilitarize, and to stop resorting to war. Yet I do not see a contradiction between this work and my support for liberation movements in Southern Africa. Furthermore there is no question in my mind that the Gospel of Jesus Christ always point us towards and challenges us to nonviolence.

For those of us who are not pacifists, the pivotal issue for violence is whether or not it really is a last resort - under what circumstances it is used, by whom and for what purpose, and only after all other options are genuinely and thoroughly exhausted.

The Church and Economics

For Americans and our churches (as well as others in the West), by far the most difficult issues related to justice in Southern Africa are about economic systems and choices. Virtually all of the resistance organisations at one point or another have articulated a positive program of socialism which includes an analysis that racism in the region is inextricably intertwined with capitalism. In order to get rid of racism, capitalism must go, too. Some of the groups (e.g. FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola) historically took more doctrinaire positions that are now softening, while others were more flexible (e.g. the ANC). Nonetheless, basic principles guiding most of these organisations include :

1. an economy organized deliberately to meet the needs of people rather than profit,
2. some form (or forms) of collective ownership, and
3. a genuinely participatory political system that decides questions of production and distribution.

The tragedy of South African military aggression in the region has meant that none of the newly independent frontline states has had an opportunity to fulfill their plans in this regard.

I believe there are at least three reasons why churches in the West find political economy and articulations of alternative economic perspectives so alarming. First, in-depth probing usually uncovers significant racism in assumptions about the capabilities about Blacks in Southern Africa. Either we believe that Blacks are easi-

ly manipulated by the communists for their own purposes, or we believe that Blacks are not capable of making decisions about their own economic future, especially when their judgements conflict with the wisdom we offer. Whites and Blacks alike make these racist assumptions and assertions.

Second, the cold war placed narrow blinkers in our minds and dramatically curtailed our individual and collective analytic capacity for political economy. We make many pronouncements about the need for economic and political self-determination, but we do not take these seriously for ourselves or the rest of humanity. Those of us from my country must confess that economic diversity around the globe is an affront to American governmental foreign policy and a fundamental challenge to our own deeply ingrained belief that, as bad as our domestic problems may be, we still have the best political and economic system in the world.

Communism was failing for many years and is now collapsed. Capitalism (both internationally and domestically) is also failing. We hear trumpeting of the triumph of capitalism but it rings untrue. Its demise may not come for some time but surely is hastened by the impending prospects of environmental collapse. The end of the cold war gives us fresh opportunity to take off our analytic blinders, to have new frank discussions regarding how best to organize political economies, and to regain creativity and effectiveness.

People all over the world will probably come up with a variety of answers to the dilemma of how to organize a just political economy, answers driven by local culture and circumstances. The realization of such diversity will be a threat to many entrenched economic interests in my country, in yours, and elsewhere but will only enhance the possibility of finding some productive way forward in striving for political and economic justice and peace.

Important new work is being done (for the most part outside the churches) on alternative political economy. Within the WCC work on such questions has taken place in our program on Justice Peace and the Integrity of Creation as well as in the Commission on the Churches Participation in Development. I commend to you the report of the 1990 Seoul World Convocation on JPIC as well as the CCPD document, "A Guide to Economy as a Matter of Faith: An Ecumenical Statement on Economic Life."

Third, as churches in the West our theology, our finances (e.g. fundraising, tax or other state-related status, pensions), and our organizational structures are intimately interwoven with capitalism and the prevailing classically liberal culture of our societies. Some of this heritage is worthy of preserving. Much of it is not. Furthermore, our captivity to it impedes our ability to express solidarity with those who seek freedom and justice in other parts of the world through other paths. Socialism may not be the answer, but our inability to consider seriously any of its merits undermines any authentic search for a new way forward to justice with peace.

In this regard I want briefly to touch the issue of sanctions. I was delighted to see in recent news accounts that the Commonwealth will maintain some important trade and finance sanctions. The decision by the United States and other governments to lift sanctions is regrettable. With such developments on the part of some major economic partners, the momentum in favor of sanctions is virtually lost. Use for this form of pressure is not completely gone, but it will not regain its former effectiveness. Furthermore, questions about investment sanctions (as opposed to financial sanctions of withholding bank or IMF loans) are practically moot. Large scale investment by transnational corporations will not be attracted to South Africa until there is political stability.

But beyond the immediate question of sanctions and other forms of economic pressure to hasten political change, I hope churches and others in this country will examine carefully how much interaction with the international economy you want. The international economy is decidedly capitalist. It organizes itself for profit in a large and impersonal market. It has never been the friend of oppressed people anywhere and it has never been the friend of oppressed people here.

Do you really want more investment by transnational corporations? Ask the Philipinos what foreign direct investment has done for them? Do you really want to subject yourself to free trade? Ask the Mexicans or even the Canadians what free trade has done for them. Do you really want more control by the International Monetary Fund over your economy and over your lives? Ask the Brazilians and Argentinians what IMF conditionality and stabilization has meant for them. The last decade has experienced one of the largest transfers of capital from South to North the world has ever known — presided over by the IMF and Western banks.

Be careful about your political economy. You have great wealth of human and natural resources in this country. You can use these for the betterment of your own society. Than if desired and useful, you could draw what you need and want from the international economy on your own terms. The strength of your economy gives you more bargaining power in this regard than many others have. I do not need to tell you what to do with your political and economic future. My deep hope is that you will design it to maximize its potential for justice, peace, and ecological sustainability. I simply want to remind you of something that you know well from your own history: these principles we hold so high and hope will guide our collective search for alternative forms of political economy have never been the goals or concerns of the world economy.

In many respects South is a microcosm of debate over the future of many of the issues that others of us face in our own places: racial justice, gender justice, appreciation of ethnic diversity, democracy in politics and economics, and preventing the possibility of ecological doom. You are at a critical movement of change in which you struggle over how to shape the future. Although many of us from other parts of the world participate in similar struggles where we are, we do not yet face

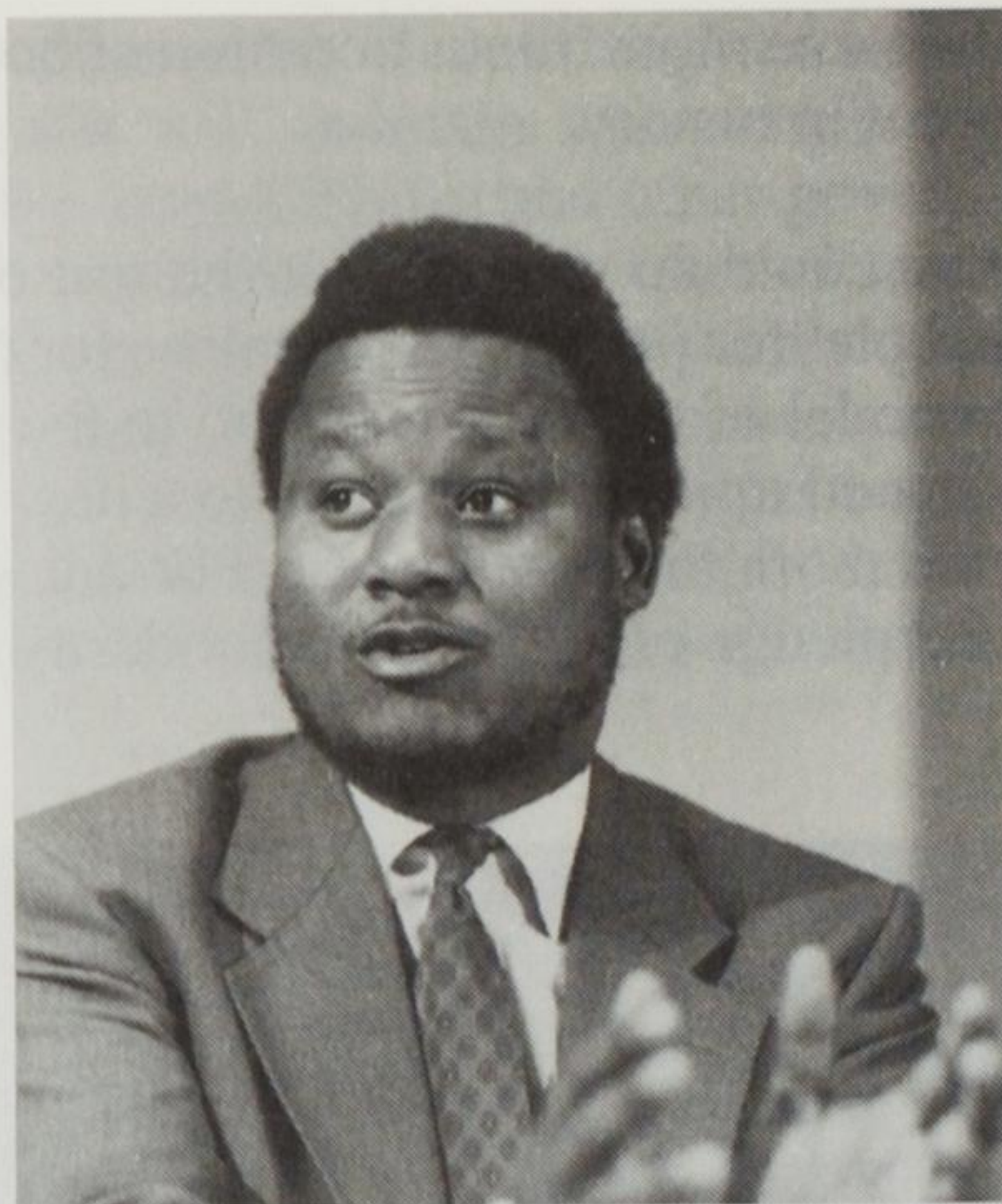
the same momentous occasion of both danger and opportunity that faces you at this point in history.

