

MISSION IN A REPRESSIVE SOCIETY:
THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

by

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When representatives of the World Council of Churches met with the South African member churches at Cottesloe, near Johannesburg, in December 1960, the Dutch Reformed Churches (DRCs) participated in this effort to reassess the churches' stance on public policies. This had become an urgent matter after Sharpsville and the banning of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress. The cautious and ambivalent report which was produced recognized divergent convictions about apartheid: some representatives found it unacceptable in principle and practice; others defended it in principle and as the only realistic approach to race relations. Still, the report recorded agreement on some major issues, inter alia: the church, as the Body of Christ, was a unity within which the natural diversity among men was not annulled but sanctified; believers should not be excluded from any church on the ground of race or colour; there was no scriptural basis for prohibiting mixed marriages; the system of migrant labour was decimating family life, that life Christians were bound to defend; it was a major injustice to maintain wage structures below the poverty line, as was the case for millions of non-whites; individuals had a right to own land wherever they were domiciled and to participate in the government of their country. (1)

If the Cottesloe Report was a cautiously worded plea to the white power structure to move away from the existing practice of apartheid, the Afrikaner establishment nevertheless found it unacceptable. The representatives of the small Transvaal-based Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika refused to sign the document, rejected integration "in any form", and reaffirmed their support for government policy. (2) The representatives of the large Cape and Transvaal Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) interpreted the Report as critical of many existing government policies, but capable of being interpreted within the "principles of differentiation". This meant that the call for African political participation could be interpreted as involvement in separate institutions as citizens of potentially independent Bantustans. (3) Therefore the NGK representatives signed, but to their consternation found themselves at the centre of an uproar within the Afrikaner power structure. One by one the provincial synods of the NGK repudiated their delegations' qualified acceptance of the Cottesloe Report. The DRCs also withdrew from the World Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches, in a carefully orchestrated response which had the full backing of the Broederbond, the Prime Minister and the Afrikaner Nationalist Party. (4)

As the Afrikaner establishments tried to close down the debate, several leading DRC personalities who had been present at Cottesloe set out to keep dialogue and ecumenism alive. The result was Pro Veritate, a monthly "Christian Journal for Southern Africa". With the Rev. Beyers Naude as editor and an ecumenical, multi-racial editorial board, the venture hoped to have the support of approximately four

hundred DRC ministers. Under pressure from the Synods and the Broederbond, this number plummeted to less than eighty. In reality, the DRC's ecumenism of the 1950s was dead and open discussion within the Afrikaner community was being suffocated as churchmen and academics were brought to heel. By the time Beyers Naude and Albert Geysers, with others, including Ben Engelbrecht, Bruckner de Villiers and Fred van Wyk, were preparing to launch an ecumenical, multi-racial Christian Institute in 1963, the number of DRC ministers who were willing to support their attempt to encourage denominational co-operation and to move white South Africa away from apartheid had dwindled to less than twelve.

Beyers Naude was appointed Director of the new Institute. He had been a key NGK personality at Cottesloe and supported the Consultation's Report as a call to move away from the principle and practice of differentiation. As he had also been Assessor of the NGK General Synod, Moderator of the Southern Transvaal Regional Synod, a leading candidate for Moderator of the General Synod, and a member of the Broederbond's inner circle, Naude's stand threatened the foundations of Afrikaner civil religion. The result was a ruthless attack on the Christian Institute, which was presented as betraying the Afrikaner volk. Naude was faced with an ultimatum from his Regional Synod - to choose between his position as an NGK minister and Director of the Institute. He preached a last sermon to his white parish, presented his choice as "between religious conviction and submission to ecclesiastical authority", and spoke of his church's "fear-inspired process of isolation", its tragic withdrawal from wider Christian fellowship. (5) Then he chose the Institute. The DRCs formally prohibited their members from joining the Institute, and those who ignored the sanction were ostracized and harassed. For example, the Rev. Albert Geysers was dragged through a Hervormde Kerk heresy trial and deprived of his professorship; automobiles were tampered with, threatening phone calls became commonplace, and when Naude tried to approach the graveside at his mother's funeral he was shouldered aside.

