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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS BY WHITE PEOPLE IN SOME CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

CASTELL HUGH ATHERSTONE

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University of Durham
Great Britain

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ABSTRACT

In South Africa white leaders in some Christian Churches have encouraged and supported the government policy of segregation which separates black people from white in most areas of life. However, white leaders in some other Christian Churches have been loud in their condemnation of this policy and have called for an integrated society where people of different racial groups might live together in harmony and mutual acceptance.

If all these churchmen adhere to the one Christian faith, why have they apparently taken such opposite approaches to the problem of race relations; and on what scriptural and theological grounds have they based their approaches?

After tracing developing patterns of race relations in southern Africa since the time white and black peoples first met there, this study examines theological arguments on this issue that have been made by assemblies, commissions and white leaders in one of the Dutch Reformed Churches on the one hand, and in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches on the other. Then, having made some assessment of these approaches, it examines the sociological and theological factors that have given rise to them, and to the actual ordering of race relations in those Churches.

Thus throwing light on some of the complexities of the racial issue in South Africa as it is faced by Christian Churches, the study concludes with some comments on several factors that require attention from churchmen who wish to help bring in a new order of race relations in that country.

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INTRODUCTION

The population of the Republic of South Africa is generally classified into four broad racial groupings: Africans (or Bantu-speaking people), Asians (predominantly of Indian origin, but including Chinese), White people (initially of European origin), and Coloured people (originally of mixed racial descent).[1] At the time of the most recent census, in May 1970, these groups numbered as follows:[2]

Africans	15 057 952	70,2%
Whites	3 751 328	17,5%
Coloured	2 018 453	9,4%
Asians	620 436	2,9%
	21 448 169	100,0%

Through the years many members of the white racial group - which is only a small minority in the total population - have felt threatened by the numbers and aspirations of the other three racial groups (all of whom may be termed black people) in whose midst they have been living. There has been considerable friction between white people on the one hand and black people, more particularly Africans, on the other. Ostensibly to erradicate such friction and to protect the identity and way of life of the whites, successive Governments of the country have implemented policies of racial segregation designed to separate black people from white: but such policies have also enabled the white minority to retain to themselves political and economic supremacy in the country. Consequently many others have condemned segregation as unjust and have called for a common society where racial integration would be permitted and equality of opportunity made possible for all people. Here, then, is what is known as the 'problem' of race relations in South Africa. How should society be ordered so as to safeguard the rights and freedoms of both white people and black?

(1) There are some members of other racial groups, but for government administrative purposes these are classified within the four larger groupings. For instance, Japanese are classified as whites.

(2) Refer Horrell, M.(Ed): South Africa: Basic Facts and Figures p2. The Asians included some 8 400 Chinese.

At the forefront of the Churches which have advocated racial segregation are the three Dutch Reformed Churches.(1)

The first white settlers at the Cape were members of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, which sent a resident minister to the settlement in 1665. On his arrival a consistory was formed, which was for many years subject to the control of the Amsterdam presbytery. Later it became a separate presbytery. Then in 1804, by an Ordinance of Commissioner-General de Mist, it was rendered independent of the Church in the Netherlands - and the first synod of the duly constituted Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika (NGK) met in 1824. The 1860s saw the formation of an independent NGK in each of the other territories, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal - each linked in spirit with the Cape Church, but each with its own autonomous synod. In 1907 these formed a Federal Council of Churches, then in 1962 they became a unified Church under a General Synod. This Church is now by far the largest of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and includes some 40% of the white population. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century its policy has been to form separate and independent churches for the members of the different racial groups. Because of its great size and its prominence in calling for racial segregation in South Africa, we shall make a detailed examination of thinking on race relations in this Church.

For comparison, we take brief note here of the racial policies in the other two Dutch Reformed Churches.

In the late 1930s there was a great movement of Dutch people from the Eastern Cape northwards into the Transvaal. Many of these people became displeased with the NGK back in the Cape, partly because they feared that its clergy would bring the influence of the British Government to the Transvaal (for the Church was until 1843 closely bound to the administrators of the Cape and decisions of all Church courts were subject to the approbation or veto of the Governor), and partly because they disliked the 'liberalism' of the Church regarding race relations - for at that time no distinction was made by the Church between its white and black members. So it was that under a minister from the Netherlands a new Church was established in the Transvaal in 1853, known as the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika. It was to become the established Church of the South African Republic.

(1) These all subscribe to the same doctrinal standards.

This Church has been far more rigid than the NGK in its separation of the races. It is an exclusively white Church, for Article III of its Church Law states: "The Church, aware of the dangers inherent in integration for both whites and non-whites, intends to permit no equality of treatment (gelykstelling) within itself, but contemplates the establishment of national churches for the various national groups, in the conviction that in this manner the command of the Lord - 'Make disciples of all nations' (Matthew 28:19) - will best be fulfilled and that the unity in Christ will not be harmed by such a distribution of service. Therefore only white persons belong to the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk."(1) During the General Church Assembly of March 1961 two theologians of this Church, Professor A.S. Geyser and Professor A. van Selms, moved that this article should be tested according to the Scriptures, but the motion was defeated by a large majority and members were ordered not to criticise this law in public. (Following this Geyser was tried for heresy, deposed as a minister, but reinstated after action in the Supreme Court.) The Assembly of 1964 changed the word gelykstelling to vermenging, which means 'integration', as it was felt that this expressed more exactly what the Church wished to convey.(2)

Some mission work amongst black people was begun in 1923 when an African minister was appointed to work in Natal, but it was only in 1951 that the Assembly first accepted such work as the official task of the Church. (It is Church policy that only African ministers and evangelists may be used to preach the Gospel to the African people, though the white Church is prepared to train them and provide them with funds.) Thus a separate Bantoe Hervormde Kerk came into existence in the 1950s, consisting of sections for Sotho- and Zulu-speaking people. In 1964 the status of this Church was described as 'autonomous but not independent' as various matters were still controlled and supervised by the white Church. The reasons for this policy of separate churches for the different racial groups were first given in the Church Law as follows: "The Church bases its action on the differences which exist between white and non-white and is aware of the danger inherent in integration for both whites and non-whites. The Church, therefore, wants no integration and wishes to avoid any hint of equality or integration in the carrying out of its mission to christianise the heathen.

(1) Gelykstelling has often been translated as simply 'equality' but is more accurately rendered as 'equality of treatment'. The Sprocas Church Commission translated it as 'assimilation'. (Apartheid and the Church (Commission Report) p30.)

(2) Cawood, L.: The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa (1964) p34; A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (SAIRR Survey) 1962 p4.

The Church envisages the establishment of an indigenous church for each non-Christian race group." Then in 1964 this article was amended to remove all reference to 'dangers' of integration, to read: "The Church shares in the calling of the holy, catholic Church to preach the Gospel to all nations by training ministers of the Word from amongst those nations that are predominantly heathen and preparing them to preach the Gospel in the language and concepts of those to whom the preaching is directed, and by helping those converted to faith in this way to form congregations and eventually an independent Church or Churches....."(1)

The third and smallest Church of the Dutch Reformed faith came into being because a number of people were dissatisfied with the close link between the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk and the State in the Transvaal, and also because they had scruples about singing hymns rather than only psalms during church services. In 1859 they established the Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika also under the leadership of a minister from the Netherlands.

This Church again differs slightly from the other two in its racial policies. People from different races worship in separate congregations, which are organised under separate Synods for each racial group, with the idea that these should be parallel and independent. However, it is accepted that the spiritual unity of the Church must be manifested, and so the separate divisions are linked within the one Church by an Ecumenical Synod. (The acceptance of this link is easier for this Church than for the other two Dutch Reformed Churches since here the local congregation and not the Synod is the fundamental and decisive unit in the Church structure.) On the other hand, as Holy Communion is regarded as a matter for the local congregation its use 'as a demonstration of ecumenical unity' between Christians of different races is specifically prohibited.(2)

Whereas it is widely thought that these three Dutch Reformed Churches have a common approach to race relations within their church structures, it is important that their different emphases should not be overlooked. During the nineteenth century the question whether the proclamation of the Gospel to black people did not imply the granting to them of an equal status with white Christians was a controversial issue between the Churches; and during the twentieth century there has been some tension over their different approaches to this matter. Nevertheless, there is an inter-Church

(1) Cawood op.cit. pp35-36.
(2) Ibid. pp40-45

committee which links the three Churches, and in the face of criticism of their racial policies from other Churches there has been much pressure for them to remain united in their call for racial segregation.

Alongside the Dutch Reformed Churches there are several other Churches which also have a formal policy of separating their white and black members from one another - but which, because of their pre-occupation with spiritual as against social matters, have not made major statements concerning race relations in society.

The Baptist Union of South Africa, formed in 1872 as a federation of autonomous Baptist congregations, has adopted a similar policy to that of the NGK. Though it includes white, Coloured and Indian congregations, African congregations have been joined together in a separate Bantu Baptist Church. This grew out of the work of the Union's Missionary Society and remained under its authority for many years, but has recently been given more independence.

In a similar manner, the largest of the Pentecostal Churches, the Apostolic Faith Mission (formed in 1913) has separate sections for the different racial groups, and these have their own policies and constitutions - though the white Church (which is predominantly Afrikaans-speaking) exercises some oversight over the black 'daughter' Churches. Like the NGK and the Baptist Union, it believes that the Church among the African people should become independent and 'indigenous'. The Full Gospel Church too, has completely segregated national Conferences for each racial group. Conferences of the third largest Pentecostal Church, the Assemblies of God, have been integrated at alternate meetings (though it has been reported that a non-racial constitution was accepted by this Church in 1977).

From the end of the eighteenth century several Lutheran (and Moravian) missionary societies in Europe and America sent missionaries to work among the black peoples in southern Africa, and as the number of their converts to Christianity increased so each society established an independent Church for its (black) people. Meanwhile, as white people belonging to Lutheran Churches in Europe came to settle in Southern Africa, so they formed their own (white) Churches. The result is that there are a number of autonomous Lutheran Churches with various national and historical backgrounds, each ministering to a particular racial group. Thus white and black churchmen are again separated into different Churches. Some of these Churches have shown strong sympathies with the racial policies of the NGK - though leaders in some of the other Churches have denounced racial segregation. In 1966 a Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa was formed, to which most

of the Churches, both white and black, belong, while each retaining its own independence. However, there seems to be a reluctance amongst many of the white congregations against any closer union.

In contrast to all these Churches that have advocated some form of racial separation within their structures, and some of which that have supported racial segregation within the wider society, there have been the so-called 'English-speaking'Churches. (This title has been widely used to distinguish these from the Afrikaans-speaking Dutch Reformed Churches; though it should be borne in mind that most of them have some Afrikaans-speaking members and that a large proportion of their black membership does not speak English.(1)) The official policy of these Churches has been that no distinction of race should be made in the Church, and leaders and councils have condemned racial segregation in society.

Following the British occupation of the Cape in 1795 and again in 1806 there was a great influx of British settlers to southern Africa. At first Anglican church services were conducted in Cape Town by naval and military chaplains, then in 1811 the first 'colonial' chaplain was appointed. With further influxes of British settlers through immigration schemes in other parts of the country and with the growth of missionary work amongst black people, the ministry of this Church spread, so that in 1847 Dr. Robert Gray was consecrated its first Bishop of Cape Town. Then in 1870, by which time there were five dioceses in southern Africa, the Church became self-governing, to be known as the Church of the Province of South Africa, part of the world-wide Anglican communion.(2)

Meanwhile the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain officially commenced work in southern Africa in 1814 with the arrival of the Reverend John McKenny, who, however, stayed only a few months. In 1816 he was followed by the Reverend Barnabas Shaw. With increasing numbers of black converts and of white settlers of Methodist persuasion a South African Conference of this Church met in 1882, and all missions and churches south of the Transvaal were placed under its jurisdiction. In 1927 it became an independent and autonomous Church. Then in 1931 it united with the Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Great

(1) Strassberger has referred to these Churches as 'Anglo-Saxon orientated'.
(2) It should be noted that 'The Church of England in South Africa' is a different body which is not part of the Anglican communion.

Britain, and with the Primitive Methodist Missions in South Africa, to form the Methodist Church of South Africa.

Because these two, the Anglican and Methodst Churches, are the largest of the 'English-speaking' Churches, and because they have been the most outspoken in their condemnation of racial segregation, we shall make a detailed examination of thinking on race relations that has come from them. Yet, we shall also observe that although each of them has sought to unite black and white members within one overall Church, there has in practice been a separation of black and white members into different congregations.

There are two other Churches in this group that should be mentioned as having a similar attitude to race relations.

During the nineteenth century various Scottish missionary societies were active amongst black people in southern Africa, and white settlers from Britain also formed Presbyterian congregations. Consequently in 1897, after negotiations between various Presbyterian bodies, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa was formally constituted, with members from each of the racial groups. Though in practice people of different races generally belong to separate congregations there are no racial barriers to attendance at worship or to membership of any congregation, and all the congregations are linked in the one General Assembly.

However, it should be added that in 1923 the missionary arm of the United Free Church of Scotland established an independent Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa; and in 1962 the Tsonga Presbyterian Church, which had developed from the work of Swiss Presbyterian Churches, was granted its own autonomy. Both these Churches minister only to African people. Ever since 1934 there have been negotiations seeking the union of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa with the former of these two African Churches, and more recently also with the latter: but it appears that the African Churches fear that union might lead to domination by a more sophisticated white membership, while white churchmen fear being 'swamped' by a larger African membership.

Meanwhile, also since the beginning of the nineteenth century, many missionaries from the Congregational Churches in Britain came to work amongst black people in southern Africa, particularly under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. In 1877 there was established the Congregational Union of South Africa to co-ordinate the affairs of congregations in the Cape, and later the oversight of this Union was extended to other parts of southern Africa. Then in 1967 it combined with the other LMS congregations that had remained separate, and with the Bantu Congregational Church (started by the American Board Mission), to form the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. Like the other

'English-speaking' Churches· this Church also has black and white members within the one overall structure, though in practice they generally belong to separate congregations.

Finally we should take note of the Roman Catholic Church. From the earliest times of the white settlement at the Cape this Church was rigidly excluded and its public worship officially prohibited by the Dutch. Such prohibition was eventually removed in 1804, but it was not until 1837 that a Roman Catholic bishop was able to take up residence at the Cape. Nevertheless, the ministry of this Church has grown to become one of the largest in southern Africa. In January 1951 a Papal Bull erected the Hierarchy of the Church there and created four ecclesiastical Provinces with Metropolitan Archbishops. Yet the area is still regarded as 'mission territory' and so remains under the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propogation of the Faith in Rome. Thus this is the only major Church in South Africa which still derives its authority from outside the country. It, too, seeks to unite black and white people in one Church and has been a strong critic of racial segregation in society. Because of its overseas connections, and in order to compare it with Protestant thinking, we shall also make a detailed examination of thinking on race relations that has emanated from its leaders.

Thus, bearing in mind their situation amongst other Churches, we shall in this study examine the theological approaches to race relations that have been taken by white leaders in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk on the one hand, and in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches on the other. At the same time, we shall consider briefly the actual ordering of race relations within the structures of these Churches, so as to understand something of the setting from within which theological statements have been made, and to discern where there has been congruency or contradiction between teaching and practice.

As the Anglican and Methodist Churches have been members of the Christian Council of South Africa, now known as the South African Council of Churches, with Anglican and Methodists taking many leadership roles in that body, we shall make some use of thinking that has been advanced by its commissions.

It should be noted, however, that this Council is not a Church, but a body which seeks to co-ordinate the work and witness of its member-Churches and to undertake joint action on their behalf. We shall not attempt to set out in full the official policies of this Council.

Through the years theological arguments on race relations have developed and changed.[1] We shall set them out in some detail in order to gain a clear understanding of them; and also because many of the sources referred to are not readily accessible, particularly to students outside South Africa. We shall seek to avoid repetition of arguments, but where new emphases or ways of expression have been used these will be mentioned, to show the weight of recurring themes and the ways theologians have sought to grapple with the subject.

Having made some assessment of these theological approaches, we shall examine various social and theological factors in order to determine an answer to our basic question why such approaches have been taken by those concerned. We shall then conclude by commenting on several factors that our study shows need attention from churchmen who wish to help bring in a new order of race relations in South Africa.

Clearly all of this can be adequately done only if we know something of the historical and social situation in South Africa. We must understand the developing patterns of race relations since the time white and black peoples first met there, and also the differences and similarities that have been evident in the approaches of Dutch and English-speaking whites in general to such relations. Furthermore, we must understand the growth of Afrikaner nationalism, and particularly the part that leaders of the Dutch Reformed Churches have played in this, for it has been closely bound up with their thinking on race relations. So it is that our study begins with such historical background.

So far as we are aware, no publication has yet set out in juxtaposition the opposing theological approaches to race relations taken amongst major Churches in South Africa,[2] nor traced developments and trends within these

(1) This has not always been appreciated by observers. For instance, Van den Berghe in a publication in 1965 stated that the Dutch Reformed Churches defended racial segregation on biblical grounds: whereas it is apparent that by that time no NGK theologian of any significance would any longer have tried to do so. (Van den Berghe, P.L.: South Africa, A Study in Conflict p226; cf p141 infra.

(2) Strassberger's thesis entitled Ecumenism in South Africa 1936-1960 dealt with the racial policies of the Federal Council of the NGK and of the Christian Council of South Africa, but with different concerns from those of this study.

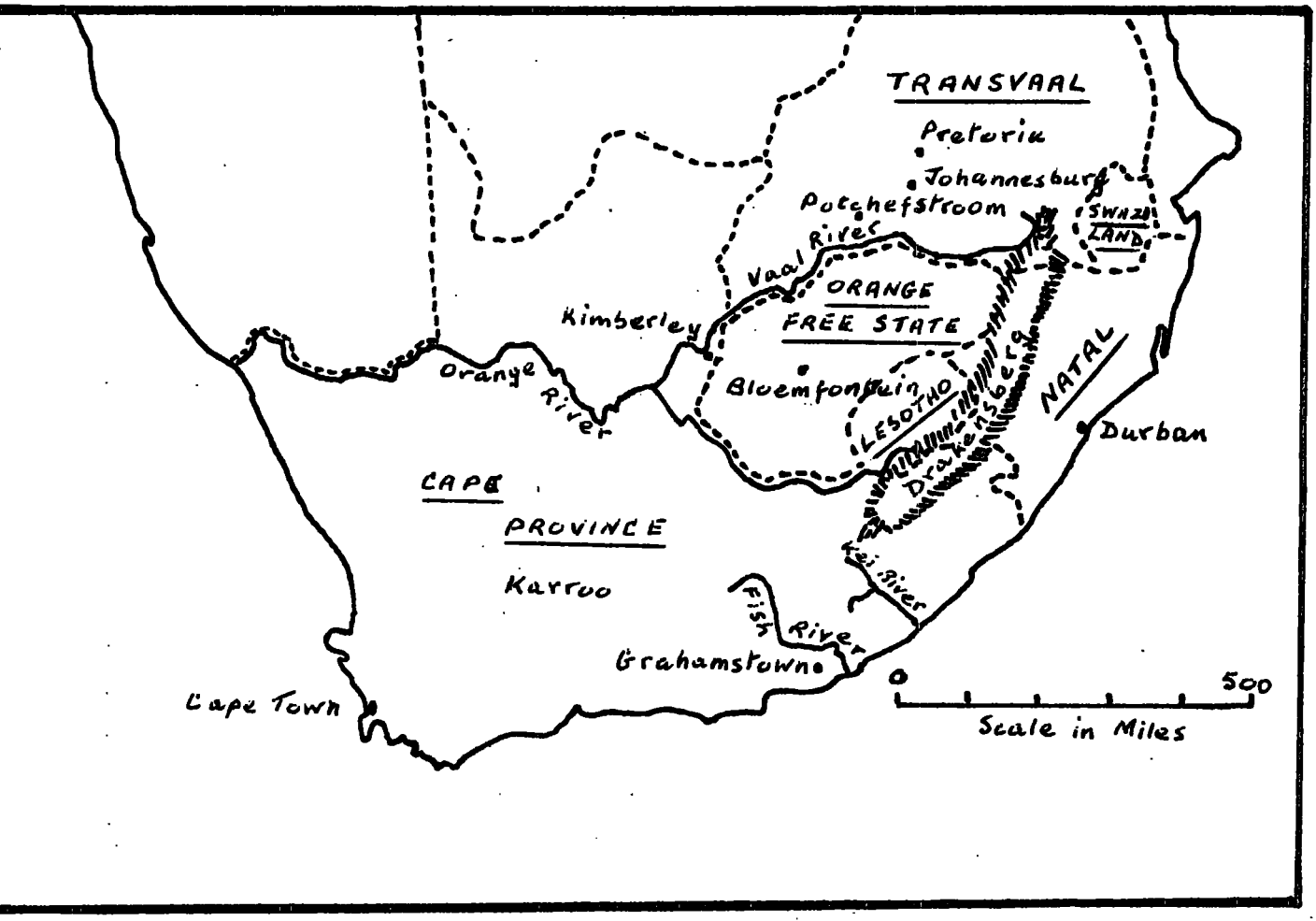
approaches, nor attempted to explain them within their historical and social context. Thus it is hoped that this present study will help churchmen and observers both within South Africa and without to understand some of the complexities of the problem of race relations in that country as it is faced by the Christian Churches.

