

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

## Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

---

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

---

6-1-1958

### Racisim and the Chrisitian World Mission

Joseph Ellwanger

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm>



Part of the [Practical Theology Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Ellwanger, Joseph, "Racisim and the Chrisitian World Mission" (1958). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 134.

<https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/134>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact [seitzw@csl.edu](mailto:seitzw@csl.edu).

RACISM AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

---

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Practical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

---

by

Joseph William Ellwanger

June 1958

72149

Approved by:

W. J. Danko  
Advisor

Harry G. Lomas  
Reader

51838



BV  
4070  
C69  
M3  
1958  
no.2  
C.2

Short Title: RACE AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

| Chapter                                                                              | Page |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .                                                            | 1    |
| II. THE THINKING OF RACISM . . . . .                                                 | 7    |
| The World and Race Today . . . . .                                                   | 7    |
| Defining and Describing Racism . . . . .                                             | 14   |
| Early Expressions of Racism . . . . .                                                | 21   |
| Forms of Ethnic Racism Today . . . . .                                               | 27   |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 31   |
| III. THE RISE OF WESTERN RACISM AND NON-WESTERN COUNTER-RACISM . . . . .             | 35   |
| The Rise of Western Racism . . . . .                                                 | 35   |
| Forms of Present Day Western Racism . . . . .                                        | 40   |
| The Rise of Counter-Racism in the Non-West . . . . .                                 | 48   |
| Examples of Western Non-Racism . . . . .                                             | 63   |
| The Causes of Racism and Non-Racism . . . . .                                        | 73   |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 86   |
| IV. THE CHURCH'S ROLE IN WESTERN RACISM AND THE REVELATION OF THE NON-WEST . . . . . | 89   |
| The Church's Contributions to Western Racism . . . . .                               | 89   |
| The Church's Opposition to Western Racism . . . . .                                  | 103  |
| The Church's Contributions to the Revelation of the Non-West . . . . .               | 110  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 122  |
| V. THE INTERACTION OF WESTERN RACISM AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION . . . . .       | 125  |
| The Impact of Western Racism on the Christian World Mission . . . . .                | 125  |
| The Impact of the Christian World Mission on Western Racism . . . . .                | 133  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 144  |
| VI. THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION IN A WORLD OF RACISM AND COUNTER-RACISM . . . . .    | 146  |
| The Mission to the Church . . . . .                                                  | 146  |
| The Mission to the Non-Christian . . . . .                                           | 153  |
| The Mission to Society . . . . .                                                     | 160  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 167  |



TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter                                                                              | Page |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .                                                            | 1    |
| II. THE BEGINNINGS OF RACISM . . . . .                                               | 9    |
| The World and Race Today . . . . .                                                   | 9    |
| Defining and Describing Racism . . . . .                                             | 14   |
| Early Expressions of Racism . . . . .                                                | 17   |
| Forms of Ethnic Racism Today . . . . .                                               | 27   |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 34   |
| III. THE RISE OF WESTERN RACISM AND NON-WESTERN COUNTER-RACISM. . . . .              | 35   |
| The Rise of Western Racism . . . . .                                                 | 35   |
| Forms of Present Day Western Racism . . . . .                                        | 40   |
| The Rise of Counter-Racism in the Non-West . . . . .                                 | 58   |
| Examples of Western Non-Racism . . . . .                                             | 63   |
| The Causes of Racism and Non-Racism . . . . .                                        | 75   |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 86   |
| IV. THE CHURCH'S ROLE IN WESTERN RACISM AND THE REVOLUTION OF THE NON-WEST . . . . . | 89   |
| The Church's Contributions to Western Racism . . . . .                               | 89   |
| The Church's Opposition to Western Racism . . . . .                                  | 103  |
| The Church's Contributions to the Revolution of the Non-West . . . . .               | 112  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 122  |
| V. THE INTERACTION OF WESTERN RACISM AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION . . . . .       | 124  |
| The Impact of Western Racism on the Christian World Mission . . . . .                | 124  |
| The Impact of the Christian World Mission on Western Racism . . . . .                | 143  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 146  |
| VI. THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION IN A WORLD OF RACISM AND COUNTER-RACISM . . . . .    | 148  |
| The Mission to the Church . . . . .                                                  | 148  |
| The Mission to the Non-Christians . . . . .                                          | 158  |
| The Mission to Society . . . . .                                                     | 167  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                    | 186  |



| Chapter                                                                                                                                       | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| VII. SPECIAL STUDY: RACISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AFRICA . . .                                                                             | 189  |
| Apartheid in South Africa--A Brief History . . . . .                                                                                          | 189  |
| Apartheid and the Society of South Africa . . . . .                                                                                           | 195  |
| Apartheid and the Church of South Africa . . . . .                                                                                            | 209  |
| The Apartheid of South Africa and the World . . . . .                                                                                         | 214  |
| Summary . . . . .                                                                                                                             | 219  |
| VIII. CONCLUSIONS . . . . .                                                                                                                   | 222  |
| APPENDIX A. A Sample of "A Questionnaire Concerning the Impact of<br>Race Relations in the U. S. on the Christian World<br>Mission" . . . . . | 232  |
| APPENDIX B. Essay Answers to Part I of the Questionnaire . . . . .                                                                            | 235  |
| APPENDIX C. A Tabulation of the Responses in Part II of the<br>Questionnaire . . . . .                                                        | 253  |
| APPENDIX D. Information on the Respondents to the Questionnaire .                                                                             | 257  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 259  |



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

President Eisenhower has to dispatch a unit of federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, before nine Negro children are admitted to a previously all-white high school. A white school teacher in Georgia is dismissed from her teaching post because she permitted one of her students, who had missed his bus after school, to ride a school bus filled with Negro children. Finance Minister Gbedemah of Ghana is refused service in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Delaware because his skin is black. Hundreds of Africans around Johannesburg and Sophiatown, South Africa, are arrested and jailed or fined during the course of an average week--because they happen not to have a dated pass with them when a policeman demands it. This is Western racism--with its emotional, stubborn sense of white superiority--in full marching step.

Blaring from a high-powered radio station in Egypt come messages like this one:

Awake nationals of Africa: open your eyes and march forward. My brother compatriots, how long will you remain slaves of white settlers? How long will you allow your blood to be sucked by these white pigs? How long will you permit these white pythons to spit in your faces? My brothers, the time has come for you to become masters of your own countries. The time has come to evict the British from your country.<sup>1</sup>

This is non-Western counter-racism--coupled with bitterness toward Western economic colonialism--also in full marching step.

Millions of people, in the United States and in South Africa espe-

---

<sup>1</sup>"Voice of Venom," Time, LXX (March 3, 1958), 28f.



cially, who happen to have a dark skin are being "kept in their place" by white men--white men who often carry out their oppression in the name of Christianity. And millions of peoples of color throughout the world are in revolt against the white man's oppression.

Yet some Westerners claim that the racial unrest has been stirred up by agitators, that there is nothing fundamentally unjust about segregation and apartheid. Some white Christians in the West say that all the racism and counter-racism in the world today has little to do with the Church and that the Church has little to do with racism and counter-racism. It is purely a political and sociological problem for them. At the same time, some white Christians in the West believe that the Church has a responsibility to uphold "racial purity" and Western racism. Still other Caucasian Christians are convinced that the Church has a clear mission to oppose every form of racism in the life of the Church and of society.

It is the purpose of this paper to determine what the Christian world mission is in a world of racism and counter-racism. To do this the paper will first seek to understand how the racism and counter-racism of today have evolved. Then it will study the historical impact of the Church and its world mission upon racism and of racism upon the Church. On the basis of this understanding of racism and of the interaction of the Church's world mission and racism, an outline will be made, finally, of the Christian world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism.

That there should be such divided thinking on the part of Western Christians concerning the Church's mission in a world of racism is indicative of the need and the importance of study in this area. The author's



concern in this area been brought to a real-life focus through his experiences with Negroes and whites around his home in central Alabama and through a pastoral internship in the Negro community of Kansas City, Missouri. The importance of seeing race in a world perspective became apparent to the author during the course of the work on his B.D. thesis: Integration and the Lutheran Church in the South. While working so intently with the details of racism in the South, the author sensed the need for stepping back and seeing the whole picture with its universal themes. The Little Rock crisis, with its world-wide reverberations, occurred just as the author was beginning his research. The event underscored the crucial importance of the study.

The topic "Racism and the Christian World Mission" makes a broad sweep of many areas of study. Some of these areas are: the psychology and sociology of racism; the historical and political development of Western racism; the history of Western colonialism and imperialism; the relation of Christian missions to Western colonialism; the relation of Christian theology to race; the relation of Church and society; the nature and program of the Christian world mission; the history of the migrations of peoples. Because of the scope of this subject, the writer does not pretend to have made a definitive study of his topic. Rather, it is only a beginning.

The author has consulted the basic studies in the area of racism and its relation to the Christian world mission. He has also consulted numerous magazines, journals, and newspapers for current thought on the topic. In addition, he drew up a questionnaire and sent it to Christians in seventeen countries to ascertain their reaction to Western racism.



For a well-rounded view of race from practically every aspect, the author consulted the UNESCO series of fourteen booklets on race, written by recognized authorities in their respective fields. Some of the more useful volumes in the series were: Race and Society, Kenneth L. Little; Race Mixture, Harry L. Shapiro; The Ecumenical Movement, the Churches and the Race Problem, W. A. Visser 't Hooft; What is Race? Evidence from Science.

To ascertain current sociological findings concerning race and racism in a world perspective, the author found these works especially useful: Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, E. Franklin Frazier; Race Issues on the World Scene, Melvin Conant; Race and Culture, Robert Park. Melvin Conant's work was especially helpful in that it collated the findings of many of the world's leading sociologists. It is a summary report of the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective, held in Honolulu in 1954.

For an understanding of the relation of economics to the global race issue Ralph Bunche's A World View of Race was helpful. Its weakness, however, seemed to lie in its one-sided emphasis on the dynamics of economics.

Gordon Allport's work on the The Nature of Prejudice contributed valuable psychological insights into the nature and dynamics of racism and racial prejudice. The work was largely orientated to the United States scene, however.

In understanding key racial situations in specific geographic areas the author consulted these works: Caste in India, J. H. Hutton; Negroes in Brazil, Donald Pierson; The American Dilemma, Gunnar Myrdall; and



Race and Society, Kenneth Little. This last work was especially useful for an understanding of the racial situation in Great Britain.

The chapter on South Africa depends especially on three works: The Land and People of South Africa, Alan Paton; Naught for Your Comfort, Trevor Huddleston; Christianity and Race, Philip Mason. Conant's volume added some much-needed sociological viewpoints on the South Africa situation.

The only major work on the issue of world racism from the Christian viewpoint is Edmund Soper's Racism: A World Issue. The volume's main value is its excellent description of the global issue of race. Liston Pope's The Kingdom Beyond Caste, though small in size, is helpful in relating the issue of race to the Christian world mission.

The author found three works especially articulate in explaining the revolution of the non-West against the backdrop of Western racism and colonialism: Christianity and the Asian Revolution, edited by Rajah B. Manikam; The Meaning of Bandung, Carlos Romulo; The Pitiful and the Proud, Carl T. Rowan. Rowan's work is an account of his tour throughout India and Southeast Asia. The recorded conversations of Asians with a Negro American, many of them reactions to Western racism and colonialism, provide excellent primary source material on counter-racism, the revolution of the non-West, and the impact of Western racism upon the non-West.

Edgar M. Carlson's The Church and the Public Conscience offered valuable insights into the relation of Church and society.

One of the most explicit applications of Lutheran theology to race is Grace and Race in the Lutheran Church by Alf M. Kraabel. John LaFarge's The Catholic Viewpoint in Race Relations is especially good in

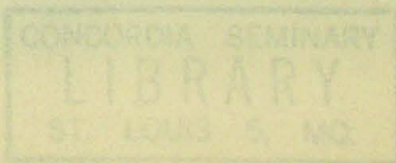


connecting the racial question with the doctrine of the Church and of the sacraments.

For some of the primary source material, as well as some secondary material, the author searched methodically in current issues of The Christian Century, Time, Ebony, The Crisis, The International Review of Missions, His, and New South. The author searched especially the issues of these magazines from September, 1957, to March, 1958. All the magazines stress the global perspective of the race issue.

The author drew up a questionnaire concerning "the impact of race relations in the United States on the Christian world mission" in order to elicit spontaneous reactions of Christians throughout the world. The author felt that the prevalent sweeping statements concerning the attitudes of non-Westerners toward white racism were not clearly enough stated to determine with any degree of accuracy the impact of Western racism on non-Western Christianity. Since the author knew of no more than one or two published statements of non-Western Christians in reaction to Western racism, he determined to get a crosscut of Christian reaction via a questionnaire. The questionnaire is printed in full in Appendix A, and the essay responses, together with the tabulation of objective responses, are included in Appendices B and C. Information concerning the respondents may be found in Appendix D.

Eight questionnaires were sent to each of the 17 representative countries chosen. A total of 42 were returned from seven countries. Twenty-two came from Japan, where an ambitious Japanese Christian re-duplicated the questionnaire to provide copies in addition to the 8 sent by the author. The number of returned questionnaires are listed here in



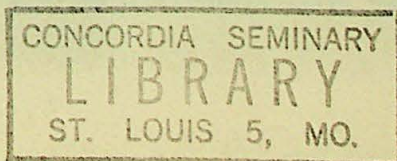


parentheses behind the name of the country: The Philippines (3); Iraq (5); The Union of South Africa (4); Nigeria (3); Salvador (1); Malaya (3). The questionnaires were sent to one individual, usually a Western missionary, and he distributed them among national Christians only.

On account of the language barrier and other reasons, the missionaries who were contacted in Tanganyika, Belgian Congo, and French Camerouns felt that it was impossible for them to administer the questionnaires. The contact men in Pakistan and in Indonesia have responded with their promise to administer the questionnaires, but the completed questionnaires have not been returned in time to include them in the study. No word has been received at all from the remaining five nations: India, British Guiana, Liberia, Korea, and Formosa.

Special credit is due the seven contact men who administered the questionnaires which have been returned and form a part of this study, as well as the individual Christians who took the time to work through this ponderous English questionnaire. A special recognition is due those respondents who took the time to write out in English their own answers to the essay part of the questionnaire. These written reactions form an invaluable part of this study as evidence of the impact of Western racism on the Church of the non-West.

The questionnaire, of course, had its limitations. Forty responses from seven nations cannot begin to offer a complete picture of the impact of Western racism on the non-Western Church and on the Christian world mission. Furthermore, the possibility of misunderstanding a questionnaire in a foreign language is always quite probable, to say nothing of the inherent weaknesses of a questionnaire. But the questionnaire did





provide some actual reactions of non-Western Christians to Western racism, and some very general conclusions could be drawn from them.

The thesis may be divided into four main parts. Chapters II and III deal with the history of racism. Chapters IV and V show the interaction of the Church's world mission and racism upon each other. The goal of the thesis is reached in Chapter VI, where the Christian world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism is outlined. And the special study on South Africa in Chapter VII is an application of the findings of the thesis to the most crucial area of Western racism at the present time.



## CHAPTER II

### THE BEGINNINGS OF RACISM

To understand the relationship of racism to the Christian world mission requires a thorough understanding of the Christian world mission. And it also requires a thorough understanding of the history and the nature of racism. These first two chapters are an attempt at an introduction to this highly complex subject of racism.

#### The World and Race Today

Though scientists agree that there is no pure race and that all men come from a common ancestor, they do talk about three racial strains: the Caucasoid, or "white" strain; the Negroid, or "black" strain; and the Mongoloid, or "yellow" strain.

The lines dividing the three racial strains are very indistinct. The "whitest" Caucasoids may be found in northwestern Europe. The "blackest" Negroids are pocketed around the right-angled coast line of central West Africa. And the "most yellow" Mongoloids live on the islands of Japan and in eastern China. Beyond the nebulous boundaries of these pockets of the three "typical" racial strains the races melt into various colors and shades: the brunettes of the Mediterranean basin; the browns of northern and eastern Africa and of the Middle East; the varicolored peoples of India; the "coffee-with-cream" Polynesians; the many-shaded Eskimos and Indians of the Western hemisphere.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Australia and of some of the surrounding islands of the Pacific are so different from the three racial strains



and the "in-betweens" in the rest of the world that some scientists have suggested they represent a fourth racial strain. Scientists are coming more and more, however, to classify these aboriginals as another variation on the Negroid theme. It was largely because of the aborigines' seeming inability to "become civilized" that scientists at first hesitated to classify them even as homo sapiens. The general consensus of scientists and sociologists at the present time is that the aborigines have remained stagnant in a primitive level of culture mainly because "they have been cut off from the fertilizing effects of cultural contacts with other peoples"<sup>1</sup> and not because of an intrinsic inferiority to other peoples.

Just how the three racial strains have developed from one common source is not conclusively known. But most scientists and sociologists agree that the racial types have come about as a result of three interacting causes.

First, some of the racial characteristics seem to have developed from a gradual adjustment of the body to the surrounding climate and from a survival of the fittest. For example, the slant eyes and the flat nose of the Mongoloid seem to have developed as a defense against the cold of the Siberian wastes. Perhaps even the color of the skin is a gradual adjustment of the body to the surrounding climate. The Negroid skin certainly is better equipped to withstand the direct rays of the tropical sun and the humid atmosphere of the tropical jungle than is the Cauca-

---

<sup>1</sup>Ashley Montagu, Statement on Race (New York: Henry Schuman, 1951), p. 93.

What is Race? Evidence from Scientists. (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), p. 25.



soid, or even the Mongoloid, skin. And it is in the tropics where most Negroids may be found. It must be admitted, however, that this reason for the development of the racial strains is only a strong possibility. It cannot be substantiated by supporting evidence.

Second, scientific evidence has shown that major changes can take place suddenly by mutation in the human genes. For example, woolly hair appeared a few generations ago in a Norwegian family, where previously there had been nothing but the typical, straight, Nordic hair. And the new characteristic was handed down to each succeeding generation.<sup>2</sup>

A third reason for racial strains is geographic isolation. The Australian aborigines, cited before, are a prime example of how continual inbreeding, necessitated by geographical isolation, can apparently develop and perpetuate unique racial characteristics. The aborigines, with otherwise rather Negroid features, have a large amount of body hair, a unique Caucasian characteristic. But, again, it must be stated that this reason for the development of racial strains is only a possibility, not a proved fact.

Just how the three racial strains came about, therefore, is largely conjecture, based on some scientific data. And undoubtedly there is no single cause, but instead, a complicated combination of interacting forces.

Regardless of whether science can figure out how the three racial types evolved, scientists do seem to agree that all men stem from the same ancestry, that there are three dominant "racial" strains within this

---

<sup>2</sup>What is Race? Evidence from Scientists. (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), p. 25.



one humanity, and that there is no such thing as a "pure race" which has never had experiences of mutual influence with other "races."

It might be added to these scientific facts concerning race that Christian theology asserts, also, that man has a common ancestry in Adam and Eve, whom God formed out of the dust of the earth.

Yet in spite of the oneness of humanity, "in the troubled affairs of men race is of consequence because of what men feel about it and not because of anything that race is itself."<sup>3</sup> Thus, race has become one of the most explosive factors in the life of the world community.

It is no accident that the conference on "Christian Bases of World Order," held in Delaware, Ohio, March 8-12, 1943, chose race as the first of the factors in world order to be discussed. In addition to the topic of race the conference also discussed such pivotal world problems as economic freedom, the relation of land and human welfare, politics, health, the workers of the world, and human character from the standpoint of their relation to the world order. According to Edmund Soper:

All of these factors are related to the race problem and frequently reveal a peculiar intensity by their racial connection. By no means should one go to the extent of saying that all the other issues are aspects of the race problem, but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that of all the ills to which humanity finds itself heir today there is none more virulent and none which has so many facets, involves so many human beings, and affects so many world issues as that of race.<sup>4</sup>

In 1954 a group of world leaders, composed largely of sociologists, met in Honolulu at the invitation of the University of Hawaii in a Con-

---

<sup>3</sup>Edmund Davison Soper, Racism: A World Issue (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1947), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 248.



ference on Race Relations in World Perspective. They were so convinced of the importance of a proper global understanding of race that they formed the International Society for Scientific Study of Race Relations. They hoped that by studying the events in one part of the world insight might be gained into developments of another.<sup>5</sup>

Though not every citizen of the United States is aware of the worldwide importance of race, most governmental leaders in the United States have come, since World War II, to a sudden realization of the key role it plays in the drama of world peace. Howard K. Smith, famous news commentator, stated in New South, after the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation, that he does not believe the new necessity for integration has been fully explained to the people of the United States.

Smith explains the "new necessity" this way:

It is not the whim of nine allegedly misguided do-gooders on the Supreme Court that is causing this. What is mainly responsible is a direly perilous world situation in which America must prove the moral worth of her civilization, or lose mankind's support and eventually go down to defeat and enslavement.<sup>6</sup>

King Badouin I of Belgium recently cited as "the essential question" for Belgian Congo that of human relationships between black and white. He said that industrialization, wise social legislation, and improvement in the standard of living would not be enough. "In their daily contacts white and black should give proof of the greatest possible mutual under-

---

<sup>5</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 141.

<sup>6</sup>Howard K. Smith, "Luxury We Cannot Afford," New South, XII (October, 1957), 9.



standing."<sup>7</sup>

In nearly every part of the world national leaders and alert citizens recognize the prime importance of healthy race relations and the explosive danger of poor race relations.

Though there is some sort of racial discord, or some ethnic discord that takes on the form of racial discord, in many nations throughout the world, the race issue is far more than an intramural problem for each nation. The big racial discord in the world today is: Caucasian vs. all the colored peoples of the world; Westerner vs. non-Westerner. John Strietelmeier had this racial picture in mind when he described the numerical odds that are rising up against the Caucasian:

As men grow each day more numerous, something else happens; the ratio between the "white" and the "colored" population of the world keeps shifting toward the "colored" side. This would mean nothing if men looked at each other simply as men. In a world with a color line, it means that the white minority is reaping what it sowed. In much of the Far East the white is now effectively closed out. In other areas, particularly in Africa, he is being hard pressed.<sup>8</sup>

And so in a world where one-third of the people are Caucasian and two-thirds are people of color and in a world where Caucasian and colored have a strong tendency to clash, race is more than an academic subject to study. It is a vital key to the well-being of every nation and every person in the world.

#### Defining and Describing Racism

---

<sup>7</sup>Robert O. Stephens, "Race Relations in Congo," His, XVIII (April, 1958), 15.

<sup>8</sup>John Strietelmeier, God in our Confused World (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 11.



According to Ruth Benedict, "racism is the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority."<sup>9</sup> Racism, therefore, may condemn one of the three racial strains as inferior, or it may condemn an ethnic group as inferior, such as the Turks, or the Jews, or the Italians, or the Irish.

Philip Mason, an Englishman, sees no fundamental difference between the animosities that arise between races and those between other groups who are separated by social class, by languages, or by religion.<sup>10</sup> It is true that the hatred that arises between social classes or between different religious groups acts as though the other group were innately inferior, whether or not such a belief is articulated.

In a very real sense, then, any sort of hostility between groups of people—religious groups, ethnic groups, "racial" groups, social groups—is a type of racism, an expression of human prejudice. But of all these types of racism, the most explosive is that directed toward a "racial" group. For the Negro and the Caucasian and the Mongolian cannot easily be confused with one another. The Negro is usually a dark brown. The Caucasian is usually a very light color. And the Mongolian ordinarily has a yellow tinge, with unmistakable slanted eyes. Here are visible, unchangeable symbols around which people may build their prejudices and express their racism. It is usually rather difficult to tell the Irish-

---

<sup>9</sup>Ruth Benedict, Race: Science and Politics (New York: Viking, 1940), p. 153.

<sup>10</sup>Philip Mason, Christianity and Race (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957), p. 16.



man from the Englishman. But anyone can tell the difference between the Caucasian and the Negro (forgetting the "in-betweens" for a moment). And so, when the fact of difference in race enters the economic or religious or ethnic conflicts of groups, "the antagonism becomes all the more bitter, and greater is the danger of long-continued and determined opposition."<sup>11</sup> For it is difficult for a person to hide or to change his "racial" badge.

Psychologist Gordon Allport has pointed out two basic characteristics of any type of prejudice,<sup>12</sup> and these two qualities are especially true of "racial" prejudice. First, rejection and hostility are always part of prejudice. True, there are different intensities of hostility in prejudiced people, but there is always some feeling or act of hostility expressed by a prejudiced person.

A second characteristic of a prejudiced person is perhaps more important to note because it is more subtle: that the prejudiced person's rejection is categorical, and not individual. This is especially true of the "racially" prejudiced. "The object of race prejudice," E. Franklin Frazier has stated, "is not necessarily an individual with certain observable characteristics, but an individual who is identified as a member of a racial group."<sup>13</sup> This categorical quality of prejudice cuts through to the bedrock of racism. It is this characteristic which makes racism so

---

<sup>11</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 66.

<sup>12</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954), p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 275.



vicious. Thus, a Negro Ph.D. in Alabama is refused admittance to most public libraries, not because of who he is as an individual, but because of who he is as a member of a racial group. This is the categorical rejection of racism in action.

In summary, racism may be defined as the dogma which teaches the innate superiority of certain ethnic groups and the innate inferiority of certain other ethnic peoples. (One who believes in this dogma is a racist.) Racism aimed at one of the three "racial" strains of humanity is probably the most intense version of the dogma because of the rigidity of "races" compared with the fluid, almost invisible, nature of ethnic and religious groups. Two essential characteristics of the racist's prejudice are hostility and categorical rejection.

#### Early Expressions of Racism

Racism cannot be thoroughly understood until it is seen working itself out in the lives of people. The next few sections, describing the development of racism, should lead to a clearer understanding of racism and its causes.

Philip Mason suggests that pious and well-instructed Jews, such as the Pharisees, Saducees, scribes, and lawyers, must have thought of their relations with the gentiles in terms not very different from those which Afrikaners might use to describe their relations with the Bantu of South Africa.<sup>14</sup> The devout Jew did believe that he must keep as far away as possible from gentiles. He was convinced that this was God's will. Eating at a common table and intermarriage with a gentile were especially

---

<sup>14</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 102.



taboo for most pious Jews. Such relationships with the gentiles, the Jews believed, would pollute the people from whom the world's salvation was to come. The Jews' aloofness and extreme separateness from the surrounding peoples bristles with the characteristics of racism, with a categorical rejection of every non-Jew.

But God required this separateness of the Jews, Christians counter. And it is true that God required the Jews not to marry any idolatrous goyim during the early years of Israel's conquest of the promised land. But nowhere does God forbid commensality between Jews and gentiles. In "the stranger in the gate" they are to host and to take care of. And the ban against intermarriage, as well as the many warnings against pollution with the gentiles, were always made by God with one purpose in mind: to keep the Israelites faithful to the one true God. In Deuteronomy Seven, for instance, God states this purpose very clearly: "You shall not make marriages with them. . . . For they would turn away your sons from following me, to serve other gods." The requirements of separateness which God placed on the children of Israel are no different in essence from the separateness from the world which Christians are to maintain. The Jews, like the Christians of today, were to refrain from any association with people which would seriously endanger their faith in the true God or impair their witness to Him.

The Jews' separateness from the goyim was, therefore, to be part of their earnest hold on God and not a part of any feeling of ethnic superiority or aloofness. The separateness was to be maintained for the glory of God and not for the glory of the people of Israel. For some Israelites, no doubt, their separateness from the gentiles was carried out for



the glory of God and for the sake of their faith in Him. But for many Jews the separateness sprang from a sense of innate superiority. And even those who kept their distance from the gentile for the glory of their God undoubtedly kept a much greater distance than God intended. The intense opposition of early Christian Jews to Peter's eating with gentiles and to Paul's dedicated ministry to the gentiles of the Mediterranean world is clear testimony to the fact that many Jews were practising ethnic racism.

The Jews perverted God's holy intentions into an ethnic racism at varying degrees of intensity from the time of Moses, about 1400 B.C., onward. At about the same time, perhaps a century or two earlier than Moses, the invasion of India by the Aryans was leading up to the caste system, a form of racism that remained an ironclad way of life until the India of the twentieth century A.D.

Many students of the Hindu caste system believe that it is the first known racism which was based on a difference in the color of the skin. They see the light-skinned Aryan invaders as developers of the caste system to keep the dark Dravidians of South India and the dark-hued, aboriginal tribes in their place. This is the view of Edmund Soper, for instance:

The originators of caste in India were white Aryans. They developed a social system which applied to their own people, but there were the dusky Dravidians. What were they to do with them? Aryans must preserve the whiteness of their skin and also use the dark-skinned people as servants and menials.

. . . The menials, who at first belonged to a different race, in the course of the years could not be distinguished racially from those above them in the social scale. What eventually happened was that they became outcastes, with no place in the social and religious life of the recognized castes. So the division which was



originally made to keep the races apart still obtained--with an intensity not known in the early days--but now it kept apart two groups who belonged to the same race. What was once true racism . . . was transmuted into class animosity and antagonism, the assumption of one group of the same race over another.<sup>15</sup>

Soper is saying that color was the original cause for creating the outcaste, not the caste system itself with its four basic levels: the Brahman, or priestly, caste; the Kshatriya, or warrior, caste; the Vaishya, or merchant and entrepreneur, caste; the Sudra, or working, caste. But there are scholars who say that even the caste system was based on race.

"Varna," the Hindu word for caste, literally means "color." This seems to indicate that the basic reason for the evolution of the caste system is the difference in skin color. The colors associated with the four castes, the four varna, are: white with the Brahman; red with the Kshatriya; yellow with the Vaishya; and black with the Sudra. These colors could be associated with race. The ancient Egyptian custom, for instance, was to show Egyptians as red, Asiatics as yellow, Northerners as white, and Negroes as black.<sup>16</sup>

However, Hocart, an authority on Hindu caste, has strenuously attacked this hypothesis that the varna were originally based on different skin color. Hocart maintains that the traditional association of the four varna with points of the compass--white with the north, red with the east, yellow with the south, and black with the west--has a ritual and

---

<sup>15</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>16</sup>J. H. Hutton, Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), p. 58.



not a racial significance and refers to the four quarters of an enclosed town allotted respectively as dwelling places to the different varna, outcastes having to live, as they still do, outside the village fence.<sup>17</sup>

It can be stated with certainty that if the castes were originally structured around various colors of skin, or even if there was a color line between castes and outcastes, as was likely the case, that point of gravitation receded sometime during the course of the centuries. For there is no visible line of color between the various castes and outcastes today. It is true that most of the Brahmans, the top caste, are lighter than most of the Sudras and the outcastes. But there is no distinct line of color separating the castes now. Whatever color lines existed in the beginning gradually were minimized, and the colors began to blend into each other through intermarriages.

Regardless of what type of racism the caste system represents, whether it is color or ethnic or tribal racism, it is racism. It is a categorical rejection of certain groups of people, the lower castes and the outcastes. And it is helpful to note the basic similarities between the forms of the caste system and the expressions of contemporary racism, such as apartheid in South Africa or segregation in the United States.

The keystone of the whole caste system, according to J. H. Hutton, is the taboo on eating food cooked by a person of a lower, if not of any other, caste.<sup>18</sup> It is easy to see how caste strictures concerning marriage and the use of certain wells are necessary outcomes of the taboo on

---

<sup>17</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 62.



eating food prepared by other castes. And the laws requiring lower castes to keep a certain distance from higher castes, to wear more simple clothing, to use a vocabulary of respect, and not to enter the houses of higher castes are natural, if not necessary, results of the taboo on commensality.

Refusal to eat with the "lower" group of people is still one of the most consistent expressions of racism everywhere, though perhaps--not always--for a different reason from the Indian's primitive taboo.

But it must not be thought that India's caste system was a constant source of friction and turmoil with its rigid, oppressive racism. On the contrary, the very fact that it lasted over 3,000 years is mute testimony to its acceptance by the people. But how could the lower castes, and especially the some 50,000,000 outcastes (over 20 per cent of the population) at the beginning of the twentieth century, continue to submit to the oppression and degradation of the caste system?

There are two basic reasons for the rather passive acceptance of caste by even the lower castes and the outcastes.

The first is the set of Hindu doctrines of reincarnation and karma. The Hindu believed that he would be reincarnated after death and that his status in this next cycle of life on earth would be determined by his deeds during his present life. For the law of karma teaches that "one's thoughts, words, and deeds have an ethical consequence fixing one's lot in future existences."<sup>19</sup> Thus, an outcaste has no grounds on which to complain; his present lot in life is the result of an evil life in a pre-

---

<sup>19</sup>John B. Noss, Man's Religions (New York: Macmillan, 1956), p. 135.



vious incarnation. And he has every reason to make the best of his present status; for what he does in this present life cycle determines his lot in the next incarnation. The Hindu religion requires a passive acceptance of caste.

A second reason for India's long submission to caste is the "static, hierarchically ordered society,"<sup>20</sup> of which the caste system is an expression. In an atmosphere and culture which places a premium on rigid adherence to the old patterns and which frowns on any major changes, it is no wonder that caste was mutually accepted from generation to generation. Acceptance of the system seemed to be essential to one's own security.

And so caste lived on and on. Oppression of the lower castes and the outcastes was not its only fruit. Caste fulfilled an important function in giving India political stability. Hutton states that it is this stability created by caste that has helped India survive all sorts of crises:

Indian society has survived a vast number of invasions, famines, revolutions, and social upheavals of all kinds, including conquests by invaders of alien religions essentially antagonistic to Hinduism, and there can be no doubt that this is largely due to the caste system on which that society has constructed itself, a system which often survived even conversion to Islam or Christianity.<sup>21</sup>

Caste's method of dealing with competing forces is to embrace them and to integrate them into the whole of India by allowing the competition to become a caste and thus, still retain its identity. Hutton calls this integrating strength of caste "its most important function":

---

<sup>20</sup>Hendrik Kraemer, Religion and the Christian Faith (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), pp. 130f.

<sup>21</sup>Hutton, op. cit., p. 105.



perhaps the most important function, and the one which above all others makes caste in India a unique institution, is, or has been, to integrate Indian society, to weld into one community the various competing, if not compatible, groups composing it. Some of these groups have been occupational or religious. Others, and this is more important, have been national, political, and tribal societies that otherwise have either been absorbed and transformed or remained as unadjusted and possibly subversive elements. Generally speaking, conquered peoples and their conquerors blend into one society in which one or other element may in the long run predominate. The Castilians who conquered Spain absorbed the Moors that remained there; Anglo-Saxons, British, and Danes coalesced and absorbed their Norman conquerors. The Negroes of the United States remain so far an unadjusted population, while Europeans and Bantu in South Africa remain no less segregated in a different way. The caste system has effectively dealt with problems such as these which other societies have failed to solve.<sup>22</sup>

That the caste system helped India to achieve an enviable stability over a long period of time cannot be questioned. But one is pressed to ask at this point: "Does the end justify the means? Is political stability more important than raising the oppressed masses? Is there no other way to achieve political stability than by straightjacketing masses of people in rigid castes of inferiority?" The forte of the caste system, its ability to produce political stability, is to be viewed, therefore, alongside its weakpoint: its almost total indifference to the hopelessly oppressed masses of the lower castes and of the outcastes.

In this very brief account of the development and nature of India's caste system, it may readily be seen that there are a complexity of factors which helped to create caste and to mold it into the form that it took. It has already been shown that to point to skin color as the basic reason for caste is to step on shaky ground. Hutton lists fifteen factors which helped to create and to shape the caste system, and he feels

---

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 104f.



compelled, even with this long list, to preface his catalog by stating that he is uncertain that he included all the important facets of the evolution of caste. Hutton's list is important for a more complete picture of Indian caste and also for a clearer view of the causes and shaping factors of racism in general.

Hutton's list of factors (in the order of their importance) which contributed to the emergence and development of India's caste system:

1. The geographical isolation of the Indian peninsula as a whole and of individual areas within it.
2. Primitive ideas about the power of food to transmit qualities.
3. Similar ideas of totemism, taboo, mana, and soul stuff, or life matter.
4. Ideas of pollution, ablution, purification, and ceremonial purity with associations of ritual sacrifice.
5. Ideas of the exclusive family, ancestor worship, and the sacramental meal.
6. Beliefs in reincarnation and in the doctrine of karma.
7. Belief in magic associated with crafts and functions.
8. Hereditary occupations, and trade and craft secrets.
9. Guilds and associations of that character and various factors in the development of economic life.
10. Clash of antagonistic cultures, particularly between cultures with matrilineal and patrilineal modes of descent.
11. Clash of races, color prejudices, and conquest.
12. The development of classes with exclusive religious and social privileges.
13. Individual isolation of tribes and polities, and their inclusion without absorption in larger administrative units.
14. Deliberate economic and administrative policies.
15. Exploitation by a highly intelligent, but by no means entirely



altruistic, hierarchy which had evolved a religious philosophy too subtle for the mass of the people.<sup>23</sup>

This list is too long to discuss at length. But a few points need to be noted.

Hutton believes that the clash of races was an important factor in the formation of the caste system, but he thinks that caste is not so much a deliberate construction as it was "the result of the reactions of indigenous institutions of taboo, pollution, purification, etc. to what was perhaps a conscious political or hierarchical policy adopted by the Rigvedic invaders and their successors toward the communities they found in the land."<sup>24</sup> In other words Hutton does not believe that the caste system was the racist policy of the Aryan invaders, but rather, was the natural religious response of the conquered to the racist policies of the invaders. Thus, both invader and invaded gave their assent to the racism of caste.

It can be seen from this list that the religious, economic, social, political, cultural, and racial factors all seem very important in determining the form of racism.

In summary of India's caste system, though its origins are shrouded in uncertainty, it may be stated that caste is a form of racism, but of a strange brand. For both the oppressor and the oppressed agreed to it for over 3,000 years. The Hindu religion and the static, hierarchical nature of India's society aided the oppressed masses to resign themselves pas-

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 164f.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 145.



sively to their inferior status. Though color prejudice had much to do with the rise of the caste system, especially with the very low status of the outcaste, it was really only one of several determining factors.

The two instances of early racism that have been cited in this section are only faint prototypes of the extreme expressions of racism to be developed by the West on a global scale in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Jews' racism down through the ages has usually backfired on them because they have never had enough numbers in a country to gain controlling power. And because the oppressor and the oppressed developed the caste system in India, caste cannot be compared with any form of Western racism of today. But in the Jews' aloofness and in the Indians' caste system, as well as in the ethnic racism that could be cited in many nations of this period, lie the seeds of color racism.

#### Forms of Ethnic Racism Today

Before considering the rise of Western racism, which pits Caucasian against Negro and Mongol, it is important to see the ethnic racism that exists in varying degrees of intensity in most sections of the world. For ethnic racism expresses the same categorical rejection which color racism shows, though usually with less intensity.

#### Ethnic racism in Asia and the Pacific

In The Asian Revolution, a Christian from India expresses an earnest concern over the dangers of ethnic racism in the many countries where there are pockets of Indian and Chinese population.

The Indians in Ceylon, Burma, and Malaya, and the Chinese in



Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya, and Indonesia constitute foreign enclaves with separate languages and customs. It will require wisdom and tact on the part of all concerned to prevent these from becoming centres of constant friction and discord.<sup>25</sup>

To this list of danger points might be added other areas, such as the Fiji Islands. Here a large settlement of Indians, almost equal to the number of Fijis, find themselves constantly at odds with the Fijis and with the dominating British government.<sup>26</sup>

The pockets of Chinese population in Southeast Asia and in Indonesia usually receive the butt of ethnic antagonism and racism because of their wealth and their resultant control of a large part of the economy of the nations in which they live. A Chinese in Djakarta, Indonesia, talking with Carl Rowan, Negro American journalist, aptly compared the lot of the Chinese in Indonesia to the status of the Jew in the United States:

The Chinese are second-class citizens, Rowan, and you know what that does to a man. The government thinks that the Chinese have made too much money--you know, the way a lot of people in your country think all Jews are rich.<sup>27</sup>

In Malaya, where the Chinese own most of the businesses and the Malays are largely the laborers and agricultural workers, contempt for the Chinese is very similar to the Indonesian brand.<sup>28</sup> Of the 2,121,000 Chinese in Malaya only about a million were eligible for citizenship in

---

<sup>25</sup>Rajah B. Manikam, Christianity and the Asian Revolution (New York: Friendship Press, 1954), p. 11.

<sup>26</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 127.

<sup>27</sup>Carl T. Rowan, The Pitiful and the Proud (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 336.

<sup>28</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 52.



1955.<sup>29</sup> The fact that 95 per cent of the Communist terrorists in 1955 were Chinese did not mitigate the Malays' racism.

In Bangkok, Thailand, racism against the Chinese has taken legal form. There are no Chinese rickshaw drivers there, and 27 other trades are banned to the Chinese.<sup>30</sup>

In Japan a version of racism, a feeling of superiority over other Asians and over the rest of the world, grew to a fever pitch during World War II, then shriveled up and died upon the defeat of Japan by the Allies.

There are two distinct expressions of ethnic racism in Japan, however. The Koreans in Japan and a tribal group called the "eta" (literally: "very dirty") meet up with varying degrees of discrimination. The 3,000,000 eta, especially, feel the sharp edge of Japan's ethnic racism.

During the Little Rock crisis in 1957 many newspapers abroad played up the news from Arkansas with ill-concealed relish, including many Japanese newspapers. But Japan's most influential daily, Asahi Shimbun, pointedly reminded its readers that Japan needed to clean up her own backyard. Asahi devoted 10,000 words to the plight of Japan's eta class.<sup>31</sup>

The eta, also known as hinu (not human), include most of Japan's leatherworkers, shoemakers, butchers, and slaughter house workers. The etas were formally abolished as a caste in 1871 under the Meiji Restora-

---

<sup>29</sup>Rowan, op. cit., p. 341.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>31</sup>"Glass House, Dirty Windows," Time, LXIX (October 7, 1957), 73.



tion, and the word itself was removed from dictionaries. But the prejudice that surrounded them has survived almost unabated from the days when they were forbidden to pray at village shrines, go out between sundown and sunrise, or marry outside their class.

"Passing over" into the mainstream of Japanese life is difficult for the eta. And if it is accomplished and then discovered, it may cause divorce, suicide, or murder.

In Tokyo in 1956 a number of small firms were persuaded to hire etas. But of forty who were hired, all except two quit in less than a year because they were unable to stand the sidelong glances and open contempt of their fellow workers.<sup>32</sup>

In evaluating these forms of ethnic racism in Japan, one of the Japanese Christians who responded to the author's questionnaires stated that these expressions of racism are not the same as those in the United States, the Japanese discrimination is not a matter of color. Another Japanese Christian was convinced that the discrimination toward Koreans and etas was diminishing. "I think our defeat in World War II destroyed our superiority complex concerning race and caused this blessed situation" (the decline of prejudice).

#### Ethnic racism in the Near East

In nearly all the countries of the Moslem Near East there are severe ethnic tensions within each nation. From time to time the tension flares out into the open. But usually it remains subdued. The Turkish-Greek

---

<sup>32</sup>Loc. cit.



disaster of 1918-22 and the Arab-Jewish conflict of the present time are examples of the extremes to which the generally mild forms of ethnic racism in the Near East may go.