One reason for this intense hostility was the country's political situation. State repression had created a vacuum in terms of black political leadership, with the result that multi-racial church organizations were beginning to function as a residual matrix for opposition to apartheid. As the state undertook a massive mopping-up operation against the remaining pockets of black activists, as the newly formed underground movement was broken, and as further repressive legislation was passed, the Christian Institute emerged as the vanguard organization in an inchoate, loosely co-ordinated and essentially spontaneous movement of Christian dissent. Individual churchmen were banned or deported (6), attempts to nurture multi-racial fellowship were disrupted and the Institute endured a villification campaign launched by Nationalist Party politicians, the Afrikaner press and the white DRCs. To ask whether, in accepting apartheid, the DRCs had ceased to do the will of God was now seen as traitorous to both church and state

In this situation the Institute continued its efforts to wean Afrikanerdom from what Naude saw as its idolatrous commitment to a dominant, privileged and separate future; but increasingly its energies during the 1960s were spent on expanding ecumenical and inter-racial commitments. The Institute encouraged its members to associate in Bible study groups designed to explore the social implications of the Gospels, it worked with the South African Council of Churches (SACC) for improved co-operation between the multi-racial churches, and Naude maintained a special interest in the black DRCs - the Sending Kerk (Coloured), the Kerk van Afrika (African) and the small, recently formed Indian Kerk. The Institute also established a volatile relationship with the fragmented world of the black independent churches, helping to pull approximately forty of these into an African Independent Churches Association. In addition, the Institute took what it saw as a major initiative in sponsoring a training programme for independent church ministers. (7) By the late 1960s, when Naude and his staff collaborated with the SACC to produce "A Message to the People of South Africa", the Institute (and its journal, Pro Veritate) had become the seminal Christian organization in the country.

The "Message" started from an ontological base in total contradiction to apartheid: the Gospels' "good news that in Christ God had broken down the walls of division between God and man, and therefore also between man and man". In searching

for a deeper and deeper understanding of justice, Christians were working for the coming of the Kingdom of God which was already incipient in history; they were being called to struggle for "the salvation of the world and of human existence in its entirety". (8) From this base, the "Message" attacked apartheid as the maintenance of human divisiveness and white supremacy, a policy of social sin which arbitrarily limited a person's ability "to love his neighbour as himself". (9)

Reactions to the "Message" varied widely. To some, including one or two of those involved in its writing, it was a flop - a damp squib. As an essentially white initiative to raise white consciousness, it put the issues clearly enough yet had little impact on white society. However, six hundred clergy formally endorsed the "Message" and the Council's member churches, with the exception of the Baptist Union, supported it - even if some did so with less enthusiasm than others. It must also be remembered that the "Message" led to further collaboration between the Christian Institute and the SACC: the 1969-1973 Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO - CAS). This was a determined, if still white orchestrated, effort to describe the South African situation in depth and to offer alternatives to apartheid.

Clearly the "Message" reflected a mindset that still stopped short of seeing the liberating impact of the Gospels as a call to the poor and oppressed to take the future into their own hands. Certainly the full and, for whites, startling consequences of the "Message's" theology had yet to be explored. Nevertheless, the "Message" did disseminate the Christian Institute's position. In Naude's terms it "clearly and unequivocally ... refuted" apartheid from a "biblical standpoint". (10) The "Message" also pointed in the direction of liberation theology. Although it was a white initiative, it furthered the evolution of theology in South Africa, helping to raise social consciousness among a minority of white Christians and encouraging black Christians who later developed the "Message's" insights during the turmoil of the 1970s. In pointing to the need for an analysis of structural injustice and the historical challenge to work with the poor and exploited for the development of all human potentialities, the "Message" helped to prepare the way for black consciousness and black theology. The liberating impact of the "Message", with its open-ended view of history, was not to be circumscribed indefinitely by an initially vague grasp of its implications.

