**APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA: CALVIN'S LEGACY?**

by [Blake Williams](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/Vol3.htm#Blake%20Williams)

     Apartheid may be defined as an institutionalized form of racial segregation that exists in South Africa. Evolving over many years, apartheid became a reality in 1948 when the ruling right-wing National party instituted apartheid as a guise to stop the spread of communism in the region.[(1)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_1)

     Actually, apartheid came about to protect the white status quo from being eventually ousted from power by the non-white majority. Racist sentiments are deeply ingrained in the minds of the ruling whites. How did these sentiments become so ingrained that a racist society resulted in South Africa? One answer to this question must rest with the social impact that religion had upon South African society, in particular, the strict Calvinistic theology of the early European settlers. These settlers came to be known as the Afrikaners or Boers.[(2)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_2)

     Afrikaner Calvinism, though theologically similar to European Calvinism, differed from its European counterpart in that it helped ultimately to create an ultra-conservative society. European Calvinism became much more liberalized during the Enlightenment. On the other hand, South African Calvinists were isolated and, thus, were not affected by the cross-currents of change which occurred elsewhere. Afrikaner Calvinism, therefore, matured in somewhat of a cultural vacuum.

     This variance between the two forms of Calvinism may be attributed to the three major factors that set Afrikaner Calvinism apart from its European counterpart. Perhaps the major factor involves the Boer peoples's relative isolation from new ideas pertaining to Calvinistic theology. This was a direct result of their geographical separation from the liberalizing influences that the Enlightenment had upon the European Calvinists.[(3)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_3) The second equally important component was the long series of conflicts with the Bantu tribe and other indigenous peoples of this region.[(4)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_4) These conflicts brought about the need for an orthodox position toward the natives who were viewed as a threat both physically and culturally. This was not the case in Europe where most people were of the Caucasian race. The last significant consideration to be discussed involves the assumption, by the Boers, that they were a chosen people of God, as opposed to the European Calvinistic belief of an individual calling from God.[(5)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_5)

     To comprehend these concepts further, a brief summary of some of the major tenets of Calvinism is necessary. The main assumptions of Calvin's theology that affected both Europeans and the South African Boers alike were the view of the sovereignty of God, the preeminence and authority of the Bible, and the doctrine of predestination.[(6)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_6)

     To adherents of Calvinism, ". . .God did not exist for man, but men for the sake of God."[(7)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_7) God was personally involved in all aspects of life. He caused everything to happen in the universe, no matter how large or small the event. "For Calvinism it was impossible for a leaf to fall or a decision to be formed without the express command of the deity...."[(8)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_8) Calvinism thus set forward a belief system in which the omnipotence of God was the preeminent view. This is most important in understanding the Calvinist mind, in which a sense of fatalism permeated, because to them God had foreordained all matters and was personally involved in all aspects of life.

     The second factor prevalent in Calvinist theology dealt with Biblical authority. To Calvinists, Holy Scripture revealed the true and only nature of God. Calvin, like Martin Luther, was instrumental in placing final authority with the scriptures instead of with the church and many of its traditions.[(9)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_9) This attitude toward scripture became manifest in an ultra-literal interpretation of the Bible by many early Calvinists. The early Dutch and French settlers of South Africa were Calvinists who believed that the Holy Bible, especially the Old Testament, revealed the one true and living God. This belief is a most important factor in understanding the Boer society and its legacy, apartheid.

     The last major tenet of Calvinist theology to be discussed involves its view of predestination. According to Calvin,

**...** for they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore being created for one or the other of these ends, we say, he is predestined either to life or death.[(10)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_10)

In addition to this belief, Calvin asserted that no matter how far an elect person strayed from God, he always would come back to Him at the appointed time.[(11)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_11) This is the concept of irresistible grace, and it, along with predestination, played a key role in the formation of the Calvinist mind set.

     How did these aspects of Calvinist thought play such a big role in the formation of a new society in South Africa? Who were these folk who became known as the Afrikaners?

From approximately 1690 to 1835, elements from Holland, Germany, France, and other countries mixed on South Africa soil and grew into a separate group or community who felt that they were a group apart from the Dutch East India Company or its officials.[(12)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_12)

A new nationality was being forged in southern Africa.

     These various peoples gradually evolved over time into a cohesive group who came to speak a new language known as Afrikaans. This language was an amalgamation of the various tongues of Europe and Africa, and further separated the Boers from their native lands. The Afrikaners also came to share the same faith, the Dutch Reformed variety of Calvinism. Along with a holding common language and faith, the Afrikaner or Boer peoples were nearly all engaged in a pastoral lifestyle which caused them to identify with the Israelites of old who were also pastoralists.[(13)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_13)

     Since the Afrikaners were in an isolated corner of the world at that time, their type of theology never genuinely underwent the changes that affected Calvinists in Europe. The Enlightenment had a liberalizing effect on both European society and theology alike. As a result of this trend, many European Calvinists began to interpret their economic success as the result of God's favor.[(14)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_14)

     As already noted, the Calvinist mind was one that adhered to a theology of predestination. Since this is a fatalistic viewpoint, whereby salvation cannot actually be assured, it was logical for these people to equate success with being in God's esteem, and thus included in His foreordained elect few.[(15)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_15)

     Afrikaner theology, on the other hand, became much more restrictive. In Europe, salvation was an individual matter, but in South Africa it became an aggregate course for the Boer people. This differentiation may be attributed to the one factor not found in Europe, difference in skin color.

In general, the Calvinist dichotomy between the chosen and the damned, those elected and those not, according to the predestined role, provided these early Afrikaners with an appropriate conceptual scheme for the interracial circumstances of the frontier.[(16)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_16)

     Another reason why the Afrikaners never developed theologically and socially as did the Europeans rests with their predominant emphasis on the Old Testament. In many instances, the Bible was the only book owned by the Boer settlers, so its influence was paramount. An example of this impact can be seen in that the "... churches were few and far between, but the Old Testament from which their initial Calvinism had been drawn now provided a manual of behavior entirely suited to the frontier Boers."[(17)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_17) Afrikaner theology and society became very legalistic and harsh because of their emphasis on the Old Testament's codes of behavior such as the widely-known Biblical statement "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Thus, the Afrikaners began to identify with the Israelites of old.

     An additional example of the Boers preoccupation with the Old Testament may be seen in historian Heribert Adam's statement that "... the backward Boers who, in an isolated corner of the world, missed the Enlightenment by being exposed only to the Old Testament rather than Voltaire."[(18)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_18) Afrikaner society became very rigid in its structure because of their obsession with the Old Testament.

     The second factor that differentiated Afrikaner Calvinism from its European counterpart involves the long series of conflicts with the native peoples of this area. The Boers perceived themselves as threatened both physically and culturally by the indigenous peoples of South Africa. These confrontations provided widespread support of the theory that if only some men are predestined to salvation, then they must naturally be the "superior" white Christians--not the pagan black and colored (those who were not of the Negro race) peoples of Africa.[(19)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_19)

     In Europe, however, there was no such sharp racial distinctions as existed in South Africa. This helps to explain why some European Calvinists focused on economic success as an outward sign that they were among the elect of God. Salvation was an individual matter to the European, and tended to be a constant source of anxiety since one could never be absolutely certain of his own salvation if one subscribed to the belief that only some were elected.[(20)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_20)

     The image of those indigenous peoples of South Africa as savages was one that was cultivated on both continents, but was not an idea peculiar to the Boers. As early as 1521, Johan Boemus, a German Hebrew scholar, argued that all barbarous peoples were descendants of Ham.[(21)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_21) The descendants of Noah's son were cursed to be "... perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water and... therefore are properly treated by open coercion."[(22)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_22) While this belief was commonplace on both continents, only in South Africa did it become a reality.