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Note: Unless otherwise stated, all biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

PART ONE

SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. DUTCH FARMERS AND THEIR RACE RELATIONS

When the first permanent settlement of white people at the Cape was established by the Dutch East India Company in 1652, the indigenous inhabitants of that part of southern Africa were not numerous. There were there clans of 'Hottentots' (the Khoi-Khoi people) who were nomadic pastoralists. Although the whites bartered with them for cattle, they did not at first want to become involved with them, and even thought of digging a canal or growing a hedge across the peninsular to keep the two peoples apart. However, as time went on parties of whites encroaching on Hottentot lands were molested and their cattle seized by Hottentots. So the whites came to view these people with aversion, mixed with contempt at their 'extreme indolence' and 'filthy habits', and friendly relations turned to hostilities - which lasted until 1667, when the last vestiges of organised Hottentot resistance had dissipated.(1) Many of the Hottentots retreated into the interior to avoid further contact with the new settlers. Others, on the contrary, were drawn more and more into the life of the white community, and were only too eager to secure the good-will of the settlers, to whom they looked for all kinds of favours. Some were suppliers of cattle: but they gradually lost their independence and their value as 'allies' as the number of their cattle declined, and by the end of the century many were being entrusted with cattle by the whites for them to tend for the Company. Before the pressure of the settlers their loose clan structure collapsed, and they quarrelled amongst themselves over their shrunken lands. Many died from smallpox. Others drifted into the new towns and onto the farms, where they were engaged as labourers or did paltry services in exchange for food. At the same time the whites' conciliatory policy, which had emphasised placating the local people at all costs, was replaced by a more masterful policy of supervision and control.

Meanwhile in 1658 the settlers had begun importing slaves from West Africa, and later from East Africa and Malaya too. These soon formed a large proportion of the local population.(2)

In those early days distinctions were made between people, not on the grounds of their racial affiliation or skin-colour, but on the basis of whether they were Christian or heathen, baptised or unbaptised. Unbaptised

(1) It should be noted that the Dutch were not the first white people to show contempt for the Hottentots. English and Portuguese sailors had done so too, when calling at the Cape before the time of the Dutch settlement.

(2) By 1756, when the total free burgher population numbered 5 123, the slaves outnumbered them by more than 1 200. (Geen,M.S: The Making of South Africa (1959) p.29)

heathen had no social or legal status: whereas those black people who had been baptised were entitled to be treated as equals of the white settlers - and the profession of Christianity was one of the grounds upon which a slave might seek manumission. Burgher rolls show the names of 'black free burghers' (usually emancipated Company slaves), some of whom were landowners and agriculturists, and no official distinction appears to have been made between them and freemen of European origin.(1) Nor was colour of skin a barrier to marriage. Once a black person was baptised she was allowed to marry a white: so that, for instance, in 1662 a Hottentot, Eva, was baptised and later married to the assistant surgeon of the settlement with the official approval of the Council of Policy. There were indeed several marriages of whites with slaves, though marriages with Hottentots were rare, due to the contempt of whites for them and to a failure to convert and baptise them.(2) Meanwhile extra-marital miscegenation took place on an extensive scale, chiefly between white settlers or sailors and slaves, and was tolerated even after the Council in 1678 forbade concubinage with slaves. (As a result of this miscegenation and of that between slaves and Hottentots there was to develop a separate people known as the Coloured people - one of the main racial groups in South Africa today.)

Due to a large increase in the number of slaves at the end of the seventeenth century and the presence of numerous Hottentots that could be employed, servants were freely available for the white people. This meant that they themselves were not required to undertake manual labour. Indeed, such work became infected with a taint of servility, and whites were increasingly reluctant to engage in it. Thus they became a privileged class, dependent upon an excessive number of slaves and servants whose labour was wastefully and inefficiently used. At the same time white sons and daughters learned to look upon manual work as the natural function of blacks, and "the view began to be held and asserted that slavery was the proper condition of the black race."(3) The status of a slave steadily declined, until he became no longer the unpaid servant of his master but a valuable piece of property belonging to an owner. Meanwhile Hottentot labourers were hard worked, their pay was poor and their treatment harsh. So there became established an economic and social hierarchy in which the whites were superior to blacks. This was to last well into the future.

Because the Hottentots had been accustomed to live off the land, farm

(1) MacCrone, I.D: Race Attitudes in South Africa (1937) p70ff.
(2) No doubt the early shortage of white women contributed to the acceptability of black women as marriage partners.
(3) Theal, Chronicles Vol II p465, quoted in MacCrone Race Attitudes p79.

labour did not appeal to them. Their legal status was at first not clear as they were neither slaves nor burghers, but pass laws were created to check their vagrancy and contracts of service were registered to check their desertion. Nevertheless many remained nomadic and drifted into a state of servile dependence without the law. So to the whites Hottentots seemed to exhibit every possible laziness and vice. They were all "dull, stupid, lazy, and stinking". Little effort was made to raise their standard of living or to educate them. Occasionally some whites took an interest in their spiritual welfare, but on the whole whites were hostile to missionary work amongst them. Some even believed that attempts to convert them to Christianity were contrary to the teachings of the Bible. (So it was that in 1744 when Georg Schmidt of the Moravian Brethren, who had founded a mission amongst Hottentots at Baviaans Kloof, wished to baptise some of his converts he roused the enmity of the whites (though this was decently cloaked in confessional differences) and was forced to abandon his work and return to Europe.)

Increasingly, there developed in white people a definite concept of the black people round about them as being culturally inferior to themselves. This was not entirely a novel feature in their thinking, but was rooted in their background. For it was common in Europe at that time to regard black peoples as inferior to white. The comparative ease with which Europeans had imposed their domination upon blacks in newly discovered continents had enhanced their self-confidence, and developed new dogmas of their racial superiority and exclusiveness that had been non-existent during the Middle Ages. In particular, the races of Africa were regarded as wholly savage, without religion, law or morals - and were usually thought of as cannibals.(1)

At the same time there was a tendency towards exclusiveness among Protestants, particularly of a Calvinist or Puritanical tradition. In them the doctrines of predestination and election had bred a sense of special destiny as a people of God; and to them their superiority was a quality divinely given which could not be acquired by other races. (This faith gave rise in Europe to a pattern of race attitudes far more intolerant of other races and cultures than were the attitudes of people from a Roman Catholic tradition.) It was from this European and Calvinist background that the Dutch settlers in the Cape had come, and so it was not unnatural for them to think of themselves as innately superior to the black people amongst whom they now lived. Such an attitude was to some extent strengthened with the influx to the Cape of numbers of French Huguenots in 1688 and subsequent years. Fleeing from religious persecution, these people were much more keenly conscious of their faith, and their Calvinism was particularly strict. So as

(1) cf. MacCrone Race Attitudes pp5-10; MacCrone in Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa (Ed. Hellmann, E.) (1949) pp674-675.

they became absorbed into the Dutch population they emphasised the exclusive bias of the white community and confirmed the belief in the superiority of whites. Regarding Africa as their only future home, they stamped on the white community an even stronger sense of group self-consciousness.(1)

Because a lower economic and social status as well as cultural 'inferiority' and heathenism were usually found associated with people of a dark or black skin, while social superiority and Christianity were associated with people of a white skin, skin-colour became the easiest and most consistent criterion for differentiating between people. So colour consciousness developed. By the end of the eighteenth century distinctions of colour - even when they came into conflict with those other distinctions with which they usually coincided - were more important than any other criterion as a means of group inclusion or exclusion. Thus the original differentiation made between Christians and heathens was superseded by a differentiation between whites and blacks. Whereas formerly black people had been freely admitted into the white community if they had been baptised or were of mixed parentage, now they were more and more excluded, even in spite of having been baptised. For instance, mixed marriages became less and less acceptable, until by the end of the century disapproval of these had become abhorrence. Furthermore, whereas it had always been taken for granted that a baptised slave could claim his freedom, the Church Council of Cape Town in 1792 (in reply to a question from the Church Council of Stellenbosch) stated that neither the law of the land nor the law of the Church prohibited the retention of baptised persons in slavery, while local custom strongly supported the practice. Thus it was that there developed an ever clearer distinction between the white and black racial groups.

Meanwhile, the eighteenth century saw a vast expansion of the whites' sphere of influence, as stock farmers spread outward across the country, moving with their oxwagons, constantly in search of new grazing grounds. (In two generations these <u>trekboere</u> pushed the eastern frontier forward from the Breede to the Fish River.) Thrown upon their own resources in the African veld, they developed similar qualities of hardiness and self-sufficiency to those of frontiersmen in other continents: while they maintained a strong group consciousness and social cohesion, in spite of their dispersion and isolation. This group consciousness was to a large extent preserved by

(1) MacCrone, <u>Race Attitudes</u> p87; Patterson, S.: <u>The Last Trek</u> (1957) p272

the social attitudes that they brought with them from the western Cape - whereby they claimed a status that placed them far above the level of the peoples by whom they were surrounded. As the dispersion increased, so they became progressively more race conscious, and more determined than ever to maintain their own racial identity.

One factor that stiffened their racial attitudes was their dealings with another people that they met in the interior - the 'Bushmen' (or San people). These were nomadic hunters, who raided the cattle herds of the whites - and as a result were harried and killed. The struggle between them increased in intensity and bitterness, as the farmers crossed the waste of the Great Karoo and (by 1770) established themselves in country that had hitherto been exclusively occupied by Bushmen. Resentful at the loss of their immemorial springs and hunting-grounds, the Bushmen were incessant in their attacks on the farmers - and their practice of maiming or slaughtering stock which they could not drive off infuriated the farmers all the more. The whites considered Bushmen to be utterly beyond the pale of humanity, like wild beasts - to be exterminated. Commandos took to the field at regular intervals, and were utterly merciless in shooting down Bushmen: the success of a commando being measured by the number of victims that had been killed - for in the eyes of the farmers 'the only good Bushman was a dead Bushman'. "That, in a sense, the Bushmen might claim to be the injured party and that their depredations were the inevitable reaction to the invasion of their country by the Europeans who were depriving them of their means of subsistence, was a point of view that would have seemed quite incredible to any frontier farmer who had just been deprived of his own means of livelihood by a Bushman raid."(1) Indeed, the whites were firmly convinced of the righteousness of their cause, believing that God was undoubtedly on their side. Some 'tame' Bushmen struck up friendly relations with them: but the majority resisted encroachments until they were killed or driven out to the north, where few of them now remain.

At the same time, the attitude of these whites towards Hottentots became harsher. According to frontier sentiment, the natural role of a Hottentot was to labour for whites, to be at the beck and call of any Christian who required his services. Thus any who were not in the service of a white person as domestic servants or cattle herders were regarded with suspicion and hostility. Furthermore, the farmers in fending for themselves had learned to follow their own inclinations and to tolerate no interference with their own wishes, with the result that they were apt arbitrarily to impose their own will on those of an inferior status - frequently entailing sheer illtreatment and cruelty. Because the frontier society was relatively

(1) MacCrone, Race Attitudes p123

isolated, any external authority was unable to punish such abuses or enforce justice. So Hottentots were almost entirely at the mercy of the farmers. If they were ill-treated there was no means of securing redress; if wages (food, cast-off clothing, or livestock) were withheld there was no means of enforcing payment; yet if they left their service they were treated as runaways. Thus they were everywhere sinking to a level of complete subservience to the white people. (By the end of the century only a few Hottentots retained some semblance of their former mode of life, existing precariously here and there, particularly along the coastal belt. Some withdrew before the white advance, to the north where they were to form the nucleus of the Griqua people. Today few pure-blooded Hottentots remain, others having been assimilated into the Coloured people.)

In the interior the division between white and black people became far more rigid than in the settled areas of the western Cape. Whereas in the west light-coloured individuals might sometimes pass into the white community and ill-equipped whites sink to the lower status of black people, on the frontier sharp and irrevocable lines were drawn between white and black. For the general run of frontier farmer was more intensely conscious of his group identity, and so tended to be more hostile and aggressive. He was hard and intolerant, especially in dealings with those of another race. He had "a cast-iron race prejudice that was inflexible to a degree".(1) In short, his racial attitudes had acquired a new tenacity and rigidity.

The isolation and difficult conditions of frontier life played an important part in developing these attitudes. Furthermore, the fact that many of the farmers had a standard of living that was no higher than that of the black people round about them prompted them to insist all the more on barriers between the racial groups. Yet another factor which placed a fundamental part in determining the whites' attitudes was their Christian faith. Of all the elements in their social heritage, there was nonewhich these frontiersmen prized as highly as their religion. In the absence of any opportunity for public worship and of sufficient pastors to minister to them, religious exercises were conducted by the head of each family and so took on added significance. Even in the poorest or most remote household the Bible occupied a place of honour and was read intensively, with particular reference to the Old Testament which spoke the language of their lives. The exclusive emphases of Calvinist teaching encouraged them in the belief that the claims of heathens could never compete on equal terms with those of Christians. So, for instance, the idea that an offence by a Christian against the person or property of a non-Christian should be taken as serious or be dealt with as vigorously as a similar offence by a non-Christian, was

(1) ibid. p109

entirely foreign to the thinking of the whites. Thus his religion encouraged the white frontiersman to be race conscious: for membership of his religious group was an exclusive privilege which distinguished and separated him by an immeasurable distance from those who did not share it with him. Similarly his religion justified for him his right to dominate the heathen black people by whom he was surrounded.

To have taken up any other racial attitudes would have been tantamount to undermining the whole foundation upon which the white frontier society rested. For these attitudes helped provide society with those qualities of group unity, cohesion and self-consciousness and those powers of resistance and persistance without which it could not have overcome its difficulties. By the end of the eighteenth century there had emerged in the interior a new kind of society with a tradition of its own. There the racial attitudes of white people were intense, and the social division between whites and blacks was sharp. It was these attitudes, as developed on the frontier, that were to be an important factor in shaping the future history of southern Africa.

As white frontiersmen moved up the east coast they encountered in the second half of the eighteenth century yet another black people who were slowly moving westward, also in search of new grazing grounds. These were members of African tribes that were to the north-east.(1) They were peasant farmers, interested primarily in cattle, but also tending crops of millet and maize. Wishing to keep the two races apart, Baron van Plettenberg (Governor of the Cape) in 1778 persuaded two lesser Xhosa chiefs to agree that the lower Fish River should be a line between whites and Africans. But a fixed boundary was contrary to the traditions of both trekking farmers and migrating tribesmen, for both were cattle owners and hungry for new pastures. Both crossed to steal cattle or retrieve them (frequently exacting more than equal retribution). There was incessant friction, raiding, reprisals and killings. In 1779 occurred a clash serious enough to be called a war (the first of no less than nine Frontier Wars in the space of a century) which was brought to an end two years later when the Xhosas were driven back across the Fish. Edicts were then issued recalling all whites to the western

(1) Part of the great Bantu-speaking people, the Africans in southern Africa comprised four broad linguistic and cultural groupings: the Nguni (including the Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa and Ndebele), the Sotho (divided into the South Sotho, Tswana and North Sotho), the Tsonga and the Venda.

side of the river and forbidding the practice of crossing to trade. But as there was nobody to enforce these proclamations nothing could keep the two races apart and friction between them continued. On the whole they became bitter and pitiless enemies; though some Africans who had lost land moved westward to seek a livelihood in the white community. There the social distinctions built up between white and Hottentot were now applied also to relations between white and African.

Isolated in the interior, white frontiersmen were untouched by a century of European thought. They were narrowly conservative in their thinking, and determined to preserve the differences and distinctions which had grown up between the racial groups. Thus their displeasure was certain to be quick and strong against whatever changed or challenged the relations between master and servant, white and black. Now on them descended the full impact of new ideas. For in 1795 a British force took the Cape, to prevent this strategic halfway-house to the East from falling to France, with whom Britain was at war. Eight years later, following the Treaty of Amiens, the Cape was transferred to the control of the Batavian Republic in the Netherlands: but when war broke out again Britain in 1806 once more occupied the Cape, to retain authority there permanently. With the British came liberal traditions and democratic political ideas.

In 1807 abolition of the slave trade ended the flow of new labour to the Cape, and there followed a growing number of regulations which favoured slaves and impeded the use of their labour by the whites.

In 1809 the Governor (Lord Caledon) issued a Pass Ordinance to meet demands by whites that vagrancy be checked and all Hottentots compelled to take service, for the Hottentots were now prohibited from leaving a district without a pass signed by the <u>landdrost.</u> But at the same time the Ordinance brought the Hottentots within the rule of law. Previously they had been at the mercy of their employers: for the <u>landdrosts,</u> having been farmers themselves, had normally used their authority in favour of the whites - or else the white farmers had been inclined to ignore such authority and to apply their own rough justice. Now Hottentots were given a status and some rights, in that labour contracts (limited to a year) had to be registered and wages paid regularly. Then the establishment of a Circuit Court in 1811 and of eight new magistracies in 1819 brought the law and its agents right into the midst of the frontier, and a new era was announced as the Circuit

Court made itself accessible to Hottentots as well as to whites.

Meanwhile several English missionaries were championing the cause of the Hottentots - to the indignation of farmers, who complained that mission stations gave Hottentots refuge and so were responsible for the shortage of labour, and who decried missionaries for teaching Hottentots reading, writing and religion and thereby placing them on an equal footing with Christians. This anger of farmers was increased when some of them were now brought to court by missionaries to face charges of ill-treatment and cruelty to their servants. Notably, the 'Black Circuit' in 1812 investigated many assertions by the Reverend James Read (of the London Missionary Society) alleging murders and assault, illegal detention of cattle and children and the withholding of wages. Many of the charges appear to have been 'malicious, collusive and false' - but some accusations were proven. The sentences which the court imposed, often on the evidence of black people, shook the colony with indignation. Here was a declaration that the protection of the law extended to a servant as well as to his master. Three years later the resistance of frontiersmen to this new conception of justice was highlighted by the Slagtersnek Rebellion. A farmer who had ignored summons to answer a charge of ill-treating a Hottentot was killed in a scuffle with solidiers attempting to arrest him. His brother and others swore to avenge his death and to set up a frontier republic, but soon about sixty of them were forced to surrender, and five of their ringleaders were hanged. This incident stirred further emotion against the new British rulers.

Then in 1828 was issued Ordinance 50 by which 'all free persons of colour' were to have the same legal rights as the white colonists. There was to be no restriction upon their purchase of land. Vagrancy was no more an offence and Hottentots were free to move without passes. They were also free to offer or withhold their labour and therefore to improve their own situation by abandoning bad masters. Gone were the instruments which had been used to drive them into the service of whites. Immediately vagrancy increased (for the Hottentots had liberty but no land on which to live) and the colony was loud with complaints of stealing and trespass. In 1834 the Legislative Council passed a draft Vagrancy Ordinance designed to return the Hottentots to their former disabilities - but Dr John Philip, a prominent missionary, ensured that the ordinance was disallowed by the British Government. That year, too, saw the emancipation of slaves at the Cape - the vast majority of them, after a period of servitude, passing into the labouring and servant class in the colony.

The following year, after the Sixth Frontier War, the Governor (Sir Benjamin D'Urban) annexed the territory between the Keiskama and Kei

Rivers, so promising more land for the whites, even though it was still inhabited by Africans. But before effect could be given to this settlement it was reversed by Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, who commanded that the territory be restored to the African tribes. Thus, to the white frontiersmen it appeared that the government was taking from them newly conquered land.