Melvin Conant, on the basis of the discussions of the 1954 Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective, states that the ethnic tensions become most acute in the nations of the Near East when certain conditions prevail, such as: "the embodiment of the national idea in independent nation states; the presence of mixed populations; the growth of rival bourgeoisies; the persistence, behind the national feeling, of religious loyalties; the influence and rivalry of Great Powers."<sup>33</sup> Conant does not feel, however, that the smoldering ethnic racism in the Near East will likely break out into open hostility because of the small minorities involved, the influence of liberal Western ideas, the self-confidence of the nations, and the existence of a common danger.<sup>34</sup>

In Turkey, where seven per cent of the population is made up of the proud Kurdish folk people and where 9 per cent of the people belong to other minority groups like the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, the ethnic discrimination is still very much alive. The ethnic racism of the Turks toward these minority groups is often tinged with a religious color, also; for whoever is not of the Moslem faith is a "foreigner."<sup>35</sup> Probably one of the most delicate ethnic clashes in the Near East, together with the Israeli-Arab tensions, is the struggle between Turk and

---

<sup>33</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>34</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 56ff.



Greek on the island of Cyprus, often spilling over onto the mainlands of Turkey and Greece. Thus, Turkey and Cyprus are scenes of some intense ethnic racism.

Iraq, like Turkey, has its difficulties with the semi-independent Kurds within its borders, especially now that the Russians are playing for the sympathy of the Kurds. And as a Moslem state, Iraq shows a certain amount of discrimination toward the Christians. The Jewish population, which had become "Arabized," has been reduced from 150,000 to 10,000 through emigrations to Israel.

The two minorities within Syria are the Kurds (250,000) and the Armenians (100,000), whose favor the Russians are trying to win, it seems. The Armenians have been somewhat assimilated into mainstream of Syrian life.<sup>36</sup>

The main tensions in Egypt and Lebanon are religious, not ethnic. The Armenian Orthodox and the Armenian Catholic Christians have been constant problems to the Moslem nations. In Egypt the only important minority groups are in urban centers—where a mixed European and Levantine middle class has controlled the commercial and financial life of Egypt for almost a century.

The new nation Israel has shown some discrimination toward its minorities—145,000 Moslems and 35,000 Christians—largely for the sake of its own security and from an intense sense of nationalism rather than from prejudice, according to Conant.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Loc. cit.



The ethnic tensions of the Near East, therefore, are often rather dormant, but may flare up at any time. The conflicts often have strong religious aspects, especially Moslem-Christian friction. These tensions in the Middle East may rightly be called types of religious and ethnic racism.

#### Ethnic racism in Europe

One of the most recent and most brutal expressions of ethnic racism was the German Nazis' bloody persecution of the Jews during the 1930's and early 1940's. On the basis of "Aryan" superiority and for the sake of a "pure race" the Germans slaughtered no fewer than 4,000,000 Jews in Germany and Poland. This is ethnic racism at its worst.

Basing his conclusion partly on the phenomenon of the extreme racism in Naziism, Martin J. Heineken has drawn the conclusion that ethnic and color racism are signs of smoldering fascism:

Jingoistic nationalism of all kinds, race pride and color prejudice, the resort to political power to advance one part of the nation over another or arbitrarily to restrict the rights of certain elements of the population in contrast to others, all betray incipient fascism.<sup>38</sup>

Though types of ethnic and tribal and religious racism could easily be uncovered throughout the world, these examples from Asia, the Pacific, the Near East, and Europe are the most important. In Africa the cases of ethnic and tribal racism are overshadowed in importance by the Western color racism. And in Latin America there is an amazing lack of racism in the midst of a melting pot of races and nationalities.

---

<sup>38</sup>Harold C. Letts, editor, Existence Today (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), p. 135.



## Summary

Though there is only one human family with three indistinctly defined racial groups, and though there is no such thing as a "pure race," racial differences have become sources of friction, or at least of concern, to nearly every nation in the world. The line of distinction seems to have been drawn especially between the "white" racial strain, whose people compose about a third of the world's population, and the people of color, who make up the other two-thirds of the world.

Racism is the belief that one ethnic or "racial" group is innately superior, while another is innately inferior. Its characteristics are hostility and categorical rejection.

Early forms of racism may be seen in the aloofness of many Jews toward gentiles from the time of Moses onward and in the Hindu caste system. Neither of these forms, however, may be compared with the intense forms of color racism today.

Ethnic racism, in contrast to color racism, is found everywhere. Some of the explosive areas of ethnic racism may be found in Southeast Asia where there are pockets of Chinese and Indians, and in the Near East where the Turkish-Greek and the Arab-Christian clashes are the most intense forms of racism.

The rapid development of the slave trade during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries heightened the white man's sense of superiority, as did the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with its wealth and prestige for the Caucasian people of Europe and America.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE RISE OF WESTERN RACISM AND NON-WESTERN COUNTER-RACISM

##### The Rise of Western Racism

Ethnic racism, the belief that one's own nation of people is innately superior to the surrounding nations, dates back to the beginnings of tribes and nations. But color racism, the belief that people of one's own skin color are intrinsically superior to people of other skin colors, never achieved much of a foothold, even in India, until the nations of Western Europe began to build up colonial empires at the end of the fifteenth century.

Race and color conflicts were created on a world-wide scale as Europeans began settling in the Americas, the land of the Indians, then in southern and central Africa, in Southeast Asia, in the East Indies, in the Philippines, in Australia, and on the islands of the Pacific. Members of a highly literate, technological, dynamic culture were thrown into contact with peoples of varying cultures—mostly static and rural cultures with a high percentage of illiterate cultures. It was an easy thing for the Western settlers and traders to consider the native inhabitants of these lands as innately inferior.

The rapid development of the slave trade during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries heightened the white man's sense of superiority, as did the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with its wealth and prestige for the Caucasian people of Europe and America.



Then came Darwin's theory of evolution and of the survival of the fittest in 1858, which was "warmly accepted by the people of European stock who saw no reason to doubt that they were the fittest of all."<sup>1</sup>

The first written articulation of Western racism appeared in France between 1853 and 1857. Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau published at that time his Essay on the Inequality of Human Races. Gobineau came to the conviction "that everything great, noble, and fruitful in the works of man on this earth. . . belongs to one family alone, the different branches of which have reigned in all the civilized countries of the universe."<sup>2</sup> (Perhaps it is more than an accident that the first document propounding the superiority of the Caucasian race should appear in France, where the term "race" was used for the first time--by French scientist Buffon in 1749. Buffon artificially differentiated between six groups of mankind.<sup>3</sup>)

Gobineau's theory of master races and slave races and of inborn qualities of greatness or inferiority which no amount of training could change was not a new idea. The idea had been abuilding ever since the beginning of colonialism and colonization and the rise of the African slave trade. Gobineau's work seemed, however, to lend a certain amount of scientific and intellectual prestige to the cause of Western racism.

This racism grew and shaped itself in different ways in nearly every

---

<sup>1</sup>Alan Burns, Colour Prejudice (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Montagu, op. cit., p. 18.



place of contact between Westerner and non-Westerner, except in Central and South America and in Hawaii, where expressions of racism have been very scant.

The Opium War of 1842, initiated by the British against the Chinese to force the sale of opium, was an expression of European superiority that the Chinese have never forgotten. Likewise, Britain's demand, after the war, for extraterritorial rights for her citizens in China was salt upon an open wound.

In 1861 the French in Indo-China removed all the Annamite mandarins and the emperor because of their refusal to cooperate with the French and substituted a system of direct rule by French government officers.<sup>4</sup>

This rash expression of superiority on the part of the French was never forgotten by the Indo-Chinese. Even when the French attempted a policy of assimilation in 1879, the Indo-Chinese balked and never completely acquiesced until they received their independence in 1954.

In India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and throughout Africa and the islands of the Pacific, white European nations were cautiously or brazenly taking over economic control and, wherever possible, political control. The European powers usually used native personnel wherever feasible, but they always let the nationals know who was in charge and usually maintained an attitude of social superiority. The British colonies, especially, enforced a strict code of segregation.

At the close of World War I American and European leaders, especially U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, saw the need for a common table of

---

<sup>4</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 184.



discussion for all the nations of the world, to be set up on an equal basis for all. And thus the League of Nations was born, though not with the whole-hearted endorsement of all Western nations. After such a brutal intramural war in the West, Western leaders were beginning to doubt the absolute superiority of the West.

But it was only a crack in the West's self-built wall of superiority. When Japan tried to insert in the Covenant of the League of Nations a clause granting "of first importance the establishment of the principle that the difference in race should in no case constitute a basis of discriminatory treatment under the law of our country," Great Britain and the United States voted against the clause.<sup>5</sup>

The United States reasserted its League of Nations vote in 1924, when it passed an immigration bill excluding all Orientals.<sup>6</sup> These two experiences of Western racism's discrimination may have had something to do with Japan's headlong drive for a position of world superiority which every nation would have to recognize.

After a cataclysmic Second World War, most nations of the world, including Western nations, were more than ready to attempt some sort of international communication and, if possible, government. A Western and a non-Western power had exhibited the brutal extremes to which an ethnic racism, an ethnic sense of superiority, could drive them. The world was convinced that something must be done to thwart any future expressions of such ethnocentrism. And thus the United Nations came into being in 1945.

---

<sup>5</sup>Soper, op. cit., pp. 119ff.

<sup>6</sup>Loc. cit.



The first two articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights drawn up by the United Nations reflect the anti-racism and the oneness of man which the world leaders of 48 sovereign nations of East and West had come to uphold:

ARTICLE 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing, or under any other limitation of sovereignty.<sup>7</sup>

But not only was there a tide of internationalism after World War II. There was also a tide of dauntless nationalism, especially in the non-West. The revolution of the non-West against Western colonialism and racism and for national independence is so important to the issue of racism and the Christian world mission that the next chapter will be devoted to that topic.

Western racism as a political policy is at the point of death--except in the Union of South Africa. Colonialism and segregation as official positions are fading away. U.S. Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower have made unequivocal stands against Western racism. But the unwritten social policy in Western nations, especially in the United States, is still in favor of the old form of Western racism. And it is impossible to estimate how long the repercussions to the West's

---

<sup>7</sup>The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), back fly leaf.



four centuries of growing racism will be felt in the form of suspicion, hatred, revolution and counter-racism directed back toward the West. The 1954 Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective drew these conclusions concerning Western racism:

1. Though racism is losing its vitality in most of the Western world, it remains important in the ideas and responses of millions of people who experienced it at the hands of Western man. It may find a new vitality in nationalist movements in Africa.
2. Though racism in its most outspoken form is disappearing, it may actually remain a significant but subtle force expressed in different ways. A people's pride in its cultural, technological, economic advances may only be sophisticated expression of deep-seated belief in innate superiority.
3. Attention should be directed to studies of race in the historic and contemporary relationships between Asian peoples.<sup>8</sup>

And so we do not speak of a dead Western racism. We speak of a dying Western racism. Its present-day forms and its causes will be discussed in the next sections of this chapter.

#### Forms of Present-Day Western Racism

The prime examples of Western racism today are found in South Africa and southern United States. But expressions of Western racism may be found in varying degrees in many other places where Western men live. Besides a consideration of individual nations, a general picture of the racial policies of the European colonial powers is helpful in achieving a global picture of Western racism today, even though the colonial systems are rapidly disappearing.

---

<sup>8</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 145.



## Western racism in various colonial policies

The least racial discrimination of all the colonial policies may be found in the practises of the Portugese and Spanish. The Spanish empire has dwindled to two small, nomadic possessions in North Africa, but the Portugese still have the large colonies of Angola and Mozambique, in addition to tiny Goa and Macao. Former Spanish and Portugese holdings in Latin America, it shall be noted in the last section of this chapter, have continued the non-discriminatory policies of their former colonial powers and represent some of the best racial relations of all the nations where Western powers once dominated. The equal status given to all races in Spanish and Portugese colonies is conducive to harmony between West-erner and non-Westerner, but unfortunately is eclipsed by an "unstable home government, lack of consistent planning, inferior persomel, and in-efficient persomel," especially in the African colonies.<sup>9</sup>

France has its assimilation theory, which attempts to turn all in-habitants of its territories into Frenchmen. This theory has proved es-pecially workable with the educated elite of the colonies. Such cultured African personalities as Sedar Senghor, of Senegal, and Felix Eboue, gov-ernor-general of French Equatorial Africa until 1944, were highly respect-ed by Frenchmen everywhere. "There is doubtless less race discrimination in the French possessions than in most other dependent lands."<sup>10</sup> In re-cent years France has spent much money developing the economies of its

---

<sup>9</sup>Soper, op. cit., pp. 149ff.

<sup>10</sup>Carl E. Lund-Quist, Lutheran Churches of the World (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957), p. 260.



lands and has speeded up the development of self-government in each area. In Africa, Togo has received its freedom, and the Camerouns have had their first free election.<sup>11</sup>

As racially non-discriminatory as France's policy is, it has two weaknesses. Assimilating the Westernized Africans, who are few in number, into the French culture and nation is excellent for the select elite. But the policy leaves a big gap between the masses and the elite, a gap which someday may prove disastrous. Furthermore, the assimilation policy requires nations to become states of France, instead of allowing freedom within a loosely connected group of nations, such as the British Commonwealth of Nations. This requirement of France, therefore, has created political hostility that has developed into racial hostility. Indo-China, for instance, refused to become a state of France, demanded her independence, and finally got it when the Communists threatened to give them their much-wanted freedom with their own strings attached. During the process of refusing Indo-China her independence until there was no other course, France heightened her reputation as "dirty white capitalists." At present Morocco is demanding the same sort of independence which Indo-China demanded; France is refusing until there is no other course; and in the process she is feeding grist to the mills of extreme Arab nationalists who enjoy talking about the "dirty white capitalists."

And so the French policy of assimilation, in theory, is an excellent racial policy. But in practise it breeds severe class distinctions and a

---

<sup>11</sup>Loc. cit.



political status short of freedom. And both these outcomes can be interpreted as Western racism.

The Belgian colonial policy has left much to be desired until recently. The "Congo Atrocities" of the early twentieth century have given way to enlightened service and to a certain amount of economic and industrial development, as well as improved educational opportunities. But the racial lines are rather strictly drawn, and not much thought has been given toward helping nationals take over the government of the Congo.<sup>12</sup> This period in the Congo is critical for race relations, as the nationals become educated and are driven by a thrust for self-expression. But it seems that Belgian leaders, especially the king, have rejected any policy of "juxtaposition," or discrimination, as well as the French assimilation theory, and aiming toward a "partnership," which would encourage mass education and would give equal status to all.<sup>13</sup>

The British colonial policy has been one of intelligent administration with a rather high degree of integrity among government officers. Especially during the past few years Britain has been training nationals for effective self-government and has been granting independence to colonies ready for it. But Britain's strict code of segregation in many places has been expressed in a clear sense of superiority and aloofness or has been interpreted as such.

Western racism in Asia today

---

<sup>12</sup>Soper, op. cit., pp. 149ff.

<sup>13</sup>Stephens, op. cit., p. 15.



Once the site of vast European colonial holdings and imperialism, Asia now is a continent of free nations. With the exception of port city colonies like Hong Kong, Macao, and Goa, Asia has no European control at all. This would lead one to the conclusion that Western racism cannot possibly be felt in Asia today. But such is not the case.

India, now an independent nation and a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, still feels racial discrimination at the hands of the British. Up to 1947, and to a large extent up to the present time, Indians had no status as citizens in many parts of the Commonwealth, and of the 11,000,000 square miles of territory in the Commonwealth, 8,000,000 were closed against the coming of the Indian.<sup>14</sup> Indians, with their severe problems of over-population, are especially indignant toward Australia's "white policy," which prohibits all Oriental immigration. Indians conclude that they are not wanted on account of the color of their skin.

It is to be expected, also, that the Westerners who have remained in India, and other Asian nations, have a tendency to continue their aloofness in their daily contacts with the nations. When Indians were asked shortly before their 1947 independence why they objected to the British their usual answer was that the "British regarded Indians and treated Indians as inferiors."<sup>15</sup> It is inevitable that this sense of superiority is still shown toward the Indian and other Asians by remaining Westerners, though it does not contain the sting that it once did, when the

---

<sup>14</sup>Soper, op. cit., pp. 103f.

<sup>15</sup>Rowan, op. cit., p. 378.



white man held the economic and political reins.

A form of Western racism which Asians, and Africans as well, have felt only by substitution, but which they feel almost as keenly as though it were being acted out against them, is the racism against people of color in the United States and in South Africa. When Negro American journalist Rowan made his State Department tour through India and South-east Asia, he found the people everywhere, even in the remotest villages, asking questions about how the Negro was treated in the United States. So pervasive is this concern in the thinking of the Asian that many Asians even asked Rowan why they never see Negro Americans cast in normal roles in the American movies they see—roles like policemen, teachers, cab drivers, secretaries, government workers.<sup>16</sup> Rowan asserts that the Asian is not so concerned about the Negro American as he is about himself and his own status of equality with Westerners. Western color racism anywhere in the world is sharply felt by many Asians and other peoples of color.

Likewise, on a political level, any favoritism of Western powers toward Western interests in the non-West is often interpreted as color racism, as white vs. colored. The reluctance of the United States and other Western nations to condemn the racism of South Africa and to uphold the rights of self-determination of North African nations squirming under French possession has been interpreted by many non-Western leaders as a form of racism. Philippine representative Carlos Romulo at the Bandung Conference of 1955 reflected this feeling in his statement to the con-

---

<sup>16</sup>Rowan, op. cit., p. 378.



ference:

Few of the Western countries have been willing to go far enough (in the United Nations) in condemning the racial practises of the Union of South Africa. They have yet to learn, it seems, how deeply this issue cuts and how profoundly it unites non-Western peoples who may disagree on all sorts of questions.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, Western racism, though a little more remote from Asia than it was at one time, still feels the brunt of Western racism in many ways.

Western racism in Africa today

The most blatant form of Western racism in the world today exists in the apartheid policy of South Africa. It is the most blatant because it not only receives official endorsement, but also official encouragement from the government. The racial situation in South Africa is compounded with so many factors that a few sentences would not suffice at this point. And since it is such a crucial area of Western racism, a special chapter at the end of the thesis will be devoted to the racial situation in South Africa.

Defenders of South Africa's system of racial apartheid often point to the population ratio of 4-1 in favor of the Negroes, implying that any sort of racial equality would mean Negro domination of the whites. The defenders never seem too concerned, however, that under apartheid the majority of the people of the nation are being dominated by the minority. And the defenders of apartheid try to justify their position by claiming that it is better for the Negroes this way. But the conclusions of the

---

<sup>17</sup>Carlos P. Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 69.



Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective would controvert this position:

Apartheid as a policy, is meant to benefit only the white man, and even its most ardent theoreticians know that the politician and the average Afrikaner farmer who support apartheid do not do so because of their love to the black man and his culture, but because it keeps the black man "in his place."<sup>18</sup>

Next to South Africa the most crucial area where Western racism may be found on the huge continent is the British-controlled central portion, including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

Kenya, of all these central African countries, is prime example of the intensity of the problem of race relations in central Africa, including extreme expressions of Western color racism and also extreme expressions of Western belief in the oneness of humanity.

Though the British settlers in Kenya usually bought their farm lands from the people they found occupying the area and though the British eventually offered education to many of the African inhabitants, they usually maintained a superior "Sahib" attitude toward the African laborers under them and quickly built up large, wealthy plantations in contrast to the huts of the African tenant farmers. It was not a groundless caprice, therefore, when the Mau Mau secret society terrorized the countryside in the early 1950's, bent on exterminating the white man.

Only in the face of extreme opposition have a few white leaders in Kenya encouraged political representation of the Africans and a "friendly working contact between whites and blacks."<sup>19</sup> Such anti-racist leaders

---

<sup>18</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>19</sup>Edwin Muller, "Michael Blundell: Kenya's Fighting Peacemaker," The Reader's Digest, XXXVII (March, 1958), 195.



are: Michael Blundell, Minister of Agriculture; Richard Turnbull, Chief Secretary of the Legislative Council; E. A. Vasey, Finance Minister; Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor.

In 1957, for the first time, Africans voted for African representatives on the Legislative Council. The eight African representatives elected were extremists who immediately demanded independence under the rule of the black majority by 1960. Many whites, half in fear, half in a sense of superiority, are adamant in their opposition to any political participation by the 100-1 (5,815,000--60,000) majority of Africans and certainly are intent on keeping the reins of the government in their hands, if they must concede to a small participation on the part of the Africans.

It is too early to tell, but it seems that Western racism is waning in Kenya, as well as in the other central African countries where Caucasians settled on the farm land. But it is strong enough that the tensions are high, and it will not leave the battle scene quickly.

In most of the remaining territory of Africa, excluding North Africa, the racial issue is somewhat simplified by virtue of the fact that the Europeans in these lands have no permanent stake, no vested interest in the land. Most of the Caucasian residents of these lands are government servants, representatives of firms, or missionaries who are temporary residents.<sup>20</sup> This impermanent stake in the land makes it easier for the Caucasian to allow the African a high degree of freedom and complete self-government, as in Ghana and Nigeria. In spite of the fact that

---

<sup>20</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 44.



Western racism has fewer economic and political roots in the African lands where Caucasians have not settled on the land, the social roots sometimes go rather deep. The distinct line of social segregation that Caucasians in these lands draw is often resented, especially by the educated African, as Western racism, an attitude of innate superiority.

The tensions of North Africa--Algeria and Morocco especially--are more political than racial tensions. But Arab propagandists are quick to build the friction around racial symbols like "the dirty white dogs." And most of the non-Western world interprets the French-Arab friction in this light. When the Bandung Conference made a statement on better cultural cooperation among Asian and African nations and the nations of the rest of the world, it spoke of Western discrimination against North Africans in the framework of colonialism and race:

Some colonial powers have denied their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture, which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples.

This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed.

Similar discrimination has been practised against Asian and colored peoples in some parts of the Continent of Africa.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, Africa is a continent with many shades of Western racism--a continent with the most severe brand of racism and with the most complex, crucial problem of race today.

Western racism in the Americas today

---

<sup>21</sup>Romulo, op. cit., p. 96.



The only location in the Americas where Western racism exists to any noticeable degree is the United States. The racial situation in the United States stands next to South Africa in terms of intensity and cruciality. In one respect the situation in the United States is more crucial even than that of South Africa: Unlike South Africa, the United States is regarded as the leader of the free nations of the world, and if she cannot conquer her racism, the smaller nations of the world may look elsewhere for their leadership.

The main difference between the actual expressions of racism in the U.S. and in South Africa is that racism in the United States is opposed to the official position of the Federal Government, whereas in South Africa racism is the official stand of the government. This difference is not so distinct in the everyday relations of Negro and white in the United States, especially in the South, where the state governments of the majority of the states are openly resisting Federal pressures to eliminate enforced segregation of races in public facilities and in the economic and political spheres.

The most blatant forms of racism in the United States may be found in its Southern states, therefore. Public schools, public housing, public libraries, public parks and recreational areas, sports, theaters, places of amusement, and bus and railroad stations are some of the key areas where strict racial segregation is maintained in the "Deep South" states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. In the border states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland, the intensity of segregation varies widely within the



state.

In politics in the South a certain limited number of Negroes may vote, but in few of the Southern states are Negroes allowed to run for office. Except for Negro business and professional workers who are engaged in business in Negro communities, Negroes have few opportunities for any jobs but those of the manual and domestic type. In social relations with the Southern white, the Negro never has equality, but must carefully observe the "Southern rules of etiquette," which help to keep the Negro in his place.

In all the South's patterns of strict segregation, none is any less rigid than the segregation in churches. Christian pastors are generally rather silent about the racial issue. A few make a clear stand for racial equality. A few make a clear stand for segregation, like Rev. Warren, Baptist preacher in Orrville, Alabama, a small Black Belt town, who had this to say to a segregationist Citizen's Council meeting: "The Negro race is a 'stranger at the gate' and does not understand that the constitution of the United States was not written for him or for any other colored race."<sup>22</sup>

Many white Christians in the South are not aware of the change that took place in the Church's attitude toward the Negro after the Civil War. W. D. Weatherford, thorough student of race in the South, has pointed out the estranged view that the Southern white Christian has taken since the Civil War:

The antebellum white Christians looked upon the Negro as a possible

---

<sup>22</sup>Arthur Capell, "Violence and Lowered Standards Integration Price at Washington," Selma Times-Journal, May 18, 1956, p. 2.



son of God who had a right to every privilege of the Church, and it did not offend them to see him partaking of all these privileges; but politically and economically the slave rested under the curse and had no standing. We of the present time have reversed the attitude. We claim that the Negro has full rights to economic, civil, and political freedom, but we are sure that socially and religiously he must be completely separate and segregated.<sup>23</sup>

Ralph Bunche doubtless has oversimplified the cause of the South's adamant racial segregation when he traces it to the "Southern ruling class" who want a constant supply of cheap labor. But that the economics of the South is a primary cause for the continuation of segregation cannot be denied. Bunche describes the economic roots of Southern segregation this way:

the white industrialist and large landholding class in the South are determined to keep the Negro in a servile condition as a profitable and almost indispensable labor supply. In so doing black workers have been aligned against white, from slavery days till now, and bitter antagonisms have developed between these groups—a situation not in any sense disadvantageous to the Southern ruling class.<sup>24</sup>

A summary of the economic, social, political, cultural, and religious factors that have helped to forge Southern segregation were drawn up by Thomas Bailey in 1914. The items of the Southerner's creed which Bailey listed at that time are still rather accurate summaries of many Southerners' beliefs concerning the Negro:

1. "Blood will tell."
2. The white race must dominate.
3. The Negro is inferior and will remain so.
4. The Teutonic people stand for race purity.

---

<sup>23</sup>W. D. Weatherford, American Churches and the Negro (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1957), p. 286.

<sup>24</sup>Ralph J. Bunche, A World View of Race (Washington, D. C.: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936), p. 87.



5. "This is white man's country."
6. No social equality.
7. No political equality.
8. In matters of civil rights and legal adjustments give the white man, as opposed to the colored man, the benefit of the doubt; and under no circumstances interfere with the prestige of the white race.
9. In educational policy let the Negro have the crumbs that fall from the white man's table.
10. Let there be such industrial education of the Negro as will best fit him to serve the white man.
11. Only Southerners understand the Negro question.
12. Let the South settle the Negro question.
13. The status of peasantry is all the Negro may hope for, if the races are to live together in peace.
14. Let the lowest white man count for the highest Negro.
15. The above statements indicate the leading of Providence.<sup>25</sup>

The outstanding characteristic of racism in Southern United States is its dynamic, changing nature. Many white Southerners do not hold to all the parts of the above "creed," especially not in the matters of economic and educational opportunities for Negroes. And one of the most important changes in the racial picture of the South is the changed attitude of the Negro. No longer does he accept the white man's view of the Negro. No longer does he consider himself inferior to the white man. No longer does he meekly accept peasantry as inevitable, docile servitude as the only possible relationship with the white man. The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, the retail store boycott in Tuskegee, the many Negro

---

<sup>25</sup>Thomas Pearce Bailey, Race Orthodoxy in the South (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1914), p. 93.



applications to attend previously all-white schools, the dogged determination of ten Negro teenagers to remain in Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas--all are indications of the new view which the Negro has of himself.

Another major change in the dynamics of race in the United States is the unequivocal stand which the Federal government, along with the governments of the Northern and Western states, have made against expressions of racism, like legal segregation. The 1954 Supreme Court decision calling segregation of public schools illegal and the firm Federal backing of the Court's order to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, are indications of the urgency and conviction with which the Federal Government is finally moving to erase the legal props of segregation.

Western racism in the United States is rather virile in places, especially in the "Deep South" states. But the "new" Negro, who sees himself on a level with any other American citizen, and the "new" Federal Government with its strong stand against segregation are gradually marching on legal expressions of racism.

Western racism in Europe today

Since the population of colored peoples in Europe is extremely small in number, the opportunities for Western color racism are rather limited. The few Negroes who live in continental Europe, including Scandinavia, are generally treated with no discrimination whatsoever.

In Great Britain, however, the problem is not so small in size. The "colored" population in the British Isles may be put tentatively at



50,000--60,000. The majority are males from British colonies, chiefly the West Indies and West Africa. There are also relatively large numbers of Indians, Pakistanis, and Somalis and Arabs, the latter group coming mainly from Aden.

Racial discrimination exists in Great Britain in availability of residence and jobs and in social acceptance, especially among the middle and upper classes of Britons. But there is no legal discrimination. This indicates that color prejudice has developed as part of the heritage of British society, through the slave trade and through the existence of servants and slaves of West Indian planters living in Great Britain.<sup>26</sup>

Racism exists in a mild form in Great Britain. Because it is not legal and because the number of colored peoples in Britain is small, racism in Britain is somewhat under control. This discrimination and isolation, coupled with the hostility of the white man, exterminated the aboriginal population of Australia, large island just southeast of Asia.

The four groups of Pacific peoples are: the Malaysians, of Indonesia; the Melanesians, black-skinned primitives, of New Guinea, Fiji, and nearby islands; the Micronesians, people with a mixture of Malaysian, Melanesian, and Polynesian blood and living on the small islands of the West Pacific--the Gilbert, Ellice, and Marshall Islands, for instance; the Polynesians, people with lighter skins living on the islands within the triangle bounded by New Zealand, Hawaii, and Easter Island.<sup>27</sup> The aboriginal peoples of Australia are in a class by themselves, though they

---

<sup>26</sup>Kenneth Little, Race and Society (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), p. 41.

<sup>27</sup>Soper, op. cit., pp. 124ff.



come closest to the Melanesians in appearance.

Western racism finds expression especially in Australia, and now as white peoples move into New Guinea the clash between two cultures could resolve around the color differences.

The racism in Australia is expressed toward the aboriginal peoples in Australia and toward the non-Caucasian peoples outside Australia through the "white Australia" policy. The state of the aborigine in Australia is somewhat like the status of the American Indian in the United States. The Australian aborigine is not in any open conflict with the white Australian. Rather, he has simply withdrawn from the white man's world after the open clashes with him and after the aborigine has discovered that working for the white man does not gain entrance into his world of possessions and knowledge and power. This disillusionment and isolation, coupled with the hostility of the white man, exterminated the aboriginal population of Tasmania, large island just southeast of Australia. And the aboriginal population on the mainland of Australia has dropped from 150,000 to 70,000. Now, the government of Australia is attempting to educate the aboriginals and to make them useful citizens of Australia. But Western racism shows itself when any of these educated aboriginals attempt to move into the mainstream of Australian life.

Though racism seems to be no problem in New Guinea at the present, it could easily become a serious matter. With the exception of the missionaries and the government officers, few of the Caucasian inhabitants have regular dealings with the native peoples. But as the New Guineans become educated and move into the coastal towns the contact between races will take on serious implications.



The clash between cultures that expresses itself in the Cargo Cults, for instance, could easily resolve itself around racial symbols, and the clash would be greatly enhanced by the slightest expression of racism on the part of the Caucasians. The Cargo Cults of New Guinea are ritualistic groups who try by their incantations either to encourage or to discourage the arrival of a ship with the much-desired cargo of material goods. The Cargo Cults are:

expressions of revolt against the changes wrought by Western man, of frustration of the indigenous peoples over their inability to lead their own lives uninterrupted, and yet are reflective of a desire to emulate the West and obtain its goods.<sup>28</sup>

A set of terms which the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective found useful in studies of the Australian aborigine, the Melanesian, and the Polynesian show the chronological reactions of these people to a technological culture wrapped up in a certain amount of Western racism:

1. Ambivalence--fear, bewilderment, curiosity, hostility.
2. Disillusionment and dissatisfaction; working for the white man's education, etc., do not gain entry to white man's world of possessions, knowledge, or power.
3. Recovery of solidarity or self-assertion in which the challenge posed by the settlers is accepted and reconciliation and adjustment occur.<sup>29</sup>

Since many areas of the Pacific islands are right at the third stage, where the people are asserting themselves and are ready for adjustment to the Western culture, the region is ripe for racism--wherever

---

<sup>28</sup>Conant, op. cit., pp. 91ff.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 86f.



Western racism is not already a problem.

### The Rise of Counter-Racism in the Non-West

It is inevitable that two or three centuries of Western racism should be reciprocated with a similar type of categorical rejection-- counter-racism.

The Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective pointed to two items especially as symptoms of Asia's and Africa's counter-racism: The Asian interest in Japan's defeat of Russia, a Western nation, in 1905; and the interest of non-Communist nations of the non-West in the Chinese Communists' stalemate of Western powers in Korea.<sup>30</sup>

#### Counter-racism and nationalism: twin drives

Peoples oppressed economically, politically, and socially by invaders from the outside find themselves severely frustrated in attempting to throw off the yoke. The necessary unity for effective action is usually missing. The peoples of the non-West, oppressed by Western colonialism and racism have found nationalism and counter-racism potent rallying symbols for throwing off the yoke of oppression.

The Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective found two types of nationalism in Africa: The radical nationalism whose dynamism is due to counter-racism and an appeal to traditional values; and the progressive attitude which places in the center of its argumentation the criticism of the colonial system more than the exaltation of race.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 119.



It would seem, therefore, that the peoples of the non-West, in their effort to throw off Western oppression, first stress nationalism as a unifying drive and symbol, then race--to counter the West's colonialism and racism.

Just how nationalism and counter-racism have become the twin drives of non-Western peoples who have been under Western control has been clearly described by the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective. Here are the historical experiences and responses of indigenous peoples coming under outside domination:

1. Precontact--indigenous people unable to adapt themselves and their institutions to new forces and ideas of the West.
2. Contact, predomination--European began to think of native as inferior; some natives tried to fit--unsuccessfully--the Westerner into his own societies and customs.
3. Domination--indigenous leadership disintegrates, Western power becomes supreme. A few natives play intermediaries between two cultural worlds. Dependent on the European but not his equal, isolated from his own people, he becomes increasingly aware of the fact that his status, despite his efforts to acquire new skills and attitudes, in the eyes of the members of the dominant group, is not determined by his culture, his value system and style of life, but by his race, and his race is identified by physical marks of visibility which no personal effort can erase. This discovery has a shattering effect on an individual which leaves a deep and permanent scar on his personality. It affects, inevitably, the character of indigenous leadership, the content of nationalist movements, and the form of expression used by natives to reassert their human dignity. Some manage to accept the knowledge of assumed racial inferiority as part of the system, others accept it in a spirit of humiliation. Still others accept it as a challenge to meet. Race as an issue intrudes into every aspect of the communal relationship--in matters of labor, credit, education, communications, occupations, political and social roles, residential and institutional restrictions, and in the ideological war for the minds of men.
4. Post-domination--indigenous peoples assume responsibility for their own affairs. Integration and nationalism become twin



drives.<sup>32</sup>

### Counter-racism and the marginal man

Usually the personalities who initiate programs of attack on Western colonialism and racism are the marginal people, people who have been drawn to the Western culture, probably have received a Western education, and try unsuccessfully to become part of the Western world. He is a cultural hybrid, trying to live in two antagonistic societies--not satisfied with the one and not accepted by the other. And not accepted because of the color of his skin, an unalterable accident. It is understandable, therefore, why the leaders of the oppressed people often become racists themselves in their effort to erase Western racism. It is the marginal leader who has suffered the most severe rebuff at the hands of Western racism.

Typical marginal leader in Africa is Tom Mboya, an extremist who wants independence for Kenya under the rule of the black majority by 1960. Mboya attended a missionary convent school, studied trade union methods at an Oxford college.<sup>33</sup>

Mboya fits into the description of marginals drawn up by E. Franklin Frazier. Besides the mixed-bloods (mulattoes, Eurasians), according to Frazier, the Christian convert in Asia and Africa also exhibits many, if not most, of the characteristics of the marginal man: the same spiritual

---

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 79ff.

<sup>33</sup>Muller, op. cit., p. 194.



instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness, and malaise.<sup>34</sup>

It is important for the purposes of this paper to note that the Christian in the non-West, who has pulled up his roots to a certain extent from his own surroundings and has accepted the "white man's religion," who perhaps has been educated in a Western school, is among the marginal group who are prone to extreme nationalism and counter-racism. It is to be expected among a people who have tried to join the white man's world but have found that the dark skin has kept them out. But the fact is easily overlooked that it is the Christian who often becomes a marginal and who thus is especially open to counter-racism--and not just the unscrupulous marginal. This holds important implications for the teaching and practise of the Church regarding racism.

#### Counter-racism and the separatist churches of Africa

The Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective saw the exaltation of the Negro race (negritude) as a growing symbol and basic force for African nationalism. Two important ways in which negritude, a form of counter-racism, a Negro superiority complex, is expressed through a few intellectuals and through the cruder, less sophisticated prophetic and separatist church movements.<sup>35</sup>

Again, it is important for the purposes of this paper to note one of the basic reasons for the separatist churches of Africa--and their counter-racism. The prophetic churches are not simply heretical sects

---

<sup>34</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 311.

<sup>35</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 126.



that are going off on doctrinal tangents. It seems that they are groups of people who have had their desires and their energies stymied by Western racism and have found this outlet for overcoming their frustrations. That nearly all the separatist churches in Africa are located in Southern Africa, where Western racism has been most blatant, seems to be more than an accident. Once again the importance of the Church's teaching and practise concerning racism is underscored.

#### Counter-racism on an international scale

Indonesian President Sukarno, in his opening speech to the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, 1955, gave vent to the race-consciousness of the entire non-West world when he said: "As I survey this hall and the distinguished guests gathered here, my heart is filled with emotion. This is the first intercontinental conference of colored peoples in the history of mankind."<sup>36</sup>

This global race-consciousness may be a very healthy world view that sees dynamic race relations in a world perspective--like the view of Dr. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Alabama:

This determination of Negro Americans to win freedom from all forms of oppression springs from the same deep longing for freedom that motivates oppressed peoples all over the world. The deep rumblings of discontent from Asia and Africa are at bottom a quest for freedom and human dignity on the part of people who have long been the victims of colonialism and imperialism.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 337.

<sup>37</sup>Martin Luther King, "The Christian Way of Life in Human Relations," (New York: The National Council of Churches, 1957), p. 1. Address given the National Council of Churches in St. Louis, Missouri, December 4, 1957. Mimeographed.



But this global race-consciousness could also express itself in a dangerous counter-racism. As Melvin Conant has stated, "An African movement which has color as its unifying symbol might result in the mobilization of millions of people against white European man."<sup>38</sup>

The Bandung Conference, fully aware of the dangerous implications of counter-racism, "reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries," and at the same time "pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it."<sup>39</sup>

The rise of counter-racism is a concomitant of the revolution of the non-West and thus will be dealt with in this context in the next chapter.

#### Examples of Western Non-Racism

Though there are no nations completely free of racism, there are four nations where Westerners and non-Westerners have confronted one another in everyday life and have worked out a pattern of race relations remarkably free from racism. Those nations are: Brazil, Hawaii, Russia, and New Zealand. Actually all of Latin America has met its problem of many races with a remarkable degree of racial integration. But Brazil is singled out from the rest of the nations because its racial problems have been the greatest and its solutions, among the best.

#### Brazil

---

<sup>38</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>39</sup>Romulo, op. cit., p. 98.



To suggest that Brazil's pattern of race relations, with its inter-racial marriages, is a happy exception to the pattern of Western racism seems to many Westerners to be a highly debatable statement, especially to the racist. Radical segregationist from Mississippi, Tom Brady has expressed this opposite view:

Those of you who have been in Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Cuba; those of you who have been to Spain and to Italy, wherever you see this integration and this commingling, you see this resultant deterioration. It is the same old story. The jungle, the black blood swallows up, and with it goes this deterioration. It blows out the light within a white man's brain.<sup>40</sup>

Aside from the fact that this statement is highly charged with emotion, its basic charge--that racially integrated societies deteriorate because of the commingling of the races--is made by various people, including many who are not extreme racists. But what is meant by the charge of "deterioration?" If by "deterioration" is meant an impoverishment of the land and the people, this can scarcely stand as a valid charge. If poverty is traceable to racial integration in Brazil, to what may the poverty of the Southern part of the United States be attributed? To "racial purity?" Poverty is always relative and could never be traced to racial integration, nor to "racial purity."

If it is a moral "deterioration" which is meant, this is a more likely charge. But this charge cannot stand either. Which is more moral? To produce so many mulatto children out of wedlock that scarcely fifteen per cent of the Negro population in the United States is without "white blood?" Or to produce mulattoes within wedlock where father and

---

<sup>40</sup>Judge Tom B. Brady, Black Monday (Winona: Association of Citizen's Councils of Mississippi, 1954), p. 5.



mother may properly bring up their children? To charge that the Brazilian integration of races is "deterioration" is to hold to an opinion that is oblivious to fact.

One who goes to Brazil for the first time may conclude that there is racial discrimination in that most of the lower class is Negro, most of the middle class mixed blood, and most of the upper class Caucasian. But this condition reflects not so much a racial struggle as a class struggle, which by historic accident happens to coincide to a considerable degree with color.<sup>41</sup> For there are Negroes in all three classes, there are mixed bloods in all three classes, and there are whites in all three classes. The social distinctions are those common to all societies. A man of color may improve his status, and this position will be in reference to the entire community, not to some "racial" community.

The white man can more easily achieve middle and upper class status because of the economic and educational assets which he has inherited, often going all the way back to slavery days. The mulatto, mestizo, and other mixed bloods have had the next best opportunities. From slavery days onward, whether they were members of the family of a wealthy plantation owner or not, the mixed bloods usually lived closer to the white plantation owner, if not as his children, then as his household slaves (in contrast to field laborers), and were offered more opportunities for education than were the Negroes. This favored position of the mixed blood also meant that he could earn or inherit more of a financial foun-

---

<sup>41</sup>Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942), p. 231.



dation for his future than could the average Negro. (These same factors are largely responsible for the high percentage of mixed bloods in the United States who are members of the middle or upper class of the Negro community, if not of the entire community.) The fullblooded Negro, on the other hand, like the lower class of any society, has had to struggle for stature.

In the schools of Brazil, in the political and economic life of the country, there is no sign of racial discrimination. Even in the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches the racial groups are nearly always proportionately represented.

In some sections of Brazil, notably in Bahia, an old slave-trading port city, there are groups of Africanos, Negroes who still adhere to the customs, the language, and the dress of their original tribes in West Africa. They are rather antagonistic toward the "whites," as is indicated by this statement made by an Africano within earshot of a Negro and white walking down the street together: "Such Negroes! Worthless trash! Walking around with a white man!"<sup>42</sup> Such an attitude would seem to be evidence of race prejudice. But the fact that outside the Africano group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what is reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial conflict. "Antagonism is directed not to the whites as such but at Europeans; it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the Africanos."<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>43</sup>Loc. cit.



Donald Pierson has compared the lot of the Negro in Brazil with the status of the Jew in the United States.<sup>44</sup> The Brazilian Negro, like the American Jew, may segregate himself from the larger community residentially, socially, and religiously if he so desires. But there is little to prevent him from integrating himself into the larger community if he so desires.

Why Brazil should take such a radically different approach to the matter of race than the United States has taken, when the historical conditions of Western colonization and Negro slavery have been shared by both nations, is an important question for which to seek an answer. There are several factors which go toward an answer to this important question.