In spite of these initiatives, the state of the Institute in the late 1960s was not encouraging. Far from riding the crest of a wave, it was struggling to overcome a sense of anti-climax and even failure. The DRCs had extruded it; membership had stagnated, settling at approximately two thousand; and Africans continued to show the same reservations towards the Institute that they had shown to any white-dominated organization. It had been hoped that the multi-racial churches would respond quickly to the Institute's challenge, but here, too, there were few signs of a supportive Christian witness. Individual clerics and laymen might join, often because of deep frustration with their own denominations, but, apart from public pronouncements at the level of principle, there was little emanating from church hierarchies to encourage Naude and his colleagues. Surveying this scene from his position as Chairman of the Board of Management, Calvin Cook went on to deliver a remarkable address to the 1968 annual general meeting in which he made a prophetic judgement on the Institute itself. There was, he suggested, a real danger that the Institute's influence would be "like King Log: one big splash, then a few ripples, and finally a tranquil pond once more". Despite the Institute, South Africa remained "the most stable country in Africa: a financier's dream". Rather than being the threat the DRCs had imagined it to be, the Institute was in danger of becoming "a paper tiger". The enemy was "tougher, braver, cleverer, meaner and more purposeful" than anticipated. The walls of apartheid had not collapsed, despite "repeated blasts" from Pro Veritate. (11)

In fact, the situation in the late 1960s and early 1970s was not quite so bleak. The Institute was gathering increasing support from abroad, particularly from the Netherlands. Most important of all, the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, meeting in Luatarn in 1968, once again condemned racial discrimination, supported the Institute's stance and, in so doing, sharply increased the gap between the world-wide Reformed

community and the white DRCs in South Africa. As SPRO - CAS got underway, the Institute's understanding of structural injustice was deepened, which increased its receptivity to black critiques. Simultaneously, the WCC decision to support the welfare activities of the southern African liberation movements, the spread of civil war in the region, black labour unrest and the resurgence of African nationalism in the form of the black consciousness movement, produced a new historical context. In short, the Institute was faced with the need for a different praxis.

If the Institute was to remain open to the liberation of the poor and oppressed in this new context, that is open to the unforeseeable consequences of its biblical commitments, it had to grow in its understanding of mission. To confront the established powers with a demand that they reform themselves was one thing; to work for the empowerment of the powerless, as the Institute now began to do, was another. As the 1970s progressed, the Institute's understanding of the scriptures moved into sharper and sharper contrast with the civil religion of the DRCs and the dualistic religion that was rife among whites in the multi-racial churches. This dualism placed the Kingdom of God outside history. It focussed solely on personal salvation, saw mission as the numerical extension of the church - in its crudest form, a head-count - and emphasized charity while neglecting justice. This socially conservative religion did not offer any Christian hope for political and social transformation.

By 1973 the Institute was moving into a period of closer contact with black organizations and trying to prepare for a situation "where more and more Blacks will take the lead - not only in the Christian Institute but in society as a whole". (12) As the spectre of civil war approached, the Institute continued its efforts to find a non-violent third way; but it now realized that in a situation of increasing black/white polarization it had to take the option of the poor more directly and with much greater vigour. This meant curtailing its ineffectual efforts to generate reform from within the white establishments of church and state, and committing itself instead to supporting black initiatives for justice and a black vision of a future society. As the final SPRO - CAS report put it: black/white polarization had been symbolized by the government's intransigence in its attempt to crush the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the newly formed Black Peoples Convention (BPC) by banning their leaders in 1973 - an act which could "be seen as a continuation of the actions against the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in the sixties". Given these events, there was no room for an iota of naive optimism: the white power structure showed no signs of accommodating "to the need for a fundamental sharing of wealth, land and power". The country's future, therefore, depended on those black pressures for change which the government was desperately trying to repress. These included the few anti-apartheid homeland leaders like Gatsha Buthelezi, the reviving Indian Congress, the Coloured Labour Party, and organized black labour. But most important of all, the Report continued, the initiative had shifted to the black consciousness movement, with its black theology, black drama and black poetry; the initiative had now shifted to the ideas generated by SASO and boosted by the formation of the BPC in 1972. These ideas, it was argued, were no longer confined to the black intelligentsia but had spread among students and workers, producing a "new Black solidarity". White supremacy was "no delicate plant which will wilt in a slightly changed political, social and economic climate", but it had now lost the initiative in a way which suggested that the established political and economic structures were incapable of "enabling the fundamental change" SPRO - CAS had hoped for. Indeed, the question now arose of "whether we should be exploring far more vigorously the potential alternatives offered by socialist forms of society, including those which have been developed in other parts of Africa". (13)