You could do wonders for the rest of us by organizing your political economy for people, for justice, for equality, for peace and for the earth's well-being. By being a model of those who say no to the dominant economic blueprints we have experienced up to now and yes to a new models based these principles, you could inspire more than you know. For our sake as well as yours, we await your guidance and pledge our continued solidarity with you.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets WCC Central Committee member Janice Love (USA) in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town.

*General Secretary of the South African
Council of Churches,
Rev. Frank Chikane;
the official host for the tour.*



*Bishop Manas Buthelezi, Evangelical
Lutheran Church in South Africa (ELCSA).*



*Ms Thoko Msane, YWCA (World
Affiliated) in South Africa.*



*SACC President
Dr Khoza Mgojo,
one of the
moderators of
the Consultation
in Cape Town.*

Meditation by Rev. Beyers Naudé to the Cape Town Consultation

Sisters and brothers in Christ our Lord,

This conference has focused its attention on a number of crucial issues to which I wish to draw attention, not because it is possible to focus on all of them, but to make a selection of what seems to me to be the most crucial and important ones.

First of all, it has become the occasion of the healing of the breach within the ecumenical family which occurred in 1960 and 1961 with the historic event of Cottesloe and afterwards; and our hearts are filled with gratitude to God for the return of the World Council of Churches as an ecumenical body into our midst.

Not because from our viewpoints and in our hearts there has ever been any separation, but because we knew that in heart and in spirit and in prayer, the World Council had been with us and had never left us during these thirty-one years — although many of us and especially member churches, did not adequately realize this.

Secondly, it has become the occasion that we have been focusing our special attention on the nature and extent of the change taking place in South Africa — political, economic, educational and social — and the effect this is having on the life and the witness of the churches.

Thirdly, it has focused attention on the unpreparedness of the churches to the problems and the challenges with which these changes are confronting us as churches. The crisis of the country has also revealed the crisis of and in the church. It has revealed its deeply rooted racial and confessional divisions despite our plea and our belief in Christian unity. It has revealed hidden forms of denominationalism reappearing. It has revealed new forms of racism, white and black, emerging in our midst.

Fourth, it has exposed the seeming powerlessness of the churches in understanding and therefore successfully handling the political conflicts, the economic crisis and the educational mess we find ourselves in and the process of social integration which is taking place in our very midst.

Take for instance, the issue of the ongoing and endless violence, the growing poverty, the massive unemployment, the housing of millions of homeless people. Our utterances, our attitudes and our actions reveal to me in a certain sense, a sense of

helplessness, of serious inability, of feeling ourselves to be out of our depth as churches being confronted with these issues. Despite all our efforts and prayers — let us be honest with ourselves, because I feel that the moment of honesty is there with us today as never before — the taxi war is still continuing in Khayalitscha and people are being killed. Killing on the trains of Soweto, with yesterday another nine killed and thirty-six seriously injured, goes on unabated.

When Janice Love presents us with a brilliant analysis of the issue of economic justice; when in a short two-page statement, Derek Crawford Brown presents us with a sobering fact that the largest disinvestment has not been from outside South Africa, but have been South African mining finance and insurance homes; when Mrs Bulbring presents us with the frightening prospects of AIDS and the serious implications of this, we seem to be almost totally overwhelmed by the vastness and the apparent insolubility of these problems.

Fifthly, this conference has brought home to us the realization that our deepest problem as a church and as Christians is a crisis of faith. Do we really believe and accept unconditionally and gladly the promises of Hebrews 11 and 12?

Let us look for a moment at so many positive signs which should encourage our faith in the situation of crisis of faith in which we find ourselves. Let us look at the positive signs of agreement and unity between us as Christians and as churches. We are all seeking a new South Africa of justice and peace on the basis of our understanding of the Kingdom of God.

We know that we are aliens and foreigners, we admit that. But, we have the vision of the Kingdom of God which has been given to us and we all agree that is the end goal for which we live and strive and sacrifice ourselves. We are all seeking an end to the violence and bloodshed in our urgent and sincere longing for peace. Is there anybody amongst us as church leaders, is there any serious Christian in our congregations or parishes who would honestly be prepared to stand up and say “I am not in favour of the termination of violence and bloodshed in the country”?

Why is it, then, that in spite the fact that millions and millions of us, humbly proclaiming that we are disciples of Christ, that we wish to be obedient to him, we seem to be so helpless to solve this problem? We are all seeking the involvement of all our people, both black and white, at all levels, both leadership and at the grassroots to achieve these goals. We are all admitting that as churches we do not have the answers. Yes, we are aliens and foreigners as we have read in verses 13 and 14 of Hebrews 11. But we also know in faith that God has the answer and that he has given us the answer and that he wishes to impart that answer and that light of his Spirit to all of us if we are open to receive it.

But then the question arises, what does God require from us as churches, as a Council and as part of his Body? It impossible to give all the answers, but allow

me to present just a few thoughts and concerns which I believe the Holy Spirit wishes to convey to us.

It seems to me that God requires from us as a church a theological vision of the nature of God's Kingdom as applied to South Africa. He requires from us a vision of what are, to our deepest convictions, the political criteria and demands which closest conform to a political system of justice and righteousness. He requires from us the economic values which are in accordance with the biblical concept of justice, and that these should be much clearer in our own minds, to be presented and proclaimed and to be enacted.

He requires from us the educational values and policies we need to lay down in order to build a meaningful future for our children, thousands of whom have died and sacrificed themselves for liberation in this country. He requires from us the social demands for a new vision and a new understanding of what the nature of our community and our society should be in South Africa. He requires from us the legal criteria for the concept of justice, of human rights and of human dignity which are recognized throughout the world and which we seemingly support and proclaim and wish to strive after.

It seems to me that God wishes to take us further. He requires from us a critical reassessment of ecumenical relations and responsibilities within the member churches of the South African Council of Churches and between us and the other churches who are not members of the SACC.

Let me start with myself. As a member of the black Dutch Reformed Church, this conference has addressed us with regard to the demands to be made to the family of Dutch Reformed churches.

I know that at times many of you have felt, "Why don't these Christians solve the problems within themselves? Why do they always bring them to the SACC? What is wrong with the family of Dutch Reformed churches that they cannot find peace and justice amongst themselves? Is it so totally impossible?"

I have tried to give a lot of thought and concern in my own heart to what I believe, not in the first place what is the responsibility and task of the SACC, but what are we doing within the family of Dutch Reformed Churches to listen to what God is wishing to tell us? To invite and to challenge and to discuss and to debate and to pray together with our fellow Christians in the family of the Reformed churches, realizing that if we do not find peace there, it means that even if the NG church becomes a member church of the SACC, it will not resolve the problem.

But if we are serious and sincere, are we willing to let the Spirit of God challenge us each one individually in our relationship to say, "What are you doing, what are you yourself saying, what is the Spirit which is emanating from your heart in order to help the family of DRC churches?" I am thinking of the challenge which is being

presented by us as a member church of the SACC towards the Pentecostal, the Baptist and the charismatic churches where God has used Rustenburg to bring us closer. But have we taken Rustenburg seriously? What have we done with the decisions and the declaration made at Rustenburg? How have we taken this further in the life of our own churches? Is there a clear evidence, is there proof, is there an openness towards those churches who are not members of the SACC to say, "In the name of God, in the Spirit of Christ, we would really wish to come closer to you." A tremendous challenge.

There is the large and growing group of African indigenous churches. We cannot be fully the Body of Christ in South Africa as long as we exclude or ignore these sisters and brothers in our midst. How seriously do we take their interest, their concern, their fears, their unwillingness to be part of us? There is the churches in Africa and the world where we have been challenged as never before. How do we see our relationship — and especially through the World Council now being able to play meaningful and significant role — in the building up of the unity of the Body of Christ throughout the world.

May I also say something about the SACC and its member churches. I have been struck in the last few years and constantly agonized within my own heart with this question. What are the root causes that the SACC through its National Conference passes resolutions, makes beautiful and impressive statements, operates on behalf of the member churches, but in so many respects there is not the spontaneous, willing, eager response on the part of the member churches? Does the fault lie with the SACC? Does it lie with the member churches? Does it lie with our lack of love and understanding with one another?

Could I again refer to Rustenburg and to the declaration passed there? What has been the active, meaningful response by our members to Rustenburg? If it has not been there, I am not passing judgment, but I am just saying that if that remains a weakness on the part of the SACC there is no point that we try to establish peace accords, that we try to move forwards in other respects if we are not able to handle this problem.

I am asking you, sisters and brothers, because as we adopted these two documents this morning — and especially the action document — I was asking myself, "What are you going to do when you go back to your own church?" What is the black Dutch Reformed church, of which I am a minister, going to do in order to take seriously this programme of action? Because if it does not succeed at that level, if it does not penetrate the grassroots of the life of our congregations and parishes, sisters and brothers we may pass all the most beautiful resolutions which there are in the world, but the church will remain weak and ineffective and unconvincing.

I am sharing my concern with you. Allow me to raise another issue which I know is very sensitive. But I believe the moment of honesty is there, where we have got to talk to each other frankly and openly in love. There are warning signs of a coun-

cil of churches which is deeply divided, which is uncertain about its future and where even the phrases are being used of a council of churches which is in the process of disintegration. It may not be true. But I believe that the moment has come that if we wish to play a really meaningful role as an ecumenical body, we have got to look at every form of weakness and failure which we have made — and I include myself. If we are really serious, we need to address ourselves to that.

Wherever there is the least sign of distrust, of lack of openness, of personal ambitions, let us open our hearts to God's Spirit and say to him, "Purify us, O Lord. Because without that, you cannot use us. Do this for the sake of your church, do this for the sake of the community, do this above all for the sake of your kingdom here in South Africa because of the deep and serious crisis in which we find ourselves."