Instead of protecting the interests of the white colonists, British administrators had taken from them their slaves, had reduced the servitude of the Hottentots, and had intervened on behalf of the Africans. By 1836 such conditions had become unbearable for many Dutch farmers in the eastern Cape, so that there started in that year the Great Trek - a movement of large parties of Dutch people northwards beyond the interference of the British government and further into the interior of southern Africa. In a manifesto issued by the ablest of the trekkers, Piet Retief, it was alleged that the colony was being overrun by Hottentot vagrants. The farmers were being plundered by African tribesmen, and the government was quite unable to protect them. The emancipation of the slaves and the method of compensating slave owners had meant severe losses for the colonists.(1) Moreover, the farmers could no longer tolerate the unjustified odium cast upon them by the missionaries, who, they felt, seemed to care more for the black people than the white. "We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but, whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant." (2) Anna Steenkamp wrote to her relatives that it was not so much the freeing of the slaves which drove the Dutch to the length of trekking, but "their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke: wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity."(3) Walker has commented that if any one cause could be named as the cause par excellence of the Great Trek, it was fear of that "ungodly equality" between white and black.(4) By moving away from the Cape Colony the most self-conscious and determined Dutch frontiersmen sought to retain their customary way of life and race relations. (It should be observed, though, that not all frontiersmen trekked. The great majority of them remained behind in the Colony. The effect of the Trek was to split the

(1) Though it should be observed that most of the slaves had been in the western Cape, whereas the trekkers came largely from the eastern Cape.
(2) Text in Eybers, G.W. (Ed): Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History (1918) pp143-145.
(3) Quote by Bird, J: The Annals of Natal (1888) Vol.1 p459
(4) Walker, E.A: A History of Southern Africa (1964) p200.

white population in southern Africa into two social and political systems: the northern system dominated by the attitudes and traditions of frontier life, while the system in the south remained under the influence of a more liberal outlook.)

The vicissitudes of their trek, in the vastness of the veld, amidst droughts and bloody clashes with African tribes, brought into play in the trekkers in a more extreme form the frontier and Calvinist characteristics that had already been formed in those who had been trekboere of earlier days. The trekkers were determined to maintain the identity of their group, whose white skin was the badge of Christianity and of civilisation. Their Church in the Cape did not keep in touch with them, yet sixteenth century Calvinist doctrines of predestination and election, reduced to their simplest form in the memory of simple men, now acquired an even sharper and more fundamental significance. As before, the Bible was their constant companion, and daily Scripture reading with prayers was an important feature of life. To God-fearing people, the Bible was not only the sacred symbol of their faith but provided them with guidance, comfort and inspiration. Their simple piety was based upon the most literal application of biblical texts to their situation. So it was that they came to think of themselves as a 'chosen people' such as the Israelites of the Old Testament had been: led by God out of the captivity of British rule, into the wilderness with their herds and servants, where they were beset by heathen enemies and had no protection but their rifles and their God; but nevertheless guided towards a promised land - to which, with its space and freedom, they were to give a fierce and possessive love. This comparison was to them more than just a figure of speech, but a genuinely felt identity. It burnt itself deeply into their imagination, to be propounded even more strongly in years to come. For there was developing a charismatic mystique of themselves as a people with a special mission or destiny - vastly superior to black people, from whom they were to keep themselves apart. "The curse of Ham was taken as gospel. Or again, the dark races were Amalekites and Canaanites, to be smitten hip and thigh, and, wherever possible, driven out; but there was always a reservation in favour of sufficient Gibeonites to be hewers of wood and drawers of water."(1) So between white and black there was to be no relationship except either one of master and servant or one of enemy and enemy. Nor should these attitudes by lightly dismissed, for many of the trekkers were upright and respected men, of substance and integrity.

(1) Macmillan, W.M: The Cape Colour Question (1927) p23

Having crossed the Orange River, some parties of trekkers moved east over the mountains into Natal, which was at that time to a large degree depopulated as a result of the Mfecane (crushing) which had been carried out in the early 1820s by Shaka of the Zulus.(1) In February 1838 Retief concluded a treaty with Dingane, the reigning Zulu monarch, whereby the trekkers were ceded the territory between the Umzimvubu and Tugela Rivers: but the Zulus then turned on Retief, murdered him and his escort, and went on to kill hundreds more trekkers. That December a large white force set off to punish Dingane, and after a battle on the banks of what was later called Blood River his warriors were put to flight. This left the trekkers free to establish themselves in the area, and they set up the Republic of Natalia, with its own Volksraad (legislature). They entered into treaty relations with Mpande, Dingane's younger brother (who had asked for their protection), and when he overthrew Dingane they recognised him as king of the Zulus. But no longer were their relations with the Zulu monarch on equal terms: for Mpande was to rule as a vassal of the republic, and had to pay the trekkers a vast indemnity of 40 000 head of cattle and a large tract of land between the Tugela and Black Umfolozi Rivers.

During the following years there was a steady influx of Africans into Natal. Some had fled from Mpande, or from warlike tribes to the south, while others were survivors of tribes that had originally occupied the land before being driven thence by Shaka. However, the white farmers now regarded the country as their own by right of conquest and occupation, as well as by the original grant from Dingane and its confirmation by Mpande, and they therefore resented the intrusion of these refugees. The Volksraad attempted to exclude them - but this policy failed, due not only to the overwhelming stream of immigrants but also to the anxiety of the farmers to obtain labour. So the general strategy evolved of marking off an area for white occupation, retaining sufficient Africans therein for an equitable distribution of labour, and segregating the remaining Africans into other areas. (Those who were retained by the white farmers were held in a position of complete subordination, though Brookes has reported that there was no evidence of gross cruelty to them.(2) This was the first time a white community in southern Africa had had to deal with a large African population living in amongst them - and it is significant that they attempted a measure of racial segregation.

In 1841 it was decided to dispose of the 'surplus' African population by transferring them to a huge reserve in the south. The whites were not able to implement this due to the considerable task involved; yet it was

(1) There was a little settlement of traders at Port Natal, and some white missionaries in the interior.
(2) Brookes, E.H: White Rule in South Africa : 1830-1910 (1974) p38

this decision and a request by Chief Faku of the Pondos in the south for protection, that gave the British government a pretext for interfering.(1) So it was that in 1843 Natal was annexed by Britain. Then, dissatisfied with the settlement of their land claims and with the granting of reserves to African refugees, the majority of the trekkers withdrew again across the mountains to the Transvaal.

Meanwhile, back in 1836 the first parties of trekkers to cross the Orange River had found very few Africans living on the vast plains beyond, though along the Caledon River to the east the land supported a considerable population.(2) In a treaty of amity with Makoena, the chief of a small clan, the trekkers under Andries Potgieter were granted the vast expanse of land between the Vet and Vaal Rivers (which was not Makoena's to give), in return for a few cattle and a small reserve where Makoena's people would have the protection of the trekkers. This was one of the many similar treaties that were to be made between trekkers and tribal chiefs, suggesting that the trekkers generally wished to secure farms by peaceful means and to avoid conflict. But whereas the trekkers understood these treaties to be purchases of land for their ownership, the conception of individual land ownership was alien to the Africans. To them, land was owned by the tribe as a whole, so that a chief might grant the use of particular areas to the heads of households, but had no authority to alienate any land. Thus it would seem that the Africans regarded treaties with trekkers not as cession of sovereign rights but merely as permission for the trekkers to settle as neighbours with the same privileges over land as tribesmen. This misunderstanding was bound to cause conflict.

Moving northwards towards the Vaal River some trekkers were set upon by Ndebele under their powerful chief, Mzilikazi (from beyond the Vaal); and after repulsing an attack at a hill since named Vegkop withdrew back to Thaba Nchu where the friendly chief Moroka of the Barolong was situated. There, joined by more trekkers, they drafted a simple constitution and established a Council of War and a Volksraad: and soon sent out a punitive expedition which routed the Ndebele. In subsequent years, with their

(1) Britain was interested in coal deposits that were believed to be in Natal, and also hoped that the territory might prove to be a source of supply of cotton.

(2) In the thirty years preceding the Trek this interior had been entered by white hunters, traders, adventurers and missionaries. There were also some white farmers who had bought or leased land from the Griquas just north of the Orange River.

numbers still growing, they overran much of the land between the Orange and Vaal Rivers - their claims impinging upon those of African tribes and of Griquas.

But here too their freedom from British interference was short lived. Because there was general disorder where the Griqua chiefs were unequal to ruling whites that had leased land from them, the Governor of the Cape (Sir George Napier) in 1843 arranged treaties with the Griqua chief Adam Kok (as had been done with the Griqua chief Andries Waterboer in 1834) and with Moshesh (Moshoeshoe), the ruler of the Basotho people in the east - in order to secure these black peoples in the ownership of their lands and to keep the whites within the influence of the Cape Colony. Two years later a British Resident was placed at the farm 'Bloemfontein' with power to control the whites in the area: then in 1848 British sovereignty was proclaimed over all the territory bounded by the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Dissatisfied with this annexation, the trekkers ejected the British Resident, but they were defeated at Boomplaats and the Orange River Sovereignty was once more proclaimed.

However, not only was British rule opposed by the majority of white inhabitants, but it was found that keeping order was expensive, for intervention was necessary in squabbles between Moshesh and various petty chiefs. Thus, in keeping with current opinion that a large empire was an unprofitable responsibility, a Convention at Bloemfontein in February 1854 restored the independence of the Dutch farmers (Boers) in a republic to be known as the Orange Free State. Britain undertook to arrange no treaties with chiefs north of the Orange River that would be harmful to the interests of the new republic; while the Boer government recognised the somewhat uncertain rights of Adam Kok, Waterboer and Moshesh as chiefs of independent tribes, and guaranteed that they themselves would not tolerate slavery within their territory.(1) Soon a constitution was drawn up for the republic. This was a significant reflection of Boer political thought, for it barred any black person from acquiring rights as a citizen and from owning land (though the rights to tracts of land owned by African 'allies' in the district of Thaba Nchu were guaranteed).

Subsequent years saw a great deal of friction between the Boers and the Basotho people. Major Warden, the British Resident, had in 1849 taken from Moshesh some Basotho territory, in order to include all whites under his direct control. In 1855 Moshesh and the Boers were induced by the

(1) This Convention followed the similar Sand River Convention of 1852 between Britain and the Boers in the Transvaal. Previously Britain had been allies with the African tribes over against the Boers, but now Britain shifted policy to become allies with the Boers.

High Commissioner at the Cape to sign an agreement recognising this status quo: but both parties continued to work for the expulsion of the other from the maize lands they both coveted. In 1858 Moshesh attacked Letele, a subject of the republic who had been harrying the Basotho, and the Boers responded by declaring war. After arbitration from the Cape, an uneasy peace was restored. However, the Basotho continued to encroach on the republican territory - and a second war followed in 1865. Republican forces joined by volunteers from the Cape, Natal and across the Vaal, attacked Moshesh and eventually forced him to surrender half of his total arable land. Two years later he resumed hostilities, on the grounds that the republic had not granted his people reserves in the ceded area as promised. Meanwhile he had petitioned Britain to annex the Basotho territory and this was done in March 1868. The final boundary between the Orange Free State and Basutoland left to the republic most of the territory that the Boers had conquered: and so the long-contested maize lands were divided between whites and Africans.

The British annexation of Basutoland meant that the Orange Free State was relieved of the burden of its racial problems. The republic was left with comparatively small African population within its borders - living either in two small tribal areas (in the north-east and near the Basutoland border) or scattered over hundreds of white farms as labourers. "In general (they were) reasonably well treated", though they were kept in strict subordination.(1)

Back in 1837, after quarrels among the trekkers at Thaba Nchu, Potgieter had led a party across the Vaal River. There they again attacked Mzilikazi and after a nine-day battle defeated him for a second time, whereupon the Ndebele withdrew permanently across the Limpopo River. Potgieter then claimed all the land from the Vaal River to the Zoutpansberg by right of conquest, and founded the settlement of Potchefstroom.(2) Soon the white population in the area was considerably augmented by trekkers who left Natal when Britain annexed it in 1843, and by those who would not submit to British rule following the proclamation of the Orange River

(1) Brookes, White Rule p97

(2) Having left the Cape in 1835, a party of trekkers under Louis Trigardt had settled in the Zoutpansberg, establishing friendly relations with their African neighbours: but after a year there they had been beset by fever and by diseases among their livestock, and so had retired to Delagoa Bay, whence a few survivors had been shipped to Port Natal.

Sovereignty in 1848. In all these people the characteristics of frontiersmen were evident in an extreme form.

Although the Ndebele had been pushed from the Transvaal, there was still a large African population there, and this increased with a stream of immigration following the destruction of Mzilikazi's rule. Some tribesmen were allotted small reserves by the Boer leaders; but many others were dispossesed of their land, for farms were granted to whites without regard to other inhabitants. "An African might go to sleep in his tribal area and wake up a squatter on a white man's farm."(1)

At first the Boers made no attempt to destroy the independence of the tribal chiefs, and attempted to maintain some sort of separation between the two racial groups. But there was continual encroachment from either side, and Africans complained of game hunters and brigandage, while white farmers complained of cattle theft. At the same time, the problems of finding labour for their farms, and attempts to impose an embargo upon trade in arms and ammunition, forced the farmers into closer relations with tribesmen. So it was that the Boers came to assume direct supervision over the small tribes that were within their bounds, and to reduce these to a position of subservience. This included exacting from them a yearly tax or tribute - which was to be paid in labour. Whereas in Natal Africans had been forced to labour only for public purposes or sometimes for military measures, now in the Transvaal this system of compulsory labour was widened and made available to private farmers. Such subjugation was facilitated by the disorganisation of African life caused by the generation of tribal wars that had preceded the arrival of the Boers. Small and weak fragments of tribes, preferring the rule of Boers to that of larger tribes, were willing to surrender their independence in return for the peace and protection that they would have within the domains of the whites. Nevertheless, the larger tribes (especially in the north and north-western Transvaal), whose tribal system had survived previous wars, gave only a modified allegiance to the Boer governments.

In those days outsiders made many allegations that slavery and slave-dealing were being practised on a large scale in the Transvaal. Certainly in the early years in the wild and turbulent north and east slavery was connived at, and a number of slaves were imported from the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay. However, there were laws in the Transvaal prohibiting slavery, and in 1877 the British could find no slave system there.(2)

(1) Brookes, White Rule p98

(2) ibid.p107; Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I.: The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers (1928)p192. Similar accusations of slavery had been made against the trekkers in Natal, but there too laws had forbidden this.

On the other hand, there did exist a form of veiled slavery known as 'apprenticeship'. Sometimes African children fell into the hands of Boer commandos; sometimes chiefs made presents of 'orphans' to white officials and farmers whom they desired to please; sometimes children were bound over by their parents for a price. All these children were forced to labour for white masters. In 1851 an Apprentice Law was passed, ostensibly for the protection of children, but fundamentally for the regulation of their labour. Boys might be indentured until the age of twenty-five, girls until twenty-one. Every 'apprentice' had to be registered with a landdrost, and employers were required to give guarantees that they would treat them well. Many argued that the system was not necessarily cruel.(1) But abuses soon showed themselves. Not only were there kidnapping expeditions, but indentures were passed from hand to hand for 'transfer fees' that but thinly veiled a purchase price. Time and again traffic in indentures was forbidden, but the very repetition of such legislation showed that the practice continued.(2)

It should be added that among the Boers there were some who showed no respect for the life of black people. There was evidence of gross cruelty and ill-treatment of servants, and of plundering raids against tribesmen. Agar-Hamilton has judged it was not necessarily any large proportion of the Boers that were involved in such instances; and has pointed out that officials and leading farmers disapproved of glaring outrages that came to their notice. Yet these leaders were clearly too weak (there being no effective central government until 1877) and the public conscience too lax for there to be more than ineffectual protest.(3)

Meanwhile the Boers in the Transvaal, like those in the Orange Free State, adopted constitutional and legal measures placing restrictions on black people and denying them civil rights. In 1844 a constitutional document known as the Thirty-Three Articles, drawn up at Potchefstroom, stated that "no Natives shall be allowed to establish their residence near towns to the detriment of the inhabitants, except with the permission of the full Raad". (This policy was the precursor of residential segregation in urban areas throughout southern Africa.) Later laws were passed forbidding Africans from owning land privately. In one or two instances the government bought farms for occupation by Africans, but the ownership of these remained vested in the State. Legal measures were also taken obliging every African adult male to carry a pass.

(1) The Reverend James Archbell, a wesleyan missionary and friend of the trekkers, was one who defended it in 1841 in Natal.
(2) According to Brookes, 'apprenticeship' had ceased by 1881.(White Rule p108; Agar-Hamilton op.cit. pp169-193)
(3) Agar-Hamilton op.cit. pp154-168.

Although there were not very many Coloured people in the Transvaal in 1844, the Thirty-Three Articles included a clause stating that "No persons of mixed race shall be able to sit in our meetings as member or judge, down to the tenth degree".(1) The Grondwet (Constitution) which was adopted at Potchefstroom in 1856 and revised two years later, establishing the South African Republic, emphasised that no blacks would ever be regarded by whites as members of the Transvaal people. "The People wills to agree to no equality of treatment (gelykstelling) between coloured and white inhabitants either in Church or in State." No black people were to be admitted to meetings of the legislature, nor to any civic privileges. Furthermore, in order to preserve such policies from outside influences, this consitution barred English missionaries from the Transvaal and made it a closed preserve for the Dutch Reformed faith. Though the government apparently did encourage German Lutheran missionaries, who were content to work within the framework of the existing social order without questioning it.(2) (Walker reports that in 1852 the Marico burghers had had no objection to the Gospel being preached to Africans by two London Missionary Society men - "though some of them would have felt happier if only the missionaries would have consented to teach that the Boers were a superior race."(3)

"The fundamental postulate of Boer native policy was that the native was an inferior being, absolutely precluded from receiving political privileges. The possibility of admitting him to equality, whether economic, political or social, was unthinkable...Their attitude of mind was not the result of any conviction carefully argued out from evidence, nor was there any feeling of ill-will for the inferior race; the established order was accepted calmly as an absolutely unchallengeable matter of fact."(4) Although the Boers in the Transvaal were rent by various factions (and in the 1850s constituted no less than four virtually independent states, centred at Pretoria (with Potchefstroom), Utrecht, Lydenberg and Zoutpansberg), there was a strong bond between the different political groups: and that was the fierce sense of their racial superiority over the African people. 'Were not all Boers the chosen people of God?'

After the defeat in 1854 of Makapane, a chief in the Waterberg, there was for many years no serious conflict between the Boers and surrounding tribes. But then in the 1870s some tribes who had never been crushed began to dispute the suzerainty of the whites. Notably, Sekhukhune of the Bapedi

(1) ibid p88.
(2) Wilson, M. and Thompson, L. (Eds.) The Oxford History of South Africa (1971) Vol. 1 p437
(3) Walker op.cit. p 278; cf Agar-Hamilton op.cit. p123.
(4) Agar-Hamilton op.cit. p88.

in the north-eastern Transvaal refused to pay taxes or allow prospectors into his reserve. A commando was sent out against him, but lost heart and went home: leaving Sekhukhune in open rebellion against the white authorities for months to come. The campaign against him was left to a body of filibusters who acted with great brutality. Meanwhile, in 1872 the warlike Cetshwayo had succeeded Mpande as chief of the Zulus, and, with a resurgence of aggressive tribal spirit, there followed a long dispute between him and the Boers over control of a strip of land between the Buffalo and Pongola Rivers which Mpande had ceded to the Transvaal in 1861. Thus there was a danger of open war between these two tribes and the Boers, which might have had serious repercussions for surrounding states; and so a plausible reason was provided for the British to intervene.(1) In 1877 Theophilus Shepstone was sent to Pretoria, where, after failing to induce the Boer leaders to co-operate in the establishment of British rule, he issued a proclamation annexing the Transvaal.(2) In 1878 Cetshwayo was awarded some of the territory that was under dispute, and the following year Sekhukhune was subdued.

