An Analysis of the Theological Justification of Apartheid in South Africa: A Reformed Theological Perspective

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Factors with a religious or semi-religious background are powerful and influential tools in history. Therefore it is interesting to note how religion and theology has played a major role in society and in the politics of the human race of all times and in most countries. This study will highlight just one example: the development and implementation of Apartheid in South Africa.

Christianity became a powerful influence in South Africa, often uniting large numbers of people in a common faith. In the twentieth century, however, several Christian churches actively promoted racial divisions through the political philosophy of Apartheid. The largest of these denominations was the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk - NGK), which became the "official religion" of the National Party during the Apartheid era.

The Dutch Reformed Church arrived in South Africa in the seventeenth century, after Calvinist reforms in Europe had entrenched the idea of predestination on the Synod of Dordrecht in the Netherlands in 1619. The church gained recognition as the dominant religion of the state in 1651, and the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie - VOC), as an extension of the state in Southern Africa, established the first Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652.

Church members in South Africa generally resisted the liberal trends that arose in Europe in the nineteenth century, but rifts occurred in the church in 1853 with the formation of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (also translated, the Dutch Reformed Church), and in 1859, with the formation of the Gereformeerde Kerke van Suid-Afrika (the Reformed Churches of South Africa). The NGK is generally referred to as the Dutch Reformed Church, but the two newer churches can both be referred to as Reformed churches.
All of the Reformed churches share similar Calvinist doctrines and presbyterian organization. Their doctrines assert that God is eternal, infinite, wise, and just, and the Creator of the universe. He has planned the life and the fate of each individual on earth; the "chosen" are saved. The Bible - both the Old Testament and the New Testament - is the final authority on religious matters.

The presbyterian organization of the Reformed churches means that the functioning of each congregation is governed, in part, by that community and its elders, whereas decisions concerning policy and discipline are generally handled by regional synods. A general synod is responsible for the denomination as a whole. In South Africa, a national synod and nine regional synods oversee the operation of the Dutch Reformed congregations.

As black Africans and people of mixed race converted to the religion, church members debated the question of racial separation. Pressure for racially separate congregations increased, and the issue was complicated by the demands of some black church members for their own churches and congregations. In 1881 the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (Sendingkerk) established a separate coloured church. In 1910, when black South Africans made up about 10 percent of the NGK community, the synods established the NGK in Africa, as it became known, for black Africans. An Indian Dutch Reformed Church was formed in 1951.

Racial separation only became widely accepted in the church in the early twentieth century, when many Afrikaners came to believe that their own survival as a community was threatened, and when the belief in racial separation was gaining acceptance among white South Africans in general. Social and spiritual survival became intertwined in church philosophy, influenced in part by the early twentieth century persecution of the Afrikaners by the British. Church leaders refused to condemn Afrikaner rebellions against the British, and their followers gained strength by attributing divine origins to their struggle for survival.

In the current day South Africa all ethnic groups are still each in its own way dealing with the legacy of Apartheid, a comprehensive system of forced racial segregation imposed on the population by the Nationalist government prior to 1994. This system
and its ideology cannot be understood without looking into its philosophical, political, social and religious roots, which dates back many centuries to when South Africa was Christianised.

Apartheid\(^1\) is a politico-religious term that existed as a formal system of laws from 1948 to 1994 in South Africa, but has its roots in developments from the centuries before. It was mainly used by people from European descent. Literally, ŉApartheidô is a commonly known Afrikaans word. ŉApartô means "separate", in other words things and people that do not belong together, in this case in terms of colour, race and origin. ŉheidô is an Afrikaans suffix which means ŉnessô or "-hood". Apartheid was a systematic program that influenced all aspects of people's social, political and religious relations. In a general sense, white South Africa used the Apartheid-approach in defence of what they believed to be their country. It was a system that maintained that people of different colour, race and culture should stay separate, each group on its own. In this case, whites and blacks had to be separated by any means and under all circumstances. White South Africans had to live their lives without interference by blacks. Whites were considered as superior, and should not be disturbed or troubled by anyone. They viewed black people who opposed this system as communists or anarchists. Whites with this attitude considered blacks who rebelled as a serious threat to their lives and their accumulated wealth, and many other aspects as well. Although South Africa was a wealthy country, its prosperity was largely based on the whitesô activities of building the country. Apartheid preserved all that was good for whites only, for instance, jobs were reserved for white people, there was strict segregation of living areas, and whites also had the upper hand politically, which gave them the power to keep order and stability.

In order to maintain this standard of living, the regime was purely and only white, while the society was multicultural. Therefore the Apartheid government had to promulgate and impose racial laws that would prohibit non-white people from entering into power. The government segregated them by restricting them to areas that were defined as their ŉhomelandô

\(^1\) The definition of Apartheid is very broad, and therefore the political definition will somehow be slightly different from theology and many other disciplines.
Against this background, white South Africans feared blacks because they were afraid that if blacks ruled the country, then there would no place for them. Some authors stress the ideological character. Loubser\(^2\) defines Apartheid as a utopian, totalitarian system intending the unilateral separation of the black and white races in South Africa. Other scholars do not define Apartheid in terms of a utopia, but more as a pragmatic defence of power and prosperity. Therefore Vorster defines Apartheid in more political terms. He argues that Apartheid is a political system that existed in South Africa where people were separated on the grounds of colour, race and ethnicity into separate states and communities.\(^3\)

Apartheid is a closed, totalitarian system of ideas, which had in mind the total separation of the black and white races in South Africa, and which endeavoured to make its influence felt over the whole spectrum of human activities. This was a practice in which all the different aspects of life were so intertwined that it had a highly ideological character. The idea was to entrench the system of complete racial segregation on all levels of society. The purpose of Apartheid was based on dividing, separating and ruling people according to their skin colour. Whites stood on their own (English and Afrikaans), and the blacks were further divided according to their own language and locality, in other words each ethnic group on its own. They were confined to a certain geographic area where they belonged. At grass roots level, Apartheid was the result of white reaction to foreign cultural influences. When a culture comes into contact with another, it is natural for groups not to mix, but to withdraw into their own ranks. However, usually this tendency is balanced by natural curiosity and economic necessity compelling people to cross boundaries.

South Africa is still wrestling with the heritage of Apartheid on a social, economic, political and cultural level. One of the aspects that have not yet been resolved completely is the involvement of the Dutch Reformed Church and other

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\(^2\) AJ. Loubser, Has done a very thorough survey in the whole area of Apartheid in South Africa in an article: Apartheid theology: A contextual theology gone wrong? (In Journal of Church and State, 38:321 ï 337. 1996).

denominations of Dutch decent in the Apartheid politics, especially the theological justification.

Ever since the promulgation of racial laws in South Africa, which actually began long before 1948, the heritage of Apartheid existed. After 340 years of white dominance, South Africa is still wrestling with the heritage of Apartheid on social, economic, political and cultural level. The political turn in 1994 cannot immediately erase a paradigm that has been internalised in human beings for many generations.

The Apartheid system developed over a long period of time indeed. It developed in different phases. It goes back as far as 1652 when the VOC established a Dutch refreshment station at the Cape. As a result of this establishment, the Dutch Reformed Church\(^4\) was implanted some years later in the Cape. This church became strong and it influenced and shaped the theology of many white people. It exercised its Christian mission within the new colony. Gerstner contends that: \(\text{Reformed church life and theology played a formative role in the development of South African culture and society}\)^5\ It contributed greatly to the formation of a distinctive identity among white settlers and to their conviction of superiority.

The Christian faith was brought into South Africa along with the settlement of the VOC. The settlers in the Cape took their faith seriously. As the colony expanded, so did the DRC, but its growth was almost totally confined to the white settler community.\(^6\) The mission should have been to win the Cape for Christ, then South Africa and the whole of the continent. This would have meant that all cultures and races would have been part of this mission. The DRC to a larger extent did not fulfil such a mission. Instead of incorporating and breaking the barriers between black and white, they did not considered the blacks as fellow human beings who should be united in Christ, and this is a very serious problem until this day. The fact that the DRC did not understand the faith as all human beings unified in Christ has not been addressed explicitly, and it sheds a specific light on the evaluation of its theological

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\(^4\) Hereafter DRC will be used to denote the Dutch Reformed Church.


justification of Apartheid. The system was not only influenced by economy and politics, but also to a great extent by theology. It seems that this theology was heretic from the very beginning, not only because of its effects, but from its very foundation, namely that the good message of Christ for all human beings, united as his own body, was not the focus of theology in DRC.

It is remarkable to see how theology played a major role in the political situation, which advanced in the development of the Apartheid system. Theology was used to justify this system of Apartheid in one way or the other. The relation between the church and state strengthened this ideology. The church was influenced by the state and vice versa. The church and the state were at one stage inseparable as entities; the state became as involved in church matters as the church was in state matters. The state played a major role in church life, and hence the strong relation between church and state. During this process, the idea of Afrikanerdom developed, and it was completely attached to the church. Theology became a catalyst of this system. The link between Apartheid politics and Apartheid theology is not that strange when one considers the link between Afrikanerdom and Reformed churches since the 17th century in South Africa.

An investigation into the religious roots of the development of Apartheid will assist in understanding this mechanism.

2. PROBLEM FORMULATION

The problem of race in South Africa is linked to the history of racial segregation, which developed into Apartheid, which is in turn associated with racism, oppression, injustice and discrimination. The research question that will be addressed here firstly concerns the historical development of Apartheid in South Africa and its manipulation once it was established.

It secondly investigates the sequential involvement of the church in the development of Apartheid within the church, which greatly influenced the political situation of the day. In other words, the reformed faith was equated with the policy of separation and Apartheid.
This question became a prominent and debated topic in the context of South African churches, more especially within the DRC. This was due to the historical processes focussing on church, missions and social stratification as it resulted in the ideology and the development of fully-fledged Apartheid, which in turn impacted on human rights as well.

How and when did Apartheid become so important in all the debates in South Africa, both in the church and society? What could have prompted Apartheid? Why should churches be so concerned about Apartheid even today? One reason is that it created social division amongst people, and this resulted in social stratification and exclusion. Social stratification is important in understanding the theory of Apartheid in South Africa. The thesis of this research is that social stratification actually impacted more on theological thought than reading the Bible. Social stratification became the perspective for reading the Bible; the good message of Christ was not the perspective for dealing with society.

2.1 Research questions

With this in mind, the following research questions can be formulated:

- How did Apartheid develop and what triggered it?
- What influenced the development of Apartheid both in the church and society?
- What is the relation between faith and ethnicity?
- Which theological arguments were used for and against Apartheid?
- Where these arguments theologically based or are they politically motivated?
- What role did Apartheid theology play in the development of theology in the church?
- If theology played a major role in the formation of Apartheid, did the church ever consider the issue on human rights abuse?
2.2. Aims and objectives

2.2.1 Aims

The aim of the research is to revisit the ideology behind the theological justification of Apartheid in South Africa. This study will focus on the leading church that spearheaded this development – the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. The other white churches of the reformed family - the Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika and the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk van Suid-Afrika - will be taken into account only when necessary to understand the development of Apartheid theology.

2.2.2 Objectives

To reach this aim, the following objectives should be set:

- To evaluate the historical background of the development of Apartheid in South Africa.
- To evaluate the Biblical references used to support the idea of Apartheid.
- To evaluate the arguments regarding Apartheid theologically and to discern whether they are politically motivated.
- To evaluate the relevant synodical decisions of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Gereformeerde Kerke van Suid-Afrika, and the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk van Suid-Afrika regarding the issues of race relation and Apartheid.
- To evaluate the relation between faith and ethnicity with regard to the specific situation in South Africa as an example for their general relation.

3. Method of research

This research is done from the perspective of the Reformed tradition in South Africa, particularly within the mainline churches. The idea is not to propose final solutions to the problems posed, but only to establish how faith - and theology as its conceptualisation - was related to ethnicity in the concrete setting of the Apartheid ideology and its social stratification. In an effort to reach this aim, existing literature will be read from the point of view of this specific theological interest.
4. CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The following chapter overview provides a guide of how the argument in this thesis develops.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a synopsis of the development of the issues that shaped South African society as a stage for Apartheid.

CHAPTER 2: THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID

This presents the debate on the development of Apartheid since the pre-colonial period. It deals especially with the establishment of Christianity in the early stages in South African history through to its expansion. Apartheid has undergone a long process to become the final result, which manifested in its official form as Apartheid.

CHAPTER 3: THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Chapter 3 deals predominantly with the legacy of social stratification. A survey that underlies the race and class is delineated in this chapter. This is also an introduction to the view of white superiority and black inferiority that became evident in the theology that was developed by Totius.

CHAPTER 4: THEOLOGICAL SETTING – THE CONTRIBUTION OF KUYPERIAN–TOTIUS THEOLOGY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

This chapter will look closer into the influence of Kuyper on Totius. Totius contributed much to the development of Apartheid, and based himself on Kuyper. His contribution was regarded by many as that he was the person who tried to align the interpretation of the Bible to suit the policy of Apartheid. In this case, the church developed a church mission policy that was founded in his theology. It is not the intention of this study to investigate whether Totius had a fair interpretation of Kuyper
which would be an interesting study in itself). This study is interested in the theological development within the Reformed Churches in South Africa, and therefore in the use that Totius and others made of Kuyper.

CHAPTER 5: MISSION POLICY

Here, the focus is on the controversial document of mission policy that was meant to be an official Apartheid document in the church. This document was finally accepted in the DRC’s higher authority in 1935. It was initially motivated by the traditional fear of the Afrikaners for gelykstelling which brought it into existence.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF APARTHEID IN THE CHURCH WITHIN THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH CIRCLES

The relationship between the Reformed churches and the state that supported their approach, will receive attention here. Which structure influenced which? Was it the church that influenced the state or the state that influenced the church? This relationship turned into the introduction of the church clause, which led to the institutionalisation of Apartheid.

CHAPTER 7: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

The human rights abuses in the church and society are investigated here. The chapter also addresses the question of how the church should have acted. This question is necessitated by the silence of the church with regard to the abuse.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this thesis presents a contemplative church historical consideration of the role Apartheid played in South African churches and how it shaped their theology. The sequence was indeed that Apartheid shaped theology, and not the other way around. Otherwise the unity of the body of Christ in his reconciling work would have shaped society and that would have been a totally different society.
CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the development of Apartheid is a very broad topic, this chapter will focus specifically on the development of Apartheid from the theological point of view. Such an investigation starts at the time of the arrival of the European missionaries, and the Dutch colonists in particular, with their introduction of the Reformed faith in South Africa. The discussion will first focus on the theological development of Apartheid, and secondly on the Dutch colonists (or the Dutch East Indian Company, the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC)\(^7\) who in turn brought the Calvinistic/Reformed faith into South Africa via the Cape. This chapter will be confined to certain Reformed traditions and the role they played during Apartheid times.

2. SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY DURING PRE-COLONIALISM

What was South Africa before colonisation? Who were the inhabitants before the arrival of the Europeans? Studies by anthropologists and archaeologists indicated that South Africa was occupied by the Bantu peoples.\(^8\) These were the people who migrated to the South\(^9\) and later joined the Khoisan. The oldest people to date who are originally from the South are the people speaking the *Khoisan*\(^10\) languages, the

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\(^7\) *VOC* Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or English translation Dutch East India Company. This was the Dutch’s largest and most powerful movement of the 17\(^{th}\) century. It was the first multinational and the most modern commercial enterprise of that time. They were the dominant maritime power in the world. In 1652, the VOC sent an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of setting up a refreshment station for Dutch ships sailing around Africa on their way to and from the East Indies. The head of the expedition, Jan van Riebeeck, built a fort and gardens on Table Bay, and for that he has gone down in history as the founder of Cape Town. He was, in fact, the first white ruler of the region.

\(^8\) In most cases these people are referred to as the “Bantu speaking people”. The Bantu speaking group is most commonly said to have its origins in western Cameroon some centuries ago.

\(^9\) Later the name used here is South Africa.

\(^10\) Khoisan is used in a broader term to describe both the Khoikhoi and the San. Khoikhoi literally means men of men. Khoikhoi is another culture that could be distinguished from the Khoisan. The two groups, Khoisan and Khoikhoi are confusing terms since they refer either to the Khoi
oldest surviving inhabitants of the territory of South Africa. Other groups came into
South Africa around 1500 and beyond. The land now known as South Africa was
originally populated by San hunter-gatherers. About 2000 years ago one of these
communities, the Khoikhoi, began raising livestock when they acquired animals from
migrating Bantu-speaking peoples moving southward across the Limpopo River. The
Bantu peoples in South Africa had migrated south from central Africa, settling in the
Transvaal region sometime before 1000 A.D. The Portuguese were the first
Europeans to reach the Cape of Good Hope. They sailed to the region around 1488.
The English and the French landed on the South African coast between 1500 and
1650 in search of wealth.\(^{11}\) The permanent European settlement came only in 1652,
when the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC) established a provision station in the
Cape. The station was meant to produce vegetables, fresh fruit, water and meat for
the sailors.

The VOC itself was established in 1602 with Dutch, Flemish and German capitals
through the unison a number of Dutch commercial undertakings,\(^{12}\) which gave the
VOC much support. They had a very strong and extensive interest in Indonesia and
India. The VOC was one of the most profitable companies of its time, and it also
acquired the reputation of being one of the most corrupt multi-nationals of all time.\(^{13}\)
The same Dutch were known for their Calvinistic approach and belief as well. In
subsequent decades followed the French Huguenot refugees.

3. **THE AGE OF COLONISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1652 -1910**

The establishment of the refreshment station in the Cape was commercial in nature.
The mercantile period emerged. This was a period during which some countries tried

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\(^{12}\) The VOC was considered to be the first multinationals in Europe.

to enrich themselves at the expense of others. Times were characterised by economic orthodoxy among emerging nation-states of Europe, which will be discussed later.\textsuperscript{14} Mercantilism is an economic theory which holds that the prosperity of a nation depends upon its supply of capital, and that the global volume of trade is "unchangeable." The amount of capital held by the state is best increased through a positive balance of trade with other nations, with large exports and low imports. Mercantilism suggests that the ruling government should advance these goals by playing a protectionist role in the economy, by encouraging exports and discouraging imports, especially through the use of tariffs.

The Dutch East Indian Company (VOC) \textit{en route} to the East became involved in the economy of the Cape. The sole aim of the VOC was to trade with the East, where they had commercial interest. One advantage that they also had was their Calvinistic faith, which they carried along with them. For the VOC, as a Dutch company, this faith was a privileged religion, and because of this privilege, they used their monopoly to develop the colony as a Christian institution on a Reformed base. The Church was imported from the Netherlands as a Dutch Church. It became the \textit{Dutch Reformed Church} (DRC), supporting the colonial administration of the VOC.\textsuperscript{15} The Dutch Reformed Church was actively seen as playing a very decisive role in both church matters and politics. Their powers were saturated by the British colonial rule that took over in 1795 and 1806. The British took the Cape colony, for they had developed trade interest with India as well. They wanted to promote their own economic interests as well as their power, as they wanted to be the centre of a global empire. In the following section the Dutch monopoly will be discussed, and the British colonial system will receive some attention.

In order to understand some of the later developments in South Africa, it is important to consider what the intention of the Dutch East Indian Company was with the establishment of a colony in the Cape in 1652. The main reason why the DEIC wished to establish a colony in the Cape was to establish a settlement for the production of supplies for their ships to the East. The Cape was not their final

\textsuperscript{15} J.N. Gerstner, \textit{A Christian monopoly}: 29.
destination. This very reason multiplied into many dilemmas for the entire South African history and for the situation today. The settlement of the Europeans in Africa was motivated chiefly by economy, and subsequently it turned into an exploitation system.

### 3.1 Dutch monopoly 1652-1795

The introduction of the refreshment station in the Cape implied that the Dutch will require land for farming. The Cape was initially not a Dutch colony, but rather commercial property where trade took place. As such it received extraordinary privileges and support from the Dutch government. The VOC were *en route* to the East for they were interested in India and Indonesia. The colony in the Cape established by the VOC had two major characteristics, first was the exploitation of the inhabitants, the *Khoikhoi*, by the Dutch, and secondly the inhabitants were threatened by the settlers. The Dutch originally depended on the Khoi for cattle and did not want to disturb their cultural integrity and their socio-economic stability. The acquisition ended up in loggerheads with the *Khoi* because the Dutch subjugated the Khoi and seized their land and livestock. In 1659 war broke out between the Khoi and the VOC concerning the grazing area between the Khoi and the free burghers who had been released from their contracts with the VOC by Jan Van Riebeeck. The war resulted in the banning of the Khoikhoi leader, Autshumao, to Robben Island.

The verbal war between the Khoi leader and the Colonists continued. Autshumao’s response to the colonist was rhetorical: If the country is too small, who has the greater right: the true owner or the foreign intruder? Van Riebeeck’s answer was that *we* have won this country in a just manner through a defensive war and it is our intention to keep it. The colonists were strong enough to seize the land, and the inhabitants lost their land, their political rights were even ripped off. To a large extent, their political and cultural identity were deprived and suppressed. In this

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18. These were the VOC employees who were released from their contracts to become independent farmers and they set themselves as freeburgers.
19. The Khoi leader, Autshumao, was banned because he could not subjugate himself to the authority. He was told that the land was not enough for both the natives and the colonist.
regard the following quote from Villa-Vicencio is revealing: “For many Africans land meant survival and their cattle were not only a source of meat and milk, but also a resource of enormous social and cultural significance. The loss of land and cattle meant the loss of political and social cohesion.” This was the beginning of a colonial process of land deprivation that continued for more than 250 years: “This process culminated in the Land act of 1913.” The refreshment station grew from agricultural practices to stock farming.

The Settlers introduced a mercantilist policy. This policy set up the economic orthodoxy among the emerging nation states of Europe as such that a specific country could only become rich if it could ensure a large inflow of gold, or that it had better trade routes and more ships for colonial exploitation than its rivals. Settlers gained control of the economics of the area where they were operating, their products were good, and they had to establish a stronghold for their trade. The Khoi society was pastoral and did not rely heavily on land ownership, but on small kinship groups or clans that grazed their cattle over a large area: “they were not unified or organised into a single kingdom.” The Khoi became economically involved with the establishment of the refreshment station, but had little interest in the Dutch religion. This economic involvement occurred through trade between the Khoi and the whites. This trade was a battering affair. Trading with the Khoi was essentially commercialised with cattle, and cattle were their main wealth and their only way of making a living. Their cattle were identified with their identity and their independence, and loosing cattle meant loosing their identity. Terreblance concedes that the Khoi’s political and economic structures were fragile and vulnerable. The Khoi could sell their fat cattle for a mere piece of a mirror. Initially, the Khoi were very careful of their breeding stock and did not ordinarily kill cattle for food. The Khoi had large livestock, including cattle and sheep, but they became more interested in small

22 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 155.
23 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 154.
24 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 164.
26 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 164.
articles like knives, mirrors, etc. Ultimately this contributed much to their decline, since they were losing their main source of life: cattle.

Somehow trade with the Khoi was monopolised to such an extent that the white settlers became rich at the expense of the Khoi, and the Khoi became poorer, and ultimately beggars. 27 This trade did not occur in good faith and love. The white settlers had an advantage of trading with the Khoi, but it later dissolved because the Khoi resisted the intrusion from the setters who were then taking their land for grazing. This resulted in the onset of poverty amongst the indigenous people. The VOC were very skilful merchants and the quality of their products was good. They knew how to conduct transactions and good business. Elphick is right when he says that the consequence of the VOC’s actions was to subjugate the indigenous people. They did this by gaining control of the source of the cheap cattle from the Khoi, and by monopolising the distribution of cattle to consumers. 28 As a result, business transactions with the Khoi became harder. At a later stage doing business with them was considered unrealistic, since they were more of a communal society as influenced by their pastoral lifestyle. Their lifestyle had not changed much in terms of business.

At the time there were three parties involved, the Free Burgers, the VOC and also the Khoi. The Khoi were dehumanised. The power of the Khoi decreased and decreased as the White settlers became strong against them, and their economic welfare deteriorated. The VOC managed to completely subjugate the Khoi, so that they depended on the colony for their livelihood and security. The VOC consumed a large number of Khoikhoi’s cattle, subordinated and humiliated their chiefs, assimilated the Khoi into its legal systems and instigated the expansion of the colony into Khoi pastures. The free burgers became involved in the last stage as their role became decisive because they provided employment to the impoverished Khoikhoi. 29 The Khoi were never considered to be good people to do business with, they were

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regarded as too wild and uncontrollable.\textsuperscript{30} Ross concedes that during the first decade of colonial settlement, the VOC discovered that the force necessary to subject the Khoi and require them to work on farms was far too great to make it a profitable proposition.\textsuperscript{31} The VOC had encountered labour difficulties with the Khoi from the inception of the settlement station in 1652.

Although the Khoisan fought the Dutch by attacking the farms of the free burghers, taking their cattle and destroying their crops, the Dutch won the battle and things became worse for the Khoisan as the numbers of free burgers and settlers grew and more land was parcelled out to them.

As a result, the Dutch took over more land, the Khoisan found themselves losing everything they owned, especially livestock, which they regarded as a form of wealth. It was therefore important for them to own livestock. Their livelihood was put in danger, and that caused them to start raiding one another's herds.

Slavery was introduced in the Cape at around 1658. The colonist wanted to get hold of the natural resources that were in the country, and they did this by subjugating the indigenous people who lived there. The period between 1652 and 1717 was characterised by VOC labour problems. There were two main arguments about slavery. Some were of the opinion that slaves should be imported from somewhere around the world, while the other group felt that 'Creole' slaves should be imported from Europe.\textsuperscript{32} Slaves from Europe were considered wage slaves. The Creoles\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{30} Terreblanche, A history of inequality:156.
\textsuperscript{32} The Europeans slave were called 'Kreools'
\textsuperscript{33} The term creole comes from Portuguese crioulo. The Portuguese word crioulo is derived from the verb criar (to raise/to create). And from the Latin creare, meaning "to beget" or "create." It was used to denote a slave of Europeans or African descent. Eventually, the word was applied to all New World colonists, regardless of ethnic origin. The term was inverted in the 16th century during the great expansion in European maritime power and trade and the establishment of European colonies in Africa and America and along the coast of South and Southeast Asia up to the Philippines, China, India and Japan, and in Oceania. The term "Creole" was originally applied to people born in the colonies to distinguish them from the upper-class European-born immigrants. The Creoles came into their own as an ethnic group, enjoying many of the legal rights and privileges of whites. They occupied a middle ground between whites and enslaved blacks, and as such often possessed property and later received some formal education. It is generally understood among these Creoles that Creole of Color still refers to Creoles of mixed-
were regarded as valuable and trustworthy, they were treated more humanely compared to other slaves that sorted into lower classes. The European wage slaves were later abandoned for the imported slaves.

The Cape slaves reproduced. During that time, miscegenation between white men and slave women was very common. Numerous children were born that later became part of the Œcoloured communityû. The rapid growth of the slave population with the birth of slave children caused this group to later be regarded as a new category of colonial subject.34

The slavery importation in due course turned into a pattern of race relations. Due to lack of manpower within the colony, slaves were imported to create a basic economic infrastructure in the Cape.35 Slaves were imported from as far as Malaysia, East Africa and from India,36 and the first group of 174 slaves were imported from Angola.37 The imported slaves were absorbed as cheap labourers, and they were considered to be easy to handle, and going to their respective homes would be difficult since they were far from the place where their families lived. This practice of slavery grew rapidly. The number of Khoi who were in the Cape were somehow overtaken.

The rights of the slaves were very limited, and they were in a very inferior position.38 The indigenous people were forced to be part of these labour groups, and became totally dependent on settler farming. Isichei points out that many indigenous people were absorbed into the white community as they became servants. They had to degrade their own culture to become like Christians. The economy of the country started to bloom in the white man's hand, but at the expense of the black people who where then slaves. The importation of slaves to the Cape had severe drawbacks for every level of society, especially in the area of labour and race relations. Slave


34 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 158.
36 Hofmeyr, Christianity in the period of Dutch colonisation: 11.
37 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 156
labour did not only create a society along racial categories, but it also introduced socio-economic stratification. Slaves were in the eyes of the whites equated to heathenism. If one was a slave, he was on the lower level of society and therefore a heathen, and also uncivilised. Isechei points out that if one rejected Christianity, it was like he was rejecting slavery, and would therefore be condemned to be a slave of Satan and of men.

South Africa became a free passage for traders. Gerstner writes: The identification of Christians and settlers on the South African frontier, an identification with immense significance for the establishment of white supremacy in South Africa, clearly flows out of the internal-holiness version of covenant theology. The VOC managed to bring reformation to South Africa, but it failed to impress its real reformed doctrine unto the lives and the hearts of South Africans. This failure could have been the result of the community’s conservativeness. Their lifestyle was conservative, and also deeply rooted in the Dutch inheritance of customs. Their social life was associated with religion. The Bible influenced their religious life, and their spiritual world was narrowly shaped. Their conservativeness influenced their attitude towards other people and other affairs. Gerstner concludes by saying: The institutional monopoly of Christianity by the Dutch Reformed church did help to unify Europeans of different backgrounds to a significant degree, but as Christianity became a source of social identification among the settlers, to most of the indigenous inhabitants it became all the more simply the foreign faith of a strange deity.