     As many Boers left the coastal areas to settle to the north, open coercion of the Africans led to warfare. This movement, which started in 1836, was called the Great Trek, and to many Afrikaners it was considered to be the most important event in South African history. The Boer people left the southern region of South Africa after large groups of English settlers came into the area. The British were viewed as too liberal in their attitude toward the natives, but more importantly, they were Anglican. These Church of England adherents were viewed by the fundamentalist Afrikaners as threats to their Calvinistic point of view, so the Boers chose to leave rather than mix with the British.[(23)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_23)

     Coincidentally, a great southward migration of black Bantu tribes occurred at nearly the same time as the Great Trek. With this unified movement of Boers to the north, there arose a feeling among them that they were retracing the Biblical account of the Exodus into the promised land. The Boers also came to view the Bantu as like those tribes spoken of in the Biblical account of the conquest of Canaan, so the Boers chose to eradicate the indigenous peoples as had the Israelites [(24)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_24)

     The Great Trek proved to be the unifying movement that created the bond necessary to defeat the Bantu tribes. Since the non-whites were obviously damned, according to the Afrikaners interpretation of Calvinism, the natives must naturally take a subservient role in society. After long conflicts with the Boers, the native tribes were in fact relegated to a position of subordination to the Boers. Apartheid had its beginning during this time period.[(25)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_25)

     Thus, Afrikaner Calvinism provided the vehicle whereby salvation became a collective process for the Boer peoples. The primary basis for this supposition lies with the assumption that the Afrikaners were threatened by the native peoples as they came into contact with them. Noticing their physical differences from the black Bantu and coloured Hottentot (who are not Negro) peoples, the Boers developed an ultra-restrictive or literal interpretation of the Old Testament in order to justify their treatment of those people who they considered to be inferior. The Boer people thus clung to a primitive form of Calvinism as opposed to their European counterparts, whose belief system evolved and became more liberalized.[(26)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_26)

     The final and major difference between Afrikaner and European Calvinism rests with the Boers who claimed to be a chosen people of God.[(27)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_27)

The Afrikaners saw in their own lives reflected in the Chronicles and Exodus of the Old Testament and, like the Hebrew tribes, came to feel that theirs was a special destiny. Like the ancient Israelites, the Afrikaners were patriarchal and semi-nomadic pastoralists, wandering in a harsh environment, and they too developed a sense of mission as representatives of the true Faith in confrontation with hostile disbelievers. Because of this Biblical identification, the Old Testament became a virtual manual of behavior as the Afrikaners moved increasingly away from the theological guidance of the organized church.[(28)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_28)

     An illustration of the Boer belief that they were the chosen people of God can be seen in the following passage,

... the Nylstroon (Nile River), a small river in the Transvaal, was thought to be the Nile, and the ancient ruins in the Israelitishe kloof (canyon of the Israelites) were believed to have been left by the Hebrew tribes during the wanderings.[(29)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_29)

     Thus, this concept of themselves as a chosen people of God became deeply ingrained. The Boers actually believed that they were the heirs of the Covenant with God as described in the Old Testament.

     Another example of why the Afrikaners believed that they were the chosen people of God rests with their conviction that God had personally taken a direct hand in shaping their society.[(30)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_30) This can also explain how the Boers collectively justified slavery, harsh treatment of blacks, and later, the social realization of discrimination, apartheid.

     In Europe, there was among the Calvinists no real concept of a chosen people as was the case in South Africa. European Calvinists were located in the various countries throughout the continent. The Europeans held to their belief of an individual calling from God. Since to the European adherents of Calvinism, no one could really know if he was one of the elect, efficient work in one's position in society could be seen as the readiest means of assuring salvation.[(31)](http://www.ucumberlands.edu/academics/history/files/vol3/BlakeWilliams91.htm#BlakeWilliams91_31) Calvinism thus bred an individualistic society upon the European continent, as opposed to the group consciousness that arose in South Africa.

     On the other hand, the Afrikaner peoples really saw themselves as a group who were the chosen people of God and extended this supposition to include the belief that their society was sanctified by God. Traditional behavior, attitudes, values, and institutions became moral imperatives in Afrikaner society as a result of these assumptions. Unlike the Boers, other European Calvinists did not develop these theories because their society and theology were not closed. Though both cultures believed in the basic tenets of Calvinism, they differed in their interpretations and in the secular implications relative to those interpretations.

     In conclusion, Afrikaner Calvinism kept to its primitive roots because the liberalizing influences of the European Enlightenment were not able to reach the isolated Boer peoples in South Africa. As a direct result of the dominant Old Testament theology, there arose the belief that the Afrikaners were superior to the "obviously damned" Bantu and other indigenous peoples such as the Hottentots and the Bushmen. Through a long series of conflicts with these natives, a bond arose within the Boer society whereby they claimed to be a sanctified, chosen people of God. These factors caused Afrikaner Calvinism, though theologically similar to European Calvinism, to affect Boer society much differently than was the case among their counterparts in Europe. Thus, with these considerations in mind, apartheid may be viewed as a by-product of the strict-Calvinistic theology of the European settlers who came to be known as Afrikaners or Boers.

**ENDNOTES**

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25. Van Jaarsveld, Afrikaner Nationalism, 22-24.

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27. Stokes, "Afrikaner Calvinism," 73-74.

28. Ibid, 75.

29. Stokes, "Afrikaner Calvinism," 74.

30. Ibid, 73.

31. Kemper Fullerton, "Calvinism and Capitalism," The Harvard Theological Review 21 (February 1928): 18-19.

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**CHRISTIANITY AND APARTHEID:**

An Introductory Bibliography

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**INTRODUCTION**

South Africa is in the news, and Christians are called upon to explain the relationship between Christianity and *apartheid.* Critics of *apartheid* often blame Christians for its existence claiming that racial oppression in South Africa is the fruit of Christianity. How are Christians to respond?

This annotated bibliography is an attempt to remind the Christian community that the question of the relationship between Christianity and apartheid is hardly new, that already a large literature exists dealing with the subject. It is written in the hope that Christians who are truly concerned about South Africa will pause before rushing into print and will acknowledge the work of others before them. It is also written to draw the attention of the Christian community to writers who have al ready struggled with what is one of the most pressing issues of today.

**II BASIC WORKS ON SOUTH AFRICA**

Few people have the time to study the South African situation in detail. They therefore need to know where to find up-to-date and reliable materials that will give them an overall picture. A good place to begin is Leo Marquard’s *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa* (fourth edition. London: Oxford University Press. 1969). This is a comprehensive introduction to South African issues written by a well known liberal Afrikaner who exhibits great understanding of all the peoples of Southern Africa. The 1)00k begins with an historical introduction followed chapters dealing with race relations. politics. education, religion ,and other issues. In discussing religion. Marquard concentrates on the attitudes of white churches towards apartheid and succeeds in giving the reader the feel of Afrikaner Calvinism.

A rarer, more scholarly, but less comprehensive book is Leonard M. Thompson’s *Politics in the Republic of South Africa* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966). Written by a leading South African historian, the book uses the latest interpretations of South African history as well as the tools of modern political anlysis. At a more popular level, G.H.L. le May’s *Black and Whe in South Africa* (Poulton: Purnel and Sons, 1971) provides a superbly illustrated and easily read introduction to South African affairs. For those who want to hear the South African ease as stated by a supporter of apartheid, David de Villiers’ *The Case for South Africa* (London: Tom Stacey Ltd., 1970) is an excellent introduction.