I wish to close. It seems to me that God would wish to remind us of a living faith with which he empowers the church in South Africa. Without sounding arrogant, I wish to say that I sincerely believe that there is no other country in the world, there is no other church in the world, where at this point in time there is such a tremendous challenge and an opportunity being presented to the church as today in South Africa. If I am overstating this, may God forgive me.

But I believe as never before, he wants to challenge us, he wants to draw the church out, he wants us to admit our failure and mistakes, he wants us to move forward in humility and he wants to say to us, "Become the visible symbols, become the signs of faith, of hope." Because the answer in the first place does not lie with any political organization. It does not in the first place lie with any secular group. If we really believe his Word, if we really accept in obedience what he is telling us, we know the answer lies with Christ our Lord and his willingness to lead us into his justice and peace.

As never before, he calls us in faith. Let us respond in eagerness, in obedience, in love to that call of faith.

Amen.



Left to right, WCC President Aaron Tolen (Cameroon), Thoko Msane (YWCA), Methodist Presiding Bishop M.S. Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu during the Cape Town Consultation.

Left to right during the worship led by women, Joan Campbell (General Secretary NCCC/USA), Val Pauquet (NCC), Lulu Xingwana (SACC Women's Division), Brigalia Bam (SACC Ass. General Secretary), Dolly Makau (SACC) and Joyce Seroke (YWCA).



Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets Bishop Melvin Talbert of the WCC Executive Committee at St George's Cathedral, Cape Town.

The Statement issued by the Cape Town Consultation

The Context

Thirty one years ago the Cottlesloe Conference, which brought together WCC and SACC member churches in the wake of the Sharpeville shootings, spoke a prophetic word. It declared apartheid to be contrary to the word of God. This word was rejected by the state and sections of the Christian church. This contributed to the escalation of apartheid, the intensification of suffering and death and a political - economic structure that is today about to collapse.

Meeting at this time in Cape Town as representatives of the WCC and SACC and their member churches, together with other churches and Christian bodies, we have again sought to hear and respond to God's will for this land.

We have welcomed with joy the release of political leaders and the unbanning of political organisations. We are grateful to God for subsequent events that have led to the release of other political prisoners and the rescinding of some apartheid laws. Such events have vindicated the struggle against apartheid waged at a number of different levels by liberation movements, anti-apartheid organisations, religious bodies and ecumenical partner churches around the world. The WCC on its part has been at the forefront of international anti-apartheid campaigns, and we give thanks to God for their witness.

On the other hand we have also known despair and fear as the country has been plunged into a further escalation of violence, social and economic chaos and political instability. While many apartheid laws are gone, its legacy continues. In the face of this legacy, we need a new empowering by the Holy Spirit to be peacemakers and heralds of God's grace.

Our task is to commit ourselves in perseverance and hope to a new and even more challenging phase in the process of transformation. As we remember the long history of martyrs and countless unknown people who have paid with their lives to see justice in South Africa, we must work with urgent resolve. As people continue to die in wanton violence and at the hands of political killers, we must dedicate ourselves to our task with the sense of commitment that comes from God alone.

The Issues we Face

Responding to the God who became incarnate in Jesus Christ in the conflict of first century Palestine, we are compelled to participate in events as they unfold in South

Africa. We do so ready to be in solidarity with those who suffer and are marginalised, determined to ensure that the poor and oppressed are sustained and empowered to influence transitionary and future political field whose actions led to justice, while maintaining a vigilance against co-option by any particular group. We must maintain a critical engagement with political power, while showing solidarity with our struggling people. Such credibility which may enable us to share in the peace process, must come not from seeking political power but from being consistent in our affirmation of justice and our bias in favour of the poor.

To this end our task is :

1. To expose and eradicate all forms of apartheid which persist in the economic, social, cultural and political structures of South African society. It is also to uncover and fight against all forms of exploitation which threaten to carry apartheid into a new society in disguised forms. Racism, sexism, economic exploitation and cultural prejudices often act in cohesion to undermine the sense of humanness (ubuntu/botho) which God is offering us.
2. To liberate both state and church from the all consuming obsession with apartheid with apartheid which prevents us from addressing a variety of urgent and life threatening issues. These include poverty and development, education, pollution, the threat of AIDS and other diseases and technological challenges.
3. To participate in the reconstruction of our society according to the values of the Kingdom of God, working in cooperation with those forces in the political field who are committed to these values.
4. To be in solidarity with those who suffer in other parts of the world, engaging in global struggles for justice, peace and the integrity of creation.
5. To accept that judgement begins with the household of God. Often we are guilty of the things for which we condemn governments and others. While calling for democracy we have often ignored our own undemocratic traditions. While fighting against racism, sexism and other injustices, we may have left unchallenged the structures in our own churches that continue to promote these evils.

God's Word to us

To achieve these goals we stand in need of God's grace and of a sustaining and liberating spirituality. We hear God's voice in scripture, in the teachings of Jesus and in the cries of those who suffer the consequences of apartheid and social marginalisation. We also hear God's voice in the solidarity of the universal church.

We have learned in our struggle the difference between the world's idea of power and the authority that comes from obeying God and we must avoid the seductive desire to be approved by the powerful.

God is calling us rather to affirm the revolutionary spirit which motivates the struggle against apartheid. We must ensure that when political transition is complete, the poor, the marginalised and the oppressed will share in the riches and goodness of this land. We are driven by a vision of God's kingdom which leaves us discontented with limited and partial gains, but a sense of political responsibility requires us to work for such gains as are immediately attainable. We accept the challenge which faces us in the following specific areas :

1. Violence

Unless the endemic violence of our time is controlled and eliminated the possibility of reconstruction will be increasingly undermined. We must resist this attempt to derail the negotiation process. Both in cooperation with the National Peace Accord and independently, the church as an agent of peace is to engage in monitoring, reporting and exposing the perpetrators of violence.

Because the South African police are either unable or unwilling to deal fairly and firmly with the reports of violence that have been referred to them, a peacekeeping agency consisting of representatives of all major political groupings is urgently required. An international monitoring mechanism ought also to be considered.

We further recognise the need for churches to engage in education programmes of peace-making to develop a culture of tolerance.

2. Reconciliation

Reconciliation, including restitution, reconstruction and justice, is central to the gospel. Unless conflicting groups in the nation are enabled to seek this reconciliation, peace is impossible.

We regret the divisions which continue between churches, notably within the Dutch Reformed Church family because of racism. We have heard the call of the General Secretary of the WCC for groups to come together in cooperative ventures to create conditions conducive to reconciliation. We have also heard again of the suffering, rebuke and humiliation of Black people which make such ventures difficult because reconciliation and justice must go hand in hand. We believe that God is calling us to face this issue with a new sense of urgency.

3. Women

This Conference has heard, as have many conferences before it, of the call for justice for women. We are especially mindful of the extent to which Black women

are twice marginalised and oppressed. In both church and society, this constitutes a crisis for which we are obliged to find new ways of organising our life together. At the same time, we celebrate the contributions of women. They provide sustenance for individual and community life, persevering with resilience that embodies hope. They bring strength, endurance, creativity and leadership to the struggle for justice and peace. Without a true community of women and men in church and society, a new just social order will not be possible.

4. Youth

Youth have always been in the forefront of struggles for liberation. They have frequently risked their lives for revolutionary transformation and suffered the enormous consequences of violent repression and lost opportunities. Yet the church and society rarely acknowledge this, choosing instead to patronise and marginalise young people, especially those who are black. Structures of oppression continue to stifle their potential and crush their confidence in the future. Justice requires full participation of youth in the creation of communities that appreciate, utilise and develop their gifts and talents.

5. Amnesty

Noting that there are political prisoners as yet unreleased and exiles prohibited from returning home, we reject the humiliating process of individual indemnities and call for a general amnesty. We challenge the churches to exercise appropriate pastoral care and responsibility to former political prisoners and returnees.

6. Sanctions

We welcome such political changes as have taken place. We believe that financial and other sanctions have contributed to these changes and continue to play an important part in bringing about political transformation. Our concern is that any further lifting of sanctions would stall the negotiation process by eliminating the pressure needed to ensure political transition. It is our firm belief that the time for the lifting of all sanctions has not yet come. For that to happen violence must be controlled, and there must be agreement on an interim government and a democratic constitution. Premature action on the lifting of sanctions would render less effectual the sacrifice made by so many over the years.

7. Political Economy

Inspired by the biblical vision where the poor shall be given their rightful place in society, the church is obliged to engage with economists and others to devise and support imaginative forms of action that contribute to a more egalitarian and just economic order.

The failure of Eastern European socialism is not a vindication of Western free-mar-

ket capitalism. Neither system has met the needs of the poor. A compassionate modern economy which transcends the weakness of both economic systems is required.

As Black people have had land and opportunities taken from them, so orderly forms of restitution need to be devised. White people must be challenged to choose between perpetuating in South Africa the most glaring inequalities in the world and sharing in the building of a new and just order.

8. Cultural Pluralism

Apartheid has exploited cultural differences to create the most demonic forms of oppression. The right to affirm cultural and ethnic identity as well as the right to cross cultural and ethnic contexts are inherent in any free and just society, but demands by any group for favoured treatment must be resisted.

The church has a special obligation to teach mutual cultural and ethnic respect in the quest of a non-racial, non-sexist, pluralistic society. The pluralism of God's creation is to celebrate a basis for the larger unity of all people - not as a basis for suspicion and chauvinistic division. Affirming the biblical and African ethos which teaches that we are only completely human in community with others, we recognise that different ethnic and cultural groups only come to completion in a transcendent humanness given us in God's creation and redemption.