Undoubtedly one of the basic reasons for Brazil's absence of racism is that its Portuguese colonizers had become blind to the color of a man's skin already centuries before when the Moors crossed over from North Africa into Spain and Portugal and gradually became assimilated into society regardless of color. This basic historical reason intertwines with nearly all of the succeeding reasons that will be listed.

Also an important reason for Brazil's non-racism is miscegenation, especially intermarriages which were legally constituted. But whether it is by way of legally constituted marriages or otherwise, such interrelations have drawn members of the two races together with such personal, familial bonds that caste prejudice is inhibited and interracial solidity is cemented.<sup>45</sup> Miscegenation, of course, was and is very common in the

---

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 134f.



United States. But it has not helped much to cement the races together for various reasons. Largely it is because in the Southern states legal intermarriage is forbidden, and thus all miscegenation must be clandestine. And that miscegenation is illegal in the South is a reflection partly of the difference in culture between the English settlers of the Southern part of the United States and the Portugese colonists of Brazil. Another factor of difference between the U.S. and Brazil in the matter of racial intermarriage is that most of the early Portugese settlers in Brazil were single men, whereas most of the English settlers in the U.S. South were already married. This made it easier for the Portugese colonists to countenance marriage first with the Indian, then with the Negro--when the slave trade became prominent. The state encouraged such intermarriages, and the Roman Catholic Church sanctioned them, thus bringing parents and children under the wing of the Church.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, the background of the settlers, their marital status, and the position of the Church all helped to produce intermingling of the races in Brazil with the approval of Church and society. And the same factors helped to produce a social and ecclesiastical disapproval of interracial marriages in the U.S. South. This disapproval, however, did not halt illegal miscegenation.

A third cause of Brazil's racial integration is the close, familial type of relations which existed between masters and slaves--a much closer relationship than that of the American plantation, according to Kenneth Little, British student of race:

---

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 323.



The economy of the plantations was patriarchal, and the Portuguese masters and the Negro slaves lived in a type of close, intimate association, which, to quote an American author, "excels the most sentimental and romantic accounts of the social solidarity existing between master and slave in the Southern states."<sup>47</sup>

Apparently on a much wider scale than in the United States, the master and his slaves were one big family who went to church together and whose children played together.

A fourth reason cited by Donald Pierson for the non-racism of Brazil is the gradual, peaceful way in which the emancipation of the slaves was effected. In contrast to the catastrophic social upheaval of a civil war by which slaves were freed in the United States, Brazil released its lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, "under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a 'new freeman'."<sup>48</sup>

Brazil is not devoid of racism. But it is a striking example of how peoples with a certain type of culture and with sanction from the Church and from the state can develop a social attitude which is blind to the color of a man's skin. According to Edmund Soper:

human nature is the same, and prejudice and a proud sense of superiority over others are likely to crop up anywhere. They do in Brazil. But human nature is also the same in another respect; it can be directed and educated into channels which cause its attitudes to be far different from those which might otherwise be displayed. This is what we find in Brazil. Brazilians are part of our humanity, but with a different background, exposed to a different social attitude, and definitely educated to think of race as equal, not innately inferior or superior. These people have shown that human nature can react very differently to the fundamental problem of ra-

---

<sup>47</sup>Little, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>48</sup>Pierson, op. cit., p. 171.



cial intermingling.<sup>49</sup>

As a footnote to the racial situation in Brazil, it may be added that the Spaniards, who settled most of the rest of Latin America, had a cultural background very similar to that of the Portugese and carried out a program of racial relations very similar to that of Brazil. Unlike the English, who gave the Indians no place in their society, the Spaniards "thought of the Indians as part of their society, far down in the social scale, but as belonging to the community and having a part in it."<sup>50</sup>

Hawaii

In Hawaii, according to T. M. Davis, Negroes find "the closest approach to real democracy under the Stars and Stripes."<sup>51</sup> Hawaii, with its international conglomerate of nationalities and races living together with a minimum of discrimination, stands in bold contrast to continental United States, with its ubiquitous official and unofficial discrimination. How could such striking racial integration occur in a land with such close ties to the United States?

The non-racist attitudes began forming when Western settlers married into families of the native Polynesian landholders. This cemented a familial and economic bond between the races that was difficult to break.

Melvin Conant expresses the belief that among the many factors which

---

<sup>49</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>51</sup>T. M. Davis, "A Passage to Hawaii," The Crisis, LVI (November, 1949), pp. 296ff.



have contributed to the integration of races in Hawaii

the greatest transformer has been the compulsory public school system. Here children of every racial and national origin have for a number of years associated with a Western pattern. The language of instruction has been English, and the teaching of American history and English literature has had a profound unifying effect. The multitude of school societies which have taken much of the extra-curricular time of students have given them a social environment and values which differ markedly in many cases from those of home life.<sup>52</sup>

It may be suggested that Hawaii is an atypical situation which is lacking many of the factors present in other areas with more than one race. But the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective concluded that all the major factors contributing to race situations in the various areas of the world are present in Hawaii: economic, ideological, cultural, political, and social problems--described in terms of the New World, Asia, and African race relations--all are present in Hawaii. Also, all the major dynamics observed in race situations are found in Hawaii: urbanization, industrialization, changes in political and economic control, effects of education, evidence of cultural accommodations and adjustment.<sup>53</sup>

In considering all the factors and dynamics which have influenced the racial situation in Hawaii, the Conference considered it significant that there were no "privileged occupations or social positions defined and sanctioned by law or theology."<sup>54</sup>

As ideally integrated as the races are in Hawaii, it is inevitable

---

<sup>52</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 75.



that in a land with Caucasians, Hawaiians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and others in between, that some racism will appear somewhere. Soper feels that the growing economic dependence of the Hawaiians and the Orientals, which form two-thirds of the population, on Caucasians (23 per cent of the population) may be an open door for bitterness. "It has not failed to provide entrance for a spirit of revolt and antagonism."<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, Hawaii is a land with a Western culture, but without its usual concomitant of racism. Early intermarriages between nationals and settlers, a strong, integrated school system, and a culture in which neither law nor theology attempted to define privileged economic or social positions--all combined to develop a Western community without racism.

Russia

Soper wrote unequivocally in 1947: "The Soviet Union has learned to deal with the problem of minority groups more successfully than any other nation."<sup>56</sup> The Russian Revolution, according to Soper, was aimed at the citadel of rank and privilege, and when the assumption of inherent superiority of one group over another was officially banned by governmental action, the race problem "was settled automatically."<sup>57</sup>

Negro Americans who have lived in Russia for any length of time

---

<sup>55</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>57</sup>Loc. cit.



bring back reports of equal treatment—if anything, a bending over backward to accept the Negro.<sup>58</sup>

But the big racial problem in Russia is that of assimilating the minority groups of Central and East Asia, especially of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia, where fierce tribal nationalism is suspicious of outside interference. Within a week after the Russian Revolution broke out, a complete reversal was made of the previous policy of "Russification of minorities in Central and East Asia." The new Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia announced that all national and ethnic groups in Russia "had the right to self-determination and free development."<sup>59</sup> E. Franklin Frazier cites as proof that this policy worked, the fact that soldiers from these minority groups in Central and East Asia fought for Russia in World War II.<sup>60</sup>

Conant, writing in 1955, is not so sure, however, that Soviet Russia has lived up to her principle of allowing freedom of action and local responsibility, and he asserts that the final outcome of the issue is far from certain:

The final triumph of Soviet policy on race relations is far from certain, even if viewed in total isolation from anything that takes place in the non-Communist world. The ambitions of the Communist regime have been staked too high. In the long run it cannot go on forcing a diluted form of Russian and Slavonic civilization upon the unwilling peoples of Asia, while simultaneously oppressing the Russians and the other Slavs at home.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup>Homer Smith, "The Promised Land," Ebony, XIII (March, 1958), 95.

<sup>59</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>60</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>61</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 69.



Only time will tell whether Russia's present colonization of Central and Eastern Asia will help to assimilate the peoples of Asia into the center of Russian life or whether it will only create more racial problems.

Very important to note is the view which the non-West takes of Russia's race relations. Non-Westerners are convinced that in Russia there is a real equality of races.

It is true; in Russia all races and nationalities are treated without discrimination. Here is a nation whose cultural roots are Western. But because of government action and a "class-leveling" ideology, Russia has avoided racism. And while avoiding racism, she has oppressed all peoples without discrimination. Her universal oppression of human freedom recognizes the oneness of man, but not his individual value. And so Russia's non-racism is a drawing card for the non-Westerners who are smarting under Western racism. But Russia's racial equality is packaged in a barely visible, but steel-like, oppression of individual freedom.

#### New Zealand

The Maori, native Polynesian people of New Zealand, were at first a people with no status among the Western settlers of the islands. But after the strangeness wore off for both the Maoris and the Westerners, and after missionaries had built up a relationship between the Maori culture and the Western culture, the native Polynesians began to become a part of the Western community.<sup>62</sup> Now there is still a certain amount of social

---

<sup>62</sup>Soper, op. cit., pp. 124ff.



distance between middle and upper class Westerners and the Maori, but the Polynesians are becoming more and more a part of the economic, political, social, and religious life of the Western community, even to the extent of some intermarriage, especially among the lower class Westerners. Westerners proudly refer to the Maori as their fellow citizens.

New Zealand is an example of a Western colonization, largely by the race-conscious English, which has gradually accepted a people of a different culture and a different color as part of their community. The work of the missionaries and the sympathetic position of the government had no small part in bringing about this racial integration, which is still in the process of being fulfilled.

#### The Causes of Racism and Non-Racism

In discussing the history of racism, of counter-racism, and of non-racism, it was necessary all along to discuss the causes of these phenomena. It is the purpose of this section to pull together these causes.

Any attempt to list the causes of racism usually gives the appearance of simplicity and distorts the deep complexity of the causes. But the causes must be searched out one by one for closer inspection without forgetting the interwoven texture from which they come.

#### Causes from history

Ralph Bunche has pointed out that the historical origin of racial prejudices and conflicts is to be found in the migration of human groups and the invasions by conquering peoples of territory inhabited by other



peoples.<sup>63</sup> It is not that racism was the inevitable result of such population shifts as the huge European migrations to the new world. Latin America is proof of that. But if these population shifts had never occurred, there would have been no reason for color racism.

The basic, historical cause of racism, underlying the migration cause mentioned above, is that the conquering peoples constituted themselves as the ruling class and relegated the conquered group to an inferior status. "Thus race became a badge of social superiority, and in time the dominant race assumed for itself qualities of moral, intellectual, and political superiority, as well as economic privilege."<sup>64</sup>

Sociologists like Robert Park have drawn up an historical cycle of race relations which includes a cause of racism. In the abstract, the cycle goes like this: contacts, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation. According to Park this cycle is "progressive and irreversible."<sup>65</sup> Put in the concrete situation of the United States, Park's cycle goes like this: The several decades during which the slaves were being brought to America was the period of initial contacts with the Negro. From the moment Negroes began to take jobs away from white men and began to push for their freedom, the competition set in. The accommodation has been going on ever since white men have been giving in to the human demands of the Negro. First came the freeing of the slaves, then

---

<sup>63</sup>Bunche, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>64</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>65</sup>Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), p. 150.



the "separate but equal" policy, and now the move toward integration. Thus, assimilation is in the process, but its fulfillment lies in the future. And the historical cause of the racism which follows the period of contact: competition.

Psychologist Gordon Allport lists as an historical cause of racism the appearance of Darwinism in the middle 1800's:

Darwinism gave the pictures of a species (e.g., dogs, cows, men) divided into distinct varieties or races. Though there are mongrel dogs and cows and mongrel men, the appealing idea that pure races are best took hold on popular imagination.<sup>66</sup>

#### Causes from humanity

In speaking of all the historical, economic, political, and cultural causes of racism, it is easy to think only of environmental causes as though man had little to do with the making of his environment and as if there were nothing wrong with man himself.

Rajah B. Manikam, Lutheran bishop in India, gets to the bottom of racism when he calls it sin:

Race prejudice is a sin which all flesh is heir to, and it can be overcome only by the grace of God. It is not correct to infer that Asians are not tainted with prejudice. Color prejudice, prejudice which is akin to that of race is seen among Asians also, and even within one nation. When Japan conquered certain countries of East Asia, her rule also brought in its wake the same problem of superiority and race prejudice as did the Western rule.<sup>67</sup>

"The cultivated aloofness of the English toward all other people of whatever race," the "deep pride in the 'innate' superiority of English culture and race,"<sup>68</sup> the economic desire of the ruling class to maintain

---

<sup>66</sup>Allport, op. cit., pp. 107ff.

<sup>67</sup>Manikam, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>68</sup>Bunche, op. cit., p. 61.



a force of cheap labor, the retaliatory venom of the once oppressed peoples of color now exercising their new-found freedom, the unquestioning obedience to culture and tradition for the sake of one's position in society regardless of whether the tradition tramples on men's lives--all of these items are causes of racism and counter-racism, and all of these items are symptoms of sin, of men living for themselves and not for God.

This is not to say that those who have accepted God's reconciliation in Christ are not guilty of racism.

Racism is exceedingly paradoxical. It may emanate from the basest and most self-centered of human motives; on the other hand it may rise out of the deepest conviction of profoundly sincere religious men and women.<sup>69</sup>

Nor is it to say that men openly living against God are always guilty of racism. In a non-racist culture like Brazil's the most debauched men will likely be blind to color. But wherever there is racism there is sin--conscious or unconscious.

Because men are made of clay their minds often make mistakes. And here, too, lie some causes of racism.

Philosopher Collingwood has pointed to the mistake men often make in confusing the historical process with the natural process, culture with race:

All kinds of historical fallacies are still current due to confusion between historical process and natural process: not only the cruder fallacies of mistaking historical facts of culture and tradition for functions of biological facts like race and pedigree, but subtler fallacies affecting methods of research and the organization of historical inquiry.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup>Soper, op. cit., p. 284.

<sup>70</sup>R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 228.



Allport described the same error in human thinking from a psychologist's viewpoint when he said that one of the reasons for racism is that a fragment of visibility like skin color "focuses people's minds on the possibility that everything may be related to the fragment." And it agrees with man's desire to have an easy answer to vexing problems, "to ascribe peculiarities of appearance, customs, and values to race."<sup>71</sup>

Thus, the human mind is quick to ascribe a raping, a theft, low moral standards, poor housing conditions, to the fact, primarily, that the person is a Negro and not that he is a sinner, as all men are, or that his environment and culture have shaped his standards in this way. Or the fact that many of the older generation Negroes of the South have to sign their name with an "X" is proof of the mental inferiority of the Negro, the human mind is quick to conclude, as though all cultural attainments were due to race.

The Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective pointed to a fallacious reasoning that sets up race as the purported source of struggle between groups, when actually there are deeper differences, of which race is only a symbol. The deeper differences may be a struggle for power, or land, or economic advantage.<sup>72</sup>

If humanity were not shot through with sin and were not living in a world whose culture reflects the effects of sin, there would be no racism. Herein lies the root cause of racism: sin. Sin permeates all the other causes.

---

<sup>71</sup>Allport, op. cit., pp. 107ff.

<sup>72</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 4.



Causes from economics and politics

E. Franklin Frazier states succinctly that "the color bar represents an attempt of the dominant white group to stop the operation of the laws of competition in a society based on economic competition which requires the economic use of human labor."<sup>73</sup> Bunche and Cox would agree with Frazier. Cox believes that racial exploitation is "merely one aspect of the proletarianization of labor, regardless of the color of the laborer." And thus Cox considers racial antagonism essentially as political class conflict.<sup>74</sup> Bunche has compared the race struggle of today with the class struggle in Europe in the Middle Ages.<sup>75</sup>

These points of view agree with the conclusions of the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective that "racial problems" arise when ideas of racial difference become interwoven with the struggles of the groups--for power, for land, for economic advantage, or even on the basis of differing conceptions of truth.<sup>76</sup>

Tracing racism to the economic and political struggles of men rings loud with Marxist overtones. But Kenneth Little has attempted to show by history the importance of the economic causes of racism:

The capitalist exploiter, being opportunistic and practical, will utilize any convenience to keep his labor and other resources freely exploitable. He will devise and employ race prejudice when that becomes convenient. The reason why race relations are "easier" in

---

<sup>73</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>74</sup>Little, op. cit., pp. 14ff.

<sup>75</sup>Bunche, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>76</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 4.



most countries colonized by the Latin nations, viz., Portugal and Spain, is partly because neither Spain nor Portugal ever attained the industrial development of Northern Europe. They remained longer under the political and economic control of the Church. Also, the capitalist spirit, the profit-making motive among the sixteenth century Spaniards and Portuguese, was constantly inhibited by the universal aims and purposes of the Church. This tradition in favor of the old religious criterion of equality is in contrast to the objective, capitalistic attitude of Anglo-Saxon and Germanic countries, such as Britain, Netherlands, and the United States. . . .

What this implies is a direct relationship between race and society—that race relations are, in effect, a function of a certain type of social and economic system.<sup>77</sup>

Frazier, also, stresses the economic motives behind the imperialistic conquest of the world by Western nations as causes of racism. Western nations thought up a moral apologetic for their economic conquests in calling the non-Western world "the white man's burden."<sup>78</sup> But underneath the conquests and the resulting racial strictures lay the capitalistic motive of profit.

It would be oversimplification to say that the economic motives of profit and control are the chief causes of racism. Even to suggest that the "equalitarian" economic system of Spain and Portugal was chief cause of the non-racism of Latin America is an oversimplification. But as Little rightly points out, economics is part of the warp and woof of society and as such is a reflection of the culture of that society. In this sense, with economics as part of the total picture, it may be rightly said that one of the important causes of racism is economic and political exploitation. And this, in turn, is a reflection of the capitalistic, individualistic society of the West.

---

<sup>77</sup>Little, op. cit., pp. 14ff.

<sup>78</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 179.



### The causes from culture

Englishman Philip Mason has put much stress on difference in culture as a cause of racism:

the situation which gives rise to the color bar is the meeting of a people who are technically advanced and socially competitive and individualistic with a people technically backward and socially static.<sup>79</sup>

There can be no doubt that the culture clash between Western and non-Western peoples has had much to do with the rise of racism. If the English and Dutch settlers of South Africa had found that the Bantus had the same sort of thought patterns and the same backlog of educational, social, political, and economic experiences and the same technological attainments and the same Christian religion and the same societal patterns and the same dress as they did, surely there would have been very little to plaster onto the symbol of race and very little cause for racism. It is not culture as such that is the cause of racism, but the cultural differences between two racial groups and that component element of most cultures, certainly of most Western cultures, that proclaims this one culture to be superior in every way to any differing culture.

Culture is probably more important as a maintainer of racism than as an original cause. Once a culture absorbs the attitude of racism, racism is then handed down as a social legacy from generation to generation, a legacy which it is difficult to refuse. On the reverse side of the coin, if a culture absorbs the attitude of non-racism, then non-racism is handed down as a social legacy from generation to generation, and each gen-

---

<sup>79</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 16.



eration finds it difficult to disown. For though culture is dynamic, it is at the same time a stabilizer which resists change.

Roman Catholic LaFarge has come to see the force of culture in maintaining racism after it has become a part of the culture:

Discrimination is not so much the result of prejudice, but prejudice is the result of discrimination. Segregation feeds prejudice and keeps it alive; . . . Lack of friendly contact breeds suspicion, distrust, violence, fear.<sup>80</sup>

When segregation, an expression of racism, becomes a part of the culture, as it has in the Southern part of the United States, the force of culture tends to weld segregation and racism into the thinking of the people.

School instruction, an agent of culture, is an example of how culture may encourage racism of all kinds. Gordon Allport points out:

Virtually no history book ever teaches that one's country was ever in the wrong. Geography is ordinarily taught with a nationalistic bias. The number of inventions that Soviet Russia claims for itself causes a smile in other countries. All these chauvinistic devices breed ethnocentrism.<sup>81</sup>

Through differences in culture racism may be encouraged. And once a culture absorbs the attitude of racism, the stabilizing pressure of culture tends to maintain the attitude of racism.

#### The causes of non-racism

The causes of non-racism in Brazil, Hawaii, Russia, and New Zealand were somewhat different in the case of each location.

---

<sup>80</sup>John LaFarge, The Catholic Viewpoint in Race Relations (Garden City, New York: Hanover House, 1956), p. 45.

<sup>81</sup>Allport, op. cit., p. 236.



In Brazil--and the rest of Latin America--the strong position of the Church on the equality of all men and in sanctioning interracial marriage can be seen as definite causes of non-racism. And as counterpart to the strong position of the Church stands the non-racist culture from which the European settlers came.

In Hawaii can be seen the importance of allowing both racial groups to gain a vested interest in the economy of the territory.

The strong governmental stand against racism in Russia shows how politics may even be a cause of non-racism.

In New Zealand the work of the missionaries paved the way for a mutual understanding between Westerners and the Maoris. Here communication on an equal basis and, more important, the Gospel are seen as causes of non-racism.

The current move of the Western world toward non-racism cannot be said to stem from the generous love of the Westerner for the non-Westerner. Rather, it is the man of color who has a new view of himself and who is pressing for freedom from the oppressions of Western colonialism and racism. And the Westerner is slowly giving in--for more reasons than simply the pressure of the non-Westerners. There are several dynamics affecting the Westerner. Melvin Conant has listed the major political, economic, and social changes in the world today that are major causes of the West's shift toward non-racism:

1. The decline of Western empires.
2. The achievement of political freedom by non-Western nations.
3. Changes in Western racial attitudes.
4. The increase in international trade.



5. Improved communication.

6. Greater opportunities for travel.<sup>82</sup>

Martin Scharlemann, professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in an address to a class listed five dynamics, especially from the Church's point of view, which are thrusting the West, and Western churches, into an attitude of non-racism.<sup>83</sup>

First, there is a high degree of inter-dependence among nations. No nation has all the raw materials needed for the twentieth century industrial age. Metals and various materials from 65 different nations are needed to produce one Chevrolet in the United States. Oil is an essential for an industrial nation. Yet few nations have enough to serve their own needs. This inter-dependence requires open routes of trade and friendly relations between nations. Racism dare not block the channels.

Second, modern means of communication have shrunk the world. News can reach any nation in the world as quickly as news goes from the center of a metropolis to its outer edges. This means that an incident of racism in Little Rock, Arkansas, or in Clinton, Tennessee, or in Sturgis, Kentucky, this morning will be broadcast over the radio and printed in the newspaper of Ibadan, Nigeria, and Bangkok, Thailand, this afternoon. Racism in the Southern part of the United States no longer concerns only the South, or only the United States; but the whole world feels the impact.

Third, the ideological conflict between East and West has lifted out

---

<sup>82</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>83</sup>Martin Scharlemann, professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. Class notes in possession of author.



racism as one of the most important issues. There probably is no more important propaganda pitch of Soviet Communism than that of pointing to Western racism--in South Africa and in the United States especially.

Fourth, the rising nationalism of the younger nations no longer allows Western racism to march on uncriticized. The Bandung Conference is eloquent testimony to the growing influence which the younger nations are exerting on the world.

Fifth, Christians are becoming more and more aware of the nature of the Church. The Church has no ethnic nor racial labels, but is the community of God centered around Christ, the Lord of the universe. The Church is the very presence of God at work in the world, pushing out to the edges of the universe. Thus, racial integration of the Church is not an either-or program of the Church, but is the Church, the body of Christ in this world, being what it is.

The causes of non-racism are a combination of human, cultural, political, economic, social, and religious forces. They are all inseparably intertwined.

#### Summary

Western color racism began to develop gradually as Europeans started to build empires in the New World, in Africa, in Asia, and in the Pacific. Western man, with his technological achievements, easily convinced himself that the white man was innately superior. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, however, that the theory of congenital inequality of races was articulated by a Frenchman, Gobineau. Two costly world wars brought Western leaders to see the necessity of international



unity and of equality of treatment to all nations and races. Thus, Western racism is dying. But it is not dead.

Forms of Western color racism may be found in all continents of the world. The "land down under" has its "white Australia" policy and its difficulties in assimilating the aboriginal. The central African nations with British settlers are finding it difficult to integrate Africans politically, economically, and socially. But the two most crucial forms of Western racism are found in South Africa and in the United States. The United States is a step closer to non-racism than South Africa in that the Federal Government has officially taken a stand against legal segregation, whereas South Africa officially encourages its racist policy of apartheid.

It is inevitable that the non-West, after centuries of Western racism, should have a tendency to return a tit for a tat by expressing a counter-racism. Counter-racism is often a concomitant of extreme nationalism, the nationals' attempt to throw off the yoke of Western colonialism and racism. The marginal man--educated to a degree, drawn to Western culture, and often a Christian--is often the exponent of counter-racism; for it is he especially who has tried to enter the white man's world and has felt the sting of Western racism. The separatist and prophetic churches of South Africa seem often to be led by frustrated marginals and thus are an outlet for counter-racism. If counter-racism were developed on a global scale among the peoples of color, it could be highly explosive.

The examples of Western non-racism in Brazil and all of Latin America, in Hawaii, in Russia, and in New Zealand show the importance of cul-



ture, Church, politics, and economics in shaping a racially integrated society. These examples prove that racism is not innate, but is largely a cultural attitude handed down from generation to generation.

The causes of racism and non-racism are strands in a closely woven texture, and one pulls them apart at the risk of forgetting the whole picture. The causes from human weakness are often forgotten in favor of the more abstract causes from economics, politics, culture, and history. True, economic competition causes the dominant racial group to keep the other racial group in economic servitude by means of racism. A culture that has absorbed racism perpetuates it by the very stabilizing nature of culture. Historical migration and colonization cause clashes that may result in racism. But through all these causes runs the strand of sin, of man living apart from God for himself. And the causes of non-racism are also a combination of human, cultural, political, economic, social, and religious forces which are intertwined. The Church which shapes society--not the Church which is shaped by society--plays an important role in non-racism.

Nations have always been guilty of ethnic racism. Even color racism apparently lived for a time in India during the early stages of the caste system. But it was the technologically advancing nations of northwestern Europe who gave birth to a global colonialism and racism as they went out to conquer the world at the end of the fifteenth century. After four centuries of building bastions of racism, the West finds its walls crumbling. The peoples of color are taking their place alongside the "white" peoples as equals. And in places they are expressing a retaliatory counter-racism. This is the history of racism, and it is not the end.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE CHURCH'S ROLE IN WESTERN RACISM AND THE REVOLUTION OF THE NON-WEST

To define the role of the Church in creating and maintaining Western racism and in bringing about the current revolution of the non-West and consequent decline of Western racism, is a delicate task. So many intangible factors and historical judgments are involved that the conclusions reached cannot be considered final in every respect. But the conclusions of this chapter seem to be correct as far as they go.

It must be noted from the beginning that the Church was not the only contributing force to Western racism and to the revolution of the non-West. Though this chapter is limited to the role of the Church, the roles of economics, politics, culture, history, and humanity are inextricably tied up with the role of the Church.

#### The Church's Contributions to Western Racism

##### The contributions of shallow theology

Liston Pope, in addressing the 1957 Conference of the National Council of Churches, lamented the fact that even with the churches "the most usual approaches to racial questions in America have been political or sociological in nature."<sup>1</sup> Surely when the Church attempts non-theological solutions to the problems of race, it is doomed to no solution. Such

---

<sup>1</sup>Liston Pope, "Mandate of the Gospel Concerning Christ, the Church and Race" (New York: National Council of Churches, 1957), p. 1. Address delivered to the National Council of Churches in St. Louis, Missouri, December 4, 1957. Mimeographed.



solutions cannot be convincing to any Christian. The fact that solid, biblical theology has not been applied to the issues of race has undoubtedly contributed to Western racism by default.

Speaking of the problem of race and the Southern churches of the United States, an Episcopalian minister implies that shallow Protestant theology has contributed to racism in the Southern churches when he writes: "Impressive doctrinal and biblical ignorance turns Southern traditional reverence for the Bible into magic and religious fetish."<sup>2</sup>

The position of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa on the matter of race is very theological. But it is shallow theology which omits the relevance of the central doctrines of Christianity to the issue. The universal creation and redemption of all men by God through Christ; the meaning of the incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of Christ for the lives of Christians; the universal nature of the Church as the Body of Christ reaching out to fill the universe; all these central teachings of Christianity were left out in favor of this:

Every nation and race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the world if it keeps its own natural attributes, received from God's own hand, pure with honor and gratitude. . . . God divided humanity into races, languages, and nations. Differences are not only willed by God but are perpetuated by Him. Equality between natives, coloreds, and Europeans includes a misappreciation of the fact that God, in His providence, made people into different races and nations. . . . Far from the Word of God encouraging equality, it is on the established Christian principle that in every community ordination there is a fixed relationship between authorities. . . . Those who are culturally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and protection of the less advanced. . . . The natives must be led and formed towards independence so that eventually they will be equal to the Europeans, but each on their own

---

<sup>2</sup>"The Southern Churches and the Race Question," Christianity and Crisis, XVIII (March 3, 1958), 18.



territory and each serving God and their own fatherland.<sup>3</sup>

This statement was drawn up by the Commission for Current Problems of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. It has little more theological content than this statement by a White Citizen's Council official in Mississippi: "If God in His infinite wisdom had wanted a mongrelized, mixed man, that man would have been on earth."<sup>4</sup>

Probably the Christian doctrine that is especially shallow in world Protestantism and which has affected the Church's view of race considerably is the doctrine of the Church. Liston Pope pointed to this watered-down understanding of the Church as a reason for the Church's racism when he addressed the 1957 meeting of the National Council of Churches:

Most often we Americans tend to think of our church as a voluntary organization among other voluntary agencies, rather than to see it as a unique and mighty force moving across the generations to redeem the world. Congeniality seems to be valued more in most Protestant churches than a common fidelity to a Lord Who reaches out to all mankind. In many Protestant churches social functions require or elicit more time from the members than the worship services.<sup>5</sup>

John C. Bennett, writing in Christianity and Crisis, also found the Church's weak view of herself as a reason for her contribution to Western color racism:

. . . The requirements of institutional self-preservation and expansion dictate policy prepared for public acceptance.

. . . No headway can be made in the process of integration of local churches without a profound conversion of the laity to awareness

---

<sup>3</sup>Trevor Huddleston, Naught for Your Comfort (London: Collins, 1956), p. 62.

<sup>4</sup>Judge Tom B. Brady, Black Monday (Winona: Association of Citizen's Councils, 1954), p. 14.

<sup>5</sup>Pope, op. cit., p. 4.



that the Church is not a club, but the body of Christ in the world, a house of prayer for all.<sup>6</sup>

There can be little doubt that the Church has contributed to the strength and prestige of Western racism because of her shallow theology, which has not often dealt with race in terms of the core doctrines of the Christian Church and thus has allowed racism inside and outside the Church to go on unimpeded.

The contributions of ignorance, apathy, and cultural conformity

Ignorance, apathy, and cultural conformity in the Church are very closely related to shallow theology. They all march hand in hand. And they all have abetted the cause of Western racism. One may see the strands of ignorance and cultural conformity, as well as of shallow theology, in this statement of the Tuscaloosa Presbytery, one of five in the state of Alabama, made in July, 1954:

Whereas by the action of the 1954 General Assembly, when less than 300 ministers and elders assumed the prerogative of advising three quarters of a million Southern Presbyterians as to their Christian duty in the matter of race segregation, thus creating a gross public misunderstanding and a feeling of resentment on the part of thousands of Presbyterians, and

Whereas the modern agitators of this question, which is so full of dynamite in Southern society and tradition have no biblical grounds for their pious conclusions, else far wiser theologians, biblical interpreters, and noted evangelists would have made the discovery long ere this, and

Whereas to disrupt our Southern pattern of race segregation would ultimately result in race mongrelization, which result would become a "stench in the nostrils" of all true lovers of race purity, and

Whereas with goodwill, kindly feeling, and charity to all races, es-

---

<sup>6</sup>"The Southern Churches and the Race Question," p. 17.



pecially that of the Negro race, which under the past hundred years under Southern influence and kindly aid and sympathy has made more progress in religion, education, and commercial advancement than has any other race in the history of the world in the same length of time, and

Whereas the acceptance of such advice as recently handed down would create a spirit of ill feeling between both races which does not now exist and would give the Negro race a setback in progress that would require another century to overcome, therefore,

Be it resolved. . . that this presbytery unequivocally rejects the recommendation of the 1954 General Assembly on race segregation as being ill advised and thus in error.<sup>7</sup>

The ignorance may be seen in several places. Contrary to the thinking of the formulators of the statement, far wiser theologians, biblical interpreters, and noted evangelists had made the discovery of the lovelessness of racism long ere this. A Presbyterian theologian, Holmes Rolston, had discovered that Saint Paul had discovered the evils of racism just a few years after the first Pentecost, about 30 A.D. Rolston wrote a book containing these ideas in 1942: The Social Message of the Apostle Paul.

Furthermore, the notion that there is "no spirit of ill feeling" between both races now is complete blindness to the growing discontent of the Negroes for their servile lot. That the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 and 1956 was participated in by over 90 per cent of the Negroes in Montgomery was not the result of "agitators." For a Negro to run the risk of losing his job with his white employer by participating in the bus boycott took more than an agitator's smooth persuasion. It took a deep discontent with the present status of segregation. And yet the ma-

---

<sup>7</sup>"Presbyterians of Area Stand Firm for Segregation," Selma Times-Journal, July 22, 1954, p. 1.



majority of Christians are completely "ignorant" of this discontent, as were these Presbyterians.

The cultural conformity is very patent in the presbytery's statement, also. Any move toward racial integration, according to the statement, would be dynamite in Southern society and tradition, would result in race "mongrelization" (an emotionally packed word used especially by Southern demagogues), would become a "stench in the nostrils" of all true lovers of race purity, would create a spirit of ill feeling between both races. The question for the Presbyterians quoted, and for many other Christians, is not, "What is right according to Christian love?" But, "What would Southern society think?" This is the Church conforming to its surrounding culture and thereby confirming many Christians in their racism.

The apathy toward the Negro's frustration under segregation is reflected in the ignorance of his feelings and in the complete concern with the feelings of the white Southern society. The shallow theology shows itself throughout the anthropocentric, societally-centered statement.

The same ignorance, apathy, and cultural conformity of the Church may be seen in an incident that happened at the All Africa Church Conference, held in Ibadan, Nigeria, January 10-20, 1958:

The most electric moment of the conference came on the night given to Christian literature, when a representative of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa told of the \$8.5 million literature program by which his church hopes to lift the moral life of the natives of South Africa. The claimed virtue of the program was lost on this audience. Almost immediately Sir Francis (African chairman of the conference) declared with fervor that he resented the use of the word "native:" he and his fellows were Africans. Moreover, he questioned that any African would be interested in any literature produced by a church that wholeheartedly supports the present government of South Africa. The applause that broke out was more en-



thusiastic than on any other occasion during the whole conference.

In private conversation later on, the sincere Dutch Reformed brother voiced his surprise over the attitude of the conference. In another conversation he and his colleague said that there was no tension in their country, except in a few industrial areas, where radical agitators have been stirring up mischief. Even the Bantu Education Act, according to them, is welcomed by all except--again--those who have been stirred up by radicals. Does not the Dutch Reformed Church, they ask, evidence its concern for needy people by its support of over 900 missionaries in and outside the Union? If these good men represent their church, their statements are a frightening revelation of blindness and insensitivity on the part of a larger Christian communion.<sup>8</sup>

Holmes Rolston, Presbyterian theologian, has pointed out how the Greek Catholic Church in Russia bound itself too tightly to the culture--moral and political--without asking questions about the justice of it and whether it was God's will, thus encouraging a class racism:

The Greek Catholic Church identified herself with the regime of the Czar. The church lived in the midst of an oppressed and exploited people. And the church as a whole did not permit herself to come into vital conflict with the unrighteous social order within which she lived. The church had a large stake in the existing social regime. She supported a despotism that is known as one of the worst despotisms of history. The church became identified in men's minds with the tyranny under which they were forced to live. And when at last men rose to break that tyranny, they felt inevitably that they must attack the church because the church in their thinking was one of the bulwarks of the social order that they were determined to destroy.<sup>9</sup>

Here is a bald example of the Church conforming to its culture and contributing to a form of racism. Though it is not a contribution to Western color racism, the patterns of cultural conformity, apathy, and ignorance are so clearly etched that it is a helpful parallel for the

---

<sup>8</sup>Don W. Holter, "Lord, Bless Africa!" The Christian Century, LXXV (February 12, 1958), 191.

<sup>9</sup>Holmes Rolston, The Social Message of the Apostle Paul (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1942), p. 26.



study of the Church's role in Western racism.

The Church contributing to Western racism through its cultural conformity may also be seen in the fact that many churches "do not practise what they preach" concerning racism. The principles of racial apartheid in South Africa have been repudiated, for instance, by all the leading Protestant denominations, as well as by the Roman Catholics. But these churches differ very little from the Reformed churches in actual composition of attendance and membership.<sup>10</sup>

Describing the role of the churches in Montgomery's bus boycott crisis of 1955-56, Rev. Robert Graetz stated that pressures toward cultural conformity were keeping the "white" churches from filling any role at all in the integration of bus seating. Here cultural conformity can be seen as a powerful force that requires strong convictions if any resistance is to be offered:

And we believe that in almost every congregation there is a small group of members who have come to realize the evils of segregation. But the climate of opinion in the South today is so strongly segregationist that most of those who disagree have been silenced. The pastor may lose his effectiveness with his people, or worse, lose his congregation altogether. The layman who is in business is afraid of a boycott. The layman who works for someone else is afraid of losing his job. The layman in government or politics is afraid of losing his support. And many of them are afraid of the social stigma that is attached to being a "nigger-lover." The result is that the white churches have not filled any kind of a role at all in the current crisis.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 141.

<sup>11</sup>Robert Graetz, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott--My Part in it," Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 13-15 (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956), p. 32.



For Trevor Huddleston, outspoken Anglican opponent of apartheid, ignorance and apathy are two of the most forceful means by which the Church contributes to Western racism. Huddleston writes: "It is not so much the hatreds, the fears, the brutalities which are the basic social evils of our country--it is the ignorance, and with it the acceptance, of evil."<sup>12</sup> And the "absence of any deep sense of urgency," the failure of white Christians to see any relevance of their faith to social problems, that is the most disheartening thing about the Christian situation in South Africa, according to Huddleston.<sup>13</sup>

And so the Church passively contributes to Western racism by its ignorance, apathy, and cultural conformity. It all happens so quietly and deceptively that few ever notice it.

The contributions of individualistic, ethnocentric, denominationalistic, legalistic churches

Liston Pope has asserted that Protestant individualism "nourishes the temptation to regard the church as an association of individuals rather than a distinctive fellowship having its own fundamental character and commission from Christ."<sup>14</sup> It is easy to see how an individualistic church, by placing the emphasis on the individual in the fellowship, rather than on the total fellowship in Christ, finds it difficult to receive an individual whom society doesn't accept.

---

<sup>12</sup>Huddleston, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>14</sup>Pope, Kingdom Beyond Caste, p. 114.



Purely from a sociologist's point of view, Pierson points out how the altar-centered, God-centered worship of the Roman Catholic Church, in contrast to the individual-centered worship and life of most Protestant churches, has contributed to the non-racism of Brazil:

Catholic ideas and practise, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic Church by emphasizing ritual, centers attention outside the individual upon common objects; while the Protestant Churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention upon the individual, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference, which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases group consciousness.

The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its point of difference.<sup>15</sup>

Pierson here points not only to the individualism of the Protestant churches as a contributing factor to Western racism, but also to the concomitant denominationalistic, ethnocentric character of many Protestant churches. There are dangers of extremes on both emphases, not only on the individualism of the Protestant churches, but also on the communalism of the Roman Catholic churches. But it is an objective fact that an extreme emphasis on individualism contributes to racism, whereas an extreme emphasis on communalism contributes to non-racism.

Without labeling any churches, psychologist Allport has reported on the basis of objective study that religion of an ethnocentric order aids and abets "a life style marked by prejudice and exclusiveness." But a religion of a universalistic order, "vitaly distilling ideals of

---

<sup>15</sup>Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942), pp. 193f.



brotherhood into thought and conduct," militates against racism.<sup>16</sup>

It must not be thought that some cold, ritualistic form of worship will solve a problem of racism. In testing both Roman Catholics and Protestants, Allport discovered that in both groups "the most devout, more personally absorbed in their religion were far less prejudiced than the others. The institutional type of attachment, external and political in nature, turns out to be associated with prejudice."<sup>17</sup> Thus, individual faith and conviction cannot be minimized. But individualism, ethnocentrism, and denominationalism, in their extreme forms have apparently been means whereby the Church has contributed to Western racism.

To suggest that legalistic churches have especially helped to contribute to Western racism is not conclusively provable. But on the basis of what psychologists have discovered concerning the prejudiced personality, it is logical to deduce that legalistic, authoritarian churches have perhaps contributed to the rigid, either-or type of life pattern that shapes the personality of the prejudiced person. Allport describes the effect of legalistic suppression on a personality in this way:

a home that is suppressive, harsh, or critical--where the parents' word is law--is more likely to prepare groundwork for group prejudice.

the child learns that power and authority dominate human relationships--not trust and tolerance. The stage is thus set for a hierarchical view of society. Equality does not really prevail. The effect goes even deeper. The child mistrusts his impulses.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954), p. 456.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 451ff.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 298.



This seems almost to say that a person with any standards is prejudiced, and that a person without standards is not. But this is not the case. Rather it is the way in which a person attempts to lead others to follow his standards that is the pivotal point. In terms of Christian systematics, the church that attempts to impose God's standards by means of the Law more than by the Gospel, is probably contributing to the prejudice of people and to racism. This is a very general conclusion based on incomplete evidence, but seems to be correct as a generality.

#### Contributions of the Church identified with colonialism

Regardless of how sacrificial the missionaries from the West were in their way of life in the "foreign" land, it was almost inevitable that they should be regarded by the nationals as part of the imperial, colonial outreach of the West. Usually the missionaries came first to the land. And soon thereafter came "pink-cheek" traders who came to exploit them. The missionaries must have been part of the big trick to get the national to eat out of the traders' hands. So reasoned the national. It must have been that way. Because the missionary lived in the same sort of "palace" that the trader lived in, often with a wall of some sort, away from the village of nationals, and housing a retinue of servants. The missionary often handled everything himself--money, services, teaching. He may even have spent many social hours together with the trader and Western government official. It all seemed quite obvious to many nationals that the missionary was part of the big scheme to make them vassals of the West.

Very few missionaries eluded this trap of being identified with



Western colonialism to a certain extent, especially not since the revolution of the non-West after World War II. It is with these circumstances in the background that an Indian churchman suggests that Asian Christians play a role in the current social revolution by helping to build an inter-racial society. The Indian states that "it would be a tragedy indeed if the mission bungalow became the last outpost of Western imperialism."<sup>19</sup>

But it was not just the missionaries abroad who made the Church's contributions to Western racism. The traders and government workers and European settlers were in many cases Christians themselves. And if they weren't, the nationals often thought they were. For the white man's religion was Christianity. The trader was a white man. Therefore, he was a Christian. So thought the national. And it is natural that many of the traders and government agents were not men of high integrity nor of deep love and kindness. The result of this aloofness and exploitation—conscious or unconscious—on the part of Christian laymen and missionaries may be seen in the view that many non-Westerners have of them:

In a recent anthropological enquiry, it was found that African children at a secondary school were unanimous that Africans were superior to Europeans in generosity, kindness and hospitality. Now the way of life of Europeans—whatever they believe—is grounded in the Christian ethic; surely it has failed dismally if that is how people so recently pagan look at us.<sup>20</sup>

Surely wherever the Church has wittingly or unwittingly identified

---

<sup>19</sup>Rajah B. Manikam, editor, Christianity and the Asian Revolution (New York: Friendship Press, 1954), pp. 68f.