The independent South African Institute of Race Relations published a short booklet compiled by Muriel Horrell, *South Africa: Basic Facts and Figures* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1973). This is invaluable for quick, reliable information about modern South Africa. In addition, the Institute publishes an annual *Survey of Race Relations* (S.A.I.R.R., Johannesburg), also compiled by Muriel Horrell and the research staff of the Institute. This is indispensable for anyone seriously interested in keeping up to date with events in South Africa. It contains information about trends, wages, conditions of employment, political developments, religious affairs, and a host of other issues as they verge on race relations. The approach taken in the *Survey* is to preserve the strictest neutrality by presenting well-documented facts while leaving their interpretation to the reader. The South African Government publishes an *Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa* (Perskor, Johannesburg). This appears In alternate years in English and Afrikaans and contains a host of statistics, diagrams, and other valuable information, including official interpretations of events in South Africa. Finally, Edgar B. Brookes’ *Apartheid; A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968) is a useful source for documentary evidence of the development of apartheid and reactions to it within South Africa.

Two books which place the South African situation in a theological context are Ernie Regehr’s *Perceptions of Apartheid* (Kitehener, Ont.:Between the Lines, 1979) and John W. de Gruchy’s *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979). Regehr’s work contains a vast amount of information about South African society and the role of the churches in it. It enables the reader to cover a lot of ground quickly in its highlighting of significant movements and events. However, it lacks the depth of John de Gruchy’s *The Church Struggle in South Africa,* Dc Gruchy writes as a church historian who has been deeply involved in many of the events he records. As a result he brings to his book an understanding of the situation which is missing from most hooks about religion and society in South Africa. Although more narrowly conceived than Regehr’s book, de Gruchys is less confusing because of its concentration on church history and more valuable for Christians wishing to gain an insight into the way South Africans think. The books supplement each other and go a long way towards meeting a very real need for reliable information about the reaction of Christians to the system of apartheid.

III CHRISTIANITY AND RACE RELATIONS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SOUTH AFRICA

Books dealing with race relations in South Africa are legion. Those examining the relationship between Christianity and apartheid in any detail are much fewer. These latter works may be conveniently considered in the following groups: (a) those containing position statements by churches or church-related organizations; (b) works by leading South African theologians; and (c) books originating outside of South Africa but written from a Christian perspective. But before looking at any of these, we should consider three books by committed evangelicals which treat the question of race relations generally.

The best known of those is *All One in Christ,* edited by Patrick Sookhdeo (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1974). This work approaches a variety of questions relating to race relations from an evangelical perspective. It contains ten lively chapters, three of which have a direct bearing upon South African issues. These chapters are Geoffrey Grogan’s “The Biblical Doctrine of Race”; David Bronnert’s “A History of the Church’s Attitude to Race”; and David Truby’s “InterRacial Marriage.” Both Grogan and Truby deal in a interesting way with crucial biblical texts while Bronnert sets the whole discussion in an historical context.

A lesser known work, which goes into far deeper biblical exegesis, is Herbert Oliver’s *No Flesh Shall Glory* (Nutley, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1959). This book is of particular interest because it is written by a black American Calvinist. Oliver argues out of a deep respect for, and knowledge of, the Reformed faith and has a burning desire to show that Christianity and all forms of racial prejudice are incompatible. A particular valuable feature of this book is its discussion of various theological views and the interpretation of leading theologians. By implication the book also discusses issues arising from nationalism as well as from racism.

Another Calvinist writer to tackle this issue is James Oliver Buswell in his book *Slavery, Segregation and Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964). This book is divided into two sections. In Part One Buswell discusses the issue of slavery, and in Part Two he discusses segregation. Buswell gives a lucid and well- documented account of pro-slavery arguments, considering in some detail the claim that Negroes are not fully human, He goes on to sympathetically treat the dilemma of Christian slave owners and the activities of Christian opponents of slavery. Against the background of these attitudes, Buswell goes on to discuss segregation, which he argues must be seen in the light of both slavery and the social disruption created by the slave system. Like Oliver he sees racial questions as not simply issues of color but as arguments about the right of one group of men to dominate and subdue another. He forcibly argues that such domination is totally opposed to the teachings of the Gospel and completely unscriptural. At the end of his book Buswell provides an excellent bibliography allowing the reader to pursue his arguments in greater detail.

A Dutch Calvinist view of racism is to be found in Johannes Verkuyl’s *Break Down the Walls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973). It begins with a stimulating discussion of race and the biblical understanding of racial differences. It then places modern racism in the context of Western imperialism and discusses in general the response of churches to racism. In his final section Verkuyl discusses the South African situation at length and the role of Christian churches in combating apartheid. This is a provocative, carefully argued work by a controversial theologian who has been closely involved with the South African situation over a number of years.

One of the first books to discuss the specific question of Christianity and apartheid was *Christian Principles in Multi-Racial South Africa* (Pretoria: Dutch Reformed Church Publisher, 1953). This is a collection of papers delivered at a church conference held in Pretoria in 1953 which involved leading Dutch Reformed theologians and church leaders from other Christian traditions in South Africa. The aim of the conference was to find a common Christian approach to racial issues. It contains important and enlightening essays and is certainly the place where any serious study of Christianity and apartheid must begin.

This volume opens with a most moving essay by B.B. Keet in which he bares his heart as an Afrikaner seeking a truly Christian understanding of social reality in South Africa. But if Keet rejected apartheid as a Christian option, other theologians did not, and their case is well stated in essays by C.B. Brink, M.W. Retief, and T.N. Hanekom. Closing the volume are thirty-five pages of discussion which further illumine the issues and offer insight into the thinking of South African Christians on race.

In 1954 another conference of church leaders from various churches was held in Johannesburg, which led in 1955 to the publication of *God’s Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa* (Johannesburg: Voortrekers). In tone these papers are more generalized than those delivered at the Pretoria conference. Although they contain much implicit criticism of government policies, the papers on both sides of the issue lack bite. Nevertheless, the report contains some valuable remarks on racial issues generally and interesting interpretations of biblical texts.

In 1958, David Paton published *Church and Race in South Africa* (London: S.C.M.). This collection of documents relating to the development of the policies of the Nationalist Government in South Africa contains many valuable items. In particular, it reprints extracts from a report by the ad hoc Commission on Race Relations of the Dutch Reformed Church, as well as a long, extract from a lecture by Professor B.B. Keet in which he criticizes apartheid as unchristian.

A significant step forward in Christian criticism of apartheid was taken with the publication of *Delayed Action* (Pretoria: NC. Kerkboekhandel, 1960) by Professor AS. Geyser and ten other leading Afrikaner churchmen. This work, which led to heresy trials against its authors and the foundation of the Christian Institute, roundly denounced apartheid as anti-Christian. So great was the potential impact among Afrikaners that in his New Year’s message Dr. H. Verwoerd, then Prime Minister, warned members of the ruling National Party that it was being attacked by “enemies within.” But Verwoerd need not have worried, because external events overtook South African developments, and the tragedy of the Congo unified white support for apartheid.

Shortly after the publication of *Delayed Action,* the *Cottesloe Consultation* (Johannesburg: Transvaal Printing Co., 1961) report was published. The Cottesloe Consultation was a conference of leading South African churchmen organized by the World Council of Churches and held in the Cottesloe district of Johannesburg in December 1960. At this highly significant meeting, church leaders from all major Christian traditions met for the last time trying to reach a common policy on racial issues. The attempt was almost successful, and the report is remarkable for the extent of agreement reached between Nationalist and non-Nationalist theologians. Still, the Cottesloe Consultation ultimately failed, and the Nationalists turned against the World Council of Churches and all associated with them for their hostility to apartheid.

In the report are summaries of the discussions: “The Christian Understanding of the Gospel and the Relationships Among Races”; “An Understanding of Contemporary History from a Christian Standpoint”; and “The Witness of the Church with Regard to Justice, Mission and Co-operation.” The report raises many vital issues and presents important interpretations of biblical evidence.