The VOC colonised the indigenous people in the name of Christianity, and at a later stage, they wanted to expand their Christian faith by introducing civilisation to the so-called uncivilised people. The Bible was used as a basic tool to overpower the indigenous people. In the Mission Chronicle, there was a proclamation by a person called Andries Stoffels, who was from the descendants of the Khoi, saying: The Bible charmed us out of the caves and from the tops of the mountains. The Bible

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39 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 159.
40 E. Isichei, A history of Christianity in SA: From antiquity to the Present, SPCK, 1995, 104.
43 A quotation by Elbourne & Ross, 1997:43.
made us throw away all our old customs and practices, and we lived among civilised men. On the other hand, the Bible lured people to till the land and work for the whites as cheap labourers. Colonisation and statutory discrimination also played a role. In this case, the church was silent and had to side with this colonial rule of the time.\textsuperscript{44} Gerstner points out ſone application of covenant theology in South Africa concerned the relationship between Christianity and slavery, an institution seemingly accepted in both Testaments and subject to Old Testament law.\textsuperscript{45}

The white domination had taken a good stand; the indigenous people had no land and the resources were now in the hands of the whites. The white settlers introduced the idea of a border colony, which later became the Boer republic; they retained full power and controlled the indigenous people. The distinction between black and white was then blooming. The fundamental difference between Europeans and non-Europeans was maintained and this development was theologically and ecclesiastically justified by the differentiation between the baptised and non-baptised.\textsuperscript{46}

### 3.2 The British Occupation 1795-1910

The British forces occupied the Cape twice. They brought with them foreign policies strange to the Boers: ideas relating to relations with Africans, in other words how Boers were meant to treat their servants and slaves, about the independence of magistracy, about language rights, etc.

To understand the British colonialism in South Africa, we have to consider a number of events that took place between 1795 and 1804. The British colonialism was characterised by strong military and economic policies. This was the time when the British colonialism and imperialism dominated the world.

\textsuperscript{44} Vorster, Constitutional state: 94.
\textsuperscript{45} Gerstner, A Christian monopoly: 18.
Due to the political instability in Europe, France invaded the Netherlands and established a Batavian republic in 1795. Prince William of Orange of the Netherlands was in exile in England. He did not want the Cape colony to be taken over by France, and neither did the Britain. They feared that their trade with the East would be hampered by this move. As a result he gave the Cape rule over to the British in 1795.\textsuperscript{47} This move meant that the situation in the Cape would not change. The authorities still practiced Dutch rule, and the former colonist retained all its rights, religion, culture and everything.

The first British occupation of the Cape was brief. They arrived in 1795, left in 1802 and returned in 1806 until the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The first British occupation marked the significance of further development of mission work in the Cape. During the Dutch rule, the Dutch Reformed Church was the only active church. When the British occupied the Cape for the first time in 1795, it marked the end of the only active event after the Cape had fallen into British hands; nevertheless, DRC still remained the church of the colony. The British had introduced their churches in some of the districts, such as the Anglican Church. As the Dutch colonial system brought the establishment of Christianity in South Africa, so the British gave access to missionaries from Europe into South Africa. This period also marks the arrival of the London Missionary Society in the Cape around 1799. This meant that other churches than the DRC could develop their mission work. The forming of London Missionary Society in 1795 proved to be fruitful on the side of the British, since it paved the way for other churches to start with their missionary work. There were two great principles: to preach and proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ and not to promote any particular form of government or denominationalism, the second was the independence of the church, that the society would no longer accept state support and funds, but will depend on the voluntary contribution of her members.

In 1802 the Treaty of Amiens between the British and France ruled that the Cape be returned to Batavian rule. Between 1803 and 1806 the Cape colony was returned to the Dutch and constituted and ruled by the Batavian Republic. The Dutch

\textsuperscript{47} J.A. Millard, The legacy of the British Settlers \textit{i} from 1975 to 1845, in: \textit{Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae}, (2003), 91.
commissioner, General J.A. De Mist, introduced a church order within which he introduced new church laws that would govern the church at the time. His intentions were to replace the church order of Dordrecht. In this new church ordinance, religious tolerance was introduced in South Africa. This meant that religious activities and association would be protected.\textsuperscript{48} The Catholics and Muslims were among the first to be established under this ordinance, but the ordinance failed to break away the relation between the church and the state, for example, the DRC was still the state church and was still entitled to state subsidy. Churches had to ask permission from the state if they wanted to build a church, finances were all state matters. The state supported the church. Even though the umbilical cord between the DRC at the Cape was cut from Amsterdam, which was regarded as the mother church, this did not mean that the relation between the church and the state was cut. The governor, who represented the state, was there to confirm all activities of the church. The DRC was also granted permission to establish their own synod though it had to be ratified by the state.

The second British rule over the Cape came as a matter of force. This came due to the conflict between the British and the French. The British captured the Cape colony in 1806. The British rule imposed its law, and with that the church was under the state. What became important in this phase was that the British had to send in their own ministers since the relation between the Cape and the Dutch ended. This meant that there were no more ministers coming from The Netherlands. This period was marked by many changes in the situation of South Africa, politically, economically, socially and ecclesiastically. One important issue during this period was the abolishment of slavery in all British colonies. The British occupation, as was influenced by the politics in Europe, also entrenched the idea of the French Revolution, which was to the displeasure of the Dutch colonies.\textsuperscript{49} The Dutch Reformed Church during this British occupation was still the established church of the colony and still exercised a virtual monopoly over religious life.\textsuperscript{50} The changes in


the country also affected the ecclesiastical matter. But the British rule meant that all other churches that were closed out by the DRC were now free to do their mission work. They opened the doors for other churches to practice their mission work, churches like the Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian and at a later stage, the African Independent churches were all free and recognised within the Colony and throughout the country, many of these churches had their own ministers and their own church buildings. The result was that many churches that had British roots were deeply involved in mission work.

What happened in Europe had a bearing in the situation in South Africa. The Dutch settlers started to be unsecured from any other people. They felt they were stripped off their own culture and a country that they thought was theirs. For example, English language was to be used across the board; this meant that their attempt to officiate their language could not be materialised. Afrikaans, which developed from Dutch and Flemish, was only a spoken language.

When British colonists arrived in 1820 and afterwards, they demanded that English laws should be imposed. English then became the official language at the Cape. The Khoi were given protections against the Boers, and slavery was abolished in 1833. The British were the main source of threats for the Boers. The English were more powerful than them. The Boers were repressed; they felt their privileged position of being white was at stake. They wanted to protect their endangered position from the British by shifting the repression and vent their anger to the black people. The threats were shifted to the black people whom they thought could chase them out of their country.
3.3. The Great Trek 1835–1840

3.3.1 Introduction

Terreblanche rightly concedes that the Great Trek is a major theme in Afrikaner historiography. It is often interpreted as a quest for freedom from British domination and is thus projected as an important event in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism.51

The Voortrekkers were threatened by the ‘liberalism’ of the new colonial administration which was in the hands of the British, insecure about conflict on the eastern frontier by their own growing population. The Voortrekkers hoped to restore economic, cultural and political unity independent of British power. They did not want to succumb to the British and the only way they saw open for them was to leave the colony.

3.3.2 The Voortrekkers52

The Voortrekkers were mainly of Trekboer (migrating farmer) descent living in the eastern frontiers of the Cape. The Trekboers were nomadic pastoral descendants of Dutch settlers, French Huguenot refugees, German Protestants, Frisians and smaller numbers of Belgians, Scandinavians, Scots, as well as some Indian slaves and a mixture of Khoi and Malay due to absorption into the nascent Boer nation who stayed in the Cape.

The trekkers’ traditional dress was dopper coats (short coats buttoned from top to bottom), kappies (bonnets) and hand-made riempieskoene (leather thong shoes), set out in wagons which they called kakebeenwaens (literally, jawbone wagons, because the shape and sides of a typical trek wagon resembled the jawbone of an animal).

51 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 220.
52 The Voortrekkers here are the many people who engaged themselves in the march called the Great Trek.
3.3.3 The Trek

By 1830 many Boers living in the East Cape frontier were getting restless due to the tyranny of the British. This heightened in 1833 when they abolished slavery which placed natives on an equal footing to decent Christians. As they believed that God’s creation had placed them in a superior position to the heathen most of them and their slaves migrated out of the colony in what is known as the Great Trek.

Loubser argues that the Dutch were impoverished and were left defenceless, they were also embittered by the way the British monopolised the whole system. The Boers considered the 'Trek' as the struggle against evil. It was an epic struggle in which the Afrikaner identity, freedom and republican ideals would be formulated more clearly and their racial policy delineated more vividly. It also placed the interior of South Africa within the framework of those European influences already established in the Cape. This move, no matter how one sees it, increased racial discrimination that promoted separation and conflict between white and black. Most of the trekkers were members of the Dutch Reformed Church and this put the church on the spotlight of racial discrimination.

The Great Trek was a movement of the Dutch-speaking colonist who, after discontent with the English-speaking people, decided to move into the interior of South Africa searching for land and a place to call home. They wanted to be free from any other people, more especially the British rule. They, instead wanted what they believed was their own land. This determination has become so important to them in such a way that they developed the Volk ideology that in due course became the memory of the Afrikaner Nationalism. The trek Boers certainly had important feelings of group identity: a belief that they were not only different but also superior to the indigenous peoples, a sense of difference from the British, and an abhorrence of the so-called liberal policies in the Cape Colony.

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53 Loubser, *The Apartheid Bible*: 100.
Between 1835 and 1840, some 10 000 white Afrikaners and their 5000 servants were engaged in the trek.\textsuperscript{54} The idea of the Trek was their last resort and they favoured it. It seemed to have a positive move towards their identity. The Trek\textsuperscript{54} stimulated the national awareness amongst the Afrikaner and led them to the foundation of a number of self-governed and independent Boer Republics in the interior. The Trek was their destiny and their hope for the future. They opted for the dangers of an unknown land rather than suffer injustice at the hands of the British. The Voortrekkers took all their belongings in their wagons across the Orange River into another territory where they finally founded two independent republics, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. They relied heavily on the Bible, especially the Old Testament as their symbol of perseverance.

There are many reasons for the Boers for leaving the Cape Colony. Strauss\textsuperscript{55} when referring to the main reasons behind the Great Trek\textsuperscript{55} stresses especially that the Boers experienced a feeling of alienation between themselves and the British authorities at the Cape. As mentioned, there were various fears and threats from the White Afrikaner. Slaves were liberated in 1833. The slave abolition was one of the worst fears that white Afrikaner encountered. The abolishment of slavery meant on the one hand that blacks and whites were equal something the Afrikaner did not like to happen. They never wanted to be equalised to the indigenous people; to them, this equalisation was some kind of humiliation.\textsuperscript{56} The Afrikaner’s traditional fear of equalisation between white and black, and also the preferred social differentiation and spiritual cultural segregation, resulted in the institution of a mission policy for segregation.

Loubser is also of the opinion that the equalisation of the coloureds with the white also gave rise on the great Trek.\textsuperscript{57} This meant that the social stratification was then scrapped, their religion, ethnic and cultural activities to that of the indigenous people

\textsuperscript{55} Strauss delineated some of the reason he believes enhanced the Great trek\textsuperscript{94-96}.\textsuperscript{55}
\textsuperscript{57} Loubser, \textit{The Apartheid Bible}: 322.
were all the same. The Boers perceived the British government as favouring the indigenous people more and they felt that they are being discriminated against. Interestingly, the Boers took with them some black people as their own servants. Their independence rested on the support of the black people. Thereafter, Afrikaners began to resist racial equalisation. This trek was somehow identified with the exodus of Israel in the Old Testament since they claimed to liberate themselves from British occupation.\footnote{58 Strauss, Christianity in the period of English colonisation: 95. Vorster, The Constitutional State: 98.}

One can also say that the Great Trek was due to the unstable and deteriorating economic condition of the prospective government\footnote{59 Terreblanche, A history of inequality: 220.} Some scholars even put economy as the main aim of Great Trek as discussed earlier.\footnote{60 J.W. De Gruchy, The church struggle in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979:19.}

De Gruchy also adds one more reason (among many) for the Trek: he indicates that language was also an issue.\footnote{61 J.W. De Gruchy, The church struggle in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979:19.} English has just become the official language of the Cape. Language also played a major role in the Afrikaner's identity.\footnote{62 R. Davenport, Settlement, Conquest and Theological controversy: the churches of nineteenth century European Immigrants, in: R. Elphick & R. Davenport, (eds). Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History. Cape Town: David Philip, 1997: 61.} It created also an ethnic and cultural barriers and this affected the church. English was used as the official language of the colony. Language rights became closely linked to the religious practices.\footnote{63 De Gruchy, The church struggle in South Africa: 20.}

The trekkers went north from the Cape in search of the new land where they could build a republic of their own.\footnote{63 De Gruchy, The church struggle in South Africa: 20.} Somewhere along the way the Afrikaner republican idea developed, by this it is clear when they establish the notion of an independent republic. They were fighting for their own republic in which they could practice their own beliefs and customs, and they could identify themselves more easily and more distant form others. They wanted a place to call home, where they would be safe and could create for themselves a small haven. They yearned for a place they could feel at home in their own group, where they socialise among themselves, a place
where they could practice and preserve their language. The turn of history had already put their language and culture in jeopardy, but they wanted to restore this culture back into their own society. Thus they were developing an idea of segregation.

The church was also caught up in this dilemma. The DRC did not approve this move, to such an extent that the Synod of 1837 did not even support the idea of the Trek, and it definitely condemned this ideology. The DRC denounced the Great Trek as an act of rebellion at the 1837 Synod and so regretfully they went without the blessing of the church. Before the synod could commence, some Boers had already left the colony. There was thus division among the white Afrikaans-speaking people who belonged to the DRC. The synod had condemned the acts of the emigrants. The church was divided into the church of the colony and the church on the trek. The ministers - and many other people - who remained with the synod felt that those who emigrated were cowards, whereas those who emigrated felt that those who were left behind were cowards. The Synod of 1837 had refused their ministers permission to leave the colony with the trekkers. There was no minister on the group that emigrated, until one Erasmus Smit ordained himself in 1837. Smit himself did not have any theological training. One reason among many about the absence of ministers in the trek was that ministers were bound to the British authorities and could therefore not support the emigration. The Cape ministers had already shown their disinterest in the movement even before the emigration. They were very unsympathetic to the awakening of Afrikaner nationalism.

The church on the Trek also had her problems; some considered themselves as having organised as such. To an extent, the church on the trek was not independent; it relied on most of the financial support from the DRC at the Cape. It is here worth to note that they relied on a church that did not give them the blessings when they left. This is evident when the church asked a minister from the so-called mother church. There were people who wanted to remain faithful to their original church, the DRC.

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64 Strauss, Christianity in the period of English colonisation: 94.
65 Strauss, Christianity in the period of English colonisation: 103.
67 Strauss, Christianity in the period of English colonisation: 106.
but because of the hatred of the British, they took the other option of trekking. This church was only confined to a very small group of people, a particular race, white Afrikaans speaking people.

The trekkers had a very strong Calvinist faith. The church in the trek was not ecclesiastically organised and they had financial constraints. When they left the colony, they found that no Dutch Reformed Church minister from the Cape was prepared to accompany the expedition, for the church synod opposed the emigration, saying it would lead to 'godlessness and a decline of civilisation'. The trekkers were to rely on the ministrations of other churches within their vicinity, the American Daniel Lindley, the Wesleyan missionary James Archbell, and the non-ordained minister, Erasmus Smit.

The Transvaal congregation which was formed as a separate synodical denomination, rejected the decisions of the Cape synod. They wanted to do away with the DRC and its practices. This church in the Transvaal became known as “Nederduits Hervormde Kerk” following the decision of the first General Church meeting in 1853. Nevertheless, the NHK had her internal problems too. There were a group of people who were not comfortable with the structure of the NHK, more especially when coming to the Evangelical hymns. This group finally broke away from the NHK in 1859 to form their own Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika – GKSA. It was because the decision of the General Church meeting put the hymns not an option but a compulsory thing in the NHK in Transvaal. The NHK remained the state church until 1910. The schism of this church into pieces did not come because of the political situation, but it was a consequence of theological controversy and schism in Holland. The church in South Africa was also involved in the consequences of these conflicts.

3.3.3.1. The Dutch Reformed church – three churches but one

South Africa churches generally resisted liberal trends that arose elsewhere in the nineteenth century, but rifts occurred in the Reformed churches, in 1853 with the formation of the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk, and in 1859, with the formation of the Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika. The NGK is generally referred to as the Dutch
Reformed Church, and these two newer churches are also referred to as Dutch Reformed churches.

3.3.3.1.1 Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)

The NGK has been the church of the Afrikaner establishment. The NGK gained full independence from its Dutch mother church in 1824. In the early years it was an interracial church in which whites and blacks worshipped together. Some white Afrikaners came to object to drinking out of the same cup as black Christians during the Lord's Supper. The Synod (annual General Meeting) of 1857 proposed that "as a concession to the prejudice and weakness of a few, it is recommended that the church serve one or more tables to the European members after the non-white members have been served." This recommendation came in spite of their recognition that the Bible taught that all Christians ought to worship together. In addition the Synod recommended that "if the weakness of some requires that the groups be separated, the congregation from the heathen should enjoy its privilege in a separate building and a separate institution." This concession soon grew into a policy of separating white and non-white churches, and eventually led to formation of the mission churches.

The decision of 1857 came after some of the white members in the church were complaining about servicing the Holy Communion with "the heathens". The question was who are the heathens? Is this referred to the baptized slaves and other people who were not born Christians but incorporated into the established churches of the Cape Colony? Is it wise to declare or to have separate congregations instead all illiterates and heathen be instructed and be prepared to become members of established Protestant churches?  

The policy of the Reformed Church at the Cape was firm: the church was open to all who had been baptized and Communion had to be served to all those who were confirmed, regardless of whether they were free or slaves. Yet while open, the

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Reformed Church showed no enthusiasm for bringing large numbers of non-European converts into the congregation.

In articles of 1853 and 1854 in the official church journal, De Gereformeerde Kerkbode, three policies were investigated by Hofmeyr in relation to other people. First he rejected a policy of *afscheiding*, which would later be known as *segregation*, the practice of setting up completely separate mission stations or *congregations* for coloured Christians. In his view that tended to destroy the bond between whites and coloureds and also the influence of the church in society. Second, he rejected as unsuitable the *fusion* of white and coloured Christians by identical treatment. Coloured people, he said, had a lower level of development; the Gospel must be brought to them in a simple way. It was important that coloured Christians understood their place in the status hierarchy and did not confuse religious and social privileges. Hofmeyr quoted the experience of a minister who admitted into his parish many coloureds, who promptly forgot their *station* or estate in life. Hofmeyr declared himself in favour of a third or *middle way* as a means of overcoming the barriers to missionary work and the fear of *gelykstelling*. Every parish would have a minister and a missionary, and both a church and a separate *gesticht* or chapel. While separate like a mother and her daughter, they would be intimately bound together. The minister would conduct the service in the church, which coloured members would always attend, and the missionary would use the *gesticht* for religious instruction, tailored to the needs of the coloured Christians. In the *gesticht* the minister would perform all baptism and confirmation ceremonies and administer Holy Communion. Hofmeyr quoted no biblical sources or authorities on mission policy in support of his position, but pointed instead to two successful models in Cape Town. One was St Stephens, a parish of mainly ex-slaves in Cape Town, who shared a minister with a white Lutheran parish nearby; the other was the Presbyterian Church, which housed white and coloured parish meetings in the same church but at separate times. Hofmeyr was a practical man and wanted a *serviceable* policy. No article in the Gereformeerde Kerkbode during this period favoured *afscheiding* or segregation. The debate came to a head at the Cape Synod of 1857. The item on the agenda caused some disputes. In the Western Cape there

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69 Hofmeyr, Christianity in period of Dutch colonisation, 22
70 Hofmeyr, Christianity in period of Dutch colonisation, 18-53.
was a conflict between an elder who wished to establish a *gesticht* to bring the Gospel to coloured people, mostly ex slaves, and a church minister, who argued that this was in conflict with a 1829 Synod decision that stressed the unity of the church. The general feeling among church members in the Cape Dutch Church was to receive the Holy Communion separately. A commission for the synod was set, a special commission for mission work reported that the time was not ripe for a co-ordinated effort to extend missionary work. In response, the synod appointed a new committee, composed of Hofmeyr, the Murray brothers, and P.K. Albertyn. It promptly informed the synod that, with the necessary zeal, progress would indeed be possible. A formula was needed and this was what Hofmeyr's scheme would provide. In the synod debate on the issue whether to permit segregated facilities, several participants called for a reaffirmation of the church's policy of non-discrimination. Hofmeyr, one of the last two speakers, insisted that there was a more important issue than addressing prejudice. That issue was to identify the most effective way for the church to promote the Christianisation of the heathen. According to newspaper reports, after he spoke the debate took a new turn. In the end the synod accepted a compromise resolution, proposed by Andrew Murray, senior, who was a prominent evangelical and mission enthusiast. The resolution declared that it was desirable and according to the Scriptures to absorb members from the heathen population in existing congregations wherever this was possible. However, in cases where the weakness of some hindered spreading the Gospel, the Synod agreed that people might enjoy their Christian privileges in a separate building. 

This resolution sanctioned separate facilities, but not segregated parishes, and it was not in conflict with the weakness of some. The Dutch Reformed Church and white supremacy concept of segregation. The resolution was poorly formulated and the inclusion of the phrase the weakness of some was a mistake. It soon became clear that it would be used to sanction racist practices. In response the church effectively prohibited coloured members from receiving sacraments in the big church. It was now expected of them to use the small church (*gesticht*). The situation of racial

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71 Giliomee, *The weakness of some* 220.
polarisation emerged. It is also interesting to note here the summary of Giliomee, when he indicates, òthe 1857 Synod resolution analysed by Huet,ò had some few objections encountered to the presence of non-whites in the church. One was a biblical justification for the exclusion of òBasters.ò Another was a form of biological racism, which propagated keeping brown and black people separate because they represented a different human species marked by their colour and hair. It asserted that brown and black Christians stood on a much lower level of òcivilizationò and often understood only the simplest of servicesò.

3.3.3.1.2 Nederduits Hervormde Kerk (NHK)

The 1830s saw the departure of some 10,000 Afrikaners from the Cape Colony to freedom from British rule inland. These "Voortrekkers" left in protest against the British abolition of slavery in the Cape Colony in 1834. Slaves were, they believed, essential to their success as farmers and had become an integral part of their way of life. They also felt that the Bible tolerated and even condoned slavery. The NGK, however, opposed the Great Trek of 1835-43, and as a result the Voortrekkers established an independent, equally Calvinist and even more conservative church, the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (NHK) in 1855. The NHK is geographically largely restricted to the Transvaal.

3.3.3.1.3 The Gereformeerde Kerk: the Doppers

Two years after the NHK left the NGK, a third church was formed as the "Doppers" left the NHK to form the Gereformeerde Kerk. The "Doppers" were even more rigid and literal in their understanding of the Bible than either the NGK or the NHK, believing, among other things, that their journeys had been charted by the prophet Joel, and would ultimately lead them to the Biblical New Jerusalem - a fascinating parallel to the Zionist churches which were springing up in the black communities. Although the GK was the most conservative and "verkrampte" of the Reformed churches in South Africa, both socially and theologically, Dopper evangelists could


74 Giliomee, ÓThe weakness of someò 220.
be found telling black children that their social position and poverty were the result of God curse on Noah’s son Ham (Genesis 9:18-24) and that black people were all descended from Ham (Genesis 10:6), while Europeans were descended from Japheth and Semitic people from Shem.

3.4. **Tensions between the British and Dutch settlers that led to friction**

Because of the heightening pressures between the Dutch and the British, tensions between them increased. The Dutch settlers were farmers and lived in isolation. The British came and settled in towns along the Eastern Cape. The Boers had already adopted their new language Afrikaans, and hence were called Afrikaners. All British settlers spoke English and were very much confidence in their ability to adapt to South Africa and make the most of whatever opportunities came their way. Language, as seen above, was an issue that was disputed in the churches as well as in the community.

There was a series of wars that took place between the British and the Boers.

3.4.1 **The first Boer war (1880–1881)**

The First Anglo-Boer War is also known as the First Transvaal War of Independence because the conflict arose between the British colonizers and the Boers from the Transvaal Republic or Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR).

There were several causes of the First Anglo-Boer War.

- The expansion of the British Empire.
- Problems within the Transvaal government.
- The British annexation of the Transvaal.
- The Boer opposition to British rule in the Transvaal.
3.4.1.1. The expansion of the British Empire

In the years after 1868, the British government wanted to expand the British Empire throughout South Africa. They wanted to form a confederation of all the British colonies, independent Boer republics and independent African groups in South Africa under British control.

3.4.1.2. Problems within the Transvaal Government

In the Transvaal Republic from 1872 until its annexation in 1877, there were serious financial constraints that could have been caused by a war that had just started between the Boers and the Pedi under their leader, Sekhukhune, in the North Eastern Transvaal, and because the Boer people not paid their taxes.

The Boers became aware of the dangers of a bankruptcy in their state and they started focusing on the government’s lack of control over black people like the Pedi and the Zulu. They lost focus on other issues and so they did very little to stop the British from taking over the Transvaal.

3.4.1.3. The British annexation of the Transvaal and opposition to it

The Transvaal Republic was taken over by the British on 12 April 1877. A proclamation of annexation was read out in Church Square in Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal Republic. There was no resistance from the Boers and the Transvaal Republic or Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) did not exist anymore, but was now the British Colony of the Transvaal.

The Boer population did not like the idea and wanted to retain their independence. The Volksraad decided in May 1877 to send a delegation to England to make sure that the British government knew that most of the residents of the Transvaal Republic did not agree with the annexation but this delegation failed. In 1878 they took a petition with more than 6 500 signatures from Boers to London, but the British government insisted that the Transvaal remained a British possession. The Boers
also asked their citizens not to resort to violence because this would create a negative impression in Britain.

3.4.2 The second Anglo-Boer war 1899-1902

The Second Boer War, also known as the South African War, the Anglo-Boer War (among some South Africans) and in Afrikaans as the Anglo-Boereoorlog or Tweede Vryheidsoorlog (Second War of Independence), was fought from October, 11 1899, until May 31, 1902. The war was fought between the British Empire and the two independent Boer republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic.

During the Second Boer War, there were also a number of causes that led into the war. Unlike the first Boer war, a number of interrelated factors led to the second Anglo-Boer War. These include the conflicting political ideologies of imperialism and republicanism, the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand 1885 and tension between political leaders within South Africa Boers.

3.4.2.1 Conflicting political ideology

After the First Anglo-Boer War the British government did not give up its ambition for unifying South Africa under Imperial British rule. The two Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic or Transvaal still maintained their desire for independence. The Boer republics were a stumbling block for the British Empire.

3.4.2.2 The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand

Gold had been mined since the early 1870s but was discovered on the Witwatersrand, in the Transvaal, in 1886. Thousands of white and black South Africans were employed on the mines by 1890. Britain was the centre of industry and trade in the world at that time and needed a steady supply of gold to maintain this position.
3.4.2.3 Tension between political leaders

There were various political leaders with opposing views in power in different parts of South Africa during the 1890s. Paul Kruger was president of the Transvaal or South African Republic (SAR) and Cecil John Rhodes became the premier of the Cape Colony in 1890. Rhodes was from Britain and had made his fortune in South Africa by mining diamonds. He was also a supporter of the British imperial plan to unite South Africa under British rule. Kruger was a supporter of Boer independence and the two leaders were in direct conflict with each other.

Rhodes believed that if the SAR was left to grow financially it would eventually grow in size and topple Britain from its position of power in South Africa. He specifically did not want the SAR to gain access to a route to the sea, as this would seriously affect the economies of the British colonies. Rhodes and Britain were determined to stop the SAR’s expansion.

The British pretended to be protective of the natives’ interests and blacks were meant to be non-combatants although they favoured a British victory as it may bring them equal land rights. Most neutral countries were sympathetic to the Boers’ cause as they were courageously fighting an imperial grant to stay free in their own land. Britain had a fully trained professional army in the field and all the means necessary to win. They captured many Afrikaners and their black servants and kept them in the concentration camps, at least 27,000 Afrikaner women and children and also thousands of black servants died in the concentration camps. The Boers had to surrender in 1902 and Kruger went in exile to Europe.

The bitter wars between the trekker republics and British Imperialism together with the discovery of diamonds and gold drew the Churches into the conflict as they were in support of their own side. When compared to the English speaking churches one thing that emphasises their differences is the fact that while the Afrikaner churches served only themselves, others began to develop a more multi-racial character. These first developments were to be seen in the Non Conformist Churches who appointed black ministers followed by the Anglicans albeit still in a paternalistic way.
At the close of the Anglo Boer War in 1902, the four colonies were for the first time under a common flag, and the most significant obstacle to unification that prevented previous plans at unification was no longer applicable. Subsequently the long-standing desire of many colonial administrators to establish a unified structure became immediately possible.

In 1910 the Union of South Africa, with dominion status, was established by the British; it included Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal as provinces. Under the Union's constitution, power was centralized; the Dutch language (and in 1925 Afrikaans) was given equal status with English, and each province retained its existing franchise qualifications (the Cape permitted voting by some nonwhites). After elections in 1910, Louis Botha became the first prime minister; he headed the South African party, an amalgam of Afrikaner parties that advocated close cooperation between Afrikaners and persons of British descent. In 1912, J.B.M. Hertzog founded the Afrikaner-oriented National party. By 1914, largely as a result of the efforts of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Indians living in South Africa were receiving somewhat better treatment. Botha led (1914) South Africa into World War I on the side of the Allies and quickly squashed a revolt by Afrikaners who opposed this alignment.

3.5 The development of Afrikaans as a language: 1910-1935

Afrikaans as a language has developed and evolved for a period of time. It started as a *die Taal* movement under the leadership of the Du Toit brothers in the Paarl. The “*die Taal*” movement was meant to promote Afrikaans into a well respectable language in South Africa. These brothers wanted to make it a written language by even providing the literature for this movement.