9. Renewal of the Church

The role of the church in the present crisis can only be as effective as its own life permits. The renewal of its life and enhancement of its credible witness require, among other things, disciplined spirituality, selfless service, mutual accountability, restored unity and sustained ecumenical solidarity.

A commitment

The church is called to celebrate, proclaim and embody the values of the Kingdom of God. It must summons each new age to face the challenge of the gospel. It must at the same time share in the struggle for a social order that meets people's immediate needs - especially those of the poor and marginalised. To both, the churches of South Africa and their ecumenical partners elsewhere are invited to commit themselves afresh.

Cape Town Consultation

Proposals for Action

The participants in the Cape Town Consultation have put forward the following proposals for action on the issues contained in its official statement, and commands them to the bodies which they represent for consideration and implementation.

I. Strengthening the inner life of the churches

In his keynote address, the General Secretary of the WCC stressed the need for the churches to strengthen their inner life. We recognise that the church embraces people of different cultures and languages who have to recognise and express their unity in Christ. To this end we propose that :

1. in order to develop the community, every member should be equipped for growth in spirituality and Christian living by the provision of suitable education programmes;
2. theological education should enable ministers to relate to the context in which they work and to set up training programmes which will empower members of their congregations;
3. members be helped to develop a caring spirit towards each other and other members of the community and, in particular, to minister to lonely people, single parents, broken homes, children and youth, the homeless and the unemployed;
4. increased attention be given to the pastoral care of ministers.

Churches are asked to refer to these matters to their relevant departments or committees for detailed planning and action.

II. Ecumenical action

1. The SACC and its member churches should work together to define and develop their relationship to each other, and the WCC should be encouraged to do the same with its constituency;
2. The SACC and its member churches should discuss relationship and issues of mutual concern with churches which are not members;

3. Churches should act together in all forms of mission and witness and not simply in the struggle;
4. South African churches will continue to need assistance from the international community, but it is important to avoid paternalism on the part of the donors and dependency on the part of the recipients. It is desirable that local communities should be committed financially and in other ways before assistance is given from overseas sources;
5. The churches should call into being a project similar to SPROCAS to study the political, economic, educational, social and legal issues relating to the future of South Africa, taking account of grassroots concerns and involvement.

III. Violence

1. Violence has been identified as a major obstacle to the transition to democracy;
2. The National Peace Accord is welcome, but it will be of little value if its principles and procedures are not accepted and put into practice at the local level;
3. This demands an effective monitoring system. There is a strong conviction that this function cannot be fulfilled adequately by the security forces as presently constituted. It is necessary to select and train monitoring teams which are representative of all major political and community groups, including the church. The Consultation believes that the monitoring process should be directed and supervised by an international group with adequate powers to investigate, report and ensure appropriate action.
4. It is also important for the churches to help citizens understand the nature and causes of violence, to provide training in conflict-resolution, and to encourage a culture of tolerance.
5. The South African churches are asked immediately to form a task force to advocate these proposals and to prepare programmes of local education and training.

IV. Reconciliation in church and nation

1. Addressing hates and fears constructively:
 - a. Peacemaking or enabling reconciliation is a skill which can and should be taught in local situations.

Divided parties should be enabled to meet as equals and to become vulnerable to each other. They have to be helped to die to former prejudices

and to accept the pain and frustration which this involves. Furthermore both parties must be willing for reconciliation to include the acceptance and application of God's justice. People cannot be reconciled while they still feel oppressed, and blanket forgiveness or repentance are inadequate.

- b. We welcome the new readiness in South Africa to move away from the attitude of "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" to a willingness to give and receive healing. The church should facilitate this by endeavouring to bring hostile factions together and creating the conditions for mutual acceptance.

- c. Group discussion revealed the presence of two emphases;

Christ's call to and empowering of those who have been wronged to love their enemy and offer unconditional forgiveness; and the need for the former oppressor to show costly and practical fruits of repentance. The church may create the conditions in which this may take place, but it can only be fully achieved when the hostile parties come together to the cross of Christ and share an experience of death and resurrection.

2. Responding to intra-church conflict

There is a great need for reconciliation between churches and within churches. The Consultation identified two major areas in which this should be sought.

- a. Between "mainline" and African independent churches which are often more sensitive in mission to the poor in townships and rural areas. This should be facilitated by the SACC.

- b. Within the Dutch Reformed Family

This task poses a challenge to three parties :

- i. it challenges the Black Dutch Reformed Churches to respond to the new stance of the white Dutch Reformed Church and to offer the forgiveness demanded by the Gospel;
- ii. it challenges the white Dutch Reformed Church to bring forth fruits of repentance, to act justly and to be united with the other churches in one church with a new obedience;
- iii. it challenges the other member churches of the SACC to recognise that they have not achieved truly non-racial fellowship even when they are institutionally non-racial, and to work in humility with the Dutch Reformed family to achieve

IV. Sanctions

The Consultation believes that the issue of sanctions requires action at three levels:

1. Local congregations in South Africa should be helped to understand that the policy on sanctions reflected in the Cape Town Statement is intended to keep pressure on the Government and economic powers to expedite the process of change to a fully democratic society and a process of change to a fully democratic society and a just economic order. They should be encouraged to assist this process. Furthermore, the issue of sanctions should be workshopped in congregations together with the issues of unemployment and poverty with a view to devising ways and means of alleviating poverty locally and advising church leadership as to how and when sanctions should be lifted.
2. Church leadership should
 - a. pressure the Government to hasten the process of change and offer its assistance in facilitating national consultation;
 - b. press the Government immediately to devise and implement large-scale labour-intensive projects;
 - c. impress upon the affluent section of the South African population the biblical imperative to sacrifice and share;
 - d. convene a conference to address the problem of poverty and the need for a new and compassionate economic system for South Africa, and to involve in this people from all levels of society.
3. The Ecumenical community
should call upon governments, industries and banks to maintain sanctions against South Africa until the conditions laid down in the Cape Town Statement have been met. At the same time it should encourage support for projects in South Africa which will help to create grassroots employment and to provide housing, electricity and skills-training for the black population.
4. The Ecumenical Community is also asked to continue to monitor the economic and political process after sanctions have been lifted and a new government established in order to ensure that the haves are not favoured at the expense of the poor in the pursuit of profit. It should also prepare and promote a code of conduct for foreign investors in South Africa.

VI. Economic Justice and Restitution

1. The Church must support the struggles of dispossessed communities and families to reclaim their lands in such practical ways as; financial support for legal action; ethical support to create a public opinion which is receptive to claims for restitution; prophetic support for specific cases, and liturgical support to reconsecrate land which has been reclaimed.
2. Returned exiles, internal displaces and veterans of the struggle for liberation must be supported by the church through, for example, training for employment programmes and pastoral/psychological care and counselling. Special attention should be given to the needs of women.
3. The church must play an active part in the development of a new economic order which will ensure that wealth is responsibly created and justly distributed. In particular the church should form a task force including economists, theologians and other specialists.
4. Given that the South African economy is inextricably tied to the world economy, we call in the churches in the “North” to be vigilant in their monitoring of the economic players in their own countries, and to advocate that their economies be developed in the direction of serving people rather than maximising profits.

VII. Women and Youth

The Churches need to put their houses in order in relation to women and youth and thus to set an example to secular society. In particular they should;

1. Develop and use language which acknowledges women and youth;
2. Ensure the full participation of women in the programmes and structures of the church on an equal basis with men;
3. Involve women and youth in decision making processes;
4. Give young people the opportunity to be involved in international exchange programmes;
5. Arrange for international visitors to meet women and youth;
6. Ask theological faculties to review their curricula to empower women and youth;
7. Allocate resources for the empowerment of women;
8. Provide bible studies which will meet the needs and deal with the concerns of women and young people;

9. Develop the leadership of women in church and society;
10. Review the quality and form of local congregational life with the view to empowering women;
11. Monitor developments on an ongoing basis.

VIII. AIDS

1. The churches are urged to embark on an education campaign in their congregations concerning the causes, effects and prevention of AIDS. In this connection they are reminded of the SACC - sponsored consultation on AIDS to be held in December and urged to participate.
2. The church is urged to exercise a healing ministry to affected individuals and their loved ones.
3. The church has a moral responsibility to challenge lifestyles which promote the spread of AIDS and to advocate faithfulness within intimate relationships.
4. The church has to set an example by embodying faithfulness and discipline within its own community life.

IX. Poverty and Development

1. The SACC is asked to organise a consultation on Development policy and its implementation involving churches, liberation movements, the business community, donor agencies and other experts, and to follow this up by forming a task force. Account should be taken of the research contained in "Uprooting Poverty".
2. The churches are urged to train local leadership in development.
3. The SACC and churches are called to improve communication between donor agencies, church authorities and local projects.
4. The church should endeavour to become an alternative community bearing witness to a non-materialist and diaconal lifestyle.

Conclusion

The Consultation will appoint a working group to elaborate and publicise the suggestion in the memorandum.

Churches and other concerned bodies are asked to report their actions to this body so that the implementation of these proposals may be monitored.