In 1967 the Lutheran Church in South Africa held its own conference on politics and Christianity at its Pastoral Institute in Mapumulo, Natal. The conference centered on the theme of “the two kingdoms as a basis for a Lutheran participation in a possible socio-political witness Papers given at this meeting were later reproduced in mimeographed form under the unrevealing title *Lutheran Theological College* (Mapumulo, 1968). This collection is divided into two sections: (a) Theological Discussion, and (b) The Present Scene. A valuable aspect of the collection is the publication of an enlarged version of a lecture given by Dr. W. Kistner on “The Interrelation Between Religious and Political Thinking with Regard to the South African Racial Problem, 1652-1967.” Other essays in the work tackle the problem of church and state relations, missionary policy, nationalism, and similar issues from a distinctly Lutheran viewpoint.

The most recent publication in this field is *Human Relations and the South African Scene in Light of Scripture* (Cape Town: D.R.C. Publishers, 1976). This is an official translation of the authoritative report *Ras, Volk en Nasie en Volkereverhoudinge die hg van die Skrif* (literally translated “Race, People and Nation and People: United in the Light of the Scripture”) which has the approval of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. Clearly, this is one of the most important documents available for a discussion of contemporary attitudes among Christians in South Africa. The report has six sections:

1. General remarks, which include a consideration of scriptural data on race;

2. “The Church, the Kingdom and the Oikoumene”;

3. The Church and social justice;

4. The Church and missions;

5. Marriage and mixed marriage, and

6. Concluding remarks.

Much of the discussion is unobjectionable even to hardened critics of apartheid. In fact the report goes out of its way to be true to Scripture and to deny claims such as those which seek to identify Africans with the children of Ham. It gives a balanced summary of scriptural teaching on race and points out that in fact the Bible has very little to say about race in our modern sense. Yet if it rejects crude racialism, it does attempt to justify South African policies by an appeal to cultural diversity and comes out strongly against the possibility of interracial marriages in South Africa on the supposedly pragmatic grounds that they are “unworkable.” Thus by its pronouncements this report strongly commits Afrikaner Christians to supporting the policies of the Nationalist Government.

Moving away from works originating from a group effort to the works of individual authors in South Africa we should note Professor HE. Keet’s *Whither South Africa?* (Stellenbosch University Publishers, 1956), a stunning denouncement of apartheid. Professor Keet submits to close scrutiny various arguments used to support the policy and rejects them one by one as unchristian and unjust. He then argues, from a consideration of the nature of the church and the effects of apartheid on social life, that apartheid not only threatens to destroy the Christian witness in South Africa but that it will ultimately destroy those it is meant to protect, namely, the Afrikaners themselves.

In the same year this attack on apartheid appeared, an equally vigorous pro-apartheid booklet, *Apartheid* — *Racial Segregation* — *What Saith the Scripture* (Vereeniging: Ecclesia Evangelistic Group, 1956) was published by F.W.C. Meser. In this slim work the author seeks to justify apartheid on scriptural grounds which will appeal to evangelical Christians. A more scholarly attempt to do the same thing is Professor S. Du Toit’s *Holy Scripture and Race Relations* (Potchefstroom: Pro lIege, 1960). Here the argument rests on the case for national identities as part of God’s providential care for mankind. How successful du Toit is depends on how much weight may be placed on the numerous references in the Bible to “nations” and what these references mean. The most thorough defense of South African racial policies on a scriptural basis is to be found in Professor J.C.G. Kotze’s *Principle and Practice in Race Relations* (Stellenbosch: S.C.A., 1962). Biblical exegesis and reflection on Reformed theology are combined with practical considerations to produce a guarded and critical yet certain defense of apartheid.

Yet another scholarly attempt to defend South African policies on Christian principles is WA. Landman’s *A Plea for Understanding* (Cape Town: Ned. Geref. Kerk Uitgewers, 1968), which was written in reply to criticisms of Dutch Reformed attitudes by the Christian Reformed Church in America. Landman states his case with care, admitting areas of difficulty and errors of judgment but pleading for a right to be heard and attempting a positive response to outside criticism.

Many Christians outside of South Africa have indeed felt duty bound to protest against South African policies. An early contribution to this body of literature was an article by the Dutch Calvinist leader J.H. Bavinck in the *Free University Quarterly* (Amsterdam: Free University, July 1956) entitled “The Race Problem in South Africa.’ Bavinck gives an interesting analysis of the South African situation and concludes that while Christians may argue about the merits of apartheid as a theory, it is certainly objectionable in practice. An emotive response to this sort of argument is to be found in Paul B. Smith’s *The Question of South Africa* (Toronto:People’s Press, 1961). Smith, a well- known Canadian evangelical, defends apartheid on the basis of things he had seen on a short visit to South Africa.

In 1965 the British Council of Churches issued its report *The Future of South Africa* (London: S.C.M.) Here the South African situation is discussed and condemned as unchristian. The report then goes on to suggest ways in which peaceful change may be brought about in Southern Africa. This approach is revised in a second report, submitted to the British Council of Churches in 1970: *Violence in Southern Africa* (London: S.C.M., 1970). As the title implies, the hope of peaceful change has waned, and violence is seen as a viable option for Christians to effect change in what is seen as an unyielding situation of oppression.

Paul Schrotenboer, General Secretary of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, published his own interpretation of Southern African affairs in *Conflict and Hope in South Africa* (Hamilton: Guardian Publishing, Co., 1969). The great value of this book is that it presents a highly sympathetic account by a leading Calvinist who although critical is essentially hopeful and pro-Afrikaner. An evangelical assessment of modern South Africa is to be found in the American evangelical journal *Inside* (Boston: March/May 1972).

More recently, *The Other Side* (Box 2236, Philadelphia, Pa., 19144, U.S.A., May 1977) produced a challenging edition devoted to South Africa and the responsibility of American Christians. *Christianity and Crisis* (537 West l2lst St., New York, December 1977) also challenged its readers with a provocative issue on South Africa. Not to be outdone, *Christianity Today* (Box 354, Dover, N.J., 07801, June 21, 1978) had its own number, with impressionistic accounts of the South African situation by Christians. In a number of pieces the *Reformed Journal* (255 Jefferson, SE., Grand Rapids, MI, 49503, U.S.A.) has given its readers an understanding of Afrikaner society and insight into their ways of thought. One article of interest is Nicholas Wolterstorff’s “Calvinists in Potchefstroom” (November 1975), A highly moving account of an American Christian’s experience of living as a missionary in South Africa is to be found in Judy Boppell Peace’s *The Roy Child is Dying* (Downers Grove: Inter- Varsity Press, 1978).

Five other books deserve mention in this section in *The Two Faces of Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1964), Ben Marais, a leading Afrikaner theologian, evaluates developments in Africa from a Christian perspective and criticizes apartheid as unchristian. Ambrose Reeve’s *South Africa* — *Yesterday and Tomorrow: The Challenge to Christians* (London: Gollancz, 1962) offers a highly emotional criticism of South African policies. Trevor Huddleston’s *Naught For Your Comfort* (London: Collins, 1956) is a classic. We should also note a booklet by HE. Isherwood entitled *Religion and Racial Controversy* (Brighton: The Racial Preservation Society, 1970). Isherwood defends apartheid and segregation on biblical grounds, thus reminding us that Britain has its own supporters of this policy. Finally, Albert van den Heuvel’s *Shalom and Combat* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1979) is a moving testimony to the struggle of one man against racism. In it the reader is shown how van den Heuvel came to his own understanding of the duties of Christians in combating racism. This book is valuable in helping Christians who feel uneasy about the stand of by the World Council of Churches on racism to understand its position.

**IV THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SPRO-CAS**

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa was established in August 1963 as an attempt by 280 Christians, many of them recognized church leaders, to present a Christian witness to South Africans and to combat all forms of racism. Over the years, the Christian Institute has been increasingly critical of the policies of the South African Government and in turn has been harassed by South African security organizations. The Christian Institute is dedicated to nonviolent change in South Africa and to the creation of a critical Christian conscience. Its critics claim that its policies are inspired by communism and that it confuses religion and politics. The best way to judge such claims and counterclaims is to read the Institute’s literature. In addition to a regular newsletter and the annual Directors Report, the Christian Institute has published the independent Christian magazine *Pro Veritate* and established the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Spro-Cas). It has also been involved in various attempts to bring together and educate the leaders of black African independent churches and has produced various topical booklets.

