

White Repentance, Black Forgiveness

Keys to Peace in South Africa

Interview with Michael Cassidy



Michael Cassidy is founder of Africa Enterprise (AE), an evangelistic organization that works for reconciliation between blacks and whites in South Africa through local missions, discipleship training, and other methods -- all based on its calling to minister the gospel of Jesus Christ. Cassidy's 1989 book, *The Passing Summer*, offers a more extensive analysis of the South African situation (see page 12). Mr. Cassidy responded to IRD's questions on recent developments in South Africa.

South Africa is in the midst of monumental change. How and why have these major events occurred? Were the churches in South Africa involved in any way?

The changes currently taking place in South Africa are the result -- in answer to prayer, I believe -- of the convergence of two men of destiny at the right moment. I speak of course of F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, plus the chemistry of all that was happening in South Africa in 1989 and early 1990. With the advent to center stage of de Klerk came an Afrikaner leader courageous enough to face the fact that the apartheid experiment in social engineering had abysmally failed and would never work. He saw

apartheid failing practically, politically, economically, and morally. In fact once the Dutch Reformed Church in 1986 said that apartheid was a sin, the system was doomed.

Afrikaner political leaders still have enough religious conviction to know that they could not in conscience or in political principle pursue a policy which their church had finally declared, albeit woefully late, to be theologically bankrupt. I think de Klerk also realized that black aspirations for full justice and equality had a compelling validity which could no longer be resisted -- without imperiling both Afrikaner survival and the whole nation's future.

World pressures no doubt played a part in precipitating the changes. In some measure, sanctions did as well, but only modestly so, I believe. Theological and other pressures both from the wider world churches and the rest of the South African church were also vital factors toward compelling the normalization of our political processes by releasing Mandela

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Churches Salute Mandela's ANC

By Steve Beard and Lonni Jackson

The hour-long delay at Manhattan's Riverside Church was suddenly broken with the sounds of African drums and chants alerting the crowd to the entrance of Nelson Mandela. He had come to thank the faithful.

The scene was familiar. The historic pulpit at Riverside Church has seen more than its fair share of revolutionary spokesmen over the years. Few, however, have reached the near-sainted status of the recently released Mandela.

Mayor David Dinkins welcomed him to New York as the "modern-day Moses." In his introduction, the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor of Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn went so far as to refer to Mandela as "the bright and morning star," a term the apostle Peter used to refer to Jesus Christ.

Adoration for Mandela has gone well beyond enthusiastic introductions. For years now, the oldline churches' response toward South Africa has been a zealous endorsement of economic sanctions and disinvestment. But with Mandela's visit, oldline churches have energetically strengthened their ties to and support of the African National Congress (ANC).

Take for example the May 18 meeting of the National Council of Churches (NCC). With appeals of solidarity with the ANC, the General Board passionately debated whether South African President F.W. de Klerk should be

allowed to visit the United States prior to Mandela's arrival, a matter that both men considered unimportant. In the end, the NCC issued a resolution expressing "profound dismay and outrage" at President Bush's decision to invite de Klerk "to visit the United States prior to the total dismantling of apartheid in South Africa." (There is a curious double standard at work here. After all, the NCC would not have dreamed of undermining *perestroika* in the U.S.S.R. by demanding that full democracy be established before Bush met with Gorbachev).

Preceding the Mandela celebration at Riverside Church, oldline leaders gathered across the street at NCC headquarters to sign on to "The New York Declaration" which calls for: mandatory comprehensive sanctions by the U.S. government until apartheid is dismantled, release of all political prisoners in South Africa with full amnesty, and a one-person-one-vote election system. The statement reads: "We salute the African National Congress. Their witness continues to instruct us all in our commitment to eliminating racial injustice in the U.S. and

Mandela at Riverside Church



Nelson Mandela responds to the cheers of the 3,500 supporters who packed Riverside Church, New York City, on the second day of his visit to the U.S. in July. Not everyone in the United States greeted Mandela so enthusiastically; his expressions of solidarity with Moammar Gadhafi, Fidel Castro, and Yasser Arafat disturbed many who otherwise had been inclined to support him. Similarly, many are concerned with Mandela's and the ANC's continuing relationship with the South African Communist Party. While these associations may no longer matter significantly in larger geopolitical terms, the concerns they raise about future human rights problems in a new South Africa should have been a concern of U.S. church leaders. Did they take time to discuss these matters with Mandela? RNS PHOTO/Reuters.