The Afrikaans language has it's roots in the Dutch language. Many languages for example, English, Malay, German, Portuguese, French and some African languages had influenced its development. Initially Afrikaans has become a spoken, not a written language and it was referred to as 'die Taal'ö the Language. It was a simplified version of Dutch that had originated among the slaves and/or Khoikhoi servants. Dutch was the only official language and written by the government and
was also adopted to be the language of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch dialect that was established after 1652 incorporated terms and phrases handed down from sailors who had been shipwrecked off the Cape coast. These phrases, of both English and Portuguese origin, soon found their way into the Dutch dialect of the Cape. Up until the 19th century Afrikaans acted only as the spoken language and Dutch was used as the formal and written language. In 1925 this language was promoted into a fully-fledged Afrikaans language with the contribution of Rev. S.J. Du Toit. The Taal movement was established then and dedicated to make Afrikaans a written language. The people of this movement felt oppressed and the whole issue, according to them, was humiliating because their so-called mother tongue had no status and could not be considered as a language. This implied that the Afrikaners could not express themselves in a written form of their developing language. Rev. S.J. du Toit and others wanted to make Afrikaans a written language and to provide a literature in Afrikaans. This was a period during which Afrikaners were oppressed by the British imperialists. The obvious piece of literature that was available was the Bible and they wanted to translate it into Afrikaans. Hence the first full translation of the Bible into Afrikaans appeared in 1933. This translation came after the decision of the Cape Synod of 1919. According to Act 8 of 1925 Afrikaans became the official language with Dutch and English.

As this language evolved, the white Afrikaans speakers distanced themselves from the predominantly English-speaking community. They saw themselves to be the true white owners of the land and rejecting any claims of the indigenous people, the Afrikaners pitted themselves against the English, culminating in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 which they lost, and embarked on a “Kultuur” campaign to promote the language. On the other hand, the National Party's ruthless Apartheid regime and simultaneous promotion of the language forged a link between the language and the political system that remains to this day. From language a culture was developing.

75 http://nc.essortment.com/historyafrikaan_rqrs.htm
77 http://www.languages.web.za/.
They wanted to develop their own culture that will exclude other cultures, arguably, as revenge on the English culture and language.\textsuperscript{78}

### 3.6 Roots of White dominance

One thing that characterises the history of South Africa is conflict and dominance. The native people of South Africa were robbed of their cultural and social status by the colonists; they were disposed of almost all they had. As indicated above, their wealth and their identity were taken away from them, the privileges of white people over black people favoured white supremacy and dominance. White people regarded themselves as superior to other people. This shaped the socio-cultural and political identity of South Africa. It created a level of social stratification as will be discussed later. This was more on a social level, but also on an ecclesiastical level, things were taking place.

The fights and squabbles were not only between blacks and whites, but they were also between whites and whites – Boer and English as culminated in the Anglo Boer war.

The controversial issue in South Africa about the roots of dominance has always surfaced. Terreblance rightly concede that:

\[\text{Terreblance, A history of inequality: 170-171.}\]
co-exist with each other in a constitutional and ecclesiastical context. This was apparent that both the church and the government had to agree somewhere on the issue of political game, and subsequently opted for the policy of segregation.

On an ecclesiastical level, sacraments in the churches of South Africa during the VOC period played a major role in strengthening the dominance of white people. Because of the slaves that belonged mainly to the VOC, they were forced to baptise their slaves and to give them education in Christian faith. According to the rule of Dordrecht, as mentioned above, Christian slaves were to enjoy the same legal rights as the citizens. This left many citizens reluctant to baptise and teach their slaves. Baptism was a crucial point of identifying people. Children of slaves were baptised as a mark on the covenant. The other practice was of communion; as Gerstner indicates that communion helped linking the settlers together as the people of the frontiers. Therefore, baptism and Holy Communion were practical identity markers of the settlers. They developed some sort of a religion that they, in turn, identified as Christianity. Through this Christian identity they assumed that they were all redeemed. Christianity appeared to be literally an ethnic group. At some point, the indigenous people in the Cape knew white or settlers by their name of group identity fChristianŠ.

Through mission work that was done somewhere within the vicinity, some Khoi were converted into Christianity, and this meant that they had to be baptised which gave them licence to the communion. The Khoi were to sit around the table with White people. Some white people raised their concern that if that is how the holy communion is going to be partaken, then they can be excused from them because they did not want to take it with the Khoi Šheathenèas they were called. As early as 1824, there was a practice already of separate churches on the basis of colour.

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The means of conveying the Reformed faith in the South African colony was through the introduction of the “State Bible”\textsuperscript{83} commissioned by the Synod of Dordrecht.\textsuperscript{84} This State Bible made an immeasurable impact on the South African frontiers.\textsuperscript{85} This “State Bible” was therefore used in such a way that the translation and the implication thereof, the used terms like \textit{heathen}\textsuperscript{86} was referred to Khoikhoi slaves who were the descendants of Ham. The view of slavery was legitimately created from the interpretation of Genesis 9: 18\textsuperscript{ii} – 27 about Ham serving his brothers Shem and Japheth. Within this context, the issue of race started to bloom within the scope of Biblical perspective. This was a generally accepted view, which only much time later, was refuted by many scholars and preachers within the DRC.\textsuperscript{87} Baptismal practice within the colony also played a major role in the identity of white people, slaves were baptised only on some conditions set down by the settlers.

The question about baptising the slaves developed gradually. The \textit{Khoi}, who were found in the Cape, were unwilling to accept the white men\textquoteleft s religion, though some of them, two females and one male, were baptised at a later stage.\textsuperscript{88} Ross writes that \textit{baptism} was not a meaningless ritual for the \textit{Khoi}. In addition to its spiritual advantage, it conferred a valuable status\textsuperscript{89} Through this baptism, some whites started to raise their eyebrows. Baptism played a major role in the development of racial matters. A child of a European descent was baptised because it was regarded as already Christian or internally holy, a slave child was baptised not as a born

\textsuperscript{83} This was the Dutch translation as commissioned by the general of the Dort synod 1618-19. The Hebrew word “\textit{goy}” and Greek “\textit{ethnos}” has become very difficult to translate. The closest meaning of term used \textit{people} by many manuscripts is very much misleading, since it refers to a particular ethnic group. The King James Version comes to a closer definition by using \textit{nation} which sounds very much neutral instead. In some cases the KJV translate it as “\textit{gentile}” from Latin.

\textsuperscript{84} Gerstner, A Christian monopoly, 22.

\textsuperscript{85} Gerstner, A Christian monopoly: 110.

\textsuperscript{86} The translators of the State Bible into Dutch could have employed “\textit{Gentile}”, but decided to go for closest Dutch equivalent “\textit{heathen}”. This term was misused in many ways. The misuse of this word was done deliberately; when the colonist brought the Bible in South Africa they had access to many commentaries. In many cases it was clear that the term “\textit{heathen}” could be translated “\textit{nations}”, and this could have averted the deliberate mistake of the word “\textit{heathen}”. They translated it the way it is.

\textsuperscript{87} Loubser, 8

\textsuperscript{88} Hofmeyr, Christianity in period of Dutch colonisation: 11.

\textsuperscript{89} Ross, \textit{Beyond the pale}: 80.
Christian but as externally holy in virtue of its upbringing. To convert the indigenous tribe into Christianity meant totally convincing or total subjugating the people to completely abandon their own culture and tradition and take this new one. It was not only winning the hearts and the minds of the people, but it meant more. Isichei contends that conversion to Christianity involved dislocation, a break from the traditions of the past, and it came more easily to those who had endured disruption already. The ethnically mixed communities of the South African frontier welcomed Christianity, a transition made more readily as the individuals that comprised these communities had already moved far from their original cultures. Christian became the mark of ethnic identity of the settler's of the frontier. Christianity was indeed the defining criterion for admission to white society. Gerstner is also of the opinion that the indigenous people were to denigrate their own culture. To become a Christian was to gain status from the white man's point of view. To become Christian was to adapt the white culture and moreover, it was meant to be forced to submission to the white culture.

When more people from the indigenous community were converted to Christianity, church members debated the question of racial separation. Pressures grew rapidly for racially separate congregations, and it was complicated by the demands of some black church members for their own churches and congregations. The decision of the DRC in 1880 categorically put it clear that the DRC should start to organise a separate church structure and activities for the mission churches. In 1881 the first separate church - the Dutch Reformed Mission church - was established. It was through the missionary involvement that the mission church for coloureds was founded, and this was a decisive step in the development of Apartheid. Adonis argues that the policy of Apartheid was a historical development of the DRC mission policy. This policy was meant to divide black and white churches.

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91 Isichei, A history of Christianity: 105.
92 Ross, Beyond the pale: 184.
93 Gerstner, A Christian monopoly: 30.
95 J.C. Adonis, Die afgebreekte Skeidsmuur weer opgebou: Die verstrengeling van die sendingbeleid van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika met die praktyk van en ideologie van die Apartheid in historiese perpektief. Amsterdam: Rodopi, (1982), 77
In 1910 the synods established the NGK in Afrika, as it became known, for black Africans. There were congregations at the outskirt of Cape that were housing black congregants only, as a result they were to take their communion and confirm their members over there.  

3.7. The expansion of Christianity

The Reformed church grew rapidly and more independently from the British government. The British government opened doors for other churches to practice their faith. There were Christians from other denomination like Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and many more. These churches could practice their faith everywhere. Because of the freedom of religion, by the end of the nineteenth century, many people both black and white had heard the gospel. Worships services were conducted Sunday after Sunday in many churches. The mainline churches had gained tremendous membership during this period. Mission work had become more extensive in most of the black communities. Most of the European missionaries who came to Africa missed a point during their missionary work. Black people were always treated as inferior. Missionaries were less concerned about the status of the black people, i.e. their culture was downtrodden, and they deprived them of their right to land. There was no coherent response to the socio-economic pattern in the interracial South Africa. This incited the colour-bar ideology. Black people were seen as less than whites.

4 THE EMERGENCE OF THE IDEA OF APARTHEID (1910–1948)

After the 1910 Union when the four colonies of South Africa united, the politics of the country had to take another direction. From 1910 onwards the idea of white
supremacy in political and economic life in South Africa became a norm.\textsuperscript{100} In fact
the struggle for the Afrikaner people for identity and land was intense. The introduction of the policy of racial separation in 1910 through a group of laws
curtailed the rights of the black majority.

Between 1652 and 1834, Afrikaners differentiated between ethnic groups rather than
races, they spoke of Zulus, Xhosas, Matebeles, Tswana, and so forth. The
differentiation and classification became between whites and non whites, Europeans
and non-Europeans which was subsequently introduced into the Union of South
Africa in 1910.\textsuperscript{101}

The introduction of laws limited black workers to work in mines and this became a
guarantee for the better positions for white workers everywhere in the country. To an
extent, there was reservation of work for whites only. With the formation of this Union
of South Africa, black people were left out in the dark, they were excluded from
participating in the future of South Africa, and hence the establishment of the South
African Native National Congress (which is today African National Congress) in 1914,
which was the reaction to this system, was the result. During this period, many
discriminatory laws\textsuperscript{102} were laid down to protect the interest of the white community.
These laws maintained as they were built on the idea of white supremacy.

To identify the emergence of idea of Apartheid, some political speeches and
exposition brought forward during this period are of special importance. The policy of
Apartheid was engineered in advance already for a long time, but the National Party
became very much instrumental in this system. A decade before the NP was in
power, it was clear what South Africa was to be come. The political manifesto that

\begin{itemize}
  \item constitution which was approved by the British Parliament. Therefore the first Parliament of
  South Africa was convene under the auspices of this Union.
  \item Cochrane, Christianity during a period of national consolidation: 201.
  \item B. Spoelstra, Die Bybel en ons Afrikaanse volkerebeleid, In: In die Skriflig 4/15 (September
  1970), 35 - 36
  \item Mines and Works Act (12/1912); Native Regulation Act (15/1911); Immigration Act (22/1913);
  Native Land Act (27/1913); Native Administration Act (38/1927).
\end{itemize}
was written in April of 1938, envisaged deeply radical changes with regard to the indigenous people. In the manifesto of the National party it became clear that:\footnote{\textsuperscript{103}}

- The Party aims at the revision of their existing legislation concerning the indigenous people with a view to eliminating their right to vote for members to the national legislature (\textit{Volksraad}) and the Cape Provincial legislature, at halting the flow of superfluous Natives to urban areas, at effectuating their removal from these areas, and at making the segregation of living quarters in such areas more effective.
- The Party will terminate the present extensive purchases of land made for Natives by the State and allow them to acquire land more on their own initiative and in keeping with their actual needs.
- Further, the Party aims at the consistent application of the principle of segregation in regard to all non-whites, this being in the best interests of the white as well as the non-white races, and undertakes, therefore, to introduce legislation providing for:

From this manifesto, it becomes clear what the motives of the NP were. It is apparent that their goal was to protect and strength the \textit{white} superiority.

The church was clearly seen dancing on the political tune. The church, in this case, was used as an instrument to gain advantage to in a political play. Van Jaarsveld is right when he comments that the Afrikaner churches fulfilled a central role not just in the struggle of identity, but also in providing a theological base upon which nationalism could flourish.\footnote{\textsuperscript{104}} The political situation affected the church. As Rossouw says: \textit{The fact that Calvinism has been discarded as the cause of racist attitudes among the Afrikaner does not mean that religion had nothing to do with the foundation and the rise of Apartheid. In fact the church had been one of the first}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{103} This is the extract from the Internet from the website www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/misc which contains an article that Dr J Verkuyl wrote on \textit{The Dutch Reformed church in South Africa and the ideology and practice of Apartheid.} He clearly defines the role of National Party after acceding power in 1948 and their role they played in building South Africa\textquotesingle s political and theological ideologies. In an attempt to clarify the political thinking of the National Party\textquotesingle s involvement in church issues, most of his writing was referred to here.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{104} F.C. van Jaarsveld, \textit{The Afrikaner\textquotesingle s Interpretation of South African history}. Cape Town: Simondium (1964), 52}
places where Apartheid was practiced, long before it was institutionalised by the national Party after 1948.\textsuperscript{105} The idea of Apartheid was very strong within the circles of theology, more especially the Reformed tradition. One characteristic of Reformed theology is the covenant theology that stems from God’s relation with his creation. Their stress on the redemption of human culture through the agency of Christian community as directed by the Holy Spirit has led the Dutch Reformed Church to work on shaping a New Israel in South Africa.

Afrikaners saw themselves as a people obedient to God, shaping a society according to Biblical and Christian principles. They saw parallels between themselves as the people of God, and the Biblical nation of Israel as the people of God. As a result their theology tended to focus on the Old Testament as a model rather than the New Testament. The identity with the Bible became visible when the Afrikaans speaking started to apply the Bible to define and defend their theology. A few theologians among them started to build and support Apartheid and they put great deal of effort to legitimise this ideology via theology. It is often thought that this attempt at theological justification still rests on the idea that the Afrikaners as a people fill a role similar to that of the people of Israel in Old Testament times. It should be borne in mind that though it is hard to find theologians defending this notion, it does not mean that there are no longer any attempts to construct a theology for the defence of the Apartheid or people who are still practicing it.

The Bible speaks of Israel as a special chosen people of God. They are God’s people in a distinct and specific way. Israel’s identity occurs with relation to calling, land, origin, history and religion. Christians throughout history are inclined to claim the Old Testament text for themselves. Whenever there is some struggle, the “Israel Story”\textsuperscript{106} seems to be a consolation. The “Israel Story” is likely put into the context to make pieces fit, hence the Old Testament texts about Israel is contextualised. The shift is created from “Israel Story” to a church through to a specific nation or group of people. Whenever the nation is at struggle, should they win, their victory is considered as a gift from God. Like wise, the Afrikaner people developed their


\textsuperscript{106} For argument and distinctness of Israel, the concept “Israel Story” will be used.
Christian heritage. They, for that matter had engaged themselves in the exodus to the new land, the Promised Land. Therefore they, like many other nations around the globe, had in mind that God was on their side when they were engaged in the Great Trek to the unknown land. They developed their national identity in the struggle for liberation. God was aligned with their victory, and thus the arguments shifted from theological arguments to political arguments. Because God was their victor, He gave them the land as well, and through this they can do what they like with the land, they can also kick the inhabitants out of the land. Because of this ideology, they made God their own God alone, and have forgotten that God of Israel has become the God of all people.

The Biblical idea of the God of all nations should supersede any idea that people might have about a particular God of them own. It becomes a problem when the idea of God in the Old Testament is replaced by another context than Israel, or replaced by that particular tradition. Therefore the Afrikaners cannot claim to be the only people of God. If the God of Israel has become the God of all humankind through Christ, then there is no-one who could claim that his particular nation is God's. Therefore it is theologically wrong to claim that there is an elect ethic or social group of people on the surface of the earth.

Racial separation became widely accepted in the church in South Africa in the early twentieth century. Most of the Afrikaners community felt some threats from outside and they started to believe that their own survival as a community was threatened, and the belief in racial separation was gaining acceptance among white South Africans in general. Social and spiritual survival became intertwined in church polity; this was partly influenced by the early twentieth-century struggle between the English and Afrikaans-speaking people. Though this was not only the “white-against-white” issue; the indigenous people were involved in it.

Social and spiritual survival became intertwined in church philosophy. Church leaders refused to condemn Afrikaner rebellions against the British, and their followers gained strength by attributing divine origins to their struggle for survival. The idea of survival in the white community reinforced the ideology of white superiority.
The conviction was that white South Africans were to bring light into the darkest corner of Africa. With this, the presupposition was that whites were called to be true and faithful to God and as a consequence their calling was to enhance other people civil life. The calling therefore was that they are to maintain their identity as Afrikaners who were Christians.\(^{107}\) The calling of Afrikaners was grounded in the very fact that they were called themselves, to put it in Du Plessis words:

\[\text{Die roeping is eidelik ook nie gegrond op ons Christlike feitlikheid asof ons daarduer geregtig is op besonderevoorregte nie, maar op die roeping waarmee God ons roep om soon n Afrikaanse volk met n eie kersteningstaak van die lewe, in die lyn van ons Gereformeerde verlede, n ligbaken in Afrika te wees.}\(^{108}\)

This political context was also characterised by the development of an elite white group that supported Afrikaner nationalism.

Somewhere between 1924\(^{-}\)1938 the ideal of segregation was formulated for the first time.\(^{109}\) Dubow strongly suggest that the organising ideology of white supremacy in the interwar years was segregation and he shows that it was a broad based ideology able to legitimise a system of white domination and exploitation sufficiently to gain the effective consent of those it excluded from power.\(^{110}\) The reference here is made to the black people who were left out of the scene. Segregation has become a National monopoly. This move was clearly visible in the church; it had impact in the life of the church.


\(^{108}\) Du Plessis, Rasseverhoudinge Tussen Blankes en Naturelle, 56.

\(^{109}\) Loubser, The Apartheid Bible: 323.


5.1 Officiation of Apartheid

Terreblanche indicates that the National Party had their agenda before 1948 that was to create a new socio-economic order within the Afrikaner. He continues to indicate three important factors in the agenda:

- to restructure the economy so as to free Afrikaners from foreign capitalism,
- To implement the policy of Apartheid as a solution to the native problem in order to ensure the purity of the Afrikaner volk and defuse the conflict inherent in a process of racial integration
- To solve the problem of poor white Afrikaners and remedy the alleged injustices of the past by implementing a comprehensive welfare policy for uplifting Afrikaner.  

The agenda of the National Party was fully supported by the three Afrikaans churches. The church had already shown interest in politics and decisions of the church had a major impact on politics. The decision that was taken by the DRC synod about separating whites and blacks in 1857 had an impact in the whole development of Apartheid. This decision was heightened when the synod of 1880 decided to organise separate church structures for the so-called coloured in the name of "mission church."

Apartheid legislatures were in practice long before Apartheid was legalised in 1948 in South Africa. One cannot talk of formal Apartheid before 1948, but one can certainly speak about a segregation ideology that resulted into the legacy of Apartheid that bloomed in and around 1948 when the National Party was elected into government. The victory of the National party in 1948 revealed the scar (that will take a long time to heal) in the whole society in South Africa. From the words of the

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112 Hereafter NP will be used.
then President of the African National Congress Albert Luthuli, it becomes very clear that this was a very serious wound that South African society is going to nurse. Millard here quotes him as saying ‘We should be grateful to the National Party Government for unambiguously making it plain that in the interest of perpetuating white domination they will stop at nothing in their determination to realise their goal of keeping non-whites in a state of perpetual servitude’.\footnote{J.A. Millard, The legacy of the British Settlers from 1975 to 1845, in: Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae Vol XXVIII/2 (2003): 251.} This process of Apartheid did not just show itself out, but it developed in stages. The politics of the day played a major role in the development. There were times where Apartheid was seen as the continuation of traditional segregation.\footnote{N. Vorster, Kerk en mensregte binne ’n regstaat: die profetiese roeping van die kerk ten opsigte van die vestiging van etos van mensregte in Suid Afrika. Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education. PhD (2002): 92.} Between 1948 and 1960, Apartheid came to adulthood. By 1960 the National Party has succeeded in their political game whereby they had managed to create a white dominated republic to an extent that that they also gave black people the pseudo-independence.

The implementation process of Apartheid (within the church).

5.2 The Legislation of Apartheid\footnote{http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apartheid.}

From the 1950s onwards, various laws were passed to keep the races apart and suppress resistance. The Nationalists argued that South Africa did not comprise a single nation, but was made up of four distinct racial groups, namely white, black, coloured and Indian. These races were split further into thirteen 'nations' or racial federations. White people encompassed the English and Afrikaans language groups; the black populace was divided into ten such groups. This had the result of making the white race the prevalent one.

We will first list the laws that shape Apartheid society and subsequently highlight their consequences. The principal "Apartheid laws" were as follows:
• An amendment to the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 prohibited marriage between persons of different races.
• An amendment to the Immorality Act of 1950 made sexual relations with a person of a different race a criminal offence.
• The Population Registration Act of 1950 formalised racial classification and introduced an identity card for all persons over the age of eighteen, specifying their racial group.
• The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 banned the South African Communist Party and any other political party that the government chose to label as 'communist'. It made membership in the SACP punishable by up to ten years imprisonment.
• The Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 prohibited disorderly gatherings.
• The Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960 outlawed certain organisations that were deemed threatening to the government.
• The Sabotage Act was passed 1962, the General Law Amendment Act in 1966, the Terrorism Act in 1967 and the Internal Security Act in 1976.
• The Group Areas Act, passed on 27 April 1950, partitioned the country into different areas, with different areas allocated to different racial groups. This law was the basis upon which political and social separation was constructed.
• The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 created separate government structures for blacks. It was the first piece of legislation established to support the government's plan of separate development in the Bantustans.
• The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 allowed the government to demolish black shackland slums.
• The Native Building Workers Act and Native Services Levy of 1951 forced white employers to pay for the construction of housing for black workers recognized as legal residents in 'white' cities.
• The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 prohibited people of different races from using the same public amenities, such as restaurants, public swimming pools, and restrooms.
• The Bantu Education Act of 1953 crafted a separate system of education for African students under the Department of "Bantu" Education.
• The Bantu Urban Areas Act of 1954 curtailed black migration to cities.
• The Mines and Work Act of 1956 formalised racial discrimination in employment.
• The Promotion of Black Self-Government Act of 1958 entrenched the NP's policy of separate development and created a system of nominally independent "homelands" for black people.
• Instead of all Native delegate systems founded under the Natives Representative Act of 1936, schemes for "self-governing Bantu units" were proposed. These national units were to have substantial administrative powers which would be decentralised to each "Bantu" unit and which would ultimately have autonomy and the hope of self-government. These national units were identified as North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, Tsonga and Venda. In later years, the Xhosa national unit was broken further down into the Transkei and Ciskei. The Ndebele national unit was also added later after its "discovery" by the Apartheid government. The government justified its plans on the basis that South Africa was made up of different "nations", asserting that "(the) government's policy is, therefore, not a policy of discrimination on the grounds of race or colour, but a policy of differentiation on the ground of nationhood, of different nations, granting to each self-determination within the borders of their homelands - hence this policy of separate development".
• The Bantu Investment Corporation Act of 1959 set up a mechanism to transfer capital to the homelands in order to create employment there.
• The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 created separate universities for blacks, coloureds and Indians. Under this act, existing universities were not permitted to enroll new black students. Fort Hare University in the Ciskei (now Eastern Cape) was to register only Xhosa-speaking students. Sotho, Tswana, Pedi and Venda speakers were placed at the newly-founded University College of the North at Turfloop, while the University College of Zululand was launched to serve Zulu scholars. Coloureds and Indians were to have their own establishments in the Cape and Natal respectively.
• The Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967 allowed the government to stop industrial development in 'white' cites and redirect such development to homeland border areas.
• The Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 marked a new phase in the Bantustan strategy. It changed the status of the black so that they were no
longer citizens of South Africa, but became citizens of one of the ten autonomous territories. The aim was to ensure whites became the demographic majority within South Africa by having all ten Bantustans chosen “independence”. Not all the homelands chose to become self-governing. Those who did choose autonomy were the Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979) and the Ciskei (1981).

- The Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974 required the use of Afrikaans and English on an equal basis in high schools outside the homelands.

5.3. Separating Black from White

The Population Registration Act of 1950 provided the basis for separating the population of South Africa into different races. Under the terms of this act, all residents of South Africa were to be classified as white, coloured, or native (later called Bantu) people and Indians. The act required that people be classified primarily on the basis of their "community acceptability"; later amendments placed greater stress on "appearance" in order to deal with the practice of light-coloured blacks "passing" as whites. The act also provided for the compilation of a population register for the whole country and for the issuing of identity books.

Other laws provided for geographic, social, and political separation. The Group Areas Act divided South Africa into separate areas for whites and blacks (including coloureds), and gave the government the power to forcibly remove people from areas not designated for their particular racial group. The Tomlinson Commission in 1954 officially concluded that the areas set aside for Africans would support no more than two-thirds of the African population even under the best of conditions, but the government ignored its recommendation that more land be allocated to the reserves and began removing Africans from white areas.

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 made marriages between whites and members of other racial groups illegal. The Immorality Act of 1950 extended an earlier ban on sexual relations between whites and blacks (the Immorality Act of 116

Indians were classified as Asians because some whites refused to recognize them as permanent inhabitants of South Africa because of their Asian descend.
1927) to a ban on sexual relations between whites and any non-whites. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 established Bantu tribal, regional, and territorial authorities in the regions set out for Africans under the Group Areas Act, and it abolished the Natives Representative Council. The Bantu authorities were to be dominated by chiefs and headmen appointed by the government. The government also sought in 1951 to remove coloured voters in the Cape from the common roll onto a separate roll and to require that they elect white representatives only. The Supreme Court immediately declared the act invalid on constitutional grounds, but after a long struggle it was successfully re-enacted. The Bantu Education Act that was passed in 1954 passively let the government to impose and implement Apartheid and its laws.\footnote{The Bantu Education Act (No. 47) of 1953 decreed that blacks should be provided with separate educational facilities under the control of the Ministry of Native Affairs, rather than the Ministry of Education. The pupils in these schools would be taught their Bantu cultural heritage and this implied that they should be trained "in accordance with their opportunities in life," which he considered did not reach "above the level of certain forms of labour." The act also removed state subsidies from denominational schools with the result that most of the mission-run African institutions (with the exception of some schools run by the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists) were sold to the government or closed. The Extension of University Education Act (No. 45) of 1959 prohibited blacks from attending white institutions, with few exceptions, and established separate universities and colleges for Africans, coloureds, and Indians.}

5.4. **The role of the Reformed churches**

It should be noted that cultural background had an influence and impact on this whole development, on the other side was the economic influence. More importantly, the church had adopted this policy and it became very strong within its borders. This policy found more roots in the church. Church leaders and those who were favoured by this policy started to prune it to find fertile soil for their debate and support of Apartheid. In his research, Vorster indicates that the largest Afrikaans church, the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*, openly pronounced the Apartheid policy and they tried to give a sound theological support over it.

Before the implementing of the Apartheid policy, there had been arguments that were raised in accordance with who belongs where? In the 1935 mission policy of the DRC, it was clear that the issue of segregation started to gain its force. Loubser, for
instance, argues that although the missionary policy of 1935 justified Apartheid on practical and historical grounds, the need was now felt to supply it with a theological basis. In this new ideology, it provided the basis for the theological justification of Apartheid. The statement in the mission policy reads “the diversity of colour, culture and language groups as something that was really acknowledged as a fact and was the unity of humanity.” Lubbe is right when he contends “mission was regarded as a church in action that was conducted across the colour line, even when the link is only included believer on either side.” The exegetical attempt to prove that Apartheid was theologically justified was within the scope of discussion in the DRC. One of the engines of the Afrikaner nation, S.J. Du Toit, made use of Biblical reference to fully support the basis for Apartheid. He referred in particular to some references in the Bible to justify his claim, i.e. Genesis 11 about God’s will for different nation and also Acts 2: 5-12 and Rev. 5:9; 7:9 and 14:6 that different cultures and tongues will be maintained in heaven as well. This argument led him to believe that the church had a divinely ordained duty to protect the cultural identity of Afrikaners. To him Apartheid was described as a great commandment by God himself. He believed that it was within God’s ordinances and that there should be no one who should try to make equal that which God had not made equal. In “Op die Horizon” (March 1947) Kritzinger made a distinction between direct and deduced Scriptural evidence on Apartheid. He indicated that God willed race Apartheid and Christians had to be serious about the God given ordinance on the one hand and on the other hand Scripture definitely taught the oneness of brotherhood of all people. Lubbe indicates five strong points of the base of principles of Apartheid: that Scripture places the oneness of the human race (Genesis 1:26-29); that Scripture relates the division of human kind into races and nations to an act of God (Genesis 10 i 11; Deuteronomy 1:26-29; Acts 17:26); that Apartheid reaches over the whole sphere of life of the people i.e. national, social and religious; that God’s blessings rests on upholding Apartheid (Deuteronomy 7:11) and that a higher spiritual unity is

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118 Loubser, The Apartheid Bible: 33.
120 Rossouw, Essentials of Apartheid: 98.
121 Loubser, The Apartheid Bible: 324.
122 This was the church journal that church matters could be published in.
established in Christ (Ephesians 4:4–6; Galatians 3:28 and Revelation 5:9). This whole arguments and contributions boosted the theological grounds for the support of Apartheid within the context of Scripture.