Among the many booklets produced by the Christian Institute, *My Decision* (Johannesburg: Christian Institute, 1963), which consists of three short sermons by the Director of the Institute, C.F. Beyers Naude, is a good introduction to the thinking of its leaders. Equally moving is the duplicated address by Naudé, *Apartheid Morally Unacceptable,* in which apartheid is examined from a Christian viewpoint and found wanting. Another stimulating booklet is *Divine or Civil Obedience* by Naudé and others (Johannesburg: Raven Press, n.d.) in which charges made by a team of government investigators against the Institute are examined and the investigation criticized on biblical grounds. More provocative is *The Christian Institutes Viewpoint on White Immigration to South Africa* (Johannesburg: Zenith Printers, 1974), where a call for an immediate immigration is made. A similar call to end investment in South Africa was made quite recently by the Institute. Typical of study-guide material prepared by the Institute for use in churches are *Poverty in Abundance or Abundance in Poverty* by Rolf Meyer (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1973), and Johannes Verkuyl’s *The Message of Liberation Today* (Johannesburg: The Christian Institute, 1971). Both authors argue from biblical principles to the social situation in South Africa, challenging Christians to cease their complacency and take the gospel seriously.

Spro-Cas (the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society) was set up by the Christian Institute in 1969 and consisted of six expert commissions on economics, law, politics, society, and the church. It involves almost 150 leading South Africans from many different walks of life and Christian traditions. The project was introduced by a short leaflet, *Spro-Cas: Five Biblical Principles* (Johannesburg: Christian Institute, 1969), in which the need for change in South African society was recognized and a basic perspective outlined, After this, the project split into two phases: the study project proper and a special project on Christian action in society. The whole project came to an end in 1973. As a publishing enterprise, Spro-Cas produced eight major reports, edited by Peter Randall, four occasional papers, numerous study guides, and a variety of books supplementing the major project. The first publication of Spro-Cas was Oeeasional Publication 1, *Anatomy of Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1970), which contained a number of highly informative and instructive essays. This was followed by Occasional Publication 2, *South Africa~s Minorities* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971), which included essays on both white groups in South Africa (the English and the Afrikaners) and the Indian and Coloured Peoples (“coloured” in South Africa refers to a person of mixed race). This book was followed by the third Occasional Paper, *Directions of Change in South African Politics,* which presented challenging essays on South African politics and future possibilities. The final publication in this series, Occasional Paper 4, appeared in April 1971 with the title *Some Implications of Inequality* (Johannesburg:

Spro-Cas, 1971). This concentrated on the effects of apartheid on the African population 0of South Africa. It contained essays on the problems of poverty, malnutrition, resettlement, and distress in “the reserves.” With the banning of the Reverend Cosmos Desmond, the final paper in this book, “African Resettlement,” was censored and the book appeared with a number of highly significant blank pages.

The first full Spro-Cas report was published by the Education Commission and entitled *Education Beyond Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971). In it the South African educational system is analyzed and found to be unjust in terms of Christian principles. Having done this, the Commission suggests ways in which the situation can be remedied -and outlines what the Commission would regard as a truly just society. In essence the report argues that although all groups pay taxes in South Africa, and all races create the wealth of the country, the white population benefits disproportionately in education. They therefore argue for massive investment to raise the standards of non-white education and for equalizing all educational facilities and opportunities among the different racial groups. The book ends with a very interesting appendix dealing with Christian National Education (C.N.E.) in South Africa.

This rightly identifies the influence of Abraham Kuyper on the development of C.N.E. in South Africa but fails to do justice to the differences between the views of Kuyper and the ways in which Afrikaners have developed their own theory of C.N.E. in December 1971 the second Spro-Cas report was issued by the Social Commission *Towards Social Change* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971) argues that South African society requires fundamental change if justice is to prevail. At the end of the report is a chapter detailing practical steps Christians in South Africa could take to effect nonviolent change. The next Spro-Cas publication to appear was Rick Turner’s *The Eye of the Needle* (Johanne.shurg: Spro-Cas, 1972), subtitled “An Essay in Participatory Democracy.” This work caused a storm of protest, not least because the author, a university lecturer, was alleged to be a Marxist and was known to be living with his nonwhite Indian wife in flagrant violation of South African marriage laws. (They were married under traditional Indian law.) But whatever Turner’s politics of religion, he produced a highly stimulating book which argues for a Christian society and tries to show what such a society might look like, Unfortunately, the author was soon banned by the South African government, and his book is no longer available except for a few copies in libraries outside of South Africa,

A month after the publication of *The Eye of the Needle,* Spro-Cas issued its third report, *Power, Privilege and Poverty* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1972). This study by its Economics Commission offers a detailed examination of the South African economy and suggests ways to create a “common society” in which all the people of South Africa can share. The next report to appear, from the Church Commission, was *Apartheid and the Church* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971). It discussed the effects of apartheid upon the work of the church in South Africa and saw apartheid as totally destructive of Christian values. Various attitudes toward religion were scrutinized and recommendations made for South African churches to put their own house in order and practice the peace and love they preached. It contained several interesting appendices, including a paper on race relations. A month after this report came out, Spro-Cas again broke new ground with *Black Viewpoint* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1972). This was to be the first in a series of publications by blacks giving their own perspective. It was followed by the first in a series of annual publications entitled *Black Review* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1972). The final report to be published in 1972 was that of the Legal Commission. *Law, Justice and Society* (Johannesburg: SproCas, 1972) presents a number of highly informative essays about law in South African society and again concludes that apartheid created unjust laws which need to be changed. The final Spro-Cas publication for 1972 was a collection of poems by James Matthews and Gladys Thomas entitled *Cry Rage* Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1972). These highly emotional poems, often with religious themes, are about the injustice done to blacks by whites in South African society, as the following extract vividly illustrates:

We watched the white man’s arrival

in strange-shaped ships we did not know

now we have become trespassers on the shores of our land

he brought with him a book and spoke of a new religion

of love, humility and compassion

to blind us to his deception.

Not unexpectedly, this book was also banned (March 1973).

The beginning of 1973 saw the publication of *Migrant Labour* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1973) by Dr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town. This study was issued jointly by Spro-Cas and the South African Council of Churches and is a scholarly examination of the South African system of migrant labor which includes comparisons with migrant labour in Europe and other parts of the world. After 168 pages of carefully documented evidence, Dr. Wilson weighs the facts in a careful and balanced way and argues that the system of migrant labour upon which the economy of South Africa is based is funda­mentally evil. He claims that it de­stroys marriages and creates many other social and moral problems. After this devastating condemnation of South African policies, Spro-Cas published the first of what became a series of publications known as *Contact.* This was a diary of events and a register of organizations in­tended to bring people of good will, ~vhatever their race, into contact with each other and to facilitate communication between racial groups. In March 1973 a series of essays entitled *White Liberation* (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1973) and cdited by Horst Kleinschmidt was published. These assumed that apartheid is grounded in fear and that a change in the system would not only improve the lot of nonwhites but would also liberate whites from their selfmade prison. The South African problem, the book argues, was not a black problem at all but a white one. The final essay of the book is a challenging one by Rick Turner entitled “Teaching Social Justice.” Hut in March 1973 Turner was banned and his writings automatically censored.