South Africa and around the world."

Oldline church support for Mandela has proceeded from solutions to financial resources. During his ANC fund-raising tour through the U.S., Mandela received a check of \$200,000 -- with an additional \$50,000 pledged on behalf of the NCC. According to news reports, the "Mandela Freedom Fund" will assist South African blacks in areas of education, medicine, and housing, including aid to returning exiles. Contributing denominations included the Presbyterian Church (USA), Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the American Baptist Churches, the Episcopal Church, the United Church of Christ, the Church of the Brethren, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Reformed Church in America, the United Methodist Church, and the S. Catholic Conference.

Oldline leadership is still advocating a strict maintain-sanctions policy. Few, if any, have questioned whether such plans are supported in circles of black South Africans broader than those travelled by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the South African Council of Churches. Often, any sign of dissent from the pro-sanctions "orthodoxy" has been effectively stifled with accusations of racism against those who might question the efficacy of sanctions and disinvestment in displacing apartheid.

A notable exception was the July 14, 1989, editorial in *The United Methodist Reporter* which, in light of a Gallup poll showing large numbers of South African blacks approving of sanctions, suggested the "need for a thoughtful re-examination of our stance [toward sanctions]." It added, "We delude ourselves while harming

those we want to help if we see sanctions as a panacea."

In another *Reporter* article, Presiding Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the South African Methodist Church called the preoccupation with sanctions a "distraction."

Still, these views were found in the lone forum of an independent denominational newspaper. The predominant official opinion is still pro-sanctions.

As a matter of fact, General

Secretary Emilio Castro of the World Council of Churches, which has been a financial supporter of the ANC since 1970 and whose 1989 gift equalled \$100,000, supports the "intensification" of sanctions. Not even Mandela has endorsed that position.

There are other options for U.S. churches. First, it is ironic that oldline church leaders have been slow to follow Tutu's lead in calling
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Tough Road Ahead for South African Negotiations

By Dean C. Curry

History, as Reinhold Niebuhr reminded us, is riddled with irony. This truth is nowhere more evident today than in South Africa where the destiny of that troubled land is in the hands of two men whose backgrounds could not be more different.

In the months since President F. W. de Klerk released Nelson Mandela from prison, these two men have struggled to define their positions regarding the shape of a democratic South Africa. In the course of their formal "pre-negotiations," as well as in the ongoing public debate within South Africa, two issues have so far proved immune to accommodation. The first involves the distribution of power; the second concerns the nature of the economy.

Issue #1: Concerning political power, the position of Mandela and the ANC is clear: South Africa's new democratic constitution, to be created by a constituent assembly, must institutionalize the principles of a non-racial, unitary government popularly elected according to a

"one man, one vote" formula. Mandela has repeatedly stated that any other configuration is unacceptable.

De Klerk has been just as unambiguous in rejecting Mandela's call for simple majority rule. In his words, a "one man, one vote"

"... the two major players ... have embraced very different strategies for reaching their shared goal."

formula is not suitable for South Africa, "because it will lead to the domination and even the suppression of minorities." What the governing National Party has in mind -- a view shared by other political organizations including the small, anti-apartheid Democratic Party and the large Zulu-led Inkatha movement -- is a decentral-
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ized government and constitutional system of power-sharing designed to protect minorities.

Issue #2: On economic matters, Mandela is demanding a fundamental redistribution of wealth. Consistent with this, the ANC has spoken clearly against the privatization of current state enterprises, while remaining vague about the extent to which it might advocate further nationalization of resources and industry under different political arrangements. The South African government's response to the ANC economic programs has been likewise vague and restrained, arguably because the economy which the National Party created is already heavily nationalized. Instead, it has been the South African business community that has taken the initiative in voicing concern over Mandela's economic statements.

Disagreement over constitutional and policy issues are not the only considerations threatening to derail South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic dispensation. Even though the two major players have expressed their confidence in the integrity of each other, they have embraced very different strategies for reaching their shared goal.