In the years that followed, from 1973 until it was banned in October 1977, the Christian Institute formulated a strategy designed to encourage black consciousness and to prepare whites for a future in which blacks would exercise predominant political power. This strategy included a commitment to conscientious objection, which firmed up as a result of the SACC resolution taken at Hammerskraal in 1974. Christian Institute members had been deeply involved in the violence/non-violence debate which followed the WCC grants to the liberation movements; Naude had, in fact, seconded the Hammerskraal resolution, which was based on "just war" arguments. In essence, it condemned the hypocrisy of deploring the violence of guerrillas while preparing to defend "our society with its primary, institutionalized violence by means of yet more violence".

The resolution argued that the injustice and oppression suffered by blacks was "far worse than that against which Afrikaners had waged war", and went on to "commend the courage and witness" of those who were prepared to go to gaol in protest against unjust wars. Quite simply, to accept military service in defence of injustice was not permissible. (14)

In addition to encouraging a movement for conscientious objection, the Institute's staff refused to testify before the Schlebusch-Le Grange Commission (the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations). The Institute saw the Commission as a partisan group of white politicians who sat in camera, withheld the names of witnesses, denied the right of cross-examination and refused to publish their evidence. Correctly, Naude and his colleagues judged the Commission to be a public relations operation designed to prepare the white electorate for the repression of the new range of protest organizations that had emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s. This judgement was confirmed during the period of the Commission's hearings when key leaders of the National Union of South African Students, SASO, and the BPC were banned. By January 1974 forty young South Africans were also being held without trial under the Terrorism Act (15); later in the year, a further group of thirteen SASO students were added to this list after they attempted to organize a meeting to celebrate the victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique. In the following year, as the Commission presented its final report, the Institute was declared an "Affected Organization" and so barred from receiving financial support from outside the country. At the same time two of its leading members were banned. (16)

While these developments give some sense of the Institute's changing strategy and escalating confrontation with the state, its most important initiative in the mid-1970s was to work with leading personalities and organizations in the black consciousness movement - precisely those groups that were suffering intensified repression. The Black Community Program was central in this commitment. Assisted by the Institute, but staffed and controlled by blacks of the calibre of Steve Biko and Barney Pitso, the Program was committed to the recovery of black confidence, black leadership training and the exploration of black theology. Using discussion groups, pamphlets, news-sheets and literacy campaigns, the Program sponsored medical clinics and an urban youth movement as well as a black church leaders' project. This last initiative was designed to "gain control over churches whose membership is mostly black" and to reorient them "towards the needs of black people". (17) In addition, the Black Community Program worked with SASO to encourage the spread of black trade unions. Through this wide range of initiatives, the Program became an important part of that much wider resurgence of black consciousness that followed the formation of SASO in 1968. (18)