The next major report to be published by Spro-Cas, which was now under increasing pressure from the South African government, was *South Africa~s Political Alternatives,* produced by the Political Commission. This suprising document began by establishing certain Chris- tam ethical principles and then assessed the political situation in South Africa. Having done this, it discussed various alternative political systems and made a case for change based on ethical principles which accepted much of what had already been created by the South African Nationalist Government. No document could be less revolutionary, and yet its suggested pluralistic alternative was designed to be a practical alternative to the injustices the Commission felt were embedded in apartheid. Critics of the report — like Professor Edgar Brookes, who submitted a minority report — felt that the Commission conceded too much and was too pragmatic. Yet, it was clearly an attempt to find a Christian solution to South Africa’s political problems and to avoid a bloody revolution or the disturbances experienced during 1976.

Following this, Spro-Cas published several other booklets: *Management Responsibility and African Employment* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1973); Nadine Gordimer’s *The Black Interpreters* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1973), on African writing; Peter Walsh’s *Black Nationalism in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1973); and Professor D.C.S. Oosthuizen’s fascinating study *The Ethics of Illegal Action* Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1973), in which the whole question of Christian obedience is discussed in a lively and provocative way. One of the project’s last publications was *Being Black in the World* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1973) by NC. Mangayi. This moving account attempts to communicate how it feels to be black in South Africa and then to develop the meaning of the black experience in Christian terms. Finally, the work of the whole project was summarized in a report by Peter Randall called *A Taste of Power* Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1973), in which reactions to the project are given and valuable documentation provided for a fuller understanding of it.

Before ending this section on SproCas, we must add that many evangelicals disagree with the biblical exegesis used in these publications, and others disagree with the general assumptions made in them about Christianity. But whatever the reaction of the reader to these theological issues, there can be no doubt that this is a valuable body of information relevant to any interpretation of South African affairs.

An account of the founding and history of the Christian Institute is found in George McLeod Bryan’s *Naudé: Prophet to South Africa* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1978). Although this book is helpful in supplying a historical framework to events, it is unreliable and distorts its material by over radicalizing Naudé, particularly in the earlier part of his career with the Institute. A more balanced assessment is to be found in two excellent articles by South Africans in the *Journal of Church and State* (Box 380, Baylor, University, Waco, Texas, 76703, U.S.A., Autumn 1977, vol. 19, no.3): Peter Walshe writes on the Christian Institute and the growth of black nationalism, and John de Gruchy discusses church-state relations in South Africa 1968-1975. Naudé’s own position is clearly portrayed in *The Trial of Beyers Naudé* (London: International Commission of Jurists, Search Press, 1975). This is an account of Naudé’s refusal to appear before the Schlebusch Commission established by the South African Government to investigate ‘subversive organizations.” At his trial, the transcript of which forms the basis of the book, Naudé argued that the Commission was conducting a witch hunt and that while he was willing to defend his views and actions in open court he did not want to be tried in secret by the Commission. All of these works provide background material for assessing the publications and work of the Christian Institute and give additional insights into the pressures which forged its distinctive Christian political witness.

**V CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

No major history of religion in South Africa has been written. The best available short introduction to South African church history is Peter Hinchliff’s very readable *The Church in South Africa* (London: S.P.C.K., 1968). It is good on the history of the English-speaking churches, Christian missions, and aspects of Dutch Reformed history,but it fails to fully appreciate the influence of Abraham Kuyper on Afrikaner Calvinism. Hinchliff’s other books, *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963) and *John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal* (London: Nelson, 1964), are invaluable for understanding the development Anglicanism in South Africa. A very different interpretation of Anglican history is to be found in Antony Ive’s *The Church of England in South Africa* (Cape Town: Church of England Information Office, 1966). Here the claims of the small breakaway Church of England in South Africa are presented to show that it, and not the generally recognized Church of the Province of South Africa, is the true representative of the Anglican tradition in South Africa.

A recent general history of Christianity in South Africa is Jane M. Sales’ *The Planting of the Churches in South Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), a very one-sided account which makes many assumptions without supplying adequate evidence and which tends to oven simplify complex events. Sales is Congregationalist and gives a history biased in this direction. A history of Congregationalism in South Africa is to be found in *The Harvest and the Hope* Johannesburg: United Congregational Church, 1970) by DR. Briggs and Joseph Wing. A similar work about Methodism is L.A. Hewson’s *An Introduction to South African Methodists* (Cape Town: Methodist Church Publishing House, 1951). The history of Lutheranism is recorded in Hans Florin *Lutherans in South Africa* (Durban: Lutheran Publishing Co., 1967). Although a number of major works exist about Afrikaans churches in South Africa, only a few pamphlets in English deal with them. On the Dutch Reformed Church (Netherduits Gereformeerde Kerk), the largest of the three Afrikaans Reformed Churches, there is W.A. Landmans *Introducing the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa* (Cape Town: D.E.C. Information Office, 1969) and *Lest We Forget: The History of the Dutch Reformed Church in Southern Africa,* issued by the Andrew Murray Congregation in Johannesburg(Johannesburg: Andrew Murray Congregation, nd.). Both of these pamphlets press the claims of the Dutch Reformed Church as the true representative of the Reformed tradition in South Africa. An alternative viewpoint is to be found in P.C. Geertsema’s booklet *the Reformed Church in Perspective.* Deputies for Evangelism Literature of the Reformed Church (Gereformeerde Kerk) are claimed as the true representative of the Calvinist tradition. The third Afrikaans Reformed Church (the Hervormde Kerk) does not appear to have published a history of its development in English. An invaluable source for understanding the evangelical wing of Dutch Reformed theology is to be found in Professor J. du Plessis’ biography *The Life of Andrew Murray* (London: Marshall Brothers 1919).

The history of mission in South Africa must also begin with du Plessis — his classic study *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911, reprinted by C. Struik, Cape Town, 1965). This work may usefully be supplemented by C.B.A. Cerdener’s *Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1958) and also by Groves’ *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London: Lutterworth, 1948, four volumes).

African Christianity as distinct from mission history is dealt with in Bengt Sundkler’s now standard text *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) and by his more recent book *Zulu Zion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976). Both of these works deal with the growth of African Independent churches — I.e., indigenous African churches which have no links with missionary societies or mission churches. While Sundkler approves of such developments, CC. Oosthuizen presents a much more critical appraisal of independency in his *Post-Christianity in Africa* (Stellenbosch: T. Wever, 1968). A thorough discussion of the effects of Christianity in one African culture is to be found in BA. Pauw’s *Christianity and Xhosa Tradition* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1975). This book deals with what is largely a rural situation, but Martin West in his book *Bishops and Prophets in a Black City* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1975) examines the role of African Christianity in the vast urban complex of Soweto. An older approach to these issues is to be found in I. Sehapera, ed., *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1934, reprinted 1967). Another set of essays worth attention is *Church and Culture Change in Africa,* edited by David Bosch (Pretoria: NC. Kerk-Boekhandel, 1971). This is the substance of a discussion held by the South African Missiological Society.

Other important missiological texts have been produced by the Lutheran Missiological Institute at Mapumulo. These are collections of conference papers involving Christian leaders from all the churches in South Africa. The most important of these are *Our Approach to the Independent Church Movement in South Africa,* edited by H.J. Becken (Mapumulo: Missiological Institute, 1965); *Relevant Theology for Africa,* edited by H.J. Becken (Durban: Lutheran Publishing House, 1973), which contains a number of very important papers on Black Theology; and *Salvation Today for Africa,* edited by H.J. Becken (Durban: Lutheran Publishing House, 1974), which develops the potential for producing a relevantly biblical theology reflecting the South African situation.