[Editor's note: The ANC's use of violence against white minority rule has long inhibited the potential for serious negotiation. But as this issue went to press, the ANC agreed to suspend the "armed struggle."]

Mandela, for example, argues that the continuation of sanctions represents the only way to guarantee that the government's reforms will move forward. De Klerk has denounced this strategy, arguing that sanctions are counterproductive. Moreover, de Klerk has emphasized that once formal negotiations begin, all points of view must be officially represented at the negotiating table. The ANC rejects this by claiming for itself the role of sole legitimate representative of all non-white South Africans.

None of these differences are insignificant; indeed, each represents a major obstacle to successful negotiations. What, then, are the chances for South Africa's peaceful transition to a free, truly democratic society? Perhaps the most encouraging factor in the present situation is the sincerity of de Klerk and Mandela. These are two remarkable men -- men of historic stature. Much depends on them individually and on their personal relationship. Also encouraging is the growing support within South Africa from whites, blacks, Indians and those of mixed-racial backgrounds for an end to apartheid, an end to

violence, and the construction of a free and prosperous South Africa for all South Africans.

On the other side of the ledger, however, are daunting problems. Can Mandela control the fanatically radical, anti-democratic elements inside and outside of the ANC? Will the ANC stop its often violent intimidation of black South Africans who do not completely bow to its leadership? Relatedly, will the ANC see the danger of its present policy of trying to marginalize Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha organization? Can Buthelezi come to peaceful terms with the ANC and end that portion of the violence for which his supporters are responsible? Will the ANC jettison, in light of the overwhelming evidence of contemporary history, its anachronistic embrace of statist economic policies? Can de Klerk retain support from those who elected him, much less



De Klerk: No One Doubts He's Serious

South African President F.W. de Klerk has opened the way toward major changes in the apartheid system. What remains to be seen is whether the fragile process of negotiations can hold together long enough to prevent widespread violence.
RNS PHOTO/AP/WideWorld.

control the growing number of extremist whites who vow to fight to the death rather than allow an end to apartheid? Finally, do both F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela fully accept the most important principle of political negotiation -- namely, compromise?

Dean C. Curry teaches political science at Messiah College. He spent the 1989-90 academic year as a John M. Olin fellow at Boston University's Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, during which time he spent several weeks in South Africa.



Steering Clear of Religious Tensions in Nigeria

By Fredrick Jones

Nigeria, like many other countries that are strangely drawn amalgamations of cultures in Africa, is a pressure cooker. Though its government is among a small group in Africa that has pledged to move towards multi-party democracy, the promise alone does little to reduce the heat.

Since its independence from Britain 30 years ago, Nigeria has had eight rulers, four Christian and four Muslim. The current dictator, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, a Muslim, seized power in 1985. Despite his pledge to create a multi-party, civilian government by 1992, his recent acts have disturbed the delicate relations between Christians and Muslims.

Last December, Christians in several high-ranking government positions were replaced by Muslims. Some Christians interpreted the personnel switches as an attempt to squeeze them out of power; riots by Christians in several cities followed. Church leaders in February called for a four-day fast to protest what they called a "skewed" distribution "of social, economic, political, and military power" in the country. Then in April, military officers from the Christian part of Nigeria tried and failed to overthrow Babangida.

In contrast to the allegations of favoritism, Nigeria's new constitution apparently will serve to protect Christians, who make up roughly half of this most populous West African country. Late last year the government made legal provision for limiting the reach of the Sharia courts that administer Islamic law. The government had been pressured by Muslims to extend the Sharia courts to the federal level. According to a News Network International report, the constitution will prohibit the Sharia courts from administering judgments regarding non-Muslims without their consent. Also, states within Nigeria need not establish Sharia courts. If they do, the courts may only judge in personal and family-related matters.

What threatens this tenuous victory for religious freedom is the unstable path leading to democracy. Babangida, who seems to distrust the free development of independent political parties, has created two amorphous parties into which all public philosophies must fit. One is to be politically "center-right," the

other the "center-left." Since these distinctions don't adequately represent the plurality of Nigerian perspectives, some fear that the parties will anchor themselves in religious differences, Christian versus Muslim. Direct conflict between these ethnic/religious groups is not uncommon. In the past, Christian leaders have accused the government of indifference toward Muslim assaults against Christians and their worship places, events that one church leader called an "undisguised threat to the survival of Christianity in Nigeria." Muslims also have protested similar acts by Christians against their mosques.