List of Participants of Cape Town Consultation

International Participants

- **Dr Trond Bakkevig** - General Secretary Church of Norway, *Norway*
- **Bishop Simon Barrington-Ward** - Bishop of Coventry/Chairman, International Affairs Board for Social Responsibilities, *United Kingdom*
- **Dr K. Blei** - General Secretary Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, *Netherlands*
- **Rev. Joan Campbell** - General Secretary - NCCCUSA, *USA*
- **Hans S. A. Engdahl** - Church of Sweden Mission, *Sweden*
- **Rev. Volker Faigle** - Evangelical Church of Germany, *Germany*
- **Rev. David Gill** - General Secretary Australian Council of Churches, *Australia*
- **Bishop Thorkild Graesholt** - Danchurchaid, *Denmark*
- **Mr Gabriel Habib** - General Secretary Middle East Council of Churches, *Cyprus*
- **Mr Gary Kenny** - Inter Church Coalition on Africa, *Canada*
- **Bishop Lars-Göran Lönnermark**, *Sweden*
- **Dr Janice Love** - WCC Central Committee, United Methodist, *USA*
- **Rev. Munetoshi Maejima** - General Secretary NCCJ, *Japan*
- **Most Rev. W. Makhulu** - Church of the Province of Central Africa, *Botswana*
- **Mr Paul Renshaw** - Council of Churches Britain and Ireland, *United Kingdom*
- **Rev. Christopher Smith** - Methodist Church, *United Kingdom*
- **Bishop Melvin Talbert** - United Methodist Church, *USA*
- **Dr Aaron Tolen** - Eglise Presbyterienne, *Cameroun*
- **Ms Sigried Thomsen** - Evangelisches Missionswerk, *Germany*
- **Dr Albert Pennybacker** - National Christian Council, *USA*
- **Dr Risto Lehtonen** - Finnchurchaid, *Finland*

World Council of Churches Staff

- **Dr Emilio Castro** - General Secretary
- **Ms Mary Balikungeri** - PCR
- **Rev. Christopher Duraisingh** - CWME
- **Mr John Evenson** - South Africa Church News London
- **Ms Aruna Gnanadason** - Women Sub-unit
- **Rev. Canon Clement Janda** - CCIA
- **Mr Jan Kok** - Communication Department
- **Dr Tarek Mitri** - Dialogue Sub-unit

- **Dr James Mutambirwa** - PCR
- **Rev. Ofelia Ortega-Montoya** - PCR
- **Rev. Barney Pityana** - PCR
- **Mr Peter Williams** - Communication Department

South African Participants

- **Dr K. Mgojo** - SACC President, *Johannesburg*
- **Mrs V. Gcabashe** - SACC Vice President, *Johannesburg*
- **Archbishop R. Selby Taylor** - SACC Life President, *Kenilworth*
- **Bishop P. J. Storey** - SACC Honourary Vice President, *Johannesburg*
- **Rev. S. S. Masopha** - Paris Evangelical Church in Southern Africa, *Broadway*
- **Rev. S. Gillan** - Paris Evangelical Church in Southern Africa, *Broadway*
- **Prof. Charles Villa Vicencio** - Institute of Contextual Theology, *Braamfontein*
- **Rev. N. A. Apollis** - Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, *Wynberg*
- **Rev. H. R. Botman** - Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, *Wynberg*
- **Mrs A. Buys** - Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, *Wynberg*
- **Ms H. Mgabadeli** - Diakonia, *Durban*
- **Archbishop H. Ngada** - Federal Council of African Indigenous Churches, *Braamfontein*
- **Rev. A. Rodger** - Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, *Parkview*
- **Rev. G. Lubbe** - World Conference on Religion and Peace, *Pretoria*
- **Ms U. Satgoor** - World Conference on Religion and Peace, *Pretoria*
- **Mr E. Rasool** - World Conference on Religion and Peace, *Pretoria*
- **Ms C. Maroc** - World Conference on Religion and Peace, *Pretoria*
- **Rev. T. S. Mahlinza** - United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, *Marshalltown*
- **Rev. M. Arends** - United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, *Marshalltown*
- **Bishop M. S. Mogoba** - The Methodist Church of Southern Africa, *Durban*
- **The Rev. E. N. Baartman** - The Methodist Church of Southern Africa, *Durban*
- **Rev. C. M. Gape** - Botswana Christian Council, *Gaborone*
- **Bishop S. E. Serote** - Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, *Kimberley*
- **Bishop M. Buthelezi** - Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, *Kimberley*
- **Bishop Fortein** - Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, *Kimberley*
- **Ms J. T. Seroke** - World Affiliated Young Women's Christian Association, *Braamfontein*
- **Rev. Dr S. Govender**, *Plumstead*
- **Archbishop L. Henry** - South African Catholic Bishops Conference, *Pretoria*

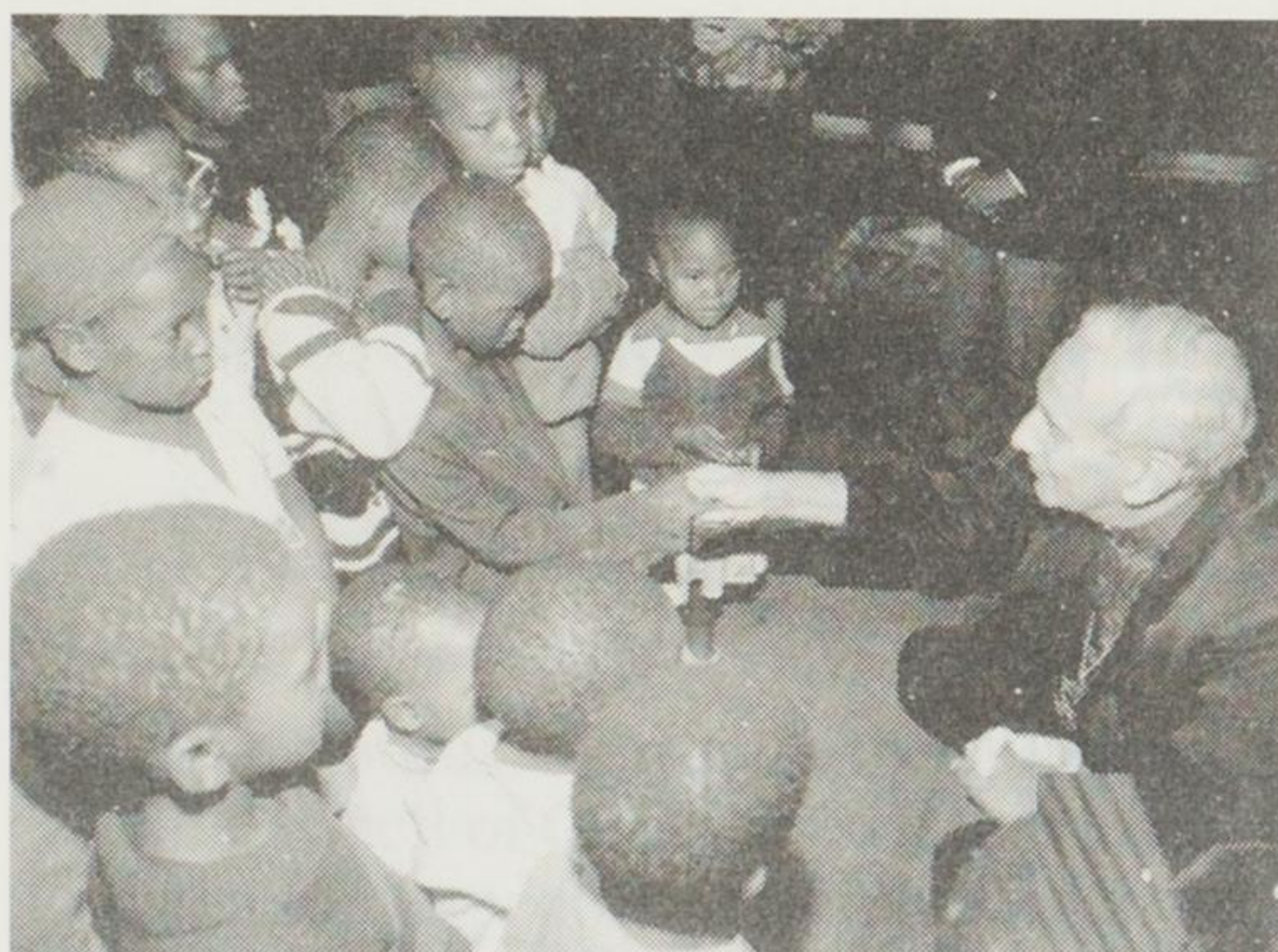
- **Rev. M. Sikhakhane** - Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre, *Plessislaer*
- **Ms J. Ngubane** - Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre, *Plessislaer*
- **Rev. L. H. Crotz** - Volkskerk van Afrika, *Mossel Bay*
- **Rev. S. Buti** - N. G. Kerk in Afrika, *Johannesburg*
- **Rev. W. M. L. Mazamisa** - N. G. Kerk in Afrika, *Johannesburg*
- **Rev. W. Cilliers** - N. G. Kerk in Afrika, *Johannesburg*
- **Dr B. Naudé** - Ecumenical Advice Bureau, *Braamfontein*
- **Rev. M. J. R. Wessels** - Moravian Church in the Western Cape Province, *Lansdowne*
- **Rev. B. Lottering** - Moravian Church in the Western Cape Province, *Lansdowne*
- **Rev. John Allen** - C.P.S.A., *Claremont*
- **Mr S. Chong** - C.P.S.A., *Claremont*
- **Rev. Molebatsi**, *Soweto*
- **Rev. G. Ningi** - Order of Ethiopia, *Athlone*
- **Rev. L. Siboto** - Order of Ethiopia, *Athlone*
- **Rev. S. Xapile** - Ref. Presbyterian Church, *Guguletu*
- **Rev. F. Graz** - Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa, *Bonaero Park*
- **Rev. C. Lazarus** - Natal Regional Cluster, *Durban*
- **Rev. S. G. Mabunda** - North Cape Orange Cluster, *Bethlehem*
- **Rev. Rudolph Meyer** - Transvaal Cluster, *Pretoria*
- **Bishop G. Quinlan** - C.P.S.A., *Newlands*
- **Mr D. House** - N.C.C., *Richmond*
- **Ms V. Pauquet** - N.C.C., *Richmond*
- **Rev. N. P. Uden**, *Benmore*
- **Prof. J. S. Els** - U.W.C., *Belleville*
- **Mr Bredekamp** - U.W.C., *Belleville*
- **Prof. M. J. Leeuw** - U.C.T. Religious Studies, *Rondebosch*
- **Mr David Field** - YMCA, *Pinelands*
- **Rev. Ivan Abrahams** - Mitchell's Plain, *Cape Town*
- **Rev. Courtney Sampson** - W.P.C.C., *Salt River*
- **Rev. Nico Smith**, *Silverton*
- **Rev. Linda Thomas** - U.C.T., *Rondebosch*

Panelists

- **Archbishop D. M. Tutu**
- **Sr Bulbring**
- **Ms T. Msane**
- **Bishop S. Mogoba**
- **Prof. Frances Wilson**

South African Council of Churches/Regional C.C. Staff

- **Rev. Dr Frank Chikane** - General Secretary
- **Ms Brigalia Bam** - Deputy General Secretary
- **Mr M. Dingiswayo**
- **Dr J. Lamola**
- **Ms J. Lawrence**
- **Mr M. Linda**
- **Ms D. Makau**
- **Ms M. Mxadana**
- **Mr W. Smith**
- **Ms L. Xingwana**
- **Mr S. Zondani**
- **Ms Maureen Edinberry**
- **Ms Elizabeth Schutter**
- **Rev. Bennie Witbooi**
- **Ms Alwina Coetze**
- **Ms Priscilla Bennett**



In the Edendale Kwa Khothe settlement camp, Dr Castro in earnest conversation with children.