Millard however argues: “Apartheid was based on Christian National ideology which through the narrow minded of reading the Bible tried to justify racial separation in terms of calling and mission of Afrikanerdom. As for the church, Loubser points out four factors that contributed to the influence of a social policy of Apartheid, which are: (a) the plight of the Afrikaner i.e. the poor whites, (b) racial theories from overseas, (c) the romantic idea of the people and (d) the influence of neo-Calvinism.”

The NP government came to power in 1948, started to implement the long awaited policy of Apartheid as it was clearly stated in the mission of policy of 1935 of the DRC. This mission policy was based on the “three-selves” that churches should be self-supporting, self-governing and self-expanding as developed by Gustav Warneck. This ideology was completely within the scope of the Afrikaner’s concept of tradition and their cultural beliefs; they wanted to reshape the South Africa their own way. Apartheid was not a means to an end, but it just became an end in itself. He argues further that to many Afrikaner, Apartheid was not meant to be an oppressive policy; it was not designed to oppress indigenous people, but rather to ensure peace among the races. De Gruchy on the other hand claims that certain Afrikaner theologians that the national party ideologies turned for scriptural and theological justification for their racial policies and to readily obtain them, to the dismay of other Christian including other Dutch Reformed theologians and ministers. Thompson as quoted by Vorster, indicates: “Political subordination was merely an aspect of a more comprehensive process of change.” The African people of South Africa were being transformed from the self sufficient and autonomous chiefdoms into interlocking and dependent communities of peasants, living on accentuated tribal lands, and wage labourers, working in areas owned by

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white people. Vorster contends that since the NP government, laws were tighten up, more segregation laws were legislated as well as laws to curb the black resistance against the policy of Apartheid. These kinds of pass laws that were passed did not even materialise, and they were very unsuccessful. Rossouw is right, on the other hand, when he says that separated communities were never developed on an equal basis. Hence the development of the dependency syndrome in most of the black churches.

Synod after synod, decisions were made about changes that affected the church life. The Transvaal 1944 synod, for example, was instructed to indicate that the DRC standpoint was founded on the principles of racial Apartheid and guardianship as established in the Word of God. In the general synod of 1966, the issue of race relations were tabled; the main idea was to base the Apartheid on biblical grounds. These ideas were also propagated to church members through the church magazines like the Die Kerkbode; Die Kerkblad; Op die Horizon; Kerk en Stad.

The Gereformeerde Kerk was the most conservative of the Reformed churches family in South Africa, both socially and theologically. They were however less tied to the government and were therefore freer to make theological decisions without consulting the government about which line were they supposed to take. They were committed to the restoration of the strictly orthodox Calvinism of the synod of Dordrecht and therefore opposed to Calvinism’s dilution through evangelical pietism. The theologians from the Gereformeerde Kerk were very much reserved and careful on issues concerning Apartheid. It was not something that could play it loose as the wished. There were elements of Apartheid since most of them were professing the Bible as a standard for Apartheid policy. At the same time, the GK renounced Apartheid as unbiblical 20 years before either the NGK or the NHK did.

De Gruchy claims that the GK’s theological identity was later influenced by Kuyper. If this claim is right, then Apartheid in South Africa had been ascribed to the Dutch

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130 Rossouw, Essentials of Apartheid: 92.
131 As is found in the minutes of the Synod, see Handelinge 1948:279.
theologian Abraham Kuyper. We will not confirm or deny this claim here. Nevertheless it is clear that the use of his ideas in South Africa had a great impact on the development of Apartheid. It is believed that his ideas of neo-Calvinism were widely spread within the South African grounds, reaching all spheres of people’s lives, i.e. social, political and spiritual. Circles within the DRC and GKSA upheld the idea that explicitly referred to Kuyper’s neo-Calvinism so that they could justify Apartheid theologically. It is amazing how one could find the line of thought among the decision of the Synods of 1958 and 1961 of the GKSA that supported the link of the expression of Kuyperian viewpoint on the relation between the Scripture, Calvinism, Afrikaner identity and Apartheid. As for Kuyper, his theology was that of creation ordinances which was ordained by God. Apartheid theology could easily use the framework of Kuyper’s neo-Calvinism. Kuyper also emphasised diversity and pluriformity of nations that were also applicable to the church. Romantic nationalism also influenced the formation of fundamental Apartheid.

The church was always on the side of the government; here the role that the church played was that the church put pressure on the government of the day to pass Apartheid laws, such as Immorality Act, that made marriages between people of different race group to be illegal. Apartheid had become the credo of the church and those who desired to be obedient to God should also be obedient to this credo. The Dutch Reformed Church defended this ideology thereby distancing itself from other churches and ecumenical bodies that criticised their commitment to Apartheid.

In 1948, following the meeting in 1943, the Synod of 1948 submitted a report entitled: Racial and national Apartheid in Scripture. This report became the basis document of Apartheid theology. From this report, its formulation indicates the Scriptural justification of the policy of Apartheid and the idea of guardianship is clearly set out. Theologically it rested on four pillars of which we have to take note

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135 Handelinge van die Sinode (1948), 279-284.
136 In the Handelinge van die Sinode of 1951, it is clearly indicated how the Scripture supports Apartheid.
if we are to understand further developments up until Church Society as discussed somewhere on this section. The first pillar on this reports deals with the policy of the church. In the second pillars of this report, it deals with the investigation of the Scriptural principles that would support the idea of Apartheid. The third part mentions the Race and National Apartheid in the Bible. Last it deals with the Scriptural justification that should be centred on Guardianship in the Bible. This policy referred in most cases to "the traditional fear of the Afrikaner of equalization between white and black". The conclusive matter was that the Church should reject "integration". According to the formulation in this policy, the church did not deny anyone any social status, but insisted, "each nation should have the right to be himself". For this reason the DRC preferred "social differentiation and spiritual or cultural segregation." Why would there be this kind of fears for the whites? Could this be the reason that prompted them to look for answers in the Bible that the can be put down for racial separateness? The Bible replaced a textbook where all the answers could be found. The history of the Tower of Babel, the events at Pentecost and texts about the "purity" of the people of Israel, the Scriptural basis was not clear enough, they needed some conclusive and convincing basis. There was an urgent need for a direct Biblical justification of "rasse-Apartheid".

6. THE SWIFT CHANGES IN THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS: THE FALL AND THE HEALING PROCESS

Apartheid has always been a major issue in the ongoing division of the churches. These divisions became something hard to heal. Between 1960 and 1990 there were several meetings that took place in order to mend the differences between the churches. The relation between the Apartheid government and the churches that denounced Apartheid as sin was seen as staggering. There were on the one hand, those whites who were reluctant to denounce Apartheid, and on the other hand there were those who were already labelled as dissent because of their denouncing Apartheid as sin.

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137 Handelinge van die Raad van Kerke (1935), 94-99.
6.1 The Cottesloe Consultation: 1960

The world Council of Churches organized a meeting at Cottlesloe in December 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre of 1959. It began in Sharpeville with a peaceful march that was conducted by the Pan African Congress against the pass law and it was also aimed at opposing the white domination, but it ended in bloodshed by the government and the death of many demonstrators. Churches were divided on the issue of the Sharpeville massacre, whereby most of the churches criticised the actions of the government. The division was between the three Afrikaans reformed churches and the five English reformed churches whereby the former still held that Apartheid was an acceptable policy if it is justifiable applied. The English speaking churches stood strongly against these acts of the government. The three Afrikaans speaking churches gave their support and theological justification to maintain Apartheid policy and the NHK in particular, reaffirmed their position for the support of the policy of Apartheid policy and the regime of the day. The outcome of the consultation was that Apartheid could not be reconciled with Scripture.\footnote{Villa-Vicencio, Civil obedience and beyond: 52.} From the three Afrikaans churches, C.F. Beyers Naude was committed in changing the minds of the fellow Afrikaners; this was something that he could not accomplish. The Christian Institute was established to ease some of the prevailing problems. The Christian Institute wanted to pursue the ecumenical dialogue.\footnote{Millard, The legacy of the British Settlers: 275-276.} Beyers Naude was firmly criticised by the DRC and the NHK.

6.2 The South African Council of Churches: 1968

The South African Council of Churches held a meeting in 1968 about a message to the people of South Africa. There were three crucial matters that were discussed. Under the heading of the message they focused on the Christian gospel i.e. what is it all about, and also where should the honour go? To God or to man?\footnote{D.M Balia, Christian resistance to Apartheid. Braamfontein: Skotaville. (1989), 33.} Apartheid was clearly stated as in conflict with the gospel of Christ. Therefore Apartheid was described as a pseudo-gospel, where a pledge to the people was that
Christians should be able to distinguish between the false gospel (Apartheid) and true gospel of Jesus Christ.

Between 1968 and 1982 there were still a lot of consultations and meetings that were aimed at doing away with Apartheid in the churches and in politics.

6.3 The Word Alliance of Reformed Churches: 1982

The Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC), which was a coloured reformed church, was the first to denounce Apartheid at their synod in October. They declared the theological justification of Apartheid as a heresy and declared a řstatus confessionisò. This confession stated clearly that the gospel of Apartheid was threatening the witness of reconciliation of Jesus Christ and the unity of His church. The řstatus confessionisò paved to formulate a new confession, and the řBelhar confessionò was adopted by the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in 1986. The Belhar confession evoked mixed reactions from churches. It especially steered debate within the white Dutch Reformed churches. This confession was seen by many white DRC members as a piece of political propaganda against them.

Because the DRC and NHK maintained its řstatus quo”, the church was faced the isolation from the ecumenical world. Had it been not the Afrikaner fear ideology, South African churches would have been far much better on any other level of ecclesiastical matters.

It was not until the synod of 1986 that the decision of the DRC of 1974 of the publication “Ras, volk en Nasie en volkereverhoudinge in die lig van Skrif” was revisited and the whole debate on race relations was challenged. A draft document of the řChurch and Society ŗ a testimony of the Dutch Reformed Churchò was drafted that, with many radical changes, was accepted by the synod of 1986. One important fact that was mentioned in the document was that the membership of the DRC would be open to all people irrespective of race and colour. It was clear that the new draft moved away from the former decisions of the DRC, but it became a theological

142 Millard, The legacy of the British Settlers: 284.
complex issue when one contemplates whether the rejection of Apartheid was clear. As is always the case, this move was strongly rejected by some Afrikaner traditionalists; it was the group of those who were dissatisfied with the decision that they tended to move away from the DRC into their *Afrikaanse Protestante Kerk* in the APK. This group on the other hand issued a statement counteracting the DRC’s endorsement of integration between blacks and whites. Besides this group another opposition group that remained with the DRC vowed to nullify the Church and Society’s document in the next synod.\textsuperscript{143}

On the other hand around 1978 and onwards, changes in the political arena were taking place. Prime Minister Botha had to introduce his own political stance in the country. Thompson described Botha’s administration as a complex one, attempting to change circumstances without sacrificing the Afrikaner power. It included efforts to adapt and to neutralise South Africa’s neighbours by scrapping Apartheid symbols and practices that were not essential to the maintenance of white supremacy, to draw English speaking citizens into the party, to win the cooperation of big business, to intensify the ethnic and class cleavages among the subject and to suppress domestic dissidents.\textsuperscript{144} This bore fruit when in the parliament there were chambers of different races, whites, coloureds and Indians.

6.4 The Rustenburg Consultation

A historic Consultation was held at Rustenburg in November 1990 where more than 200 delegates from the churches and Christian organisations in South Africa were present to discuss both the theological and the political situation in South Africa. The issues were a line dividing blacks and whites. It was through this consultation that the church denounces Apartheid as a sin. Prof. Willie Jonker of the DRC on behalf of himself and the church, though he was not given a mandate, confessed the sin and guilt which caused the instability of the country, also in the name of the DRC.\textsuperscript{145} The condemnation of Apartheid meant three things in the DRC, first: it condemned its

\textsuperscript{143} J. Kinghorn, On the Theology of church and society in the DRC, in: *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*. 70: (1990), March, 211.

\textsuperscript{144} Thompson, *A history of South Africa*: 224.

\textsuperscript{145} GSC 1997, par. 5.4.2.
intention í which the DRC could not move away from for a long time, secondly it meant Apartheid was condemned in principle in its implementation and thirdly, it was condemned in its consequences. This statement was served only by a part of the people of the DRC since at some stage the DRC was unwilling to do this because of the fear that some opponents of Apartheid obviously denied people’s right and freedom to preserve and promote their cultural and their own values. In the synod of 1998 the DRC declared that Apartheid is a sin and therefore had to rejoin the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The church had formally accepted that Apartheid was a sin, hence its apology to the victims of Apartheid. The history of the theological justification of Apartheid might be seen as coming to an end, but the theological endorsement of this ideology of Apartheid might not be the end.

7. **THE DIVISION AMONG THE CHURCHES ON APARTHEID**

The struggle against Apartheid in some other churches was very strong and was considered as a fight against all evils. Actually the churches did not share the same vision with regard to Apartheid. There are three main divisions. Some protestant churches from the Reformed family, with the Dutch Reformed Church as the most prominent, supported Apartheid. The DRC was politically involved to such an extent that most of the members of the parliament were their church members as well. This is the church that even proposed to the government for the separation of institutions like universities. They even went further to give Apartheid a theological base.

Another group that was on the other side of the fence, consisted of Anglicans, Catholics, some Presbyterian and other Congregations and most of the non-white Reformed churches. This group made up a council, the South African Council of Churches.

The third group had nothing to do with politics in the church. They did not want to bring politics in the pulpit. These included the Evangelicals and some Pentecostal churches and also some African Independent churches. Most of the African Independent Churches, for example the Ethiopian church, emerged during the last half of the 19th century, and they evolved during Apartheid time because they practiced their own socio-cultural activities, they wanted to be self asserted because
they could not find any accommodation in the Whites’ churches and neither in the government.

It must be noted that the ideology of Apartheid in the church did not just go without any opposition even in the DRC. Some of the people were removed from their ministries; Beyers Naude for example, was considered a rebellious leader and was removed from the church, from his office as a pastor and also as a moderator of the Transvaal. There were figures who suffered the consequence of their persistence in fighting against Apartheid. Prof. B.B. Keet and B.J. Marais had become the dissents from their churches. The Reverend Beyers Naude, for example, left his white church in the late 1970s and joined a black church within the DRC. His efforts to reduce the church’s racist image were often constrained by the fact that parish finances were controlled by the church’s highest authorities, who supported Apartheid.

Actually Apartheid was not an issue of black and white churches, but had developed into an issue of all people, also of white English speaking people and the indigenous people in South Africa as well. Churches were divided because of the ongoing Apartheid issues. From the beginning, even during the time that National Party won the election, debates were there over policies of Apartheid that was to be implemented by the NP and the DRC. English speaking churches were very vocal and could be heard even in the government, but the problem was that they did not do as much as it was needed, and they could not practice what they were preaching. In both the English speaking reformed churches and also some Afrikaans churches, there were people who supported Apartheid on their personal feelings, some were very opposed to that. It is claimed that most of the church members did not agree with the position taken by their church leaders.\textsuperscript{146} It is said that the English speaking churches criticized Apartheid in principle, and passed resolutions against the related legislation.\textsuperscript{147} This meant that these churches did not put action on what they proclaimed to be wrong to human race.

\textsuperscript{146} Millard, Christianity in South Africa: 269.
\textsuperscript{147} De Gruchy, The church struggle in South Africa: 160.
Within the circles of the Reformed tradition, the DRC and some of the Pentecostal churches defended the policy of segregation on theological grounds. This was not only a burning debate on the Reformed churches, many churches were also involved in the debate. Some of the leadership of the DRC in particular and some other churches also, felt that Apartheid was not used and understood in the same sense by all. In fact, in every church, there were members of the church who supported Apartheid whereas some were totally against it. In many cases, church leaders are not always in agreement with their followers, therefore it would not be a surprise that even lay members of some churches here did not agree with was their leaders were doing. Millard is right when she contends that among white South Africans there was a number of people who felt that the policy of separate development as it was being promulgated by the government was unjust and wrong. Even churches within the Reformed Tradition could not agree on Apartheid. For instance, the Afrikaner churches and their leaders were very much reluctant to criticize and oppose the government, though there was just a handful of those who could be vocal in opposing the government.

8. **THE THEOLOGICAL DEFENCE OF THIS PROCESS**

The DRC had many chances to eradicate Apartheid if they would have been willing to do that. It must be admitted that the DRC in South Africa collaborated with the state to a greater extent than any other church. This means that the DRC collaborated with the state’s ideology for a long time. The attitude of the church leaders in the DRC is the cause of the strongly felt approval of the idea of Apartheid. As far back as the first meeting of the DRC synods, Apartheid was defended on Biblical grounds. The Reformed Church in South Africa also followed suit.

The DRC has been characterised by its conservativeness, confessionalism and evangelicalism. For so many years, when the DRC was on the side of the state, they could not see the pains that they have caused the country and the church in general, though in 1970 at the Synod meeting in the Cape, the so-called Dutch Reformed

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149 Millard, Christianity in South Africa: 254.
Coloured Mission Church adopted all of the resolutions of the 1968 Reformed Ecumenical Synod, which implicitly condemn the ideology and practice of Apartheid.

The Dutch Reformed church now is convinced that the application of Apartheid as a political and social system by which is adversely affected and whereby one political group is detrimentally suppressed by one another, cannot be accepted on Christian ethical ground, because it contravenes the very essence of neighbourly love and righteousness and inevitably the human dignity of all involved.\textsuperscript{150} It will take however much time until the impact of the doctrine and the indoctrination of Apartheid theology will be really over in the minds and hearts of people.

9. \textbf{CONCLUSION}

The development of Apartheid did not come overnight. It was a process that took years to emancipate. This development happened in stages. The establishment of the refreshment station in the Cape was coincident in the formation and introduction of a colonial system. This period is marked by tension between individual groups, namely the British, the Dutch later known to be Afrikaner and the African peoples - who fought for the same thing: Power. As a result, conflict, repression and segregation took the up hand in the development of humanity over a period of time.

It is important to note here that the church has played a major role in the development of the history of South Africa. It has shaped the whole worldview and ideology of how South Africa should look like and it succeeded to shape of the present South Africa's society, though different from the ideology they developed. The church has managed to divide people according to colour and race. This gave rise to the superiority complex that was later developed. The fights between whites, English speaking and Afrikaans speaker just caught up with the other race black who did not even know what the reason for fighting was. Through these wars, one culture emerged and practiced its own politico-religious game. Along the way, new church denominations were born, some of them became so radical that it was even stated in their church order and policies that it is mainly the church for the certain

\textsuperscript{150} Church and Society 1986:47.
group of people. This meant that others were left out of the picture. Along these lines, churches and their leaders were devoted not in the build up of spiritual being, but were so occupied with the racial issues. Apartheid was not developed by accident, it was a plan.
CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

1. INTRODUCTION

South African history is marked by a major ideological paradigm shift with regard to a racial attitude towards other people. Since the first time of insurgence into South Africa by white colonial, tables were turned upside down. The most obvious time when racial oppression was realised was during the time of the rise of an aggressive and religious orientated Afrikaner Christian Nationalism from the 1930s and onward, and this was consequently, reinforced by the hardening of racist ideology during the NP's implementation of Apartheid in 1948.

In this chapter, attention will be given to another aspect of society, directly related to Apartheid: social stratification. What are the causes and influences that brought social stratification into South Africa? How did the idea of social stratification come along? Why was it enacted as such that the development of social stratification led to the formation of the Apartheid system as the final consequences of Social Stratification?

2 WHAT IS SOCIAL STRATIFICATION?

From a sociological point of view, social stratification is the hierarchical arrangement of social classes, castes, and strata within a society. While these hierarchies are not universal to all societies, they are the norm among state-level cultures. Marger defines social stratification as a "system of legitimate, structured social inequality in which groups receive disproportionate amount of the society's wealth, power, and prestige and are socially ranked accordingly" Social stratification became a concept that has to do with social inequality, namely: class, status and power.

151 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_mobility
The European concept of social order was observed and maintained in the early 18th century. In social stratification, inequality can be a structured inequality. The rich remain rich, the poor remain poor, ethnic minorities do not lose their minority status.\textsuperscript{153}

2.1 Forms of Stratification

Each society ranks its members on the basis of some characteristics and these characteristics are developed within a certain hierarchy of class, status, power, race and ethnicity.\textsuperscript{154}

2.1.1 Class

Class is considered to be a ranking or grouping of individuals according to position in the economic scheme of things. It refers to groupings of people with approximately similar income and occupation.\textsuperscript{155}

Class, in this sense, is an ambiguous term. It has an economic position according to which it is defined in terms of relative economic position. There is an economic difference between people depending on how much money they have, but also with regard to many other economic aspects.

It also refers to productive relations whereby class is understood in terms of the economy of production and sale. The main distinction falls between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour, but if the basic criterion is accepted there must be other classes: the petit bourgeoisie, who own small shops and firms, or the underclass, who are marginal to the labour market.\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{154} Marger, \textit{Social inequality}, 15-16.
\textsuperscript{155} Marger, \textit{Social inequality}, 17.
\textsuperscript{156} Marger, \textit{Race and Ethnic Relation}, 29
2.1.2 Status

This is the social dimension of inequality. Grouping or position is based upon social value and ranking. Status is determined here by "who you are?"

2.1.3 Power

Power has to do with grouping or ranking of people in terms of what those in commanding position would want things to be done. In this case one need not be wealthy or of higher status, but can have a great deal of power. Power can come from a variety of sources, e.g. from force of personality or from location in the political system.

2.1.4 Race and Ethnicity

Societies are often comprised of a variety of racial and ethnic groups. An ethnic group is a human population whose members are identified with each other, based on common practices, that is, by common culture, behavior, language, or religious practices. Racial and ethnic divisions are the basis of categorising people’s race and ethnicity and subsequently of inequality.¹⁵⁷

2.2 System of Social Stratification

Beside these forms of social stratification where in it appears, there is also a system of social stratification. Social stratification as a system consciously creates strata or levels of inequality. These levels of inequality were created on the basis of slavery, class system and caste.

¹⁵⁷ Marger, Social Inequality, 17
2.2.1 Slavery

Slavery has been a practice as far as historic memory extends. It is a form of inequality throughout human history.\(^{158}\) Slavery is the social or de-facto status of specific persons, usually captives or prisoners (or their descendants), who are considered as property or chattel, for the purpose of providing labour and services for the owner or state without the right of the slave to refuse, leave or gain compensation beyond room, board and clothing.\(^{159}\) People have been captured and sold into slavery in time memorial. In South Africa, slave trade was only introduced in 1658 by the colonial system Slaves played an important role in development of South African history.

2.2.2 Class system

Marger indicates that the class system emerged in Europe with industrialization, beginning in the eighteenth century.\(^{160}\)

2.2.3 Caste

Caste system is traditional, hereditary systems of social stratification, such as clans or the Indian caste system. According to the Oxford Dictionary caste is recognised as "each of the hereditary classes of Hindu society, distinguished by relative degrees of ritual purity or pollution and of social status."\(^{161}\) Caste in this case is a system which is traditional, hereditary and systems of social stratification, such as clans and culture. Caste in this context is commonly used to describe any system in which the different strata are rigidly fixed. According to Marger, it is the purest form of social stratification.\(^{162}\)

\(^{158}\) Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 172.
\(^{160}\) Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 182.
\(^{161}\) Oxford Dictionary, sub verbo.
\(^{162}\) Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 177.
2.3 Ethnic Stratification\textsuperscript{163}

A system of ethnic stratification is a rank order of groups, each made up of people with presumed common cultural and physical characteristics, interacting in patterns of dominance and subordination.\textsuperscript{164} In South Africa, the colonists, although in minority, had become the dominant party, while the indigenous people in their majority, became the subservient part. Ethnic stratification is created by the movements of people across national boundaries, bringing with them different languages, and cultural systems or by the establishment of new political boundaries.\textsuperscript{165} This creates dominance for those who are less powered and less equipped, or rather those who are not in for their game. Social stratification became a concept that has to do with social inequality.

3. DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

In general terms, social stratification has been practiced in South Africa for a very long time. It is an old concept.\textsuperscript{166} Before colonialism, the aristocratic chiefs symbolized their authority by wearing special animal-skin clothing, ornaments, and the accoutrements of power, and expressed it through the functioning of chiefly courts and assemblies. Chiefs were entitled by custom to display, mobilize, and increase their wealth through the acquisition of many wives and large herds of cattle. Concentrating their wealth in livestock and people, chiefs of even the highest degree did not live a life materially much better than that of their subjects. Only with the spread of colonial capitalism did luxury goods, high-status manufactured items, and a European education become symbols of social status. European fashions in dress, housing and household utensils, worship, and transport became general status symbols among all groups except rural traditional Africans by the mid-nineteenth

\textsuperscript{163} Ethnic stratification is not the purpose of this study, but it shed a light in the differences and similarities between Social and Ethnic stratification. This research will not deal much with Ethnic stratification.

\textsuperscript{164} Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 255.

\textsuperscript{165} Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 259.

\textsuperscript{166} This topic has been briefly touched upon in this study earlier on.
century. Since that time, transport has served as a status symbol, with fine horses, pioneer wagons, and horse-drawn carts giving way to imported luxury automobiles.

After the founding of Cape Town in 1652, physical indicators of racial origin served as the basis of a color caste system. That system initially did not prevent interracial sex and procreation, as the shortage of European women was compensated for by the availability of slave women. In that process, skin color, as was seen by what you are and class came to be closely identified, with darker peoples legally confined to a lower social and economic status. For its continued existence it required a social structure that would help consolidate and safeguard white interests. Apartheid social stratification was not an outcome of a pristine process of state formation or societal progress. This was a product of a skewed social engineering political process, which involved constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing social identities in accordance with the dictates of racial domination.

This system resulted in a problematic social stratification process that enhanced the oppression of the indigenous people. The settlers started to take all the necessary ruling and controlling powers under their control, they moulded the South African community’s political, economic, religious, and other identity markers in their own way. The influence of this system had serious impact in the whole modification of South African society. Social stratification was the process that was influenced by the white settlement in the Cape that resulted in oppression of the indigenous peoples. The basis of social stratification shifted under Apartheid from race to class. The privileges enjoyed by white South Africans were increasingly derived from their class positions as compared to black who heavily experienced alienation to racial discrimination.

As indicated by Nico Vorster, the grading of classes and races that resulted in the stratification was influenced by the colonial system that was introduced in South Africa. He argues that the European domination had an impact on this whole programme. The principle behind this view was that peoples in South Africa, whites

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168 N. Vorster, *Kerk en mensregte binne ’n regstaat: die profetietse roeping van die kerk ten opsigte van die vestiging van etos van mensregte in Suid Afrika*. PhD PU, 2002, 93
and non-whites should be kept apart, i.e. each should live in peace and harmony. This social stratification was based on classification of peoples, races and nations. It was developed into a racial affair. Ross indicates that during the eighteenth century, the European racist theory started to develop and to be formulated. Vorster argues that it resulted in the view of white man’s culture that was regarded as supreme to other cultures. He bases his arguments of social stratification on this theory that played a role in the emergence of class and racial discrimination. This view of white supremacy propagated the discriminatory laws against the indigenous people. Coertzen is of the same view about the colour; he indicates that colour prejudice was based on the idea that white people’s culture and their civilisation was superior to those of coloured, i.e. the black people. It was a biologically founded race superiority with a theological foundation. Hence they identified themselves as Christians and the non-whites were considered heathens. Therefore whites were in all spheres higher than any other culture from birth. This mentality of superiority of whites and inferiority of blacks was created and instilled in the black community. This process resulted in the Apartheid system and hence the dependence syndrome.

These principles prompted the division along racial lines that influenced the development of the practice of slavery. This development resulted in the oppression of the indigenous people. Within this process, Vorster summarises the development of social stratification and its implications. He argues that this social stratification played a role in the emergence of class and racial discrimination. This idea brings a different view and the development of this stratification, which is: the view of white supremacy that propagated the discriminatory laws. The power was in the hands of the conquerors and the black people became subjects of the colonial rule. No equality before the law existed, the laws were made to uphold the rights

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170 N. Vorster, *Kerk en mensregte*: 93
172 Vorster, *Kerk en mensregte*, 92
173 Ross, *Beyond the pale*, 167.
and further the economic aims of the VOC.\textsuperscript{174} The promulgation of the discriminatory laws resulted in change of attitude and also ideology from many whites’ missionaries.

Due to the support of the British settlers the colonial state became actively involved in a new labour pattern. This has resulted in the emergence of new and powerful colonial elite both agricultural and mercantile which controlled everything, from politics to un-free black labour. This has also created a pattern of black labour which was initiated by racist ideology to legitimise capitalism. This pattern was formed against the black indigenous people for whom it was a disadvantage to belong to the black community.