Between now and the 1992 elections, a census will be taken. If the Muslim Hausa-Fulani from the north, the Yorubas of various faiths in the west, or the Christian Ibos in the east feel that they are under-counted due to political bias, they are likely to fear that they will be under-represented in the new government. Tensions could easily rise as a result, along with new calls to divide the country.

Similar possibilities of greater conflict exist elsewhere in Africa. The militant advance of Islamic fundamentalism and the violent Christian reaction in the Sudan, for example, shows the potency of religious and culturally based conflict. Gains for religious freedom and the hopes for true democracy in Nigeria could vanish quickly.

Taking Action:

Write to your denomination's mission board to discover the nature of its work, if any, in Nigeria. Inquire about the church in Nigeria, and the role it can play in facilitating respectful and peaceful relations among Christians and Muslims, as well as government protection of religious freedom.

ANC, from page 3

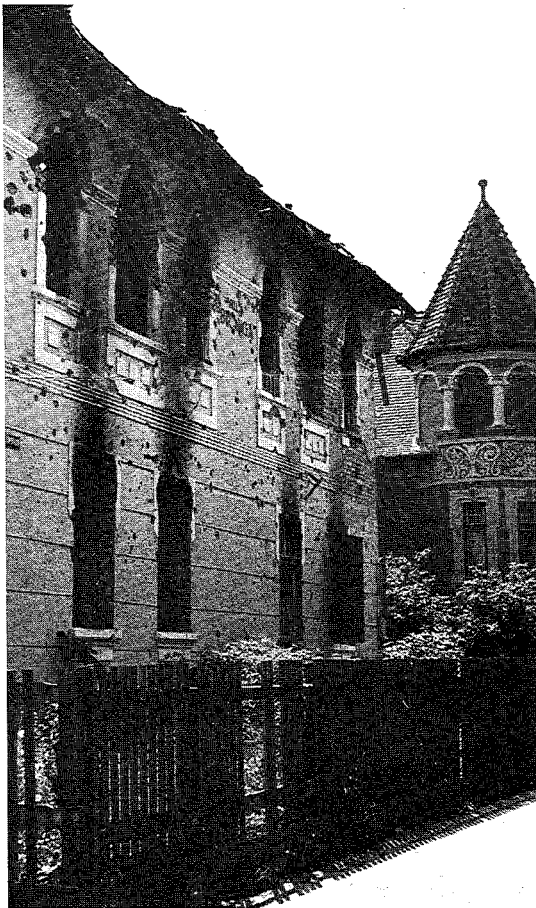
all parties, from the ANC to white supremacist groups, to reject the threat and use of violence. Secondly, U.S. churches should fight the urge to support financially and to legitimize prophetically only one faction in the anti-apartheid movement, namely the ANC, to the exclusion of others. According to Steven Mufson in the July 23, 1990, issue of *The New Republic*, Tutu himself has asked the clergy not to join the ANC or accept ANC posts for fear of compromising the role of the church. Likewise, U.S. churches should seek to broaden their support for non-violent institutions that promote a lasting democratic future for South Africa.

Finally, U. S. Christians should pray for and support the churches in South Africa, which, in the words of Mogoba, must remain "the conscience of the nation."