But relations between the Boers and their British rulers were poor. Finally, in December 1880 Boers assembled in force at Paardekraal, and the old Volksraad met once again, announcing the re-establishment of a republic. There followed hostilities known as the First Anglo-Boer War, which ended with the Boer victory at Majuba the following February. By the Convention of Pretoria in August the Transvaal, with its boundaries now defined for the first time,(3) was guaranteed complete self-government: subject to the reservations that treaties with foreign powers could not be made without the consent of the British Government and that the British Resident at Pretoria had the power to veto laws of the Volksraad which affected the African population. The Convention also made provisions for a permanent commission which was to mark out reserves for African tribes and hold in trust for African individuals any land which they had bought privately. Some existing reserves were delimited by this commission - but a number of tribes to whom land had been promised at one time or another never had their areas beaconed off.(4) Subsequently, by the Convention of London in 1884 the British Government gave up its right to veto Transvaal legis-

(1) The Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, wished to form a permanent federation of the various states in southern Africa.
(2) This was in contradiction to the Sand River Convention of 1852, whereby Britain had recognised the independence of the emigrant farmers living beyond the Vaal and had agreed not to interfere in the affairs of tribes north of the river - while the Boers had promised not to permit slavery in territory under their control.
(3) By this Convention Swaziland was declared to be an independent state.
(4) Commented Brookes: no Transvaal government up to the time of Union, whether Boer or British, ever honestly faced the African land question. Adequate land was never provided for the African population. (White Rule p101).

lation, and the Republic was allowed to make treaties with the Orange Free State and the tribes adjacent to the northern borders of the Republic, though not with those on the east and west without first obtaining the consent of the British Government.

The following year the republic brought its African inhabitants under closer government control than had been in the past, and chiefs were 'appointed' to exercise jurisdiction concurrently with the government courts. A stringent pass law was enforced.

Then in 1886 the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand brought confusion to the unprogressive rural society of the Transvaal. Into the Boer midst came an aggressive and incompatible population of Uitlanders - tough miners and cosmopolitan adventurers from the Cape, Britain, Europe, the United States of America, and Australia. By 1895 there were seven newcomers for every three burghers: and so the old rural way of life beloved by the Boers became overshadowed by a new urban life. In addition there was a flood of Africans from every part of southern Africa to work in the mines. By the end of the century there were more than 100 000 of these labourers employed at one time, contracted for periods varying from six to twelve months, after which they returned to their families and homes in the reserves. Many of the white miners were skilled artisans and trained workers, well paid: but the Africans were unskilled and poorly paid. So there came to the Transvaal shanty-towns and a pattern of labour and race relations that had already been set on the diamond mines of Griqualand West (as we shall shortly observe).

Harsh naturalisation and franchise regulations as well as other disabilities faced the Uitlanders, most of whom were British subjects. The British Government soon intervened on their behalf, demanding that they be given the franchise after five years residence. Extensive negotiations followed, but the republican government felt its independence decidedly threatened, with the result that in October 1899 an ultimatum was presented to Britain, demanding that all its forces on the Transvaal borders and others recently arrived in southern Africa be withdrawn. There followed the second Anglo-Boer War, during which, in 1900, the Transvaal was annexed by Britain, as was the Orange Free State, which had become involved in the conflict in terms of an alliance with the Transvaal. At length, after a prolonged period of guerilla warfare, the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed at Pretoria in May 1902, whereby the Boers of both the Transvaal and Orange Free State finally surrendered their independence to Britain.

By this time, however, race relations as favoured by the Dutch farmers had fixed themselves firmly in the interior. Indeed, they were to flow back into the other British colonies, and to set their stamp upon the whole of the new Union of South Africa.

2. BRITISH COLONISTS AND THEIR RACE RELATIONS

The coming of the British to the Cape at the end of the eighteenth century marked a new epoch for race relations in southern Africa. In Europe new political ideas of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' were abroad following the French Revolution. In Britain thought had been stirred by the Methodist movement and then by the Evangelical revival, with their concerns for missionary work and social welfare. It was the age of Clarkson and Wilberforce pressing for the abolition of the slave trade. It was the age of prison reform, of the spread of education, and of legislation rescuing children from coal mines and cotton factories. Further, the political outlook of many was being changed by a new missionary spirit which realised "that savages had souls and were fit, through God's Word, to be civilised".

The chief exponents in the Cape of this new liberalism were Christian missionaries sent out by great missionary societies founded in those years. To these men the indigenous black peoples were souls to be saved; so they were soon challenging the common views on the rights of subject races. Dr. J.T. Vanderkemp of the London Missionary Society was in 1799 the first to enter the field after the British occupation.(1) He found the Hottentots in a state of servility, as farm labourers or vagrants, harshly treated and with no legal status. Believing that they should be free men, with all the rights and privileges of free citizens, and that none should be obliged to engage in any employment, he helped establish a Hottentot settlement at Bethelsdorp to provide a refuge for landless people where they could be trained in skills of one sort or another. (Similar institutions were to be established elsewhere, and Geen has estimated that at one time about a third of the Hottentots in the colony were living in them.(2)) Further, Vanderkemp tried to identify himself with these people, dressing, eating and living like them, and marrying a 'woman of Madagascar extraction', the daughter of a slave woman (as did his colleague, the Reverend James Read). Public reaction to his marriage was hostile, however, for times had changed since 1662 when the Hottentot Eva had married a white man with official approval. Vanderkemp was accused of lowering himself and all other white men, and of dragging the Hottentots down and of treating them as though they were Rousseau's noble savage. In addition the white farmers were angered that Bethelsdorp and other mission settlements were drawing Hottentots away from seeking employment and so were causing a shortage of labour. These settlements were simply 'nests of idleness', it was said. (Agar-Hamilton has

(1) In 1792 the Moravians had returned to the Cape and taken up their work again at Baviaans Kloof (Genadendal).
(2) Geen, op.cit. p56.

judged that in some instances there was justification for such charges, and he has reported vagabonds issuing forth to plunder the neighbouring countryside.(1)

Meanwhile, as we have seen (2), the British authorities abolished the slave trade (prior to emancipating all slaves), and by a Pass Ordinance in 1809 brought the Hottentots within the rule of law. Soon missionaries were testing the efficacy of the protective provisions of this Ordinance - and we have heard how Read laid charges before the 'Black Circuit' of 1812 against white men for the murder, assault and ill-treatment of Hottentots. He and other missionaries had become the champions of black people. But the idea of whites being charged and even punished for such actions against blacks was revolutionary, and aroused a great deal of indignation.

In 1819 another prominent missionary arrived at the Cape. He was Dr. John Philip, who for almost thirty years was to be superintendent of all the London Missionary Society's work in southern Africa. Contentious and at no pains to conciliate opposition, he was a controversial figure. He had a profound belief in the equality of all men, and so was appalled by the conditions under which Hottentots were living. Believing that unjust laws were responsible for their maltreatment, and unsatisfied with the response of the Governor to some of his criticisms, he involked the support of influential Evangelical friends in Britain. As a result of their representations the British Government in 1822 appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate general conditions at the Cape. There followed in 1828 Ordinance 50 which, as we have see, established that all free persons of colour were to have the same legal rights as the white colonists. Philip was one of the spirits behind this ordinance; and he was also responsible for securing the addition of a clause forbidding any alteration to the ordinance without the consent of the King-in-Council, so that the Cape authorities could not amend or repeal it. The whites loathed the ordinance - and Philip's name has always been linked with it in execration.

That same year he published a book entitled Researches in South Africa, which continued to assert charges of cruelty and injustice such as those that had already been made by Vanderkemp and Read. The book, we are told, was informed and factual, though perhaps exaggerated in places.(3)

Philip believed that if there was ever to be an answer to Hottentot vagrancy other than forced labour, these people should be trained and equipped to fulfil new roles. He was opposed to their being "dispersed

(1) Agar-Hamilton, op.cit. p92.
(2) Refer p 22 supra.
(3) Hinchliff, P.: The Church in South Africa (1968) p27

among the farmers, without asylum to which they can retreat," and urged that they ought to live on mission stations and other "places of refuge" until they had become sufficiently civilised to take their place as full citizens of the colony. If they were really to develop they should be separated from the white community. Thus it was that he made a passionate (but eventually unsuccessful) struggle to secure for them (and later for Griquas and Africans) land and homes of their own, where they might live and develop their own existence. Consequently Macmillan has described Philip as "the first and greatest segregationist".(1) Yet we note that segregation for him was not an instrument of domination, but an interim measure to allocate land to the black peoples and give them security of tenure, and he hoped that they might ultimately be incorporated into the ordinary life of the colony.

At the same time, Philip showed concern at the continual friction between white colonists and Africans on the eastern frontier, and charged that the whites were largely to blame for the sporadic warfare there. He was of some influence behind the 'treaty' system by which African chiefs were recognised as independent rulers - but the implication that they had the right to punish marauding whites was reviled by colonists. However, Walker has pointed to Philip's support of the Government during the Frontier War of 1834-1835 to show that he was not just an enemy of the whites.(2)

Hinchliff has made the observation that Philip "has been reviled as a liar, a slanderer, a prejudiced and insidious politician. He has been lauded as the first and most vigorous champion of the underprivileged people of South Africa. Perhaps the fairest and least emotionally distorted judgment sees him as an honest, sensible man, too far ahead of his contemporaries, sometimes making mistakes, but genuinely concerned with finding the just and practical solution."(3)

In their striving to secure just treatment for the Hottentots, the men of the London Missionary Society hastened the day when the status of other black peoples in southern Africa was to become a live issue. By the time Africans had become a significant part of the internal colonial situation, the missionaries had compelled whites' opinion to take the first step towards equality. "The earliest Bantu subjects of the Cape Colony had at least this advantage, that they were recognised from the beginning as human beings, and not mere slaves. This they owed, above all, to the hard blows given and received by the pioneer London missionaries on behalf

(1) Macmillan, Cape Colour p174
(2) Walker, op.cit. p169
(3) Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p27

of the Hottentots."[1] However, Macmillan has observed that the heat which Philip's activities engendered was followed by a long reaction after his death in 1851, when missionary societies in the country were paralysed by fear of taking any political stand.[2]

The impact of British city-bred liberalism upon the Cape rural conservatism was severe enough. But what made it more severe was the fact that at the forefront in pressing liberal ideas were missionaries. They had a sense of urgency, and hurried to impose from without changes for which the colonists had not been prepared. So they provoked a lasting resentment in the minds of whites, and this was seriously to prejudice the success of their enterprise.[3] Dutch trekkers were to take with them a memory of strong criticism by missionaries and 'wrongs roughly done'. Then in the interior they were again to find missionaries figuring as vocal protagonists of black people. J. Campbell of the LMS, who had organised one of the Griqua states to the north of the Orange River, resisted the infiltration of land-hungry Boers for some years and even attempted to exercise authority over those who came within Griqua territory. The Reverend Thomas Jenkins, a Wesleyan missionary, in 1840 advised the Pondo chief Faku to appeal to the Cape Governor for protection from the Boers in Natal - and so influence the British decision to extend colonial protection to tribes beyond the borders of the Cape. Then in the 1860s the Reverend John Mackenzie of the LMS championed the Bamangwato against repeated attempts by the Transvaal to extend its authority into Bechuanaland. Thus missionaries always seemed to be at the forefront of opposition to the Boers. This fact meant that the latter were even less likely to accept the new approaches to race relations that were being propounded.

Only four years after Britain first took over the Cape did her administrators have to deal with a Xhosa invasion on the eastern frontier. Subsequently, friction between whites and Africans in that region was to be a major concern to them for almost a century.

After raids on white farmers in 1811, the Xhosas were driven back across the Fish River, and a chain of block-houses was built to check their return. Then attempts were made to increase the white population in

(1) Macmillan, Cape Colour p88
(2) ibid. p284
(3) cf. De Kiewiet, C.W.: A History of South Africa (1941) pp43-44

the area as an alternative to the maintenance of a strong but expensive military force there. At first farms were offered on permanent leasehold - but few colonists took these. Then the Government in Britain directed to the eastern Cape some of the emigrants who were at that time leaving Britain to escape the unemployment and poverty that occurred after the Industrial Revolution and the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1820 nearly 4 000 English-speaking people were settled in the Zuurveld on the colonial side of the Fish River - while perhaps another 1 000 settled in towns and in other parts of the colony. (These settlers more than doubled the English-speaking population, to form almost a seventh of the white population in the Cape.) However, unfamiliar conditions made them poor farmers and blight destroyed their wheat: so that by the end of 1823 less than a third of them remained on the land, the rest having drifted to the towns. "Thus was founded the significant distinction between the English in South Africa as mainly urban and the Dutch as mainly rural in character...Upon Dutch and not English pioneers fell the responsibility of opening the interior of South Africa and determining its character." (1) Nevertheless, even in the towns of the eastern Cape English-speaking people shared with Dutch colonists the dangers and difficulties of frontier life; and after the Great Trek they bore the brunt of frontier raids and wars.

Meanwhile during the Fifth Frontier War (1818-1819) the Xhosas were driven back from the Fish and across the Keiskama River, and the territory between the two rivers was declared a neutral belt. But because empty land was too great a temptation for land-hungry people from either side, and because the Xhosas were becoming crowded into areas that were steadily growing less able to maintain them (due to Zulu depradations in Natal as well as to the whites' advance), unrest continued. In 1834 war erupted again. Now the Governor annexed the territory between the Keiskama and the Kei River beyond, and proposed to open this for white settlement, while the chiefs there agreed to come under the general control of the Cape. But because the British Government wished to avoid the expense and responsibility of governing these tribes, the Colonial Secretary, as we have seen, (2) restored their land to them. Instead a Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts was appointed with authority to make treaties with chiefs across the frontier: by which they were to keep the peace, check thieving, and act in conjunction with British agents, who were to live at their kraals and have diplomatic powers.

This treaty system was ended after another war in 1846, when the territory between the Keiskama and Kei Rivers was again annexed, to form

(1) ibid p39
(2) refer p 24 supra.

the separate Colony of British Kaffraria. Now white settlers were introduced to the territory; while the tribes were assigned to reserves where white magistrates were to supervise their chiefs. (The decisions of chiefs might be reversed by the magistrates if found 'inconsistent with justice and humanity'.) So was ended the policy of maintaining a rigid barrier between the colony and tribesmen, and a beginning was made at ruling whites and Africans as inhabitants of one territory. "Henceforth the two races lived together cheek by jowl, in a manner that multiplied the causes of conflict, but also, far more significantly, increased their dependence upon one another." (1)

However, the Xhosas soon rebelled at the loss of their land and the control that had been imposed upon them, and there followed the longest of the Frontier Wars (1850-1853). After this the authority of chiefs between the Fish and Kei Rivers was restored in some measure, and the magistrates ceased to have administrative or judicial authority and became merely 'political agents'. Thus was a policy of indirect rule adopted (similar to that which Shepstone was applying in Natal), while these tribes served as a buffer between the Cape and the tribes beyond the Kei.

This policy was soon reversed by Sir George Grey, who arrived as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner in 1854. His aim was to extend white rule to all the tribes of southern Africa as occasion permitted, and "gradually to win them to civilisation and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees our at present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have common interests with ourselves". (2) He planned to lure chiefs on the frontier into voluntary retirement by promising them pensions, and then to introduce magistrates to take their place. Insisting that whites and Africans should not remain separated but should live interspersed with one another, he sought to use missionary, educational and medical institutions to create wedges of white settlement in African areas. So his policy was in effect one of integration - and many more whites moved into Kaffraria.

An event which aided this integration was the Cattle Killing of 1857. Planning to hurl thousands of starving Xhosas on a raid into the Cape Colony, Chief Kreli, with the help of a witch doctor and prophets, told the people that the great Xhosa warriors of the past would return to life, a hurricane would drive the whites into the sea, and new cattle and grain would appear on the 18th February, provided all existing cattle and crops were destroyed by that date. Disturbed at the loss of their land to the whites and the

(1) De Kiewiet, op.cit. p64
(2) Brookes, White Rule p25

death of cattle through disease, the Africans both in Kaffraria and in the territories east of the Kei set to destroying their cattle and grain. Famine then swept through the land - and the death toll was enormous. Some 30 000 Xhosas moved into the Cape Colony to seek a living (thus providing the whites with a plentiful supply of cheap labour), while death and dispersion left Kaffraria open for yet more white settlers. The power of the Xhosas had been broken, until a new generation of warriors could grow up.

Now comprising a scattering of amy small patches of black and white territory, intermingled with one another, British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape in 1866, as it was too small and too poor to exist as a separate colony. Colonists and political leaders in the Cape bitterly opposed this annexation - for they wished Britain to retain responsiblity for ruling the Africans round about them. However, despite this outlook the Cape Government was in the following years drawn more and more into the affairs of independent tribes beyond the Kei River. Notably, after the ninth and last Frontier War of 1877, the Cape Parliament passed a Peace Preservation Act stipulating that African tribes should be deprived of their fire-arms. In the Transkei disarmament was carried out with moderate success, for by that time magistrates had been put in control of most of the territories there. But in East Griqualand a rebellion was provoked, with the result that that territory was annexed by the Cape in 1879 - as was Fingoland - and whites were settled on lands previously held by Griquas. In Basutoland, which had been annexed by Britain in 1868 and transferred to the control of the Cape in 1871, the Basotho had already been antagonised by too rapid extension to magistrates of authority which had hitherto belonged entirely to chiefs: so that now when the Cape attempted to implement its disarmament Act many refused to give up their weapons, and war followed. From this the Basotho emerged practically victorious, for in the settlement the High Commissioner allowed them to retain their arms. The Cape ministry then requested the British Government to take over control of all the African territories for which the Cape was responsible, suggesting that Basutoland and the Transkei would form a tolerably homogeneous and self-supporting territory. But all that Britain would do was detach Basutoland from the Cape, for the prestige of the Cape Government had been destroyed there.

Soon afterwards, however, this disinclination in the Cape for involvement in African areas was once more reversed with a change of government. Port St. Johns was annexed in 1884 after a chief had interfered with trade between the Cape and Natal; Thembuland and Gcalekaland were annexed in 1885 despite protests to Britain by those Africans concerned; and the Xesibe territory was annexed in 1886. Finally in 1894 Pondoland was also annexed. Now the Cape reached at all points the southern frontiers of Natal.

Taught by their experience in Basutoland, the Cape Government took care from the beginning to co-operate with the people of these Transkeian territories. Magistrates were to replace chiefs only gradually, and tribal civil law was fully recognised. White ownership of land was not permitted except in urban areas and a few farming districts - with the result that the Transkei was to remain a large, consolidated African territory.

So it was that over the space of many decades the Cape Colony grew in size to include within its boundaries a vast African population. These Africans were largely confined to the Transkei, but there were some on small reserves interspersed with white settlements in the Ciskei (previously British Kaffraria), and on mission reserves and white farms and in urban locations elsewhere. In addition, some Africans acquired small holdings of land outside reserves: for the law imposed no restriction upon such acquisition as was in the Boer republics.

The manner in which the Cape Colony (and, as we shall see later, Natal) was extended under British rule, showed many similarities with the manner in which the Dutch farmers in the republics extended their sphere of influence. Both English-speaking and Dutch people (sometimes but not always after treaty) freely assumed a right to take over land that had previously been occupied by Africans, and to confine the Africans to areas or reserves that were set aside for them. "It never seems to have crossed the minds of white South Africans that there was any arrogance in assuming that all the land belonged to the whites except for those areas legally set aside for the blacks." (1) (So was set the pattern for present-day racial policies, and the reserves that were left for African occupation were to be the African 'homelands' of today.) Furthermore, just as the Boers showed little concern for the government of Africans in their areas, so in the Cape there were times when the whites were very reluctant to take responsibility for the Africans round about them. Indeed, whites generally gave little attention to happenings in African society. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, observed De Kiewiet, "white society was too busy building railways and quarrelling over their use to give to native matters the care which they deserved."(2)

(1) ibid, p159. Considering the land hunger of the white trekkers and settlers, Brookes added that there might have been some merit in placing Africans in reserves, for this prevented the erosion of all their land rights and the turning of all Africans into 'squatters' on white land. But this did not justify the whites seizing other land.

(2) De Kiewiet, op. cit. p141.

Though there were some tribes and groups that were left well off, the majority of Africans were now confined to areas that were too small to maintain them in the manner they had been used to. Moreover much of this land was poor of soil and deficient in water and wood. Meanwhile, most Africans were becoming consumers of manufactured goods - and the salt and coffee and alcohol, the blankets and trousers were a charge upon their subsistence economy that they could ill afford. In addition they now became tax-payers in some measure. Yet they had a strong resistance against selling their cattle, and while they sold or bartered their grain in good years, they were too often compelled to buy it back at famine prices. So it was that they were forced to sell their labour to the whites. This was always in steady demand (and many whites in both British and Boer territories even regarded it as the duty of Africans to labour for them). So increasing numbers from the African population were diverted into serving the white community - herding their cattle and tilling their soil, working for them in their houses. Some lived as squatters and labourers upon the white farms, while others came in temporarily from the reserves for some period during each year. But they entered a white society that was itself economically backward and too poor and unproductive to turn their labour to profitable account. Many of the white farms were farmed only at a subsistence level, which meant that cash wages were difficult to obtain and payment was usually in kind. This, together with the fact that there was little option for Africans either to withhold their labour or offer it where they wished, meant that they were bound to receive but little reward.