4. **THE CAUSES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION**

Colonisation has emerged and tightened up between the years 1652-1795. After the British took over the Cape it came in a new phase, which made the whole structure of society even more complicated. During this period of colonisation a certain degree of race and class stratification that gave rise to the South African social stratification in the following centuries. The social order started in the Cape as a result of the European influx into the country. Along this, came the formulation of racism in South Africa, as Robert Ross indicated that the Europeans were the first to coin the racism theory during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{175}

4.1 **The VOC’s mercantilist policies\textsuperscript{176}**

The policy that the VOC introduced into the country, the company strive to regulate the livestock with the same thoroughness it applied to the spice operation in the East Indies. This policy was purely commercial in nature. This period was characterised

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\textsuperscript{174} J.M Vorster, The constitutional State, 97
\textsuperscript{176} This topic was dealt with in previous chapter. Because here it is only to try to connect with the former, only important notes are used here.
\end{flushleft}
by economic orthodoxy about mercantilism among emerging nation states of Europe.\textsuperscript{177}

It was created to control the production and the trade post. The policy was therefore created and enforced by the land policy.\textsuperscript{178} Its goal was to conduct the price at which stock was brought and this means were two fold, (1) to gain sole access to the sources of cheap Khoikhoi cattle; (2) to monopolize the distribution of cattle to consumers.\textsuperscript{179}

The racial domination and exclusion became an integral part of its logic. The system of racial segregation gradually attained a formal legal status, culminating in the disenfranchisement and dispossession of people of color. Lipton refers to discrimination as something that finally had its impact on all aspects of life. Blacks, coloureds and Indians were excluded from civil, political and economic rights that were enjoyed by whites, such as voting, freedom of movement, and the rights to do certain jobs or own properties in large part of the country. This had a bearing on the lives and the way people should live. The lives of people were grouped according to their skin colour and their race. Each had separate areas of living, separate schools, etc.\textsuperscript{180}

4.2 Division on Language issues

The white community was also divided due to the language issues after the British occupation after 1795. Language became the most important instrument of identity. English was used in most parts, and the Boers wanted to retain their status, and this could be achieved through language which was unique to them. There were those who belonged into the British colony and those who were for the Afrikaner dissent.

\textsuperscript{178} Here it was the time when the land policy was introduced, Native Land Act (27/1913), Since 1912, many policies were put into place, for instance, Mines and Works (12/1912), Native Regulation Act (15/1911), Immigration Act (22/1913), Native (Urban Areas) Act (21/1923), Administrative Act (38/1927).
After the Anglo-Boer war in 1902, during the 1930s there was an internal struggle within the white community. The English speaking people considered themselves as superior and should have subject under them, the white Afrikaners were also subject of the English. By the time when the white Afrikaners were impoverished and wanted to come out of their poverty situation where they were, the British had ceased what most Afrikaners wanted to achieve. The Afrikaner felt like they were stripped off what they believed in. One of the central issues was the economic position wherein everyone wanted to have a share. In the early 1930s and 1940s the Afrikaners had mobilised themselves to gain the ethnic power.

The Anglo-Boer war had much contributed in the impoverishment of Afrikaner community. That anger was later vented on to black communities. The injustices that were done to Afrikaners by British imperialists and foreign capitalist had created the dangers of black swamping: Afrikaners ideologues succeeded in creating a syndrome of victimisation i.e. the idea that existence and the interests of the Afrikaner volk were endangered by other population groups. The Afrikaners were largely intimidated, their ideologies emphasised the ethnic purity of Afrikaners and the imperative of protecting this purity against miscegenation with ostensible inferior races. This gave rise to the aggression with which Afrikaner nationalism formulated an explicit and insulting version of racism, which crystallised into the policy of Apartheid. As for the National Party, they regarded the different Africans ethnic groups as heathen nations that should be Christianised and be civilised by Afrikaners. On the other hand white English speaking people were portrayed as materialistic and egotistic according to values of Capitalism. Some whites regarded themselves as inferior to other whites. The Afrikaans speaking community had serious problems regarding their status and their position in the all English dominated society. They could not classify themselves among other whites. With this in mind, it created a sense of inferiority among some whites, collectively; they grouped themselves into either small elite group or that of the relatively large underclass white communities hence this also has created a social stratification.

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182 Terreblanche, *A history of inequality*, 298
The policy of separation had many inconsistencies. It was not a matter of colour alone there was a line between whites themselves, i.e. between white Afrikaans and white English speaking people. The white Afrikaans speaking people wanted to liberate themselves from the British rule and therefore the “Great Trek” was the result.\footnote{183}

As has been indicated above about Ethnic stratification, social stratification has as well had the roots on dominance and hierarchy. With the annexation from the British rule over the Dutch rule, this has also created a system of hierarchy.

5. BASES OF HIERARCHY

The difference in class, status, power, race and ethnicity, has also influenced the hierarchical order in South Africa. During the Dutch colony, the Dutch were on the higher level in the hierarchy for they were the dominant group in the Cape. When the British took over, the Dutch were demoted into the lower level. The black native people were always on the lower level. The Boers, during the reign of the British colony, experienced a feeling of alienation and inferior between themselves and the British authorities at the Cape. They wanted to occupy the higher level or hierarchy.

South Africans were formally classified into four racial categories, based on perception of racial differences: White, Coloureds, Asians (mostly Indians) and Africans.\footnote{184} Actually this was only the case before 1795.

The South African hierarchical system during the Dutch colonisation (1652–1795) was as follows:

- Higher level: White (Dutch/Afrikaner speaking)
- Second higher level: Asian
- Third level: Coloured
- Lower level: Black

\footnote{183}{The main reasons behind the “Great Trek” has been stated in the previous work. Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 178.}
The South African hierarchical system after the British occupation (1795–1910):

- Highest level - White (English speaking whites)
- Second level - White (Boers)
- Third higher level - Asian
- Fourth level - Coloured
- Lower level - Black

The Boers had to leave the Cape in search of freedom and they classified themselves into another category. After the Great Trek until the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the Boers considered themselves separate from other whites: English speaking whites. Even during the formation of the union, they were so pre-occupied with uniting the "white races" that by reducing the gap between them into a single race that will open the fair relation between the actual races to expand and enlarge.

A new hierarchical system was in their mind set:

- Highest level - White (Boers)
- Middle level - Coloured
- Lower level - Black

After 1910 and in the Apartheid era they kept formally to the last system, but in the minds of people the reality of society was like in the 19th century, with the English feeling superior and the Boers feeling inferior. Though the latter tried to compensate for this by taking political power after 1948, it never left their minds.

The South Africa system of inequality was essentially whites at the top and non-white at the bottom. The dominance system was also allowed by law with specific legislation mandating the social separation of the racial groups, the maintenance of separate social institution for each and the formal division of South Africa into separate independent white and black nations. Afrikaners believed themselves to be

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185 Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 178.
natural overseers of primitive African, the view that white Afrikaners maintained on cultural superiority of whites.\textsuperscript{186}

6. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION DURING THE APARTHEID ERA

The slogan of Apartheid gained momentum just after 1948 when the then National party won, which resulted in the enforcement of Apartheid policy.\textsuperscript{187} The churches that belonged to the Reformed tradition in South Africa had become a highly complex social phenomenon that was composed of different denominations and movements.\textsuperscript{188}

The implementation of the Apartheid policy practices were later made possible by the Population Registration Act of 1950. South Africans were classified into four racial categories: Bantu - black people, white, Coloured - of mixed race and also Asian. The system of Apartheid was enforced by a series of laws passed in the 1950s: the Group Areas Act of 1950 assigned races to different residential and business sections in urban areas, and the Land Acts of 1954 and 1955 restricted non-white residence to specific areas. These laws restricted the right of blacks to own land, but the white minority controlled over 80 percent of South African land. Contact between races was also restricted in accordance to social class.

We will discuss the situation of South Africa under four main aspects: political, ethnic, economic and religious.

6.1 Political Context

Political influence played a role in the cascading of social stratification. Racial issues were in the centre of each debate in South Africa from 1948. The new National party had set the law that prevented racial interaction. The political influence became evident in white supremacy and black inferiority. The paradoxes of the decision of

\textsuperscript{186} Marger, Race and Ethnic Relation, 179
\textsuperscript{187} Vorster, The Constitutional State, 101; cf. Kinghorn, Modernisation and Apartheid, 137.
the church in 1857 prevailed over from one generation to the other, culminating in the political situation.

6.1.1 Afrikaner Nationalism (1900–1910)

Between the years 1900–1910, it was the time of the birth of Afrikaner nationalism. Afrikaner nationalism began to take off after the two wars of independence against the British in the Transvaal. They wanted to have their own identity, culture, language and place to stay. They wanted to alienate themselves from the other people.

In this context, much emphasis is put on the intense conflicts between the Boers and British. This was characterised by the emergence of their language as has been indicated above. Secondly the Boers aligned themselves with their established Reformed Church which in turn sought it to be their fortress against their perpetrators who wanted to kill their identity in the British. They developed a very close relationship with their church to an extent that it became hard to distinguish between the DRC and the Afrikaner nation. Because of this tie between politics and the church, they developed a theology around this whole notion of ethnic identity and gave it a theological support. This notion was centred on God and the chosen nation. These theological convictions were that God ordained the church to protect their (Afrikaners) cultural identity. The Afrikaner nationalism was the idea of predestination and a calling by God for the Afrikaners. Their history was interpreted as a source of divine revelation where the parallel between them and Israel became evident.

6.1.2 The period of the formation of the Union of South Africa 1910–1948

After the 1910 Union when the four colonies of South Africa were united, the politics of the country had to take another direction. The Union of South Africa came into being on 31 May 1910, as a result of the consolidation of the British Colonies in

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189 The Union of South Africa was a union between Afrikaans and English speaking South African who agreed to disagree on many things, including the country itself but agreed to be one constitution which was approved by the British Parliament. Therefore the first Parliament of South Africa was convene under the auspices of this Union.
the Southern Africa region under one system of government. The previously separate colonies became Provinces in the Union of South Africa as the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

During this period South Africa was controlled by the English establishment. These establishments were interested with entrenching white political power and entrenching racial segregation.\textsuperscript{190} From 1910 onwards the idea of white supremacy in political and economic life in South Africa became a norm.\textsuperscript{191} In fact the struggle for the Afrikaner people for identity and land was intense. The introduction of the policy of racial separation in 1910 through a group of laws curtailed the rights of the black majority. The formation of the Union of South Africa, triggered also the formation of African nationalism, which at the beginning did not have much impact on society.

6.2 Ethnicity

South African social context was divided demographically as Kritzinger pointed out.\textsuperscript{192} He grouped the demographic indicators of which for our purpose the first two will be considered:

\emph{Ethnic and language composition:}

South Africa today is a large community, and it is also a plural society. It is divided into various ethnic groups with different languages. During the time of the Apartheid, South Africa was divided into four main components, namely, Whites - this included both Afrikaans speaking and English speaking people, although not mainly South African, but also those from European descent,\textsuperscript{193} African - this includes all other languages that were spoken in South Africa Zulus, Xhosa, Ndebele, Sotho, Venda

\textsuperscript{190} Terreblanche, \textit{A history of inequality}, 247.
Shangaan speaking groups, Coloureds and Asian (mainly from Indian descent). In each of these groups, each had its own identity and was then treated accordingly.

Geographical distribution:

In the old system, South Africa was divided unequally. Because of the political influence and religious change, South Africa was divided mainly into two groups, British colonies which included the Cape Colony and Natal in late 19th century and beginning of 20th century and Afrikaner republic which was composed mainly by Transvaal and the Oranje Vry Staat. With other groups, there were distributed in a pluralistic way in a way that the majority-this includes all native languages spoken in South Africa - of South African situation was occupied only just under 14% of the land while the minority occupied more that 86% of the land. The laws had prevented the majority to occupy the land.

Lastly Kritzinger indicates the growth of population where black communities always outnumber the white communities.

6.3 Economic Context

The discovery of diamond in Griqualand West in 1867 injected the economy of South Africa and put it on the world map. South Africa was one of the leading diamond producers of that time. And also the discovery of gold in Witwatersrand in 1886 became evident. This discovery brought a lot of changes, not only politically, but also socially, with industrialisation and consequent urbanisation.

194 A. Lemon, Apartheid: A Geography of Separation. London: Saxon House. 1976: 6-7 made a very good distinction of peoples of South Africa. In South Africa, the distinction was based on the colour of skin and the languages that people speak. He mentioned that the indigenous languages in South Africa, are grouped. For instance, Zulus, Xhosa and Ndebele are from the same main language, which is Nguni, while the Sothos, are divided into Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana. The majority of South Africans speak a language from one of the two principal branches of the Bantu languages represented in South Africa: the Sotho-Tswana branch (Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana), or the Nguni branch (Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele).


196 Barber, South Africa in the Twentieth Century, 2.

197 Lemon, Apartheid, 29.
During this period new strong divisions arose. Labour was divided into two classes, that of African labour who earned low wages, and on the other hand the minority group of whites who earned high wages. And secondly, the labour working class was also divided into two classes, the unskilled and the skilled. The skilled labour was dominated by white. During this process, the economic independence was highly regarded and influenced by mostly whites for the improvement of economy. The economy that developed due to the mining caused urbanisation, with large slums of poor black labourers. Whites mainly enjoyed all the benefits of the country while the majority were not absorbed into this category.

Social stratification was created as a result of the mercantilist policy that was introduced. As early as the second half of the 17th century, land was scarce for farmers and miners. By the end of the 19th century, land had become available to Afrikaners. The establishing of diamond and gold mines in Kimberly and the Witwatersrand influenced white to own farm. As there initially was a shortage of land so there was now a shortage of labourers. Not only black people but also many whites were taken as unskilled labourers to come and work. It is said that during the 1870s with the discovery of diamond mines, a large number of white unskilled labourers were absorbed to work. By consequence more land was available for those who were left on the farms. The consequence was the emergence of rich farmers and leading people in mining and industry and a mass of poor labourers, mainly black but in the cities partially also white. The coming up of large farms makes clear that the introduction of mercantilist policies in South Africa did not promote modernism, but it rather tendered to maintain agriculture.

6.4 Religious Context

The religious context of South Africa was characterised by its exclusiveness of religion. Christianity was regarded as the only official religion in South Africa. Religious plurality was something that came in the 20th century. White South African

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199 Terreblanche, *A history of inequality*, 265
associated themselves with Christianity and as a result, the religious plurality posed a threat to most of the white people. Afrikaans was linked to one religion — Reformed Christianity.

7. **THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION**

Because of the policies that British introduced, white Afrikaners started to feel very unsecured. The economy of the country was not in their hands as much as they would have wanted. Some white Afrikaners felt that they were threatened by other whites. Their educational level was lower and their per capita income was lower than of other whites. They did not even play a major role in the economy of the country as such. Because of this the NP had propagated against the white English speaking whites to an extent that they blamed them for the economic backlog and also the inequalities that were created by white English speakers. This left the Afrikaners to be more aggressive and propagated their view of Afrikaner nationalism to higher levels. To avert the pathetic situation, they created a situation whereby the Afrikaner Nationalism was propagated into an ideology of ethnic power so as to attain political power and wealth. This resulted in a situation where they had to reinforce their ideology of Apartheid and also created an inferiority within the indigenous races in order to create the space for Afrikaners to attain their political and also economic aims.\(^\text{200}\)

Ross indicates that although racism theories were introduced in Europe in the 18\(^{\text{th}}\) century, it turned into a revert racism that was vented into blacks.\(^\text{201}\) This has become a mentality that was created within white communities, that whites were superior to other indigenous people. Terreblanche on the other hand claims that many Afrikaners envied English speakers for their wealth, and realised that the latter had become wealth by using extra-economic measures to turn blacks into a cheap and docile labour force.\(^\text{202}\) This has become a game of winners and losers. The struggle between the whites — English and Afrikaner continued. Terreblanche

\(^{200}\) Terreblanche, *A history of inequality*, 299.

\(^{201}\) Ross, *Beyond the pale*, 81.

\(^{202}\) Terreblanche, *A history of inequality*, 299.
indicates conflict of ideologies between the two groups.\textsuperscript{203} First, that the propaganda surrounding British superiority was far more sophisticated and subtle than the blatant and almost crude propaganda of white Afrikaner establishment, on the other hand the Afrikaner also intimidated English ideas and transformed these to Afrikaner superiority and black inferiority.

The church had played a role in both cases. Both English and Afrikaners used church doctrine to advance their ideas of superiority and inferiority. The Afrikaners followed the British claims that they were a divinely chosen people with the task of bringing light into the darkest corner of Africa and also brining civilisation.

8. CONCLUSION

Social stratification manages to group people according to what they are. This grouping creates classes and inequality. There are very general systems of stratification or inequality that have existed in particular historical, social contexts. Castes and class are found in early the societies with some elements carrying over to contemporary industrial societies in some parts of the world. The social system gave rise to class systems which is a product of the industrial societies. Class systems often retain some of the characteristics of their predecessors.

In the years 1924-38 the ideology of Apartheid as total segregation was formulated for the first time. It was the logical development of the policy of "no equality" and the political expression of the romantic nationalism of the previous century. It was a time of socio-political upheaval. The poor white problem was on the increase. Urbanisation was causing social and psychological dislocation. Masses of blacks were increasingly flooding into the cities, competing with Afrikaners in the labour market. Now for the first time power was vested in the hands of Afrikaners, and they had more need than ever to formulate a coherent political plan for the future.

\textsuperscript{203} In this case I would like to analyze the ideas behind ideologies that were geared toward the two groups.
CHAPTER FOUR

THEOLOGICAL SETTING

1. INTRODUCTION

The Dutch Reformed church in South Africa has been in existence since the introduction of the Dutch settlement in South Africa. This was the church that was imported from Europe. The development of this church had its twists and turns. In South Africa S.J. Du Toit and his son the theologian J.D. Du Toit had played a major role in the development and shaping of South African Theology, together with the philosopher H.G. Stoker whose influence was even greater. They were much influenced by Kuyper’s theology. Strauss indicates that Kuyper believed that he was continuing in Calvin’s thought, and that he could broaden and extend its principles. He did not hesitate to pronounce himself as a neo-Calvinist.

2. BACKGROUND

In South Africa, religion over centuries has played a major role in the lives of the people. Theology in South African was shaped by many ideologies, local and international theologians, championed by local theologians. For example, the social crisis in Europe and also in America had an impact on the shaping of South African theology. In South Africa itself Reformed theology played a major part in the development of a civil religion which was later engrafted to the Afrikaner religion.

South African theology was shaped by many outside theologians. Klaaren divides them into three categories, namely:

First, the neo-Calvinist tradition, influenced by the theology of Kuyper and taken up by J.D Du Toit. J.D. Du Toit broadened the horizon of his arguments by upholding the "creation ordinance" theology and carried further by H.G Stoker with his ideal of Creationideology.\(^{204}\)

\(^{204}\) Klaaren, Creation and Apartheid, 372-3.
Second, the evangelical tradition of revivals and mission, which was rooted in Scottish evangelicalism; this tradition was nurtured by Andrew Murray Jnr.

Third, there was the neo-orthodoxy tradition which had its roots in the theology of Karl Barth and here credits go to Johan Heyns who however put more emphasis on creation, providence and salvation than Barth did.

We will focus on the theological setting in South Africa theological situation, with special reference to the reception of Abraham Kuyper’s theology and its impact on South African theology of Apartheid. We will also pay attention to Totius’s influence on the theological situation in South Africa’s Reformed theology. It is this type of theology that provided the theological basis for Apartheid en we will further focus on this.

3. **NEO-CALVINIST PHILOSOPHY**

Neo-Calvinism is a global cultural movement that is the result of people motivated by the religious dynamic of the Reformation trying to get to grips with the historical consequences and implications of modernity.

Abraham Kuyper is considered as the initiator of Neo-Calvinism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Kuyper spoke of Calvinism as a life system which from a mother principle of its own, has developed an independent form both for our life and for our thought among the nations of Western Europe and North America, and at present even in South Africa. Like many international theologians, the South African theologian Strauss, indicates that Kuyper believed that he was continuing in Calvin’s thought, so that he could broaden and extend its principles.

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206 Kuiper, Groen and Kuyper on the racial issue, 74-5.

207 Strauss, Abraham Kuyper, Apartheid and the Reformed churches in South Africa, 5
Is there a link between Neo-Calvinism and the situation in South Africa that resulted in the development of Apartheid? Neo-Calvinism initiated the development of Apartheid. Apartheid, in this case, in South Africa has been ascribed to the influence of the Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper. There are two schools of thought regarding the role that Kuyper’s theology played in shaping theology in South Africa. On the one hand, there are those who argue that, starting from Kuyper’s creation ordinance, Kuyper’s theology supported separate development in South Africa. Klaaren is one of those who believe that, some supporters of Apartheid were of the opinion that a thorough study of Kuyper’s view of race and nations in the framework of his cosmology leaves no one with any other option than to support the "pluriform" or separate development in South Africa. On the other hand, this has been refuted by many theologians today, for example Vorster argues that Kuyper’s theology has nothing to do with Apartheid in South Africa. Along this line, other critics of Apartheid maintain that Kuyper has been misinterpreted in many instances only to search for a basis of the policy of Apartheid.

It is believed that his ideas of neo-Calvinism were widely spread within the South African grounds, reaching all spheres of people’s lives, i.e. social, political and spiritual. As for circles within the DRC, as Strauss points out, most students who studied at the VU were not influenced by his line of thinking, but they were leaning towards Neo-Calvinism. It also became evident in the decision of the DRC regarding Apartheid as a social phenomenon that was taken in the general synod of 1935 which had accepted their missionary policy. The GKSA also upheld the idea that explicitly referred to Kuyper’s neo-Calvinism so that they could justify Apartheid theologically. The line of thought of neo-Calvinism is based on the Sphere Sovereignty, and had influenced various levels of church life and it could easily be used for the ends of Apartheid theology.

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208 Klaaren, Creation and Apartheid, 372. See also A.P. Treurnicht, Credo van ’n Afrikaner, Cape Town: Tafelberg, (1975), 2.
209 Vorster, Kerk en Menseregte, 56-73.
The theology of the Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper is often mingled with the development of Apartheid in South Africa. This is because in many cases, it is either blamed for the existence of Apartheid or praised for the theological setting in South Africa. This has become evident from his influences that has modelled and guided reformed theology during the first half of the twentieth century. His theological set-up has a major role in the upliftment of Apartheid theology in South Africa in either way. In most cases Kuyper is largely blamed for his influence in the development of South African society and the culture of the Afrikaners. Against this background the following question is often asked: Why is Kuyper blamed for this theology?

To borrow Vorster’s crucial questions on his research on Apartheid theology: Can the theology of Kuyper be regarded as responsible for the emergence and application of the policy of Apartheid? Is his theology the essence of the theological justification of Apartheid in the previously influential reformed theology in South Africa? How much did Kuyper’s theology play a role in this theological development and to the development of Apartheid in South Africa as such? But if his theology did not, why should the Afrikaner think so positively about his role that he played in shaping their theology. One part of the answer can be found if it is traced back from what it is now and what it was then, that is, from today through Du Toit to Kuyper.

Strauss tried to summarise the relationship between Kuyper, Apartheid and the Reformed churches in South Africa as follows: Kuyper is interpreted in different ways often quoted or used without reference to his historical, personal and theological-philosophical context, and with little attention to his own standpoint on the Apartheid of his time.

We will not focus on Kuyper’s own ideas for themselves now, but precisely on this use of his ideas in South Africa because this study is directed to the role of theology as is developed in South Africa for supporting Apartheid.

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Kuyper’s theology had many admirers in South Africa who wanted to develop it further. These admirers will here be highlighted and interpreted in view of Kuyper’s view on creational order and society. Nevertheless a short sketch of his theology is necessary in order to understand what his epigones are doing.

4. Who is Abraham Kuyper?

Abraham Kuyper was born in a parsonage on October 29, 1837 from Rev. and Mrs. J.F. Kuyper, in the small town of Maassluis, the Netherlands. He had no formal primary education, but schooled at home by his father and mother. He received secondary education at the Gymnasium of Leiden. In 1855 he graduated from the gymnasium and began to study literature, philosophy and theology at Leiden University. He received his propadeuse literature in 1857, cum laude, and philosophy in 1858, also cum laude. He studied also Arabic, Armenian, and physics. In 1862 he received his Doctorate in Theology that was based on a dissertation “Disquisitio historico-theologica, exhibens Johannis Calvini et Johannis à Lasco de Ecclesia Sententiarum inter se compositionem”. His dissertation was on the differences in the rules of the church, between John Calvin and John Laski. Comparing the views of Calvin and Laski, Kuyper showed a clear sympathy for the more liberal Laski. During his studies, Kuyper was a member of the modern tendency within the Dutch Reformed Church. He was surrounded by liberal modernism. He moved away from modernity to simple Reformed orthodoxy in 1866. He became opposed to the hierarchy and role of the king in the Hervormde Kerk and spoke in favour of separating church and state.

Kuyper embraced evangelical Calvinism and placed a strong emphasis on personal piety. He also placed a strong emphasis on the supreme lordship of Jesus Christ over all spheres of creaturely life. Kuyper’s manifesto “There is not a square inch in the whole domain of our human existence over which Christ, who is sovereign over all, does not cry ‘Mine!’” has become famous. Kuyper indicates Calvinism as a

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216 A very brief biographical information of Abraham Kuyper will be considered for the sake of the study. Not all the works of Kuyper will be considered for this study. Only those that are relevant on the research will be looked into.

life system where specific focus was put on the nations of Western Europe, North America and South Africa.

Abraham Kuyper wanted to restore Calvinism in Holland according to the Synod of Dordrecht (1619) over against the inroads of theological liberalism stemming from the Enlightenment. He wanted the Reformed theology to be back where it is supposed to be before it sank.²¹⁸ Kuyper tried to revive the church in the Netherlands. Of specific interest for our purpose is Kuyper’s emphasis on common grace, race and sphere sovereignty.

4.1 Common Grace

Abraham Kuyper developed and promoted the doctrine of common grace.²¹⁹ As a Reformed church theologian, Kuyper knew and held to sovereign particular grace, he believed and taught that God's saving grace in Jesus Christ was only for the elect. He referred to this as God's "special" grace. It is limited to the elect by God's sovereign decree and by Christ's atoning death. And this grace is limited in the preaching of the gospel. The preaching is an expression of God's favor only to the elect, and, in fact, through the preaching God gives grace only to them.²²⁰ Common grace, according to Kuyper affects communities and nations that have been touched by the gospel in two ways, in a general way and also in a specific way.²²¹ Kuyper classified people according to human development, for example, a higher level of development is encountered under Christianised nations where special grace in which grace dominates the people within the social order to support common grace and where it pervades the whole life and not only a specific stand of clergy and monks as in the Roman Catholic world. The highest level of development is only achieved through the working of special grace in the hearts and the lives of the

²¹⁸ Abraham Kuyper, Encyclopaedie der Heilige Godgeleerdheid I, Kampen: Kok 1908:, iv.
²¹⁹ The books on Abraham Kuyper about common grace has been consulted throughout this study: De Gemeene Gratie I (Leiden: Donner, 1902), De Gemeene Gratie II (Fourth Edition, Kampen: Kok, 1903), De Gemeente Gratie III (Amsterdam/Pretoria: Hoveker en Wormser, 1904).
²²¹ Kuyper, De Gemeene Gratie I, 257.
people. This would include the Christian European-American civilization and the colonized edge of Africa, the Boers.

According to Kuyper, common grace allows for the development of the hidden forces inherent in creation after the fall. Although there is a distinction, it is not supernatural, but natural. It works within creation in the same way as the regenerative ability of the human body which causes wounds to heal and nature to repair itself. Grace is something that man receives from God. On the other hand, the general grace is responsible for the development and unfolding of the natural potential inherent in the human race. Common Grace is conferred to humanity that is suffering for sin. Sin has affected and distorted the total human creation. He also believed that human race is suffering from “corruptio totalis”.

Common grace has been extended into the foundation for a broad theory of culture. Strauss indicates Kuyper’s language as more of politics, when he spoke of common grace. It is something that affects communities and societies that have not been noticeably touched by the gospel either general or special whereby the general one is seen in the lowest form of development, a good example can be attributed to Africa.

4.2 Kuyper on Race

Kuyper had a variety of things that he discussed and most importantly here is his concept of race.
Kuyper, while on Calvinism, introduced the concept of race as one of the principal phases in the general development of human race. Kuyper in his concept of race was not so consistent in defining race; to him race was either defined as ḱhuman development ḱhumanity ḱhumanity at large ḱHe used phrases like hoofdgroepen, volksstammen, natien and volken that could be translated as principle groups, races and nations. For this reason, Kuyper’s language was racist. He placed ḱa people ḱin their ranks; he created a hierarchy of humanity, from Asia which is the highest level, through to the darkest corner of Africa. He was convinced that from Asia, the human race came down in groups, races, nations whereby this humanity developed, from Noah. His children’s children were the ones who were the bearers of human development. He was aware of the differences that nations/races have, hence his concluding question: Whence are the differences? There is no life without differentiation and no differentiation without inequality.

4.3 Kuyper’s on Sphere Sovereignty

To understand Kuyper’s view on society, there are important topics that he explicitly emphasised, i.e. his view of society was related with the Sphere Sovereignty. To Kuyper, his interpretation of Sphere Sovereignty is primarily cosmological. The Dutch expression “souvereiniteit in eigen kring” was first used in 1862 by a politician of The Netherlands, Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876), to designate the range of competencies of the church over against those of the state.