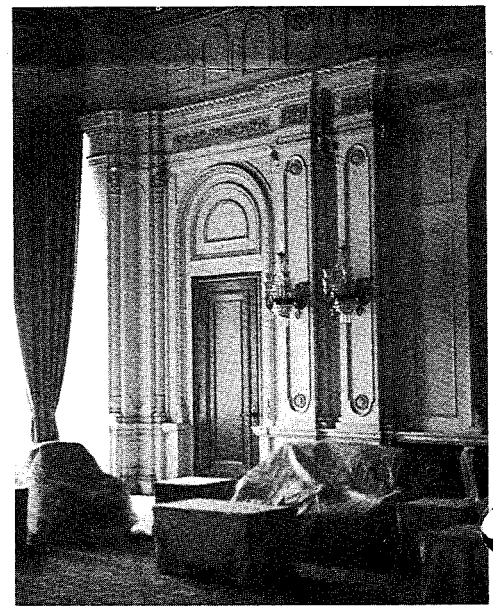
In recent months Marxist regimes throughout Eastern Europe have come tumbling down. IRD Board Chairman Dr. Edmund W. Robb, Jr., and Executive Director Kent Hill travelled to Eastern Europe this past May to observe the elections in Romania and meet with religious leaders in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and East Germany. The following photographs, mostly from Romania, document some of their experiences.

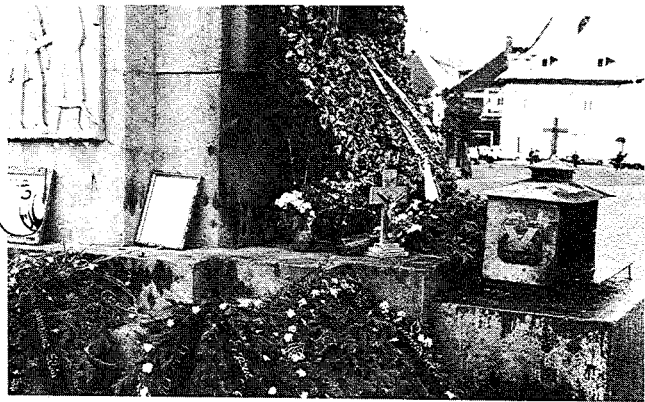
R ebuilding Eastern Europe

Not since Joseph Stalin had Europe experienced a megalomaniac of the proportions of Nicolae Ceausescu. His iron grip on Romania was only broken in December 1989 through a bloody, costly revolution.

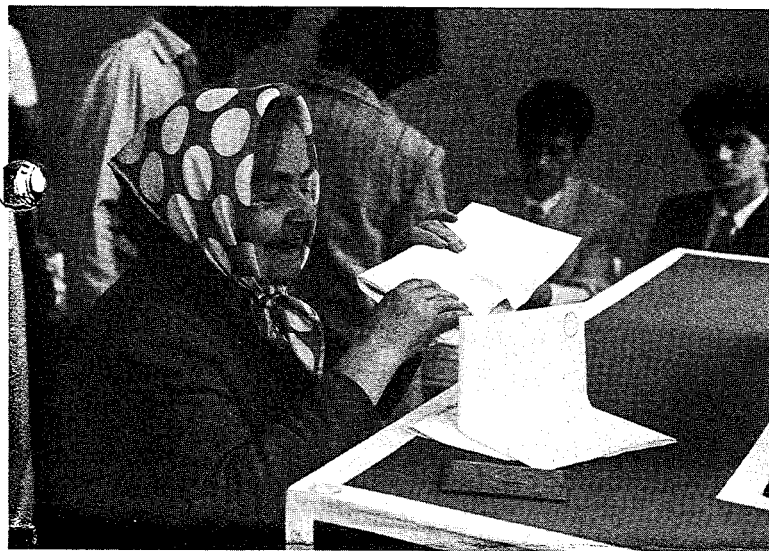


Left: Homes of people associated with the dreaded Securitate were often attacked during the revolution. Above: The mammoth, opulent "White Palace" of Ceausescu, still under construction when the revolution broke out. The extravagant indulgence of Ceausescu's building program of palaces contrasts vividly with the extreme poverty so evident in the countryside. Right: Interior of "White Palace."





Hastily set up memorials (*above*) to those who died in the December 1989 rebellion against Ceausescu. A central square in Sibiu -- one of Romania's largest cities -- was the sight of bitter, violent confrontations between the Securitate and its opponents. *Right:* Infant dedication service in the crowded Second Baptist Church of Oradea. Dr. Nicolae Gheorghita, recipient of IRD's 1990 Religious Freedom Award, is a pastor of this largest Baptist church on the continent of Europe.