Meanwhile on the northern frontier of the Cape Colony there were developments that were to have important repercussions for race relations in southern Africa. For in 1867 at Hopetown just south of the Orange River the first diamond was found; and the next year more diamonds were discovered further north, near the confluence of the Vaal and Harts Rivers. This territory had been the subject of dispute for several years, for it was claimed both by the Griquas and by the Orange Free State, but now after arbitration by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal a boundary was drawn between these claimants; and in 1871, the Griqua chief having asked to be made a British subject, his land including the diamond fields was annexed as part of the Cape Colony, to be known as Griqualand West. So it was eventually to be British territory to which there came a veritable stampede of white diggers, not only from the surrounding territories, but also from Britain and her other colonies, from Germany, France, the United States of America and elsewhere. In a year after the rush began, Kimberley was the most populous settlement in southern African outside Cape Town. Nor were whites the only ones to flock there - for from the beginning diamond mining was vitally dependent upon African labour, and thousands came to seek

employment and a cash wage. For every white on the mines there were three or four blacks.

Henceforth the problems of race relations were no longer simply rural but urban and industrial as well. On the mines there started a new competition between white and black people - not for land and cattle, but for a place in industry. From the beginning the white diggers reserved to themselves the skilled jobs and made it clear that no other place was open to an African than that of unskilled and low-paid labour - just as they had occupied a servile status on the farms. So there developed a clear division between a small group of white labour earning high wages, and a much larger body of black labour earning low wages. There were other circumstances besides racial prejudice that led to this division. The fact that trained workers and technical experts were in the beginning mainly from overseas gave them a certain exlusiveness. The miners' traditions that they brought with them and the great demand for their services set them apart; while experience and craftsmanship were their natural monopoly, whereas the Africans who came to the mines had no experience or skill to sell. The whites had a compactness and self-consciousness which the Africans, drawn from many tribes and speaking several languages, could not have. Moreover, the whites were permanently on the mines, bound by many ties to the place of their work; whereas the Africans came and went, for their homes and hearts were in their kraals, whither they returned when their short contracts expired. In addition, the emphatic separation of whites and blacks eliminated the intermediate region of semi-skilled occupations by which men through their effort and the increase of their experience might mount upwards. Then when the large mining companies took over they found it to their economic advantage to maintain this distinction between whites and blacks, and because the African labour was voiceless and constrained the companies were able to employ them at rates of pay which were not only low but did not vary from year to year. So there developed a doctrine of labour economics that skill and high wages were a privilege of whites, while heavy labour and menial tasks, with low wages, were the province of blacks. Race and colour became more than ever before the badge of economic status.

This doctrine was to be carried over to the gold mines of the Transvaal when these were opened up after 1886. For there there was a similar scarcity of skilled miners and an abundance of unskilled black labourers. (It should be noticed that there too it was English-speaking people who were setting this racial distinction, for most of the white miners were of British origins and the large mining companies were also British-owned.) At the same time the distinction in skills between whites and blacks and the

wage gap between them was carried into the many secondary industries that sprang up subsequent to the discovery of diamonds and gold. These differences have generally pertained to the present day.)

Nevertheless, the movement of Africans to the mines and towns and to workgangs on the railways brought them more closely into contact with western civilisation, and there they learnt many things that were new to them and which were in time to change their whole mode of life, fostering their detribalisation. Yet residential segregation continued, for the whites did not freely accept black people to live amongst them. The latter settled in shanty-town locations on the periphery of the white towns, entering the white areas to work by day and returning at night.

The political status of black people in the Cape was quite distinct from that of black people in the other parts of southern Africa. When the Colony was granted representative government in 1853, the constitution made no racial discrimination between people when fixing their eligibility either for the franchise or for election to Parliament.(1) The vote was simply given to all adult male British subjects who earned at least £50 a year or had occupied for at least a year property with a total value of £25. However, given the inequality that there was in the distribution of income and property among the racial groups, it was in fact easier for whites to be enfranchised. Moreover, neither domestic servants nor squatters satisfied the property qualification. Thus although Coloured people at that time outnumbered whites in the ratio of 55 to 45, there were far fewer Coloured voters than whites, and their vote did not vitally affect the return of a single member to the first Parliament. (At that stage there were few Africans living within the borders of the Colony.)

Nevertheless, the fact that more black people might become eligible for the vote was to be a crucial issue for both English-speaking and Dutch people in the Colony. Despite the influx of large numbers of British settlers through assisted immigration schemes during Grey's tenure of the governorship, augmenting those who had immigrated since 1820, English-speaking people were outnumbered by Dutch by about two to one: for those who had trekked from the Cape to the northern republics had represented only a small fraction of the Dutch people, and a much larger number of Dutch

(1) This was in accordance with Ordinance 50 which stated that all free persons of colour were to have the same legal rights as the white colonists.

farmers and townsmen had stayed behind. Between these English-speaking and Dutch population groups there was some friction. So, for instance, early sessions of the Cape Parliament showed a distinct cleavage between members from the largely English-speaking eastern province and the largely Dutch western province. Indeed, the former long opposed all attempts to introduce responsible government lest control of the executive fall into the hands of the latter, and at one stage they even worked for a separation of English-speaking east from Dutch west. This friction continued after responsible government was granted in 1872, and the balance of power between the two population groups was always to be a delicate one.

By the 1870s there were increasing numbers of Africans qualifying for the vote. They did not constitute more than a small fraction of the total electorate, but what was significant was the fact that they did hold the balance between political parties in several of the eastern constituencies.(1) Now, it was probably true that the votes of these Africans (and of a high proportion of the Coloured voters) were usually cast against the Dutch-orientated party, the Afrikaner Bond (established in 1880). Consequently Bondsmen would have liked to reduce the political power of these black people. It would have been inadvisable for them to make a public attack on the non-racial franchise however, for this would simply have encouraged more blacks to vote against Bond candidates: so Bond congresses devoted a great deal of attention to an alternative approach of raising the qualifications for electors in such a way as to exclude Africans from the vote in practice without appearing to do so in principle - while not restricting the votes of poor whites, upon whom the Bond depended. (Davenport has judged that they would have had a very slender chance of success in bringing in such alterations.) But on the other hand the English-speaking people, being outnumbered by the Dutch, needed the vote of black people.(2) So, while Bondsmen tried to eliminate African voters from the roll, English-speaking people tried to place as many Africans as possible on it. At the same time attempts were made by both sides to buy the votes of the supposedly more corrupt black electorate.(3)

Then, as one annexation after another extended the Colony's boundaries and increased the number of its African inhabitants, it became clear that there would be a vast increase in the number of enfranchised Africans, and might even be an ultimate African majority in the electorate. From this

(1) Prior to 1887 Africans numbered 47% of all voters in the five border constituencies in the eastern Cape and over 50% in two of them. Carter, G.M.: in South Africa: Sociological Perspectives (Ed. Adam, H) (1971) p106.)

(2) Van den Berghe has suggested that the original granting of the franchise to all regardless of their racial affiliation had probably been motivated in part by a desire to attract black people into the English-speaking camp to offset the numerical strength of the Dutch. (Study in Conflict, p27)

(3) cf. Davenport, T.R.H.: The Afrikaner Bond (1966) pp120,329

possibility both English-speaking people and Dutch shrank. So it was that in 1887 the Cape Parliament ruled that communal or tribally owned property was not to be accepted as a property qualification for the franchise: and thus, Carter has reported, some 30 000 Africans were eliminated from the voters' roll.(1) Then five years later the salary qualification was abolished but the property qualification was raised from £25 to £75, and an educational test was imposed on those seeking the franchise, requiring them to sign their name and write their address and occupation. These stipulations meant that now not many Africans in the Transkei qualified for the vote. So while the franchise still appeared to be non-racial, it had been amended to preserve a definite advantage for the white people.(2) These amendments set a precedent for the progressive diminution of African political rights in the following century.

In the years after 1894 there was a measure of self-government given by the Glen Grey Act to Africans in the Glen Grey district of the Ciskei and then throughout the Transkei. District councils were established, with the majority of their members elected, and these councils were given power to raise rates from property owners and residents and to expend these monies on such things as education, roads, livestock dipping and dams. Representatives were sent from these councils to a General Council, where they sat under white magistrates. Although this, like the district councils, was little more than an advisory body, the quality of debate was often high and it rapidly became one of the most important African bodies in southern Africa. This system of councils (which in many ways led to the policy of 'Bantu authorities' in the 'homelands' of the present day) has been judged by Brookes as the most successful African administration in southern Africa before 1910;(3) yet it dealt only with local self-government and did not give Africans any real share in forming national policies.

An effect of the qualified franchise was to encourage the formation of a political élite among Africans in the Cape, setting them apart from the great mass of unenfranchised Africans, and also creating political interests among them distinct from those of Africans in other parts of southern Africa. Educated people, they were removed from and sometimes suspected by members of the traditional African society: but on the other hand, although they were employed in such positions as clerks, interpreters, teachers, evangelists and pastors working alongside whites, they were excluded by whites from the western society. These were the men who were

(1) Carter in Sociological Perspectives (Adam) p106.
(2) Nevertheless, African voters still held the balance of power in seven constituencies between 1896 and 1910. It should be added that no African or Coloured person ever became a member of the Cape Parliament.
(3) Brookes , White Rule p84.

to become leaders in the growth of African nationalism.

Because legislation in the Cape Colony in principle allowed an equality between people of different racial groups, in contrast to inequality in other parts of southern Africa, its tradition came to be described as a 'liberal' one. They were English-speaking people who were largely responsible for this liberalism - yet it had prominent Dutch proponents too. Facilitating this outlook was the fact that white people in the western Cape were less threatened by blacks than those in the northern republics. Not only were the numbers of Africans in the west small, but the Coloured people there had an affinity of language with the Dutch and long association between them meant that the Coloured people had been consistently exposed to European cultural traditions. These factors militated to some extent against the rigidly hierarchical social order which had developed over the years, and enabled some measure of acceptance and integration between the racial groups.(1) A little further to the east where Africans were more numerous there was yet a substantial Coloured population occupying an intermediary position between them and whites, and so the cultural discontinuities between blacks and whites were still not as sharp as in the north. Nor was it in the south that the first large-scale competition between white and black in mining and industrial situations occurred.

On the other hand, there must have been for many Dutch people in the Cape a tension between the egalitarian political system of the Colony and their traditional social values and colour distinctions. For in the east farmers held a memory of conflict with Africans over land and stock, and the ideas expressed in Retief's manifesto about proper relations between master and servant still commanded wide assent. Nor were all the English-speaking people liberal minded. For instance, English-speaking farmers as well as Dutch were anxious to maintain the pass system that had been introduced for Africans in the latter half of the century. Then again, although Dutch people seem to have had a stronger repugnance towards educated Africans, English-speaking people also from time to time expressed concern that African children at school were a direct loss to the farmers' labour supply. Moreover, as we have seen, English-speaking people as much as

(1) There was to be strong reaction in the middle of the twentieth century by Afrikaners in the northern provinces against this tolerant relationship between Afrikaners and Coloured people in the western Cape - where Coloured people still sat on municipal councils and used the same buses and beaches as whites.)

Dutch were responsible for changing the franchise qualifications in order to preserve political power for the whites. In both these population groups there was to be found a wide range of attitudes, varying from the benevolent to the brutal.(1)

Meanwhile, back in 1843 it was partly for the protection of Africans from the Boers that Britain annexed Natal, and proclaimed that "there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction of colour, origin, race or creed; but....the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike."(2) Two years later the territory between the Tugela and Umzimkulu Rivers was declared a dependency of the Cape Colony, with Faku recognised as ruler of the territory south of the Umzimkulu, and the Zulus regarded as an independent tribe to the north of the Tugela. Maintaining good relations with these tribes and the task of ruling those Africans who were within the borders of Natal was for the next thirty years to fall to the government administrator in charge of 'Native Affairs', Theophilus Shepstone.

In 1846 a Locations Commission was appointed and instructed to demarcate 'locations' or reserves for Africans in Natal "in such a manner as will best prevent any collision between their interests and those of the emigrant farmers". Subsequently some eight small, scattered reserves were laid out - scattered due to the tangle caused by trekker land grants and the purchases of speculators, but also in order to prevent a military combination of the Africans, and to facilitate the supply of their labour to neighbouring white settlers. Into these reserves Shepstone had by 1852 shepherded and cajoled two-thirds of the African population. This was not "a negrophilist scheme to hand great tracts of Natal over to the Africans," Brookes has commented, "but an insurance to save some parts of Natal for Europeans."(3) Indeed, nine-tenths of Natal, including most of the best farming land, was still left open for the comparatively small white population.(4) So the racial groups were to be segregated, though not as absolutely as had been recommended by the trekker Volksraad.(5)

(1) Refer Davenport op.cit. pp113-120.
(2) Quoted in Welsh, D.: The Roots of Segregation (1971) p9.
(3) Brookes, White Rule p44.
(4) There was at that time a population of perhaps 100 000 Africans but only 3 000 whites. Although many Boers left for the Transvaal, other settlers moved up from the eastern Cape, and by 1851 some 4000 settlers had been brought from Britain (and some from Germany) through immigration schemes. Between 1858 and 1864 another 1 500 new settlers arrived.)
(5) Shepstone himself apparently wanted complete segregation, even to removing Africans beyond the borders of Natal, but he was never permitted to attempt this.

There were insufficient white personnel to rule the Africans directly through magistrates, so a policy of indirect rule was implemented. As a result of Shaka's rule most of the people were without chiefs and without tribal organisation, but Shepstone set about recreating the tribal system, gathering scattered members of tribes together and giving jurisdiction to scions of the old royal house or to appointed chiefs - while the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal was proclaimed 'Supreme Chief of the Native Population'. An Ordinance in 1849 abrogated Roman Dutch law for the Africans and recognised their customary law "so far as this was not repugnant to the general principles of humanity observed throughout the civilised world". Thus Shepstone sought to reconcile the old African system of government with the existence of a white administration. His policy of guiding the Africans todevelop along their own lines was new in southern Africa. He did speak of 'christianising and civilising' the Africans, as did Grey in the Cape, but in fact did very little in this regard - controlling the people rather than fostering their development. (Suggestions by the Locations Commission that industrial training schools should be established and agricultural education provided in each reserve were turned down by the Colonial Office on the pretext of economy.) Later it became clear that by shoring up the traditional tribal system Shepstone hoped to impede the growth of political consciousness or of a desire for racial equality among the Africans.

The white colonists in Natal were not in favour of Shepstone's schemes. They did not wish to be barred for ever from large tracts of land which had been declared African reserves; and they objected that the reserves also deprived them of labour. So it was that a Commission of Inquiry in 1852, on which colonists were in an overwhelming majority over officials, recommended a reduction in the size of the reserves lest they enable Africans to follow idle pastoral lives. Economic measures, such as hut taxation, the introduction of individual tenure of land in the reserves (requiring people to purchase holdings), and a requirement that all go decently clad (obliging people to buy clothing), were suggested to pressure Africans into earning money, and so constrain them to work on the white farms. (These recommendations were shelved, however.) The Commission also protested at the resuscitation of the tribal system - for "Africans no longer acted submissively nor realised their own immense inferiority". Frequently during the following years colonists advocated that the racial groups should be 'amalgamated', that whites and Africans should live interspersed with one another. Such protestations meant that the Africans should be scattered on the white farms to work there - but did not imply the elimination of cultural differences nor the granting of civic equality to Africans.

Indeed, Welsh has suggested that most would have agreed with an editorial comment in the Natal Mercury in 1858 which said: "We believe in the divinely purposed supremacy of the white over the black race; and all history interprets and illustrates this belief."(1)

In 1856 Natal became a Crown Colony with its own Legislative Council. In terms of the Royal Charter there was no racial discrimination in determining those entitled to elect members to this Council; and although property qualifications were stipulated, these did not in theory prevent Africans from becoming voters or members of the Council, for Africans were permitted to buy land outside the reserves (as they were in the Cape). But dissatisfaction at this non-racial franchise was soon expressed by white representatives on the Council (who were also annoyed that African affairs were effectively kept out of their hands by provisions of the Consitution). Concern was expressed at land grants being given to Africans round mission stations, lest they then qualify as voters and soon form a majority on the electoral roll. In 1862 a Select Committee of the Council pressed for changes to be made in the franchise qualifications, as they considered that 'with scarcely any exception' the great mass of the African population was 'utterly unprepared' for the vote. "To exclude...the native races generally from the exercise of the franchise would....be objected to by no one."

Meanwhile, as a result of missionary activity many Africans were becoming detribalised, and entering into business engagements. This involved legal and social difficulties for them, as they were still under African law and subject to the control of their chiefs who were usually still engrossed in the traditional society. "Social changes among Africans were pressing against the sides of the watertight compartments which the established system of legal segregation had created."(2) Thus in 1864 it was made possible for an African to be exempted from African law: once he had petitioned the Governor to this effect, furnishing proof of his ability to read and write and that he had no more than one wife, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the Governor. Yet, while an exempted African was exempted from customary law, he was not freed from various restrictions that applied to all Africans, such as thoserelating to the possession of fire-arms and liquor, and to hut tax and squatting. So he was not in the exact political and legal position of a white man, but was rather a <u>tertium quid.</u> However, Africans were discouraged from applying for exemption, and by 1876 no application had been made. By 1891 only 851 had been granted, while many had been refused.

(1) Welsh op.cit. p41.
(2) ibid. p59. This problem still occurs for many in the present day.

This legislation led on to an amendment to the franchise qualifications in 1865. Now if Africans wished to vote, they not only had to meet the ordinary property qualifications, but must have resided in Natal for twelve years and have had seven years exemption from customary law. In addition, they were required to produce a certificate signed by three white voters testifying to their loyalty. These stipulations, as well as the fact that each application for exemption or enfranchisement depended on the discretion of white officials, made it virtually impossible for an African to become enfranchised. So by 1909 only six Africans in the whole of Natal and Zululand had the vote. (Coloured people were still entitled to the franchise on the same qualifications as whites, but similarly only a few managed to become registered as voters.) Whereas the British Government had insisted on equality of racial groups before the law, it was now argued that the franchise was a privilege to be exercised by 'civilised' people only, and therefore that it was not inequitable to discriminate between people on the grounds of their culture, especially as a procedure had been established whereby 'civilised' Africans could become enfranchised. It is clear, however, that cultural differences between whites and Africans were being used as a convenient rationalisation for whites refusing to share political power with Africans.

It was in 1873 that the era of Shepstone came to an end. In that year Langalibalele, a chief in north-western Natal, had some African messengers of the Government searched. An armed party sent to arrest him was fired upon as it pursued him into Basutoland, but eventually he was handed over to the authorities, and after a summary trial by officials who had fought against him was sentenced to life imprisonment, and his lands were confiscated. However, the high-handed methods adopted and the inadequate evidance upon which he was convicted raised a chorus of protest, led by Dr. J.W. Colenso, Anglican Bishop of Natal. As a result, a special Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Secretary strengthened the power of officials as against colonists in the legislature, and transferred the jurisdiction exercised by Shepstone to a Native Affairs Commission. By long personal contact Shepstone had won and held the confidence of the African people: but now his paternal rule gave place to the rule of officials.

Not long afterwards, relations with the independent Zulu people to the north of the Tugela River were to take the attention of administrators. Cetshwayo had become chief of the Zulus and had begun to raise and train a large army that was a poetential danger to Natal (as it was to the Transvaal). After some frontier incidents in which people were attacked by Zulus, an ultimatum was sent to Cetshwayo demanding inter alia the

reception of a British Resident in Zululand, the disarmament of the Zulus, and submission within thirty days. No reply was received, so in January 1879 the Zulu War ensued. A camp of British troops was routed at Isandhlwana, but another camp at Rorkes Drift managed to withstand a strong attack. Eventually after various other engagements the Zulus were decisively defeated at Ulundi in July, and their military power was broken. Cetshwayo was sent as a prisoner to Cape Town, while Zululand was divided into thirteen districts, each to be ruled by a chief advised by a government agent with consular powers. This was a policy of divide and rule. But there was no control over the chiefs and the scheme failed. In 1883 Cetshwayo was reinstated, but he died the following year and was succeeded by Dinuzulu. Soon afterwards Britain annexed St. Lucia Bay to prevent Dinuzulu from selling it to a German agent: and then 1887 the rest of Zululand was annexed and placed under the Governor of Natal. Ten years later all this territory together with Tongaland to the north (which had been annexed to cut off the Transvaal's prospects of reaching the sea through Swaziland) was incorporated into the Colony of Natal.