The General Secretary, with SACC staffer Mary Mxadana and General Secretary Frank Chikane, visit Morris Isaacson High School, where the 1976 Soweto riot began.



At a meeting of Women in Durban the WCC team being welcomed by WCC Executive Committee member Mrs Virginia Gcabashe. Left to right Aruna Gnanadason (WCC Women's Desk), Ofelia Ortega (Ecumenical Theological Education), Dr Castro and Rev. N. Barney Pityana (PCR).

Leaving an ecumenical service at Regina Mundi Catholic Church, with Roman Catholic Bishop Zithulele P. Mvemve and Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.



Statement by Dr Emilio Castro and WCC Staff at the end of their visit to South Africa

We came to this country at the invitation of Christians who are members of the World Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches. We came to listen to the people of South Africa, especially those who have suffered under apartheid.

The World Council has always taken the position that racism is incompatible with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The apartheid system, and the attempt to use the Biblical faith to support that system, was and is for us a heretical attempt to sacralize racial injustice.

On our visit we have met with religious, political and community leaders. With our Christian sisters and brothers, we have worshipped in the townships and in the cities. We have been encouraged by the resilience of the women and men, who, in spite of years of oppression, have maintained their dignity and are steadfast in the pursuit of a just society.

We have visited the tin shacks of people who have no proper place to live because apartheid has taken away their land. We have prayed with persons whose bodies have been wounded by modern and traditional weapons. We have mourned with a mother and father whose daughter was murdered in Tokoza township.

While we have recognised the beginning of a change in society towards the goals of democracy and human rights, it is clear from what we have seen and heard that apartheid is still very alive in this country. Certain legislative pillars may have been removed, but the edifice of apartheid, regrettably still stands firm. If the sins of apartheid are to be removed from this beautiful country, then, amongst others, the following realities must be addressed.

From our biblical understanding of the sanctity of human life, we condemn most strongly the toleration of violence that exists in this country. We saw the devastation of violence and its effect upon the poor, especially women and children. We brought this concern to all political leaders. It is difficult for us to understand the inability of the security forces to impartially protect the lives and property of all citizens of this country.

We call upon all those responsible for the maintenance of peace to root out from whatever corner, including the police and security forces, all those who are using violence to obstruct the road towards democracy and human rights. We hope and pray that all parties will observe the spirit and letter of the recently signed National Peace Accord and will move positively towards the negotiation table.

Our Christian faith commits us to work for reconciliation and peace. But, there can be no reconciliation or peace without justice. To our sorrow, we have often heard the word reconciliation used without any sense of repentance or offer of restitution.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets (left to right) Joan Campbell-General Secretary NCCC-USA, Gabriel Habib-General Secretary Middle East Council of Churches and Dr Pennybacker WCC Office New York.

Justice demands that the economy be adjusted to meet the needs and rights of the poor and oppressed. Any concept of reconciliation that allows the injustice of the past to continue, or makes no attempt at restitution, will not result in peace. The issue of the return of land to persons who were moved by apartheid decree is of special concern.

We have found that sanctions have been and continue to be effective as one way of inducing positive change. During our discussions, we detected a mood that processes towards a strategic easing out of sanctions could now begin. In our consul-

tation with the South African churches we are facing these issues firmly and honestly. The result will be conveyed to you at the appropriate time.

We long to celebrate with you the end of apartheid and the beginning of a just, non-racial, non-sexist democratic society. For that day to come, all parts of society, including the churches, will need to work together in a spirit of openness and truth. We are thankful for the witness to God's justice that our member churches and many others have made in the past. The ecumenical family was privileged to stand with you then, and we pledge our prayers and continued support during these difficult days ahead.

Cape Town: 23 October 1991

Mr Aruna Gnanadesan
Women Sub-unit

Dr Derek Miller
Dialogue Sub-unit

Mr Jao Kok
Communications Department

Mr Peter Williams
Communication Department

Rev. John Evanson
Communication Department

Rev. Canon Clement Janda
CCIA

James Mutambirwa
PCR

Mary Balikengeri
PCR

List of WCC Staff who accompanied the General Secretary to South Africa

an end of your article by John Evenson

(reprinted from "One World" - December 1991)

Rev. Barney Pityana

PCR Director

Rev. Ofelia Ortega-Montoya

PETE

Rev. Dr Christopher Duraisingh

CWME

Ms Aruna Gnanadason

Women Sub-unit

Dr Tarek Mitri

Dialogue Sub-unit

Mr Jan Kok

Communication Department

Mr Peter Williams

Communication Department

Rev. John Evanson

Communication Department

Rev. Canon Clement Janda

CCIA

James Mutambirwa

PCR

Mary Balikungeri

PCR

“Listening and expressing Solidarity” an end of tour article by John Evenson

(reprinted from “One World” - December 1991)

A light but steady rain from the Indian Ocean was falling through the mist. We were at Kwakhothe, near Edendale, in the beautiful valleys of Natal.

Inside a deserted warehouse, three hundred refugees from another beautiful Natal town, Mooi River, were living, sleeping on the floor, charcoal fires glowing in the grey-dark afternoon.

Children were called in from outbuildings; and the refugees, mostly women, started singing a hymn. Members of the visiting delegation from the World

Council of Churches joined in, humming the tune, not knowing the Zulu words. WCC General Secretary Emilio Castro gathered the children around him. Through an interpreter he told them that God loved them and assured them that Christians all over the world were praying for them. We were there, he said, because we loved them as well.

The refugees were victims of the ongoing violence between followers of the homeland leader of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also heads the Inkatha Freedom Party, and members of the Zulu nation who support the African National Congress or are neutral.

The people we met had refused to join Inkatha; and in June they had fled to this church-supported centre. Now, in October, newspapers were daily telling the story of continuing killings and property destruction in Mooi River. The people at Kwakhothe were understandably afraid to go home.

Aruna Gnanadason, WCC Director of Women in Church and Society, talked with one of the refugee women.

“Everything has been taken away from me,” she was told, “my home, my job, my life as a woman.”

Here in Kwakhothe, as in many other places visited by the WCC team, women were bearing the burden of violence for their families and the community, trying to keep their society — even as refugees — together.

For part of the day, the WCC delegation had been followed around KwaZulu by an unmarked car.

We had driven from the seacoast city of Durban, through the rich white suburbs and the lush green hills of pineapple and sugar cane, into the valleys where thousands of people have died in political violence.

Castro had prayed with staff persons at an ecumenical retreat centre, and given a lecture at the University of Natal at Pietermaritzburg, where he met academics who are documenting the causes of the political fighting and studying ways of bringing a new non-racial society into being.

He and the WCC delegation met students at the Federal Theological Seminary, high on a hill overlooking Imbali, one of the communities torn apart by the political warfare.

It was as if all the complexities of this troubled land were illustrated during one day of the visit.

Beauty and violence, cries of despair and clear voices of faith. Men and women and children, living in squalor, but still with tremendous dignity, hoping for a future, asking why it hadn't come.

"Apartheid is not dead," we were told. We were in South Africa.

Enforced separation

After twenty-one years of enforced separation, the October visit to South Africa by a delegation of the World Council of Churches was both historic and fraught with possible misinterpretation.

State President F.W. de Klerk had initiated many changes, from the unbanning of the liberation movements to the repeal of most apartheid legislation.

But the people of South Africa were still denied access to the democratic process, and reports of politically inspired violence reached Geneva almost daily.

In its invitation, the South African Council of Churches had stressed that the visit was to be "an affirmative expression of the unity in Christ", long denied because of the South African government's refusal to grant visas to WCC officials.

It was not to be a visit celebrating the end of apartheid, because, the SACC insisted, "the structures of apartheid are still intact, and the misery of our people still calls the church to action".

Rather, it was to be a “pastoral visit”, with a mixed agenda of listening to the people and sharing in return the love and concern of the ecumenical movement.

For some, like Barney Pityana, director of the WCC’s Programme to Combat Racism, the visit was an official coming home to a place he had left many years before because of apartheid.

The government’s denial of travelling rights to the WCC was not without reason, of course. Founded in the aftermath of a world war whose racist roots were in the ideology of National Socialism, the Council took a strong stand against racism from its very inception.

Ironically, it was in 1948, the year the World Council held its first Assembly, that the Afrikaner-based National Party took power in South Africa and the tragic road of apartheid was begun.