In 1972 the University Christian Movement (U.C.M.), which was the South African equivalent of S.C.M., published a challenging work entitled *Essays on Black Theology,* edited by Mikgethi Motlhabi. This book was quickly banned but has been republished in Britain in a reedited form by Basil Moore under the title *Black Theology The South African Voice* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1973). In addition to this, the U.C.M. published numerous magazines and articles in duplicated form dealing with South African issues; these are now generally unavailable, having been suppressed by the South African censors. The importance of U.C.M. and its publications was that it was led by a group of dedicated men who were in the forefront of theological thinking and tried to apply their radical theology to the situation in South Africa. More importantly, it was out of the efforts of this group that the South African black consciousness movement was born. (It would be going too far to say that U.C.M. created black consciousness and the black student movement in South Africa, but it certainly gave these movements a powerful thrust in the early days of their development.) Significantly, in their introductory leaflet *SASO 1972*

— *South African Students Organisation* (Durban: S.A.S.O., 1972), this organization credits U.C.M. with having played a crucial role in their development and in the contemporary black-consciousness movement out of which grew the protest movements of 1976.

The September-October 1975 issue of *Vanguard* (229 College St., Toronto, Ontario, M5T 1R4) contains an interview with Beyers Naude, a version of which also appears in the *Reformed Journal* for December 1975 and January 1976. The *Reformed Journal* of December 1977 includes in full the last interview given by Steve Biko. The Biko interview has appeared in several places, including Donald Woods’ *Biko* (New York: Paddington Press, 1978), a book which is essential reading for anyone interested in the current attitude of blacks in South Africa. Woods, a former South African newspaper editor and opponent of apartheid who fled South Africa, gives a lucid account of the life, death, and political significance of this black South African who after his death became a symbol of resistance to white domination.

From an evangelical perspective, Michael Cassidy’s *Prisoners of Hope* (Morija, Lesotho: Morija Mission, 1974) is an analysis of evangelical involvement in South Africa and the story of the South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism held in Durban in March 1973. This is a moving account of yet another Christian initiative to bring the races together in South Africa and to find common goals through the experience of a shared faith. The book is helpful on its own, but when read alongside *I Will Heal Their Land* (Morija, Lesotho: Morija Mission, 1974), edited by Michael Cassidy, it takes on an even fuller significance. In *I Will Heal Their Land* one is given the text of the papers delivered at the Congress plus accounts of various discussions. Here one sees dedicated Christians from all racial groups seeking to find ways of spreading the gospel in South Africa and attempting to bring its benefits to all races with the hope that spiritual revival will bring with it repentance and a sharing of the land’s riches.

Two disturbing books are Rhonda Chuichill’s *White Man’s Cod* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962) and David Welsh’s *The Roots* of *Segregation: Native Polity in Natal 1845-1910* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971). Miss Churchill gives an account of a visit to South Africa in which she sees South Africa as a country ruled by fear. She identifies the root cause of that fear as the misuse of Christianity by the white minority. Welsh tackles the problem of the origins of segregation by examining the policy of segregation adopted in Natal by the British administrator Sir Theophilus Shepstone. In this book many aspects of African society are examined and the impact of Christian missions upon it discussed. A balanced work of high historical scholarship, it throws doubt on many of the actions by missionaries and shows how even well-meant endeavors often have had very distressing effects on the African population.

For anyone who wants to learn more about African life and religion in South Africa, Callaway’s *The Religious System of the Zulu* (Cape Town: Struik reprint, 1970) is a valuable source of information. This can be supplemented by Eileen Krige’s *The Social System of the Zulus* (Pietermaritzburg : Shuter and Shooter, 1965) and the recently published *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism* by Axel-Ivar Berglund (Cape Town: David Phiip, 1976).

Another Nguni people which have been well studied by historians and anthropologists are the Xhosa. John Henderson Soga’s *The Ama-Xhosa Life and Customs* (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1931) is still the standard work on their religious beliefs. It is well supplemented by Monica Hunter’s (better known by her married name, Monica Wilson) *Reaction to Conquest* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961, first edition 1936), which deals with the effects of European contact and the introduction of Christianity among rural African population in the Transkei. The change from a rural to an urban lifestyle and the effect this has on beliefs and social life is well recorded in two complementary books. These are *Townsmen or Tribesmen* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961) by Philips and Iona Mayer, and *The Second Generation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963) by BA. Pauw. In these works the impact of Christianity upon African society is examined in a critical yet sympathetic way by three leading South African anthropologists.

The major sociological study of Afrikaner society is Sheila Patterson’s *The Last Trek* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957). Here again, the place of religion within one social group is given considerable attention, but as Moodie shows in his book *The Rise of Afrikanerdom* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1975), Afrikaner Calvinism is not as simple as Patterson thought. This latter work is perhaps the best available work on the Afrikaners and is essential for an appreciation of their religion and political views. A popular hut disappointing book is W. de Klerk’s *The Puritans in Africa* (London: Rex Collins, 1975). Here too many assumptions are made upon the basis of present claims and apparent historical similarities. De Klerk jumps too quickly from the time of Calvin to the Puritans and then on to the present, assuming an unbroken historical chain linking present-day attitude to the past. Another disappointing work dealing with religion and racial attitudes in South Africa is Robert Buis’ *Religious Relief and White Prejudice* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1975). This purports to be a scientific study of the relationship between religious beliefs and racial attitudes, but unfortunately it fails to carry conviction because of many theological errors and a poor sociological methodology which allows the author to compare two different linguistic groups as though they were a homogeneous control group. A far more convincing study of the influence of religion in South African affairs is to be found in *Church and Nationalism in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1975), edited by Theo Sundermeier. Here a variety of views are to be found dealing with different aspects of nationalism in South Africa. T. Dunbar Moodie presents a sociological perspective in his perceptive essay “Sociological Aspects of Nationalism in South Africa.” and Johannes Degenaar discusses the “Philosophical Roots of Nationalism.” Other essays deal with British, Afrikaner, Coloured, and various types of African nationalism. The collection ends with a moving essay by Beyers Naudé on “Christianity and Nationalism in the Light of Pentecost.’~

A book difficult to categorize is Alan Boesaks *Farewell to Innocence* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1975). On the cover of the hook Boesak is described as “a black South African’ who writes “out of the anguish of the black experience in that nation.” This is highly misleading, because Boesak is in fact not an African but a Coloured who has never been closely identified with black theology in South Africa. The book reflects this in its lack of South African material and concentration on American and Latin American theologies of liberation. As such, it gives the reader a distorted view of South African black theology, even though its discussion of black theology generally may be illuminating.

Charles Villa-Vicencio’s *The Theology of Apartheid* (Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House, nd.) contains a strong theological attack on Afrikaner Calvinism. Although the author makes some good points, too many issues are dealt with superficially. In his desire to refute what he sees as a perversion of the Gospel, the author fails to distinguish between different positions held by various Afrikaner theologians and therefore never really comes to grips with any of them.

Finally, a historical study of the relationship between Calvinism and Afrikaner society in the early years of the century is to be found in Irving Hexham’s *The Irony of Apartheid: The Struggle for National Independence of Afrikaner Calvinism Against British Imperialism* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, forthcoming).

**VI BACKGROUND STUDIES**

The standard history of South Africa is Eric Walker’s *A History of South Africa* (London: Longman’s, 1964). This tends to he a colonial history and needs to be supplemented with *The Oxford History of South Africa* (London: Oxford Universitv Press, 1969 & 71, two volumes). The latter pays far more attention to general African history and introduces evidence which brings into question many previous assumptions about the occupation of South Africa by Africans, arguing for much older occupation than that of the 17th century. This can be usefully compard with *African Societies in Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1969), edited by Leonard Thompson. *Five Hundred Years* (C.T.: *Acedemica,* 1969), edited by C.F.J. Muller, gives the reader an insight into contemporary historical thinking among Afrikaners and demonstrates very vividly the great gap between their understanding of South African history and that of other scholars.