Was it a revolution or a coup? Proponents of the latter argue that Ion Iliescu's National Salvation Front is basically a neo-communist regime. In other words, a very bad communist government has been replaced by a better, though still communist, regime. Nevertheless, the May 20 elections marked an important step towards democracy for Romania. There were dozens of political parties, and though they did not have the same access to the media during the campaign that the government did, it was significant that they existed at all. *Above:* Iliescu won more than 80% of the vote against a badly splintered opposition. *Right:* One of the regional headquarters for the Democratic Ecology Party.



"In other words, a very bad communist government has been replaced by a better, though still communist, regime."



A young Baptist woman (upper right) from Medias shows Ed Robb a copy of a newly founded children's religious magazine. Upper left: Patriarch Teoctist of the Orthodox Church, who was still praising Ceausescu just a few days before the dictator's fall, is now on best of terms with the new government. Here on May 20, following a service at the Patriarchal Cathedral in Bucharest, he greets a crowd of well-wishers supportive of the National Salvation Front. Lower left: The Rev. Zdravko Bezlov addresses the Sophia Baptist Church in Bulgaria. Bezlov is the only defendant still living from the famous 1949 trial of 15 Protestants on trumped-up spy



charges. Baptists and Congregationalists here report continued government harassment and interference in their internal church affairs. Lower right: The Rev. Vasile Talos, president

of the Evangelical Alliance, and Robb at a Baptist church in Bucharest. The Alliance is made up of Baptists, Pentecostals, Brethren, and evangelicals from the Orthodox Church.





Baptist Church (*above left*) in Medias in central Rōmania. In May the Baptists, in cooperation with Protestants from other denominations, opened the first Protestant lending library in Romania. Selections were very limited and the organizers are hoping for help from Christians in the West to increase their holdings. There are about 200,000 Baptists in Romania, 200,000 Pentecostals, 100,000 Brethren, over one million Hungarian Reformed, and 14-16 million Orthodox. *Above right:* Crowd of voters outside a



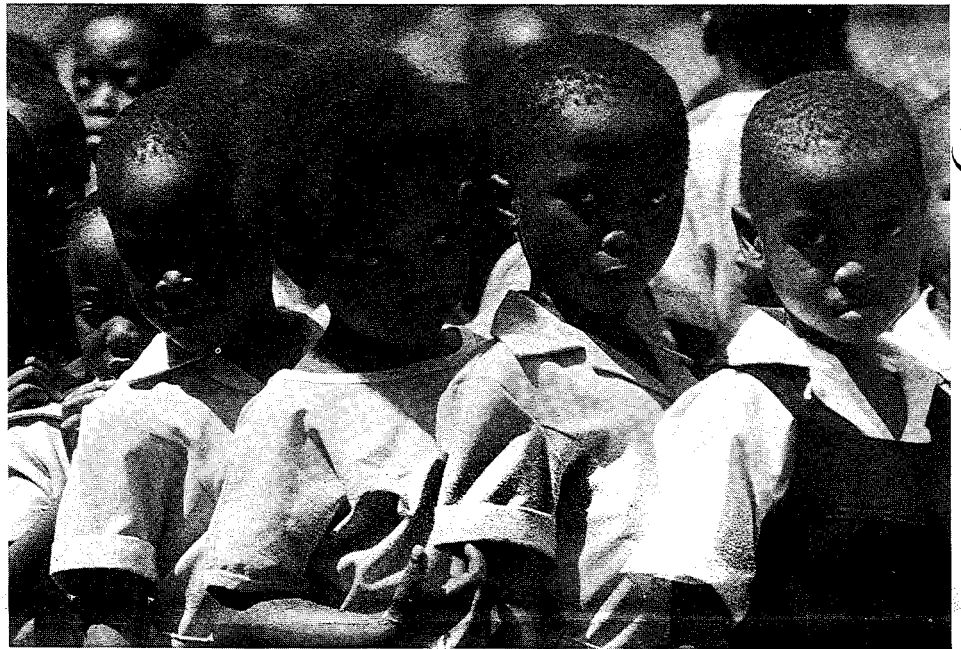
polling place in Bucharest on May 20. *Below:* Father Dumitru Popescu and Kent Hill, in front of the Orthodox Seminary in Bucharest. Popescu is rector of the seminary.