It was through this involvement with the black consciousness movement that the Institute deepened still further its understanding of Christian mission, learning not only from its attempt to identify with the poor but from the insights of black theology. Stimulated in part by the writings of black theologians in the United States, increasingly aware of liberation theology in Latin America and of political theology in Europe, young black thinkers went further and sought an indigenous theology growing out of the South African predicament itself. In essence, black theology asked "Blacks to learn to love themselves ... to hate oppression, dehumanization and the cultivation of a slave mentality". It asked them to recognize their "infinite worth before God ... to affirm their blackness" and so to experience "a total conversion, the creation of a new humanity". This was not incitement to hate whites, but a "rejection of white values as the summum bonum", a call to blacks but also a challenge to whites to repent, give up exploitation and repression and "share our dreams and hopes of a new future". (19) Reflecting on the struggle for liberation within the particular circumstances of South Africa, black theology tried to maintain some continuity from within African traditional religion; it also expressed a deep respect for the black experience - the black search for justice in the face of conquest, white domination and the exploitative, socially disrupting forces of an industrial revolution. The region's history had been written very largely in terms of the advent and ascendancy of white power, and this history had now to be rewritten. Instead of a "black problem" there was really a "white problem", in that whites had not responded to the essential challenge of the Gospels to identify with the poor. In the South African situation, to identify meant accepting the hopes of black men and women who

were searching for cultural continuity and seeking to escape the paternalism, psychological oppression and economic exploitation of apartheid structures. In addressing the issue of structural change, African communalism was a recurrent theme and was seen to be an alternative to capitalism or communism. (20)

Black theology, therefore, meshed with much of the Christian Institute's own evolving liberation theology. Both sources of inspiration were presented as the basis for a potential revival of Christian witness within phlegmatic churches; both theologies envisaged the renewal of society through a concern for the poor and hence the promotion of black hopes; both agreed that blacks (the poor) were about to appropriate the Scriptures with unpredictable consequences for salvation history.

During these final years of its existence, as black pressures for change increased and eventually erupted in the Soweto protests and shootings of June 1976, the Institute pursued two additional initiatives which must also have contributed to its being banned in 1977. Naude and his staff alienated the Afrikaner church establishment further by steadily increasing contacts with the black DRCs. At the same time the Institute refined its analysis of structural injustice, probing behind the country's institutional racism and becoming increasingly aware of the dimension of capitalist exploitation.

In the judgement of a growing number of black DRC ministers, the NGK had become a tragic body, dominated by the Broederbond rather than the Scriptures - a corrupted vehicle serving the interests of Afrikaner civil religion. Financial dependency on the white church exacerbated these tensions and there was an increasing tendency to reject the federal, racially structured constitutions of the DRCs. In positive terms, the black churches began to call for a forthright, non-racial witness to church unity, for example common services with a mixing of congregations, and shared decision-making: it was time to drop the condescending terms "Mother Church" (white) and "Daughter Churches" (African, Coloured, Indian). By 1975 the black churches had committed themselves to non-racial membership, the NGK was being called upon to do likewise, and the Kerk in Afrika voted to join the SACC, from which the DRCs had withdrawn in 1961 after the Cottesloe Consultation. (21)

The Institute's increasingly critical approach to capitalism had already been indicated in the 1973 final SPRO - CAS report, A Taste of Power. The themes raised at this time were to be expressed with increasing frequency as the Institute interacted with the black consciousness movement and tried to counter government propaganda, which constantly exploited the white community's ignorance of black politics. As Naude put it in his address to the Convocation of the University of Natal in August 1975:

The vast majority of our African, Coloured and Indian community will never voluntarily accept the present economic system of distribution of wealth and land which the capitalist system, buttressed by a myriad of apartheid laws and regulations, has imposed on them ... The recent developments in Mozambique have focused the attention of many Whites and Blacks in our country on the whole issue of capitalism and socialism. The ruthless suppression by the Government, especially since 1960, of the freedom of the organisation and expression of Black thought which could seriously threaten either the Nationalist policy of Separate Development or the present capitalist system with its major profits always going into White pockets, has created a situation where the majority of Whites live in dangerous ignorance regarding the real feelings and hopes of the Black community on the issue of capitalism and socialism ... the Black leadership which will eventually decide the political future of South Africa ... [favours] a form of socialism which is much closer to the African concept of communal rights, communal

freedoms and communal responsibilities than the present capitalist system. (22)