As the WCC delegation travelled through the country in October, its members were reminded continually of Cottesloe, the 1960 ecumenical conference that has affected relations among churches within and outside of South Africa to this day.

After 1948, as legislation establishing racial segregation was passed in Cape Town and enforced from Pretoria, the response of churches inside South Africa was mixed.

The Dutch Reformed Churches actively supported and strengthened the apartheid system with racist interpretations of the Holy Scriptures.

Nonviolent protests against the pass laws, which restricted members of nonwhite races to carefully defined areas, were organized by political movements.

In March 1960, police fired on Blacks protesting in Sharpeville township in the Transvaal. Sixty-nine persons, many of them children, were killed; and the churches were shocked into action.

Many of the country’s English-speaking churches, led in argument by the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town, blamed the violence on apartheid and demanded that the Dutch Reformed Churches be expelled from the WCC.

The meeting at Cottesloe, near Johannesburg, between the member churches of the WCC in South Africa and a delegation from the WCC, led by its General Secretary Willem A. Visser ‘t Hooft, brought the issue to a head.

Although most Cottesloe participants, including some from the Dutch Reformed Churches, agreed to a concluding statement that stressed the Black majority’s rights to own land, to equal work opportunities, education and to participation in

government, the reaction of the government and the Dutch Reformed leadership was swift and damning.

With the exception of C.F. Beyers Naudé, the Dutch Reformed participants retracted their consent to the Cottesloe declaration. Within months, the Dutch Reformed churches withdrew from the WCC.

In 1970 Visser 't Hooft's successor, Eugene Carson Blake, visited South Africa for further discussions. But after his visit, when the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism decided on humanitarian grants to liberation movements in southern Africa, the government barred all visits by WCC staff to the country.

During the intervening years, both the World Council's support for economic and other sanctions as a means for peaceful change and its continued humanitarian aid to liberation movements elicited castigation and hostility from the South African government and, it must be admitted, many Christians within and outside the ecumenical movement.

A variety of encounters

One of Castro's first appointments, after visits to the Black township of Soweto, was to travel to Pretoria to meet President de Klerk.

Joined by Pityana and by Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, the two men talked for an hour.

At the beginning of the meeting, Castro said later, they paused and just looked at each other. "He symbolizes the history of apartheid that we have been combating, and I symbolize the attitude of the churches throughout the world which his government has conceived as 'communist'."

According to Castro, they then smiled at each other and got down to the substance of their differences.

Later the same day, Castro and the WCC delegation met with African National Congress President Nelson Mandela.

During the trip they also met with Pan African Congress President Clarence Makwetu, officials of the Azanian Peoples Organization and with Chief Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Both de Klerk and Mandela spoke highly of the role of the churches. Mandela referred to the solidarity long shown by the ecumenical movement; de Klerk talked about the mediating role church leaders are playing in bringing different political parties together to quell the violence.

While both leaders agreed that violence could not be tolerated, Dr Castro said the two disagreed radically in their interpretation of what is being done to halt the violence.

Continuing violence

Throughout the visit the WCC delegation heard accusations that South African police are involved in the violence, most of them usually taking the side of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

There have also been revelations in court trials, and in other documents, of the existence of a “third force” of police and army security personnel involved in covert assassinations and massacres, primarily against ANC officials.

De Klerk has denied any government involvement, but church leaders have presented him with proof that has not been factually refuted.

According to Castro, the State President called for an appreciation of the difficult conditions under which the police do their work.

Mandela was convinced that more could be done to control what “looks like technically planned and orchestrated violence with political aims”.

The often-stated view of South African whites, shared by many in Europe and North America, is that President de Klerk has done away with apartheid, and that it is now the responsibility of the country’s majority to stop killing each other so that a new future can unfold.

Clearly, the churches of the country are calling for an end to the violence. Castro raised this issue with every political leader to whom he spoke, calling on them to honour the National Peace Accord signed on 14 September.

But the issue of government-inspired violence, whether intended to derail the necessary negotiations towards majority rule or to frighten people from freely exercising their right to join the political party of their choice, has not been laid to rest.

The night of the meeting with the State President, the team visited Tokoza, the most violent township in the Johannesburg area.

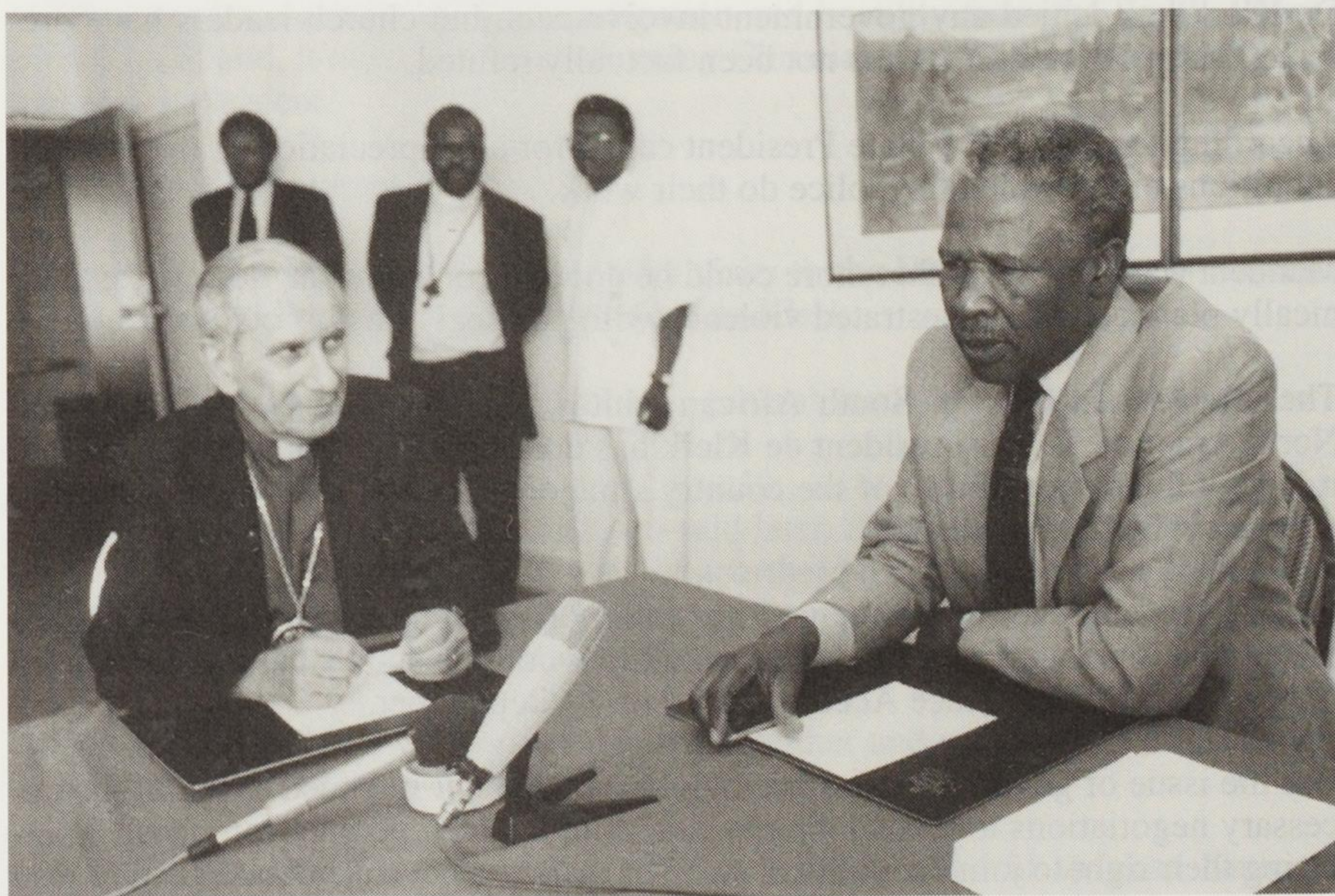
There, in Ntalspruit Hospital, they prayed with men who had been wounded days before by both modern and “traditional” weapons.

Police had stood by as hostel-dwellers from Inkatha attacked persons returning from a funeral for Sam Ntuli, an ANC official who had been assassinated.

Even more moving was a visit in the growing darkness to the home of Elisabeth Maja, a 47-year-old widow who was killed by gunmen in an unmarked car during the same funeral march.

With Chikane, the overseas visitors sang “Sen, Senima?” — “What have we done?” — with Elisabeth Maja’s elderly parents and prayed with them for God’s comfort.

As Archbishop Desmond Tutu told the group in Cape Town, “It is incredible! The police, who could ferret out people brought into the country secretly, who knew whom you were speaking to, and could give you chapter and verse, now have suddenly become so inept that even when they are on the scene people have the opportunity to shoot and kill without being arrested.”



Dr Castro meets with Mr Clarence Makwetu, President of PAC.