Photos by Kent R. Hill
Layout by Fredrick Jones

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and unbanning the liberation movements.

With the ANC now legalized, and vying for black support, can you give any indication of what kind of popular support it has? What about Inkatha? Does either enjoy significant support from the churches?



Through Africa Enterprise's (AE) Adopt-a-School program, concerned churches provide South African black children such as these a hot meal each day. The IRD encourages those interested to support the ministry of AE. Photo by Lonni Jackson.

The ANC would seem to enjoy the majority of black support in South Africa, though the full extent of it has not yet been tested. On the left of it is the Pan African Congress, a more radical grouping seemingly hostile at this moment to the negotiation idea. They seem to feel blacks are not yet sufficiently "together" to secure the "whole loaf" that they appear to see as possible. On the right of the ANC is Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi's movement, which would appear to have strong rural support among Zulus in the Natal province, but has lost significant ground in the townships and among the Zulu intelligentsia. I would feel a meeting of minds between ANC and Inkatha and between Mandela and Buthelezi is long overdue. Certainly without it, Natal's suffering will continue.

Tell us a bit more about President de Klerk. It has come as a big surprise for most people that de Klerk has been so progressive. Do you feel that he is dealing in good faith, or are these changes only helping to preserve apartheid? Are his actions consistent with his faith and religious upbringing?

De Klerk, I believe, is a genuine Christian and a man of real integrity, as Mandela himself has asserted. It is true that his voting record and posture before becoming president was traditional and orthodox nationalist. But life and history are full of unpredictables. I believe in 1989 he reached the view, as mentioned, that apartheid was finished and morally bankrupt, and he decided on the new course. I'm sure this is genuine with him and comes out of a conviction -- perhaps a political Damascus Road experience, a real and perhaps renewed Christian faith. I sat next to him at a dinner and sensed a deeply sincere man, humble, unassuming, and authentic in his faith. At one point

he commented: "If the church will truly be the church and be true to the gospel, it will help all of us on all sides to come through to a new day." I honestly don't believe he is trying, under some cloak, to preserve apartheid. He knows that is a dead-end street. But I doubt whether he and Mandela are talking about the same thing in terms of full-blown black majority rule and black domination.

De Klerk is still clinging, I think, to the Group Rights idea (based on national groupings) in the hope of somehow protecting Afrikaner identity. This, of course, is anathema to the ANC. It will be a major area of negotiation. My own view is that the Group Rights idea must give way to the Individual Rights principle, which blacks do accept; such a framework can be allowed to operate collectively from time to time (maybe even federally, though that idea is not popular right now with blacks).

Are you optimistic about the future of the negotiation process? Why, or why not?

I see no reason why the negotiation process in South Africa should not work. In fact it must, or we will be sunk. But we dare not approach it along the old adversarial lines where the past battles of the streets are simply lifted onto the conference table. Black and white negotiators must resolve to become partners together in mutual education relating to one another's fears and hopes, in joint analysis of the problem, and then in shared problem-solving and solution-finding.

Great wisdom and grace will be needed. White repentance and black forgiveness will have to be key ingredients. Christian principle will have to be the guiding light within the process -- and in this the powers and views of Christians can be hugely consequential. Great patience will also be necessary as there are potentially wrecking elements from the conservative Right and the far Left. Unless wisely managed, these elements will be able to torpedo endlessly the whole negotiation exercise. This puts both the process and the nation's future on a knife edge. Perhaps with some third party help from professional facilitators and mediators, we will come through.

Much of your work has centered around the concept of "reconciliation." How do you read the willingness of South Africans to seek genuine reconciliation at this time?

I have always said that sooner or later negotiations would be an idea whose time had come. And I said it even when reconciliation was a bad word to blacks (as seemingly something too cheap) and a bad word to whites (as seemingly something too political). I have said it for years and I say it again that in South Africa there are only two options -- we either talk it out and come to real reconciliation or we fight it out and land in epic tragedy. I believe more and more South Africans now see this. Those who don't, and there are still those on left and right who remain prisoners of their histories, must be helped in love and understanding to arrive at this most obvious vital view.

How have the changes in South Africa affected your work and the mission of Africa Enterprise?