<sup>20</sup>Philip Mason, Christianity and Race (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957), p. 14.



herself with aloof, grasping colonialism, she has contributed to Western racism.

The contributions of a distorted doctrine of humility

It is a patent fact that the Church has often taught victims of Western racism that unquestioning submission to the white superiority complex is one of the highest Christian virtues--true Christian humility. A Negro spiritual from southern United States may possibly reflect this belief:

They crucified my Lord  
 An' He never said a mumblin' word.  
 They nailed Him to a tree,  
 They pierced Him in the side,  
 The blood came twinkling down,  
 He bowed His head an' died,  
 An' He never said a mumblin' word,  
 Not a word, not a word, not a word.<sup>21</sup>

Ralph Bunche has unequivocally stressed the importance of organized religion's role in keeping the people under racism resigned to their fate:

organized religion has often encouraged the subject peoples to accept humiliating and underprivileged status by preaching the necessity of obedience and the acceptance of things as they are, while holding forth the promise of better things in the life to come. Unquestionably, the Negro church is responsible, to a considerable degree, for the much advertised docility of the American Negro.<sup>22</sup>

As much as the Bible talks about the virtue of humility and about being obedient even to the froward master, it nowhere suggests that the

---

<sup>21</sup>James J. Madigan, The Catholic Church and the Negro (St. Louis: The Queen's Work, 1941), p. 30.

<sup>22</sup>Ralph J. Bunche, A World View of Race (Washington, D. C.: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936), p. 26.



servant should believe his master when he calls him a dog. And yet this is what Christianity seems to be saying when it suggests to victims of racism that they never say "a mumblin' word." The other side of the coin must be stated here, also, though it will be mentioned in greater detail in the next section of the chapter: Christianity also gave the victims of oppression a new view of themselves and thus helped to initiate the non-West's revolution against Western oppression.

But in so far as the Church has urged complete resignation to white superiority on the part of colored peoples, the Church has led the dominant white group to think that this is the way the Negroes want to be treated. A sort of benevolent paternalism results which becomes incensed when the suppressed express their discontent with their lower status. And the longer the oppressed submit, the more entrenched becomes the form of racism.

Thus, the Church unconsciously has contributed to Western racism by often teaching a spineless "humility" as a Christian virtue which the colored peoples should show to their white superiors. This has helped to bring about a "false peace" between oppressor and oppressed and has encouraged Western racism as a "way of life acceptable to both sides."

#### The Church's Opposition to Western Racism

The opposition of solid theology

As shallow as the Church's theology has been in many instances in regard to race, there are excellent examples of how present day Christian theology is relating the chief teachings of Scripture to race and to racism. Here is a concise theological statement on race with consider-



able depth, drawn up by the United Lutheran Church in America to be used as the basis for "study, discussion, experimentation, and concerted action by its congregations and members:"<sup>23</sup>

The Word of God, which the Church proclaims, reveals the righteous judgment of God upon sinful man, and sets forth the distinctive power of Christ to redeem Him.

1. God the Father is the Creator of all mankind. We are made in His likeness. In the light of the common creation of all men, differences in physical characteristics or social background are only of incidental importance.
2. God condemns all injustice, all hatred, all abuse and persecution of men. His judgment is revealed in the moral sickness of all men and in the torn fabric of our common life.
3. God's atoning grace embraces every man. Through His Son, Jesus Christ, God offers redemption to all. Christ died for all mankind. All men have equal worth in God's sight.
4. Forgiveness through the cross restores men to fellowship with God. Through the remission of sins the way is opened to reconciliation between men. The love of Jesus Christ, as revealed in the cross, leads men to the deepest kind of human fellowship and mutual service. By the power of the cross men can overcome prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation which sinfully distorts God's order and are the basic cause of social tension.
5. God calls all men through the Gospel to Christian brotherhood. Love, which flows from God, seeks to create justice and true community. Love for one's fellowmen is the necessary counterpart of love for God. God calls men to serve Him by serving each other.
6. In God's providence Christians, different in racial, geographical, economical, and social backgrounds, may use their differences to contribute to the total enrichment of life. No group is self-sufficient. By the exercise of justice and brotherhood men may cooperate in building true human community.
7. The abiding love of Christ, our Lord, impels us. We dare not separate ourselves from that love. Christ is the one Word of God, to Whom we must listen and Whom we must trust and obey in

---

<sup>23</sup>Alf M. Kraabel, Grace and Race in the Lutheran Church (Chicago: National Lutheran Council--Division of American Missions, 1957), pp. 59ff.



life and death. Thus Christians must face all human relationships in the spirit and power of Christ's love.

Though this statement does not relate the important truths of the sacraments and of the Church and of the Church's mission to the matter of race, it certainly relates the central teachings of Christianity, God's creative and redemptive acts in Christ to race.

As has been stated before, Martin Scharlemann believes that the current study of the doctrine of the Church has led Christians in many denominations to take a firm stand against segregation, and any form of racism. When Christians see the Church to be the body of Christ in the world moving out to fill the whole universe, of which Christ is the Head, then there is no room for ethnic or racial picayunishness. There is room only for obedience unto Christ.

When Gordon Allport listed the human characteristics which make for a tolerant personality, he may not have realized how close he came to the characteristics of a person who has become a new creature in Christ. He lists these five: "empathy, self-insight, inwardness, sense of humor, intropunitiveness."<sup>24</sup> These are fruits of the Spirit which Christians have been encouraging one another in ever since the time of Christ. Paul, for instance, had empathy; when his people wept, he wept, and when they rejoiced, he rejoiced. He had self-insight; he saw the inner struggles of his old man and the Christ in him, and he never glossed over these inner struggles as unbecoming a Christian. He had inwardness; he was concerned that after he had preached to others, he himself might be-

---

<sup>24</sup>Allport, op. cit., p. 437.



come a castaway. He had a sense of humor; he never took himself so seriously that he became self-conscious about his physical shortcomings. He possessed intropunitiveness; he was constantly punnelling the flesh to keep it under. The example of Paul, and his teachings, are still held up for all Christians, who have the power of His Spirit in them.

Thus, in many places, down through the ages the Church's theology has roundly opposed racism.

The opposition of clear statements of position

In addition to the application of theology to the matter of race in general, many churches and many Christians in special groups have made very specific statements of opposition to local forms of Western racism.

In South Africa, speaking for a minority of Dutch Reformed Christians, Professor B. B. Keet, of the theological college at Stellenbosch, made an unequivocal stand against the apartheid of South Africa:

There is only one apartheid known to Scripture. . . and that is separation from sin. . . . How can difference of color, how can even difference of social standing, be adduced as sufficient reason why churches should be organized on a basis of separation? If this were true, we should have different churches for different classes of society, for rich and poor, learned and unlearned, employers and employees, aristocrat and commoner, etc.<sup>25</sup>

Most church groups, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have made statements of opposition to the apartheid of South Africa and to the segregation of southern United States. A few ministerial groups of certain tension areas have made forthright stands against the racism of their area, such as ministerial groups in Little Rock, Arkansas, in Sturgis,

---

<sup>25</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 60.



Kentucky, in Atlanta, Georgia, and in Mobile, Alabama.

In Sydney, Australia, a group of ministers and laymen, calling themselves the Christian Distributors' Association, has issued a pamphlet entitled White Australia? The pamphlet shows that

"the fourfold basis of the policy is conscious racialism, strong nationalism, a desire to maintain economic standards and imperial strategic realities." The publication criticizes each of these in turn, and ends by a plea for a new immigration policy which, turning away penitently from racial exclusiveness, shall be "a regulated yet generous opening of the doors of their land to all peoples."<sup>26</sup>

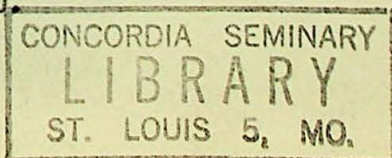
The All-Africa Church Conference of 1958 endorsed the statement of the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1954 that "any form of segregation based on race, color, or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the church of Christ."<sup>27</sup>

It is not difficult to find public statements made by churches and groups of Christian clergy which have sternly opposed expressions of Western racism throughout the world. But in view of the absence of commensurate action by the churches that make the public pronouncements, one is tempted to deny any positive force to these pronouncements. And it is true that the high-sounding pronouncements made on clerical or denominational levels usually fall flat on the level of the local congregation and of the individual Christian.

But the clear statements of position are a positive force in opposing Western racism. The pronouncements force people to think through their own positions, where otherwise they would be tempted to simply ac-

<sup>26</sup>Edmund Davison Soper, Racism: A World Issue (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), p. 114.

<sup>27</sup>Holter, op. cit., p. 190.





cept the status quo without any questions. Furthermore, those who have inwardly felt the inconsistency of racist practises with their own moral standards but were not sure of their grounds or feared to express themselves, receive some moral, and perhaps Scriptural, undergirding from the pronouncements.

However, it must be admitted that Christian action commensurate with the pronouncements is what is needed most. The Church has produced some of that, too.

The opposition of Christian programs of action

The first step in the attack on Western racism, the abolition of the slave trade and then of slavery, was led largely by churches, groups, and individuals who acted on the principles and on the dynamic of the Christian faith. Granville Sharpe and William Wilberforce, both Christians, were chief leaders of the abolitionist movement in England.<sup>28</sup> The movement in the United States was also led by Christian groups, notably the Quakers.

During the present day, also, the movement toward racial integration in the United States and in South Africa is being partly led by outstanding Christian men like Trevor Huddleston and Alan Paton in the Union and men like Martin Luther King and Robert Graetz in the States.

One of the leading churches in the United States which has set the pace for Protestantism in opposing forms of racism is the Presbyterian Church USA. Besides taking definite steps of action to integrate the

---

<sup>28</sup>W. A. Visser 't Hooft, The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), p. 13.



white congregations and the Negro congregations within their church body on the regional and local levels, the church body also took action to aid its people in an all-out assault of Western racism. It called a conference of representatives of its white and Negro constituency soon after the 1954 Supreme Court decision to discuss how Christians might live in the tensions of the South and still oppose the evils of segregation and uphold the Supreme Court's decision to integrate public schools.

The Assembly of this Presbyterian Church USA in 1956 had taken note of the boycotts and other punitive reprisals directed against some Southerners supporting the Supreme Court's decision. They took action that

assures members of our presbyteries and churches, who may be under persecution, of the corporate support of our church and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance, as he may judge to be appropriate.<sup>29</sup>

The Church has granted large sums of money to groups of Presbyterians in South Carolina who have lacked the court costs to defend themselves against various reprisals. The wholehearted way in which the Church has put into operation its plan of action to oppose segregation is reflected in this account of H. B. Siessel's mission of service to a group of Sumter, South Carolina, Negro Christians. The group was being badgered by economic and legal reprisals to remove its support from a petition to integrate local schools:

When I rose to speak, the substance of my remarks was that the whole church was the body of Christ; that if any member suffers, all suffer together; that if any member is honored, all rejoice together;

---

<sup>29</sup>H. B. Siessel, "Segregation in Sumter, South Carolina," Presbyterian Life, X (January 5, 1957), 34.



that what had happened to the Sumter group had happened to the whole church; that the just and democratic society sought by the Sumter group was the legitimate goal of the church's mission on earth; and finally that Mr. Nelson had in his pocket a check for \$10,000, from the church of which he is minister. The last meeting of the General Assembly, I explained, had passed a resolution that aid be given to Presbyterians in situations of this kind.

The congregation. . . rose as one person. They shouted. They clapped. They laughed aloud. Some wept.<sup>30</sup>

It is impossible to list the Christian individuals, groups, and churches which have carried out a program of action opposing forms of racism. That there are many of them throughout the world is undeniable. That there should be many more is also undeniable.

#### The opposition of cracking cultural barriers

One of the contributing factors to Western racism is a lack of communication between races. Often the case, as in the United States, is that the Caucasians refuse to communicate with the Negro on an equal basis. And no real communication can take place between two people when one is in a position of forced subservience.

But another reason for a lack of communication between races in many lands is the different language and the different culture between the national of color and the "foreign" Caucasian. And there are few points of contact between colored non-Westerner and the white Westerner.

Without realizing it, Christianity has broken down, in many instances, the language and culture barriers that prohibit communication between races. Robert Park, American sociologist, has noted this fact:

The task of missions has been to create from the existing social and

---

<sup>30</sup>Loc. cit.



cultural units a common culture and a moral solidarity in which all can share. . . .

In learning the languages and constructing the grammar of the widely dispersed peoples of the earth they have removed the most important barrier to those common understandings which are the essence of cultures, and they have thus laid the foundation for a moral order that includes all people, since the existence of such common tradition and its transmission from one people to another and from one generation to another depends on intimate and personal communication.<sup>31</sup>

Park's view of the task of the church is made purely from a sociologist's point of view. But his general observation is correct that the Church has broken down culture barriers and has brought many people from all over the world out of an isolated oblivion into a common cultural stream, usually a rather Western stream, or at least thought to be by the nationals.

From a Christian's viewpoint it may be stated that the Church has brought people out of an isolated death into a living relationship with a common Lord, Whose Word is found in a common Book, and into a living relationship with people from all over the world whose common Lord is also Christ. Through mission schools, through exchange students, through the day to day contacts of the Western missionary with the non-Westerners, a communication was set up between the races that attracted the non-Westerner to the Western way of life, except where racism or colonialism repelled him. And where racism existed to a repelling degree, it was often the communication set up by the Church that initiated the drive to crush racism. Thus, the Church is to a great extent responsible for the current revolution of the non-West.

---

<sup>31</sup>Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 338f.



So important is the Church's role in the revolution of the non-West against Western racism and colonialism that what might in a sense be included under this section, "The Church's Opposition to Western Racism," will be lifted out as a special section in this chapter.

#### The Church's Contributions to the Revolution of the Non-West

Since the end of World War II all of the non-West has been a seething cauldron of political, economic, social and ideological ferment. What was once a region of Western domination has suddenly become an area of fiercely-proud, independent nations. There is the new India and Pakistan and Laos and Cambodia and Viet Nam and Malaya and Indonesia and the Philippines and Burma and Egypt and Sudan and Ghana. And every year new nations are added. An Indian Christian has described the Asian part of the revolution this way:

More than half the world's population living in the vast area between Karachi and Tokyo, is today involved in a major social revolution. Probably the greatest single development of the twentieth century, this revolution has broken the hold of the West over the countries of Asia and is now rapidly changing the political, economic, and social conditions within these lands. The only possible parallels are the French and Russian revolutions, and even they are dwarfed in comparison with the changes in Asia. Never before have so many millions of people taken part in such rapid and radical social upheaval.<sup>32</sup>

The African part of the revolt of the non-West is an even more drastic revolution than its Asian counterpart. Asia has a strong, ancient, literate culture, which antedates the West's, to give the revolution some solidity. But Africa is attempting in a one- or two-generation

---

<sup>32</sup>Manikam, op. cit., p. 3.



period to step suddenly from a non-literate, tribal culture into a literate, individualistic culture on a national level. This requires pulling up most of the old cultural roots and sinking new ones: a painful, dangerous process. The cultural tensions, which were partly the cause of the revolution in Africa but which are an on-going part of the revolution, are shown dramatically in this testimony of Kabonga, an older generation African from Kenya:

As I sit I ponder often on the ancient prophecy of Mogo wa Kebiro. Has the Pink Cheek brought good will to my people? Are the new ways that he has shown us better than our ways?

Something has taken away the meaning of our lives; it has taken the fall days, the good work in the sunshine, the dancing and the song; it has taken away laughter and joy of living; the kinship and the love within a family; above all it has taken away from us the wise way of our living in which our lives from birth to death were dedicated to Ngai, supreme of all, and which, with our system of age-groups and our Councils, ensured for all our people a life of responsibility and goodness. Something has taken away our belief in our Ngai and in the goodness of men. And there is not enough land on which to feed.

The young men are learning new ways, the children make marks which they call writing, but they forget their own language and customs, they know not the laws of their people and they do not pray to Ngai. They ride fast in motor-cars, they work fire sticks that kill, they make music from a box. But they have no land and no food and they have lost laughter.<sup>33</sup>

In Kabonga and his children may be seen the twin pressures of the revolution of the non-West. There is the revolt of Kabonga against the Pink Cheek, who has taken away laughter and the wise way of living from his people. And for Kabonga's children there is the attraction to the motor car and the music box and the whole way of living of the Pink Cheek. The revolution is "both a reaction against the West and an ap-

---

<sup>33</sup>Richard St. Barbe Baker, Kabonga (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1956 ), p. 125.



appropriation of many Western features."<sup>34</sup>

And the reaction against the West has as its "two most explosive ingredients" anti-colonialism and anti-racism. Rowan puts the twin triggers of the revolution, Western racism and colonialism, into real life terms of the Asian and the African:

To understand what these forces (anti-colonialism and anti-racism) mean, I now knew, the American would have to put himself in the place of an Asian--hungry, the victim of disease, holding less than the hope of even two score years of life, long the victim of exploitation, holding no great hope that his children will escape the omnipresent burdens of illness and ignorance, a frustrated man with a brown or black skin in a world where the best things of life long have been, and are, possessed by men with white skins. In his place, the chances are good that that American would look with eager welcome upon anything daring, exciting, revolutionary.<sup>35</sup>

Westerners are tempted to judge the revolution of the non-West as largely the work of Communist agitators. And there is no doubt that Communists have had much to do with the revolt of the non-West. After the Russian Revolution a University of Oriental Workers was set up in Russia to train an elite from Eastern nations to carry on agitation against colonialism in their respective countries. In China, Indo-China, and Indonesia, especially, the Communists were able to organize the masses of people who long resented the European and regarded him as chief cause of their poverty and humiliation. "The Communists were able to accomplish this because they offered the Asians a vision of escape from their present condition by throwing off the European yoke and by establishing a society of their own on Communist principles."<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup>Manikam, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>Carl T. Rowan, The Pitiful and the Proud (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 418.

<sup>36</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 220.



But an Indian ambassador to the United States, G. L. Mehta, has warned against mistaking the Communists as the primary cause of the revolution:

The differences between the policies of the United States and India arise mainly from the fact that, whereas to the United States the fight against communism is the supreme issue, to which all other problems should be subordinated, India holds that the real enemies of mankind are economic and social evils such as poverty and hunger and disease, racial discrimination, domination and exploitation of the weaker peoples by the powerful nations of the world. These problems would confront us even if the teachings of Karl Marx had not influenced Lenin and even though Mao Tse Tung had not been ruler of China.<sup>37</sup>

The Communists did indeed capitalize on the dissatisfaction and frustration of the non-Western peoples under Western rule. But they did not create the dissatisfaction. They merely stirred up what was already there. And though racism and colonialism were not the sole causes of poverty and frustration in the non-West, they had a big role to play and may rightly be called the two triggers of the revolution of the non-West.

What have been the forces, besides Communism, that have stimulated and enabled the non-West to revolt against colonial and racial domination? After centuries of poverty and static civilization, what gave the people the notion that their life might be improved? Communism, the material wealth of the West, the stimulation of contact with a different people--all had their influence on the revolt of the non-West.

Of all the forces that stimulated the non-West's revolution, the Church is probably one of the most important.

---

<sup>37</sup>Rowan, op. cit., p. 140.



The contribution of the Church's high value on the individual

In speaking of the sources of racial tension (tension exists where the oppressed peoples of color are no longer accepting their status of inferiority as inevitable and innate and are revolting against the forms of Western racism), T. B. Matson, Southern Baptist theologian, states that one of the chief sources is the "high valuation placed on the individual by the Church."<sup>38</sup> Because the person suffering under racial discrimination has come to know the value which God has placed on him by redeeming him through the death and resurrection of His only Son, he feels that he can no longer be what others expect him to be, a docile, submissive puppet. Instead, as a son of God, he must be himself, living and witnessing for Christ.

Of course, the suppressed person who has come to a new life in Christ does not articulate his reasoning as to why he must be himself for the sake of Christ. Furthermore, the person may not react against Western racism from such high motives, even as a Christian. The revolt against "white supremacy" may stem more from a deep seated bitterness against the aloof white man. Or it may be a materialistic motive a desire to get into the white man's world in order to have everything that he has. But whatever the motive of Christians or non-Christians, it seems that the value which the Church has placed on the individual has contributed materially to the culture and environment of the non-West and thus imperceptibly to the mass decision of the colored peoples to revolt

---

<sup>38</sup>T. B. Matson, Christianity and World Issues (New York: Macmillan, 1957), pp. 99ff.



against Western racism.

Philip Mason has pointed to the change that has come about in India so that now the individual, even the outcaste, has certain "rights." And he believes that the new view in India can be traced to Christianity:

. . . India, where I believe such language (concerning the rights of individuals), today constantly used, would have been quite meaningless in the seventeenth century, is still quite meaningless for orthodox Hinduism, and has only gained general acceptance because Hinduism in all but the most orthodox circles has been profoundly transformed by the influence of Christianity.<sup>39</sup>

The Church's widespread concern for the outcaste in India and its spiritual and educational program of uplift for the outcaste, as well as for the caste people, has made an inestimable impact on the culture of India, where the outcaste once was worth nothing.<sup>40</sup> Gandhi, though not a Christian, must have been greatly affected by Christian culture during the course of his education in the West. And Gandhi's monumental leadership of India in its fight for freedom from Western colonialism and racism is highly respected throughout the world. Though it is impossible to measure to what extent the Church has made an impact on pagan cultures by its high valuation of the individual person, it is clear that there has been a considerable effect.

Even the sociologist E. Franklin Frazier agrees that "when the heathen is converted, he is given a new conception of self and of world and of his relation to other men."<sup>41</sup> Frazier believes that conversion

---

<sup>39</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>40</sup>Manikam, op. cit., pp. 68f.

<sup>41</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 307.



has undoubtedly encouraged individualism especially among people who, "like Africans, have been dominated by the idea of community. But individualism as it exists in the Western world is a product of economic and social forces inherent in Western civilization."<sup>42</sup>

It is the Church, more than any other force in Western culture, that has given non-European peoples a new conception of themselves and the impetus to withstand Western domination.

For all the representatives of Western civilization who have been in contact with non-European or colored peoples, the missionary has been the one who has dealt with them as personalities and, in fact, has undertaken to change their personalities.<sup>43</sup>

By its high value placed on the individual person, the Church has greatly contributed to the revolution of the non-West. Not only did the Church encourage individualism, over against the dominant idea of community, but it gave the individual a new view of himself, a view that saw himself as a son of God through Christ on the same level with every other Christian.

The contribution of the Church's educational system

One of the tools by which the Church has reached non-Western peoples with the Gospel and prepared them for leadership positions in the Church, as well as in the larger community, is through its educational systems. And the Church's elementary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities "have played an important role in the social resurgence of

---

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 306.



Asia,<sup>44</sup> and in the whole revolution of the non-West.

It is the educated African, or Asian, or Negro American, the cultural marginal, who is especially ripe for taking part in a revolution against Western domination, as pointed out in the section in Chapter II on counter-racism. What is true of the marginal man and counter-racism, an extreme position of the revolution of the non-West, is especially true of the marginal man and the revolution in general. The non-Westerner who has been educated in Western schools, and most of these "Western" schools in non-Western nations are Christian schools, is usually left standing on the margin between his old culture and the Western culture. He tries to leave most of his old culture behind and to become a part of the white man's world. And at this point he is rebuffed. Though he may have the white man's culture and education, he does not have the white man's skin, and thus he is rejected from the Caucasian community. The cultural marginal then quickly joins the ranks of the discontented and may provide leadership in the revolution against Western oppression.

Strictly from a sociological viewpoint, Melvin Conant has shown that the Church's missions and missionaries, together with their educational systems, in Central and South Africa especially, have contributed heavily to the revolt against the West. The tension is created, states Conant, by the "educated, Christianized Negro" who is seeking to regain his dignity. The educated African, in turn, is the prime target of concentrated prejudice of white men, who claim that the African is trying to be a

---

<sup>44</sup>Manikam, op. cit., pp. 68f.



"black Englishman" and is trying to "get above himself."<sup>45</sup>

Many of the leaders of the separatist churches and prophetic churches of South Africa, who may be considered radical leaders of the non-Western revolution, are also products of Christian schools. Conant states clearly that "many of the leaders of separatist churches broke from those white churches and the 'discipline' in which their inferior status was evident."<sup>46</sup> One may fault the earthly view of the kingdom of God which these leaders of the prophetic churches must have had--to break away from the Church and to teach such heretical doctrine as the promised coming of a "black Christ"<sup>47</sup> just because they were not accepted as equals in their church. But one must first fault the Church which would not permit Negro membership and leadership on an equal basis with that of the whites. The separatist churches will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Many of the highly regarded political leaders of the revolution of the non-West were trained in Church schools. Mboya of Kenya, who was mentioned previously, was trained in a missionary convent school before completing his education at Oxford University. One of the most highly respected leaders of the revolution in Africa, Nkrumah of Ghana, was trained in Christian schools, studied to be a minister, and still is a professing Christian. In nearly all the leadership of the revolting na-

---

<sup>45</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 124.

<sup>46</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 123.



tions there is an abundance of men trained in Christian schools.

Thus, through its schools the Church has produced cultural marginals who have led their people in various ways to revolt against the oppression of the West. Whether it is the radical leadership of top men in the separatist churches of South Africa or whether it is the more balanced leadership of men like Nkrumah, the Church's educational system has contributed to the revolution.

The contributions of the Church's disintegration of indigenous society

That the Church has helped to disintegrate the indigenous society of the primitive non-Western world cannot be denied. Conant has listed some of the areas of African life upon which Christian missions has had a destructive force:<sup>48</sup>

African dress was discarded as un-Christian.

African music and dance were evil and to be discarded.

African marriage customs were evil and were to be discarded.

Native beer was condemned.

African customs--like lobolo (buying a bride)--were condemned.

Christians were not to go to an African wedding.

Two of the most cohesive forces in indigenous society of Africa--polygamy and ancestor worship--were also opposed.<sup>49</sup>

Out of this loss of cultural roots emerged the separatist churches, an attempt on the part of some Africans to regain stability and confi-

---

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>49</sup>Frazier, op. cit., pp. 308ff.



dence in themselves.<sup>50</sup> Also, from this loss of cultural roots there has come a reaction to regain the old roots via nationalism and revolution.

And so the Church's disintegration of indigenous primitive societies, most of which was an overzealousness to Westernize the people but some of which was necessary for the "putting off of the old man and the putting on of the new man," has contributed to the revolution of the non-West.

#### Summary

There are many forces that have contributed to and opposed Western racism, and among them is the Church. Christians have abetted Western racism, and they have opposed it.

✓ Some of the ways in which the Church has contributed to Western racism is through her shallow theology, especially concerning the Church; through her ignorance, apathy, and cultural conformity; through an over-emphasis on individualism, ethnocentrism, denominationalism, and legalism; through a conscious, or unconscious, identity with Western colonialism; and through a distorted doctrine of Christian humility which encouraged the colored races not to say "a mumblin' word" to their white oppressors. ✓

At the same time the Church has in many places strongly opposed Western racism by means of a rather solid theology, relating the issue of race to the central teachings of Christianity and especially clarifying the doctrine of the Church; by means of clear, forthright statements con-

---

<sup>50</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 125.



denning specific types of Western racial discrimination; by means of Christian life and action, putting into practise clear statements against forms of racism; and by means of cracking language and culture barriers, thereby setting up a communication between races, which is necessary for any proper understanding of each other.

What might be considered a way by which the Church has opposed Western racism indirectly is the role that the Church has played in stimulating and leading the current revolution of the non-West. The revolution of the non-West is a far reaching revolt against Western racism and Western colonialism which has cut a swath across all the areas of life. It is a reaction against the oppression of the West and at the same time an attraction to much of the Western way of life. The revolution cannot be blamed on Communism, but on the poverty and humiliation of most of the peoples of the non-West. And many of the excesses of this situation can only be traced to Western domination. The Church has contributed to this revolution of oppressed peoples by the high value that it placed on the individual; by its educational system, which trained cultural marginals who turned leaders of the revolution when they were not accepted into the white man's world; by its disintegration of primitive non-Western society, which led to nationalistic reversions to the "good old ways."



## CHAPTER V

### THE INTERACTION OF WESTERN RACISM AND THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

The previous chapter has already indicated that the Church is playing an important role in encouraging and in discouraging Western racism. This chapter focuses especially on the Christian world mission and the way Western racism has affected it and has been affected by it. This chapter is more an account of fact concerning the historical interaction of Western racism and the Christian world mission in the past and the present and serves as a last stepping stone to the final chapter on the goals and methods of the Church's world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism. Unless Christians see the mutual impact of the Christian world mission on Western racism and of Western racism on the the Christian world mission, many of the goals and methods of the Christian world mission will be the result of groping in the dark.

#### The Impact of Western Racism on the Christian World Mission

##### The impact of Western racism on Western sending churches

It is much easier to isolate the ways in which Western racism has affected the outer life and program of the Church than it is to speak of the impact of racism on the inner life of Church and its members. So the effect of Western racism on the outer life and program of the Western sending churches will be noted first.

The fact that few Negro missionaries have been sent abroad by Western churches is an indication of the way in which Western racism has



caught the Church's world mission in its web. Of 23,000 North American missionaries abroad, no more than 200 are Negroes. And of the 200, 150 represent Negro churches.<sup>1</sup> This means that less than 2 per cent of North America's Christian missionaries overseas are Negro, though nearly 10 per cent of North America's Christians are Negroes. Though the dearth of Negro overseas missionaries from North America may be attributed to various causes other than Western racism, there is little doubt that the major cause of this policy is Western racism and its ramifications.

The policy which many Western congregations have of refusing membership, and even attendance, to colored peoples is almost entirely an effect of Western racism, and the policy varies according to the local pattern of racism. In the United States South, for instance, Orientals have not been discriminated against since Southern soldiers brought home Oriental wives after World War II. But recently ushers in a Methodist church in Alabama asked a Korean student to leave their service of worship because he was a student at a Negro college.<sup>2</sup> This sort of policy is almost completely a result of Western racism.

The silence of many people in the Southern churches in the United States concerning racial equality is usually due to fear of a loss of prestige, office, or life, or it is due to a conviction that there is "no moral question involved," that the race issue is a purely political and

---

<sup>1</sup>Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>"The Southern Churches and the Race Question," Christianity and Crisis, XVIII (March 3, 1958), 26.



sociological problem. This is Western racism working to shape the Church's life and program. Of course, sometimes the silence of Southern churches is attributable to a planned strategy, which is aimed at letting the mob-rule condemn itself and at letting the emotions die down.<sup>3</sup> But generally it may be fairly stated that it is the pressures of Western racism which keep Southern churches in their silence. As a Methodist clergyman from the South put it: "it becomes difficult to discover whether society is shaping the church or the church, society."<sup>4</sup> It is undoubtedly true that the silence of the Church in South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Rhodesias, Australia, and other places of racial tension, may also be traced to the strictures of Western racism.

It has already been pointed out how Western racism has affected the attitudes of Western missionaries abroad so that missionaries feel that it is "jolly decent to make the sacrifice of spending one's life among backward people."<sup>5</sup> The missionary compound apart from the villages, the repeated social contacts with European government officials to the exclusion of social contacts with Africans or Asians, the "great white father" complex encouraged by the missionary's keeping himself one step above the level of the people—all are, to a greater or lesser degree, the result of Western racism.

The mission policies of churches of the Southern part of the United

---

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 25f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>5</sup>J. B. Phillips, The Church Under the Cross (New York: Macmillan, 1956), p. 30.



States have often been shaped by Western racism. "There is no record of any white Christian congregation in the Black Belt of the South that has ever reached out into neighboring Negro communities." The white congregations there have not even attempted to plant new missions on a segregated basis. For example, the strong concentration of United Lutheran Churches in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, have planted no churches in Negro communities. The handful of American Lutheran congregations and the several score Synodical Conference Lutheran churches in Negro communities of the South were all initiated by Northern mission boards.<sup>6</sup> Again, the impact of Western racism.

As important as it is to see the impact of Western racism on the outer life and program of the Church, it is probably more important to see its impact on the inner life of the Church and of its individual members.

There is no way to estimate to what extent Western sending churches have deprived themselves of the enrichment and edification that can come only from the colored Christians who are virtually cut off in many places from the slightest communication. Trevor Huddleston has referred to this incalculable loss to the Church and to society, which results from racism:

We do not care that we lose something splendid and enriching by apartheid: we do not even know of its existence--for we think we can do our duty to the black man without loving him: we are sure we know him better than anyone else, without knowing him as a person at all; we prefer to live in our own world and to call it Christian, if the alternative is to live in a world that is shared, culturally, spir-

---

<sup>6</sup>Joseph Ellwanger, "As Long as They Keep Their Place," Seminarian, XLIX (January, 1958), 40.



itually, and socially with our African brethren.<sup>7</sup>

Western racism has not only deprived the Church of a certain enrichment, but it has also kept a large section of the Church from understanding colored peoples and thus has created an inner block in Christians' hearts to an effective witness to Christ. William James has pointed out "how completely we are likely to mistake the inner significance of the lives of those about us unless we share their experience."<sup>8</sup> And under most forms of Western racism it is next to impossible to "share the experience" of the Negro. For it is the very nature of segregation, apartheid, and other forms of Western racism, to build a wall between white and Negro.

What Western racism, and the prejudice that it fosters, does to the Christian's heart is not easy to describe. Lutheran theologian Harold Floreen has pointed out the grave dangers of the prejudiced heart in a Christian:

Even apart from the injuries done to minority groups, a true pastor cannot afford to ignore prejudices in the hearts of his people, knowing that such attitudes are a cancer which might ultimately destroy the souls of his sheep. If ordinary warnings do not avail, the preaching of the Word of God might have to become comparable in severity to the drastic surgery to which a physician will resort in dealing with a deadly malignancy.<sup>9</sup>

Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal has attempted to describe in sociological terms what actually happens to the hearts of Westerners under

---

<sup>7</sup>Trevor Huddleston, Naught for Your Comfort (London: Collins, 1956), p. 112.

<sup>8</sup>Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), p. 266.

<sup>9</sup>Harold Floreen, "The Lutheran Approach to Minority Groups," Augustana Seminary Review, V (Third Quarter, 1953), 14.



racism. Myrdal's description has strong implications for the inner life of the individual Western Christian:

The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the struggle must go on. . . . "The American dilemma". . . is the ever raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on the specific planes of individual and group living where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.<sup>10</sup>

Putting Myrdal's description of the "American dilemma" into Christian terms, one may say that the Western Christian's heart under racism is forced into a conscious, or unconscious, hypocrisy. The Western Christian's theology and creed which he professes proclaims that God has created and redeemed all men through Christ, that all men have sinned, that no man is forgiven except by grace through faith in Christ, that followers of Christ are to love all men even as Christ has loved them and given Himself for them, that the Church is the assembly of all believers in Christ gathered in worship around Word and sacrament, that the Church is the body of Christ witnessing to the world by its witness and service of love. Yet in his life under racism the white Western Christian is forced to deny in one way or another the integral parts of his Christian faith. He is "forced" to show love to the Negro, not as Christ has loved him, but as Western racism in that locale dictates. He is "forced" to

---

<sup>10</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. xliii.



accept into the Church, not those whom Christ has redeemed by His precious blood, but those whom the brand of local racism permits.

This inconsistency between creed and life exists, of course, in every Christian's heart in every area of life, not just race relations. It is the struggle between flesh and Spirit. But the cancerous thing about the prejudice of Western racism and its dichotomy of creed and life is that it blinds Christians so that they don't even see the inconsistency, the sin, the struggle between flesh and Spirit. Racial tensions under Western racism are purely political and sociological, according to the white Western Christian. Christians try to tell themselves that there is no split between their faith and their actions.

In a survey of large communities throughout the South, conducted by the Presbyterial Church, it was discovered that only three—Kilgore, Charleston, and Nashville—considered racial tensions a major community problem. "There seemed to be a real tension and a fear that the lid might blow off any time, and yet the committee (in a certain community) did not select race relations as one of its problems for discussion."<sup>11</sup> This tendency to avoid the race question in Southern communities is symbolic of the inner deception which Western racism has "forced" on white Christians of Western churches.

Thus, Western racism has affected the outer life and program of the Western sending churches—their local and world mission policies and the attitudes and policies of their missionaries. But more important, Western racism has affected the inner life of the Western churches and their

---

<sup>11</sup>Gordon W. Blackwell, Lee M. Brooks, and S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Church and Community in the South (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1949), pp. 146f.



members by depriving them of an enrichment and edification from colored Christians and by "forcing" a blind inconsistency between creed and life upon congregations and individual Christians.

#### The impact of Western racism on non-Western churches

The impact of Western racism on non-Western churches, as in the case of Western churches, is easier to see in relation to the outer life and program of the churches than in regard to the inner life of the churches and their members.

Largely under the guidance of Western churches, caste was at first accepted among the churches of India, but the policy during the nineteenth century was to oppose caste.<sup>12</sup> The acceptance of caste in the early churches of India has had its effects on the churches there up to the present and likely can be traced in part to the developing racist ideas that were brought along by the missionaries from Europe or were "caught" from the official colonial policy administered by Britain in India.

The prophetic and separatist churches of southern Africa, which have been referred to in previous chapters, can definitely be traced, in part, to Western racism's oppression. The groups are the most vigorous in areas where colonialism is experienced the most.<sup>13</sup> To see the connection between Western racism and the beginnings of these churches, and to see the difficult problems which they pose to the Church, it will be helpful

---

<sup>12</sup>Pope, op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>13</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 123.



to examine three of these separatist churches at closer range.<sup>11</sup>

Kimbangism was founded in 1921 in Belgian Congo by Simon Kimbangu. Protestation and subversion motives which appear in the Bible are used in their songs, which are their "resistance literature" in their struggle against white domination. They accept polygamy and ancestor cults in their attempt to cling to their own Negro culture. Baptism and confession are part of their ritual.

Matowauism was established in the Congo in 1927 by Andre Matowa. At first it was an association against ideas of native inferiority, economic exploitation, discriminatory code. The French failed in their attempt to repress it. Then it became a movement of total racial opposition. After Matowa's death, his followers expected him to return as "Jesus-Matowa." Matowauism is now institutionalized with priests and a temple.

Kakism, founded by a former member of the Salvation Army, has a precise ritual of public confession, prayers, and singing meetings. The movement is an expression of a desire for religious and political autonomy and greater access to material goods. Its racist character is clear and important.

Though the emergence of these separatist churches may be traced to other roots besides racism and colonialism, it is obvious that they may not have arisen at all, and certainly would not have taken the form that they did, if it were not for Western racism. Thus Western racism may be credited to a certain extent with helping to produce heretical groups in Africa--a bane to the Church and its mission in that continent.

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 121ff.



In the inner life of the non-Western churches and their members is where the greatest impact of Western racism has taken place. In order to do more than just guess at the impact of Western racism on the individual Christian in non-Western churches, the author sent questionnaires to national members of churches in 17 non-Western countries. Though the limited return of 42 questionnaires from 35 Christians and seven non-Christians in seven different lands does not allow any final judgment on the impact of Western racism on non-Western churches, the questionnaires do provide valid hints toward tentative conclusions.<sup>15</sup>

In writing their reactions to the Little Rock situation of 1957, the Christians of the non-West churches gave expression to the impact that a very specific form of Western racism had upon them. The reactions ranged from a very charitable disappointment in American white Christians to a more emotional disgust. None of them registered any extreme bitterness,

---

<sup>15</sup>A sample of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix A. Essay answers to Part I of the questionnaire are listed in Appendix B, and a tabulation of the responses to the objective Part II may be found in Appendix C. Information on the respondents is listed in Appendix D.

All who responded to the questionnaire were professional people, with the exception of a farmer in Malaya and a tailor in Iraq. The rest were pastors, teachers, clerks, students. The nations represented form a fair crosscut of the various regions of the non-West, though the ratio of the returns from these seven nations is not evenly balanced: In Asia: Japan (22), Malaya (3), and the Philippines (3); in Africa: Nigeria (3) and the Union of South Africa (4); in the Near East: Iraq (5); and in Latin America: Salvador (1).

Of the 42 respondents only seven were over the age of 40. The rest were in their twenties and thirties. All the respondents were Christians except seven Japanese college students, who were taking English courses under Christian instructors. Of the 35 Christians who responded, there were 20 Lutherans, one Anglican, one Methodist, one Old Armenian, one Congregational, two from the National Protestant Church in Iraq, one from the United Church of Christ in Japan, and eight who did not list their denominations (seven of them from Japan).



but seemed to express a genuine Christian concern for the Christian world mission.

Here is the impact that Western racism has made on the hearts and the minds of some of the Christians of non-Western churches (answers to the question, "What was your reaction to the Little Rock situation?"):

. . . I wonder why "American fellow Christians" turn their eyes from such a miserable problem and do not help to solve it. We should regard such a problem as something related to ourselves and through Christian spirit do the best to solve it because it is obviously against the will of God. It is not merely a political problem.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

. . . I wondered what influence Christ's teaching had upon that town.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

It filled me with utter and absolute disgust. That the "Christian" and "great" country, the United States of America, would and could permit such an incident to occur is a disgraceful shame.

(Kasaku Nao, Japan)

The government, the people, and the Church should wake up and "mend the ripped garment." It is a shame!

(Thomas Batong, the Philippines)

The Little Rock situation of September, 1957, was not so striking or strange a phenomenon to me as far as the racial situation in the United States, Union of South Africa, and many other parts of the world are concerned. Honestly speaking, I was not happy about what took place in Little Rock as a result of the actions of the governor and his supporters. I could have been moved by the Little Rock situation to conclude that there are no true Christians in the United States—or no Christians at all. But I am not so moved. I still regard the Americans—of course, not all of them, but over 70 per cent of them—as the models of true Christians who, at least, practise their religion or what they teach. The Little Rock situation proves or shows that some white Americans are unjust to many Negro Americans, but at the same time it also shows that a great majority of the whites (Americans) are deadly against racial discrimination or injustice towards the Negroes.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

Is it possible that in a country where 80 per cent are Protestants, the pastors, teachers, and the rest of the professional church workers have not been worried about preaching, teaching, or admonishing



the great universal commandment, "Love one another?"  
 (Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

. . . we always have to realize the difficulty in attaining the higher aim. It would be the ideal situation if they have no trouble between the white and the colored. In some places and among some people it will work, but in other places the situation is different. This is reality.

From the Christian point of view, all believers in Christ are called "brethren" and are commanded to love one another in one faith in Jesus. But we know in the world many unbelievers are walking against the cross of Jesus.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

Though several of the respondents admitted they did not know all the factors involved in the United States racial picture and thus were slow to judge, all of them were unanimous in their opinion that the actions of Governor Faubus and the segregationists of Little Rock were not in tune with Christian principles of love. None of them suggested that the problem was merely political or sociological.