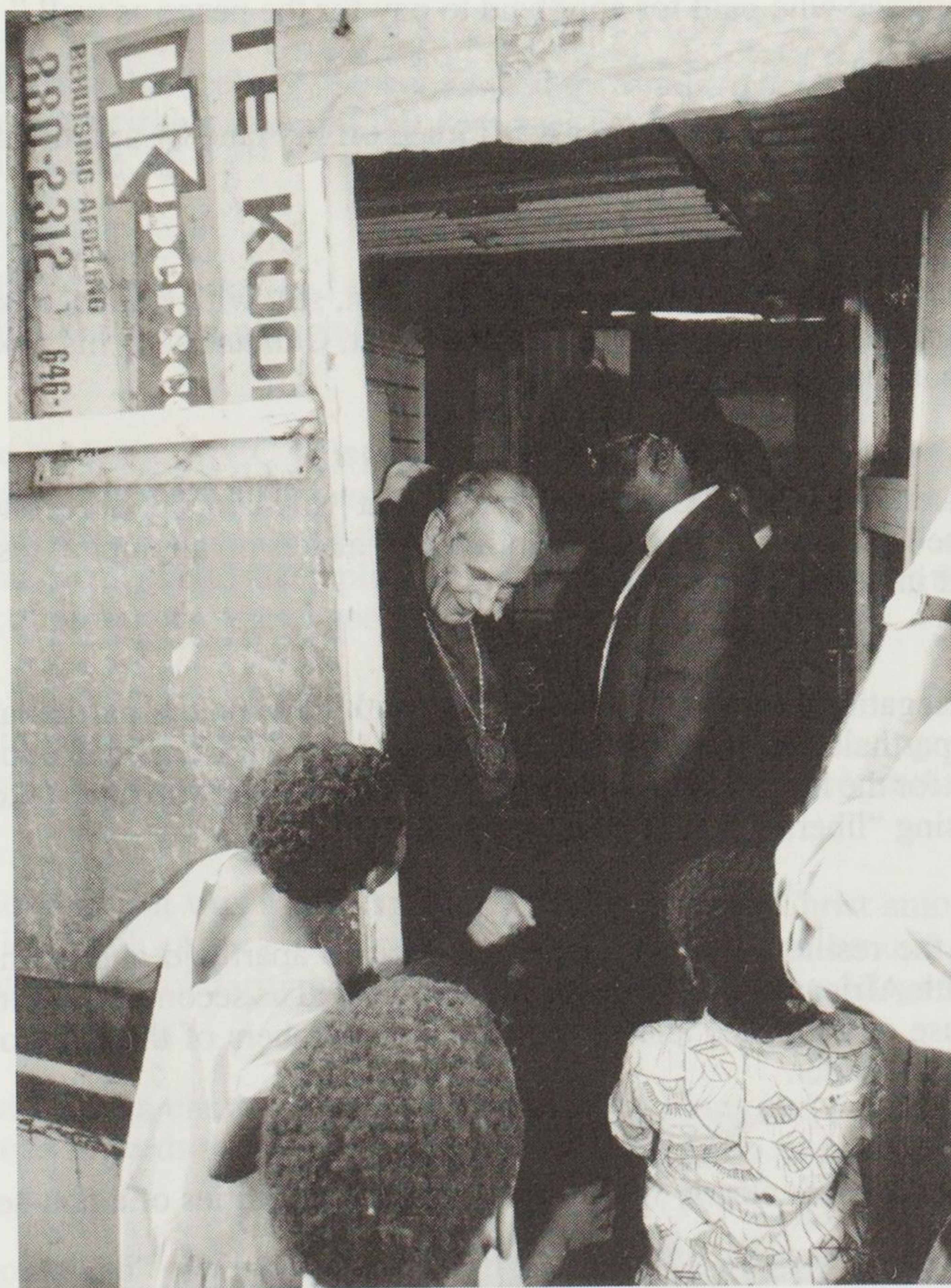
It is hoped that the National Peace Accord will begin to have an effect, with a mechanism being set up to enforce a code of conduct for the police and the political parties.

Stanley Mokoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, is the vice chairman of the new structure; and church leaders like Chikane and Tutu played an important role in getting all parties to the signing table.

But Chikane pointed out that the accord does not solve the problem of covert violence by “unknown persons” — the category of the “third force”.

If the climate of violence can be changed, then one obstacle will be removed towards setting up mechanisms for free and fair, one-person-one-vote elections.

Mandela asked the churches to consider hosting an all-party conference that would start the process. Clearly the churches will be challenged to play an active role in monitoring and challenging politicians on human rights standards in the coming days.



Dr Castro in Chicken Farm, one of Soweto's many shanty towns.

Reconciliation

A major task facing the churches will be helping society to understand the meaning of reconciliation, a term much used by whites to mean, "We're sorry, forgive us, but don't expect to get anything in return except the right to vote."

As Castro told a caller on a phone-in radio programme, "You cannot expect the poor and oppressed who paid for apartheid to pay for the peace as well."

Chikane put it concretely. His mother was forced off her land by apartheid legislation that designated her home a white area.

Now the land lies fallow, owned by the government, still with fruit trees she planted many years ago. Until her land is returned to her, Chikane said, his mother will not believe that apartheid is over.

In its final statement, the WCC delegation said that "any concept of reconciliation that allows the injustice of the past to continue, or makes no attempt at restitution, will not result in peace".

The WCC delegation heard how women and youth have paid a particularly high price under apartheid. Castro urged the churches to press for remedial educational opportunities for the hundreds of thousands of young people who have taken to the streets, choosing "liberation first, then education".

He spoke of the resilience of women in the face of apartheid and of the angry voices of South African church women who are treated as second-class citizens in society because of their race and as second-class members of the body of Christ because of their gender.

South African churches clearly must "open up the possibilities of a non-sexist society".

Sanctions

During the visit, Japan announced that it was lifting all sanctions against South Africa. The government and newspapers were ecstatic.

Castro said it was clear that sanctions had assisted in bringing about the possibility of change.

He noted wryly that the newspapers, owned by South Africa's large corporations, were reacting as if the "dream days were here because Japan is going to sell more Toyotas in South Africa".

In fact, the delegation learned that the biggest disinvestor from South Africa had been South Africa's own mining, finance and insurance companies.

As in the past, the WCC delegation listened carefully to the advice of South African church leaders on the issue. At the close of the visit, a consultation among SACC members and ecumenical officials from around the world decided that while some changes had taken place, the churches' "firm belief" was that "the time of lifting of all sanctions had not yet come".

For that to happen, "violence must be controlled, there must be agreement on a transitional government and a commitment to a democratic constitution."

In the end, the visit was a reaffirmation of faith in Jesus Christ among men and women in South Africa and their brothers and sisters around the world. Appreciation for "solidarity in Christ" was heard often by the delegation.

But the visits with church leaders, grassroots Christians and politicians revealed that the road towards the true end of apartheid will not be an easy journey.

In the "homeland" of Ciskei, the WCC team visited Fort Hare, a black university started by Scottish missionaries but taken over by the government through "bantustan" legislation.

A military coup in Ciskei opened a window of opportunity for Fort Hare to remove the apartheid administration and resume its roots with the people of the area.

A Lutheran layman, Sibusiso Bengu, became vice chancellor and rector, and Anglican Oliver Tambo became chancellor.

Within ten days of the visit, the new military dictator of Ciskei clamped down on all political activity in the homeland with a brutal "state of emergency".

The violence, the homeland dictators and their security police, the forces against equality in the present minority government headed by F.W. de Klerk, the far right wing, poverty and many other factors make the coming days and years uncertain for the people of South Africa.

But, as the WCC delegation said as it left for home, "We are thankful for the witness to God's justice that our member churches and many others have made in the past.

"The ecumenical family was privileged to stand with you then, and we pledge our prayers and continued support during these difficult days ahead."

John A. Evenson

John A. Evenson, a Lutheran pastor, directs Southern Africa Church News, an ecumenical news agency working with SACC and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference. He served as a co-opted staff member with responsibilities for communication during the WCC delegation's visit to South Africa.

South Africa - strong woman, brave woman

by Aruna Gnanadason

South Africa - strong woman, brave woman - your name evokes images of
prosperity.
And yet...one country, two worlds - one which wallows in plenty, the other
violence torn and worn out.
Jacaranda trees in bloom, line beautifully laid roads and spacious,
well equipped schools,
Neatly mowed lawns, with white fences to keep the Africans out of white
suburbs.
And in the black townships and homelands - sometimes slushy pathways,
sometimes no electricity,
Sometimes the laughter of bare-footed children playing on the roadside,
when not in overcrowded "bantu" schools.
Violence steals your beauty, apartheid your wealth,
As the African struggle for freedom and dignity is foiled
By laws and guns and by police and army engineered wars between political
groups.
But what we hear the loudest are the songs for liberation
for justice
for the death of apartheid
for a new way of life.
South Africa, strong woman, brave woman, your power gives us hope.
Thoko, strong woman, brave woman - your name evokes images of joy.
And yet, your eyes speak of pain and suffering - violence scarred and
brutalised.
But they also shine with the spark of resistance and of resilience,
Of the struggle for life for your family and for yourself.
Political strife tears you from the comfort of your home,
Deprives you of your role as mother of your community.
Torn from your work, your livelihood in the township near River Mooi.
Thrown into a displacement centre, forced into a new environment.
Your vulnerability, the only symbol of your power.
The future can be hope-filled, you tell us -
only if apartheid is overthrown
only if the present government steps down,
only if Inkatha is unarmed, and
only if the police force is controlled.
Thoko, strong woman, brave woman - your power gives us hope.
Lulu, strong woman, brave woman - your name evokes images of endurance.

The struggle of women in your church continues, as you strive for
the acceptance of women's new visions.
A church sadly divided, not only along doctrinal but also along race lines.
But women are also divided by apartheid, unable to meet together and pray
together, with pain in your heart, you lament.
Apartheid will be overcome, a new non-racist and gender equal constitution
can be found
But deeply ingrained attitudes of racism and of sexism, can they be erased?
Meanwhile, reports of sexual violence on the Cape Town campus, fill the
newspapers as they fill women with rage.
The demand is for affirmative action, and mechanisms and clauses
in laws, to ensure genuine equality.
Women tell the world that a new reality can be realised, only when
justice for women is also won.
In townships, in homelands, everywhere is heard the determined and urgent
cry for a new South Africa,
for a just and equal social order,
for a society beyond apartheid,
For forgiveness and restitution to go hand in hand.
For the birthing of new possibilities, for the whole world to learn from.
South Africa, strong woman, brave woman, your power gives us hope,



During the Ecumenical Service at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church, Soweto.