By the 1880s tribal life in Natal had to some extent disintegrated. For whereas tribal society postulated a plentiful availability of land and economic self-sufficiency, there was a scarcity of land in the reserves and these were overcrowded, even though fewer than half the African population now lived there. Large numbers were living as tenants on land belonging to white farmers, or on mission stations, while some owned land themselves outside the reserves. With this movement away from the reserves there was an increasing enmeshment of Africans in the white colonial society, and the social controls of the chiefs were breaking down. Missionary endeavour with its emphasis on education was also encouraging people away from tribal life. Thus there was by this time a small educated élite of exempted Africans, many of whom served in roles auxiliary to white administrators, educators and missionaries. These were now beginning to express interest in the franchise, and were becoming vocal in their resentment at various discriminatory practices affecting black people.

At the same time, whereas colonists had previously urged vigorous measures against traditionalism and the segregation of Africans in reserves, they now realised that the disintegration of tribal life was bringing them no advantage in their supply of labour. Indeed, certain aspects of traditionalism had in fact facilitated the flow of labour - such as lobolo, which required a man contemplating marriage to pay a price to his bride's parents and so induced him to take paid employment. Furthermore, it was seen that the tribal system was a cheap way of governing the Africans; and that the traditionalist African was more amenable to authority. With a

significant group of Africans now no longer conforming to racial stereotypes, it became difficult for the whites to justify their exclusive privileges. In particular, as some Africans were claiming admission into the white society, whites began to fear political and economic competition from them. So it was that there was a gradual but distinct swing in the opinions of most colonists. Now they began to encourage segregation and the perpetuation of traditionalism. Africans should "develop along their own lines", it was said.

(Welsh has observed that among those whites who were genuinely concerned to see that Africans were treated with justice and who saw them as potential co-participants in a common society, there was also a change in thinking at this time - but in reverse to that among the colonists in general. These people had previously argued for a tolerance of African traditionalism, but by the early 1900s they saw traditionalism as an encumbrance which Africans must slough off if they were to adapt to modern conditions.[1])

Another important factor influencing the thinking of colonists was that many farmers had by now obtained labour from elsewhere, so that the shortage of labour was no longer the central political issue. Sugar-cane had been introduced from Mauritius in the late 1840s, to be farmed along the Natal coast. As Africans could not be induced to leave their reserves to work on the sugar plantations, the Natal authorities had made agreements with the Government of India to import Indian labourers. These were indentured for three years, after which they were free to work for whom they liked, and then after five years were entitled to a free return passage or the equivalent of its cost in Crown land. The first group of Indians arrived in 1860, and within five years about 6 500 had been brought to Natal. Here was a more reliable source of cheap, regular labour than the Africans.

However, the influx of Indians brought further racial problems. Whites became hostile towards those who did not return to India after the expiry of their indentures; while 'passenger' Indians who arrived shortly after the indentured labourers and set themselves up as traders also encountered a great deal of resistance. So the granting of responsible government to Natal in 1893 was soon followed by a series of discriminatory laws: imposing a tax on those Indians who did not return to India; providing arbitrary powers for the refusal of trading licences to them; removing from them the right to acquire the franchise (in 1896) (though those Indians who were already registered as voters were retained on the roll); and restricting further Indian immigration. Nevertheless by the turn of

(1) ibid. p233

For British and American as well as French, Swiss, German, Norwegian and Swedish missionary societies became increasingly involved in southern Africa during that time.

Missionaries were among the first whites to enter many parts of the interior. For instance, by 1835 - before the trekkers crossed the Orange River - the London Missionary Society had helped to establish small Griqua states in that region, and was at work among the Batlapin at Kuruman; the Paris Evangelical Society had started working at Morija in Basotoland; and the Wesleyan Society had missions among various clans, including the Barolong at Thaba Nchu. Likewise, before the arrival of the trekkers in Natal Anglican and American missionaries were working among the Zulus. All these and other missionaries were to play an important part, officially and unofficially, in relationships between the African peoples and the white communities. On the one hand, African chiefs - who were unused to the ways of European diplomacy and unable to read or write - looked to missionaries for guidance in their negotiations with whites. While some, as we have seen,(1) used missionaries to help them in their dealings with trekkers, others used missionaries as negotiators in dealings with colonial administrators. For instance, Moshesh employed the French missionaries Arbousset and Casalis as secretaries and diplomats; Montshiwa employed Wesleyan missionaries to correspond with Governors of the Cape to induce them to extend a protectorate over the Tswana on the Transvaal border; and further north Lewanika of the Barotse was advised by Coillard on how to obtain the best terms from colonial authorities. On the other hand, white officials sought the assistance of missionaries in promoting their racial policies. On the eastern Cape frontier Grey encouraged missionary bodies to establish institutions amongst the tribes to win these to western civilisation and to peace with the whites - which encouragement the Anglican and Methodist Churches accepted with alacrity, for it was an opportunity to obtain financial support for missions. Similarly in Natal, Shepstone pressed for the establishment of mission stations in the reserves, to help with the organisation of these: and Lindley and Adams worked closely with him in this regard, while Colenso was also associated with him. In the north the Reverend J.S. Moffat acted as diplomat to Logengula, and assisted in securing mineral rights in Matabeleland.

However, while African chiefs were at first ready to welcome missionaries into their areas, they later came to see them as threats to themselves and their peoples. For missionaries tended to undermine by their preaching

(1) Refer p39 supra.

the traditional rites and customs which were the social cement of African society, and to remove converts from the jurisdiction of chiefs into protected mission stations. Moreover, suspicion was aroused against missionaries by their close association with white governments, particularly when they acted as government agents or encouraged chiefs to submit themselves to British sovereignty. This suspicion was increased as missionaries urged tribesmen to observe God's command not to kill - while (particularly on the eastern frontier of the Cape) the tribesmen were themselves being subjected to raids by white people.(1) Not only did Africans become aware that Christian teaching as presented by white missionaries and Christian life as practised by white men differed considerably, but they saw missionaries to be aiding white aggression, enabling white conquest and domination.

Certainly, many missionaries in the Transkei longed for and sometimes worked actively for the annexation of African territory by Britain. This was sometimes because their mission stations had become isolated by hostile chiefs, or because they wished to protect converts from others who encouraged polygamy and witchcraft - in which case they believed that the coming of British order and justice would help them in their ministry. Or is was sometimes because they looked on imperial responsibilities with an almost religious veneration, as many people did at that time. Certainly there were many missionaries who could fairly be classified as imperialists. Some have been described as 'pioneering empire builders' themselves, taking over with the support of the army large tracts of land which then became missionary reserves where only faithful and proved followers were allowed residence at the discretion of the missionaries concerned.(2) De Kiewiet had added that many a missionary, not always innocently, was the tool of land-sharks.(3)

Not only did this association between missionaries and the deprivation of Africans of their land and independence anger the chiefs of that time, but it has provoked much bitterness in Africans of today, bringing discredit on the Church and hampering its ministry. "You have brought us the Bible," some have chid, "but you have taken away our land and our freedom."

Yet it is also true that there were some missionaries who sought to protect Africans from encroachment by whites. Philip, as we have seen.(4)

(1) Refer eg. Williams, D.: 'African Nationalism in South Africa: Origins and Problems' in The Journal of African History Vol XI No 3 (1970) p379.
(2) Refer Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p50.
(3) De Kiewiet op.cit. p75.
(4) Refer p38 supra.

tried to secure for Africans land where they might live in freedom on their own. William Shaw, the leading Methodist minister and missionary in the eastern Cape in the 1820s, likewise insisted upon the need for security of tenure for African lands and urged a temporary segregation of the races. (Though he did suggest that whites should act as trustees for the Africans: "For a time these lands should be legally vested in trustees selected from a class of persons who, by their inclination or position, must be naturally careful for (the Africans') interests."(1) In later years Casalis and Mabille in Basutoland and Mackenzie in Bechuanaland played important roles in the recognition of those territories as 'Protectorates' for Africans. They sought "to keep some part of South Africa politically independent of the white colonists, where in an atmosphere of freedom, shielded from the restrictions and repressions imposed by the phobias of the whites, Africans might develop under the combined influence of an enlightened administration, education and Christianity."(2) It is significant that all these missionaries were advocating that black people - in their own interests - should be kept separate from whites. This fact has been seized upon by present-day defenders of South Africa's apartheid policy, to show that they were indeed churchmen who first suggested such a policy.(3)

In other respects too, there were missionaries who crusaded vehemently against the actions of local governments or against authorities in Britain for the rights of black people. Philip was at the forefront in securing a status for blacks before the law, equal with that of the whites. Colenso was also notable as a strong contender for political and social justice for Africans in Natal, and severely criticised British policy in Zululand. Indeed, while missionaries came to be regarded by African leaders as agents of colonialism, they were on the other hand being criticised by white colonists for their 'misguided and false philanthropy', for the way they provided refuge for black people from labouring at the demand of whites, and for the way they undermined the racial structure of society by producing a literate group of people who manifested a new social independence.

Another accusation that has been levelled at missionaries is that they were agents of cultural domination - at the forefront of those who, in a spirit of superiority, strove to supplant the traditional culture of Africans with a European culture. Certainly many missionaries made little differentiation between Christianity and western culture, sometimes implying that these were identical. They expected their converts to take over ...

(1) Quoted by Hewson, L.A.: in The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society (1949 Conference) p52.
(2) Smith, E.W.L The Blessed Missionaries (1950) p88.
(3) eg. Steward, A.: You are Wrong Father Huddleston (1956) pp43-44.

European customs at the same time as they adopted the Christian faith. For instance, almost all made the wearing trousers one of the requisites of conversion. It might be argued that these customs were the best that the missionaries knew: but it is now recognised that they and other churchmen since then have suppressed much that was of worth in the Africans' way of life. So it is that proponents of black consciousness within the Churches today seek to encourage certain African customs and to show that the basic Christian truths may be understood and held within an African ethos.

To many missionaries there was much in African culture (such as lobolo, polygamy and witchcraft) that was plainly diabolical, and so they looked on Africans as 'brands to be plucked from the burning'. What encouraged their hostility towards traditionalism was the fact that the tribal system and tribal customs often militated against their making converts. For many Africans were not prepared to have anything to do with a religion that interfered with their practices, and some turned to persecute those who did become converts.

Some missionaries favoured an assault on traditionalism by legislative action, designed to break up the tribal system and bring Africans into daily personal comtact with whites. Others, also seeking to withdraw Africans from their traditional society, encouraged them to enter missionary communities where they would absorb both Christianity and western culture at the same time. The Moravian Brethren were of this thinking. Their policy was to gather together converts into enclosed settlements, complete with church, smithy, mill, school, and other facilities - where the dignity and skills of labour, and elementary general education, and standards of 'civilised' living were all taught together with the Gospel. In this way black people (Hottentots in this instance) were to be converted out of one kind of society, culture and life into another. Moreover they were encouraged to live the rest of their lives in these communities, so that their new moral standards might always be maintained. This pattern became the ideal for many other missionaries - though some differed slightly in that they sought to withdraw their converts into a western community only for a while, then to return them to their people when they showed sufficient moral strength to stand firm in their new faith and customs.

On the other hand, there were missionaries who did not intend to overthrow African traditions. They believed that converts to Christianity should be left in their own traditional communities, and that African tribes and the African way of life should be christianised as a whole. Bishop Callaway in the Transkei, for instance, wished to develop Christianity "in the kraals of the natives round their hut fires, and not make it a

speciality of a few gathered into a missionary compound".[1] Some warned that drawing converts away from their natural surrounds might suggest that it was impossible to be a Christian and still live in an African area. Colenso went so far as to argue that as the African was 'noble' the missionary ought to attempt to build upon the element of nobility in African religion. What is again significant is that missionary policies of this second type (in contrast to those of missionaries such as the Moravians) often encouraged some measure of segregation between blacks and whites - once more in the interests of black people, to preserve their traditional cultural background by insulating it from western influences.

However, although many may be criticised for suppressing African culture, it must be acknowledged that missionaries were the pioneers in education and medical work amongst Africans, and the value of their achievements in both these fields was considerable. Indeed, the education of Africans in agriculture and crafts as well as in the academic sphere was almost entirely left to the missionaries - so that by 1910 there were still no government schools for Africans in southern Africa.[2] Missionaries were also largely responsible for the reduction of African languages and folk lore to writing.

It was as a result of missionary work that there came into being the growing class of Africans who had been given an elementary education, who had acquired new skills and values, including those of individualism, equality and democracy, and who had had their horizons widened. Many of these subsequently renounced their Christian faith under secularist and nationalist influences, yet they rarely, if ever, reverted to traditionalism. From among them came all the African pioneers of thought. Those who were political leaders in the early years of the Union of South Africa, or who founded the African National Congress in 1912, or who became social and educational leaders, professional men, founders of the African press and pioneers of African literature, had nearly all been taught in missionary institutions. "Even those who are today in revolt and who criticise missionaries unmercifully are 'sociological Christians', whose ability to attack missionaries on western lines of argument and in the English language is the result of the education which missionaries pioneered."[3]

(1) Lewis, C. and Edwards, G.E.: Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa (1934) p537. cf report of the first Anglican Provincial Missionary Conference in ibid. p211.
(2) One government industrial school in the Zwartkop reserve in Natal had been opened in 1887, but had been transferred to a mission six years later.
(3) Brookes, White Rule P199.

Many missionaries in the nineteenth century may indeed be criticised for their complicity in the domination of white people over black in southern Africa. Yet it must also be allowed that there were many who cared deeply for the people among whom they lived and ministered, and for whom they gave their lives. No doubt these would have been shocked and appalled if they were to have seen how their actions have subsequently been interpreted.(1)

When Britain assumed control in the Transvaal and Orange Feee State after the 1902 Treaty of Vereeniging, she was anxious not to offend the Boers in their deep convictions regarding race relations. So she promised that no attempt would be made to alter the political status of Africans in those territories before full responsible government had been granted there. "In that epochal decision," De Kiewiet has commented, "the British Government receded from its humanitarian position, and enabled the Boer leaders to win a signal victory....Great Britain abandoned the effort to exercise a control over the vital relations between white and black."(2)

In the ensuing years it became clear to administrators that there was a need for co-operation between the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River Colony in their ordering of race relations. Whites' dealings with Africans presented similar problems in each territory, and manifestly required a common policy. Moreover, in Natal (where the African population was nine times greater than the white population) it was only with the aid of forces from the Cape and Transvaal that a rebellion led by Bambata in 1906 could be put down and other risings against the imposition of a poll-tax quelled. Natal was clearly unable on its own to govern its vast African population. What was more, both Natal and the Transvaal by now had Asian populations, so it seemed advisable to have a common policy towards them too. Not only was there a fairly large Indian population in the Transvaal, but from 1904 some 51 000 indentured Chinese workers were imported to alleviate the shortage of labour on the gold mines. Most of these Chinese were sent home by 1910 - for the supply of African labour increased - but some remained (and were allotted a social and political status similar to that of black people).

(1) "When the smoke of present-day controversies has died away," Brookes has suggested, "a better estimate of missionary work will be possible." (Brookes, E.H.: Apartheid (1968) pxix)

(2) De Kiewiet, op.cit. p143.

In 1903 a Native Affairs Commission was appointed to consider the situation of Africans in all four colonies. Two years later this Commission made some far-reaching recommendations, amongst which were suggestions that African ownership of land be confined to certain demarcated areas, and that locations for their residence should be established near labour centres. It was suggested that African representation in parliament should be by whites, elected on a communal franchise. So lines were set for future policy, which would clearly favour racial segregation rather than assimilation.

Alongside economic considerations, the need for a common racial policy was a forceful argument for the uniting of the four territories.(1) The way for their union was opened in 1906, when the Transvaal and Orange River Colony were each granted responsible government and so put on a footing of political equality with the Cape and Natal.

In October 1908 representatives chosen by the parliaments of each of the colonies met in a National Convention to draft a constitution for a united South Africa.(2) When the Convention came to consider the question of voting rights in the prospective union, the majority of Cape delegates advocated the extension of the Cape franchise regulations throughout the country. This would have meant that black people as well as white (provided they were 'civilised') would have been eligible for the vote. The whites had a duty, it was argued, to promote the education and advancement of the black people - though it was made clear that social integration was not being advocated. However, the delegates from the Transvaal and Orange River Colony adamantly refused to consider union if they were to make concessions towards black people and even grant them a vote. With this stance the Natal delegation sided. Eventually the Cape delegates, earnestly desiring union and an end to division between British and Boer, gave way - though they were outspoken in their hope that after union the white population would grow more tolerant and extend voting rights to black people everywhere.

Davenport has suggested that it was because they needed to keep the African and Coloured voters favourable to themselves that the Cape politicians sought to safeguard the political rights of black people in the Cape.(3)

(1) This need for a common racial policy had been one of the main reasons put forward in calls for a federation of states in southern Africa by Sir George Grey (High Commissioner) in 1858, and by Lord Carnarvon (Colonial Secretary) in 1875.

(2) Southern Rhodesia sent observers, but the Crown Colony of Basutoland and the Protectorates of Swaziland and Bechuanaland were not represented, for the chiefs of those peoples preferred the rule of the Imperial authorities to that of their white neighbours.

(3) Davenport, op.cit. p278. The Afrikaner Bond (later renamed the South African Party) had been indebted to black votes for its victories in the elections of 1898 and 1904.

If their liberal tradition had been consolidated within the framework of a political party it might have withstood the buffeting which it received at the National Convention and afterwards, but there was no multi-racial party in the Cape.(1) Indeed the Cape delegates at the Convention were opposed on the question of the franchise by some of their own colleagues in the Cape Parliament; and their views apparently found little support among either English-speaking or Dutch people in the colony.(2) What was more, those supporting political rights for black people would remain a minority after union - and would be suppressed within their political parties lest they gave ammunition to opposing parties. Commenting on this situation, Denoon has suggested that whereas before union Cape politicians could afford fairly liberal race relations because Africans were then largely external to their lives - "a philosophical problem for thoughtful but remote white politicians" - after union they would feel more threatened because Africans would now clearly be an internal and urgent concern.(3)

It was agreed by the National Convention that each of the four territories should retain the franchise qualifications that it had had before union. This meant that in the Cape the right to vote belonged to all who passed certain educational and economic qualifications, regardless of their race. This right for black people was protected by a clause stating that their franchise could not be altered except by the agreement of at least two-thirds of both Houses of the Union Parliament sitting together. Without this entrenchment, won after a hard battle by the Cape delegates, the Cape would not have entered the union. In Natal, however, while whites and Coloured people who met certain economic qualifications could be registered as voters, only Africans who were exempted from customary law could vote - which exemption was difficult to obtain - and Indians were denied the franchise. In the Transvaal and the renamed Orange Free State, where black people had always been debarred from political rights, only whites were entitled to vote. What was more, black people in the Cape lost their right to stand for election, for it was agreed that only whites might be elected to the new Union Parliament. "The Union Constitution, in native policy at all events, represented the triumph of the frontier, and into the hands of the frontier was delivered the future of the native peoples."(4)

Concluded in May 1909, the draft constitution was approved in each of the colonies and then in September was passed by the British Parliament as the South Africa Act. It came into operation on the 31st May 1910: and the

(1) ibid. p320.
(2) Robertson, J.: Liberalism in South Africa (1971) p4.
(3) Denoon, D.: Southern Africa since 1800 (1972) p154.
(4) De Kiewiet, op. cit. p150.

Union of South Africa was established - with racial discrimination part of its very foundation.

In the first elections it was the South African National Party that won the majority and so formed the Government. But this party was an amalgamation of parties in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony that had been committed to a doctrine of racial inequality, and of another in the Cape that had accepted racial equality only in a limited political sense. They had come together before reaching a common mind on questions of racial policy; nor did they wish to raise the matter in public lest they present a disunited front to the electorate. So it was that they proclaimed as a principle "the placing of the native question above party politics, and the honourable and sympathetic treatment of the coloured races in a broad and liberal spirit". But this formula meant that attention would not be given to developing a purposeful policy in racial questions. When minds abdicated the task, traditional sentiments would take over - and thus social and political assumptions of the age of the trekkers would pass freely into the society and politics of the Union of South Africa.(1)

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(1) Davenport, op.cit. pp330-331.