In the truly Christian spirit of humility Yuichi Todoroki, of Japan, stated that the Little Rock situation caused him to re-examine his own life:

This also reminded me of the Good Samaritan, parable of Jesus, not as applied to white Americans, but to myself. Fortunately we do not have such a great discrimination now here in Japan, but did I not act myself to some people in the lower class of society as "a priest" or "a Levite" did? This problem in question, therefore, as one of the reactions, caused me self-examination.

In response to the question, "Has the Little Rock situation, or any other aspect of race relations in the United States affected in any way your personal witness to Christ?" most of the respondents took it to mean, "Has the situation in any way affected your faith in Christ?" And most of them responded with a definite, "No." Here are some of their answers to this question:



No, it has not. Neither the problem in question nor any other, as far as I am concerned, has affected my personal witness to Christ. If in my area there were some people who are different in race and if some fellow countrymen had some discrimination against them, then the situation in the United States might rather have been a stimulus to try to help them break down their prejudice against them, witnessing to Christ, showing them racial equality in the sight of God and that we are "all one in Christ Jesus."

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

The Little Rock situation, or any other aspect of race relations in the United States, has not in any way affected my personal witness to Christ. After all, the Americans are human beings and as sinful as any other human beings on earth. Therefore, I follow not very much how they live, but what the Bible expects me to live.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

As far as I am concerned, the situation has affected little. But my disbelief in Christians (not Christ) has been increased.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

No, my personal witness to Christ is staunch and unflinching. The Little Rock situation is a man-made dilemma. It must be a grievous sight to Christ.

(Kasaku Nao, Japan)

In other words, Western racism is not noticeably shaking the faith of non-Western Christians who put their trust in Christ, though it is causing some to distrust fellow Christians.

In the objective part of the questionnaire, 23 out of 35 Christian respondents felt that the Little Rock situation showed first of all how unjust many white Americans are toward Negroes, while only three felt that it showed first of all how weak Christianity in the United States is. Eleven of the respondents, however, felt that the Little Rock crisis showed in the second place how weak Christianity in the United States is. These responses seem to indicate that many non-Western Christians feel that racial discrimination in the United States is a blemish on the nation's Christianity but do not hold the American Church first of all responsible for racism. Rather, they see that the sin of injustice is the



cause of it and that unbelievers, as well as Christians, are guilty of this sin.

But the respondents do hold the Christian church in the United States partly responsible for the country's racial discrimination. In fact, four of the respondents said that the responsibility of the Church was "complete;" nine said it was "almost complete;" and 18 said it was "partly" the Church's responsibility. Only six respondents felt that the Church in America was "only a little" or "not at all" responsible for the fact of racial discrimination.

The impact of the United States' form of racism on the non-West is such that only six, of 36 respondents, believe that racial discrimination in the United States is of "little" or of "no" importance to the growth of Christ's Church throughout the world. Seven feel that it is of "some" importance; twelve, that it is of great importance; and eleven, that it is of very great importance.

Western racism is undoubtedly part of the reason, though not all the reason, why there is a certain amount of distrust between some African Christians and their Western pastors, as a Lutheran missionary in Tanganyika indicated in a letter to the author. The letter was written in response to the author's request for help in getting national Christians to fill out the questionnaire. The missionary writes:

I felt that from what I know of the temperament and thinking of the African people with whom I work and deal at this time, it is better not to mention a thing about the Little Rock situation, or much of anything else concerning America, unless these matters are brought to my attention by them themselves; then I must give an answer as best I can.

I believe that the Little Rock matter is well known around here. I feel that many other aspects of the American white-Negro relations are known. The fact that slaves were gathered even from among



people with whom we work, they they were sold, carried to America, and there mistreated greatly, this is remembered by the people here even to this day.<sup>16</sup>

Some parts of the non-Western world seem to have been affected very little up till now by Western racism and not at all by racism in the United States. A missionary in the French Camerouns wrote the author that "the Boya people here in the Camerouns. . . are far removed from world events and as a result are totally unaware of the Little Rock situation."<sup>16</sup> And a missionary in Belgian Congo wrote the author:

The Congolass in the cities here in the Congo have read some in their newspapers concerning America's race problem, but the people here in what we call the "bush" know little or nothing about it.<sup>16</sup>

The impact of Western racism upon the churches of the non-West, upon the inner lives of the congregations and the individual Christians, may be said to vary according to localities. Western racism seems to stun and to startle some non-Western Christians, while others, aware of the power of sin even in the lives of Christians, are not so surprised. Most seem not be shaken much in their faith and in their witness to Christ. But the majority of non-Western Christians still seem to think that Western racism, especially in the United States, has a rather important bearing on the spread of Christ's Church throughout the world.

The impact of Western racism on the non-Christian's response to the Gospel

It is good to bear in mind from the beginning of a discussion of Western racism's impact on the non-Christian's response to the Gospel

---

<sup>16</sup>Letter in possession of author.



that many non-Western peoples consider the Western world and Christianity as identical terms. J. B. Phillips stated in The Church under the Cross that on the basis of letters from mission fields "it is obvious that even today to many Africans the terms 'European' and 'Christian' are synonymous."<sup>17</sup>

In the questionnaire sent out by the author, only seven respondents, out of 33, claimed that "none" of their non-Christian acquaintances think that Christians in the United States are completely responsible for everything that happens in the nation. A majority of 22 respondents felt that "a few" or "some" of their non-Christian acquaintances identified the United States with Christianity.

This identification of the white man's world with Christianity means that many non-Westerners do not simply blame Western culture for the West's racism, but also Christianity. For such people Western racism is a definite block to accepting Christ.

Perhaps Western Christians might retort that after all, all sins of Christians are stumbling blocks which keep unbelievers from accepting Christ. Why should the sin of Western racism be blown up so big--as though it were the only sin of Western Christendom? It is true that there are many other sins of Westerners besides racism which act as stumbling blocks before the non-Westerner's acceptance of the Gospel. And there is the danger of blowing up the immensity of Western racism beyond its actual size. But in certain respects Western racism does seem to be larger in size than the common foibles of Christians living in

---

<sup>17</sup>Phillips, op. cit., p. 49.



earthen vessels. The fact that most non-Westerners have not been guilty of color racism and the fact that racism keeps Western Christians from ever identifying themselves with colored peoples--both facts team up to make Western racism a "larger-than-average" sin of Christians, a sin whose very nature makes it difficult for Westerners to express a self-giving Christian love.

It is impossible to gauge to what extent Western racism is the stumbling block above and beyond the offensive nature of the cross and beyond the disbelieving flesh of men. But Western racism does often seem to be a good-sized stumbling block to the non-Westerner's acceptance of the Gospel. So it seems to have been for India's revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi:

Many years ago a little brown man walked up to the door of a Christian church in South Africa. He desired to worship with this congregation. A firm voice informed him that only white people worshipped there. Astounded, the visitor walked away determined never to experience this embarrassment again. Thus the usher of that congregation permitted racial segregation to come between Mahatma Gandhi and the Gospel.<sup>18</sup>

Trevor Huddleston has stated unequivocally that unless the Christian Church in South Africa really faces the issue of apartheid honestly, within the next generation or less, "it may well lose--and deservedly--the allegiance of the African people."<sup>19</sup>

India's President Nehru has stated in a conversation with Hans A. de Boer, of Germany, that his high estimate of certain Christian churches in India is gauged according to their lack of racial bias. Non-Christian

---

<sup>18</sup>Osborn Smallwood, "The Cycle of Limitation," The Christian and Race (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 7.

<sup>19</sup>Huddleston, op. cit., p. 59.



Nehru explained the reason for his high esteem of certain groups of missionaries in India thus:

First, because they are free from racial bias. They live modestly and as much like the natives as possible. Nor do they build sumptuous mission stations outside our Indian dwellings, nor do they ride in luxurious cars or meddle in politics. They have but one desire--to preach Christ and walk according to His teachings.<sup>20</sup>

One of the most recent examples of the impact of Western racism on the response of non-Westerners to the Gospel is the Auca Indians' killing of five missionaries in 1956. The negative response of the Aucas to the missionaries' Christian love may be traced to many things. The Aucas seem to be hostile toward any outside group, including other Indian tribes. The missionaries may have misunderstood the culture of the Aucas and thus unconsciously transgressed a rule of Auca friendship. But in her account of the martyrdom of the five missionaries, Elisabeth Elliot, one of the widows, stressed the impact which earlier Western racism and exploitation had upon the Aucas:

In 1874 a later Jesuit missionary made a trip down the Curaray intending to found a mission but instead spent his time--according to his own report--protecting the Indians from the rapacious rubber hunters. Another record called the rubber traders "civilized savages against unbaptized savages." Certainly from that time on, hatred spread throughout the Auca country, and a legacy of reprisal has been passed on from father to son. It was the behavior of the white man that closed off this area to colonization. There was a time when the country could have developed with the cooperation of the Aucas, but that time is now past. In the early days of this century, haciendas were scattered throughout what is now "closed" country.

The Aucas' growing distrust of the white man is illustrated in a story told in the Oriente of a hacienda owner, a Senor Santoval, who lived in the Aucas' domain shortly after the turn of the century.

---

<sup>20</sup>Robert O. Stephens, "Race Relations in Congo," His, XVIII (April, 1958), p. 16.



Senor Santoval had two captured Auca families working for him and managed to carry on a lively rubber trade with the Aucas still in the jungle. They would leave rubber for him at the edge of his property and in exchange he would leave machetes, knives and clothing for them. For about ten years this peaceful trading continued with no violence on either side. The captured Aucas were such superior workmen that Santoval asked them to approach their tribesmen with offers of work on the hacienda. Through his intermediaries the patron offered them fair pay, good living conditions, clothing, anything they felt they wanted. The offer was refused out of hand and the answer came back that the Aucas wanted nothing whatever of the white man's world, that they were independent and wished to remain so. Santoval died in 1917 and his death was the signal for an Auca attack on the hacienda.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. J. C. Carrothers, in his report on The Psychology of Mau Mau, has stated that if the general white population of Kenya "cannot practise Christian principles in their dealings with their fellow-men, both white and black, the missionaries might just as well pack up their bags and go."<sup>22</sup> In other words, unless Western racism disappears from Kenya, Carrothers feels that the missionaries' message will be falling on deaf ears.

Respondents to the author's questionnaire quoted varying reactions to the Little Rock situation on the part of non-Christians in their land:

Some (non-Christians) said Christianity has no influence on people any more. Some said that this situation showed how strong the superiority complex of white people over colored ones is. Some said that American democracy is just for white people only.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

The non-Christians (some) were deadly against the action of the governor of Arkansas and did not care whether any steps were taken to check the action of the governor. They said that it is the habit or the nature of the white Americans to hate Negroes and that there will be nothing to stop white Americans from doing so.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

---

<sup>21</sup>Elisabeth Elliot, Through Gates of Splendor (New York: Harper, 1957), pp. 97f.

<sup>22</sup>Phillips, op. cit., p. 51.



It revealed how much lip service people pay in confessing their religion.

(H. T. Pamle, Union of South Africa)

The non-Christians in this country, or particularly in our community, didn't seem to mind it at all. Non-Christians, especially illiterates, can't say anything but "Americans are good" so that news like this is very "light" to them. This might be due to the psychological effect of having been a colony of America before the Second World War and the American occupation of this country during the war and when the Nazis were defeated.

(Thomas Batong, the Philippines)

The reactions of non-Christians in the non-West as registered above run the gamut from skepticism toward Christianity and American democracy and from disgusted resignation to the immutable character of Western racism, all the way to a naive trust in the United States. It is clear that Western racism is a hindrance to the Gospel for some non-Christians in the non-West, while to others, especially to the uneducated, it is not.

Masaki Makashima, pastor of the United Church of Christ in Japan, has stated that "many of the seekers to the Church ask about the problem (race in the United States), together with the atomic bomb problem, almost all regarding the United States as a Christian nation."

The impact of Western racism upon the non-Westerner's response to the Gospel may be said to vary from locale to locale. But always the impact is negative. And usually it is strongest among the educated people, who are the leaders of the nation and who help to mold public opinion.

#### The Impact of the Christian World Mission on Western Racism

That Western racism has made a harmful impact on the Christian world mission is undeniable. And it is not strange that the Christian world mission, especially the mission to non-Westerners, has made an impact on



Western racism.

A clear example of the Christian world mission affecting Western racism may be found in the case of the Southern Baptist Church. Blake Smith, pastor of University Baptist Church in Austin, Texas, reports:

Baylor University is our largest university. A large percentage of our missionaries are graduates of this school. On August 15, 1957, twenty-two missionaries serving in Nigeria, all former students at Baylor, petitioned the president and the trustees to take immediate steps to integrate: "We must point out the inconsistency of segregation with the world mission to which Southern Baptists have committed themselves." Their request was denied.<sup>23</sup>

Southern Baptist Smith believes that his church's zealous world mission endeavor is pressuring the church to an either-or decision regarding Southern segregation:

We thrash about frantically, trying to outdo all others, because our consciences are "caught on the hook of God's judgment."

The one thing that unites us and makes us a fellowship is that we are utterly committed to the Great Commission. This is the heartbeat of our denomination.

From the day we were organized as a convention, we have been able to promote a program of world evangelism while sanctioning segregation in our churches and communities because we were not aware of any conflict between the two. But that time has passed. From the foreign fields our trusted missionaries are crying: "Abandon your segregation, or you must abandon your mission enterprise."<sup>24</sup>

To what extent Western missionaries abroad have actually affected Western racism is impossible to determine. But undoubtedly many missionaries in their reports and letters and in their lecture tours on furlough have laid it on the consciences of Western Christians that racism and Christianity cannot co-exist, that one or the other must eventually

---

<sup>23</sup>"Southern Churches and the Race Question," p. 23.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 24.



die.

The ecumenical movement, which is largely the product of the world missions enterprise of Western churches, has also made an effect on Western racism. The International Missionary Council, meeting in Jerusalem in 1928, saw the vital connection between non-racism and the Christian world mission and thus drew up a thorough treatment of the Christian view of race. The Council agreed that "any discrimination against human beings on the ground of race or color, any selfish exploitation and any oppression of man by man, is a denial of the teaching of Jesus."<sup>25</sup>

The Second Conference of Life and Work, held in Oxford, in 1937, also linked up race relations with the life and the task of the Church and labeled racial pride and race antagonism as "rebellion against God."<sup>26</sup>

Visser 't Hooft, key figure in the World Council of Churches, believes that the ecumenical movement is helping to combat ethnic racism in Asia in

relationships between Chinese and the indigenous ethnic groups in Indonesia or Thailand; between Chinese and Indians in Malaya; between Singhalese and Tamil in Ceylon; between Koreans and Japanese in Japan; between Karens and other ethnic groups in Burma. In most of these cases special ethnic communities have arisen. The existence of these communities is generally justified on grounds of language and not on grounds of race. But it is inevitable that their separate existence should lead to the development or at least the maintenance of a special ethnic or racial consciousness. Here again, however, the development of the ecumenical movement has helped to counteract divisive tendencies. Through cooperation in common synods, in national Christian councils, and in the worldwide ecumenical bodies, the various groups are brought into vital con-

---

<sup>25</sup>W. A. Visser 't Hooft, The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), pp. 46ff.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 56.



tact with each other.<sup>27</sup>

The Lutheran World Federation, a phase of the ecumenical movement, helps to make an impact on Western racism by drawing Christians of all colors together into one body with a common purpose. The 1957 convention of the Lutheran World Federation in Minneapolis spoke to the problem of race in its study theses, hoping to challenge world Lutheranism to action against Western racism:

Thus we are called to translate love and compassion into the structures of justice. In matters of civil liberties and racial integration, of concern for the uprooted and for people in areas of rapid social change, and of care for the mentally and physically disabled, our love fails if it does not materialize in recognition of human rights.

When justice falls short in the complexities and the brokenness of our human endeavors, there especially the Christian finds his calling to follow his Lord in service and suffering. Freed by Christ and quickened by the Holy Spirit, he expresses the inventiveness of love.

Made free to serve in the world, we are also redeemed from the pressures of conformity. God's Word often questions what our environment takes for granted; the Spirit gives us courage to stand alone. Through the church He gives us the means to join in spirit and action where the individual could accomplish little. In worship as well as in united efforts to meet man's need, all lives are given meaning and purpose.<sup>28</sup>

#### Summary

Western racism has affected Western churches in their outer program--attendance and membership policies of local congregations, missionary sending policies, and missionary attitudes and policies abroad. But more important, Western racism has affected the inner life of the Western

---

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>28</sup>Messages of the Third Assembly the Lutheran World Federation (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957), pp. 113f.



churches and their members by depriving them of the spiritual enrichment of colored Christians and by exacting a cancerous inconsistency between creed and life upon congregations and individual Christians.

The impact of Western racism on the churches of the non-West varies according to locale. The most common reaction of non-Western Christians to the West's racism is one of bewilderment as to why Western Christians should act this way, though the reaction varies from bitterness to disgust and hopelessness. None seem to suggest that Western racism might be Christian, but rather, the majority seem to think that its abolition is important to the spread of Christ's Church throughout the world.

The impact of Western racism on the non-Christian in the non-West also varies according to locale and according to the amount of education. But always the impact, if it is felt at all, is something of a block to the acceptance of the Gospel. The impact is felt especially by the literate and more educated peoples who are somewhat alert to world affairs. Since the educated people are the nations' leaders, this fact is significant to the Christian world mission--that it is the leaders of non-Western nations who are usually most negatively affected by Western racism.

The Christian world mission, though it has felt the terrific impact of Western racism, has reciprocated with an impact on Western racism. Especially through Western missionaries abroad who have seen how white racism has deafened the ears of colored people to the Gospel, and through the ecumenical movement, the Christian world mission has helped to dull the edge of Western racism.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION IN A WORLD OF RACISM AND COUNTER-RACISM

It is in a world of racism and counter-racism that the Church lives and carries out its task of edification and witness. The pressures of racism and counter-racism are affecting the Christian world mission. And the Church must now structure her program of inner edification and mission outreach to meet head-on the demonic forces of racism and counter-racism, which deny the universality of man's creation and redemption by God. It is the purpose of this chapter to sketch the Christian world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism.

#### The Mission to the Church

The Church's mission to the Church in a world of racism and counter-racism is really a part of her larger mission of witness to the world. But in order to focus on it more sharply, the Church's mission of inner edification shall be considered separately from her mission of outreach to the non-Christian.

#### The Church's message to herself

In very general terms it may be stated that the Church's message to herself in a world of racism and counter-racism must underscore the universality of God's creation and reconciliation of men and must sound forth with a clear trumpet the global inclusiveness of the Church, with Christ as its Head.

Indian Brahmin Christian, Indonesian nationalist Christian, Afri-



kaner Dutch Reformed Christian, American Southern Christian--all need the Church's message of universality. All need to hear and to speak the word that God in His marvelous, vari-colored way has made all men and still gives men their bodies and minds. All need to hear and to speak the message that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. All need to hear and to speak the word that all believers in Christ are members of one Body, the Church, of which Christ is the Head.

But the Church must do more than speak to her members the amazing universality of God's grace in Christ and of the Christian fellowship. The Church must concretely apply these general truths to the specifics of racism and race relations in a given geographical area. And to do this necessitates a clear understanding not only of the message but also of the situation of racism to which the message is to be applied.

What a blindness and insensitivity to the complexities of racism may do to a church body attempting to apply the truths of universality to its local situation is shown in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. As cited in Chapter IV, the Dutch Reformed Church at the All Africa Church Conference, January 10-20, 1958, Ibadan, Nigeria, graphically revealed its lack of understanding of the basics of racism. The Dutch Reformed spokesman was not aware of the impact of the term "native," nor did he realize how his church's support of apartheid blunted its proclamation of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly the Dutch Reformed delegates left the All Africa Church

---

<sup>1</sup>Don W. Holter, "Lord, Bless Africa," The Christian Century, LXXV (Feb. 12, 1958), p. 191.



Conference skeptical of the Christianity of the other representatives who didn't even seem to want to raise the moral life of the "natives." And they obviously believed that they were applying correctly the truths of God's universal grace and reconciliation to the situation at hand. After all, they were sending missionaries to Africans and throughout the world.

This same lack of understanding of racism (and a concomitant lack of understanding concerning the implications of God's reconciliation of all men) may be found among Christians in the United States, Australia, Kenya, and other areas of Western civilization.

And this same lack of understanding concerning racism and counter-racism belongs also to the Christian pastors and lay people of non-Western countries. Aside from the fact that Western missionaries in South Africa may not be encouraging national church leadership as they ought, it may be rightly asserted that another major reason for the rash of prophetic Negro church movements in that area is that national Christian leaders undoubtedly have not understood racism and counter-racism and have not applied Christian truth concretely to the situation of the African living under Western racism in South Africa. For as it has been pointed out in Chapter IV the prophetic Negro church movements are most vigorous where colonialism is experienced the most.<sup>2</sup>

Carl Rowan, Negro American journalist who represented the U.S. State Department on a trip through Southeast Asia, reflects on his several weeks' speaking tour through India: "People in equally high places talked of race and color as if it were taken for granted that all colored are to

---

<sup>2</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 123.



be trusted while whites are to be distrusted."<sup>3</sup> Among these people "in equally high places" there undoubtedly were several Christians who had absorbed this natural counter-racist reaction to Western racism.

Hence the real need for the Church in the West and the non-West to apply the Christian message concretely and with understanding to the local and world forms of racism and counter-racism. The question is: "How?"

Certainly the leaders of the Church, including all the pastors and teachers must have something of an understanding of race, racism, counter-racism, and the relation of the Christian message to all of this.

In an era when a world conference is called to discuss "race" in a world perspective (Honolulu, 1954) and when most colleges and universities offer courses on racial and cultural relations, it is imperative that the Church's seminaries, teachers colleges, and universities offer similar courses in a Christian perspective to its future leaders. And certainly there ought to be a few Christian specialists in the field of race relations in every national church, especially in those nations where racial tensions are intense.

Complementary to courses on racial and cultural relations in the Church's training schools should also go studies in non-Western, as well as Western, civilization. Especially in the West, there has been a dearth of non-Western studies. Studies of the "other man's" civilization helps one understand the "other man" more clearly and helps one know the "other man" more as a person. The racial differences recede more into

---

<sup>3</sup>Carl T. Rowan, The Pitiful and the Proud (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 239.



the background.

Vera Michele Dean, thorough student of world tensions, has this to say about non-Western studies in Western schools and colleges:

A program of non-Western studies in our schools and colleges is not a luxury: it is a necessity. . . . Within a few years non-Western study will be considered as much of a fixture in the curriculum as the study of Western civilization. This will happen not because of the whim of some educators but because knowledge of the non-Western world will be recognized as essentials on three counts: it will give a new dimension to education; it will establish two-way communication between West and non-West; and it will give us a tool we now desperately need in waging preventive peace.<sup>4</sup>

All that has been stated about curriculum in Christian secondary schools applies also to Christian elementary schools, though the subject of race itself would nearly always appear as part of a larger subject—history, religion, reading, and the like. But the subject of race should be consciously interjected into the curricula of all Christian schools at all levels.

The schools of Russia have been charged with the solemn obligation to make facts of race and human equality an integral part of their curriculum. "History, geography, and literature are taught with this in mind. . . . There seem to be no loopholes in this attempt to bring about a new era of racial understanding."<sup>5</sup> Surely Christian schools, including Sunday schools, cannot do otherwise than present the important subject of race in a clearly Christian setting.

Given Christian pastors and teachers who have a basic understanding

---

<sup>4</sup>Vera Michele Dean, "The American Student and the Non-Western World," p. 9. Mimeographed, n. p. In possession of the author.

<sup>5</sup>Edmund Davison Soper, Racism: A World Issue (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), p. 82.



of race, racism, counter-racism, and the relation of the Christian message to all of these, the pastors and teachers must talk plainly and clearly about these things in Bible classes, sermons, and Christian gatherings. This is hardest to do, of course, in areas of racial tension. But this is where it is needed most.

Caucasian Christian pastors in the United States, South Africa, Australia, or Kenya often find it difficult to speak concretely and lovingly to their white congregations about the Christian view of race. But more and more are coming to see this as their task and are undertaking it courageously and lovingly.

Just as important is that the Christian message be clearly applied to the non-Westerner or non-Caucasian and his view of race and racism.

An example of a Christian pastor who has attempted realistically to speak to Negro Christians in Southern U.S. on how to remain Christian under white racism: Rev. Martin Luther King, Baptist minister of Montgomery, Alabama. He had this to say to his fellow Negro Christians at the National Council of Churches Convention in St. Louis, Missouri (Dec. 1957), and it reflects his repeated message to his congregation and fellow Negro Christians in Montgomery:

We must say to our white brothers over the South that we will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will match your physical force with our soul force. We will not hate you, and yet we cannot obey your evil laws. Do to us what you will, and we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer and in earning our freedom we will so appeal to your hearts and consciences that we will win you in the process.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Martin Luther King, "The Christian Way of Life in Human Relations," address given the National Council of Churches in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 4, 1957 (New York: National Council of Churches, 1957), p. 2. Mimeographed.



Though a Lutheran pastor might stress the Christian motive power more, it must be granted that this is a very clear attempt on the part of a Christian pastor to lead his people to the Christian way of living under white racist segregation. And the almost spotless record of non-violence in the resistance of Montgomery's Negroes against bus segregation is living proof of the impact of Rev. King's Christian message to his people concerning racism.

An attempt similar to Rev. King's needs to be made by Christian leaders of non-Western and non-Caucasian churches to shatter the natural, demonic reactions of colored peoples living under white colonialism and racism and who now are being bombarded by Communist "Hate the whites" campaigns, also.

In the Church's message to herself, then, the Church must know the depth of the universality of God's creation and reconciliation, of man's unworthiness and sinfulness, and of the fellowship of the Church. But she must also know the facts of race, racism, and counter-racism, if she is to intelligently and rightly apply the Christian message to race relations. This requires including studies on racial and cultural relations and studies on Western and non-Western civilization in the curricula of all Christian seminaries, teachers colleges, universities, high schools, and even elementary schools. And then Christian pastors and leaders must speak frankly and clearly the Christian message concerning race, racism, and counter-racism--both to Caucasian and non-Caucasian Christians.

The Church's enactment of her message



sion boards, the officers of the national church.

When Rajah B. Manikam, Bishop of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, addressed the students and faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in December, 1957, concerning the Lutheran World Federation, this was the first criticism he made concerning the LWF convention in Minneapolis the previous August: "Where were the Negro Lutherans from the United States? Is it that few of them are trusted with leadership positions?-- If so, why not? Or is it that there are few Negro Lutherans in the U.S.? --And if so, why?"

Manikam's criticism of U.S. Lutheranism is not out of place. For a church that is living out its message will train Negro leadership, if there are Negroes in its membership, just as energetically as it trains Caucasian leadership. That there are no Negro Lutherans in higher positions of leadership in the U.S. is a reflection partly of a reluctant outreach into Negro communities and partly of a reluctant training of Negroes for leadership in the mainstream of the Church.

The relationship between Caucasian and non-Caucasian church leadership in Asia and Africa is very important if the Church is to live out her message concerning race.

First, nationals should be given positions of leadership wherever possible so that Africans and Asians have no grounds on which to stand and charge that "the white missionaries run our church."

The Roman Catholic Church sets a good pace in this matter in Africa. Though there are 9,000 Roman Catholic missionaries in Africa and only 1,500 national priests, all 23 bishops in Africa are Negro.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>"The Catholic Church and the Negro," Ebony, XIII (Dec., 1957), 26.



Secondly, the living relationship between the missionary and the national pastor, teacher, or lay leader should be one of mutual respect and confidence.

One of the most significant aspects of the All-Africa Conference of Lutherans, held at Marangu Teacher's College in Tanganyika in 1955, according to Birkeli in Lutheran Churches of the World, is that "all participants, African and non-African, were lodged together in the college dormitories and in a near-by hotel; this seemed to remove all barriers."<sup>9</sup> That Sir Francis, African Christian from Nigeria, should preside at the All Africa Church Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1958, is another example of the Church living out its message concerning race.

The way in which Western Caucasian missionaries in Asia and Africa live in relation to their surrounding community is also an important factor in the Church's living out its message.

T. de B. Wilmot, Christian layman who has spent many years in the overseas colonial service of Great Britain in Ghana, Nigeria, and Singapore, states that to the educated African the missionary compound separated from the local town or village by a decent distance is a "white settlement" that smacks of paternalism and discrimination.<sup>10</sup>

One of the five points which African Lutherans, in a session attended only by Africans, drew up at the Marangu All-Africa Conference in 1955 was that "the gospel would gain a larger hearing through a more de-

---

<sup>9</sup>Carl E. Lund-Quist, Lutheran Churches of the World (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957), p. 270.

<sup>10</sup>Tony de B. Wilmot, "New Africa and the Eternal Word," His, XVIII (March, 1958), 3.



cided demonstration against all forms of race discrimination on the part of missionaries."<sup>11</sup> Though the statement is very general, this much is clear: that African Lutherans are convinced that missionaries could make a more decided demonstration against race discrimination and that they are convinced that such a demonstration has a direct connection with speaking and living the Gospel.

Perhaps another concrete way in which the Church might live out her message concerning racism on the higher echelons is through world-wide and regional meetings of missionaries and national church leaders.

Though there are other more pressing reasons for such regional and world meetings of church leaders, certainly a very important reason is for the sake of communication and the welding together into a fellowship of mutual respect and confidence Christians of different racial and cultural backgrounds. These regional and world conferences of Christian leaders, such as the All-Africa Missionary Conference of Lutherans in Marangu, in 1955, and the All Africa Church Conference in Ibadan in 1958, are excellent methods of living out the Church's message on race.

Thus, it is essential that the Church not only speak her message of God's universal reconciliation clearly and intelligently to the matters of race, racism, and counter-racism. It is equally important that the Church live out her message on the level of the local congregation and on the levels of Church leadership.

#### The Mission to the Non-Christians

---

<sup>11</sup>Lund-Quist, Loc. cit.



All that has been said in the previous section concerning the mission of the Church to the Church is assumed in this section as the basis for the Church's mission to the non-Christians in a world of racism and counter-racism. The Church proclaims the same message of God's universal reconciliation of men through Christ to the non-Christian as she does to herself. But there are certain factors in living out this message in a world of racism and counter-racism which are doubly important in the Church's outreach to the non-Christian.

#### Witnessing to the marginal man

Racism becomes an important factor in the Church's witness to the non-Christian much more in the case of her witness to those who are victims of racism than in the case of her witness to those who exercise racism. And of those who are victims of racism, it is the marginals who feel most bitter toward racists and most frustrated by the discrimination of the racists. Hence the importance of the enactment of the Christian message concerning race in any effort of the Church to reach out to the marginal man.

According to sociologist E. Franklin Frazier,

The marginal man is a cultural hybrid in the sense that he lives in two societies--and in two not merely different, but antagonistic, cultures. As a result, there is a cultural conflict within the "divided self" of the marginal man who often lives in a permanent state of crisis.<sup>12</sup>

Robert E. Park, in Race and Culture, becomes even more specific in his description of the marginal:

---

<sup>12</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 311.



The marginal man is usually a mixed blood, like the mulatto in the United States or the Eurasian in Asia, but that is apparently because the man of mixed-blood is one who lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less a stranger. The Christian convert in Asia or Africa exhibits many, if not most of the characteristics of the marginal man--the same spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness, and malaise.<sup>13</sup>

To this list of marginals may be added the Asian and African who has received a Western education. The marginal's resentment of racism, and of anything that racists may bring with them, such as Christianity, begins to grow when he learns to want the culture of the racists but finds that there is much of it that he cannot have.

It is just such marginals to whom the Church finds it difficult to witness of God's reconciling love in Christ. But if the Church will enact her message, these people will listen eagerly; for they have pulled up their roots and are looking for a good place in which to plant them. They are important people to reach because they will form much of their nation's leadership in the near future.

Tony de B. Wilmot, in an article on how to reach the educated African for Christ, stresses the importance of the Church's living out its message of reconciliation and love in a way that tells the African unequivocally that the Church knows no racial lines:

Africans have an uncanny way of knowing whether you love them or not. You can't kid them. The marks of love are many: love is free of prejudices, love does not boss, love gets right alongside, love is as willing to learn as to teach, love is willing to sympathize and to understand, love is never "shocked," love is never censorious, love is never out of place, love is a language all men can understand, love is humble.

In humility we have to accept the fact that the modern educated Af-

---

<sup>13</sup>Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950), p. 356.



rican is resistant to the traditional missionary approach, whether American or European. To him it smacks of paternalism. And he is resentful of discrimination--the mission station is a "white settlement" separated from the local town or village by a decent distance or a large compound. That may be a superficial judgment, but the point is that it is a judgment commonly held in the minds of the educated.<sup>14</sup>

Recognizing that the Church, in order to reach the educated, marginal African, must demonstrate an active love that shatters racist color lines, Wilmot offers a very concrete suggestion that aims at doing just that:

If we are to win educated Africans for Christ, we must use the methods which give the maximum opportunity for an operation of this love that gets right alongside, on a level with the other person. We must destroy the pedestals that put us up above other people--particularly the pedestals that make us different on account of our color. A most effective method of destroying pedestals, getting alongside and carrying out fruitful evangelism among the educated of any country--and it has proved effective among Africans--is the holiday camp or house party.

The way to run a Christian camp or house party in Africa is to select a group of people who are devoted to Christ, know what it means to be born again, have no prejudices about race or color, who personally usually include both Africans and whites among their friends, and are of one mind in the things of the Lord. Then gather the young educated Africans of secondary level and upwards. Use English (French in French Africa) as the camp language and mix the tribes from all over the country in which you work. Their education is in English or French, and they like to use it. It is widely known and used among the educated. . . . Put a Christian in charge of each dormitory of campers (and make sure he sleeps on the same kind of bed, even if it is only a mat on the floor). Eat together, African food--which, properly organized, can provide an adequate, tasty, and varied diet. Love the campers, and live with them. Then, when the pedestals are all gone, preach the Gospel to them.<sup>15</sup>

This sort of pedestal-removing method of reaching educated non-Christians in Asia and Africa could be translated into many concrete approaches.

---

<sup>14</sup>Tony de B. Wilmot, "New Africa and the Eternal Word," *His*, XVIII (March, 1958), 3.

<sup>15</sup>Loc. cit.



The underlying principle—"love that gets alongside"—is the important element that helps to remove the stumbling block of racism from before the cross of Christ.

The same sort of love that goes out of its way to remove color lines for the educated African and Asian is also needed for the educated Negro American. That the Negro membership in Roman Catholic churches of the U.S. has increased about 55 per cent over the past five years has been attributed to "the church's official declarations against bigotry and discrimination"<sup>16</sup> and to the church's concern about the Negro American's struggle for economic betterment,<sup>17</sup> a type of pedestal-removing love that speaks loudly to the educated Negro American.

The sort of love that "gets alongside" is an important part of the Church's outreach to any non-Christian, certainly to any non-Christian suffering under racism, and especially to any educated, marginal non-Christian under racism.

Sending Negro missionaries where "white men not wanted"

A group of Indian newspapermen confided to Carl Rowan, American Negro journalist who made a trip through Southeast Asia for the U.S. State Department:

We trust you, and we speak to you frankly, because there is a common bond of color. We hate the white man because he is the cause of all the trouble in Asia today. We respect you, but we hate white America.

---

<sup>16</sup>"The Catholic Church and the Negro," Ebony, XIII (Dec., 1957), 19.

<sup>17</sup>Reuben L. Speaks, "Will the Negro Remain Protestant?" The Christian Century, LXXI (June 2, 1954), 668f.



My going to China carried a deeper significance than the mere opening of one more door to the participation of the American Negro in the life of the church and the nation. It was, in a sense, our church saying to the peoples of the East that it recognizes the rising tide of independence and that it has no interest in the continuation of Western imperialism and the dominance of the white man in that part of the world. The simple fact of my going could say more eloquently than words that the Church recognizes the new place of importance which colored peoples are gaining, and that she has not set herself against it but seeks to understand them.

.....

When he (the Negro American missionary in the East) speaks of Christ in relation to suffering, hatred, oppression, and need, he can speak out of an abundant need.<sup>19</sup>

The Lutheran Church in the U.S. might well pose the question to herself as to why she has never sent abroad any Negro missionaries. And especially now, at a time when it seems Negro missionaries would be so very useful in certain parts of the world, the Lutheran Church, and other Christian bodies, need to ask this question in the present tense and in a very positive way: "Shouldn't we send Negro missionaries abroad?"

#### Using Christian laymen abroad

The Church is awaking, in this mobile age, to the importance of challenging, educating, and helping Christian laymen abroad to witness to Christ in an active, loving way. It is important that in this challenging, educating, and helping of Christian laymen abroad, the Church stress clearly the implications of reconciliation for race, racism, and counter-racism.

Edmund Soper, in Racism: A World Issue, regrets that British offi-

---

<sup>19</sup>Darius L. Swann, "A Negro Missionary in China," The Christian Century, LXVIII (Nov. 7, 1951), 1276.



out this message. Some special things which the Church seems to need in carrying out its mission to the non-Christians: A special attempt to witness to the marginal man, the educated person, under racism; Western Negroes as missionaries where Western Caucasians are not trusted or respected, but Western Negroes are; Christian lay people abroad who are alert to their challenge of crossing racial frontiers to witness to Christ; the virtue of patience and an out-going love in the face of extreme bitterness from racist and counter-racist alike.

#### The Mission to Society

Few are the Christians who will not agree in mind and spirit that the Church must speak clearly and intelligently its message of reconciliation of all men in Jesus Christ--and that the Church must speak this message concretely to racism and counter-racism. It is harder, however, for the Church to put this message into practice, if it means transcending the social order around it. Yet the Church "is not true to her inner life when she has ceased to be in tension with that in her environment which is not Christian."<sup>22</sup> And where the Church rises above the racism and counter-racism of her environment, the Church inevitably leavens the social order around her.

But the important question is this: Should the Church consciously attempt to change the social order by any methods? If so, why?

The Church attempting to change the social order

---

<sup>22</sup>Holmes Rolston, The Social Message of the Apostle Paul (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1942), p. 153.



Where the social order condones and encourages injustice, such as the many forms of racial discrimination, surely the Church has no other choice than to attempt consciously to change the social order. Though the Church's primary thrust must always be the quiet leavening of the lump of society, the Church has the responsibility to make a frontal assault on society's structures when they are put together with injustice.

The Church often shies away from a direct attack on the injustices of racism, or counter-racism, because she feels that the expressions of racism, such as segregation and apartheid, are solely a result of the unconverted, loveless heart. And she rightly concludes, therefore, that the only way to attack the injustices of racism is to proclaim the Gospel and to change men's loveless hearts thereby into hearts that eventually will discard racism and its manifestations in society.

But this view reveals a misunderstanding of the forces at work in racial injustice. Students of society have discovered that racial "discrimination is not so much the result of prejudice, but prejudice is the result of discrimination."<sup>23</sup> John LaFarge explains a little more clearly how this cause-and-effect relationship works:

Segregation feeds prejudice and keeps it alive; and it would be just as bad if Negroes were the dominant group and the white people the victims. Lack of friendly contact breeds suspicion, distrust, violence, fear.<sup>24</sup>

And what is the cause of discrimination? Probably a major cause is economic: "The color bar represents an attempt of the dominant white

---

<sup>23</sup>John LaFarge, The Catholic Viewpoint in Race Relations (Garden City, N. Y.: Hanover House, 1956), p. 45.

<sup>24</sup>Loc. cit.



group to stop the operation of the laws of competition in a society based on economic competition which requires the economic use of human labor."<sup>25</sup> Some students of racism, such as Ralph Bunche, compare the racial conflicts of the twentieth century with the class struggle within Europe in the Middle Ages:

It is only when this supremacy and privilege are dissolved and when it is no longer within the power of the privileged property-holding class to determine the institutional life and habits of the modern state that there can be hope for the development of an international order and community which will promise the subject peoples of the world genuine relief from the heavy colonial burdens of imperialist domination. At present their outlook is not bright: the international order and their race are both arrayed against them.<sup>26</sup>

To boil down all the causes of discrimination to economics would be to commit the error of Marx. But that there is a large element of truth in it is undeniable. Of course, even to trace the cause of discrimination to economics does not exclude the causal factor of man's self-centered greediness.

But for the Church to wait to attack an unjust social order until men's hearts are all changed is never to attack. And such a waiting seems to imply, also, that unconverted men are incapable of justice, which certainly is not the case. Such a waiting seems to imply, too, the passive role of the social and moral order. And the social order certainly is not passive in its effect on people.

The social order and the moral climate of a country make considerable impact on everyone's moral decisions. And to whatever extent the

---

<sup>25</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 164.

<sup>26</sup>Ralph J. Bunche, A World View of Race (Washington, D.C.: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936), p. 64.



Church is concerned with individual conscientious decision it must seek to affect the general moral climate of every age.<sup>27</sup> A Church aware of how segregation and apartheid are more active causes of prejudice than prejudice is of segregation and apartheid will surely attack both levels.

The Church must first transcend the racism and counter-racism of society in her own inner life, for she is the fellowship of men reconciled by God through Jesus Christ. And it is inevitable that in transcending society she will leaven the lump of society. Conscious of her leavening task, surely the Church will openly and courageously uphold racial justice and will seek to eliminate breeding grounds of prejudice and hatred, such as segregation and apartheid.

Surely the Church must seek to change the social order. She has a mission to society to affect its social and moral order as part of her primary mission to proclaim God's great reconciliation in Christ. Since racism and counter-racism have expressed themselves in some form in nearly every nation of the world, the Church's mission to society to attack these perversions of justice is universal. However, her mission is doubly important where the political, economic, and social expressions of racism and counter-racism are legally condoned and enforced. South Africa is the prime example of a nation which has no intentions of eliminating its legalized racial discrimination and undoubtedly is the land where the Church's mission to the social order's racial injustice is most critical. In the United States, where the Justice Department and the Federal government have made unequivocal moves to abolish forms of racial

---

<sup>27</sup>Edgar M. Carlson, The Church and the Public Conscience (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956), p. 5.



discrimination, the Church's job is very crucial, but not as critical and difficult as in the case of South Africa. The "white Australia" policy, also a very legal, governmental stand, is a critical challenge to the Church in Australia. The smaller churches of Asia and Africa are faced with a growing tendency on the part of younger nations to make counter-racism an official position of the government.

The churches of every country have a mission to society to lead the way in abolishing the expressions of racism and counter-racism. The big question is not whether to carry out a mission to society against the forms of racism and counter-racism, but why and how. Hence the importance of studying motives and methods.

#### Motives for the mission to society

The motives that the Church often lists for its mission to society to erase the expressions of racism and counter-racism range from a sentimental pity for the "underdog" to a deep grasp of the nature of the Church and her task.