Kuyper believed that the sovereignty of all social spheres flows from the total sovereignty of God. He viewed the world as God’s creation and with a purpose for His creation. God orders, supports and controls the entire creation in all its varieties of sovereign authority by means of the ordinance of creation which invest each

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230 I will use the word ḱa people ḱin a general way of referring to nations, humanity and groups for a while.
231 Kuyper, Calvinism, 33-35.
234 Kuyper, Souvereiniteit in eigen kring, 12.
sphere with its own authority, character and disposition.\textsuperscript{235} God is sovereign over everything, the soul, the body, the family, the daily work and life, the nation, over heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{236} Creation, nature, science and technology must be seen in its dependence on God. God created the world and He also put laws that would govern His creation. There are the laws that govern people’s life, family life, social life and ecclesiastical life. Each sphere has its own sovereignty. Each is independent from the other, one sphere should not interfere with the function of another, or the cosmic order will be disturbed. All social spheres have a freedom with respect to each other, but they are all subject to the authority of God.\textsuperscript{237} From this flows the sphere of power, an individual sphere which according to Kuyper is illustrated fully by his image of society.\textsuperscript{238} Society is in itself an entity. Since each sphere is sovereign and is in the ordinance of creation, it is closely bound with the idea of common grace.\textsuperscript{239}

Every aspect of life should be practised to the honour of God. A Christian is called to honour and to glorify God in whatever he does, could it be politics, economy, culture and science, every aspect of life. Kuyper was highly critical of the reduction of religion to only a part of human life. He rejected the idea of neutralism in politics, science and culture. The Christian is always and in all activities engaged in his/her service to God. Religion and life are synonymous and daily life and work is the fulfilment of a divine calling.\textsuperscript{240}

4.4 The relation of Kuyper’s theology with South Africa theological context

There are two most important areas, among many, where the theology of Kuyper becomes visible in the churches in South Africa. In the \textit{Plancius Speech}, he commended the Boer for their role in Africa, for bringing the light in the darkest corner of Africa. He developed the Hammer theology\textsuperscript{2} In this discussion Kuyper also involved the descendants of the three sons of Noah, and by implication the blacks of

\textsuperscript{235} Kuyper, Calvinism, 92.
\textsuperscript{236} Kuyper, \textit{De Gemeene Gratie, Het practisch gedeelte}, deel 3, Kampen, Kok,13.
\textsuperscript{237} J.M Vorster, Kuyper and Apartheid theology in South Africa, 58.
\textsuperscript{239} Adonis, The Role of Kuyper in South Africa, 264.
\textsuperscript{240} J.M Vorster, Kuyper and Apartheid theology in South Africa, 56-73.
South Africa, whom he regarded as the children of Ham. The African society was dehumanised in a sense they are located at the very lowest level of human development and were therefore subservient to both the children of Japheth and the descendants of Shem. The children of Ham can never attain freedom because they were cursed and were to bow down. He, putting it into South Africa context, considered the Boers as good people who are practicing true Christian politics by accepting the blacks as they are and gradually raising them from their lowly position, ultimately to become equals of the whites in a distant future.\textsuperscript{241}

At almost the same time with the famous Stone Lecture Kuyper published \textit{De crisis},\textsuperscript{242} published in 1900. Strauss argues that Kuyper had high esteem for the Boers, he considered them superior to any nation in South Africa. The Calvinist Boers, he argued, realised that the black and the coloureds are of lower race and that it would be foolish to treat them as equals in social life.\textsuperscript{243} He made reference to the Zulus as part of the black people in South Africa.\textsuperscript{244} He put more emphasis on the idea of civilisation as the main factor distinguishing between whites and non-whites.

### 4.4.1 Kuyper's theology embraced?

Strauss concedes that most of South African theologians like F.J.M. Potgieter, J.D. Vorster, Du Toit and many others were followers of Kuyper.\textsuperscript{245} Kuyper’s ideas were embraced by many South African theologians. Most of the Afrikaner theologians took advantage of this concept and used it to proclaim the idea of the separation of various peoples (races). Due to the fact that every people has its own culture and language, a people must be seen as sovereign in its own sphere and therefore as having the right to separate social development. Apartheid moved one step further by demanding that the state should legislate this separation, in other words, to protect the sovereignty in own sphere of every people (volk) by way of legislation.

\textsuperscript{241} A. Kuyper, \textit{Pancius-rede}, Amsterdam:Kuyt, (1884), 22.
\textsuperscript{242} A Kuyper, \textit{De Crisis in Zuid Afrika}. Amsterdam: Hoveker and Wormser, 1900.
\textsuperscript{243} Strauss, Abraham Kuyper and Pro-Apartheid theology in South Africa, 221.
\textsuperscript{244} Strauss, Abraham Kuyper and Pro-Apartheid theology in South Africa, 223.
\textsuperscript{245} Strauss, Abraham Kuyper and Pro-Apartheid theology in South Africa, 14.
The Doctrine of Sovereignty of God was also taken up into South Africa by the NGK and it imparted a strong confidence to them in encountering the uncertainties and dangers of life in a new land.\textsuperscript{246} Kuyper’s theological debate about creational order and common grace shed the light in all these uncertainties for Afrikaner theologians and philosophers.

Some theologians believed his theology was misused by many white thinkers to support the ideology of Apartheid and the policy of separate development.\textsuperscript{247} We will not enter into this discussion now but focus on the question: In what context could Kuyper’s theology be applied in South Africa?

\textbf{4.4.2 The relationship between churches in South Africa and the Netherlands}

Kuyper’s theology has an influence on South Africa in general and the Reformed churches in particular in one way or the other. The investigation will here be focused on what kind of influence Kuyper’s theology exerted in South African politics in general and Reformed Churches in particular.

Kuyper’s theology was followed by many theologians from the Reformed Church tradition that also developed it into something that suited them. Durand is right when he contends that the Kuyperian theology came when Afrikanerdom was looking for a theology that was not only Reformed and orthodox but also a theology that could accommodate their fast growing nationalism characterised by an aversion to English domination and a fear of eventual black domination.\textsuperscript{248} Whatever research one engages in doing theology and trying to define Apartheid in theological terms, all fingers point to Kuyper, but this research becomes problematic from any angle of research.

\textsuperscript{246} Gerstner, A Christian monopoly, 17.
Much has changed over the last century since Kuyper delivered his Stone Lectures in America, Princeton Theological Seminary in 1898. Kuyper’s theology has been influenced by his time and many theologies around him. He thus provides Christians with a uniquely Christian vision of what the church should be like. His theology is an open-minded theology. He creates his own view of the church based on scriptures. This view allows continuity amidst changing contexts in theology and in society but still maintains the Biblical emphasis. Since his day, many Christians have lapsed into either radical or conservative political thinking without adequate models upon which to build their own distinctly Christian theories. By stressing the importance of relationships and seeing the reality of conflict between social forms and the State, Kuyper offers Christians the basis of a position that can be developed into a dynamic and viable Christian alternative to present secular challenges.

4.5. The rise of Kuyper’s Neo-Calvinism in South Africa

The development of Kuyperian theology is South Africa should be seen within the background of the Reformed churches in South Africa. S.J Du Toit and his son, J.D Du Toit played a major role in the development and shaping of South African Theology. They were much influenced by Kuyper’s theology.

5. J.D. Du Toit (Totius)

Jacob Daniel Du Toit was born in the Paarl on the 21st February 1877, the year that Great Britain annexed Transvaal Republic. He was the son of the Dutch minister, Rev. Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit. His father was a central figure of Afrikaner nationalism and hence he became the architect of Dutch Reformed thoughts on its culture.

Born and educated in the western part of the Cape Colony, he was educated in a German mission school and at the Huguenot Memorial School in the Cape. Totius

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250 I will frequently use Totius, refering to J.D. Du Toit and for his father S.J. I will use just Du Toit.

received his theological training at the *Teologiese Skool Burgersdorp* which was by then a Theological Seminary of Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika,\(^{252}\) and proceeded at the *Vrije Universiteit Van Amsterdam* where he obtained his Doctor's degree.\(^{253}\) He obtained his doctorate degree under the supervision of Abraham Kuyper's son, H.H Kuyper. He was ordained as a minister of the Gereformeerde Kerk. He became a military chaplain with the Boer commandos during the Second Boer War. Totius then was a minister in the Reformed Church in Potchefstroom in 1903, became a professor at the Theological Seminary of the "Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Africa" between 1911 and 1949.\(^{254}\) Totius played a central role in this Apartheid development. Totius was the main thinker of the GKSA\(^{255}\) and his influence was great.

It is interesting to note that Totius was a religious man and a conservative one in most senses even in politics. He was an Afrikaner patriot and he was influential in using his interpretation of the Bible as a justification of the underlying principles of Apartheid.

Totius became one of the most influential figures in the RCSA. His life was very much influenced by Abraham Kuyper whom he met in Amsterdam, and also by his father, SJ Du Toit and also one of his contemporaries, prof Jan Lion-Cachet. He described them as true Afrikaners with far-sightedness.\(^{256}\) He implied that they were true Afrikaners who would deliver the Afrikaner people from their bondage and hatred. They had a vision for the future of the Afrikaner people and their destiny. Totius resembled the character of a true Afrikaner

### 5.1 Totius' theological approach

Totius was an admirer of Abraham Kuyper. Totius as an academic teacher at the Theological Seminary of the RCSA from 1911 to 1949 gradually grew to be one of

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\(^{252}\) Hereafter i will use RCSA.

\(^{253}\) D\'Assonville, Dit is Totius, 52, 53, 85.

\(^{254}\) D\'Assonville, Dit is Totius, 105,117.

\(^{255}\) GKSA and RCSA are used interchangeably here, since they refer to the same Reformed Churches of South Africa.

\(^{256}\) D\'Assonville, Dit is Totius, 87.
the most influential figures in the RCSA. Some of his statements in *Het Kerkblad* provide clear evidence of his admiration of Kuyper. In 1905 Totius proposed the application of Kuyper's programme to the situation in South Africa, and years later he called Kuyper the great protagonist of Calvinism of "our time." In writing about the fundamental principles of Calvinism in 1935, Totius reveals himself to be out and out Kuyperian: in addition to the Bible that must determine everything, and the sovereignty of God, he also posits sovereignty in each own domain, as well as special and natural grace.

5.2 Totius theological influence

Totius was born in a parsonage; he had his background in the church and its practices. By his time, the church had enforced segregation upon its congregations for almost 20 years. Totius came to know of the decision of the synod of 1857 while still under his father's guidance. The decision that was brought forward by the Synod of 1857 whereby the church had to be separated because of the weakness of some formulation was been practiced. After this synod many DRC congregations had separated their ministries, there were separate churches, whites worshipping alone and non-whites were worshipping on their own.

It is interesting to acknowledge that what ever is to be done for the improvement of the church was done in the perspective of the theory of separate churches. The Dutch mission that resulted in the establishment of the Reformed churches in South Africa also meant that even the future minister must be trained under that guardianship.

Adonis indicates that most of the DRC ministers that time completed their theological studies at the Free University of Amsterdam. Hence there was a Kuyperian influence. Totius father, S.J Du Toit corresponded in person with Kuyper whereby

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257 D'Assonville, Dit is Totius, 100 ï 117.
259 Venter *Totius versamelde werke* 7: 25, 27.
261 Adonis, *The Role of Kuyper in South Africa*, 262
he indicated his interest in Kuyper’s line of thinking. He tried to apply Kuyper’s neo-Calvinism to South African ecclesiastical and political circumstances. His inspiration by Kuyper was visible in many letters that he wrote to Kuyper. Strauss indicates some of the letters that he wrote, he mentioned phrases like “I have changed our programme, made it ours, also for South Africa”, and also “our Reformed, antirevolutionary principles.”

Du Toit wanted to prove that his interest in Kuyper’s theology was also transmitted to white Afrikaners in South Africa. He went to an extent that he propagated his ideas to his fellow Afrikaners. Botha concedes that this eagerness did not materialise as much as Totius would have wanted: “his proposed programme of Calvinist principles was rejected by the Afrikaner political party, the Afrikaner bond.”

Totius’s influences became a matter of debate; the Synod of DRC accused the RCSA of their involvement in all kinds of political actions under the influence of Kuyper. This accusation had as a result that even the synod encouraged her members to follow in the political footsteps of Kuyper. The RCSA was propagating this through church magazines and it had gone much further than theological matters into more of political issues.

Why did Totius gain such a support from all over the white churches, also outside the GKSA? Although Totius was a theological professor at Potchefstroom University, he was also the figure in the Taal Movements which was fighting for the Afrikaner’s language right. He could have gained popularity through this movement. The movement incorporated all white Afrikaners who felt they were marginalised by the also white British people.

5.3 Impact of Totius’ theology

From Kuyper’s theology and his father’s guidance, Totius was inspired to study more on culture and race. He became concerned by this study of race in the future of whites. Totius was also following in his father’s footsteps in supporting Kuyper. De Gruchy asserts that he was deeply committed to Kuyper’s theology and Christian

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262 Strauss, Abraham Kuyper, Apartheid and Reformed churches in South Africa, 16.
National principles. Strauss indicates how Totius was involved in the upliftment of Kuyper’s theology in the RCSA. His adoration for Kuyper left him with extraordinary resemblance of Kuyper ideology.

Totius agreed with Kuyper in important issues including the pluriformity of creation, the effect of the tower of Babel, and common grace. His policy of Apartheid was founded in God’s creational order. Totius even overemphasised the whole theory which he received from Kuyper about creation in the context of South Africa. In the South African context, could this have been possible to put more emphases on diversity and pluriformity as being the law of creation?

Strauss concedes that Totius links up with the idealistic side of Kuyper’s thought, and adding the latter’s view on civilisation, becomes the proponent of a closed or permanent kind of Apartheid in South Africa. He is clearly under the influence of the Dutchman and uses Kuyper’s thoughts as a starting point in his support of Apartheid and in order to justify it. In his book, Totius reveals himself to be an outspoken Kuyperian. According to him, as much as Kuyperian theology is entrenched on him, the Bible must determine everything. For the sovereignty of God, as it is rested on it, he claimed that the sovereignty has its own domain.

Du Toit became instrumental in this development; in his apology he made claims that would relate Kuyper’s ideas and the theology of a chosen nation. His theological convictions were that God ordained the church to protect their cultural identify. The Afrikaner nationalism was related to the idea of predestination and a calling by God for the Afrikaners. Their history was interpreted as a source of divine revelation and the parallel between them and Israel became evident.

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265 De Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, 32.
266 Strauss, Abraham Kuyper and Pro-Apartheid theology in South Africa, 225.
267 Vorster, 58.
269 J.D. Du Toit & S. Du Toit, Die Afrikaanse rassebeleid en die Skrif, Potchefstroom: Pro Rege (1955), 40-44.
6. Totius on Kuyper's theology

Ons Program by S.J. du Toit bears light on the feeling that he had about Kuyper's theology. In a letter to Kuyper, he informed Kuyper of what he had done: "Ons program heb ik gewijzigd, ook voor Zuid-Afrika het `onze' gemaakt..." (I changed our program, made it `ours', also for South Africa...). A month later, in a second letter to Kuyper, he refers to "onze Gereformeerde, antirevolutionaire beginselen..." (our Reformed, antirevolutionary principles).\textsuperscript{270}

In his first speech on the People's Congress of 1944, Totius started by saying the whole Bible is a revelation that segregation spells out of the Holy Scripture and therefore "I do not have a text, but I have the Bible, the whole Bible" he claimed. He believed that his views were not based on any single text from Scripture.

Totius, like Kuyper, based his theology on the conviction that there are a fixed number of creational ordinances ordained by God.\textsuperscript{271} His thesis was that God ordained each sphere in his own wisdom. Men had to respect these ordinances in order to serve the well being of the whole creation and the honour of God. This principle of diversity became a creational ordinance. The "cultural commandment" of "fill the earth" (Gen 1:18; 9:1) became evident in the principle of the divine commandment to multiply, hence nation building. In this regard he quotes Acts 17:26.

He identified nation as one of these creational ordinances which should be maintained for its own sake. Nationalism was therefore seen as a religious matter, because it was an expression of one's obedience to the will of God. The neo-Calvinist line of thought also distinctly confirmed sovereign social sphere each under the absolute sovereignty of the Creator.\textsuperscript{272}

Kinghorn points that Totius deducted from scripture the notion that the nation suits with philosophical reality according to the historical pattern of Kuyperian historical

\textsuperscript{270} Botha, \textit{Die evolusie van 'n volksteologie}, 27.
\textsuperscript{271} Rossouw, Essentials of Apartheid, 100.
\textsuperscript{272} Klaaren, Creation and Apartheid, 373.
He believed that diversity was something that was within the creative order of God. He aligned his speech in a congress of 1944 with the Old Testament by referring to God as the great divider. Everything was created after its own kind. He argued that God willed division and no one should dare change what God has made, that is this divisions that God made cannot and should not be confused by any men. Here the principle of creational ordinance developed. He used biblical texts like Genesis 1:18, 27, 28; 9:1 and Acts 17:26 to back up his philosophy of Apartheid. He developed a cultural commandment of “filling the earth” wherever he claimed it to be a divine commandment in nation building - for whites and blacks apart. He believed that God is the great divider, the variety of nation is the result of a creation ordinance, human beings therefore should dare not attempt to join what God has divided into pluriformity. 

Put here the paragraph about Babel (below, marked with yellow) and introduce it with one or two sentences in order to make a smooth connection

Totius’s theology was not consistent. He always moved from creation theology – creational ordinance to eschatology. His eschatological theology evolved from the Babel motive, that each nation must maintain and sustain itself. With his theory of self maintenance, believed that each nation should maintain itself; there is no interaction between black and white. Vorster is right when he contends that his use of Scripture is severely questionable. The need to give Apartheid a scriptural basis was very apparent. Totius employed the Babel motive to support his theological belief. At Babel, so he claimed, God intervened in human activities. Totius believed to proceed directly from Kuyper, when interpreting the Great Trek of the Boers an inspiration by God and

273 Kinghorn, Die NG kerk en Apartheid, 101.
274 Du Toit, Totius Versamelde Werke 7, 337.
278 Coertzen, Healing divisions, 60, indicates what truly could be done in this pathetic situation.
constituted an anti-Babylonian act of obedience to the ordinances of God.\textsuperscript{279} The theology of the Boers, he claimed would conquer the whole earth, starting by Africa. His creational ordinance, as he claimed it, was also within God’s providence. Totius believed that His common grace was prevalent in every nation. Every nation received a calling that will last to the end of the world. Nations thus had to preserve themselves against any kind of unification.

In the Ecclesiological motive, he argues that each nation should have its own way of worship in own congregation. The Native shall have their own church so will the white have their own church as well. He concluded that what ever God made one, no man should divide. His two great principles were: ñhat which God had joined together no man should put asunder and ñwe may not join together that which God had separated. The spirit of non-interaction occupied Totius theology. As has been indicated, his paper read before the National Congress on the racial policy of the Afrikaner ("Volkskongres oor die rassebeleid van die Afrikaner") in 1944 he stated that the Afrikaners were opposed to miscegenation in South Africa because they, Boers, were Christians. Mixture of a higher and lower race always occurred to the detriment of the former.\textsuperscript{280} There is no equality between black and white, and there should be no miscegenation between them. Equality is directly against the great principle of God’s order at the Tower of Babel. Totius was convinced that the Bible teaches division as a principle in nature.

7. CONCLUSION

Kuyper really influenced the development of Apartheid in South Africa? That is especially the case with Totius who used his conceits of creation ordinances and sphere sovereignty as a lens to read the Bible. It is a matter of debate whether Totius developed Kuyper’s ideas ingeniously or that he just captured them for his own ends. That Totius wanted to give Apartheid a Scriptural basis was very apparent.\textsuperscript{281} He did so by reading the Bible in the paradigm of Neo-Calvinism that he adjusted for his own


\textsuperscript{280} Du Toit, Enkele grondbeginsels van die Calvinisme, 1954: 7; see also Venter, Totius versamelde werke 7: 367.

\textsuperscript{281} Coertzen, Healing divisions, 60.
purposes. Although he used many Biblical texts, he was overcome by his epistemology and the way he applied it to his particular situation. In this case the Bible was used as a textbook looking for answers for the problems he had. He did not even consider the doctrine of reconciliation, but cleaved to creation ordinances, putting these into an eschatological perspective.
CHAPTER FIVE

MISSION POLICY

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of Apartheid is to a great extent intertwined with mission policy in the past centuries. To understand Apartheid we cannot do without taking in account the way mission developed.

During the 19th century South Africa was at the peak of mission. This century of mission was not extended to South Africa alone, but it was directed to the whole world. Initially mission activities were not associated with a particular church. The mission societies organised and managed most of these mission activities. These mission activities were mostly carried to the European colonies. In Africa, and South Africa in particular, Christians were very much engaged in these mission activities whereby the church was the vehicle of transforming people and culture in South Africa and in most parts of Africa.

2. MISSION AND THE CHURCH

Mission was brought to South Africa along with the founding of the Cape church in 1652, though in the beginning not very explicitly. Nevertheless, the preaching of the gospel was done to convert heathens and slaves to Christianity. This idea was then internalised and later formalised within the practice of the church. When the gospel was preached to the heathens and slaves, they were baptised and formed part of the family. They were accepted as members of the churches and hence enjoyed the sacraments under the same building and same facilities. This practice was only a short-lived. It was customary that special seats or part of the church building was reserved for the non-whites. Towards the end of the 18th century, the non-whites were ministered to as separate groups with a distinctive religious life and distinctive

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religious needs, although they were part of the mother church. Missionaries were identified and set apart to preach to the non-whites and institutions for them were erected so as to meet their “special spiritual” need. Initially they had freedom of movement of worshipping in the congregation of their choice. That was until the church councils decided for them where to worship. Then they could partake only in the sacraments of their institutions.

2.1 Ecumenical Movements

Initially when the Dutch arrived in the Southern part of Africa, en rout to the east, they encountered problems relating to health and spirit, so that pastoral ministries and pastoral care became evident. Sick comforters were then brought in. These were people who did not have any status or qualifications of being ordained ministers.

Explicit missionary attempts were first made during the 18th century were it is found that because of the interests of mission in Europe, several missionary societies were established and had an impact on South Africa. The first mission society to be formed in South Africa was in 1799, 22 April.

With the establishment of mission and Bible societies in the mid 19th century, this movement was not meant for a particular congregation or church. The missionary movements benefited a lot from the establishments of the European colonies. During this period, as Rossouw writes, the styles and characteristics of the mission activities were different. Those of open mission societies allowed for greater openness, while the denominational mission operation was carried in their polarised confessional divisions wherever they went. With this, he points out that this has caused parties with their own interest and therefore how important inter-confessional and international cooperation in the mission field was.

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283 Special Spiritual need here means that they were regarded as very illiterate to an extent that they are slow learners in most cases.
284 Hofmeyr, Christianity in the period of Dutch Colonisation, 11.
285 Hofmeyr, Christianity in the period of Dutch Colonisation, 26.
286 Rossouw, Ekumeniese Verkenning, 31.
During the era of mission in the 19th century attention was turned to developing a theological methodology for mission that would be acceptable in a scientific methodology. Adolf van Harnack (1851–1930) introduced something interesting in the missiological world. He claimed that the simplicity of the Christian message of the New Testament times had been unnecessarily confounded when it passed through Hellenic culture and came under the influence of Greek philosophy. Therefore the message was in need to be redefined and rediscovered in its simplicity, which he formulated he essential, “God is our Father, through Jesus he call us to union with himself in Love.” This had impacted on liberal theology to an extent that they started to emphasise on humanitarianism which ultimately affected the whole mission practice, through which ecclesiastical unity and cooperation was the issue towards the beginning of 20th century.

The modern Ecumenical Movement began at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. Originally the movement was designed to assist Christians to work together in spreading the gospel. Differences were seen to be hindering, not only because people were often seen to be working ‘against’ each other but also because of the impression such divisions were giving to non-Christians. At the 1910 conference a delegate from the Far East made the following observations:

Although the Ecumenical Movement calls for unity this does not mean the movement pushes for ‘sameness’ amongst Christians. It recognises and celebrates the differences that exist between Christians yet at the same time calls on them to cooperate in worship and service and grow in understanding of each other.

Before World War I, a first ecumenical meeting was held, whereby delegates of the western world attended. During this meeting the most common issues were Scripture, confessional polarisation, developed and developing countries, total person, paternalism, inter-confessional global cooperation and anti-colonialism, rising forms of nationalism, war and peace, advantages and disadvantages. But after World War I other issues emerged. The focus was shifted to anti-colonisation and

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288 Rossouw, Ekumeniese Verkenning, 32.
Europeans were creating their own forms of nationalism towards the developing countries. On the level of mission work itself, the concern was on the totality of the person, including physical well being, education and social needs. The years that followed was characterised by conferences that set debates on mission and its consequences.

The conference that was held in Stockholm in 1925 commissioned on Life and Work. This commission on Life and Work was concerned with the practical realities of Christianity and the cooperation between Christian churches in the application of Christian principles to the ethical and social problems of modern man.

In 1927 at Lausanne, a conference commissioned on Faith and Order took place and in 1937 it was the Edinburgh conference that was set to resolve the causes of ecclesiastical divisions, again on Faith and Order. The Commission on Faith and Order was concerned with the matters of faith and sought the discovery of agreement and appreciation of differences.

As the years passed, it became all the more apparent that these Commissions on Life and Work and Faith and Order could not and should not remain separate organizations but they should be united into one ecumenical body. In 1936, a committee known as the Committee of Thirty-five was installed to explore this possibility. It was realized by this committee that 1) if the Ecumenical movement is to become a reality it is necessary that there be one movement of Churches, 2) the time was most suitable for closer relationship between Churches and 3) the Commissions on Life and Work and Faith and Order should be integrated into a World Council of Churches. The Oxford Conference on Life and Work which convened on July 12, 1937 and the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order which convened on August 3, 1937, accepted this resolution introduced by the Committee of Thirty-five. As a result of the adoption of this proposal, a Committee of Fourteen was appointed by these two commissions to put this plan into effect.

After the initial successes of the Ecumenical Movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, church leaders in 1937 agreed to establish a World Council of Churches, based on a merger of the Faith and Order Movement and Life and Work
Movement organisations. Its official establishment was delayed by the outbreak of World War II. Church delegates assembled in Amsterdam in 1948 to merge the Faith and Order Movement and Life and Work Movement. Subsequently mergers were with the International Missionary Council in 1961 and the World Council of Christian Education, with its roots in the 18th century Sunday School movement, in 1971.  

2.2 Mission in South Africa

On the local level the policy of Church Mission especially of the Dutch Reformed Church went its own way. In order to understand the events that led into the understanding of mission policy of the DRC it will be good to list the milestones in Church Mission policy and its relation to the development of Apartheid within the Dutch Reformed Church.

- 1824 - The first synod of DRC was held in the Cape. Decisions that influenced the church were taken at the following years. It passed regulations for its own missionary work and also ordained L. Marquardt as its first missionary. The decision was taken to ordain missionaries to preach the gospel to the heathen.
- 1834 ï The founding of the missionary societies ï ï Zendelings Genootschappenô The idea was to Christianise the natives and to group them in their own churches. The decision paved a way in the founding of separate churches.
- 1857 ï A decision was taken to serve the communion separately because of the weakness of someô
- 1879 ï A constitution for the Mission church was drawn up, and was approved the following year.
- 1881 ï The first missionary church, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church was established
- For blacks, the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA) was formed in 1951.
- In 1974 the synod of the DRCA decided in favour of church unity. In 1978 the DRMC decided likewise.

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290  Natives here refers to Black people.
In 1986 the Belhar Confession - with its strong emphasis on unity, reconciliation and justice - was formulated and adopted by the DRMC.

In 1994 the DRMC and the DRCA united to form the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA).

Before the new era of theological debate and mission work was conducted in the twentieth century, in South Africa a foundation has been laid for mission. South African scholars who studied abroad enhanced this idea of a mission concept, theologians like J.C. Du Plessis, P.J.S. De Klerk, G.B.A. Gedener, A.F. Louw and J.G. Strydom and others made contributions towards the development of mission policy in South Africa. J.G Strydom for instance, was greatly influenced by segregation in America. In one of his writings after the return from North Carolina where he addressed the audience, he wrote ÒThe policy of Apartheid here in our land and the United States of America which became influential to many theologians and theories.Ó It had a footing in what transpired from the synod of 1880 Òn the earnest desire of advancing the growth and flowering of the inland mission to the glory of our risen Saviour and Lord.Ó

The development of the Mission Policy in South Africa played a major role in the in the development of a theological theory of Apartheid. It influenced the constitution of the NG Kerk regarding the relationship between the Ómother churchÓ and the Ódaughter churchÓ. The constitution of the NGK was the corner stone in this development. Lombard concedes that this development was a gradually shaping theology from the practical experience. These experiences were heavily relied on during the era of mission theories. The idea was later brought forward from the mission societies. It became evident later that this theory on mission, influenced the development of separateness. This influence was moulded from the political and ecclesiastical advances.

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291 Strydom J.G "Die rasse vrugstuk in Suid Afrika: Federasie van Calvinistiese studieverenings. (In Koers in die krisis) 1941: 245
292 This is a quotation by Hanekom from Die Kerkbode of 1948/09/29.
In 1881 representatives of five mission congregations assembled in Wellington near Cape Town for the first meeting of the DRMC. All its buildings had to be transferred on the DRC's name. The DRC decided to divide its mission work into a "home" and "foreign" mission. The "home mission covered the Cape region, the foreign mission covered all the other provinces of South Africa.\footnote{In each province separate churches for blacks and coloureds were formed. The Free State had its own mission church already in 1910. In the Cape a separate "Dutch Reformed Bantu Church" was formed in 1951. All the coloured congregations eventually joined the DRMC, and the black congregations the DRCA. In 1974 the synod of the DRCA decided in favour of church unity. In 1978 the DRMC decided likewise. It took another 16 years for that ideal to be fulfilled.}

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3. THEORY OF MISSION

By the end of the Anglo-Boer war, the Cape Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk regrouped, forming ties with English speaking churches. The idea was to heal the wounds of the Anglo-Boer war. The initiative for healing led into different parties coming together. As early as 1907, a need was identified for the churches in the Cape to reunite. This concept was influenced by a common need of the idea of nationalism that was growing among Afrikaners. This attempt to unite the churches failed because the Cape Ned. Ger. Kerk could not accept that membership of coloured people would also be acknowledged and would also form part of the larger church unity. The backdrop of this failure is that a mission concept that would gather blacks and coloured under the same structure did not fit into the DRC's theological framework. This concept was brought forward by the missionary societies. The Cape white church would not want to be grouped with coloureds and blacks. An attempt was made following the suggestions of separate churches for blacks and coloured, but it was not accepted by the others on the ground that it is in contradiction with the Word of God and also with the idea of Christian unity.
On ecclesiastical level, the question of separateness was the issue, as much as race and classification was an issue. For example, the church article of 1910, the question of race was officially raised in the church.\textsuperscript{295} The elaboration on this issue was that the article indicated that the task of the church was to evangelise the Africans, the black, because it was the responsibility of the church to do that task. The Africans, was to be governed according to Christian principles, and in this case, white principles.