A few months later Naude was to argue that it was "imperative that objective studies" be allowed within South Africa:

to assess the role of capitalism on the one hand and historic communism on the other hand, especially to ascertain to what degree the emerging form of African socialism could provide a more adequate and just answer to the problem of affluence and poverty which both the first and third world is currently facing. (23)

Of course, the government "with its terrible fear of communism" would not permit such discussions; but this, Naude argued, was where the challenge lay for Christians, this was where the "perspective of the Gospel" could offer new insights for a "more just economic system". (24) Shortly after this the Institute condemned foreign investment in South Africa. (25)

By 1976, the confrontation with the state was therefore no longer simply a matter of protesting against racism and appealing to whites to reform their system. In taking the option for the poor, the Christian Institute had rejected the existing economic system as well as the racist structures of apartheid. The inevitable result was the banning of the Institute and its leading personalities in October 1977. Also banned were the surviving organizations of the Black consciousness movement, including SASO and the BPC.

There are several ways of interpreting this evolution of the Christian Institute's prophetic and dialectical understanding of Christian mission. In trying to live up to its understanding of the social Gospel, the Institute functioned as part of a matrix for personal contacts and the dissemination of ideas, a vital network at a time when African political organizations had been repressed. An important part of the Institute's role was to redefine Christian commitment, which it did by rejecting both the civil religion of Afrikanerdom and the cultic, dualistic aspects of the white-dominated multi-racial churches. This helped the Institute to free itself from the stultifying grip of capitalist culture, which in turn permitted it to interact with South Africa's strain of black theology. The result was an indigenous liberation theology that had its primary impulse in the struggle for identity and justice taking place in the black community.

If the Institute very largely failed in its efforts to transform the understanding of mission in white parishes, and so failed to alter the politics of established white interests, its leading personalities can be seen as a progressive group of thinkers. By this I mean that, working from a biblical theology, they came to identify with the poor and oppressed and in so doing eventually recognized the elements of class conflict as well as racism in the South African situation. All this meant that the Institute's leadership came to see the exploited classes - meaning essentially the vast majority of the country's black population - as the potential source of energy that might, with increased political consciousness, eventually move society towards more egalitarian structures. It would be true to say that the Institute remained deeply suspicious of communism, yet its political analysis pointed it in the direction of democratic socialism. The evolution of the Institute can, therefore, be seen as yet another important reminder of the common ground which can be shared by democratic socialism and a prophetic Christianity which has been galvanized in the process of a liberation struggle.

Finally, the Institute's activities can be viewed as an example of the historical phenomenon of recurring hope. Time and again over the centuries, individuals, groups and even classes have expressed a vision of greater equality - John Bennett has called this the discernment of the "radical imperative". (26) Sometimes such hope has focussed on the redistribution of economic resources; at other times the concern has been for more democratic forms of government; often the

vision has embraced both economics and politics. There are innumerable examples, some of which (by no means all) were inspired by biblical values. To mention but a few: they range from the Jewish prophets condemning new stratifications and privilege in Israel, to Athenian democracy, peasant revolts in 14th century Europe, the English Levellers and Diggers in the decades of 17th century civil war. Further modern, if obvious, examples are the American, French and Russian revolutions as well as the reaction of African, Asian and Latin American peoples against colonialism and economic imperialism.

Such eruptions of hope are often associated with a drive to transform the basis of legitimate government. Occasionally they succeed, as with the French revolution of 1789. With this in mind, it may not be fanciful to see the Christian Institute and the wider phenomenon of liberation theology as an important ingredient of a late 20th century thrust towards more egalitarian social structures, the establishment of which could renew the basis of legitimate government. This complex and still largely frustrated movement, of which radical Christians are but a part, offers an alternative to the widespread erosion of civic virtue and legitimate government as privilege allies itself with tyranny in so many countries around the globe.