The sociological bandwagon.--No Churchman has ever stated publicly, to the author's knowledge, that he favors racial justice because sociology supports its inevitability. Nor have theologians of any stature suggested the sociological inevitability of equal racial status as a motive for the Church to undertake its mission to society. And yet the current of sociological thought concerning the inevitability of racial justice has undoubtedly swept Churchmen along whether they have been fully aware of this or not. Though Dr. Martin Luther King strenuously objects to any other motive than moral compulsion for upholding racial



justice, it is easy to see how his sociological view of the current "revolution of oppressed peoples" could easily become motive power for the Church as well as for sociologists:

This determination of Negro Americans to win freedom from all forms of oppression springs from the same deep longing for freedom that motivates oppressed peoples all over the world. The deep rumblings of discontent from Asia and Africa are at bottom a quest for freedom and human dignity on the part of people who have long been the victims of colonialism and imperialism. The struggle for freedom on the part of oppressed people in general and the American Negro in particular is not suddenly going to disappear. It is sociologically true that once oppressed people rise up against their oppression there is no stopping point short of full freedom. So realism impels us to admit that the struggles will continue, until freedom is a reality for all the oppressed peoples of the world.<sup>28</sup>

Fear of Communism.--One of the most powerful motives for supporting racial justice since World War II, especially in diplomatic circles but also within the Church, is the fear of Communism. On the other side of the coin, one of the potent motives underlying the Communists' enactment of racial justice is their desire for world power.

Howard Smith, noted news commentator, reflects this fear of Communism when he writes in New South soon after the Little Rock crisis:

It is not the whim of nine allegedly misguided do-gooders on the Supreme Court that is causing this (integration). What is mainly responsible is the direly perilous world situation in which America must prove the moral worth of her civilization, or lose mankind's support and eventually go down to defeat and enslavement.<sup>29</sup>

That racial injustice encourages Communism is undeniable. In 1953 John Gunther, after a trip through Africa, stated that South Africa was

---

<sup>28</sup>Martin Luther King, "The Christian Way of Life in Human Relations," address given the National Council of Churches convention in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 4, 1957 (New York: National Council of Churches, 1957), p. 1. Mimeographed.

<sup>29</sup>Howard K. Smith, "Luxury We Cannot Afford," New South, XII (Oct., 1957), 9.



the only country south of the Sahara where the potential Communist threat was substantial.<sup>30</sup> Gunther was convinced at that time that if South Africa goes Communist, apartheid will be the cause of it:

. . . They were tough in a peculiar, slaphappy way, well trained in the Communist dialectic, fixed in their ideas, and confident.

No need to ask why young Africans are so misguided as to become Communists. They have nothing else to turn to, nowhere else to go. The wonder is that there are not more of them. If South Africa goes Communist, it will be apartheid's fault.<sup>31</sup>

Frank Daniels, Chairman of the Charlottesville, Virginia, Council on Human Relations, describes the menace of Communism to a world of racism in cold statistical terms:

Communist Russia is attempting to dominate the world and has been more successful than we like to admit. In the past 20 years 17 different countries have been taken over by the Communists. In the same period only one country has been changed from a Communist form of government to a democratic form. At the present time the two opposing forces are about equal. In military power and scientific achievement, the countries now under Communist rule have about the same degree of development as those under democratic regime. Thus the balance of power lies in those countries which have not joined forces with either side. And in those countries at least two-thirds of the people are colored.<sup>32</sup>

In view of the inherent opposition of Russian Communism to Christianity and in the light of the attractiveness of Communism to people under racism, it is no wonder that the fear of Communist world domination has motivated many Christians to carry out their mission to society to work racial justice.

---

<sup>30</sup>John Gunther, Inside Africa (New York: Harper, 1953), p. 538.

<sup>31</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Frank Daniels, "Speak Out Strongly," New South, XIII (Jan., 1958),



Maintaining U.S. leadership throughout the world.--This motive for supporting racial justice may seem to be common only to the U.S., but it could easily be a motive force among other nations which look to the U.S. for world leadership. From the U.S. point of view the argument runs like this: "If we're going to maintain our world leadership, we've got to stay friends with all the nations not under Communist influence. Otherwise we'll be outnumbered. Furthermore, we must remain friends with the free world if we are to continue getting the raw materials we need to maintain our industry and mechanical way of life and our position of leadership. And since our relations with most nations of the world are strained if we support any form of racism, we'd better eliminate racial injustice--for the sake of self-preservation and to maintain our world leadership." Other Western nations use the same argument with a very realistic connecting link to their own situation: "After all, without U.S. leadership in the world, we're sunk, too."

Putting this argument into a more historical and sociological framework, E. Franklin Frazier expresses it this way:

These changes had been set in motion by World War II. Finally, there was a change in the relation of the U.S. to the rest of the world. The political subordination of the Negro in the South became no longer a Southern problem or even a domestic (American) problem. It was related to the new leadership which the U.S. was struggling to attain in a world where colored peoples were demanding self-government and equality among the peoples of the world.<sup>33</sup>

There is no doubt that U.S. world leadership is threatened by the many remnants of racial injustice throughout the country and especially by the events which show that the official stand of many state and local leaders is an extreme support of an extreme racism. Immediately after

---

<sup>33</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 211.



the Little Rock crisis, Winburn Thomas described the reaction of Indonesia to this extreme racism in a report to The Christian Century:

All the good will created here by U.S. financial aid, educational grants and democratic propoganda has been wiped out by the refusal of Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas to abide by the Supreme Court's order to integrate public schools. One Indonesian commentator declares that Faubus is more of a traitor to the American cause than were the men who sold atomic secrets to Russia. All Indonesia is asking: "How can colored Asia expect sympathy and understanding from America when colored Americans are treated as second-class citizens?" Writes the editor of Times of Indonesia: "The issue of equal rights for Negroes makes it appear that the U.S. is a racist state like South Africa, bereft of any hope of progress. Little Rock concentrates so much of the limelight on itself as to black out the advances made elsewhere. We are unimpressed by American pontifications on democracy. We want proof that preachments square with practise, and that proof is not forthcoming."<sup>34</sup>

From Belgian Congo comes much the same description of a United States that has lost much ground in its drive to maintain world leadership due simply to the racism of an Arkansas governor. In a letter to Time:

You cannot imagine how much prestige the U.S. has lost during the last few weeks, owing to the integration question. Your government can spend billions and billions of dollars for foreign aid, but it cannot cover the ground it lost through the actions of a man called Faubus.<sup>35</sup>

The extreme pressures which the world is bringing to bear on the U.S. in regard to its racial policy is exhibited in the story of Ghana Finance Minister Gbedemah. The event likely would not have made a ripple of reaction in the U.S. government before World War II, but in 1957 a United States seeking to maintain world leadership turns a diplomatic double somersault to prove she is for racial justice. When Gbedemah was

---

<sup>34</sup>Winburn Thomas, "Indonesia Wants no more Sects," The Christian Century, LXXIV (Oct. 30, 1957), 1298f.

<sup>35</sup>"Letters," Time, LXIX (Oct. 14, 1957), 15.



refused service at a Howard Johnson restaurant in Dover, Delaware, this is what happened:

Hurriedly the State Department put out an official apology. Wilson Flake, U.S. Ambassador to Ghana, forestalled an official protest to Washington from the Ghana government by making a public statement that this was "an exceptional and isolated incident." President Eisenhower invited Gbedemah to breakfast with him and Vice President Nixon at the White House first floor, explained frankly that "little bits like that happen all over the place, and you never know when they'll blow up or where."<sup>36</sup>

Lillian Smith in Now is the Time makes very cogent use of this argument--that the U.S. needs to maintain "good understanding with the free peoples of the world"--to urge U.S. citizens to enact integration immediately:

The Asians' and Africans' hurt memories center around "white colonialism." They think of democracy as "white democracy." They think of themselves as colored, and they make identification with every racial incident (small or large) which happens in our country. This is the psychological wall our foreign policy cannot climb over. There is a door in that wall. It will swing open when legal segregation is completely abolished in this country--a small price to pay for good understanding with the free peoples of the world.<sup>37</sup>

It is very logical to argue that for the sake of U.S. world leadership racial justice must prevail in the U.S. This is not sentimental pity for the oppressed peoples of the world. This is simply facing the facts of a new world in which a leading nation has no alternative to racial justice, if it would retain its leadership status. The one nation that refuses, for the present, to be moved by the logic of the "new world" will likely find the "logic of the world situation" one day breaking in on them; for South Africa's Alan Paton states that "only the most

---

<sup>36</sup>"From Segregation to Breakfast," Time, LIX (Oct. 7, 1957), 24.

<sup>37</sup>Lillian Smith, Now is the Time (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p. 115.



fanatical white nationalist would predict that apartheid will live till the end of this half-century."<sup>38</sup>

That the Church should use this logical reasoning as motive power for the Church's mission to society is no wonder. For logic is extremely cogent.

Caucasians afraid of colored world domination.—This argument, too, is very logical. It simply means facing the facts:

As men grow each day more numerous, something else happens; the ratio between the "white" and the "colored" population of the world keeps shifting toward the "colored" side. This would mean nothing if men looked at each other as men. In a world with a color line, it means that the white minority is reaping what it sowed.<sup>39</sup>

"An African movement," argues Melvin Conant, "which has color as its unifying symbol might result in the mobilization of millions of people against white European man."<sup>40</sup>

As long as whites ruled most of the world, it mattered not whether they were a minority. But now that the colored peoples are coming to self-rule, the minority of Caucasians in the world realize that the tables of racial injustice could be turned against them—unless in the eleventh hour the white man begins practising racial justice. This is his only hope in a world with a 2-1 colored-white ratio.

It is to be expected that the Church has used this logical argument,

---

<sup>38</sup>Alan Paton, "Church, State, and Race," The Christian Century, LXXV (March 5, 1958), 279.

<sup>39</sup>John Strietelmeier, God in our Confused World (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 11.

<sup>40</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 118.



too, as a reason for supporting racial justice in society.

Moral compulsion.---This is Dr. Martin Luther King's position: that the world should strive for the "oneness of man" for no other reason than that it is "morally compelling."<sup>41</sup> King did not elaborate on this statement, but in the context of his thinking he surely means that any man who has a standard of right and wrong, a standard of justice, cannot but treat every man the same unless he transgresses his own standards.

In the context of the American scene King is saying to the U.S.: "In our constitution we guarantee the basic rights of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' to everyone; we guarantee freedom and justice to all, for we believe that all men are created equal. Now if we are men of any moral integrity, there is nothing for us to do but to 'practise what we preach.'"

The "moral compulsion" motive has a logic about it that men of integrity must listen to. And certainly the Church, which teaches that "whoever knows what is right to do and fails to do it, for him it is sin" (James 4:17), has in various places easily assumed "moral compulsion" as a basic motive for supporting and enacting racial justice.

Harming the Christian mission to the non-Western world.---Though this motive is not cited very often by the Church as a basic ground for supporting racial justice, it seems to be a very sound motive. It is impossible to determine to what extent Western racism has been a stumbling block to the acceptance of the Gospel, but it is very clear that Western

---

<sup>41</sup>Martin Luther King, "Oneness of Man in American Inter-group Relations," address given to National Council of Churches convention in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 3, 1957. Notes taken during the address by the author.



racism has in many places helped to create an atmosphere of hostility to the Church and her message. Western racism has nowhere been an asset to Christianity.

Takeshi Shimai, Japanese Christian in Tokyo, stated in a questionnaire response that the Little Rock incident "gives non-Christians a good point that shows that Christianity is really powerless in this modern world, even in a Christian country."<sup>42</sup>

H. Pamle, national Methodist pastor in Zululand, South Africa, in answer to a questionnaire, also, stated that the Little Rock incident revealed to his non-Christian friends "how much lip service people pay in confessing their religion."<sup>43</sup>

The Church, it seems, might well carry out her mission to society to oppose racism, especially Western racism, on the grounds that she would thereby be removing one of the many stumbling blocks to acceptance of Christ on the part of those who have felt the brunt of Western racism.

Church as guardian of supra-temporal values on which society is founded.—Alan Paton, Anglican layman in South Africa, speaking especially to the situation of apartheid in his nation when he states clearly what he thinks the Church's motive ought to be in regard to its mission to society concerning racism:

I do not think one can overestimate the importance of the role which the churches, whatever their numerical strength, will have to play in the new Africa. The churches have a duty to assist the

---

<sup>42</sup>Takeshi Shimai, response to a questionnaire sent out by author, Jan., 1958. In possession of author.

<sup>43</sup>H. Pamle, response to a questionnaire sent out by author, Jan., 1958. In possession of author.



state in maintaining, and perhaps even in recognizing, those supra-temporal foundations on which the good society is founded. And Christians, far from removing themselves from the world, have a duty toward it.

many think that it is purely political to take a stand on human rights.

In my view this attitude has been disastrous and has led many Christians and Christian organizations to take no stand on any law, or indeed on any custom or convention which pertains to race relations, because to do so would be political. Our churches are to a dangerous degree conforming churches, and instead of transforming society have been conformed to it.<sup>44</sup>

This view of Paton's involves some philosophical undergirding (he quotes from Jacques Maritain's Man and the State), but appears to provide a sound motive for the Church's mission to society: to guard the supra-temporal values on which society is based. One of these supra-temporal values is human justice, of course.

The new community of men reconciled by God living her new life of love and unity.---All of the above motives for catapulting the Church into her mission against racism and counter-racism include some sound moral principles, some lofty spiritual aims, and a large amount of realistic, cogent logic. God can use all of these motives to spur people, even the Church, to His goals. He can use sociology to stun people into seeing the foolhardiness of trying to "keep certain people under" indefinitely. He can use Communism to scare people into realizing the global importance of human justice. He can threaten U.S. world leadership to impel the U.S. and other free nations to live up to their creeds of "equal rights for all." He can frighten a white minority into human decency

---

<sup>44</sup>Paton, op. cit., p. 278.



lest they get swamped by a colored majority. He can bother men's consciences so that they feel morally compelled to practise what they believe concerning human justice and the oneness of man. He can let a host of oppressed peoples turn a deaf ear to the Gospel to prick the Church into living out the message of God's love which she preaches.

But the God Who by the sending of His Son has reconciled all men to Himself has called together the believers in Christ to a new community, the Church. The new community lives its life in a new dimension of God's love and forgiveness. And it expresses this love to the world around it by its message of reconciliation and its new life of love and unity in Christ. And when the Church crosses racial frontiers with its message and love, even when it seeks to re-shape society, it is only living out its new life which it has in Christ. The basic motive power for the Church's support of racial justice? Christ. The Christ Who has given her new life so that her members are all one Body.

Dean of Yale Divinity School and authority in matters of race, Liston Pope stresses the point that in proclaiming and enacting racial justice the Church must "march to the music of a different drummer" than the world marches to:

The most usual approaches to racial questions in America have been political or sociological in nature. This has been true even of our churches, whose pronouncements on such questions have generally sounded like watered-down sociological documents inspired by some degree of moral concern. By the same token, the announced reasons for concern have often been potential in character: it has been argued that we must give greater equality to minority racial groups to prevent them from becoming disillusioned about Christianity, or to preserve democracy, or to enlist the energies and loyalties of colored peoples in the struggles against Communism, or to protect America's reputation in other parts of the world. Similarly, the proposed solutions to race questions, including those advanced by churchmen, have generally been non-theological in character: educate public opinion; pass a law and then enforce it; desegregate schools,



public facilities, and residential neighborhoods; protect the constitutional rights of individuals regardless of race; open the churches to all true worshippers by action of the responsible church body, lest we be accused of being hypocritical or undemocratic. . . .

Christians must march "to the music of a different drummer." And even if we march, as is likely to happen in a civilization deeply informed by Christian influences whose sources it does not know--even if we march alongside those who hear only the drums of a changing world, moving toward the same social goals to which they are committed, we shall march under different orders, and with a passion that once sent the first Christians into arenas of death and ultimately to the heart of a tormented empire. . . .

Through all the cosmic drama of Biblical history there runs another theme, and it rises at last to unbearable climax to show us what manner of people we are. God condescends to choose a people as His own, and to make with them a covenant to be their God. . . . Jesus of Nazareth comes as the fulfillment of the mission given to Israel. The central message of the Gospel, later made even more specific by the eloquence of St. Paul, is that Jesus Christ, through His life on earth, His death for all men, and His resurrection as the hope of all men, has brought reconciliation between man and God and man and man. Those who accept Him as their Lord live in a new dimension in which love and unity are regnant, though still tainted by sin. This unity is not only spiritual; it pervades life in all its relationships and it seeks even to remake society. Out of faith in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ came a new community composed of many peoples.<sup>45</sup>

The Church, therefore, proclaims and enacts racial justice simply because of what it is in Jesus Christ--a new community living a new life of love and unity, the Body of Christ in the world.

Methods used by the Church in her mission to society

The Church, aware of her new life in Christ and conscious that she is the Body of Christ in the world, will proclaim and enact the message of God's reconciliation of all men through Christ. But how?

---

<sup>45</sup>Liston Pope, "Mandate of the Gospel Concerning Christ, the Church, and Race," address delivered to the National Council of Churches convention in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 4, 1957 (New York: National Council of Churches, 1957), p. 1. Mimeographed.



That the Church must first of all and in all things be the Body of Christ, the new community of all believers regularly gathering around Word and sacrament, living her new life of love and unity, witnessing to Christ unto all men--this is essential. All her actions most flow out of her new life in Christ. And there is no doubt that if the Church in all the racial troublespots of the world were living her new life in Christ in the revolutionary Christian way that transcends society, there would undoubtedly be no racial injustice.

What may the Church do, as she lives her new life in Christ, to express love to people, to society, suffering under racism, in addition to the proclamation of the Gospel and the administering of the sacraments?

Certainly the witness of the individual Christian in his daily walk of life, the individual Christian in local, state, and national government, the individual Christian in leadership positions of various organizations--all can and must live their new life in society with the very purpose in mind of showing forth the love of Christ to people and of helpfully reshaping, leavening, society. The necessity and the inevitability of the individual Christian's witness regarding all matters, including that of race, cannot be stressed enough.

But what about groups of Christians, or a church body, acting corporately in their action and witness? This is where many Christians want to draw the line. But surely what the individual Christian is to do by himself he may also do corporately.

Hence the validity and the importance of official church pronouncements on matters of race. This is simply doing corporately what the individual Christian is to be doing in his daily life as a member of



the Body of Christ. Especially in a day and age when the voice of the individual in society is submerged in the complexities of national and international economics and politics which help shape society.

To show forth the love of Christ to people, then, the Church may find it necessary to act corporately and even to work through political channels. Sociologist Frazier states matter-of-factly that the importance of political power in race relations is shown clearly "in the role of the state in South Africa in establishing the color bar in order to prevent competition between white and non-European peoples" and in "the increasing use of political means to break down the color bar in the U.S."<sup>46</sup> The Church, living her new life in Christ, certainly may seek to show forth the love of Christ to people oppressed by racism by seeking to help mold the policies of that human agency which is powerful to remove the burden: the state.

Thus, Christians individually and as groups may as part of their new life in Christ seek to root out segregation in the U.S., apartheid in South Africa, the "white Australia" policy in the land "down under," by working through the channels of the state.

One of the factors which has slowed down the Church in her mission to society, and in her mission to the Church and to the non-Christian as well, is ignorance of the facts of race, racism, and counter-racism, and their relation to the Christian world mission. Hence, the Church might well consider as part of her method in her mission to society the dissemination of the important facts in the area of race. This is the sug-

---

<sup>46</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 174.



gestion of John Strietelmeier, Lutheran professor at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana:

It is part of our Christian duty, therefore, to know what the problems of our time are. We should know the facts that lie behind the problems and examine the proposed solutions with Christian intelligence. The Christian who persists in following a line of prejudice when he could know that the prejudice has no factual foundation does more than fall into error. He commits a sin.<sup>47</sup>

Realizing the importance of correct information to combat counter-racism, as well as racism, the Roman Catholic Interracial Council, of the United States, has launched an "Asia-Africa Project." The purpose of this project is to contribute a balanced view of the United States race relations to other nations by supplying news stories and photographs of events marking progress in the field of race relations in the U.S. to about 90 key centers on the two continents, including local news services and mission headquarters.<sup>48</sup>

The importance of clear, factual literature in the area of race and from the Christian viewpoint can hardly be overstressed as an important method for the Church in her mission to society in a world of racism and counter-racism.

### Conclusions

The Church, aware of its responsibilities toward the social order and the moral climate of its land and aware of the economic and political factors which forcibly shape a system of racial injustice, will surely take bold steps in carrying out its mission to society. But it must be

---

<sup>47</sup>Strietelmeier, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>48</sup>"Looking and Listening," The Crisis, LXIV (Oct., 1957), 495.



clear about its motives and methods.

There are many highly logical and moral reasons for seeking to establish racial justice, all of them good, sound, cogent reasons: 1) the sociological inevitability of racial justice; 2) the threat of Russian Communism to democracy; 3) the importance of U.S. world leadership; 4) the possibility of a racist domination of the world by the colored peoples; 5) the moral compulsion for racial justice; 6) the disillusionment of non-Westerners concerning Christianity; 7) the importance of maintaining the supra-temporal values on which society is founded.

But the primary motive for the Church's mission to society to abolish expressions of racial injustice is its new life in Christ, which simply must express itself in love and concern for people's needs by the proclamation and enactment of the Gospel, God's reconciling love in Christ.

#### Summary

The Christian world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism is both the proclamation and the enactment of God's universal forgiving grace in Jesus Christ.

In its mission to itself, the Church must speak this message of God's universal grace clearly and intelligently to matters of race, racism, and counter-racism. And then it must act out this message on the congregational level and on the level of national and world leadership. Among other things this means that the curricula of Christian schools should include studies in non-Western culture and in race; attendance and membership in congregations will not be barred to any ethnic or racial group; Church



leadership will be vigorously trained among all ethnic and racial groups; Western missionaries working among non-Western peoples will seek to identify themselves as much as possible with their community in housing, clothing, and plane of living; world conferences of church leaders, missionaries, and laymen of all ethnic and racial groups might be called to discuss the global task of the Church and to weld together Christians of various hues and backgrounds.

In its outreach to the non-Christian, the Church in a world of racism and counter-racism needs first to live out the message of God's universal reconciliation in its own inner life. Then some specific concerns of the Church in witnessing to the non-Christian: the special need to reach the marginal person under racism, whose dangling roots need firm ground; the advisability of sending Western Negroes as missionaries where Western Caucasians are not wanted or respected, but Western Negroes are; the need for Christian laity who are alert to the challenge of crossing racial frontiers to witness to Christ wherever they are in the world; the challenge of maintaining patience and an out-going love in the face of extreme racism and counter-racism.

Alert to its responsibilities toward the social order and the moral climate of its land, the Church will surely take bold steps in carrying out its mission to society to re-shape it where racial injustice has disfigured it. But the Church must be clear about its motives and methods.

There are many sound, cogent, rational reasons why the Church should actively seek to establish racial justice, reasons with which God evidently is driving Christians and non-Christians alike to shatter racial injustice. But the primary motive for the Church ought to be Christ and



its new life in Him. For the Church is the body of Christ and simply must express itself in love and concern for people's needs by the proclamation and enactment of the Gospel, God's reconciling love in Christ.



## CHAPTER VII

### SPECIAL STUDY: RACISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is the most blatant expression of Western racism at the present time—and perhaps the most crucial example. This chapter shall attempt to understand the development of racism in South Africa and to apply the general findings of the previous chapters to this specific case.

#### Apartheid in South Africa--A Brief History

At the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective, held at Honolulu in 1954, a Caucasian from South Africa asserted that historical forces in the Union of South Africa make integration impossible. But an African Negro quickly reminded the conference that it is easy to "convince oneself that to account for a thing 'historically' provides for a kind of moral justification for the thing itself."<sup>1</sup>

To study the history of apartheid in South Africa is not to justify it; it is simply to better understand the present status of apartheid.

When Jan van Riebeeck founded a small colony on the Cape in 1652 as a half-way station for the Dutch East Indies Company, the land was sparsely settled by natives. The nearest natives were the Hottentots, with whom the Dutch settlers maintained rather good relations. The Dutch doctor van Meerhof even married a Hottentot girl who had grown up as a servant in Riebeeck's home, indicating the equality with which these ear-

---

<sup>1</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issue on the World Scene (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 38.



ly settlers viewed the natives. A tribe of Bushmen living near the settlement were extremely primitive and hostile toward the settlers. Eventually most of them were killed in their battles with the colonists.<sup>2</sup>

The picture of a small, quiet settlement on the shore of the Cape gradually changed as Dutch farmers began immigrating to the Cape and fanning out northward and eastward in quest for suitable farm lands. By 1770 the trekboers, as the Dutch farmers were called, had pushed eastward enough that they met the Xosa, fierce warrior tribe that had been moving southward through Africa for centuries probably. The Xosa had developed a notable, intricate system of law and custom and defended themselves against the trekboer in bloody, grim battles. It was in the face of the fierce Xosa that the Dutch farmers concluded that apartheid was their key to survival.<sup>3</sup> And so apartheid, the separation of the black from the white, was born as a life-or-death necessity, it seemed.

When the British annexed the Cape colony in the early 1800's (after the Dutch East Africa Company had gone bankrupt), the "century of wrong," as General Smuts calls it, made its debut. The English government administrators brought with them English settlers--and English missionaries. The Dutch farmers did not appreciate the work of the missionaries in their attempt to improve the natives mentally and spiritually. The boers were interested mainly in good workers, little more. And they were incensed by the equality with which the English missionaries, and often the English administrators, dealt with the natives.

---

<sup>2</sup>Alan Paton, The Land and People of South Africa (New York: Lippincott, 1955), pp. 82f.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 86.



One of the first events of the "century of wrong" that drove the wedge between British and boer deeper and that tended to confirm the boer in their apartheid was an event in 1815. A Hottentot servant complained to the government of treatment from his master, Frederick Bezuidenhout. An English officer proceeded to Bezuidenhout's farm with a detail of Hottentot soldiers to arrest the Dutch farmer for mistreating a Hottentot servant! Bezuidenhout resisted arrest with arms and was killed. This aroused the emotions of neighboring boer, who staged a rebellion. In quelling the uprising, the English soldiers hanged five of the boer at Slagter's Nek. The five men were regarded by their fellow boer as martyrs against the government, the missionaries, and the doctrine of equality.<sup>4</sup>

In 1828 missionary influence brought about passage of the Fiftieth Ordinance, which secured the civil rights of the colored people. The Dutch farmers were enraged. They saw the weakening of authority over the Hottentots. They feared increased vagrancy, greater idleness, and shortages of labor.<sup>5</sup>

The slaves of the Colony were freed by edict from England in 1834. And in that same year the Sixth Kaffir War was initiated by the warring Xosas, who drove across the frontier burning, destroying, killing. The Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, fixed a new frontier on the Kei River, but the British government changed this decision in favor of the Xosas and re-set the frontier at the Fish River, its original position. The

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 87ff.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 88f.



British even declared that "The Kaffirs had an ample justification" for the war.<sup>6</sup>

By 1836 the boer had had enough of British government, British missionaries, and British public opinion. Five thousand of them set out on the Great Trek northward out of the reach of English government to organize their own colony. Concerning the underlying causes of this Great Trek, Alan Paton has stated: "There seems to be no doubt that one of the deepest causes of the Great Trek was the implication in British law and administration that white and non-white were in some way equal."<sup>7</sup>

After much struggle with the Bantu tribes, the Voortrekkers (as the boer were called who migrated northward to evade the British) settled down in today's Orange Free State and in the Transvaal. A never-to-be-forgotten calamity occurred when 60 boer, led by Pieter Retief, were annihilated by the Zulu on their way to make a treaty with them. The Zulu King Dingaan then sent 10,000 warriors to wipe out the small settlement from which the 60 boer had come.

Dingaan's action triggered a revenge battle staged by the Voortrekkers, in which Dingaan's army was decisively defeated. This Battle of Blood River occurred on December 16, 1838, and this date is still celebrated by many Afrikaners--for a long time as Dingaan's Day, now as the Day of the Covenant. The day is an offense to the Africans. It means little to the English. But it is a day for Afrikaners to dwell on the enmities of the past and on the necessity for continuing them.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 89f.

<sup>7</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 90.



Boer-British relations grew even worse when the British annexed Natal (on the southeast coast) in response to complaints by some Bantu tribes that the Dutch were attacking them. This action by the British led the Boer Republic to besiege the English settlement of Durban in Natal. After a famous ride by British settler Dick King--600 miles in ten days--the Vortrekkers were beaten back.

Using the excuse that native uprisings in the Boer Republic were endangering the welfare of South Africa, the British annexed Orange Free State and the Transvaal by 1877. In 1880 the Transvaal burghers arose and defeated the British at Majuba. The war ended without a victory, but the Transvaalers did regain self-government and appointed Paul Kruger their leader in 1883.

The friction between British and boer was increased in the 1890's by Britisher Cecil Rhodes, heady with conquest for the British Empire. Finally, in 1899 the Boer Republic declared war on the British. Though there were not many pitched battles, the British committed thousands of Dutch women and children to concentration camps, where conditions were such that many thousands died. The treaty of 1902 returned the Orange Free State and Transvaal to Britain as colonies.

The four British colonies of South Africa (Cape Colony, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Natal) were united in 1910 into a self-governing Union of South Africa. The Afrikaners insisted that no non-whites were to be allowed as members of parliament, but they did allow the Colored (mixed stock including Malay, Negro, and white) of the Cape Colony to retain their franchise.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 91.



The first two Prime Ministers of the Union, Botha and Smuts, leaned somewhat toward the side of the English liberalism, led the Union, by slim majorities, into two world wars on the side of the Allies, much to the open displeasure of many Afrikaners.

When Smuts and his United Party were defeated in 1948 by Malan and his National Party, it was the Union's first complete Afrikaner government. One of the main objectives of this new government was to implement and to solidify the Afrikaner doctrine of apartheid. The present Prime Minister Stirjdom is even more radical in his implementation of apartheid. And there is small hope of breaking the National Party's grip on the government in the foreseeable future. As long as the 1,500,000 Afrikaners vote largely as a block against the 1,100,000 Britons, and as long as the votes are weighted to favor the rural Dutch farmers—as they are now—there is little hope of cracking the Afrikaner hold on the government.<sup>10</sup>

The development and entrenchment of apartheid in the Union of South Africa has been traced largely in terms of the action of two great actors in the drama of South Africa, the English and the Dutch Boer. But a third actor that has had little to say about apartheid in South Africa to date dare not be overlooked, the African. He numbers 8,500,000 of the 12,646,000 total population of the Union. And together with him might be lumped the 360,000 Indians and 40,000 Malays.

Philip Mason, English scholar, in speaking on the apartheid of South Africa, warns that the African must not be left out of the picture, especially not the determined African of today. Mason describes the phe-

---

<sup>10</sup>John Gunther, Inside Africa (New York: Harper Bros., 1953), p. 452.



nomenon of the new African pushing toward independence and self-assertion in this way:

the first factor in the situation is the surging uprush of desire on the part of every African with a smattering of education that his people shall no longer be backward and despised, but shall be a people with a place in this world.

(The African is seeking) an opportunity for education, the chance of progress, a chance to run the country his own way. The last outweighs the others.

A second factor: the crying need of every territory in Africa for capital and technical help.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the history of apartheid shows that the present apartheid of South Africa is chiefly a product of the boer clash with the more primitive natives as this clash was antagonized by English attempts to consider the natives as equals and by a British administration that sometimes treated the boer in cavalier fashion. This is not to say that all Afrikaners agree with the doctrine of apartheid or that all Britons agree with the doctrine of equality. But it is valid to say that it is the Afrikaners, with their bloody clash with the Bantus on the veld still fresh in their memory, who are keeping alive their doctrine of survival: apartheid. And rising determinedly under the heel of apartheid are the masses of Africans. Historically, it is only a matter of time until apartheid will be shattered by the force of the Africans.

#### Apartheid and the Society of South Africa

Like the segregationist in the southern part of the United States,

---

<sup>11</sup>Philip Mason, Christianity and Race (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957), p. 121.



the man supporting apartheid in South Africa maintains that it really is best for the Negro that way. His defense of apartheid consists of the following points:

1. There is no discrimination in the stores. . . .
2. Wages and living standards are high for the Negroes. . . .
3. The natives have a better opportunity for education than the natives of most other African countries. . . .
4. There is a semblance of a Negro press. . . .
5. Negroes serve on the police force (though they are not allowed to carry firearms or to arrest Europeans). . . .
6. Conditions are "good" on the reserves.<sup>12</sup>

And like the defense of the Southern segregationist in the United States this defense of the apartheidist is true only as far as it goes, and it leaves unsaid the sore of injustice. One of the reasons for the apartheidist's half-truth defense is the fact that "the real life of the African—his home, his family, his interests, are as unknown to the European in Johannesburg as they are to the European in Paris," according to Trevor Huddleston.<sup>13</sup>

In its official pamphlets and broadcasts touching the native, the government usually stresses optimistically the general contentment of the Bantu people, who, after all, "are still only children and need a wise parental hand to guide them, a hand that is freely held out to them by a benign government."<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>John Gunther, Inside Africa (New York: Harpers, 1953), pp. 522f.

<sup>13</sup>Trevor Huddleston, Naught for Your Comfort (London: Collins, 1956), p. 47.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 197.



In the face of the people's and the government's strong defense of apartheid and sure certainty of Bantu contentment, the facts do not confirm these views.

John Gunther states in his Inside Africa that the things that "hurt the most" for the Bantus are: (1) police brutality and (2) the pass laws.<sup>15</sup> There is no freedom of movement for the Bantu. He must receive a pass from the government stating where he is allowed to reside, must have the pass renewed periodically, and must carry it with him at all times, ready to produce it at the request of any law officer. Failure to possess a pass, or to have it up-dated is a criminal offense punishable by a few days in prison or a fine of 30 shillings or so. The pass offenses may be prosecuted without any trial. Huddleston gives the following description of a pass case before a magistrate, indicating the root of the bitterness among the Bantu toward the pass laws of South Africa:

Even if, as is generally the case, the magistrate is a just man and an honest, he has no alternative but to administer the law as if he were in care of a turnstile at a football game. "Charge?" "Section 17--vagrancy." "Guilty or not guilty?" The prisoner looks bewildered; the interpreter impatiently snaps out the words again in Xosa or Zulu or Tswana. "Not guilty," and a fumbling attempt to explain why the pass is out of order: a brief intervention by the official who attends the court on behalf of the pass-office authorities. "Thirty shillings or ten days." The prisoner is bundled down the steps to the cells, and another takes his place. His case has taken two minutes. If he is fortunate a friend will pay his fine. If not he will remain in prison till his sentence, and very probably his job, is finished. And so vast a force of able-bodied men is, in fact, compulsorily confined in a building supposed to have half the number: of men who, for the most part, are technical offenders, but who are in South Africa criminals.<sup>16</sup>

Huddleston tells also of a Jacob Ledwaba who was arrested for being

---

<sup>15</sup>Gunther, op. cit., p. 519.

<sup>16</sup>Huddleston, op. cit., pp. 30f.



out after the curfew without his pass and who was so mistreated by the police that he died a few days later of a bladder injury, leaving a widow and a month-old baby.<sup>17</sup> Police brutality and the pass laws seem, indeed, to be the "things that hurt." The Bantus are not really free. Their whole life is controlled by the government.

And there other things that hurt besides the pass laws and police brutality.

Though the natives may have a better opportunity for receiving an education in South Africa than do the natives in other countries of Africa, only a third of the Bantu children have the opportunity to attend school, and a large percentage of them are forced to leave school soon after they start because of economic strictures in the family. In a nation where the ratio of non-European to European is 4-1, the ratio of non-European to European children in school is 2-1. (Children in South African schools in 1951: 540,000 Europeans; 213,000 "mixed;" 800,000 Africans.<sup>18</sup>) An indication of the quality of the teaching done in the native schools may be seen in the fact that in 1951 there were 20,000 teachers for 540,000 European pupils, and there were 19,000 teachers for 1,013,000 non-European children.<sup>19</sup>

To further indicate the unequal educational opportunities for the Bantus it may be stated that in the schoolyear 1951-52 four times as much was spent on European schools as was spent on non-European schools. On

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> Loc. cit.



the higher levels of education only 494 Africans attended the university in the 1951-52 schoolyear compared with 18,000 Europeans.<sup>20</sup>

Some of this educational inequality could be explained by the fact that South Africa may simply lack the finances to offer a high standard of education to a mass of people, many of whom do not contribute to the economy of the nation. But the underlying principle of the government's educational policy becomes evident in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The purpose of the government's education of the Bantus is not to prepare them for a free contribution to the common life of the nation but to prepare them for the unskilled jobs of European employers, for a limited contribution to the life of the Europeans of the nation. Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, in commenting on the Bantu Education Act (by which the government assumed complete control of all the mission schools), states clearly that the government has no intentions of offering an equal education to Africans:

the school must equip him (the native) to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him. . . . There is no place for the native in the European society above the level of certain forms of labor.<sup>21</sup>

A man who lives as close to the thinking of the Africans as anyone, Trevor Huddleston states that the African realizes that the government's educational plans for the native amounts to an "education for servitude." Huddleston is convinced that the Bantu Education Act and its implementation "are the beginning of a resistance movement amongst the African people; that however outwardly compliant they may be, there burns beneath

---

<sup>20</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>Huddleston, op. cit., p. 159.



the surface a fire of fierce resentment, which one day will get out of control."<sup>22</sup>

An example of how completely the government intends to control and to limit the education of the Bantus is its refusal to allow Stephen Ramasodi to attend Kent School, Connecticut, on an all-expenses-paid scholarship.<sup>23</sup>

Whatever Europeans in South Africa say about the excellent educational opportunities for the Africans, the plain truth shows that not only are these opportunities woefully unequal with those of the whites but the government has no intention of ever allowing the opportunities to be equal. The native is to be kept in his place.

Apartheid in South Africa produces unequal opportunities for employment also. In 1955, for instance, 83 per cent of all European employees were skilled, whereas only 4 per cent of all African employees were skilled.<sup>24</sup> This low proportion of skilled African labor is not the result of the African's inabilities but of the European's pressure to keep him out of positions that would place him on a higher plane than some unskilled white laborer.

Perhaps the white South African can defend apartheid by claiming that the natives are receiving "high wages" and are raising their living standards. But the other side of the coin shows that the European has placed a ceiling on his wages and on his opportunities to contribute to

---

<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>24</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 35.



the economy of the nation.

Besides gross inequalities in education and in employment, South African apartheid produces glaring inequalities in housing. In many of the rural native communities, the Bantus are allowed to build and to maintain their own homes, but in the native suburbs of the urban centers the natives are told where they are to live. These urban "locations," as they are officially called in contrast to the "city" where the European lives, might more aptly be termed "shantytowns."

The urban locations for the natives are usually composed of tiny shacks, most often made of corrugated iron, with one room about 12 x 12. The shanties are placed very close together along unnamed, dirt streets without sidewalks. The "houses" seldom have running water or latrines of any sort.<sup>25</sup>

In an official report of the Johannesburg City Housing Committee it was stated that a population estimated at 34,000 men, women, and children "share between them 561 of these foul and disgusting latrines," whose unimaginably unsanitary conditions were described earlier in the report.<sup>26</sup>

There are four principal locations in one area of the outskirts of Johannesburg: Moroka (population 54,000); Jabavu (31,000); Orlando (97,000); and Pinville (24,000). Orlando is the only location of the four that has a few street lights. All except Orlando are fenced in with wire. Moroka has no electricity except at a social service center. Moroka and Jabavu together have one clinic for 85,000 people. Orlando

---

<sup>25</sup> Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 507.



has one movie theater and one telephone for a population of 100,000.<sup>27</sup>

Sophiatown, also a Bantu location at the edge of Johannesburg, has become a living enactment of the government's apartheid policy to keep the natives' living standards below those of the average European city. The "Western Areas Removal Scheme" decrees that Sophiatown must be demolished, that her entire population must be removed to another location. Unlike all other native locations, Sophiatown contains Africans who own their own land and homes. And it was this fact of native ownership and permanency coupled with the fact that Sophiatown lies very close to European communities that caused apartheid South Africa to decree the death of Sophiatown. In the judgment of Huddleston, this uprooting of 60,000 people at the whim of white apartheid "will one day be recognized as a major issue of race relations in South Africa."<sup>28</sup> Though many of the inhabitants of Sophiatown are being moved from hovels to better places to live, the demolition of Sophiatown is a slap in the face of the Bantu, a slap that places the name Sophiatown on the same level with the name Little Rock.

Under all this steel-like domination of apartheid the African is squirming violently. But it is difficult, almost impossible for him to express himself. Huddleston believes that one of the most crucial points in the rising surge of self-determinism among the Africans is the fact that they are still looking for a leader.<sup>29</sup> Not that there are no able,

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 506.

<sup>28</sup> Huddleston, op. cit., p. 183.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 251.



well-educated leaders available. But it is difficult for an African leader to make himself known to his people by words or by deeds. Under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, the government may "name" anyone a Communist and strictly curtail his movement so that he is allowed to make no public appearances, not even in church.

The African National Congress was formed already in 1912 to further the cause of the African. It now includes over 100,000 members. It is not outlawed by the Afrikaner government, but its leaders are closely watched. In describing the thinking of this main organization for African expression, Alan Paton has this to say:

it appears at the moment that there is a struggle within the African National Congress itself, and that three ideas struggle to possess the African soul. One is the Communist ideal of the triumph of the proletariat. One is the Nationalist ideal of Africa for the African. One is the ideal of the Common Society.

One thing is certain, apartheid is not one of the ideals that will possess the African mind.<sup>30</sup>

To counteract the natural drive of the African for freedom, the government, it has been noted, has attempted to completely control the life of the African. Below are some of the official attempts of the South African legislature to keep the African in the straitjacket of apartheid:

Group Areas Act, 1950--Strict segregation required in residential and business sections of cities and towns.

Suppression of Communism Act, 1950--Any person "named" as a Communist is forbidden to hold any position in public service or trade union. Under the guise of this Act many African leaders have been severely suppressed.

---

<sup>30</sup>Alan Paton, The Land and People of South Africa (New York: Lippincott, 1955), p. 135.



Population Registration Act, 1950--Classification of population according to races required--to keep Colored from passing as whites.

Immorality Amendment Act, 1950--Intercourse between different races is illegal.

The Separate Amenities Act, 1953--The separate facilities for Africans and Europeans that had always existed are legalized.

Public Safety and Criminal Amendment Act, 1953, with amendments to Riotous Assemblies Act--Penalties spelled out for anyone protesting the racial laws.

Bantu Education Act, 1953--The government is given complete control of all schools with the avowed intent of limiting the education of the Africans to the level of unskilled labor.

Separate Registration of Voters Act, 1951--The purpose of this bill was to disfranchise 48,000 Colored voters in Cape Province.

High Court of Parliament Act, 1952--Parliament is set up as higher authority than Supreme Court.<sup>31</sup>

In Race Issues on the World Scene, Melvin Conant aptly analyzes the impossible status which apartheidists are attempting to nurture:

The base of African society is changing perceptibly; it is patently not a foundation on which a durable, developing, and democratic society can be based if one group (white) attempts to determine the permanent status of others (black, Asian, colored, or mixed).<sup>32</sup>

Alan Paton analyzes the illusions of apartheid in much the same way:

We have a hard lesson to learn and that is that the enforcement of racial purity by law requires racial domination; and racial domination will bring racial revolution. In other words the pursuit of

---

<sup>31</sup>Gunther, op. cit., p. 481.