The polarized and alienated nature of theological and political discussions in the Church have, in the last five years, made the more traditional type of community-wide evangelism in large campaigns almost impossible. AE therefore moved to a smaller, shorter model of mission lasting only four or five days and focused on either one congregation or on a small cluster of congregations in a town or suburb. These easy-to-mount, low-cost endeavors with modest goals we have called ERA (Evangelism, Reconciliation and Action) missions. With the changes in South Africa we should be able to do more of these, and also to get back to the larger type of campaign. Beyond that we wish to use our Training Center to concentrate on

exercises with reconciliation and renewed relationships as the focus so that we may make a deepened contribution to putting building blocks in place for a post-apartheid society.

How can Christians around the world most effectively contribute to the hopeful movements in South Africa?

Christians around the world can help us first by serious and faithful intercessory prayer. The powers of darkness would, I believe, seek to do everything possible to derail the process leading to a new day in South Africa. Prayer can head that off. Secondly, Christians around the world can give financially to those agencies working for non-violent change, and especially those ministries upholding Christian principle and advancing the ministries of evangelism and renewal. Thirdly, outside churches and governments can help finance programs of education and leadership training focused on the black world, both by financing existing programs in South Africa and also by giving scholarships for blacks to be trained abroad. The process of black empowerment under Christ's authority is vital.

I also feel governments should now encourage de Klerk and not punish him further. To me the process to a new society is irreversible and de Klerk needs something to show for his efforts, lest significant Afrikaner support drain away and defect to the right wing.

But the biggest thing of all is to pray for Christ's power in South Africa to prevail. Every time you see a news bulletin or article on South Africa -- pray. Especially for de Klerk and Mandela, plus wisdom and flexibility for all.

IRD is Moving!

As of September 1, 1990 the new address for the Institute on Religion and Democracy will be:

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subscription, \$15 per year.
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amount are welcome.

Additional Reading on South Africa

Research Assistant *Lonni Jackson*, who follows South African affairs for IRD, assembled the following select list of helpful books:

√ *South Africa: Revolution or Reconciliation?*, by Walter Kansteiner (second edition, Bristol Books, 1989). The author applies the Christian "just war" principles to the South African situation to consider whether conditions exist for a "just revolution." Concluding that the armed struggle is not the answer, he shows how those in the West can be involved in specific ways to help foster positive, peaceful change through the process of "democratic enhancement." Available for \$8.00 from the IRD.

√ *The Passing Summer*, by Michael Cassidy (Regal Books, 1989). Written for the layperson, this book gives an inside look into the role of the church in the socio-political history of South Africa. The author, a native South African, treats with special insight the history of the Afrikaner nation and the rise of apartheid theology. Cassidy rejects this theology because it "goes against God's moral framework for the universe," and has created massive hardship and inequality. Cassidy emphasizes the need for Christians of all races to forgive each other, and be truly reconciled. He encourages the church to face up to its moral responsibility, and to be a positive force for peaceful change. Available for \$16.95 from African Enterprise, P.O. Box 727, Monrovia, CA 91017, (818) 357-8811.

√ *South Africa: Diary of Troubled Times*, Nomavenda Mathiane (Freedom House, 1989). The author is a black journalist who writes for *Frontline*, an independent South African journal, and lives in the township of Soweto. This is a graphic first-hand account of life as a black under the apartheid system. Short essays cover the range of "normal events," from helping with the birth of a child in a minibus taxi on the way to work, to attending the burial of a friend. The author exposes the awful consequences of apartheid in the townships. She recognizes that the violence used by many of those opposed to apartheid is not the answer to apartheid, but, rather, one of its horrible consequences. Available for \$12.95 from Freedom House, 48 East 21st Street, New York, NY 10010, (212) 473-9691.

√ *A Future South Africa*, edited by Peter L. Berger and Bobby Godsell (Westview Press, 1988). This is a joint effort by 23 U.S. and South African scholars to provide a balanced discussion of the various political groups and organizations active in South Africa today. The authors give an analysis of the history, values, and strategies of the political players, and provide insights which help the reader understand the complexities of South African politics in the midst of monumental change. Available for \$19.95 from Westview Press, 5500 Central Ave., Boulder, CO 80301.

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