Articles in the church magazines were published on addressing this particular problem of race in a more sensitive way. An article on 1910, 1 September, addressed the indigenous social conditions of Africans.\textsuperscript{296} Other articles of that same month, address the issues of Africans' rights.\textsuperscript{297}

Between 1910 and 1935 the debate in the church on race relations became inevitable. The first sanction on this issue was set be discussed via a working mission commission.

The whole debate that was to set forth in a commission was to discuss the issues concerning European (whites), coloured and blacks if they should belong together in the church.

In the subsequent years, a Mission Policy was developed and implemented as a product of the understanding of the DRC mission concept. It had to be used in any

\textsuperscript{295} Die Kerkbode of 1910, August 25, this is were the first article on race emerged. In this article, it is indicated that the race question was actually referring to the blacks. Accordingly, a proportion of the population group was 1:9 whites to blacks respectively. Whites were outnumbered at a very large amount.

\textsuperscript{296} Africans here is used collectively to define those who were not part of the white community. In actual fact, the term that was used was ŉnie Blankes nie loosely and literally it was translated non-whites or Non-European.

\textsuperscript{297} The articles in Die Kerkbode of September 1, 8 and 15 addressed issues on race, and were more on the fright of black man. In articles of 15 and 22, the issues at stake was the right to education in which the right to education was restricted to a primary education, this meant that black people should only receive minimal education that will enable him/her to read and write only. In the article of 22 September, the issue was on the African right to vote. The church had at this stage forgotten her mission but moved towards political context. All this build into the formation of the mission policy which became a church document at a later stage. With this in mind, the ideologies of Race changed from political term to political term. It varied from principles of race to separate development to self-determination to Apartheid.
field of mission within the DRC church. This development played a major and significant role in the impact of Apartheid in South Africa.\textsuperscript{298} It affected the life of both the mother and daughter churches.


The first official document to be released by the church was the document on "Mission Policy." Before this policy was presented for a debate, thorough research has been conducted. A committee was called to document this research. The findings of the mission committee of the deputies of 1934 were tabled in May of 1935 to the Council of churches in Durban. The DRC issued their first official missionary policy of 1935. This mission policy was a crucial document in the life of the church. The content of this policy was inclusive of the status of the black people within the whole church structure, their education, language, social state and also the religious state.\textsuperscript{299} It was actually divided into six core sections, ranging from Evangelisation, labour fields, relations to other churches and governments, education and training, social and economic considerations.\textsuperscript{300} The most important section in this policy was the focus on Mission, Evangelisation and Education. This mission policy was first introduced by the synod of Free State NGK in 1931, which was in the forefront and were later joined by the Cape NGK. This mission policy was developed to encourage mission churches to be independent and autonomous. The DRC embarked on a mission concept where they targeted black and coloureds communities and this mission practice was based on the use of separate structures.

This mission practices had its basis on the understanding and the interpretations of the Bible by different theologians. Actually it was conducted along social, cultural and ethnic relations. Between 1923 and 1927 the council of the DRC organised churches in a multi-racial line. In 1931, the Free State led the whole stance by

\textsuperscript{298} J.G. Strydom, Ons sendingbeleid van Apartheid, in: \textit{Die Kerkbode} 3 May 1939: 787 ÷ 788.
\textsuperscript{299} Extract from \textit{Die Kerkbode} of 18 January 1939 as was indicated by J.C. Du Plessis.
\textsuperscript{300} Handelinge van die Raad van Kerke, 1935: 94-99.
drafting a policy regarding the native question, education, language, social state and also religious need.  

This development evolved from practice in the church to a policy that could be used in the church. This policy came during the time that the DRC wanted to be part of the bigger ecumenical mission group. Society was very much mission orientated. The church at that time wanted to form part of this bigger society and had to formulate and develop a mission policy.

This mission policy had its crucial mission statement to be carried out by the church with the white people as the instrument to achieve that. It was believed that they are the carriers of religious convictions. The church was defined in terms of people’s colour, for example, the church was equivalent to white people culture and tradition. In this mission policy there were three underlying principles:

- **Mission**: the church was entrusted with a holy obligation to raise black people from poverty and barbarism. Whites in this regard were considered to be civilised hence black people were of lower class and uncivilised. The Dutch Reformed church was convinced that God had called and ordained the European inhabitants of this southern corner of the Darkest Africa who are men and women with strong religious convictions so that they and their prosperity could become the bearers of the light of the Gospel to the heathen races of this continent. This was set as a privilege and responsibility of the Dutch Reformed church of South Africa. The DRC, as she considered herself the only church in the country, acknowledged her existence among the nations of the world, of different colour, cultural background and language groups as a church that will save Africa and black population in particular.

- The second mission principle is evangelisation which is coiled from the Biblical command of Matthew 28:19 “Go ye… Make all people my disciples” Here focus was put on the preaching of the Gospel with a view of gathering souls for the kingdom, and planting of organised and visible churches. The first white inhabitants of the Southern Corner of Darkest Africa were men and women with

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strongly held religious convictions who had to become the bearers of the light of the Gospel to the heathen nations.

- These churches must be organised in such a way that in the long run, they must be self-sustainable, and independent. The burden had to be put on the mission church itself to the point where it must become self-support, self-governed and self-expanding. With this in mind, these concepts were bringing home independence, maintenance and growth.

These aspects were elaborated and should be implemented on three fields: education, and social and economic practice.

4.1 Education

- The manner in which a black person should be educated was limited not to resources that were around him, but by the presence of a white person within his vicinity. The church had to instruct the black person in the truth which were according to the principles of God, actually as understood by the European churches. All the teaching must be in line with western religion.

- All education for the black must align with his racial culture and must take cognisance of his language, history and customs. He must also be well acquainted with the official language for his benefits in society at large.

4.2 Social

- Each group must be on its own. In this category, the following was stated:

  The traditional fear of the Afrikaner of equality between black and white originated from his aversion to the idea of racial intermarriage. The church frankly declares himself to be against this kind of mixture and against anything which could promote it, but on the other hand, does not begrudge the native and coloured a social status as noble as he can attain. Every nation has the right to be himself and to try and develop and uplift himself. Where the church is thus against social equality in the sense of a disregard for the racial and cultural differences between black and white in the daily intercourse, it wants
to promote and encourage social differentiation and spiritual and cultural segregation benefit both section.\textsuperscript{302}

This was triggered by the concept of \textit{Fear of Equality} within the Afrikaners. This concept became an issue since there should be a line between black and white; there should be no fusion between the two groups. Each nation has a right to be itself and to develop and promote itself. The church declared unequivocally that there should be no fusion between black and white. With this policy, there was a sense of complete self-independence and self-determination for the non-whites in their community and also in their churches.

4.3 Economic

- Under this heading, it was well elicited that the \textit{Natural} \& \textit{Coloured} should be helped to be more independent, self sustaining and also self respecting. The church had to assist the non-whites to develop themselves into a self-respecting Christian nation. This was geared towards self-control, own initiative and perseverance. The whites, since they claimed to be superior and strong, had to uplift the standard of the non-white but of a different nature to theirs. Therefore the church must see to it that the non-whites would have better life, better housing and good health.

This document did not come without resistance. One of the greatest opponents of this development was Ben Marais who then believed that the mission policy has gone astray.\textsuperscript{303} He did not believe that there is any proof that could be found in the Biblical support of this particular policy.

This policy though criticised from later points of view by those who have seen the outcome, was not something isolated from the international developments in mission theory. The thought of Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), a well-known German

\textsuperscript{302} This is an extract from the Acts of the council of churches as has been quoted by H.G. Stoker and F.M.J. Potgieter in \textit{Koers in die krisis I}, 94.
\textsuperscript{303} In \textit{Die Kerkbode} of 10 April 1940, Ben Marais critically condemned this particular policy for the motive behind it.
theologian of missiology, had a great impact on this work. He developed a model of independence, which some South African theologians popularised it. As for Warneck, he believed that the church must become indigenous in the mission field. This can be achieved through independence. This is the church mission in which people and the nation are involved. The core issue in mission is to Christianise the nation. It is people – nation – church orientated.

Actually the 1935 document developed the same ideas and Warneck’s thought laid the bases for the arguments. Apartheid enjoyed such durable support because it was a two-faced policy. A commission headed by Henry Fagan, in the so-called Fagan report published just before the 1948 election, concluded that the economic integration of the races had proceeded so far that complete segregation was impossible. Fagan (1959:25, 42-44) was sceptical of the homelands policy but added that it could not be stressed enough that the proponents of this scheme did not mean to commit any injustice towards blacks. It was only from the early 1980s, when the homelands policy had utterly collapsed, that the church leaders began to reconsider Apartheid.

5. THE COMPLEXITY OF MISSION POLICY OF THE CHURCH

The DRC, since it was part of the political and societal system, had to address the situation that will ease the pains of her church members. Hence a documented mission policy was drafted. This mission policy was attached to racial policy at the expense of the black people and favouring the Afrikaners’ quest for political survival. In 1947 it was the Afrikaner Broederbond that started with a discussion of the question whether the DRC was wise to disburse such a huge amount of resources on missionary efforts outside the borders of the country. A meeting, which Gerdener along with other church leaders attended, decided to concentrate on missionary work within the South African borders, particularly in the cities. White missionaries had to

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304 Judge Henry Allen Fagan was appointed chairman of the Native Laws Commission, more commonly known as the Fagan Commission, at the end of the South African parliamentary session in 1946 by Jan Smuts’ United Party (UP) government. The commission presented its findings in February 1948, just three months before the national election.

be replaced by black office bearers and black churches had to be helped to develop into autonomous churches.

In between the church concentrated more on dealing with administrative and governing matters. Its policy initially did not bother itself to make much attempt to put forward theological arguments as supporting statements and documents. However, an assembly of the DRC did official attempt to put Apartheid on a Scriptural basis emerged in 1943, when the Council of Churches made the following statement:

"This assembly has taken note of the increasing agitation for colour and racial equality in our country, but wishes to point out that in truth, according to the Bible, God brings nations into being thus (Gen 11:1-9, Acts 2:6, 8, 11), each with its own language, history, Bible and church, and that the salvation of the native tribes in our country should also be sought in sanctified self-respect and God-given national pride."

From this synod the church gained momentum on how to raise it further.

6. CONCLUSION

Through missionary activities many non-white people became Christians. From the end of the 18th century there existed a formal mission and later the DRC itself took responsibility for this work. Increasingly there was a tendency to gather the coloured and the black people in separate churches. This got a string impetus by the Mission Policy document of 1935, where the ideas of Warneck about self-supporting and self-governing indigenous churches were adapted to the South African situation. Though several theologians protested against division of churches along racial lines, the policy was set forward in line with the developments in the national politics. Only in the dawn of the changes of 1994 this tendency was changed.

The Mission Policy was a document that the church developed to advance her theory, principle and practice. The basis was already set even before the policy came into being. The only thing was needed was to confirm it by what a theorist has said.

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306 See various articles and statements in Die Kerkbode, of the 17th, 24th and 31st of March 1989.
307 Handelinge, Council of Churches 1943, p 22.
The process of Mission Policy development in South Africa played a major role in the development theory of Apartheid. This development greatly influenced the relationship between the church and the state view of Apartheid. It became the crux of what became the development of separateness and Apartheid. This process enhanced greatly the relationship between the church and politics.
CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSIONS ON APARTHEID IN CHURCH MEETINGS OF THE DRC

1. INTRODUCTION

How did the relationship between church and politics influence each other? Was Apartheid instituted in the church or did the state institute Apartheid? Some would argue that it was not the state the started Apartheid, but the church took a lead in the formation of Apartheid. The state only followed the principles laid by the church. Others argue the other way around. Or might it be more complicated, because both operated in the same societal and cultural atmosphere so that the developments of both were intertwined?

2. ONE THEME – DIFFERENT APPROACHES: BATTLES OF COMMISSIONS

Between 1947 and 1948, there were a number of commissions that were set by different people in search of political gain. Each commission had a focus to look on.

The Fagan Commission was set up by the government of South Africa in 1947 to investigate changes to the system of segregation. The recommendation of the commission’s report was that influx control of African people to urban areas should be relaxed. This in turn would increase the flow of labour and prevent the problem of migrant labour living in distant rural areas. The Fagan report called for the creation of a stabilised population of African workers within urban areas to create a reliable work force for business as well as an increased consumer base for retailers.

The report was published at a time when Jan Smuts’ popularity was low and his detractors had more support. In response the South African National Party created their own commission, called the Sauer Commission. Its report suggested the exact opposite of the Fagan Commission, i.e. segregation should continue and be
implemented across all social and economic areas of life. The rise of Apartheid can be attributed to the Sauer commission.

In 1947 a commission by Groenewald was installed by the Church. It submitted a report at the Synod level on the basis of Apartheid and segregation based on biblical concepts which was tabled for discussion.

This three commissions were set at almost the same time, but from different perspectives yet looking into one theme.

The Sauer Commission was concerned with the 'problem' of controlling the influx of African people into urban areas. White workers, traders and merchants were concerned that this would represent a threat to their jobs and businesses, particularly since African workers would work in semi-skilled positions for a lower wage than white workers. Businesses demanded racially segregated trading zones in order to protect their businesses from competition. Numerous groups influenced this policy of 'total Apartheid', including the South African Bureau of Race Affairs (SABRA).

Ultimately the Sauer commission did not enforce the total segregation to the extent originally envisioned. Rather, it resulted in the immediate implementation of 'practical Apartheid', which allowed some African people to enter and work in urban areas, with the complete implementation of total Apartheid envisioned as a future goal.

Although the commissions were set with what was likely to be different agenda serving certain political grounds, they all focused on race relation, church and politics.

3. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CHURCH POLITY AND POLITICS

Apartheid as policy as it had been accepted by the National Part as its official policy, and as it was developed and pruned by the church through mission policy,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{308}}\]

\[\text{N. Rhoodie, Apartheid and racial partnership in South Africa. 1968: 53}\]
was not merely the product of Kuyperian ideas applied to the racial problem or a manifestation of the Afrikaners' civil religion. It was rather a response to some practical problems confronting politics of the day. The then government and the Afrikaans churches had a very strong and sound relationship in relation to the manifestation of Apartheid. The idea of developing a mission policy by the church was to have a document in hand that can be used as an Apartheid tool. The relation that existed between the church and the government was so closely intertwined to an extent that one cannot see the difference between the two when coming to policy making. While thinking about Apartheid, two models are required, a Christian response and also the liberal political approach.

Mission policy remained intertwined with racial policy and the Afrikaners' quest for political survival. This has become evident when several meetings were held between the DRC and the Broederbond deciding on where missionary works shall be held, and in this case where and how should they be held. Because of the influx of black people into the cities, cities were targeted to be the missionary avenues where mission work shall be done. The intention was to have black churches in their own locations. Black churches were to be developed where the blacks were, and it was done by using black members to build up their own churches. To retain its support after 1948 it became increasingly important for the NP that the church leadership, forming an intimate part of the nationalist movement, endorsed Apartheid and that the Afrikaners in general continued to see Apartheid as prerequisite for their political survival. The NP leadership was successful despite criticism from some Afrikaner theologians. In a way, the Apartheid system was described as "something that brings around the ideas of Apartheid which were basically good."  

From all this it can be seen that while there has been no open breach between any particular church and the State authorities, even in the earlier years of National Party rule in South Africa, the churches were from the very first exposed to grave pressures exerted on them by the implementation of Apartheid. The church could not avoid the

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309 This concept was dealt with thoroughly in the previous chapter. In those chapters, it was argued that Kuyper influenced South African theologians to embrace Apartheid.

310 Institute for Reconciliation and Justice (www.ijr.org.za).
consequences of Government policy. The government had to impose the laws into the church.

Initially, the purpose of the church was to serve the people of God. Serving the people of God was to be done through mission and evangelism. But somewhere the church had lost its focus. The mission field was turned into the field of dishonouring God’s people. The mission policy was interpreted with a focus in mind, that it sets forth the ideal future church and the kingdom of God.

4. THE REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF 1947

In 1947, a year before the NP won election and implement Apartheid, Groenewald was tasked to prepare a report under the Auspices of Commission of Current Affairs of the council of Churches. The report was tabled as “Apartheid (separateness) of the nations and their calling to serve each other.” The purpose of the report was to test the principle of Apartheid in the light of Scripture. There were a number of commissions that were set between 1939 and 1957 that were in favour of the political situation of the day, like the Fagan commission and the Sauer commission.

4.1 The report and its content

As early as 1943 at a meeting of the Council of Dutch Reformed Churches a decision was taken whereby Biblical proofs for Apartheid were accepted. At the next meeting of the Council of Churches in 1947 this new trend to provide Biblical proofs for Apartheid received a wider basis when the report drawn up by a well known and widely respected New Testament professor, Evert P. Groenewald, was accepted.

Professor Evert Phillipus Groenewald was born in 2 June 1905 in the district in George. He completed his studies at Stellenbosch University in 1929 and he also

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311 A very intensive presentation of Groenewald’s argument is delineated by G. Cronje, in his book *Regtverdige rasseApartheid*, Stellenbosch: CSV (1947). Here most references will be from this work, pp. 40-60.

obtained his DTh in 1932 at the Free University of Amsterdam. He was called to the chair of New Testament in 1937.

Groenewald’s report was the first comprehensive document that attempted to link pure principles from God’s Word with the reality of a practical historical situation in South Africa.\(^{313}\)

His aim was basically to emphasise the importance of Scriptures. Actually, he approached the whole argument from a sociological point of view and not from the Scriptural interpretations. He also considered the Mission Policy of the DRC as an important document to which he made some references in his arguments. For him the Scriptures taught the unity of the human race, but God divided the human race. The division of races are a conscious act by God. God willingly and consciously made people and He divided them according to their colour and originality. Each race and human nature belong somewhere where the texture of his or her skin colour belong. God also retained this division. According to him God wished separate peoples to maintain their separateness. He argued that Apartheid was a rolling over of every aspect of a people’s life - national, social and religious aspects. He had maintained that respect for the principles of Apartheid enjoyed God’s blessing.\(^{314}\)

Groenewald developed a cultural commandment of "filling the earth" theory where he claimed it to be a divine commandment in nation building - for whites and blacks apart. He believed that God is the great divider, the variety of nation is the result of a creation ordinance, human beings therefore should dare not attempt to join what God has divided into pluriformity.\(^{315}\) The Babel motive follows the eschatological motive, Nations must maintain themselves.\(^{316}\) Groenewald became one of those people who tried to put this whole matter scientifically.

This report proclaims Groenewald’s most important views and understanding of Apartheid. From the mission policy he declared that the church opposes any form of

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\(^{315}\) Strauss, Abraham Kuyper, Apartheid and Reformed churches in South Africa, 19.

\(^{316}\) J.M. Vorster, Nooit weer nie?, 42.
equality between black and white in so far as black will be inferior to whites. Groenewald tried to present his argument as Scriptural justification from the principles of race relations and also guardianship. He was convinced that black and white should be at two different levels, wherein the whites should help the blacks to develop themselves into self-respecting Christian nations. He also believed that Scripture is full and rich of statements that can be used in the formulation of a Biblical foundation for Apartheid. To him Apartheid was something that goes beyond national life. He also made a distinction of different kinds of Apartheid where he differentiated them as national Apartheid, social Apartheid and religious Apartheid.

The DRC Synod of 1948 submitted the report entitled: *Racial and national Apartheid in Scripture*. This report became the basis document of Apartheid theology. In this report the Scriptural justification of the policy of Apartheid and the idea of guardianship is clearly set out. Theologically it rested on four pillars. The first pillar on this report deals with the policy of the church. In the second pillar of this report, it deals with the investigation of the Scriptural principles that would support the idea of Apartheid. The third part mentions the Race and National Apartheid in the Bible. Last it deals with the Scriptural justification that should be centred on Guardianship in the Bible. Its policy referred in most cases to "the traditional fear of the Afrikaner of equalization between white and black". The conclusive matter was that the Church should reject "integration". According to the formulation in this policy, the church did not deny anyone any social status, but insisted, "each nation should have the right to be himself". For this reason the DRC preferred "social differentiation and spiritual or cultural segregation." 

What was the true reflection of this report? Did this report want to fill the gaps and loopholes? Is it that the churches wanted something that they could use as their basis in manipulating the situation? The Council of the DRC adopted Groenewald's report. This "thumbs up" did not come without resistance, the Transvaal Synod, for example, did not accept this report. There were some critical responses that came

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317 Handelinge van die Sinode (1948), 279-284.
318 In the Handelinge van die Sinode of 1951, it is clearly indicated how the Scripture supports Apartheid.
319 Handelinge van die Raad van Kerke (1935), 94-99.
all the way from scholars like Prof B.J. Marais, B.B. Keet and many others. Prof B.J. Marais voiced his concern very seriously and he adversely questioned this usage of Scriptures in this particular manner. In the first place, Prof Marais was concerned about the sociological approach that Groenewald was using. How can the Scriptures be used to advance this report? There was no valid and sound support of Biblical reasons to accept this advancement. On this ground, Apartheid was supported for practical reasons. Did the Bible present Apartheid as a fixed prescription for the regulation of society? The debate aroused some mixed feeling from within the DRC in general and individuals in particular. The Synod of Transvaal affirmed the Scriptural basis of racial Apartheid immediately. It was not only this Synod that accepted the Scriptural basis for Apartheid, the Cape Synod also declared that the Scriptures contained no explicit injunction on separate, differentiated development, but that there was nothing in conflict with it in the letter or spirit of the Scriptures either.\textsuperscript{320}

The document that Groenewald developed was never accepted by the Dutch Reformed Church in its entirety, its underlying theology-hermeneutics was accepted as well as some Scriptural proofs. Apartheid theology had grown in subsequent phases in refining the hermeneutic framework, and the Bible was used as a direct appeal in restructuring this new theology as it became evidence in every new document.

The church was in conflict with herself. This report, as much as it invited public and internal criticism, so it failed to provide a final answer to the demand for a Biblical justification of the DRC. Year after year, meeting and reports were compiled to come up with something new. This was followed by an ad hoc commission that was appointed in 1954 to the Council of Churches to look into the Scriptural justification of racial Apartheid once again. The report by this commission did not deviate much from its predecessor, it tried to bring forth the idea of separation as something that was Biblical, and it acknowledged the role of practical circumstances in shaping the policy of the church.

\textsuperscript{320} Van der Watt, Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, 91.
But also the critics went on. In his book, *Die kleur-krisis en die Weste* (1952) Prof Marais wrote "We cannot accept any direct basis from the Scriptures for the policy of Apartheid ... we can, at best, make inferences and draw parallels in general terms". He continues by saying we must take account of the nature and state of the real world in which we live. The concrete situation, the real world within which the Christian is called to live as a Christian, will largely determine the application of our Christian principles. "Our own position in South Africa, in my view, offers more than sufficient justification for a policy of separate development ... provided that the further requirements of Christian fraternity are 'not denied and that such a policy is inspired by Christian love and not by racial selfishness or a feeling of racial superiority."321

5. INTRODUCTION OF CLAUSES REGARDING THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN 1957

The Bantu Education Act of 1954 preceded and laid a foundation for the church clause of 1957. The passing of the Bantu Education Act might have led to an open Church-State conflict. This could have been avoided, but because most of the churches agreed, either willingly or grudgingly, they handed over their school buildings to the Government. Before the act was passed, most of the education of African children was in the hands of the churches and missionary societies in South Africa. The church failed from the beginning to stop the government from ceasing all the education system for black for their own manipulation, purpose and their own agenda.

The result was that, however unwillingly, the churches became an instrument for the implementation of Apartheid in the most critical field of education. Churches gave up all the hard works done to the government, the government on the other hand gave black children limited education on the benefit of the white minority.

This debate has emanated from the political situation in South Africa where churches had to be scrutinized according to the law of the country.

Churches were free to teach any specifically religious doctrines and their members are at liberty to worship in any way acceptable to the churches to which they belong. And there were no churches "established" by law in South Africa.

With the National Party coming to power in 1948, there is massive evidence of growing tension between the Government and the churches. As the Government has intensified the implementation of Apartheid or "separate development", this tension has been heightened. In earlier years this was not as obvious as it has become recently, but already there were signs that, obliquely if not directly, relations with some at any rate of the churches would become increasingly strained.

A resounding influence that took place amidst this debate was when the government was involved in the introductions of Laws that prohibit and separate people. The government, because of the impact the church has on the government, proposed to replace the law, so that people of different races would not be allowed to worship together or to have other common meetings. This proposal was soon to become known as the church clause that was to be enacted as a law. This "church clause" gave permission to the government, with the concurrence of the local authority, to forbid and restrict the attendance of any black people in any church, school, hospital, club or other institution or place of entertainment outside the segregated location.

This law caused resistance from all churches, even the Reformed Church. For example, the Anglican Church was very vocal regarding this matter whereby in March of 1957 a letter was written to the then Prime Minister. The Anglican indicated clearly that:

"The Church cannot recognise the right of an official of the secular government to determine whether or where a member of the Church of any race ... shall discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship or to give instructions to the minister of any congregation as to whom he shall admit to membership of that congregation.

"Further, the Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa provides for the synodical government of the Church. In such synods,
bishops, priests and laymen are represented without distinction of race or colour. Clause 29 (c) makes the holding of such synods dependent upon the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

We recognise the great gravity of disobedience to the law of the land. We believe that obedience to secular authority, even in matters about which we differ in opinion, is a command laid upon us by God...

The pressure pushed the Minister to modify the church clause in a manner that made it to be acceptable to the Dutch Reformed Churches. This revised clause created a lot of discomfort in many churches to an extent that it was not acceptable. This act had to bring severe restrictions to the black community at large. The implications of this act were that blacks no longer have any right to worship where they will. This clause makes their right to worship a privilege conferred on them by the Minister concerned. And it is not the white clergyman or minister who incurs any penalty for allowing blacks to worship in the congregation of which he is in charge. It is the black worshipper who is penalised. By this device the Government avoided any direct clash with the churches on this issue.

6. THE TURN

The theology on Apartheid more or less remained intact until the General Synod of the DRC in 1986, at a time when the Apartheid system climaxed in the security state of State President P.W. Botha. At this stage there was a growing pressure from without and unease from within about the Church's involvement in the system. The document, Church and Society, that was accepted, represented a watershed in the Church's deliberate support of Apartheid. The key paragraph on Apartheid read as follows: "The Dutch Reformed Church is convinced that the application of Apartheid as a political and social system by which human dignity is adversely affected, and whereby one political group is detrimentally suppressed by another, cannot be accepted on Christian-ethical grounds because it contravenes the very essence of neighbourly love and righteousness and inevitably the human dignity of all involved" (par. 306). The mere admission in the document that the Bible does not lend itself to be a blueprint for any political agenda, may seem vague and commonplace to
outsiders, but within the ranks of the Church it represented a shift in theological thinking, which led to conservative members breaking away to form their own all-white church. Despite deficiencies in the document, the neo-Calvinist framework by means of which Scripture was previously understood was discarded. Diversity was no longer to be regarded as a Scriptural principle. Incidental facts were no longer confused with norms, neither was diversity confused with division. In general one can thus say that with this statement the DRC had finally closed its "Apartheid bible." Since 1986 only minor alterations have been made to the document. During 1998, as a result of negotiations with the previously Black and Coloured DR Churches, the DRC issued a document, *Journey with Apartheid*, reviewing its own history. Many racist elements still persist, but the context had now changed and the Church is gearing itself to function in the New South Africa.
CHAPTER SEVEN

HUMAN RIGHTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Human rights have been violated in many ways in South Africa. This was the practice that lasted for centuries, and after centuries of colonialism intensified during almost half a century of legalized Apartheid. The full effects of human rights abuses under both the colonial and the Apartheid system cannot be fully known; as it touched everyone in all aspects of life, it also dehumanised everyone.

Human rights abuses did not begin in 1948; it existed long before 1948. The colonialism that was brought into South Africa laid the foundation for the establishment of the abuses of human rights. Before South Africa became independent in 1910, there were civil wars that impacted the lives of many South Africans. In the mid 1800's and early 1900's South Africa was characterised by wars, between the whites and the black, and later between whites themselves, especially in the Anglo-Boer war. Ultimately, the British were victorious. The process of colonial conquest lasted over more than two centuries, culminating in the formation of the racially exclusive Union of South Africa. During the period between 1795 to 1910, it was characterised by the establishment of white supremacy in various ways, but it has got constitutional status by the promulgation of discriminatory laws that were put in place of colonialism in 1910.

During the formation of the Union 1910, the constitution that was drafted had great impact on dealing with human rights in the years to come. In the formation of the definition of the African majority as the colonised, with the colonial master being the state that would be constituted by the combined Boer-British white population. Great Britain granted independence to white colonists, while conceding the right and the power to these colonists to treat the indigenous population as colonial subjects. This

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323 Vorster, JM. The Constitutional state, 94.
resulted in the adoption of the phrase "colonialism of a special type" to describe the political and socio-economic realities until the formation of a democratically elected government in 1994.³²⁴

The Apartheid policy after 1948 was the fulfilment of the processes of the centuries before. What was sown during colonialism, and grew up in the constitution of the Union, got ripe fruit in Apartheid.

2. THE REFORMED TRADITION AND THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1948, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted this declaration on Human Rights.³²⁵ It was the culmination of a long development of thought on human rights since the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The concept has become a very common issue in a lot of spheres of life; it has become debated within theological circles, ethical circles, political circles, etc. In theological circles, human rights has become one of the issues facing Christianity today.³²⁶ Thus the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has become part of history of modern church history.³²⁷

Because Apartheid theology in South Africa is mainly developed in churches of the Reformed family we will focus especially on the way Reformed institutions dealt with the issue of human rights in relation to Apartheid.