3. THE RISE OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

Whereas their very act of trekking, their wars against African tribes, and the British annexation of Natal in 1843 and of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1848, had at first bound the Dutch farmers of the interior together in a community of interests - their group solidarity subsequently waned, after the British had withdrawn their influence from the territories north of the Vaal and Orange Rivers by the Conventions of 1852 and 1854. Political inexperience and individualism tended to keep the Boer parties apart from one another, particularly in the Transvaal where there was much factionalism.

But, in 1868 Britain took over Basutoland just as the Boers seemed likely to defeat the Basotho people, and three years later Britain snatched away the diamond fields of Griqualand West to which the Orange Free State laid claim. These actions evoked the indignation of the Boers in the Free State and united them emotionally in their dislike of the British Government. Not long afterwards, in 1877, Britain annexed the Transvaal: with the result that Boers there too, after years of dissensions, became united in their determination to regain their independence. Meanwhile, many Dutch people in the Cape were aroused by sympathy for their 'wronged' fellows in the northern republics. Previously these settled colonials had not been much concerned with the affairs of the semi-nomadic trekkers, from whom they had been divided emotionally as well as geographically: but now they became conscious of their common nationality with the Boers; and at the same time began to diagnose their own position under British rule in the Cape, and to feel that they were not occupying their rightful place in the political structures there.(1) So, suddenly and quite dramatically, there was an awakening of an historical and national consciousness among the 'Afrikaner' people of southern Africa.

The first effective expressions of this sentiment came from a group of well-educated men in the western Cape, who had remained aloof from the British colonial establishment. Prominent among them was the Reverend S.J. du Toit, a minister in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, who, with the backing of some other ministers, teachers and wine farmers, founded in 1875 Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Fellowship of True Afrikaners). This organisation fastened onto the concept of the Afrikaner people as a culturally distinct element within the population, and proclaimed its

(1) When Lord Charles Somerset had been Governor of the Cape(1814-1826) English had been substituted for Dutch as the official language of the legislature, courts and civil service, and for business transactions as well as the medium for instruction in secondary schools.

intention to "stand for our language, our nation and our country". Its members sought to propagate the Afrikaans language, as distinct from Dutch; and in 1876 established a newspaper, Die Afrikaanse Patriot, which aimed to instruct rather than to inform, and gained a wide readership.(1) An all-embracing programme of popular education was also planned, based on the concept of Christian National Education which had appeared in the Netherlands in 1860. (This concept held that for the furtherance of Christianity education ought not only be Christian but also expressed in terms meaningful to a given national group.) Du Toit aimed to restore the influence of the NGK over the minds of the young by securing the principle of confessional religious instruction in the schools, and to protect those minds from the cultural domination of things English. In 1877 was published the first Afrikaans history of southern Africa, Die Geskiedenis van Ons Land in die Taal van Ons Volk (The History of our Country in the Language of our People), of which the greater part was written by Du Toit. In emotive terms it recounted wrongs that had been endured by Boers at the hands of their British conquerors, and conveyed the impression that God was specially concerned with the welfare of Afrikaners. Thus the book was to provide a good foundation for a nationalist mythology.

Thompson reports that Du Toit was followed by other writers, in the republics as well as the Cape, by whom this mythology was progressively expanded, additional details being added here and additional grievances there, with the effect of presenting a more and more idealised picture of the Afrikaner people. They were always right, their enemies always wrong. The analogy of the trekkers with the Israelites was also developed, so that Afrikaners were regarded as having been planted by God at the southern tip of Africa to become a separate people who would bring light to the heathen. This writing reached a climax in A Century of Wrong, a propaganda piece written by J.C. Smuts in 1899. It was "sophisticated and bitter" with a spirit of "extreme anglophobia", and pictures the Boer as a white aristocrat with an inextinguishable love of justice and liberty.(2)

Meanwhile in the Cape the enthusiasm of the Genootskap was infectious, and its methods well suited to stirring up the fervour of an intense, conservative and unsophisticated people - though it did not appeal to those who had cordial relations with English-speaking colonials. In the late 1870s Afrikaner farmers' associations came into being, developing a concern for the cultural interests of Afrikaners and calling for a resurgence of

(1) In 1974 a facsimile reproduction of the first year's editions was published (Tafelberg, Cape Town).

(2) English edition: A Century of Wrong issued by F.W. Reitz, London, 1900. Smuts was the principal author. Refer Thompson, L.M.: "Afrikaner Nationalist Historiography and the Policy of Apartheid" in The Journal of African History Vol III No 1 (1962) p129

their self-esteem. In 1880 the Afrikaner Bond was established, again at the suggestion of Du Toit. This was the first real political party to emerge, and set itself to co-ordinate the activities of the various groups of devotees furthering the Afrikaner cause. Political independence for the Afrikaner people was part of its goal.

The first Anglo-Boer War of 1880 (or the 'First War of Independence', as it became known to Afrikaners) did much to bind Transvaalers together, and they received moral and active support from many Afrikaners in the Orange Free State and the Cape. (In the latter territory there were petitions to the Government pleading for support for the Transvaal, and money was collected for needy Boers.) The war gave form and content to Afrikaner nationalism, and the Boer victory at Majuba filled Afrikaners with pride and self-confidence, making them aware of their potential strength. Encouraged by advisers from the Netherlands and Germany, President Kruger developed a vision of an Afrikaner national state north of the Vaal: and the term Het Volk (The People), which had previously included all white inhabitants of the Transvaal, came to mean more precisely the Afrikaners to whom the Transvaal was a fatherland.

After the war there was what looked like the beginning of a pan-Afrikaner organisation, when the Afrikaner Bond formed affiliated branches in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. But the interests and commercial rivalries of all these territories proved too diverse, and the Bond reverted to a Cape political party.

Meanwhile, many became alienated by Du Toit's unusually austere Calvinism, and the Bond turned to Jan Hofmeyr for leadership. He was more tolerant, less doctrinaire, and wanted a state in which all white people might feel equally at home: and so led the party from the anti-British path which it had taken until then. At the same time what had been the focal point of their campaign for equality with English-speaking people in the Cape was removed, when the use of the Dutch language in Parliament, schools, courts and the civil service was extended as asked for, without much opposition. Meanwhile to the north the Transvaalers no longer felt their independence threatened (though the extension of British control over adjoining territories (Bechuanaland in 1885, Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1890) was to keep some anti-British feeling simmering), while in the Orange Free State the Boers were by the 1880s happy to have been rid of Basutoland, which the Cape had since proved unable to control, and of the diamond fields, which would have brought them a large influx of foreigners. So nationalist sentiment abated for a while.

Then came the overwhelming numbers of Uitlanders to the Transvaal following the discovery of gold in 1886. These were a new threat to the Boers there, for if the aliens were granted the franchise not only would the Boers lose their political dominance, but the republic and the way of life for which they had fought and suffered for so long would inevitably disappear. Thus the franchise qualifications for electing the President and Volksraad were raised from five to ten years residence in 1890, and to fourteen years residence in 1894. Then in December 1895 occurred a decisive event. A party of police from Rhodesia led by Dr. L.S. Jameson rode from Bechuanaland into the Transvaal, hoping to help the people of Johannesburg seize the town and then march on Pretoria to force President Kruger to give them the vote: but the raiders were soon rounded up by the Boers. This incident aroused deep suspicion of the British in the minds of Afrikaners everywhere - and their bitterness was intensified by British attempts to conceal official complicity (for the raid had been planned with the connivance of Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, while the British High Commissioner and Colonial Secretary had been secretly aware of the plot). In the Cape, Hofmeyr and other Afrikaner moderates broke a political alliance with Rhodes and turned to look northwards. To an increasing extent Dutch and English-speaking people now stood on opposite sides; and in 1898 the Afrikaner Bond was to win a bitterly fought election. Meanwhile the Orange Free State in 1897 renewed a defensive alliance which had been made with the Transvaal in 1889; and a Federal Council was established to bring about a union between the two republics. So there was a new cry for Afrikaner volkseenheid (unity of the people)

The Second Anglo-Boer War which followed in 1899 'probably did more to unite Afrikanerdom and infuse it with purpose and determination than any other single factor before or after'. The scorched-earch policy adopted by the British troops, and the deaths by disease of some 26 000 Boer women and children held in refugee camps, caused much bitterness: all of which was increased when the republics lost their sovereign independence with the Treaty of Vereeniging. If the disappearance of the republics was not to mean also the disappearance of the Afrikaner people as a distinct and separate nation with its own history, traditions, faith and language, then Afrikaners would have to do everything they could to reassert themselves. The talk of Afrikaner unity that had grown more frequent on the eve of the war became stronger with an increasing sense of common destiny, and the bond between Afrikaners of the Cape and of the northern territories was restored. Jealously the Afrikaner people guarded everything that was peculiar to themselves.

After the war Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner, made menacing attempts to anglicise the population of the former republics, by extending English cultural influences at the expense of Dutch, and giving an emphatically English bias to education. He encouraged the immigration of teachers from Britain, so that at one stage 400 of some 900 in these territories had come from overseas. English was made the official language; and was to be the medium of instruction in the schools - while the number of hours devoted to Dutch (the teaching of which had been guaranteed under the terms of peace) was kept within narrow limits. Meanwhile in the Cape too the Dutch language had lost status, for it had again become possible to enter the civil service without a knowledge of that language. Thus the question of language rights became unequivocally a national issue, and was to prove a successful rallying point for the nationalist movement. The next few years saw a great awakening of Afrikaners throughout southern Africa to their own responsibility to speak and write their language with pride. Language associations were formed to encourage this, through examinations in Dutch, the publication of school books and the award of prizes for works of literary merit. Nor was this concern to cease even after the Act of Union had entrenched the equal rights of both English and Dutch as the official languages of South Africa. Meanwhile, in the former republics some 200 independent schools were established under local committees of parents, to follow the principles of Christian National Education. They were poor in staff and funds, but they sufficed to keep many children out of Milner's hated English school system.

The minds of Afrikaners during this period also turned easily towards political action, for they saw that through this they could regain some, if not all, of the independence which they had lost. Afrikaner parties were formed - Het Volk in the Transvaal and the Orangia Unie in the Orange River Colony - and after the granting in 1906 of responsible government in each of these territories these parties came to power. In the Cape the Afrikaner Bond, having in 1903 been renamed the South African Party to win over moderate English-speaking people, was still in power; while in Natal too there were signs of Afrikaner political revival in the Volksvereniging. All these parties were bound together by strong emotional ties, and constituted the strongest of all pressure groups which directed the course of events towards the unification of southern Africa. After the Union had been constituted they joined together to form the South African National Party (better known as the South African Party), which won a majority in the first elections and so came to power under General L. Botha.[1] Ever since then Afrikaners have dominated the political scene.

(1) It should be noted that these Afrikaner parties did enjoy the support of many English-speaking people.

While concern for the preservation of their language was one major unifying factor for Afrikaners, their Christian faith was another, and likewise helped to build up a strong feeling of group unity. For to most Afrikaners their religious convictions were very important.

We have seen how the early trekkers saw in the Old Testament the history and religious experience of a pastoral people not much different from themselves, and how they came to think of themselves as a 'chosen people' just as the Israelites had been, led by God to a dangerous and unknown future where they were to win the surrounding peoples to Christian civilisation.(1) In this analogy there was a strongly emotive basis for a nationalistic movement. So the theme was taken up and elaborated at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century by Afrikaner leaders, churchmen, writers and politicians. God had indeed chosen the Afrikaner people for a special destiny - and his hand was clearly visible in their history. British oppression and black harassment were a seal of God's election, for according to Calvinistic tradition God tested his innocent servants, and righteous suffering might be taken as assurance of his favour. "The more we are afflicted with adversities, the more surely our fellowship with Christ is confirmed." "To suffer persecution for righteousness sake is a singular comfort. For it ought to occur to us how much honour God bestows upon us in thus furnishing us with the special badge of his soldiery."(2) The fact that after they had made a covenant with him God had given the trekkers victory at the battle of Blood River was further proof that he favoured them.(3) Then, just as the Cross was followed by the Resurrection, the foundation of the Boer republics resolved the sufferings of the trekkers. Yet by failing to celebrate Blood River people neglected their covenant obligations and brought down God's wrath upon them, so that he visited the Transvaalers with the oppression of British occupation. Thus God used historical events to break the sinful nature of his people and bring them to him. Indeed, because they were 'chosen of the Lord' they were more likely to incur his judgement than prosperity. Then it was by the might of God that the Transvaalers won their independence again in 1881. This was more than final proof of God's election of them, and established beyond doubt that he desired them to remain politically independent. God had granted

(1) Refer p25 supra.
(2) Calvin, J.: Institutes, Book III, 8:1 and 8:7.
(3) Before they left for the battle the trekkers took an oath that if victory attended their arms they would build a church and keep the anniversary as a day of thanksgiving.

them independence in order that they might serve him. So on the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War Afrikaners were firmly convinced that God was on their side, for he would not go back on his covenant with them. When they were defeated they saw this again in terms of the righteous suffering. Even as the Resurrection of Christ was the first-fruits of his Second Coming, so the republics had been the first-fruits of a republican second coming - and Afrikaners now looked forward to a new and greater united republic.

Thus there developed what Moodie has described as an Afrikaner 'civil religion'.(1) Ordinary Afrikaners may not have had a coherent view of this belief-system, for their comprehension was probably haphazard and selective. Yet their fervent Calvinist faith provided a basis which could be exploited by politicians to hold the people together and mobilise them towards maintaining their national identity. Their understanding that God had called them and intended to create another republic meant that everything which emphasised Afrikaner uniqueness - their language, Calvinist faith, customs and dress - took on a sacred significance: while everything that threatened their identity became demonic. Furthermore, the fact that there was this impelling religious basis to the nationalist movement meant that its adherents became imbued with a singular determination and all-pervading sense of purpose. They firmly believed that they had a divine role in the shaping of South Africa's political destiny. (Moodie has observed, however, that while leaders clearly believed that Afrikaners were called to serve God in some unique way, and while public mention of the calling aroused great enthusiasm in Afrikaner audiences, speakers and writers seldom if ever went on to specify the precise content of the Afrikaner calling.(2) Nevertheless, these leaders should not be regarded as hypocrites: for while they might have innovated and applied their theology to new situations and conditions, they were themselves creations of the faith, and accepted it without question because they defined their own identities in terms of it.(3)

Later this neo-Calvinist philosophy would provide a rationale for the Afrikaners to maintain not only their national identity and separation from English-speaking people, but also their racial identity and separation from black people.

(1) cf. Moodie, T.D.: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion (1971) pp12-36, 41-44, 50.
(2) ibid. p213
(3) ibid. p33

Seeing that there was this strong religious basis and motivation inherent in the growth of Afrikaner nationalism, it should not be surprising to find that among the leaders of the movement were many clergy and churchmen. Indeed, their contribution to the spread of this nationalism was considerable.

Many of the clergy of the NGK in the latter half of the nineteenth century had received their training at the seminary at Stellenbosch in the Cape. (This had opened in 1859). There they had been steeped in conservative Calvinist theology, and imbued with the doctrine of election and the rigorous collectivism of Calvin's Geneva: so that they increasingly came to regard themselves as the leaders of'God's Chosen People', and the prophets of his pre-destined will for the whole of southern Africa. Their ministry among the Afrikaner people, meanwhile, encouraged them to identify closely with Afrikaner traditions and culture. Thus, given the great prestige of their clerical status, they took the forefront in moves to preserve all that was dear to Afrikaners, and played a creative role in the formation of nationalist ideologies.

NGK ministers, amongst whom Du Toit was prominent, were founders of the Genootskap at Paarl, and were instrumental in propagating the tenets of that organisation. Churchmen were among the first to give literary expression to Afrikaner ideals. Church leaders were champions of their language: and were pioneers of the new Christian National Education. Indeed, by the 1880s the NGK was at the forefront of moves to achieve official recognition in the Cape for the Dutch language; and had set up a training college for Dutch teachers in Cape Town, while ministers elsewhere were building schools. Davenport has reported that most members of the Afrikaner Bond were also members of the Church and very conscious of this allegiance. It was an almost universal practice for meetings of the Bond to begin and end with prayer. Members of local church councils were often leaders in the party, and many clergy were also members, some participating actively in politics both inside and outside Parliament. " From their point of view the national revival had a spiritual as well as a secular side. As they had taken the lead in the Dutch language movement, so they expected the politicians to supplement the influence of the pulpit; and many must have derived satisfaction from the amount of attention paid by Bond congresses to topics falling within the range of Sunday observance. The Sunday sermon became a regular feature of the annual congress proceedings, and it was thought proper, at any rate on special occasions such as these,

to extol the nationalist virtues from the pulpit."(1)

By the time of the Second Anglo-Boer War the Dutch Reformed Churches had become leaders of the Afrikaner people in the northern republics as well as in the Cape. When the war broke, ministers went out on commando - usually as chapalains to the forces, though at least one (General Roux) had a prominent combatant role. In the Cape and Natal the sympathies of ministers were almost all with the Boer forces.(2) Some clergy felt it their duty both during the war and afterwards to denounce and even deny Communion to 'traitors to the cause' - the Afrikaners who joined the British forces as National Scouts or Handsoppers.

After the war Dutch Reformed ministers set themselves to reconstruction in the former republics with self-sacrificing devotion, and took the lead in restoring the broken morale of Afrikaners, turning their thoughts from the bitter defeat of the past to a more hopeful future. Propagating the concept of an exclusive Afrikaner nation with a divine mission, they acted to unite the people through their common faith (which even the differences in outlook between the three Churches did not substantially affect). Staunch opponents of Milner's anglicisation policy (and so regarded by him with suspiciaon and detestation), they were prominent in the establishment of schools where instruction could be given according to the tenets of Calvinism, and they took a lead in fostering the Dutch language. Thus the role of the Church in material reconstruction and in rebuilding the morale of the Afrikaner community "established it as the major bulwark of the people in their struggle for the preservation of their language, culture, and religion". (3)

After the establishment of the Union of South Africa the Boer generals Botha and Smuts, now the Prime Minister and his chief lieutenant, worked for a rapprochement of Afrikaners and English-speaking people in order to build a united nation. They believed that there should now be a single 'stream' of white South Africans, united both politically and culturally. But it soon became clear that a great many Afrikaners in the northern

(1) Davenport, op.cit. p325.
(2) By that time there were few if any remaining of the ministers who had been brought from Britain to serve in the NGK during the anglicisation policy of Lord Charles Somerset.
(3) Ritner, S.R.: 'The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid' in Journal Of Contemporary History Vol. 2 No. 4 (1967) p20

provinces did not support such conciliation. Their leader was General J.B.M. Hertzog, who insisted that the white population should continue as two parallel 'streams', Afrikaners and English-speaking people, each group having equal political rights but retaining its separate culture, language and traditions. Soon there was an open split between Botha and Hertzog, and under the leadership of the latter there was established in 1914 the Nationalist Party - which was from the outset identified with the concept of an Afrikaner nation. Said Dr. Verwoerd later, "The Nationalist Party was never and is not an ordinary party. It is a nation on the move."(1) So Afrikaner nationalism for the first time became a co-ordinated, country-wide movement.

Botha's determination to stand by Britain on the outbreak of the First World War inflamed nationalist opinion still further (and he and Smuts soon became despised as 'collaborators' in nationalist mythology). There followed in 1914 a rebellion by some who saw the War as an opportunity to overthrow the Government and regain their old republican independence. They were quashed, however, and Jopie Fourie, an army officer who had defected to the rebels, was executed - but Afrikaner memories of republican days were stirred and many new members were added to the Nationalist Party.

Meanwhile there were changes in the NGK. In the past, although clergymen had been in the forefront of struggles to secure the group identity of Afrikaners and their language rights, the Church had not really been involved in specifically political activities.(2) Now, however, there was a new generation of clergy who were strongly imbued with nationalism, and who were furthermore concerned at the widespread poverty among their people at that time in the face of economic competition from other population groups. These young ministers sought to alter the old evangelical tradition of a 'concern for souls' to 'concern for the souls and bodies of Afrikaners'. What was more, several entered party politics as followers and leaders in the nationalist movement. Most notable among them was Dr. D.F. Malan, who in 1915 became editor of a new nationalist newspaper, Die Burger, and was elected chairman of the Nationalist Party in the Cape on his cry of 'Africa for the Afrikaner.'