<sup>32</sup>Conant, op. cit., p. 33.



racial purity does not lead to racial peace. Yet many Afrikaner Nationalists suppose this to be the case.<sup>33</sup>

Apartheid in South African society may be summed up as the placing of a lid on the freedom and opportunities of the African people by the Europeans with the aim of keeping Europeans in the driver's seat of South African economy and society. But actually this is not only unjust, but it is contrary to man's nature and to the nature of history to expect a people as great in number as the Bantu to remain suppressed forever. The question is not whether apartheid will last. The question is how much longer can apartheid possibly last? Some say 25 years. Some say 50. Some say 100.

In keeping with the purpose of this paper, it is important that a few observations be made concerning the similarities and the dissimilarities in the situations of South Africa and of the American South.

Some of the dissimilarities of the racial situations in South Africa and in the American South:

--The Negro-white proportion in South Africa is 4-1, whereas in the American South it is only little more than 1-4. In other words, in the American South Negroes are a minority; in South Africa the whites are the minority. Not too much can be objectively deduced from this fact except that the whites' fear of being swamped and dominated by the Negro is probably intensified in South Africa by the high ratio of Negroes.

--South Africa has no large section of the nation pressuring against its apartheid as does the American South with the unanimous thrust of the

---

<sup>33</sup>Faton, op. cit., p. 135.



northern and western states against its segregation. South African apartheidists may intensify their program of segregation with only isolated bits of opposition here and there.

--The American South has no church that officially takes a stand supporting segregation. But the South African apartheidists have the strong, official support of the Dutch Reformed Church.

--The Negroes of South Africa are not as culturally and educationally advanced as the Negroes in the American South, nor have they had nearly the freedom and opportunities that the Negroes in the American South have had. These facts make it easier, perhaps, for the South African white to affirm the "inferiority" of the Negro, though the American white in the South has little trouble affirming the Negro's "inferiority" in the face of all the Negro's cultural development.

--The American South does not have the bitter memories of Negro-white battles, where white families were massacred by the Negroes, as do the whites of South Africa. However, not too much can be made of this point when one considers how quickly America has forgotten the clashes with the American Indian.

--The American white South is not divided within itself by bitterness between two ethnic groups, as is South Africa. This fact means that in South Africa the racial issues are often clouded by ethnic animosities.

--The segregation of the American South allows much more freedom to the Negro than does the apartheid of South Africa. This fact should make it easier for the white American South to justify its segregation than for the white South Africa to justify its apartheid. This fact also



that the resistance of the Negro to apartheid will likely be more intense than the Southern Negro's resistance to segregation in America. The South African Negro's bitterness will be the sharper, too.

The similarities in the racial situations of South Africa and of America are more striking and more revealing than the dissimilarities:

--The underlying motives and goals of the white South African apartheidists and of the segregationists of the American South are basically the same. These whites want to remain in complete control of the economy and of the society and do not want to be "swamped" by the "black hordes." The whites of the American South use segregation to carry out their desires; the whites of South Africa use apartheid to carry out their desires. The desires are the same: a society ruled by the whites alone.

--The apartheidists use much the same defense of their system of racial separation as do the segregationists of the American South. "God doesn't want the races all mixed up, or He wouldn't have made them so different." "You wouldn't want your sister to marry a Negro would you?" "The Negroes are very content with apartheid. They don't want any sort of integration. Ask one of them sometime." "The Negro is incompetent, untrustworthy, immoral."<sup>34</sup> There seems to be no argument in defense of segregation or apartheid that is not common to both South Africans and to Southern Americans.

--Both apartheidists and segregationists are ignorant of the thinking and of the conditions and of the abilities of the Negro. Because of the wall that apartheid and segregation have erected between Negro and

---

<sup>34</sup> Gunther, op. cit., pp. 463ff.



white, the whites--in South Africa and in the American South--do not really know the Negro, though the apartheidists and the segregationists both claim to know the Negro better than anyone else.

--The governments of most of the Southern states parallel the government of South Africa in enforcing rigidly their own brand of segregation, making it very difficult for anyone--white or black--to jump the bounds of segregation. The strong segregationist stands of the governments of the Southern states and of South Africa lead to the same type of tension between races, though in varying degrees.

--The American South, though its brand of segregation seems not to be as strict as the apartheid of South Africa, has much the same rules for Negro-white relationships as has South Africa. A white man is not to shake hands with a Negro; he is not ever to sit at a table and eat with a Negro; he is not to have any type of recreation with a Negro; he is to limit his associations with Negroes strictly to business; he is not to go to church with a Negro. These rules for Negro-white relations are common to the segregation of the American South and to the apartheid of South Africa. Actually, the Negro is treated much the same by the white person under apartheid as he is by the white person under Southern segregation.

--The white segregationists of the American South and the white apartheidists of South Africa both reflect an ignorance of or an indifference toward the world situation. That segregation and apartheid may steer the young nations of the world away from hypocritical democracy to the promises of Communism seems not to matter--neither to South Africa nor to the American South. Neither the Christians of the American South nor Christians of South Africa seem to be aware of the fact that many



people of Africa and of the East are judging Christ and Christianity as loveless simply because of the American South's segregation and South Africa's apartheid.

In summary, it may be stated that the segregation of the American South differs from the apartheid of South Africa in several instances of historical background and the degree to which the Negro is being suppressed. But essentially the motives and the goals that underly the two systems and the code of behavior for inter-racial relationships under the segregation of the American South and under the apartheid of South Africa are the same.

#### Apartheid and the Church of South Africa

"Since the Nationalist government of South Africa contains a proportion of Christians in official positions, including a number of former clergymen," writes Liston Pope, "the situation (apartheid) seems ironic to many observers."<sup>35</sup>

The "ironic" existence of apartheid in the midst of a government directed by a high proportion of Christians can be explained by the official view of apartheid taken by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. In his Inside Africa, John Gunther states that the Dutch Reformed Church, a strict Calvinist body of the fundamentalistic type, teaches frankly that Negroes are an inferior race, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," who must be segregated.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup>Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Gaste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 140.

<sup>36</sup>John Gunther, Inside Africa (New York: Harper, 1953), p. 461.



This is the official statement drawn up by the church's Commission on Current Problems:

Every nation and race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the world if it keeps its own natural attributes, received from God's own hand, pure with honor and gratitude. . . . God divided humanity into races, languages, and nations. Differences are not only willed by God but are perpetuated by Him. Equality between natives, Coloreds, and Europeans includes a misappreciation of the fact that God in His providence made people into different races and nations. . . . Far from the Word of God encouraging equality, it is an established Christian principle that in every community ordination there is a fixed relationship between authorities. . . . Those who are culturally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and protection of the less advanced. . . . The natives must be led and formed toward independence so that eventually they will be equal to the Europeans, but each on their own territory and each serving God and their own fatherland.<sup>37</sup>

Trevor Huddleston, outspoken Anglican pastor in an African community who opposes apartheid, rightly criticizes the Reformed statement for omitting the impact of the incarnation of God in Christ upon Christians' relations with other people.

Even with the Dutch Reformed Church there are a few voices opposed to theological support of apartheid. Prof. B. B. Keet, quoted in Chapter IV, urged in an address at Pretoria in 1953, that there is no Scriptural foundation for apartheid.<sup>38</sup>

The principle of racial separation has been repudiated by other Protestant bodies, as well as by the Roman Catholic Church, but these churches differ little from the Reformed Church in the actual composition of church attendance and church membership.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup>Huddleston, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>38</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>39</sup>Pope, op. cit., p. 141.



The Methodist Church in South Africa, the Congregational Union of South Africa, the Baptist Union, the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, and the Christian Council of South Africa (representing 23 Protestant denominations) have all spoken out against the injustice and the evils of apartheid.<sup>40</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church have undoubtedly gone the farthest in their denunciation of apartheid. In the summer of 1957 the Roman Catholic bishops and archbishops in South Africa appealed to all white South Africans to consider fully "what apartheid means—its evils and anti-Christian character, the injustices that flow from it, the resentment and bitterness that it arouses, the harvest it must produce," and then the hierarchy demanded "an immediate change in the government's racial policy before the whole country faces a holocaust."<sup>41</sup>

On July 14, 1957, a letter was read from all Anglican pulpits in South Africa counseling defiance of the law of the state which barred Negroes from attending churches in white communities. "No state can tell any church who can worship in or join that church," the Anglicans affirmed. A week later the Roman Catholic Church advised its members, too, to defy the laws of the state in regard to church attendance and membership.<sup>42</sup>

In describing the Christian church of South Africa in the midst of the nation's system of apartheid, Huddleston is very much perturbed about

---

<sup>40</sup>"South African Churches Race Against Time," Christian Century, LXXIV (July 31, 1957), p. 910.

<sup>41</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 910ff.



the absence of any deep sense of urgency.

It is not that white Christians are bad; very far from it. It is simply that they fail to see the relevance of their faith to social problems. Just as in the England of Wilberforce, there were those who defended slavery from the highest motives.<sup>43</sup>

Huddleston points out concretely how Christian complacency is so evil and how it is so contradictory to one's Christian faith:

It is a mockery of God to tell people to be honest and pure and good if you are making these things impossible by consenting to the evil of bad housing. "Consenting," in Johannesburg, is the operative word.<sup>44</sup>

In his own personal attempt to overcome this characteristic Christian apathy, Huddleston has used all sorts of methods to combat apartheid, including direct criticism and opposition to the government. In defending his own direct approach over against those Christians who say that only the Gospel is to be used as a means, he roundly condemns the apathy of the Church:

I am not trying to fight the religious conviction of the Calvinist Afrikaner by any other means than the proclamation of the Catholic faith. But I do not for that reason believe it to be wrong, or foolish, or un-Christian to try to strike from the hand of white South Africa the weapons which not only wound and hurt the African every day, but also must ultimately destroy civilization on the sub-continent.<sup>45</sup>

For Huddleston this complacency of the Christian church toward apartheid is a most noticeable and alarming characteristic.

Huddleston is also concerned that the white Christians of South Africa do not realize their loss in apartheid. The African has much to

---

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 231.



offer to the white man to enrich his spiritual, cultural, and social life, but the white man seems to be totally unaware of this, largely because he has never really gotten to know the African.<sup>46</sup>

A very significant point that Huddleston makes in his Naught for Your Comfort concerning the Church and apartheid is a positive point on the role of the Church in the life of the African under apartheid and under the disrupting forces of urbanization. Huddleston believes that the Church is "the only thing which is meeting the need for a sense of 'community' of 'belonging' in the broken and shattered tribalism of the town-dwelling African."<sup>47</sup> In other words, the Caucasian church of South Africa has an excellent opportunity to reach out into the urban African communities with the Gospel and with the fellowship of Christian love, for the Africans, suddenly yanked from their cohesive tribes and placed into an individualistic "location," feel a great need for a sense of belonging.

In summary of this section on the Church and the apartheid of South Africa it may be stated that all Christian churches, except the Dutch Reformed Church, have clearly opposed the injustice of apartheid in official pronouncements, and a few isolated Christian congregations, pastors, and laymen have acted accordingly. However, there is a pervading note of ignorance and complacency among white Christians concerning the evils of apartheid. Among those who do seem to see the urgency of the situation, there is a disagreement on methods to be used to combat the injustice of apartheid. Probably the event that has aroused Christian action the most

---

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 136.



in recent months has been the government's attempt to exclude Negroes from attendance and membership in white churches.

### The Apartheid of South Africa and the World

If the apartheid of South Africa should cause the Africans to turn to Communism or to turn partly away from Christianity, this would certainly be to the detriment of the people of South Africa and a blow to world democracy and to world Christianity. And these world-shaking possibilities are coming closer and closer to realities.

In 1953 John Gunther, after a trip through Africa, stated that South Africa was the only country south of the Sahara where the potential Communist threat was substantial.<sup>48</sup> Gunther was convinced at that time that if South Africa goes Communist, apartheid will be the cause of it:

. . . They were tough in a peculiar, slaphappy way, well trained in the Communist dialectic, fixed in their ideas, and confident.

No one need ask why young Africans are so misguided as to become Communists. They have nothing else to turn to, nowhere else to go. The wonder is that there are not more of them. If South Africa goes Communist, it will be apartheid's fault.<sup>49</sup>

An indication that apartheid could easily turn many Africans from Christianity is found in the results of a recent anthropological inquiry. African children at a secondary school were unanimous that Africans were superior to Europeans in generosity, kindness, and hospitality.<sup>50</sup> Certainly the African children had this stereotyped view of Europeans be-

---

<sup>48</sup>Gunther, op. cit., p. 538.

<sup>49</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>50</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 11.



cause of the walls of apartheid. And since the European's way of life is considered the Christian way of life by most non-Westerners, it is one easy step for the African to reject Christianity because of the seeming inferiority of the European's moral life.

That apartheid seems to be driving the Negroes of South Africa to Communism and away from Christianity cannot be denied. And that such tendencies are dangerous to world goals of democracy and Christianity, cannot be denied.

It must be stressed that neither the dangers of apartheid to world Christianity nor to world democracy should be considered primary motivations for Christians to work toward the elimination of apartheid. The primary motivation for Christians' active, apartheid-shattering love can only be the love of God in Christ--motivating Christians to be what they are, witnesses to the forgiving love of Christ, doers of justice. Nevertheless it is good that Christians see the inevitable results of apartheid if they have any doubts about its evil.

The injustice of apartheid and its dangers to world democracy and Christianity have been felt by nations around the world.

The Asian-African Conference, meeting at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, "extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the people of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa."<sup>51</sup>

The All-Africa Lutheran Mission Conference at Marangu Teachers College in Tanganyika, in November, 1955, requested the Africans present at

---

<sup>51</sup>Carlos P. Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 98.



the conference to draw up statements on the major problems confronting the Church in Africa. The fifth and last point made by this all-African session was the "conviction that the proclamation of the Gospel would gain a larger hearing through a more decided demonstration against all forms of race discrimination on the part of missionaries."<sup>52</sup> The African delegates undoubtedly had South Africa in mind when they formulated this fifth statement.

A French official in Dakar, French West Africa, when asked what he thought of South Africa's white leaders, expressed his own conviction concerning the effect of apartheid on all Africans: "They (the white leaders of South Africa) are the greatest danger to the white man ever known on this continent because they will make Africans everywhere in Africa anti-white."<sup>53</sup>

Mohammedans and Buddhists, in criticizing the racial discrimination of Western nations such as South Africa, often make much of the fact that their religions have never practised any sort of racial discrimination whereas Christianity has. Philip Mason is convinced that the Buddhists' and Hindus' "self-righteous" judgment of the South African situation is not really valid. Mason believes that neither Islam nor Buddhism has been in the same situation as has Christianity in South Africa.

Mason first stresses that he thinks that there is no fundamental difference between animosities arising between groups on account of race, and animosities arising between groups on account of social class, lan-

---

<sup>52</sup>Carl E. Lund-Quist, Lutheran Churches of the World (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957), p. 270.

<sup>53</sup>Gunther, op. cit., p. 544.



guage, or religion. And, of course, Islam and Buddhism are guilty of discrimination on these three latter counts. Secondly, Mason believes, the real situation that gives rise to racial discrimination is the meeting of a people who are technically advanced, socially competitive, and individualistic, with a people technically backward and socially static. The Buddhist and Mohammedan peoples have never been brought into such sharp technical and social differences as have the European people in Africa, Mason asserts. And thirdly, Mason points out, racial intolerance does not usually become vocal and militant where the power of the state is secure and authoritarian, but it does take on the form of riot where power is likely to change hands or where the prospect of democracy whips up rivalry. Of course, Buddhism and Islam have not until recently been under any other sort of government than the authoritarian. Hence, Mason believes that Buddhism and Islam cannot rightly contrast their non-racism with the racism of such a Western nation as South Africa.<sup>54</sup>

Regardless of whether or not other religions or other peoples have ever been under circumstances similar to those of Europeans in South Africa, the fact remains that the world outside Africa, especially the non-Western world, senses deeply the injustice of South Africa's apartheid. The Christians sense the harm done by apartheid to Christianity. The lovers of individual freedom sense the harm done to their cause by apartheid. The question is: What can the rest of the world do to foster justice in South Africa?

Philip Mason, in his Christianity and Race, urges caution in criti-

---

<sup>54</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 16.



cism and a tentative and understanding advice from the outside. But he insists on no compromise in principles--no compromise with the government's attacks on liberties, "which are wrong by every moral standard."<sup>55</sup>

Trevor Huddleston makes a small, concrete suggestion to the rest of the world in urging that the doors of international sports be opened to Africans from the Union and that possibly a boycott against white South Africa by the rest of the world would hasten the day when Africans can participate in world sporting events.<sup>56</sup>

But Huddleston, one of the few white men in South Africa who lives with the Africans and who knows them, commits no circumlocutions in making it a matter of conscience for the world to oppose the present government of South Africa:

I would not dare to say. . . that I can prophesy when and in what form the inevitable revolt against present policies will come. That it will come I am entirely convinced. That there is no time to lose in breaking the present government I am also convinced. And unlike many, whose opinions I greatly respect, I believe that to do this the whole weight of world influence and world opinion should be brought to bear. If this is disloyalty to South Africa, then I am disloyal. I prefer to believe, however, that Christians are called to a higher obedience, a more profound patriotism than that due to a 'de facto' government.<sup>57</sup>

Though Huddleston does not spell out how the world might bring its whole weight to bear on the apartheid of South Africa, it may be safely stated that he implies UN statement and action and United States statement and action. In 1953 John Gunther reported that South Africans were "much puzzled by American attitudes." Nobody was able to figure what

---

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>56</sup>Huddleston, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 20.



America's policy was.<sup>58</sup> But after the Supreme Court decision of 1954, surely South Africa knows where America stands by conviction. And if and when America puts into practise her conviction South Africa will know for certain where America stands.

In summary, it must be stated that world Christianity and world democracy suffer much at the hands of South Africa's apartheid, and it seems clear that the whole world must bring every pressure to bear on the injustice of apartheid.

#### Summary

In the history of apartheid in South Africa one sees how the separation of races grew out of the bloody clashes between the Afrikaner boer and the fierce Bantus. The boer quickly drew up what they thought was the charter of their survival: apartheid. The English government was always despised by the Afrikaner for its "pampering" of the natives and for its doctrine of racial equality. The Afrikaner-British friction still exists today and tends to becloud and to intensify the racial issue. The Afrikaner government that has been in power since 1948 is growing more and more radical in its suppression of the natives. The history of South Africa explains the evolvment of apartheid, but it does not justify it.

Apartheid in the society of South Africa amounts to a literal control of the natives by the Europeans—a control of their education, employment opportunities, housing, and nearly all areas of life. But 8,000,000 Negroes cannot be suppressed by 2,000,000 whites without any

---

<sup>58</sup> Gunther, op. cit., p. 544.



sign of resistance from the suppressed. The African National Congress, with nearly 100,000 members, and other smaller native organizations, including Communist groups, are expressing their resentment toward the infringement of the government upon their drive for self-determination. It is only a matter of time before apartheid must crumble. The radical control of the individual African by the present Afrikaner government may force the racial issue to a head much faster than a more moderate control of the African would.

In comparing the apartheid of South Africa with the segregation of America's South, one may see differences in the amount of control exercised by the government on the Negro and in the historical roots of the two different systems. But at the bottom of apartheid and segregation are the same motives and goals: the white man wants to remain in complete control of the economy, culture, and society. The South African has evolved apartheid. The American Southerner has evolved segregation.

The churches of South Africa have nearly all spoken out against apartheid--all except the Dutch Reformed, which stands rather adamantly on the grounds that apartheid is Scripturally right. The actual practise of the individual congregations in membership and attendance has been largely that of apartheid even in the Anglican and Roman Catholic congregations, in which churches the stand against apartheid has been the strongest. The most aggressive step taken by the Christian churches to date in their attack on the radical racism of the Afrikaner regime has been the advice of the Anglican and Roman Catholic hierarchy to their local parishes to defy the governmental ruling that there was to be racially mixed attendance or membership in the churches. Trevor Huddleston,



Anglican priest in an African community, believes that the churches must withstand the injustice of apartheid and of the government that is pushing it, much more courageously than they have in the past.

The purpose of this paper has been to delineate the changing world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism. To achieve my object to reach this goal by studying first the history of racism and counter-racism and by discovering the impact of Western racism and the Christian world mission upon each other. Though many generalizations are contained in the judgments here, they are made by the author on the basis of his available data and secondary source material, the general conclusions of each chapter, which follow in various forms, are rather clear.

Chapter II. The Beginnings of Racism: Racism is the belief that one ethnic or "racial" group is inherently superior, while another is inherently inferior. Though there is only one known family with more than one defined racial division, and though there is no such thing as a "pure race," racial differences have become centers of friction, at least of some kind, in nearly every nation of the world. The beginning of racism may be seen in the extreme sense of superiority found in some tribes and nations from the beginning of history. The Afrocentricity of the world from the time of Moses onward is an early form of ethnic racism. One of the first contributors to early ethnic racism is the Black system of caste and slavery, which probably arose partly as a result of a racial divide created by light-skinned Aryan invaders. Ethnic racism will continue to increase both in any places of the world. One of the most serious and widespread forms of racism is the unbridled racism of Europe and America, and in the Near East, where the Turkification and Arabization



## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper has been to determine the Christian world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism. The author has sought to reach this goal by studying first the history of racism and counter-racism and by discovering the impact of Western racism and the Christian world mission upon each other. Though many generalizations and subjective judgments have been made by the author on the basis of his available data and secondary source material, the general conclusions of each chapter, which follow in summary form, are rather clear.

Chapter II, The Beginnings of Racism: Racism is the belief that one ethnic or "racial" group is innately superior, while another is innately inferior. Though there is only one human family with three vaguely defined racial strains, and though there is no such thing as a "pure race," racial differences have become centers of friction, or at least of concern, to nearly every nation of the world. The beginnings of racism may be seen in the extreme sense of superiority found in many tribes and nations from the beginning of history. The ultra-alooofness of the Jews from the time of Moses onward is an early form of ethnic racism. One of the few exceptions to early ethnic racism is the Hindu system of castes and outcaste, which probably arose partly as a result of a color racism displayed by light-skinned Aryan invaders. Ethnic racism still exists in dangerous forms in many places of the world. Some of the explosive areas are Southeast Asia with its unassimilated pockets of Chinese and Indians, and in the Near East, where the Turkish-Greek and Arab-Christian,



Arab-Jewish clashes are the most tense forms of racism.

Chapter III, The Rise of Western Racism and Non-Western Counter-

Racism: Western color racism began to develop as bulging Europe sent out people into the New World, into Africa, into Asia, into the Pacific, to build empires. Catapulted into the midst of people with completely different, static cultures, Europeans gradually decided that Caucasians are innately superior to peoples of color. Gobineau was the first to articulate the Western doctrine of congenital inequality of races--in the 1850's.

The "white Australia" policy, South African apartheid, and American segregation are some of the most critical forms of Western racism today.

It is natural that peoples of color, oppressed by Western racism and colonialism, should attempt to throw off the Western yoke and strive for independence. It is also natural that in attempting to throw off the yoke, non-Westerners should retaliate with a counter-racism, which believes that all whites are "dogs," whereas all colored peoples are people of integrity. Some of the most radical nationalists and counter-racists are the marginals, often Christians, who have been frustrated in their attempts to become a part of the "white man's world." The separatist churches of southern Africa seem often to be outlets for marginals frustrated by Western racism. Counter-racism on a global scale could be highly explosive.

The examples of non-racism in Brazil and all of Latin America, in Hawaii, in Russia, and in New Zealand show the importance of culture, church, politics, and economics in shaping a racially integrated society. These examples prove that racism is not innate, but is largely a



cultural attitude handed down as a legacy from generation to generation.

The causes of racism and non-racism are strands in a closely woven texture, and one pulls them apart at the risk of forgetting the whole picture. The causes from sinful humanity, especially, are often forgotten in favor of the more abstract causes from economics, politics, culture, and history--as though the complex pressures of economics, politics, culture, and history were not affected by sinful human nature. The Church, aware of its Gospel dynamic and actively engaged in shaping society, can be a positive force in combating racism and fostering non-racism.

Chapter IV, The Church's Role in Western Racism and the Revolution of the Non-West: The Church has contributed to the growth of Western racism, and at the same time, it has opposed Western racism.

The Church has contributed to Western racism through her shallow theology; through ignorance, apathy, and cultural conformity; through an over-emphasis on individualism, ethnocentrism, denominationalism, and legalism; through a conscious, or unconscious, identity with Western colonialism; and through a distorted doctrine of humility which encouraged the colored races not to say "a mumblin' word" to their white oppressors.

At the same time the Church has in many places opposed Western racism by means of a rather solid theology, relating the issue of racism to the central teachings of Christianity and, especially, clarifying the doctrine of the Church; by means of clear, forthright statements condemning specific types of Western racial discrimination; by means of Christian life and action; and by cracking language and culture barriers



that once separated many peoples from the mainstream of humanity.

The Church has also opposed Western racism unconsciously by stimulating and leading, to a large degree, the current revolution of the non-West against Western colonialism and racism. The Church's high value on the individual person; its educational system, which trained marginals who turned leaders of the revolution; its disintegration of primitive non-Western society, which led to a nationalistic reaction against white domination;--all are ways in which the Church has helped trigger the revolution of the non-West and the concomitant crushing of Western racism.

Chapter V, The Interaction of Western Racism and the Christian World

Mission: Western racism has affected Western churches in their program--attendance and membership policies of local congregations, missionary sending policies, and missionary attitudes and policies abroad. But more important, Western racism has affected the inner life of the Western churches and their members by depriving them of the spiritual enrichment of colored Christians and by encouraging in Christians' hearts a cancerous inconsistency between creed and life.

The churches of the non-West have felt the impact of Western racism in varying degrees, according to locale. The common reaction of non-Western Christians to Western racism is bewilderment as to how Christians can act this way. Bitterness, disgust, and resignation to the status quo are other reactions of non-Western Christians. None seem to suggest that Western racism might be Christian. Rather, most think that it is a hindrance to the growth of the Church throughout the world.

The non-Christian of the non-West has varying reactions to Western



racism. But if Western racism makes any impact at all on the non-Christian, it is never a boost to his acceptance of the Gospel, and sometimes it is a definite block. The impact of Western racism seems to be felt especially by the literate and the more educated.

The Christian world mission has served to dull the edge of Western racism through the ecumenical movement and through Western missionaries abroad who have become aware of the offensive nature of Western racism among non-Westerners and who have exerted pressure to curb racism in Western churches.

Chapter VI, The Christian World Mission in a World of Racism and Counter-Racism: The Christian world mission in a world of racism and counter-racism is both the proclamation and the enactment of God's universal forgiving grace in Jesus Christ.

In its mission to itself the Church must speak this message of God's universal grace clearly and intelligently to matters of race, racism, and counter-racism. And then it must act out this message on the congregational level and on the level of national and global leadership. Among other things this means that the curricula of Christian schools should include studies in non-Western culture and in race; attendance and membership in congregations will not be barred to any racial or ethnic group; Western missionaries working among non-Western peoples will seek to identify themselves as much as possible with their community in matters of housing and plane of living; world conferences of church leaders, missionaries, and laymen of all ethnic and racial groups might be called to discuss the global task of the Church and to weld together Christians of various backgrounds and hues. The Church's mission to itself in mat-



ters of race is of primary importance. For only where the Church's inner life is striking a clear note in the area of race can it hope to leaven the world around it.

In its outreach to the non-Christian, the Church in a world of racism and counter-racism must, therefore, first live out the message of God's universal reconciliation in its own inner life. Then the Church should consider specific needs in witnessing to the non-Christian: the special need of the marginal person under racism, whose dangling roots need firm ground; the advisability of sending Western Negroes as missionaries where Western Caucasians are not wanted or respected, but Western Negroes are; the need for Christian laity who are alert to the challenge of crossing racial frontiers to witness to Christ wherever they are in the world; the challenge of maintaining patience and an out-going love in the face of extreme racism and counter-racism.

The Church, alert to its responsibilities toward the social order and the moral climate of its land, will surely take distinct steps in carrying out its mission to society to re-shape it where racial injustice has disfigured it. But the Church must be clear about its motives and methods, as well as its goals.

There are many sound, cogent, rational reasons why the Church should actively seek to establish racial justice, reasons with which God is evidently driving Christians and non-Christians alike to shatter racial injustice. But the primary motive of the Church ought to be Christ and its new life in Him. For the Church is the body of Christ and simply must express itself in love and concern for people's needs by the proclamation and enactment of the Gospel, God's reconciling love in Christ.



Chapter VII, Special Study: Racism and Christianity in South Africa:

The evolution of apartheid in South Africa can be explained historically, but it cannot be justified by history. The first scattered European settlements along the southern coasts maintained fairly good relations with the Africans, even to the extent of intermarriage. But when the immigrants came en masse and began moving inland, desire for land and bloody clashes between fierce Bantu and stubborn Afrikaner boer led to strict separation of the races. The English government's attempt at racial equality infuriated the Dutch boer and was one of the factors which led to the Boer Wars and to the independence of South Africa. The Afrikaner-British friction still exists today and tends to becloud and to intensify the racial issue. The Afrikaner government that has been in power since 1948 is growing more and more radical in its suppression of the natives so that South Africa holds an undisputed first place in examples of extreme Western racism.

Apartheid in the society of South Africa amounts to a literal control of the natives by the Europeans--a control of their education, employment opportunities, housing, and nearly all areas of life. But 8,000,000 Africans cannot be suppressed by 2,000,000 whites without any signs of resistance from the oppressed. The African National Congress, with nearly 100,000 members, and other smaller native organizations, including Communist groups, are expressing their resentment toward the infringement of the government upon their drive for self-determination. It is only a matter of time before apartheid must crumble. The radical control of the individual African by the present Afrikaner government may force the racial issue to a head much faster than a more moderate control



of the African would.

In comparing the apartheid of South Africa with the segregation of America's South, one may see differences in the amount of control exercised by the government on the Negro and in the historical roots of the two systems. But at the bottom of apartheid and segregation are the same motives and goals: the white man wants to remain in complete control of the economy, culture, and society.

The churches of South Africa have nearly all spoken out against apartheid--all except the Dutch Reformed, which stands rather adamantly on the grounds that apartheid is Scripturally right. The actual practise of the individual congregations, in membership and attendance, has been largely that of apartheid, even in the Anglican and Roman Catholic congregations, whose leaders have taken the strongest stand against apartheid. The most aggressive step taken by the Christian churches to date in their attack on the blatant Western racism of the Afrikaner regime has been the official advice of the Roman Catholic and Anglican hierarchies to their local parishes to defy the governmental ruling that there was to be no racially mixed attendance or membership in the churches.

In South Africa can be seen most of what has been stated in previous chapters of this thesis. The causes of South Africa's extreme Western racism form a complexity of cultural, economic, political, and religious roots. The Church, especially through the Dutch Reformed channel, is encouraging white racism. But at the same time the Church is acting as a powerful leaven in moving society to demolish this last main bastion of Western racism. This is a time when the Church in South Africa needs the loving, steady encouragement of the rest of the Body of Christ.



This thesis, with its emphasis on the complexities of racism and the Christian world mission, offers special proof of the subtle, complex extremities to which sin can lead men. But it also calls for a bold, trusting proclamation and enactment of the message that shatters all forms of racism: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son. . . ."

In suggesting areas for further study, it would be helpful to list some of the topics which were recommended for further study by the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective: the ideas and uses of race which are disturbing millions of Africans; the commanding position of the United States--the effect American racial experiences and views will have on others; contradictions represented in Christendom's belief in human equality and in Western political freedom and, in contrast, undeniable expressions of racism and racial superiority which have developed in so many areas over which Western man has attended his control; the idea of white superiority seen as a product of changing ideas in Western civilization and in the expansion of Europe, with particular reference to the groups that carried out that expansion--traders, missionaries, administrators, and soldiers; racial ideas expressed in various imperial systems of the British, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese; the image of the black man in Western civilization, especially in history and literature.<sup>1</sup>

All of these subjects could be related to the Church, its theology and world mission. The author suggests that a very thorough study of

---

<sup>1</sup>Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), pp. 129f.



Christian theology, especially in the areas of the sacraments, worship, and the Incarnation, be made with special reference to race and racism. Also an area for further study is the impact of the Christian world mission on racism, a topic only touched on in this thesis. An enlightening study of the current world drive toward the practise of the oneness of man might be made in terms of the current drive for internationalism and its Christian parallel, the ecumenical movement.



## APPENDIX A

### Sample of "A Questionnaire Concerning the Impact of Race Relations in the U. S. on the Christian World Mission"

#### A QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING THE IMPACT OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE U. S. ON THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

--to be completed by national Christian pastors and lay people of non-Western countries

--part of a research study being conducted by Joseph Ellwanger, graduate student at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.

I. If time, interest, and facility with English permit, please answer the following questions on a separate paper before beginning Part II. If you feel you must omit Part I, move to Part II. Feel free to write down remarks anywhere on this paper.

- 1) What was your reaction to the Little Rock situation of September, 1957?
- 2) What was the reaction of some of your Christian acquaintances to the Little Rock situation?
- 3) What was the reaction of some of the non-Christians of your community to the Little Rock situation?
- 4) Has the Little Rock situation, or any other aspect of race relations in the U.S., affected in any way your personal witness to Christ?
- 5) Is there any discrimination against certain groups of people in your own country that you would compare with the racial discrimination of the U.S.?
- 6) Describe the Negro American's life in the United States as you picture it.
- 7) What other situations besides the Little Rock school problem have helped you form your picture of race relations in the U.S.?
- 8) What do you think white American Christians ought to do to improve the racial situation in the U.S.?

II. Please complete the following multiple-choice statements, whether or not you have answered Part I. Omit items you do not understand or feel incapable of answering.



- 1) Have you heard of the Little Rock situation?  Yes;  No.
- 2) I personally think that the Little Rock situation shows  
 how unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans;  
 how determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races;  
 how weak Christianity is in the U.S.;  
 how firmly the U.S. government backs up a U.S. court order;  
 none of these.  
 (If you agree with more than one of these statements, number them in the order of their importance.)
- 3) Many of my Christian friends think that the Little Rock situation shows  
 how unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans;  
 how determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races;  
 how weak Christianity is in the U.S.;  
 how firmly the U.S. government backs up a U.S. court order;  
 none of these.  
 (If more than one of these statements is correct, number them in the order of their importance.)
- 4) Many of my non-Christian acquaintances think that the Little Rock situation shows  
 how unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans;  
 how determined the U.S. is to show justice toward all races;  
 how weak Christianity is in the U.S.;  
 how firmly the U.S. government backs up a U.S. court order;  
 none of these.  
 (If more than one of these statements is correct, number them in the order of their importance.)
- 5) The newspaper reports and editorials that I read concerning the Little Rock situation emphasized:  
 the justice of the U.S. in standing firmly for integration in the schools;  
 the injustice of white Americans in opposing integration in the schools of Little Rock;  
 the weakness of Christianity in America;  
 the firmness of the U.S. government in backing up a U.S. court order;  
 none of these.  
 (If more than one of these statements is correct, number them in the order of their importance.)
- 6) The Little Rock situation, and race relations in the U.S. in general, has had (  no harmful effect;  very little harmful effect;  some harmful effect;  much harmful effect;  very much harmful effect; ) in my personal witness to Christ.
- 7) Of my non-Christian acquaintances (  all;  most;  some;  a few;  none; ) think that the Christians in the U.S. are completely responsible for everything that happens in the U.S.



- 8) In my country there is ( \_\_\_ no discrimination; \_\_\_ a little discrimination; \_\_\_ some discrimination; \_\_\_ much discrimination; \_\_\_ very much discrimination;) against certain groups of people that might be compared with the racial discrimination in the U.S.
- 9) In my opinion the Christian church in America is ( \_\_\_ completely; \_\_\_ almost completely; \_\_\_ partly; \_\_\_ only a little; \_\_\_ not at all;) responsible for the racial discrimination in the U.S.
- 10) Racial discrimination in the U.S. is an issue of ( \_\_\_ very great importance; \_\_\_ great importance; \_\_\_ some importance; \_\_\_ little importance; \_\_\_ no importance;) to the growth of Christ's Church throughout the world.
- 11) In my opinion most of the people of my country have ( \_\_\_ a very clear picture; \_\_\_ a somewhat clear picture; \_\_\_ a somewhat distorted picture; \_\_\_ a very distorted picture; \_\_\_ no picture at all;) of race relations in the U.S.
- 12) To my knowledge ( \_\_\_ no Negro Americans; \_\_\_ a few Negro Americans; \_\_\_ some Negro Americans; \_\_\_ many Negro Americans; \_\_\_ all Negro Americans;) own their farms or their homes.
- 13) To my knowledge ( \_\_\_ no Negro Americans; \_\_\_ a few Negro Americans; \_\_\_ some Negro Americans; \_\_\_ many Negro Americans; \_\_\_ all Negro Americans;) belong to the same congregation with fellow white Christians.

Name of your church: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Name) (Age) (Address, with name of country)

Position held in national church: \_\_\_\_\_

If layman, list occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE RETURN VIA AIR MAIL TO: Joseph Ellwanger, Concordia Seminary,  
 St. Louis 5, Mo., U.S.A.



## APPENDIX B

### Essay Answers to Part I of the Questionnaire

- 1) What was your reaction to the Little Rock situation of September, 1957?

1--The Little Rock situation of September, 1957, was not so striking or strange a phenomenon to me, as far as the racial situation in the U.S.A., Union of South Africa, and many other parts of the world are concerned. Honestly speaking, I was not happy about what took place in Little Rock as a result of the actions of the governor and his supporters. I could have been totally upset and might be. I could be moved by the Little Rock situation to conclude that there are no true Christians in the U.S.A.--or no Christians at all, but am not moved. I still regard the Americans--of course, not all of them, but at least seventy per cent of them--as the models of true Christians who at least practise their religion or what they teach. The Little Rock proves or shows that some white Americans are unjust to many Negro Americans, but at the same time it also shows that a great majority of the whites (Americans) are deadly against the racial discrimination or injustice towards the Negroes. The reaction of President Eisenhower, the national president of the U.S.A., and his numerous supporters, together with the support of other governors in the states, who are the official representatives of the United States government, proves or shows how determined the U.S. is to show and have been showing justice to all races. Personally, I know quite well that some white individuals in America are still taking delight in colour bar or racial discrimination, but this does not move to count on the white Americans as being unjust to the Negroes. When I say white Americans, I refer to them as a nation.

The examples set by the white Americans in Nigeria, the reports brought back by some of our men who have spent some years in the U.S., and my experiences with some white American pen friends and other American friends show and prove that the American whites in general are not unjust to the Negroes. I cannot call or term my neighbor a bad neighbor just because he disagrees with me on one point.

Personally, I am a Negro (Nigerian), and I know the ways and weaknesses of my fellow Negroes--that many of us sometimes behave unbecomingly. And this behavior may cause some white individuals there to act in some ways subject to the outside world's criticism. To me, I think that in this particular case of the Little Rock situation, the governor of Arkansas and his supporters acted wrongly and in so doing caused other people to misinterpret the white Americans who are not that black as they may be painted. In fact, the white Americans in general prove, or are the best examples of, a nation that shows



keen interest in the affairs and problems of other nations or countries by their activities and relationships within the States and out.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--I was not very much impressed with extent to which incident in September, 1957, at Little Rock High School was carried. One would have thought that the governor of this state would have acted a little more different to what was reported to have been his action.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--My reaction was that spontaneous racial integration is the best policy.

(H. T. Pamle, South Africa)

4--I was not at all so shocked at the incident because there were incidents that occurred previously which were similar to that. Personally, I do feel sorry for those Negroes, especially when I read articles about hatred, injustice, and the "inhuman treatment" that some white Americans gave them. Of course, I read a lot about the situations in the U.S., especially from history and current events and have known the good aspects of American relationships and way of life. But I am deeply hurt when in a country called democratic (where liberty and equality rules) and Christian, situations like Little Rock should arise. Perhaps a good deal of preaching democracy and Christianity should prevail. I do not deny that, living in a sinful world as ours, discrimination of any sort can just "pop up." However, discrimination as to race (and I mean the color of the skin) is just senseless because it is "childish." What would happen if a white comes to a place where people's color is black or brown? Wouldn't it be just as "enraging" to him if they would cast him out of society just because he is white? I am not for race discrimination. The government, the people, and the Church should wake up and "mend the ripped garment." It is a shame!

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

5--To me personally, it seemed ridiculous that a nation advanced in every way always is living in the pre-Columbian era.

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

6--I was surprised to know how deep the discrimination feeling exists even now in the U.S. In other respects of living we know that the U.S. is the finest model country of democracy--where the fundamental right of personality is respected.

But I thought we always have to realize the hardship of attaining the higher aim. It would be the ideal situation if they have no trouble between the white and the colored. In some places and among some people it will be all right, but in other places the situations are different. This is reality.

From the Christian point of view, all believers in Christ are called



"brethren" and are commanded to love one another in one faith in Jesus. But we know that in the world many unbelievers are walking against the cross of Jesus.

I felt sad--this fact in the Little Rock situation; but still have hope the peace will come between them in future.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

7--I thought it revealed the fact that social injustice existed in America in spite of propagation of "Freedom, privilege of individual." And I feared that people here would be perplexed because many people thought America a nation of Christianity. We should not forget: James says, "Faith without deed is vain." We are redeemed by our Lord to the newness of life, which must become the light of this world.

Some times I wonder why American fellow Christians turn their eyes from such a miserable problem and do not help out. We should regard such a problem as something related to ourselves and through Christian spirit do the best to solve it because it is obviously against the will of God. It is not merely a political problem.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

8--It filled me with utter and absolute disgust. That the "Christian" and "great" country, the United States of America, would and could permit such an incident to occur is a disgraceful shame. My esteem for the U.S.A. was lowered considerably by the Little Rock incident. The American people seem to have forgotten completely the ideals expressed by the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln.

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

9--Again this problem! I felt keenly the truth of the Word: God visits "the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me." (Ex. 20:5b) That the forefathers of America did not love God truly, caused the wrong idea and attitude toward Negro slavery, which still affects this unfortunate situation even in this present generation. The result of sin is terrible indeed.

However, this would be a good test for Christians in America. Facing this problem again, every one of them will know by himself whether he is a mere good-weather Christian or a true follower of Christ who tries to keep His law: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." In this sense this might be a kind of grace which gives them possibility of making their faith and love steadfast, and consequently, his name true to the name of Christendom. "In everything God works for good."

I think this situation came to take place because desegregation causes the loss of some white Americans' wealth and a fear of their peaceful lives, that is, their selfishness. Nevertheless, I felt that the problem did exist in the economic frame of the U.S., which obliges them to act that way, as well as their self-interest.



The Governor Faubus should be accused severely, I am afraid.

This also reminded me of the Good Samaritan, parable of Jesus, not as applied to white Americans, but to myself. Fortunately, we do not have such a terrible discrimination now here in Japan. But have I not acted myself toward some people in the lower class of society as "a priest" or "a Levite" did? This problem in question, therefore, as one of the reactions, caused me self-examination.

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

10--Somewhat shocked by the repetition of this kind of unfortunate events in the United States.

Neither surprised at the childishness of many Americans, lack of consciousness of the American position in the world today, that the U.S. is closely watched by millions of people of the world, that whatever happens in the U.S. can cause great repercussions throughout the world, that it may also be a great blow to many pro-Americans in other countries, and so on.