The concept of human rights in relation to Apartheid has not gone unnoticed within the Reformed Tradition. Very crucial documents during the hay day of human rights abuses were produced. A trail has been left behind, by the formulation of declarations of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) and also of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES).

³²⁵ On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Following this historic act the Assembly has called upon all member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."
³²⁷ JM Vorster, Ethical perspective, 5.
2.1. **World Alliance of Reformed churches (WARC)**

The years between 1970 and 1975 was an intensive period under the heading of human rights abuses and violation, resulting in a document that was formulated in 1976, namely "The Theological basis of human rights". This document had two things that we have to address, namely, theological guidelines over human rights, and secondly, the practical implication of human rights. This document elaborates on the task of the churches in promoting human rights globally. The church should intervene on behalf of the poor and the oppressed, should attend to the processes of reconciliation where human rights are abused and as a last resort, must be willing to resist the government when the latter abuses human rights.\(^{328}\) According to the document, human rights are founded not on human thinking, but on God’s word: "Human rights are ultimately grounded not in human nature, nor are they conditioned by individual or collective human achievements in history. They reflect the covenant of God’s faithfulness to his people and the glory of his love for the church and world."\(^{329}\)

The document has laid a foundation for human rights which churches and individuals should follow. It is due to follow them because the basis of human rights lies not in human thinking. From the study, the following guidelines and principles were derived:\(^{330}\)

- We understand the basic theological contribution of the Christian faith, in the matters, to be the grounding of fundamental human rights in God’s rights, that is, claims on human being.
- Our Biblical faith commits us to a view of human life in its wholeness expressed in three basic complementarities: male and female, the individual and the society, human life and its ecological context.
- Our Biblical faith also warns us about the destroying powers we face in the struggle for the realisation of human rights.

\(^{328}\) Vorster, JM, *Ethical Perspective*, 62


\(^{330}\) World Alliance of Reformed Churches, *Guidelines and Principles*. 
We boldly confess the liberating power of Jesus Christ and affirm the church ministry of reconciliation and grace.

These guidelines and principles are both horizontal and vertical: it is referred to the relation between human person and human person and also the relation between human beings and their church and ultimately to God in Jesus Christ; the church is commanded to bear witness to the liberating power of Christ’s cross and resurrection. Called to live and think in this perspective, Christian theology can contribute to the theory and practice of human rights, ministering the distinctive wholeness of the gospel bequeathed to the church, the word of reconciliation and grace.³³¹

The World Alliance of Reformed Churches in this document explained the practical way in which churches should become involved in the promotion of human rights in the oppressive communities of the modern world.

In a later document the WARC explicitly focused on South Africa in the perspective of their view on human rights. The theme of the 21st general Council (Ottawa 1982) was called to witness to the gospel today, emphasizing the act of witnessing and what that implied to the Alliance. In respect to Apartheid the council said that this situation constitutes a status confessionis for our churches, which means that we regard this as an issue on which it is not possible to differ without seriously jeopardizing the integrity our common confessions as Reformed churches.³³²

“We declare with black reformed Christian of South Africa that Apartheid (separate development) is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the gospel and in its persistent disobedience to the word of God, a theological heresy.”³³³

The obdurate refusal of two member churches, NGK and NHK, to withdraw their support from Apartheid led to their suspension from the Alliance. The latter church

³³¹ WARC, Guidelines and Principles. 1976:53
withdrew from the Alliance in September 1982, the former continued to press for reinstatement. But Ottawa set down three criteria for reinstatement:

a) Black Christians are no longer excluded from church services especially from the holy communion.

b) Concrete support in word and deed is given to those who suffer under the system of Apartheid.

c) Unequivocally synod resolutions are made which reject Apartheid and commit the church to dismantling this system in both churches and politics.\(^{334}\)

The DRC did not accept these conditions by that time.

### 2.2 Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES)

In 1983, the RES also produced a document on the issue: *Testimony on human rights*. This intensive document came as a result of the meeting that was held in 1980 when the RES decided to form an international committee which would focus on the historical background on human rights, its theological scope and contextual scope.\(^{335}\) According to the RES, human rights have been in existence since creation because man was created in the image of God. The whole creation, including all its creatures, especially human creatures as image of God, find their right of existence and reason for existence in the service they owe the Maker. This divine claim, which rests fully, jointly and equally upon us all, is the firm foundation upon which all human rights rest, prior to all else.\(^{336}\)

This study emphasised first of all, on the doctrine of the infallibility of Scripture and the fact that the Bible should be understood in historical-revelation sense. It also put some emphases on doctrinal and ethical reflection which are followed by a societal reflection on human rights. The study was also aligned to the Universal declaration on Human Rights.

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334 Extract from *Reformed World* 1998: 48: 49-96. Theology and human rights 1\(\text{st}\).

335 Vorster, N, *Kerk en menseregte*, 189.

More recently, the Reformed Ecumenical Council has done a research on the theme of human rights and made the following statement:

> Human rights is an idea whose time seems to have come. Yet in contemporary dialogue and global practice it is burdened with radically conflicting meanings. It literally begs for clearer insight both in definition and implementation. As a concept, human rights has a relatively short history. Therefore, we will have to grow into an increasingly fuller understanding of it. As an issue, however, by whatever name, it has hounded the Christian church doggedly step by step at an early turn along the way. It has its own unique, longstanding, on-going history. It is, at once, both as ancient and as current as our lost righteousness: the story of man’s inhumanity to his fellowmen, the story of discrimination, cruelty, deprivation, servitude and inequality.\(^{337}\)

### 2.3 The DRC and Human Rights

The concept of human rights in the church, as indicated above, was a strange concept to the DRC (and to the HNK as well) in the powerful days of Apartheid. It contested the violation of human dignity. And Apartheid precisely violated human dignity. It has to do with torture, barbed wire blood on the stake, all the immorality that human can cause.\(^{338}\) In other words, it was the violation of human rights and dignity.

The DRC was less interested in the way human dignity has to be respected and dealt with its violation even among the church structures. It created a platform of practicing and implementing Apartheid laws.

A major reason for the inclusions of Apartheid and exclusion of human rights in the church was not because it was good and biblical, but because it restricted and prohibited one particular group of people an opportunity for self expression, it was

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also meant to demoralize people that the other ones, the others, the blacks, cannot be part of a wider society. In this sense, they would not be able to fulfil themselves in the white society. For the latter, it was something that should not even be given a space within church issues.

When the mission policy of 1935 was introduced, it left a scar on human rights. All the matter that was dealt with prior 1935 had to be revisited. In the congress that was held in 1926, it was still claimed that God's Word taught that the native was a human being of similar nature to us and that his soul was of equal worth to any other human being in the eyes of God. He has the same right as we to claim all rights and privileges which are in principle related to a Christian civilization. This did not fit in the later policy of the DRC.

That does not mean that the policy of 1935 was new. Already in the time when the Union of South Africa was established, in De Kerkbode of 1910 August to September, five crucial questions were posed about the disproportion between the population groups. These articles gave a boost to the mission policy of 1935 whereby it indicated that the task of the church is to evangelize the Africans and this was said to be the responsibility of the Christian nation.

- The Africans were to be governed by Christian principles. In this article there was an element of race (25 August 1910: 115).
- The second article of 1 September 1910:130, attention was then paid to the indigenous in their social condition.
- In the article of 8 September 1910:146, it was asked about the right of an African - it was asked: What right - if any - should Africans be granted? In this article it was clear that African cannot be granted rights because they are not able to fulfil certain duties.
- 15 September 1910:163 saw only one right to be granted to Africans, and that was that of limited and specified Education.
- September 22, 1910, the other right that was added was the right to vote, which was short-lived.
It was added: “these equal rights and equal opportunities have to be exercised by the Bantu in his own community.”

In this sense the church degraded the black people, they were stripped off from their humanity and the concept of ubuntu was then disregarded. Because of the concept of fear that the white community had, it was vented on the black community. Not only did the white man defeat the black concept of ubuntu, but he also defeated the biblical concept of human dignity.

3 THE DRC AND OTHER CHURCHES: THE INTRODUCTION OF CLAUSES REGARDING THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN 1957

It is clear that not all churches in South Africa developed the same policy as the DRC (and the NHK). The different approaches of other churches highlight even more the exceptional position of the DRC. A clear example of this is the way they dealt with the introduction of clauses regarding the church and society in 1957.

Due to the political situation in South Africa, a lot of political issues was taken into theological arenas as well. The church and state had a very close relation by then, to an extent that some of the issues that were discussed on political level were also brought into theological level. What affected the country also affected the church.

The Apartheid regime carelessly used to talk of human rights and reconciliation to retain the status quo. For those who were suffering, to speak of reconciliation meant that justice should also prevail, there was no reconciliation without justice. In the interim constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1993, a foundation was laid for the future to move beyond the past with its gross abuses of human rights and the legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge. In fact the concept of reconciliation should not be discussed in isolation; it has a bearing on the concept of human rights as well. The church structures and also political structures had to debate on the issue of reconciliation and human rights. But because of the diversity of different opinions and worldviews over what constitutes reconciliation and human rights, the

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339 Loubser, *The Apartheid Bible*, 31
structures need to come up with something that might be instrumental in bringing hope in the country.

Human rights have to do with the way people should live in relation to each other. In order to define what human rights are, carefully needs to be looked into what the relation between human rights and reconciliation is. In a more general definition, reconciliation is the re-establishment of dignity and humanity of every person rooted in human rights and the acceptance of this by the individual and society.  

Reconciliation comes when there is a misunderstanding, violence, dehumanizing; it is about bringing people who had differed into one umbrella. It is about transforming people’s attitude towards each other; this is when human beings recognizes their mistakes and do not want to repeat them again.

As Mark Hay Omi says:

“The Christian offer of forgiveness is possible prior to the repentance of the transgressor, and a degree of personal reconciliation is possible without the transgressor participating in the process, where reconciliation in this context means the recovery of the victim’s dignity and humanity. This is what appears in viewing the ministry of Jesus, nevertheless, for reconciliation to be complete there needs to be the acceptance of and participation in this reconciliation on both sides.”

It is amazing that reconciliation in South Africa is more known nowadays by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee that was established by the State than as a topic of the churches. Still now, the churches feel uneasy about reconciliation and do not know how to deal with it and even more how to practice it. That means that also something is wrong in their concept of human dignity and thus human rights. The basic outlines of Apartheid and their causes do not have gone away.

4. CONCLUSION

Under Apartheid, racist beliefs were enshrined in law and any criticism of the law was suppressed. Apartheid was racism made law. It was a system that dictated in the minutest detail as to how and where the large black majority would live, work and die. This system of institutionalized racial discrimination defied the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The DRC supported the government and by consequence she isolated herself from the worldwide community of churches just like the government isolated South Africa from the worldwide community of nations. Human rights and human dignity were not a focus area for the DRC. Neither the equality of all human beings as the offspring of one and the same first Adam, nor their participation in the reconciling work of Christ was their focus, but the segregation of people in order to save white supremacy and advantages.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

It is clear that Apartheid was not invented overnight when the National Party won the 1948 elections. It is the culmination of a long process and it has a complexity of intertwined causes. The church and theology were involved in this process and thus we cannot define their role in a simple way either. For understanding Apartheid and its religious components we have to take in account all the factors of the historical development and all aspects and perspectives that played a role.

The history of the Dutch settlers - who became the Afrikaners, bound to their strong Calvinistic beliefs, became the cornerstone of white South African history in the nineteenth and twentieth century and the final introduction of the Apartheid laws. In the time of colonialism, white people felt superior to the colonized nations. That is not specific for South Africa and thus not a sufficient reason to understand Apartheid. Nevertheless it is one of the factors. The indigenous people were considered as heathens that should be cultivated. This did not change after that the English mastered the colony.

A major factor for understanding Apartheid was the relation of the Dutch speaking Boers and the English in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Boers felt oppressed and robbed from their culture and identity by the English. Therefore a part of them decided to leave the colony in order to establish their own nation where they would be fully at home, on their own.

The Great Trek is regarded by Afrikaners as a central event of their history and the origin of their nationhood. It was during The Great Trek that the Afrikaans language and their unique culture developed. It was during this period that the Afrikaners’ attitude toward the British hardened and the Afrikaner philosophy of Apartheid has begun to be formulated. It was during The Great Trek that the Afrikaners came to believe that they were a chosen race and that it was their manifest destiny to populate the areas north of the Orange River. They believed that God would guard and save their new born nation.
The root of The Great Trek and the religious foundations for the future Afrikaner government are best summarized in the vow taken prior to the Battle of Blood River on December 16th, 1838:

“At this moment we stand before the Holy God of heaven and earth, to make a promise if He will be with us and protect us, and deliver the enemy into our hands so that we may triumph over him, that we shall observe the day and the date as an anniversary in each year, and a day of thanksgiving like the Sabbath in His honour; and that we shall enjoin our children that they must take part with us in this for a remembrance even for posterity.”

After the defeat of the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River, the Afrikaners established the independent (of British rule) Republic of Natal, and after its occupation by the British the Boer republics Orange Free State and Transvaal. The next 90- plus years would see the Afrikaners rebelling against British annexations and influence, as well as refining their own culture, religion, and language. During this period, the Afrikaners came to believe that their own survival as a community was threatened. That was dramatically confirmed by the Anglo-Boer war, when ten thousands of women and children died in the concentration camps and the Boers finally had to give up their independence again. The trauma of this war shaped a climate wherein being at your own was even more the ultimate aim of society. Together with a growing belief in racial separation, social, cultural and spiritual survival became intertwined in church philosophy and political ideology.

It was in the period after the Anglo-Boer war that the different triggers to separation, after being nourished by new impulses such as mission theory (see below) was developed into a fully fledged ideology of racial Apartheid. Even the frustrations towards the English were not as strong as the fear of the real ‘other’: the blacks with their culture and numbers. Race was dominant over culture.

In 1948 the Afrikaner National Party won the all-white general election based on the Apartheid ideology. It gave the Boers the feeling to have now the opportunity to take

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their fate in their own hands. The core of their longing was being on their own: no interference of other powers, other cultures, but a safe and undisturbed home. They wanted to get rid of all the problems of one and a half century of interference by others. They longed for rest and a home. That is one of the factors, and really a major factor, for Apartheid.

Next to the idea of white supremacy and the traumas of history other factors played a role as well. From the very beginning social stratification developed in South Africa and history gave it a specific colour in this country. Social stratification had several aspects: cultural, power, economy and race. In all these aspects there was the same sequence of groups. In the nineteenth century the English were on the top of the levels in all aspects and the black at the bottom. The Boers were second. Soon after the Anglo-Boer war the Boers and the English became the one white community. The hate to the English obviously was less than the cultural and racial distance to the blacks. Thus the three level society developed: white, coloured, black.

The whites tried to keep their higher position on all aspects of society: economy, culture, power. They wanted to protect their wealth, to keep their power and to have their own undisturbed cultural lifestyle.

White supremacy, traumas of history, and protecting all aspects of social stratification shaped Apartheid. As the Boers were very religious people, they could only live with a societal construction that was religiously legitimated. For the Reformed Afrikaners this meant: if they could find a biblical foundation. This foundation was developed by leading theologians like Totius and E.P. Groenewald. They read the bible through the hermeneutical lens of creation ordinances, by using Kuyper’s concept of sphere sovereignty. So a theological base was laid under Apartheid. It is clear that this theological base did not arise from theological research as such, but was only the result of searching for biblical foundation of a reality that was already developed in its own rights. Apartheid is not derived from an independent theology of Apartheid, but the theology of Apartheid grew from the political and societal need for such a theology.
This also implies that theology was not developed by the churches on its own rights. Politics and theology, church and state were fully intertwined because it were the same people who developed Apartheid as a political system and who were in the church. It was a theology not only for the community of Boers, it was even more a theology of the community of Boers. It is impossible to make distinctions between politics and theology. Both served the Boers' society and were expression of their one identity of a chosen people longing for the rest of the Promised Land.

There is, however, still another factor that influenced Apartheid: mission policy. This factor does not stand on itself because it is, for instance, very much related to white cultural supremacy. Nevertheless it brings in another aspect with another attitude as well: the black people should become Christians and by becoming so their nations would be uplifted. Their cultures should be Christianised. They should have their own Christian culture, and you can only develop such a culture if you live in your own place, independent from foreign influences. That idea did not only arise from the Boers' own history over against the English, but fit in Kuyper's concept of sphere sovereignty as well. Even more if was common mission theory precisely in the time when Apartheid as a political system was being developed. The mission theology of Warneck about independent self governing indigenous churches fitted perfectly to the idea of Apartheid.

Many of the aspects of Apartheid come together in a letter of the first National Party Prime Minister, D.F. Malan to the Rev. J. Piersma, a minister in Grand Rapids, Michigan: ÓThe Church believes that God in His wisdom so disposed it that the first White men and women who settled at the foot of the Black Continent were profoundly religious people, imbued with a very real zeal to bring the light of the gospel to the heathen nations of Africa. These first South Africans lit a torch which was carried to the farthest corners of the subcontinent in the course of the last three centuries and whose light now shines upon the greater part of all non-White peoples south of the Equator.Ó

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Christianity must not rob the non-white of language and culture. Its function is to permeate and penetrate to the depths of Black Nationalism, while encouraging the retention and refinement of those national customs and traditions that do not clash with Christian tenets.

These good intentions have also its counterpart. Cultural independence has also to do with fear for the unknown and foreign. The other people should be kept on a distance: each on their own. The Afrikaners’ traditional fear of racial equality between white and black got its apex in an aversion to miscegenation. Afrikaners have always believed that if they are to be true to their primary calling of bringing Christianity to the heathen, they must preserve their racial identity. The church is, therefore, opposed to intermarriage between black and white.

At the same time, it does not begrudge the non-white the attainment of a social status commensurate with his highest aspirations. Whereas the church, therefore, opposes the social equalitarianism that ignores racial and colour differences between black and white in everyday life, it is prepared to do all in its power to implement a social and cultural segregation that will redound to the benefit of both sides. The Bible is accepted as being the Word of God, and the Dutch Reformed Church accepts the authority of Holy Writ as normative for all the political, social, cultural, and religious activities in which humans indulge. The church acknowledges the basic rights of the State as a particular divine institution to regulate the lives and actions of its citizens.

The National Party implemented the policy of Apartheid by passing a number of laws between 1948 and 1957. Among these laws were the Classification Act, the Group Areas Act, the Pass Law Act, the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, and the Education Act. The Dutch Reformed Church gave its support to the system of Apartheid.

The idea of segregation with all its complicated and intertwined aspects was internalized in the minds, the hearts and the theology of Afrikaner theologians. From this perspective we can understand that the development of basic human rights as supported by the United Nations and the main ecumenical bodies was strange for
them. Human rights are based on equality of all human beings, while the Apartheid theology stressed their differences. The idea of equality appeared to them as a mere human project against God’s ordinances who separates people and give them each their own destiny, colour, culture and place. Human rights and Apartheid theology are two totally different and conflicting perspectives on humanity.

When Apartheid was called into question throughout the country in the 1970s and the 1980s, church leaders were, in general, more committed to Apartheid than many of their followers, and the church became an impediment to political reform. A few Dutch Reformed clergy opposed Apartheid. The efforts of other church leaders who worked to reduce the church’s racist image were often constrained by the fact that the church’s highest authorities in the synods, who supported Apartheid, controlled churches’ finances.

Formally Apartheid has been abolished since 1994 and the DRC lined up with this new political reality. Nevertheless the church is the place where people are on their own still now. The white Afrikaner Reformed churches are the place where the deepest ideal of Apartheid: a safe home without intermingling of influences from outside is still reality. From this perspective we can understand why church union is hard to attain. All factors that lead to Apartheid are still valid and vivid reality for the majority of white reformed church people. By consequence they cannot develop a theology for its own sake. Theology is still captive of the societal factors of Apartheid. If it would become really free a totally different theology would arise, for Christian faith has basically to do with reconciliation, breaking down the walls. It gives the freedom to be vulnerable and open. A Christian theology therefore is the reverse of the theology of a safe enclosed political, societal, economic and cultural haven of a chosen people. We can understand how that the theology of Apartheid grew, but the church one day has to return from the deadlocks of history.

SAMENVATTING

Een analyse van de theologische rechtvaardiging van apartheid: een gereformeerd theologisch perspectief
Nu de apartheid als politiek systeem is afgeschaft, is het goed om na te gaan wat geled heeft tot het ontstaan van een theologie van de apartheid. De apartheid heeft een theologische rechtvaardiging gekregen. Deze theologie is niet op zichzelf ontwikkeld, maar is deel van een langdurig proces, verweven met allerlei andere factoren. Als men de bestaande literatuur over de apartheid overziet, blijkt dat er talrijke aspecten naar voren worden gebracht waarbij verschillende perspectieven een rol spelen. Deze studie heeft als doel uit die bestaande literatuur een overzicht te verkrijgen van de vele factoren die een rol hebben gespeeld in het ontstaan van apartheid en de daarmee intrinsiek verweven apartheidstheologie en door het samenbrengen van deze veelkleurige mengeling van oorzaken de opkomst en aard van deze theologie te verstaan, mede met het oog op de huidige positie van de van oorsprong blanke gereformeerde kerken in Zuid-Afrika. Daarbij is de focus met name gericht op de Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, als de leidende volkskerk van de Afrikaners.

Na het inleidende eerste hoofdstuk, waarin kort de historische achtergrond wordt geschetst en het probleem wordt gesteld, wordt in het tweede hoofdstuk de geschiedenis beschreven die heeft geleid tot de ontwikkeling van apartheid. De Nederlandse blanken die zich aan de Kaap vestigden, hadden zoals alle Europese koloniale machthebbers een superioriteitsgevoel tegenover de inheemse volken, die werden beschouwd als ongeciviliseerde heidenen. De Khoikhoi aan de Kaap werden niet alleen tot armoede, maar verloren ze ook zelfrespect en sociale status. Later werden ze goedkope werkkrachten.

Na de machtsovername door de Engelsen voelden de Hollandse kolonisten zich bedreigd in hun identiteit. Ze hadden niet alleen hun macht verloren, maar hun cultuur werd ook als minderwaardig gezien. Ze waren de vrijheid en eigenheid, die ze met name in de oostelijke gebieden van de kolonie hadden, kwijt. Bovendien ging het hun economisch slecht. Ontvredenheid over deze situatie leidde tot de Grote Trek in de jaren dertig van de negentiende eeuw. De trekboeren wilden een eigen onafhankelijke natie stichten. De uittocht uit de kolonie en de moeilijkheden die ze moesten trotseren deden hen denken aan de tocht van Israël naar het beloofde land. In deze tijd werden sterke impulsen gegeven aan een zelfverstaan van de Afrikaners als een bijzondere natie onder de bescherming van God, waarbij het Oude Testament bron voor het ontwikkelen van een eigen identiteit was.

De conflicten met de Zoeloes en meer nog de repressie die ze van de Engelsen hadden ervaren gaf hun een besef van voortdurende bedreiging in hun eigenheid. Dit besef werd in hoge mate versterkt door de Anglo-Boeren oorlog waarin tienduizenden vrouwen en kinderen omkwamen in concentratiekampen en waarbij de Boeren uiteindelijk hun eigen vrije republieken verloren. Het trauma van deze oorlog voor de Afrikaners kan moeilijk overschat worden. Het heeft geleid tot een houding van 'Laat ons met rust' en laten we onze eigen dingen doen in ons eigen land, zonder inmenging van anderen.

Het verlies van politieke identiteit gaf een stimulans aan de ontwikkeling van een culturele eigenheid. Met name in de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw werd de Afrikaanse taal ontwikkeld tot een cultuurtaal en er werd een akademische theologie ontwikkeld voor de gereformeerde godsdienst als volksgodsdienst van de Afrikaners, met een sterke nadruk op de natie die door God wordt geleid. Zo verkregen de
Afrikaners nieuw zelfvertrouwen en toen de Nationale Partij in 1948 de verkiezingen won, besloten zij de verkregen eigenheid te bewaken door de natie zo vorm te geven dat anderen daarop geen invloed meer konden uitoefenen.


Het is opmerkelijk dat in de twintigste eeuw spoedig na de afloop van de Anglo-Boerenoorlog Afrikaners en Engelsen in de Unie elkaar vonden en er een drie-lagens maatschappij ontstond: wit-bruin-zwart (met een zijlijntje voor de Indiërs). De aversie tegen de Engelsen was blijkbaar minder groot dan de culturele en etnische distantie tot de zwarte.

Vanuit het perspectief van sociale stratificatie kan men apartheid zien als een poging om politieke en economische macht te behouden en culturele superioriteit en eigenheid te beschermen.

In het vierde hoofdstuk wordt de rol van de godsdienst belicht. Dat was met name de Gereformeerde godsdienst zoals deze was gevormd in de tijd van de kolonie, maar meer nog tijdens de Grote Trek. Aangezien de Boeren zeer godsdienstige mensen waren, was het voor hen niet mogelijk om hun leven in te richten zonder een religieuze legitimatie.

Bij het groeien van de apartheid in de loop van de eeuwen groeide ook de behoefte aan religieuze en dus theologische onderbouwing van de politieke ideologie. Men kan zelfs zeggen dat beide hand in hand werden ontwikkeld, omdat het om de politiek en de godsdienst van de ene Afrikaander natie ging. Dezelfde mensen die de politiek en cultuur ontwikkelden, bevolkten de kerk.

Leidende theologen in de ontwikkeling van de theologische fundering van de apartheid zoals Totius en Groenewald baseerden hun theologie op een hermeneutiek van scheppingsordeningen waartoe ze gebruik maakten van bepaalde Bijbelse tekst die steeds weer terugkeren en van het gedachtegoed van Kuyper ten aanzien van soevereiniteit in eigen kring. Beide waren uitstekende instrumenten voor het bouwen van een apartheidsstheologie. De historische gescheidenheid van volken kreeg een scheppingslegitimatie en de eigen soevereiniteit van de verschillende spelers in de geschiedenis en de maatschappij kon theologisch en filosofisch worden bevestigd. Het is duidelijk dat deze theologie niet opkwam uit de Schrift, maar in de Schrift werd gevonden door een hermeneutiek die gevormd was door het verlangen naar bescherming van eigen identiteit en macht.

Toch speelde ook een geheel andere factor een rol. Daarover handelt het vijfde hoofdstuk waarin het gaat over de zendingstheologie. Daarin werd een positieve gedachte ontwikkeld over de eigen cultuur van de Afrikaanse volken. Zij zouden door het geloof in Christus hun eigen cultuur verder ontwikkelen en door het werk van de zending zouden zij op een hoger plan gebracht worden, zodat er eigen christelijke Afrikaanse culturen zouden ontstaan. Een belangrijk oriëntatiepunt was daarbij de zendingstheorie van Gustav Warneck, die pleitte voor zelfbestuur en eigen identiteit van de verschillende volkskerken in naties en culturen. In dit perspectief kan men
apartheid ook zien als contextualisering van het geloof, en zelfs als een contextualisatie en dus dekolonisatie van de politiek. Het stichten van afzonderlijke kerken voor bruinen en zwarten kan men ook in dit perspectief zien, hoewel het evenzeer verweven is met de aversie van blanken om samen met zwarten het avondmaal te vieren (‘de zwakheid van sommigen’). In zaken van diepste intimiteit wil men eigenheid bewaren. Dat geldt voor het geloof, dat geldt ook voor seksualiteit zoals later aan het licht komt in de wetten die seksuele relaties tussen personen van verschillend ras verbieden.

In het zesde hoofdstuk wordt de specifieke rol van de kerk en haar thelogen belicht. Overal was deze reeds aanwezig. In dit hoofdstuk worden de eigen beslissingen van de kerk bezien die leidden tot formalisering van apartheid ook in de kerken in ogenschouw genomen. Daarbij wordt, zoals gezegd, de focus vooral gericht op de NG-Kerk. Het moet vermeld worden dat ook binnen de NG-Kerk mensen zich tegen de apartheid gekeerd hebben, zoals Beyers Naudé, Marais en later Jonker en dat in de beginfase ook de kerk zelf soms interfereerde zoals bij de regel dat mensen van verschillend ras niet meer samen mochten vergaderen, niet alleen als kerk, maar ook in scholen en verenigingen. Het beslissende aspect is echter dat een kerkelijke theologie werd ontwikkeld waarin het verlangen naar eigenheid en het beklemtonen van verschillen de boven- toon voerden. Het was een theologie van contextualisatie als segregatie en veiligstellen van eigen identiteit en privilegess. Vanuit dit perspectief is het verstaanbaar dat de NG-Kerk weinig kon met het gedachtegoed van mensenrechten zoals dat ontwikkeld werd door de Verenigde Naties en ecumenische organen, waarover hoofdstuk 7 handelt. De idee van mensenrechten berust immers op het beginsel van gelijkheid van allen, hetgeen haaks staat op de apartheidstheologie. Dat geldt niet alleen voor de expliciete formulering, maar ook voor de onderliggende motieven: om op zichzelf te zijn en zich voor anderen af te sluiten ten einde je eigenheid veilig te stellen. De conclusie in hoofdstuk 8 is dat de theologie van de apartheid is ontwikkeld vanuit een complex geheel van historische, politieke en sociale factoren waarin de kerk zelf geheel verweven was, waardoor zij niet in staat was een eigen, onafhankelijke theologie te ontwikkelen. Als ze dat wel gedaan had, zou deze geheel anders geweest zijn. Het christelijk geloof heeft als kernmoment de verzoening die juist bestaat uit het doorbreken van muren en het opgeven van je identiteit ten dienste van anderen. Men moet constateren dat, toen de apartheid ten einde liep, de blanke gereformeerde kerken door hun theologie eerder een hinderpaal werden dan dat zij een bijdrage konden leveren aan een proces van heling. Dat geldt tot op heden. De kerken zijn de meest prominente instantie waar het onder elkaar zijn van de eigen groep nog steeds aanwezig is. Nog steeds kan de theologische reflectie daar niet tegenop.
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