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Notes

- (1) L. A. Hewson (ed), Cottesloe Consultation: the Report of the Consultation among South African Member Churches of the World Council of Churches, 7-14 December 1960 (Johannesburg, 1961), pp. 73-78.
- (2) Ibid., p. 79.
- (3) Ibid., p. 8.
- (4) L. Cawood, The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1964), pp. 134-135.
- (5) International Commission of Jurists, The Trial of Beyers Naude (London, 1975), pp. 72-73.
- (6) From 1968 to 1970 state action was taken against more than forty clerics and lay church workers. Cape Argus, 25 February 1971.
- (7) This initiative, the Institute's full-time staff at headquarters in Johannesburg, and the regional office established in Cape Town under the direction of the Rev. Theo Kotze in 1968, had been made possible in part by increasing financial support from overseas, in particular from the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. By 1974/75 three-quarters of the Institute's budget of R200,000 came from such external funding. Christian Institute, Director's Report for the Period August 1 1974 to July 31 1975 (Johannesburg, 29 August 1975), p. 3.
- (8) South African Council of Churches, A Message to the People of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1968), pp. 1-2.
- (9) Ibid., pp. 3, 5-7.
- (10) Beyers Naude, "Apartheid Morally Unacceptable", being the Christian Institute's translation of Naude's "Apartheid is in Stryd met God" Ster (Johannesburg), 13 November 1970.
- (11) Dr Calvin Cook, "Some Frustrations and Hopes for this Five Year Old", Pro Veritate, October 1968, pp. 3-6. Cook was chairman of the Department of Divinity at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- (12) Christian Institute, Director's Report for the Period 1 August 1972 to 31 July 1973 (Johannesburg, 1973), p. 5.

- (13) Peter Randall (ed), A Taste of Power. The final co-ordinated Spro - cas Report (Johannesburg, 1973), pp. 6-7, 9-11.
- (14) "SACC Questions Military Violence", Pro Veritate, August 1974, p. 6, being the Hammenskraal Resolution.
- (15) In addition to SASO and BPC these included members of the Black Allied Workers Union and the Theatre Council of Natal. Christian Institute, Newsletter, 7 January 1975, p. 5.
- (16) "Statements on Detention", Pro Veritate, October 1975, pp. 6-7. The two members were the Rev. James Polly of the Institute's National Board of Management and Horst Kleinschmidt, a staff member.
- (17) Black Community Programme, Budget of Proposals 1973 (Durban, 1973), p. 4.
- (18) SASO was formed from the black caucus of the University Christian Movement. Vide: Peter Walshe, Church versus State in South Africa. The Christian Institute and the Resurgence of African Nationalism in South Africa (London, The Christian Institute Fund Trustees, British Council of Churches, 1978). Also available in The Journal of Church and State, 19, 3, Autumn 1977, pp. 457-479.
- (19) Allan Boesak, "Courage to be Black", South African Outlook, November 1975, pp. 167-169. See too his Farewell to Innocence (New York, 1979).
- (20) Manas Buthelezi, "An African Theology or a Black Theology?" in Mokgethi Motlhabi (ed), Essays on Black Theology (Johannesburg, 1972), pp. 3-9; Black Peoples Convention, Principles and Aims (mimeographed, Hammerskraal); Mashwabada Mayatula, Presidential Address. First National Congress of the Black Peoples Convention (Hammerskraal, 1972), pp. 1-5.
- (21) Author's interviews, Cape Town, 1973; "Manifesto of Faith", South African Outlook, December 1972, pp. 195-203; Ivor Shapiro, "An Historic Moment in the Synod", Pro Veritate, July 1975, p. 11; Christian Institute, Director's Report for the Period August 1 1974 to July 31 1975, p. 5.
- (22) Beyers Naude, "A Glimpse into the Future of South Africa", appendix to Christian Institute, Director's Report for the Period August 1 1974 to July 31 1975, p. 4.
- (23) Beyers Naude, The Individual and the State in South Africa (London, The Christian Institute Fund, 1975), p. 11, being an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs. As Naude's passport had been confiscated by the South African government, the address was read by Sir Robert Birley.
- (24) Ibid.
- (25) Pro Veritate, February 1976, December 1976.
- (26) John Bennett, The Radical Imperative (Philadelphia, 1975).