Wished I could hear explanations from good American citizens on this matter, especially from Christians residing in the southern states.

Felt doubts on the capability of the U.S. as a leader of the present world.

Sympathized with Mr. Eisenhower.

Reassured how weak the religion (including Christianity) is in the American life and how shallow-rooted the spiritual training is.

Re-learned how unChristian-like some of the Christians in the U.S. (including church leaders) are and how far from the teaching of the Bible they may be. Wonder what they have been thinking and have been learning from the Bible. It is not hard to quote passages from the Bible against those Christians.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

11--I thought how true the proverb which says: Birds of a feather flock together. And I wondered what influence Christ's teaching had on the people of that town.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

12--Is there any prominent man in the church to proclaim Christian standpoint, which might affect in some way?

No mere man nor a generation would be able to settle this situation, but at least the church should start more seriously for this campaign.

What the U.S. government did was quite a natural thing, but it was questioned whether the action was able to solve the problem completely.



The problem is not of a legal kind, but of a religious one.  
(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)

13--I heard of the Little Rock situation, and I think it shows how weak Christianity is in the U.S.

(K. Iai, Japan)

2) What was the reaction of some of your Christian acquaintances to the Little Rock situation?

1--The reaction of my Christian friends who know of the situation cannot be definitely stated, as many of them did not understand the situation quite well. Some of them who viewed the situation one way counted on the Americans as people with natural race discrimination in them, but a few of my acquaintances who viewed the situation from both sides, together with their past experiences, judged the white Americans rightly. They remarked that the U.S. government shows justice to all races and backs up their court order.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--Some of my Christian friends were in sympathy with the victims of this incident and were a little more disappointed in the behavior of the governor, who in their opinion should have shown more sense of civic responsibility and human sympathy.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--Almost the same as my reaction.

(H. T. Pamle, South Africa)

4--Their reaction was just quite the same as mine, although they didn't seem to care for it. Most comments were criticisms to American democracy and American Christianity.

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

5--Is it possible that in a nation where 80 per cent are Protestants, the pastors, teachers, and the rest of the professional churchworkers have not been worried about preaching, teaching, or admonishing the great universal commandment, "Love one another?"

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

6--About the same as mine.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

7--A member of Nagaoka congregation expresses her opinion like this:

"I was shocked to read the report on the Little Rock problem in the paper because since the end of the Second War we have been taught the value of freedom of the individual in the type of America, and naturally our picture of America was formed with high respect to her social morality attained by the people of America.

"I should say that Japanese children take America as their ideal.



How come such social injustice still exists in the country which is the champion of the free world and who herself must be protector against such old feudalistic remnants.

"As Christians, we were perplexed more than anyone else because America is one of our fellow Christian countries in Christ.

"It is God's will that some people are born black, some yellow, and some white. Why do some American people despise God's work?"

I heard some people speaking ill of the Christianity of America or becoming doubtful. But many people know that such problems come up from human pride, common sin of human beings.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

8--Some of my Christian friends are surprised at the repetition of this kind of problems happening in a Christian country such as the U.S.

One of them said to me: "Our Japanese can hardly understand why this discrimination against Negroes taking place in the society of Southern states should be so strong, rooted deep in their minds, and rule their daily lives. And it will be hard to change the conventional tradition which has long historical background so rapidly. I cannot understand, however, that the United States, which has been built on democracy and the spirit of Christianity, which does not mind sacrificing herself for liberty, and which is willing to help other countries for the welfare of the world, should find it difficult to solve a problem like this. I hope that people who acted in such a shameful way might break down their prejudice soon, though there might be special circumstances in Southern society."

Another said to me, "It is very easy to criticize those segregationists. And when I heard about it, I thought some white Americans in the city were inhuman. But now I learn to think that there must be some reasons by which Southern people were obliged to act that way and sympathize with both white and Negro Americans a little bit. In some cases it might be good for Negroes themselves to live gathering together only by themselves. Anyway, since I am a Japanese who cannot understand fully the situation there and might have some prejudice against white or Negro Americans, I cannot say anything definitely."

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

9--Sorry to say that I am a newcomer in this city and have not had opportunities to discuss this matter with Christian friends of mine.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

10--About the same as mine.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

11--I did not talk about it with Christian friends.

(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)



3) What was the reaction of some of the non-Christians of your community to the Little Rock situation?

1--The non-Christians (some) were deadly against the action of the governor of Arkansas and did not care whether any steps were taken to check the action of the governor. They said that it is the habit or nature of the white Americans to hate Negroes and that there will be nothing to stop many white Americans from doing so.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--The reaction of some of the non-Christians of my community to the situation was rather very bitter.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--It revealed how much lip service people pay in confessing their religion.

(H. T. Pamle, South Africa)

4--Non-Christians in this country, or particularly our community, didn't seem to mind it at all. Non-Christians, especially the illiterates, can't say anything but "Americans are good," so that news like this is very "light" to them. This might be due to the psychological effect of having been a colony of the Americans before the Second World War and the American occupation of this country during the war and when Nazis were defeated.

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

5--It is a great contradiction that a people that boasts of being democratic still might be blind with respect to the true meaning of the word "democracy."

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

6--They also were surprised. They expected a more democratic situation in the U.S.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

7--The difference in opinion expressed by Christians and non-Christians is so slight as to be negligible. Their answers are very similar to mine.

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

8--Some people say like this: "Days when the white Americans have superiority over the Negroes are over. Why they have been inferior to the whites was because they have not been given chances for education and for making progress in their culture. It is nonsense that in this modern world that the U.S. should raise dust by such a childish problem. In fact, their racial discrimination is a cancer in America, and unless this is operated and taken out, there is no use helping Asia, Arab, and Africa. Nobody in such countries will listen to the mere gracious preaching of democracy. Really the U.S. will have no effect on them. And the fact that people did not dare to yield to the order of the Supreme Court backed up strongly by the President



shows a terrible disbelief in national law and politics. We are afraid that it is made use of reaction."

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

9--"How foolish and mad that American mob is" is the general feeling. The notoriety of the segregation in the U.S. is too well known here to excite people. But the accumulation of this sort of accidents will help to raise doubt and disbelief in the sincerity of Americans as a whole, and who knows if this is not leading to strong anti-Americanism? This also gives non-Christians a good point that shows Christianity is really powerless in this modern world, even in a Christian country.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

10--Some said that Christianity has no influence on people any more. Some said that this situation showed how strong the superiority complex of white people over colored is. Some said American democracy is just for white people.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

11--As far as the newspapers show, it is another discredit for the U.S. to acquire our countrymen's faith in her.

(Masaaki Makashima, Japan)

4) Has the Little Rock situation, or any other aspect of race relations in the U.S., affected in any way your personal witness to Christ?

1--The Little Rock situation, or any other aspect of race relations in the U.S., has not and will not--~~NEVER~~--affect in any way my personal witness to Christ. With God's help nothing will move me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, for Christ is the solid Rock on which I stand.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--The Little Rock situation, or any other aspect of race relations in the U.S., has not in any way affected my personal witness to Christ. After all, the Americans are human beings and as sinful as any other human beings on earth. Therefore, I follow not very much how they live, but what the Bible expects me to live.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--The effect of the Little Rock situation in me is no other than the strengthening of witnessing for Christ, especially when it comes to application in Christian love to one another, irrespective of race, color, calling in life, services rendered to a neighbor, etc., etc. Although situations in the U.S. seem far, it is a good basis for illustrations in sermonizing on Christian missions.

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

4--In a very weak way because the missionaries are generally North Americans, believing and teaching one thing, while covering up another in their heart.

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)



5--No, I don't think so. Because this was not reported as whole Christian attitude.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

6--No, since it shows that the people of America are in need of the Gospel.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

7--No, my personal witness to Christ is staunch and unfailing. The Little Rock situation is a man-made dilemma. It must be a grievous sight to Christ.

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

8--No, it has not. The problem in question, or any other, so as I am concerned, has not affected at all my personal witness to Christ. If in my area some people were different in race and there were also some fellow countrymen who had discrimination against them, then the situation in the U.S. might rather have been a stimulus to try to help them break down their prejudice against them, witnessing to Christ, showing them racial equality in the sight of God and we are "all one in Christ Jesus."

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

9--As far as I am concerned the situation has affected little. But my disbelief in Christians (not Christ) has been increased.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

10--Yes, some, but many understand that all white Americans are not Christians.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

11--Yes, many of the seekers to the church ask about the problem together with atomic bomb problem, almost all regarding the U.S. as a Christian nation.

(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)

5) Is there any discrimination against certain groups of people in your own country that you would compare with the racial discrimination of the U.S.?

1--Practically, no. There is none in my country, but there is one in the Union of South Africa which is worse than the U.S.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--There is some form of tribal discrimination amongst certain groups of people in my country, but the standard of it is not as high as that which we understand prevails in the U.S., especially in the Southern states. For this reason I cannot justly and honestly compare this with the racial discrimination of the U.S. Besides this the type of discrimination I refer to in Nigeria is mainly amongst groups of Nigerians of different tribes, but that of the U.S., we understand, is whites against the colored.



Anyhow, in some areas of our country, mostly in the towns, there is a very little degree of racial discrimination of the blacks against the white imperialists, and this tends to grow from the reports of how the colored are treated.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--There is no such discrimination found in our country that would be on a par with the Little Rock incident or similar incidents. I would say there is a sort of discrimination when speaking of nationalism. The Filipinos are kind of nationalistic so that they fidget on alien businessmen in this country (not only in regard to business but also in other fields, especially if competition is keen).

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

4--By the will of God there is non.

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

5--Yes. I have heard in Japan, too, there is a certain discrimination against some groups of people in some districts.

It is said that they are the descendants of the ancient time immigrants from Korea, or another place on the continent. Mostly they live by themselves, making a special district. But the tendency is going to fade. I myself have never experienced this matter.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

6--A kind of problem. Many people dislike a certain class of people called "Eta" or in other words, the Fourth Class, or New Class, people, whose origin is quite uncertain. But social discrimination does not exist as far as school and social utilities are concerned. But the people who belong to this class are quite hard to be hired and consequently are forced to suck jobs people despise. And there is a famous activity called "making even" or "Equalization" formed by these people, and we know the situation is on the improvement.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

7--There is no discrimination on account of color. There is a certain amount of feeling against Koreans. There remains, especially in rural districts, a feeling of discrimination against those who come from the pariah class, known as "eta." The "eta" no longer exist as a class.

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

8--Yes, there is some. During and before War II the discrimination against certain groups of people, and foreigners like Koreans, was seen. But not now--at least not so seriously. And in the circumstances around me I can hardly see this kind of prejudice. Partly, I think, because our defeat in War II destroyed our superiority complex concerning race and caused this blessed situation. Nevertheless, in some parts of our country there seems to be still some discrimination. Some political and religious groups of people, however,



are trying to correct and improve the situation, so it will not soon be a case in our country.

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

9--There have been reports published in Japanese periodicals about some discrimination in our country. However, I have not experienced nor seen any such discrimination in the regions I am from.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

10--Yes, we have. Special village problem and Koreans.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

11--There is, to some extent, but not in so large scale as in the U.S. Not national, but rather, a local problem.

(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)

6) Describe the Negro American's life in the United States as you picture it.

1--The Negro American's life in the United States as I picture it:

that in certain parts of the U.S., e.g., the Southern states, the white Americans and Negroes are not living in harmony at all. Some whites hate the Negro and do not share or would not like to associate with the Negroes in many things, such as hotels, schools, parks, homes, etc. Some whites do not like giving the Negroes their houses for rent. In short, they do not like to share things with the Negroes--the unclean. Some Negroes act the same.

In the Northern states and in the West, life is normal. Responsible positions are given to some Negroes.

In general Negroes are often looked upon as somewhat mean and unequal--mentally, socially, physically, and otherwise. (This according to my understanding is the result of the curse of Noah to Ham, and no white person should be given a wholesale blame, but it is the Scriptures manifesting themselves.)

Some Negroes are not permitted to worship in the same churches that the white Americans do. Some Negroes are not allowed into some areas in the U.S.A. and are not allowed to spend any night in some cities. (Note the word "some.")

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--The Negro American life as I picture it is fair and on equal right basis, especially in the northern, western, and central states, but in the southern states, I understand that they are little better than dogs. Even though the U.S. constitution provides them with the same equality, freedom, and liberty as enjoyed by the native Americans, this is in theory only. They are not allowed to live close to the whites, to eat with them, share the same hotels, buses, cars, trains, and even churches and schools. One student from the U.S. (a Nigerian)



mentioned that he was even refused admission into the church of his faith, even though he produced a written recommendation from an American representative of this church body who is serving in Nigeria. Secret organizations are formed to fight against the American Negro. A good example of this is the Ku Klux Klan. In the South, the American Negroes live a "cat and mouse" life.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--Politically inactive, economically better off, social degeneration, morally weak.

(H. T. Pamle, South Africa)

4--My knowledge of Negro life in the States is rather meager. Although I read some articles about their life, or as depicted in the movies or heard on the radio, am still not content with it. But I find that the average American Negro lives a quite decent life. I mean, the average home of a Negro is well equipped with modern furniture, have cars, radio, television sets, etc. Like many white Americans, they also have some kind of white collar jobs, enjoy privileges his white brother enjoys, hold offices of distinction, and worship the true God. He has problems, too, as anyone is likely to have, but he could solve it by approaching government or social agencies. On the other hand, I think many are poor, too. Children turn delinquent due to broken homes. Many roam around the streets jobless, maybe even beg in the neighborhood. Concluding, I would say the Negro American's life is just (not quite, though) on a level with his white brother. The question is: "Why color distinction to lead to disturbances, to make others' lives bitter, to killings, to social injustices, to suppress privileges?"

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

5--A life embittered with respect to their relations with the whites, for the reason that these (whites) feel a very strong superiority complex.

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

6--I have never seen the real Negro, except those who are in U.S. army in the streets of Japan. Newspapers or movies give us the only information, so I must say I don't know. They are no more slaves. They are treated as American citizens in law. But in some places, especially in the South, they are in a weaker condition.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

7--I do not have to "picture" the Negro's way of life in the U.S., for I have resided in the States and have seen them (1936-39 in California and 1951-53 in St. Louis).

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

8--Generally speaking, their daily life must have been improved since the Civil War. But I wonder whether most of the Negroes of the southern states became happier after emancipation. In big companies they likely have to labor for low wages. They are likely confined to



slums. And many of the circumstances combine most likely to send them beyond the social pale. Thus, the level of Negroes in every phase of their life is lower in general. And yet I wonder if in the political sphere, like elections, they are made use of. But now their standard of living and education has a tendency to improve, their population, a tendency to increase in number (which might be a fear for white Americans). Among them there are many wonderful musicians, artists, authors, and also religious leaders. In the sphere of sports the U.S. depends on them very much.

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

9--It is very hard for me to do. Reason one: It is said that there is a great difference between the situation in the North and the South. Reason two: The information I have got so far is not enough to describe a picture. One small news cannot be generalized.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

10--Locally different, but generally they are discriminated against socially. They have to live apart from the whites. Discrimination in schools, hospitals, railways, sometimes in the church.

(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)

7) What other situations besides the Little Rock school problem have helped you form your picture of race relations in the U.S.?

1--Besides the Little Rock school problem, the following have helped me to form my picture of race relations in the U.S.:

Reports from my personal friends who have visited and resided in the U.S. for many years.

The treatment given to the Finance Minister of Ghana, who visited the U.S. and was refused admittance in the hotels and even was not allowed to enter some sections of some cities. He was so badly or cruelly treated that President Eisenhower took him to his house and dined with him and made him feel at home.

The activities of the K.K.K.'s movement.

Reports from newspapers and magazines.

Reports from Nigerians at present in the U.S.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--The following things, apart from the Little Rock situation, help me to form my picture of race relations in the U.S.:

The incident in which the Minister of Finance from Ghana (Gold Coast), West Africa, was sometime last year refused admission and service in one or more hotels in southern states of the U.S.

Lectures of African students returning from the U.S.



What I read in a book entitled The Ku Klux Klan.

Reports from the newspapers, magazines, and periodicals dealing with the same issue.

General behavior of some of the American whites staying in our country with some of the Nigerians.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--Ruling of the Supreme Court; statistics of Negro people in proportion to whites; and South American people's attitude.

(H. T. Pamle, South Africa)

4--There is no particular situation besides the Little Rock school problem that has helped me to understand the race relations in the States, except what history tells me when "blacks" were sold as slaves, worked as slaves, treated as animals during the time of or prior to Lincoln (please check my memory). To comment on this, I thought that the "cry" of democracy is instilled in the people, but as seen in the recent "black-mark" in the history of the U.S., it seems that "we" are going back to undemocratic principles.

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

5--The situation when they had to use many workers from different nationalities in the Panama Canal Zone--it permitted seeing the horrible fantasy of discrimination not only against the black race, but with all "non-whites."

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

6--I once read that in New York there is a Negro district, and the population increasing now is one of the troubles for the white people.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

7--When I was a college student, I was so interested in novels by Richard Wright, a Negro writer as you know, and my picture of America is quite different from other people, I think. But I do not know to what extent it is true because it is a novel. It is quite regrettable that the social situation such a fine person to antagonism and to writing such novels. There is a saying here in Japan that there is no smoke where there is no fire. I sensed even at that time that something was wrong in American society.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

8--At the time of my residence in St. Louis (1951-53) I noticed that Negro and white attended separate schools. Eating establishments were also separate.

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

9--I cannot name any specific situations which have helped me form my picture of race relations in the U.S., besides the problem in ques-



tion. Such situations as in Germany, which exiled the Jews, or in our country before or during the war, when many of us despised Koreans and Chinese, or in old Jewish society, which excluded the Samaritans from their fellowship, or in South Africa, where a similar problem took place recently do not help me form the picture of racial discrimination in the U.S. Yet there are quite enough to let me believe that there was, and is, and will be, such a problem throughout the world, and I sympathize with Americans, who were taken up so sensationally by journalists. On the other hand, the situation laid between Jews and Gentiles in the days of St. Paul helps me to form the future picture of race relations in the U.S.: God has made them both one, and "has broken down the dividing wall of hostility. . . ." (Eph. 2:14).

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

10--From the following sources I get information:

Various reports in Japanese newspapers. Articles by people who claim to have been to the U.S. and seen the situation with their own eyes. These articles usually appear in Japanese magazines. Articles in American periodicals such as Life, Collier's, Time, etc. My own experiences while working with USAF for several years.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

11--While a college student, a missionary-professor used some American journals for a text for the English language, and among them was a report on the problem, and the young professor talked about it quite seriously and enthusiastically.

(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)

- 8) What do you think white Americans ought to do to improve the racial situation in the U.S.?

1--I cannot suggest any genuine solution to the major problem readily that will help, but the following may help:

White American Christians should continue to preach loudly on the evils of this racial discrimination to school children in the elementary schools and in the high schools and colleges. And, above all, they should set good examples themselves. They should do this to young children through the Sunday school.

They should welcome strangers, big or small, white or black. They should protect the interest of the Negroes there. They should live their own religion. Remember, to whom little is given, little is expected of him. The whites, of course, are given much in all things. And surely God wants them to make use of these uncountable blessings given. Remember the great love of God to us all, and then you will know what you are expected to do.

Surely the Negroes have their own weaknesses. But the whites should hit at the correct note so that there will be harmony in this song.



The young men are often guilty of this racial discrimination. So they should be well instructed on this matter. Some young men are often too proud of their colour and as a result, run into this great danger of the colour bar.

The end is not yet come, and no one knows God's plan.

Prayer: Let all take all these things to God in prayer. You all know better than I the power of a good prayer. Why, then, not talk these things to Him, Who has brought us out of darkness into His marvelous light, in prayer and ask Him to do for us what we are unable to do for ourselves. Pray in churches, in schools, at homes and in church organizations. And together with this, let us rise up and work (set good examples by living our religion) while it is day; the night cometh when no man shall work. With God everything is possible.

God help us. Amen.

(Etim B. Ituen, Nigeria)

2--I hope that white American Christians are not taking an active part in this drama. If this is so, as we think, I think or suggest that they may try the following things and see if they would succeed in improving the racial situation in the U.S.:

They ought to show by their daily lives that this is not socially approved.

It should not be allowed to carry this into the church, as it is said to be the case in most of the Christian churches of the South.

They should preach against it and use all media to get this across to the reading public.

Christian missionaries from the U.S., working outside the U.S., should convince those they serve that they, too, are helping to improve this situation by their social relationship with the natives.

Negro Christians should be given responsible posts in the churches.

The church can show by example that there is nothing morally wrong with the whites intermarrying with the Negroes, or the other way around. For it is my opinion that one of the things that will help to break the racial barrier is intermarriages.

(Edet B. Ituen, Nigeria)

3--Obliterate the feeling of white supremacy; resort to live and let live; educate the youth in church, school, etc. to respect their neighbors.

(H. T. Pamle, South Africa)

4--I think that every American for this matter ought to look at himself more closely and correct himself in the light of God's Word and



the principle of democracy he is now enjoying. Maybe Christian witnessing in the form of preaching, teaching, social work, Godly fellowship should be stressed among the people, especially the young of today. If Christian missions is failing in a certain congregation, it should be revived so that a sense of responsibility might strike him to serve other people (including the Negroes, especially, or people of other races). Maybe recruiting more Negro candidates for the ministry will help to erase the tension of race prejudice. How about giving privileges to some talented Negro students and take some course (encourage them, of course) which deal mostly with society, as for example nursing, midwifery, teaching, etc. There might be a psychological effect in here.

(Thomas Batong, The Philippines)

5--Preaching, teaching, praying--and more than speaking, more than teaching and praying with the intellect; living from the whole heart the true love of God, to test it and to show it by good works.  
Gal. 5:22-26.

(Raul Aleman Mistroz, Salvador)

6--I remember the word spoken by Jesus, "Go, and do thou likewise," after he told a certain lawyer the famous story of the Good Samaritan. I think this is the lesson for us, too.

(H. Sawada, Japan)

7--Jesus Christ says, "Be servant," and Paul says, "In humility count others better than yourselves." All of us can solve any problem in that spirit.

(Ahizuo Shibata, Japan)

8--They must "Christianize" the United States.

(Kosaku Nao, Japan)

9--First of all they should remember: But for the grace of God, they might have been one of these Negroes.

White American Christians should destroy the racial superiority to the extent of sub-consciousness to any other races in the world. As I mentioned in the answer to 5), by defeat and surrender, many Japanese realized the mistake of thinking themselves to be the best race in the world, at least in Asia. And this, it seems, helped them to destroy this wrong complex. Americans, therefore, must surrender, too, surrender to God. They must realize again and again their sinful self by nature, not their wrongdoings, but what they are, and let the Holy Spirit destroy this source of evil and complete the surrender to Him. And let us also remember that we are created by one God, and in Christ we are all members of the body of Christ. The Negro Americans might be "the part of the body which seems to be weaker" and, we think, "less honorable" (I Cor. 12:22, 23). But if so, the other members will have to "care for" them. "If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honored, all rejoice together." In order to "care for" them sometimes the situation might demand a kind



of segregation, but always in the bond of love. At any rate, if this consciousness of equality, oneness, and love is in us, this situation will be improved and corrected in the future. Since non-Christians do not understand this truth, it's their most important obligation that they have to proclaim the Gospel more fervently, faithfully, and patiently. In order to get this strength, zeal, and patience, of course, we have to devote ourselves to read the Bible and do according to it. So let us all turn to the Bible.

I do not say that they neglect to do this important thing, rather I was very happy to know, according to Newsweek (Oct. 7), that it was Christians in the South that in order to solve this problem spoke, moved for, and acted most powerfully and definitely. And moreover, their utterances, contrary to Japan, are more powerful than the order of court or force of arms. So we pray that all Christians in the U.S. continue to make every effort to follow the Christ's supreme law of love to others conscientiously. Then the tension in the race relations will be taken away, and harmony and goodwill will be effected in the future.

Christian leaders should act more positively and be Christians' leaders also in this matter. They should not avoid this problem because of the political. Since this contains a moral factor, it is a matter of immorality for Christian leaders to be indifferent to this.

(Yuichi Todoroki, Japan)

10--Read the Bible, and find answers from it. In I John, for instance, there is a passage that deed is more important than mere words.

(Takeshi Shimai, Japan)

11--I hope all Christians in America find a way which will glorify Christ. And if they think what Christ would do toward these people, I am sure they can make Negro Americans your good neighbors.

(Mrs. Shun Shimada, Japan)

12--At least, they must begin from within the church. The religious education system, which is a very much progressed thing in the U.S., we are told, should do something for it.

(Masaaki Nakashima, Japan)

13--In my opinion, everybody is brother and sister as a Christian in the world. Therefore, there must be harmony. Naturally, the idea of racial discrimination must be put away and then exert the growth of Christ's church throughout the world. I respect the attitude of the U.S. government and Court. Now we have a responsibility about the idiotic atom-bomb, made in Russia, England, and America. We must do our best to introduce the peace of the world.

(K. Iai, Japan)



APPENDIX C

A Tabulation of Responses to Part II of the Questionnaire

1) Have you heard of the Little Rock situation?     Yes;     No.

Yes 42

No    0

Total 42

2) I personally think that the Little Rock situation shows  
    how unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans;  
    how determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races;  
    how weak Christianity is in the U.S.;  
    how firmly the U.S. government backs up a court order;  
    none of these.

(If you agree with more than one of these statements, number them in the order of their importance.)

|                                                            |              |              |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                            | <u>   </u> 1 | <u>   </u> 2 |
| How unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans | 22           | 1            |
| How determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races    | 6            | 6            |
| How weak Christianity is in the U.S.                       | 4            | 11           |
| How firmly the U.S. government backs up a court order      | 3            | 4            |
| None of these                                              | <u>   </u> 0 | <u>   </u> 0 |
| Total                                                      | 35           | 22           |

3) Many of my Christian friends think that the Little Rock situation shows

    how unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans;  
    how determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races;  
    how weak Christianity is in the U.S.;  
    how firmly the U.S. government backs up a court order;  
    none of these.

(If more than one of these statements is correct, number them in the order of their importance.)

|                                                            |              |              |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                                            | <u>   </u> 1 | <u>   </u> 2 |
| How unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans | 17           | 4            |
| How determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races    | 8            | 2            |
| How weak Christianity is in the U.S.                       | 5            | 3            |
| How firmly the U.S. government backs up a court order      | 3            | 6            |
| None of these                                              | <u>   </u> 0 | <u>   </u> 0 |
| Total                                                      | 33           | 15           |



- 4) Many of my non-Christian acquaintances think that the Little Rock situation shows

how unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans;  
 how determined the U.S. is to show justice toward all races;  
 how weak Christianity is in the U.S.;  
 how firmly the U.S. government backs up a court order;  
 none of these.

(If more than one of these statements is correct, number them in the order of their importance.)

|                                                            | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| How unjust many white Americans are toward Negro Americans | 12       | 4        |
| How determined the U.S. is to show justice to all races    | 1        | 2        |
| How weak Christianity is in the U.S.                       | 4        | 4        |
| How firmly the U.S. government backs up a court order      | 1        | 0        |
| None of these                                              | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| Total                                                      | 18       | 10       |

- 5) The newspaper reports and editorials that I read concerning the Little Rock situation emphasized

the justice of the U.S. in standing firmly for integration in the schools;  
 the injustice of white Americans in opposing integration in the schools of Little Rock;  
 the weakness of Christianity in America;  
 the firmness of the U.S. government in backing up a U.S. court order;  
 none of these.

(If more than one of these statements is correct, number them in the order of their importance.)

|                                                                 | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| The justice of the U.S. in standing firmly for integration      | 6        | 3        |
| The injustice of white Americans in opposing integration        | 18       | 5        |
| The weakness of Christianity in the U.S.                        | 2        | 3        |
| The firmness of the U.S. government in backing up a court order | 4        | 6        |
| None of these                                                   | <u>2</u> | <u>-</u> |
| Total                                                           | 32       | 17       |

- 6) The Little Rock situation, and race relations in the U.S. in general, has had (  no harmful effect;  very little harmful effect;  some harmful effect;  much harmful effect;  very much harmful effect;) in my personal witness to Christ.

|                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| no harmful effect          | 14 |
| very little harmful effect | 4  |
| some harmful effect        | 9  |



|                          |          |
|--------------------------|----------|
| much harmful effect      | 5        |
| very much harmful effect | <u>3</u> |
| Total                    | 35       |

From the essay responses to Part I of the questionnaire it is clear that most of the respondents interpreted this "effect in their personal witness to Christ" as an effect in their own faith life, rather than an effect in the response of the person to whom they witnessed. However, a few seemed to interpret the effect as an effect to the reception of the witness to Christ; so these figures are rather ambiguous.

- 7) Of my non-Christian acquaintances (    all;    most;    some;    a few;    none;) think that the Christians in the U.S. are completely responsible for everything that happens in the U.S.

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| all   | 0        |
| most  | 4        |
| some  | 13       |
| a few | 9        |
| none  | <u>7</u> |
| Total | 33       |

- 8) In my country there is (    no discrimination;    a little discrimination;    some discrimination;    much discrimination;    very much discrimination;) against certain    groups of people that might be compared with the racial discrimination in the U.S.

|                          |          |
|--------------------------|----------|
| no discrimination        | 3        |
| a little discrimination  | 15       |
| some discrimination      | 11       |
| much discrimination      | 1        |
| very much discrimination | <u>7</u> |
| Total                    | 37       |

The 7 who felt that there was very much discrimination in their country were the 4 South Africans who answered the questionnaire and of 3 (out of 22) Japanese.

- 9) In my opinion the Christian Church in America is (    completely;    almost completely;    partly;    only a little;    not at all;) responsible for the racial discrimination in the U.S.

|                   |          |
|-------------------|----------|
| completely        | 4        |
| almost completely | 9        |
| partly            | 18       |
| only a little     | 3        |
| not at all        | <u>3</u> |
| Total             | 37       |



- 10) Racial discrimination in the U.S. is an issue of (      very great importance;      great importance;      some importance;      little importance;      no importance;) to the growth of Christ's church throughout the world.

|                       |          |
|-----------------------|----------|
| very great importance | 12       |
| great importance      | 12       |
| some importance       | 7        |
| little importance     | 4        |
| no importance         | <u>2</u> |

Total 37

- 11) In my opinion most of the people of my country have (      a very clear picture;      a somewhat clear picture;      a somewhat distorted picture;      a very distorted picture;      no picture at all;) of race relations in the U.S.

|                              |          |
|------------------------------|----------|
| a very clear picture         | 4        |
| a somewhat clear picture     | 22       |
| a somewhat distorted picture | 10       |
| a very distorted picture     | 3        |
| no picture at all            | <u>2</u> |

Total 41

- 12) To my knowledge (      no Negro Americans;      a few Negro Americans;      some Negro Americans;      many Negro Americans;      all Negro Americans;) own their farms or their homes.

|                       |          |
|-----------------------|----------|
| no Negro Americans    | 1        |
| a few Negro Americans | 7        |
| some Negro Americans  | 17       |
| many Negro Americans  | 9        |
| all Negro Americans   | <u>3</u> |

Total 37

- 13) To my knowledge (      no Negro Americans;      a few Negro Americans;      some Negro Americans;      many Negro Americans;      all Negro Americans;) belong to the same congregation with fellow white Christians.

|                       |          |
|-----------------------|----------|
| no Negro Americans    | 0        |
| a few Negro Americans | 8        |
| some Negro Americans  | 21       |
| many Negro Americans  | 6        |
| all Negro Americans   | <u>1</u> |

Total 36



## APPENDIX D

## Information Concerning the Respondents to the Questionnaire

| <u>Name</u>        | <u>Age</u> | <u>Church</u>  | <u>City</u>  | <u>Occupation</u>    |
|--------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------|
| <u>Iraq:</u>       |            |                |              |                      |
| Isal, Goergees     | 30         | ?Jacobi Ch     | Arbil        | Teacher              |
| Ohanes, Misk       | 29         | Old Armenian   | Arbil        | Tailor               |
| Shammi, Sadiq      | 36         | Lutheran       | Arbil        | Evangelist           |
| Yosuf, Zia         | 55         | Nat Prot Ch    | Mosul        | Evangelist           |
| Yousa, Nasir       | 34         | Nat Prot Ch    | Mosul        | Colporteur           |
| <u>Japan:</u>      |            |                |              |                      |
| Akimoto, K.        | 23         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | Medical student      |
| Arai, Hiroshi      | 28         | unnamed        | Tokyo        | Insurance clerk      |
| Arakawa, Masaaki   | 21         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | Medical student      |
| Hari, Yoshio       | 23         | Lutheran       | Sapporo      | Missionary's helper  |
| Iai, K.            | 67         | Congregational | Sahikawa     | ---                  |
| Imanari, Yoichi    | ?          | Lutheran       | Sapporo      | Pastor               |
| Ina, Hiroshi       | 23         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | Medical student      |
| Isokawa, Masanori  | 23         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | Medical student      |
| Konagaya, Yataka   | 28         | unnamed        | Fujisawa-shi | Grad student         |
| Kutsurada, Takeshi | 34         | unnamed        | Tokyo        | Clerk                |
| Makamura, Takehiko | 23         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | Medical student      |
| Matsuyama, Koichi  | 20         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | Student              |
| Miyakawa, Kazuya   | 20         | non-Christian  | Niigata      | ---                  |
| Nagano, Yoko       | 23         | unnamed        | Tokyo        | Insurance clerk      |
| Nakashima, Masaaki | 30         | U Ch of Christ | Asahigawa    | Pastor               |
| Nao, Kosaku        | 49         | Lutheran       | Kanagawa     | Pastor               |
| Sawada, H.         | 49         | Lutheran       | Hanno        | School principal     |
| Shibata, Ahizuo    | 28         | Lutheran       | Nagaoka-shi  | Pastor               |
| Shimada, Mrs. Shun | 54         | Lutheran       | Tokyo        | Social work director |
| Shimai, Takeshi    | 24         | unnamed        | Tokyo        | Employ of Amer firm  |
| Shirosi, Junko     | 25         | unnamed        | Niigata      | Clerk-typist         |
| Takagi, Masako     | 25         | unnamed        | Niigata      | Accountant           |
| Todoroki, Yuichi   | 32         | Lutheran       | Niigata      | Luth Hr steward secy |
| <u>Malaya:</u>     |            |                |              |                      |
| Han, Stephen       | 41         | Lutheran       | Grik         | Pastor               |
| Sit, Robert        | 29         | Lutheran       | Lenggong     | ---                  |
| Ying, Wong         | 65         | Lutheran       | Bukit Merah  | Farmer               |
| <u>Nigeria:</u>    |            |                |              |                      |
| Amomkpa, E. W.     | 45         | Lutheran       | Ikot Ekpene  | Teacher-normal sch   |



| <u>Name</u>             | <u>Age</u> | <u>Church</u> | <u>City</u> | <u>Occupation</u> |
|-------------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <u>Nigeria: (cont.)</u> |            |               |             |                   |
| Ituen, Edet B.          | 25         | Lutheran      | Obot Idim   | Teacher-pri sch   |
| Ituen, Etim B.          | 24         | Lutheran      | Obot Idim   | Stud-teach coll   |

The Philippines:

|                      |    |          |        |            |
|----------------------|----|----------|--------|------------|
| Batong, Thomas       | 22 | Lutheran | Manila | Seminarian |
| Bugturg, Leonardo R. | 24 | Lutheran | Manila | Seminarian |
| Menil, Romualda R.   | 29 | Lutheran | Manila | ---        |

Salvador:

|                      |    |          |              |     |
|----------------------|----|----------|--------------|-----|
| Mistroz, Raul Aleman | 33 | Lutheran | San Salvador | --- |
|----------------------|----|----------|--------------|-----|

Union of S. Africa

|                   |    |               |           |                  |
|-------------------|----|---------------|-----------|------------------|
| Butslezi, R. F.   | 28 | Anglican      | Hlabisa   | Teacher          |
| Haumini, L. E.    | 38 | Lutheran      | Hlabisa   | Pastor           |
| Makhoba, Ellie J. | 27 | Lutheran      | Eshowe    | Clerk in school  |
| Pamle, H. T.      | 33 | Meth Ch of SA | Mtubatuba | Learner preacher |



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Books

- Allport, Gordon W. The Nature of Prejudice. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954.
- Bailey, Thomas Pearce. Race Orthodoxy in the South. New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1914.
- Baker, Richard St. Barbe. Kabonga. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1956.
- Blackwell, Gordon W., Lee M. Brooks and S. H. Hobbs, Jr. Church and Community in the South. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1949.
- Broomfield, Gerald W. The Chosen People. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1954.
- Bunche, Ralph J. A World View of Race. Washington, D. C.: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936.
- Burns, Alan. Colour Prejudice. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948.
- Carlson, Edgar M. The Church and the Public Conscience. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956.
- Collingwood, R. G. The Idea of History. London: Oxford University Press, 1949.
- Conant, Melvin. Race Issues on the World Scene. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.
- Elliot, Elisabeth. Through Gates of Splendor. New York: Harper, 1957.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.
- Gunther, John. Inside Africa. New York: Harper, 1953.
- Huddleston, Trevor. Naught for Your Comfort. London: Collins, 1956.
- Hutton, J. H. Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origin. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1946.
- Kraabel, Alf M. Grace and Race in the Lutheran Church. Chicago: National Lutheran Council--Division of American Missions, 1957.
- Kraemer, Hendrik. Religion and the Christian Faith. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.



- LaFarge, John. The Catholic Viewpoint in Race Relations. Garden City, N. Y.: Hanover House, 1956.
- Letts, Harold C., editor. Existence Today. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957.
- Little, Kenneth. Race and Society. Paris: UNESCO, 1952.
- Lund-Quist, Carl E., editor. Lutheran Churches of the World. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957.
- Manikam, Rajah B., editor. Christianity and the Asian Revolution. New York: Friendship Press, 1954.
- Marquard, D. South Africa. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955.
- Mason, Philip. Christianity and Race. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957.
- Matson, T. B. Christianity and World Issue. New York: Macmillan, 1957.
- Messages of the Third Assembly The Lutheran World Federation. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957.
- Montagu, Ashley. Statement on Race. New York: Henry Schuman, 1951.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. An American Dilemma. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.
- Noss, John B. Man's Religions. New York: Macmillan, 1956.
- Park, Robert E. Race and Culture. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950.
- Paton, Alan. The Land and People of South Africa. New York: Lippincott, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. South Africa in Transition. New York: Scribner's, 1956.
- Phillips, J. B. The Church under the Cross. New York: Macmillan, 1956.
- Pierson, Donald. Negroes in Brazil. Chicago: Chicago U. Press, 1942.
- Pope, Liston. The Kingdom Beyond Caste. New York: Friendship Press, 1957.
- Rolston, Holmes. The Social Message of the Apostle Paul. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1942.
- Romulo, Carlos P. The Meaning of Bandung. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
- Rowan, Carl T. The Pitiful and the Proud. New York: Random House, 1956.



- Smith, Lillian. Now is the Time. New York: Viking Press, 1955.
- Soper, Edmund Davison. Racism: A World Issue. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947.
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Paris: UNESCO, 1953.
- Visser 't Hooft, W. A. The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem. Paris: UNESCO, 1954.
- Weatherford, W. D. American Churches and the Negro. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1957.
- What is Race? Evidence from Science. Paris: UNESCO, 1952.

B. Periodicals, Proceedings, Pamphlets,

Newspapers, Reference Works

- Brady, Judge Tom B. Black Monday. Winona: Association of Citizen's Councils of Mississippi, 1954.
- Capell, Arthur. "Violence and Lowered Standards Integration Price at Washington," Selma Times-Journal, May 18, 1956, p. 1.
- "The Catholic Church and the Negro," Ebony, XIII (December, 1957), 18-26.
- Daniels, Frank. "Speak out Strongly," New South, XIII (January, 1958), 3-10.
- Dean, Vera Micheles. "The American Student and the Non-Western World." Mimeographed. In possession of author.
- Ellwanger, Joseph. "As Long as They Keep Their Place," Seminarian, XLIX (January, 1958), 35-42.
- Floreen, Harold. "The Lutheran Approach to Minority Groups," Augustana Review, V (Third Quarter, 1953), 1-30.
- "From Segregation to Breakfast," Time, LXIX (October 7, 1957), 24.
- "Glass House, Dirty Windows," Time, LXIX (October 7, 1957), 73.
- Graetz, Robert. "The Montgomery Bus Boycott-My Part in it," Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 13-15. Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956. Pp. 23-33.
- Holter, Don W. "Lord, Bless Africa!," The Christian Century, LXXV (February 12, 1958), 189-191.



- King, Martin Luther. "The Christian Way of Life in Human Relations." New York: National Council of Churches, 1957. Address given to the National Council of Churches in St. Louis, Missouri, December 4, 1957. Mimeographed.
- . "Oneness of Man in American Inter-group Relations." New York: National Council of Churches, 1957. Address given to the National Council of Churches, in St. Louis, Missouri, December 4, 1957. Mimeographed.
- "Letters," Time, LXIX (October 14, 1957), 15.
- "Looking and Listening," The Crisis, LXIV (October, 1957), 493-495.
- Madigan, James J. The Catholic Church and the Negro. St. Louis: The Queen's Work, 1951.
- Muller, Edwin. "Michael Blundell: Kenya's Fighting Peacemaker," The Reader's Digest, XXXVII (March, 1958), 190-195.
- Paton, Alan. "Church, State, and Race," The Christian Century, LXXV (March 5, 1958), 278-280.
- Pope, Liston. "Mandate of the Gospel Concerning Christ, the Church and Race." New York: National Council of Churches, 1957. Address given to the National Council of Churches in St. Louis, Missouri, December 4, 1957. Mimeographed.
- "Presbyterians of Area Stand Firm for Segregation," Selma Times-Journal, July 22, 1954, pp. 1f.
- Siessel, H. B. "Segregation in Sumter, South Carolina," Presbyterian Life, X (January 5, 1957), 6, 7, 33, 34.
- Smallwood, Osborn. "The Cycle of Limitation," The Christian and Race. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955. Pp. 9-14.
- Smith, Harold K. "The Luxury we Cannot Afford," New South, XII (October, 1957), 6-9.
- Smith, Homer. "The Promised Land," Ebony, XIII (March, 1958), 94-100.
- "South African Churches Race against Time," The Christian Century, LXXIV (July 31, 1957), 910, 911.
- "The Southern Churches and the Race Question," Christianity and Crisis, XVIII (March 3, 1958), 17-28.
- Speaks, Reuben L. "Will the Negro Remain Protestant?" The Christian Century, LXXI (June 2, 1954), 668, 669.



Stephens, Robert O. "Race Relations in Congo," His, XVIII (April, 1958), 15, 16.

Strietelmeier, John. God in Our Confused World. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955.

Swann, Darius L. "A Negro Missionary in China," The Christian Century, LXVIII (November 7, 1951), 1276-1278.

Thomas, Winburn T. "Indonesia Wants No More Sects," The Christian Century, LXXIV (October 30, 1957), 1298, 1299.

"Voice of Venom," Time, LXX (March 3, 1958), 28, 29.

Wilmot, Tony B. "New Africa and the Eternal Word," His, XVIII (March, 1958), 1-4.