An Afrikaner interpretation of this century’s history is to be found in D.W. Kruger’s *The Making of a Nation* (London: Macmillan, 1969), and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism isdocumentedinF.A. van Jaarsveld’s *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1961). Another valuable book by van Jaarsveld is *The Afrikaner Interpretation of History* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1963). A book that helps us understand the role of Calvinism in the development of South African political parties is *The Afrikaner Bond* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1966) by T.R.H. Davenport. Although only a small part of the book actually deals with religion, this section does show the influence of religious ideas and the ability of secular politicians to manipulate them for their own ends. Another book which deals briefly with Christian politics in South Africa and which contains some very valuable information is the now scarce *The South African Opposition, 1939-1 945* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1947), by Michael Roberts and A.E.G. Trollip. A book which deals with the development of African nationalism in South Africa is *The Rise oJ African Nationalism in South Africa* (London: C. Hurst, 1970) by Peter Walshe. African and Afrikaner nationalisms are compared in *Afrikaner and African Nationalism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) by Edwin Munger.

William Henry Vatcher’s *White Laager* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965) is a well-documented account of Afrikaner nationalism which pays considerable attention to religious issues, though the author confuses the role of the different Afrikaner Reformed Churches. For a highly sympathetic account of the Afrikaners, John Fisher’s book *The Afrikaners* (London: Cassell, 1969) is invaluable.

A good introduction to the South African political system is Lawrence Schlemmer’s *Social Change and Political Policy in South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970). Fuller treatment of the political system can be found in *South Africa: Government and Politics,* edited by Denis Worrall (Pretoria: van Schaik, 1971).

The standard sociological intern pretation of South Africa is Pierre van den Berhe’s *South Africa: A Study in Conjliet* (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965). This work is criticized by Heribert Adam in *Modernizing Racial Domination* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1971). Adam’s *South Africa: Sociological Perspectives* also contains a number of valuable essays, including some which deal with religious or ideological issues. Adam’s own work comes into severe criticism in an essay by Ruan Maude, “The Future of an Illusion: The Myth of White Meliorism in South Africa,” in Adrian Left~ich’s stimulating book *South Africa: Economic Growth and Political Change* (London: Heinemann, 1974).

In *Ethnic Power Mobilized* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), Herihert Adam and Hermann Giliomee discuss the possibilities for change in South Africa. This stimulating work contains a short section on the church as a social institution in Afrikaner society. Anyone seriously interested in the vexing question of boycotts and other attempts to apply external pressure to South Africa should read this work.

Source material on white political parties is available in D.W. Kruger’s *South African Parties and Politics 1910-1960* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1960). A communist view of the rise of the South African National Party is to be fouud in the well-known *The Rise oJ the South African Reich* by Brian Bunting (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964). A more sophisticated Marxist interpretation is to be found in J.J. and RE. Simons’ *Colour and Class in South Africa 1850-1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969). Alexander 1-leple has written a readable life of *Verwoerd* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967) and a number of the former Prime Minister’s speeches are collected in Pelzer’s *Verwoerd Speaks* (Johannesburg: A.P. Boekhandle, 1963). African politics in South Africa are treated in Mary Benson’s *The Struggle for a Birthright* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966) and nA. Rotze’s *African Politics in South Africa I 964-1974)* (London: C. Hurst, 1975).

Aselection of student writings on South Africa is provided in *Student Perspectives on South Africa,* edited by Hendrick van der Merwe and David Welsh (Cape Town: David Philip, 1972). Political debate about South Africa is to be found in N.J. Rhoodie, ed., *South* African *Dialogue: Contrasts in South African Thinking on Basic Race Issues* (Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill, 1972). Criticism of a radical sort is given in *Essays on the Liberation of Southern Africa,* edited by N.M. Shamuyatira (Dar es Salaatn: Tanzania Publishing HOuse, 1972). This collection contains an interesting article on “FanOu’s Theory of Violence: Its Verification in Liberated Mosambique” by Yoweri Museveni. A selection of speeches by the Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi is offered in *Power is Ours* (New York: Books in Pocus, 1979). Two contrasting views of South Africa are to be found in *South Africa: Two Views of Separate Development* (London:

Oxford University Press, 1960) by S. Pienaar and Anthony Sampson. Doubts about the morality of apartheid in practice, as opposed to the theory of separate development, are expressed in Cosmos Desmond’s horrific book *The Discarded People* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), while Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christabel Gurney raise other moral issues in *The South African Connection* (Harmondswortht Penguin, 1973).

A number of other works require brief notice, W.D. HammondTooke has edited a new edition of *The* Bantu *Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974) in which the reader is presented with a wealth of information about the African peoples of South Africa. Patrick van Rensburg’s *Guilty Land* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962) jolts the reader out of complacency and contains a haunting chapter which will grip any Christian “The God of Our Fathers.” In a similar way Laurens van der Post presents a challenging vision of Southern African realities in *The Dark Eye in Africa* (London: Hogarth Press, 1963). For those interested in education, AL. Behr and E.G. Macmillan have written their standard work *Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: van Schaik, 1971), while Freda Troop presents a strong Case against apartheid in *Forbidden Pastures* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976) in which she studies the effects of apartheid upon South African education. For those interested in Afrikaner reactions, the now rare *Christian Civilization Against Communism* (Potchestroom Herald, Potchefstroom: National Congress to Combat Communism, 1964) is invaluable.

No survey of background material on Southern African issues would be complete without mentioning the work of the nonpolitical, independent, South African Institute of Race Relations. Although it sets out to simply “state the facts,” this body presents a mass of evidence which cannot be ignored in any discussion of South Africa and which generally predisposes the reader to be critical of apartheid. A few books from this body will give some indication of the scope of its interests: *The African Homelands of South Africa* by Muriel I-lorrell, 1973; *Legislation and Race Relations* by Muriel Horrell, 1966; *The Afrikaner and Race Relations* by Beyers Naudé; *Prejudice in the Classroom* by Eleanor Hawarden, nd.; *Bantu Education to 1968* by Muriel Horrell. The Institute also produces a monthly *Race Relations News* and a host of other publications.

For those who want both sides of the picture, the Information Officer at the South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square, London, is always pleased to supply enquirers with literature and to speak to interested groups. Other information sympa­thetic to South Africa can be ob­tained from the Britain and South Africa Forum, 91/93 Charterhouse Street, London ECLM 6HB, while the Anti-Apartheid Movement is al­ways willing to give its side of the picture and can be contacted at 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ, England.

**VII WORKS IN AFRIKAANS**

This bibliographic guide assumes that most readers will not be able to read Afrikaans. For those who can or who think that their knowledge of German or Dutch will enable them at least to scan works in Afrikaans, the following have been selected as starting points for further study:

A general history of the Dutch Reformed Church is *Ons Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk,* edited by T.N. Hanekom (Cape Town: N.G. KerkUitgewers, 1952). The Reformed Church is dealt with by S.P. Engelbrecht in *Geskiedenis van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika* (Cape Town: J.H. de Bussy, 1953); the history pf the third and smallest Afrikaner Reformed Church, the Reformed Church, is recorded by J.P. Jooste in *Die Geskiedenis van die Gereformeerde Kerk in SuidAfrilca 1850-1959)* (Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom Herald, 1959). An interesting Dutch study relating Calvinist groups in the Netherlands, America and South Africa is H. Algra’s *Het Wonder van die Negentiende Eeuw* (Franeker: T. Wever, 1966). T.\N. Hanekom’s *Die Liberale Rigting in Suid Afrika* (Stellenboseh: C.S.V. Boekhandel, 1951). is valuable for its criticism of a simplistic view of the development of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa as an unbroken Calvinist tradition since the sixteenth century.

Three political works dealing with Calvinism and Afrikaner society are the seminal volumes of *Koers in die Krises* (Stellenboseh: N. C. Bock- handel, 1935-1943, three volumes); P.J. Nienaber’s *Dr. O’kluli,sse Oogdruppels vir Nasionale Siektes* (Pretoria: van Sehaik, 1973); and finally, Dr. AlP. Treurnieht’s *Credo van ‘n Afrikaner* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1975), important for the light it throws on the thought of a leading right-wing Afrikaner politician who claims a religious justification for his political views.