At a clergy conference in that year (called to forestall schism when some clergy supported the rebellion and some supported Botha) it was agreed that the Church indeed had a special calling with regard to the Afrikaner population ("with whose existence it is bound up in such an intimate manner")

(1) Quoted in Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) Vol II p370.

(2) Patterson suggested that this had been because the older generation of ministers had had a strict conception of their ministerial functions. (op.cit. p196).

and that it had a duty to watch over particular national concerns, to teach the people to see the hand of God in their history, and "to keep alive in the Afrikaner people the awareness of national calling and destiny, in which is laid up the spiritual, moral and material progress and strength of our people". There was a deep conviction that the NGK was the Volkskerk (People's Church) - although there was no attempt at that stage to justify the assumption theologically. Concerns such as Afrikaner education, proverty and unity were accepted as issues relevant to the ministrations of clergy.(1) At the same time, however, it was agreed that the Church would only fulfil its high calling "if it kept strictly outside the boundaries of party-politics unless religious or moral principles are at stake or the concerns of the Kingdom of God are touched". Thus there was a trenchant insistence that Church and State should remain separate. For instance, a minister should not tell his congregation how to vote - unless he felt clearly, and they agreed, that one political party was on the side of God and the people, whereas the other was expressly opposed to Christian and Afrikaner ideals. Likewise, when Malan decided to enter party politics he had to resign from the ministry, rather than take temporary leave of absence from the pulpit to serve God in Parliament as some Gereformeerde ministers were allowed to do. So there arose a distinction between Volkspolitiek (People's politics) which was a legitimate concern for the Church, and party politics which was not.(2) However, as the years progressed the Church was gradually drawn into closer collaboration with politicians of the Nationalist Party, and increasingly membership of the two institutions came to overlap.

On the death of Botha in 1919 Smuts became Prime Minister. But five years later (having lost favour through his use of military to quell a rising of white miners protesting at proposals to make wider use of cheap African labour) his South African Party lost its majority in the Parliamentary elections, and Hertzog became Prime Minister at the head of a coalition government of the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party. (In the next elections of 1929 the Nationalists would obtain a clear majority.) One of Hertzog's aims was to secure for South Africa an independent status in the world. To this end he was influential at the Imperial Conference of Dominion Premiers in 1926, which accepted the Balfour Declaration recognising the autonomy of members of the British Commonwealth and their equality with one another. When in 1931 the British Parliament by the Statute of Westminster gave legislative effect to this Declaration, Hertzog declared himself satisfied. South Africa had meanwhile unfurled her own flag.

(1) Moodie described the involvement of the NGK in the affairs of the Afrikaner people at that time as "emotional and theologically unsophisticated". (op. cit. p90).

(2) ibid. pp90-91

Now Hertzog began to favour co-operation with English-speaking people, and visualised the merging of the two Afrikaner and English-speaking 'streams' in a new and broader white nationalism. In 1933 he formed a coalition government with Smuts (for the Nationalist Party show of independence by refusing to follow Britain off the gold standard had brought pressure for a government that would deal with economic problems in an economic way and not on nationalist grounds); and in the subsequent elections their two parties together gained an overwhelming majority, and almost immediately fused to form the United Party. But Malan and many Nationalists were not enamoured with the coalition. So it was that, just as Hertzog had broken away from Botha, Malan in 1934 withdrew with his supporters to form what was called the 'purified' Nationalist Party - purified of un-Afrikaner elements. This party was determined to resist Afrikaner integration in a broader white population and did nothing to hide its dislike and distrust of the 'English'.

Meanwhile, the Afrikaner language movement had gained considerable ground. It was clear that the language of the people, Afrikaans, had more chance of survival than Dutch, which was the language of sermons and literature; but many Afrikaners tended to regard English as the only cultured language - for this had an international status and was the language of urban society in South Africa, and of commerce and the professions. In the face of this, Afrikaans newspapers were established and Afrikaans prose, poetry and drama was published (much of it preoccupied with Afrikaner history, and particularly with the Anglo-Boer War). By 1919 every Synod of the NGK had accepted Afrikaans as its official language, and work had started on the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans - which translation was to be published in 1933. So Afrikaans gained respectability, and in 1925 a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament made it, instead of Dutch, an official language of South Africa, alongside English. 'The rapid development of Afrikaner nationalism between the two World Wars had a close association with (this) growth of the Afrikaans language, and in this the Dutch Reformed Churches were deeply involved.'

In 1918 there was established a fellowship known as the Afrikaner Broederbond, which sought to bring together all Afrikaners who longed for the elevation of their people. It laid emphasis on the notion that every Afrikaner was part of an élite chosen 'People of God', with its own character and task, and in whose history God was active. This organisation

went underground in 1922, but is thought to have exerted a considerable nationalist influence since then in many areas of political, economic and social life in the country.(1) Amongst its members have been some hundreds of NGK ministers.(2)

Prompted by the Broederbond, there was established in 1929 the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), to promote and co-ordinate the growth of voluntary associations which would preserve the old traditional forms of Afrikaner life. Those voluntary associations which were already in existence were usually so English-oriented and English-dominated that Afrikaners avoided them, either because they did not feel at home socially or speaking English, or because they objected to the fact that some of these organisations lacked a colour-bar and might admit a few black members. Already some organisations had been formed to promote the Afrikaans language or the welfare of Afrikaners in need - but now the 1930s saw the growth of numerous and diverse organisations, charitable, educational cultural and religious.(3) It was characteristic of these to use organisational terms and insignia of Boer forces in the Anglo-Boer War, and branches were named after nationalist heroes. Afrikaners that had joined the older organisations were encouraged to withdraw from them, lest they be subject to influences from non-Afrikaners that might reduce their group self-consciousness, and to join the new organisations that had a distinctively Afrikaner ethos. They were urged to speak only Afrikaans and to support fellow Afrikaners. Then there followed the establishment of Afrikaner trade unions, and economic organisations to provide financial backing and assistance to Afrikaner businesses, so that where English-speaking people had predominated in urban life now Afrikaners might be strengthened. (At the same time the Afrikaner press served as a rallying point and focus for Afrikaner nationalism.) Owing to the close connection between Afrikaner culture, language and nationalism, these many societies exercised a direct influence on political thought, and Marquard has suggested that the FAK "may not unfairly be regarded as a powerful unofficial ally of the Nationalist Party".(4) It should further be observed that among the many

(1) De Villiers observed that the mobilisation of Afrikaner resources after 1934 - in every sphere of life - was on a scale and had a co-ordinated intensity that could not have happened without some central directing and guiding agency such as the Broederbond. (in Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) p381)

(2) Refer Patterson op.cit. p196.

(3) For example, Afrikaner equivalents were formed parallel to the English dominated child welfare organisations, women's councils, student union, scouting movement, first-aid associations, teacher and professional associations, Student Christian Association and Institute of Race Relations. Parallel agricultural unions and chambers of commerce and industry were also established.)

(4) Marquard, L.: The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (1969) p184

organisations that became affiliated to the FAK there were by 1957 over 250 church councils.(1)

In 1938 a semi-military organisation known as the Ossewa Brandwag was formed to stimulate an exclusive Afrikaner nationalism, and this played some part in increasing the political awareness of many rank-and-file Afrikaners. It appears that some Dutch Reformed clergy were involved in this movement also, for two successive chairmen of its Supreme Council were ministers.(2)

Then in the 1940s there was a revival of agitation for Christian National Education, led by the Gereformeerde Kerk.(3) This movement was to go much further in its demands than supporters of CNE after the Anglo-Boer War had done. It called for schools where all the teaching would be in Afriakaans, lest in parallel-medium or dual-medium schools Afrikaner children might be denationalised or teachers might be hindered from instructing the children in the proper national spirit. In 1948 the Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys of the FAK published a policy statement which asserted that "our culture must be brought into our schools - which must be places where our children are soaked and nourished in the Christian National spiritual and cultural 'stuff' of our nation. We will have nothing to do with a mixture of languages, of culture, of religion, of race." Education should be imbued with a love for everything that is 'our own', and should be in a 'Christian' spirit - on Calvinist fundamentalist principles. Thus geography should be taught on the basis that "every people and nation is attached to its own native soil, allotted to it by the Creator"; and history should teach that "God...willed separate nations and peoples, and He gave to each separate nation and people its special vocation, task and gifts".(4)

It is significant that three out of the ten who drew up this CNE policy statement were Dutch Reformed ministers, and that synods of the NGK approved it. Indeed, it was regarded as the task of the Dutch Reformed Churches to see that these educational principles were carried out; and clergy were to have great influence in this respect, particularly in the rural districts where few teachers would brave church disapproval by opposing the policy.(5)

(1) Patterson op.cit. p269.
(2) ibid. p197.
(3) Out of that Church's theological college has grown the University of Potchefstroom, which openly practises CNE today.
(4) Marquard,L.: Some Present Political Trends (1968) pp5-6; Patterson op.cit. p225; Thompson, L.M.:Politics in the Republic of South Africa (1966) p99.
(5) While Afrikaner teacher associations declared themselves in favour of CNE, it was stated that teachers who were not prepared to subscribe to it would not be appointed. As the Nationalist Party proceeded from strength to strength after 1948, so CNE as an official policy gained ground, its principles being applied in varying degrees in the different provinces.

Meanwhile civil ritual and celebration were being used to give social expression to nationalist beliefs. The annual Day of the Covenant, commemorating God's protection of the the Trekkers in their victory over the Zulus at Blood River, had become a great religio-cultural festival, when churchmen, academics and politicians around the country made fiery speeches to unite Afrikaners in a sense of their unique identity and destiny, while at the same time reminding them of their sacred separation from English-speaking people and from black people. In 1938, to commemorate the centenary of the Great Trek, national-minded people organised a ceremonial trek of oxwagons and riders from Cape Town to Pretoria and Blood River. All along the way Afrikaners were caught up in the enthusiasm and many who had never before thought in nationalistic terms were swept into the mainstream of Afrikaner nationalism, with the identification of Afrikanerdom with the Nationalist Party. The need for Afrikaner unity was the major theme of speeches. In Pretoria the foundation stone was laid for a giant Voortrekker Monument on a hill overlooking the city. This was opened and dedicated in 1948 at a four-day celebration, ostensibly non-political, attended by 250 000 people, many of them dressed in trekker clothes and sporting beards which had been specially grown for the occasion. The celebration was opened by despatch riders who carried lighted torches from all parts of the country to light the lamp inside the sacred shrine. The frontier tradition, as embodied in the trekkers and all that they symbolised, was perhaps more alive than it had ever been before.

The entry of South Africa into the Second World War facilitated this resurgance of nationalism. Afrikaners were to a large extent either apathetic towards an Allied victory, or sympathetic towards Germany - some of them hoping that a German victory would leave the way open for the establishment of an Afrikaner republic in South Africa. Indeed, in 1942 a Draft Constitution for a Republic was published "with the permission and on the authority of Dr. D.F. Malan" - though it was subsequently disavowed by him, yet not officially repudiated by the Nationalist Party. Drawn up by representatives of the leading Afrikaner organisations, including the Dutch Reformed Churches, it clearly envisaged a republic based on Christian National principles, from the civil benefits of which non-Afrikaners would be excluded. Meanwhile during the war it was difficult to find Dutch Reformed chaplains for the armed forces, even though well over half of the troops were Afrikaners; and, as at the time of the Anglo-Boer War, some ministers denounced and denied Communion to those who had volunteered for

military duty.

Hertzog had proposed that South Africa remain neutral during the war, but had been outvoted in Parliament and so had relinquished the Premiership to Smuts. For a short while Hertzogites and Malanites combined as partiamentary opposition: but then after disagreement over the question of pushing for an immediate republic (Hertzog believing that this could only come with the co-operation of the English-speaking people) Hertzog withdrew to form the Afrikaner Party, and then presently retired from active politics.

Meanwhile the exclusive Nationalist Party was gaining support as a result of another development. As Afrikaners had advanced to a dominant position in the power structure of South Africa, they had become aware that their gains were being challenged, not by the old imperial authority, but by the African population. Though there had been a prominent negrophobic element in Afrikaner mythology from the first, this had been woven into a pattern that was basically anglophobic. The central argument had been directed against Britain and English-speaking people. Now, however, since the 1930s many had begun to shift the main attack from the English-speaking people to Africans, and this gradually became the principal element in nationalist argument. Afrikaners were called to stand together against the rise of the black people - and Malan in 1938 described the competition between white and black in the cities as a 'second Blood River'.(1) So Afrikaner nationalism raised anti-black feeling to the level of an ideology, held with the same degree of fervour and emotionalism as had characterised its other forms of expression.

After the war the Nationalist Party cleverly exploited the weak spots in the policies of the governing United Party, and particularly their lack of definite 'Native policy'. The Nationalist manifesto, promising the segregation of racial groups from one another, was an attractive one for many people and gained the Party much support. So it was that in the general elections of May 1948 the Nationalist Party, in a coalition pact with the Afrikaner Party, came to power under Malan as Prime Minister. (Three years later these two parties were to coalesce into one Nationalist Party.) Now for the first time a Cabinet was formed exclusively of Afrikaners, responsible to an exclusively Afrikaner majority in the Assembly.

Yet Afrikaner nationalism had still not reached its peak. Far too many Afrikaners were still not voting 'with the blood'. So there were

(1) Moodie op.cit. p317

further nationalist campaigns in the ensuing years, to bring these people into the fold, and to keep the flame alight amongst 'true Afrikaners'. Not until the Nationalist Party had gained an increased majority in Parliament, nor until South Africa had withdrawn from the British Commonwealth and been declared a Republic in 1961, could protagonists of Afrikaner nationalism feel truly satisfied.(1)

It was one of the strengths of Malan's position that he had clung to a broadly Christian analogy in interpreting the history of the Afrikaner people. From 1934 onwards such thinking had had an increased impact on Afrikaner political life, and, together with the Christian National ideology, 'was no little help towards the Nationalist victory'.

No doubt the nationalist cause had also been boosted to some extent by the increasing numbers of Dutch Reformed clergy who had become involved in nationalist politics. (Hertzog in 1938 expressed unease at this tendency.(2) Some ministers in the 1930s spoke in terms of a theocratic Afrikaner State like that of sixteenth century Geneva; while others advanced ideas of National Socialism. Some were involved in the shift of nationalist emphasis onto the 'threat' that Africans posed for Afrikaners: as, for instance, in 1944 when a group of fifteen ministers from the three Dutch Reformed Churches issued a pamphlet entitled White South Africa, Save Yourself, in which the 'pure race' theory of the Nationalist Party was underwritten.(3) Another example of political involvement was that of the Moderator of the NGK in the Transvaal, Dr. W. Nicol, who just before the 1948 elections published an article in a religious magazine, Die Voorligter, encouraging Calvinist readers to vote for the 'People's Party'. Shortly afterwards he was appointed to the government post of Administrator of the Transvaal. Similarly, when the Nationalist victory had been announced at least one Dutch Reformed minister held a service which he called the Oorwinnings Diens (Victory Service).(4) Certainly, Marquard reported that during and after the Second World War the Dutch Reformed Churches made their greatest impact on the growth of the Nationalist Party.(5)

(1) Yet some Afrikaners today condemn the Nationalist Government for failing to preserve Afrikaner traditions as it should - particularly with reference to race relations - and for failing to adhere to Christian National policies. These critics have, until recently, been led by Dr. Albert Hertzog, who was dismissed from the Cabinet in 1968 and established the Herstigte (Re-formed) Nationalist Party.

(2) Patterson op.cit. p197.

(3) ibid. p195; Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) Vol. II, p373.

(4) Patterson op.cit. p196.

(5) Marquard, Some Present Political Trends p1

Towards the end of the 1950s Patterson reported that several influential ministers were generally believed to be members of the Broederbond, while numbers of lesser ministers served on bodies which had become party political areans, such as municipal councils and school boards. Furthermore, there was among clergy generally, and particularly in the Transvaal, a tendency to political bias in the pulpit itself. Good Calvinist Afrikaners were asked to prove their love of country and nation by supporting the only truly Afrikaner political party, while deviationists were likely to be branded. Frequently divine sanction was explicitly asserted for the policy and activities of the Nationalist Party.(1)

All in all, it is clear that the Calvinist faith of the Afrikaners has played a central part in welding them together as a people, and has given a powerful content to nationalist mythology right from the early years of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. Politicians have consistently been able to exploit Afrikaners' religious sentiments and associations for nationalist purposes. Clearly too, through the support and leadership which clergy have given to the nationalist movement, the Dutch Reformed Churches have been intimately associated with the rise and triumph of this nationalism. Indeed, while it may be true that numbers of clergy and church members have kept aloof from party politics, the majority of leaders have been supporters of the Nationalist Party itself, either passively or actively; and the Churches have generally lent 'all the considerable weight of their moral influence' to the policies of that Party. The voice of dissidents has been rarely heard. Although there has never been any formal or official relationship between the Churches and the Nationalist Party, Party, Church and Nation have been equated in the minds of many: and it has sometimes been said that the Churches have been the Nationalist Party at prayer. Indeed, Marquard reported it to be a source of pride that the Nationalist Party owed its strength to its roots in the religious (and cultural) organisations of the Afrikaners.(2) Scholtz went so far as to assert 'without hesitation' that "it is principally due to the Church that the Afrikaner nation has not gone under".(3)

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(1) Patterson op.cit. pp113,196,357.
(2) Marquard, Some Present Political Trends p1.
(3) Scholtz, G.D.: Het die Afrikaanse Volk 'n Toekoms? p80, quoted in Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) Vol.II p373.

PART TWO

APPROACHES TO RACE RELATIONS

IN THE

NEDERDUITSE GEREFORMEERDE KERK

1. THE FORMATION OF RACIALLY SEPARATE CHURCHES

For virtually the first two centuries of its presence in southern Africa, the Dutch Reformed Church which in 1804 became the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika[1] was a multi-racial Church. Although in some congregations black members were seated in rear pews separate from whites, it was the common practice for white and black Christians to be members of the same congregations and to worship together.

It should be added, however, that during most of that time the Church had comparatively few black members, for little effort was made to win black people to Christianity. This was due partly to discouragement by government officials; partly to the prejudice of whites against educating the 'children of Ham'; and partly to the fact that the profession of Christianity was one of the grounds upon which a slave might seek his freedom, and so was not encouraged by slave owners.[2]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, it was a growing practice for white and black people to worship separately. It seems that there were two basic factors which led to this. The first was the advent of organised missionary work. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were established some Gestichte or 'institutions', where members of a local church council or lay preachers conducted missionary services for slaves and Coloured people, and ministered to their specific spiritual needs. It was felt that yet illiterate people would benefit from from such separate worship. From these institutions there were to grow congregations that consisted almost entirely of black people. Then in 1824 the first Synod decided to ordain missionaries - to preach the Gospel to the heathen - but it was ruled that they could not be called to minister to white congregations because their level of training would be different from that of ordinary ministers. The logical consequence of this move was to be an increase in the number of congregations which catered only for formerly heathen or black people.[3] Ten years later, when the Synod decided to start missionary work amongst African tribes it was stipulated that these converts

(1) Refer p 5 supra.

(2) It had also been ruled by the Synod of Dort in 1618 that the children of heathen were not to be baptised as infant baptism was a privilege to be given only to the children of Christian parents: though in the Cape the baptism of children of slaves was allowed if a white person guaranteed that they would be brought up as Christians.

(3) It was only in 1819 that permission to appoint a missionary was obtained from the State. The ordination of men specifically for missionary service was an accepted policy of various Churches in Europe, such as the Hervormde Kerk in the Netherlands, the Moravian Church and the Rhenish Mission Society. But as those Churches were not based within their missionary field, as was the NGK, their practice did not present the same dichotomy.

were to be grouped into 'congregations of natives'. Thus, for example, by 1843 a separate congregation for Fingos had been started at Beaufort West - "because they knew neither English nor Dutch".(1) The 1834 Synod did stipulate, however, that African members, provided with proof of membership, were to be admitted to white congregations, if they were in areas where there were no separate African congregations.

Meanwhile the number of black members of the Church was growing. The 1850s saw a marked extension of missionary work within the Cape, and in 1860 work started amongst the African tribes of the Transvaal and extended in 1896 to Bechuanaland. In 1891 a mission station had been established as far afield as Morgenster new Zimbabwe.

The second factor prompting separate worship was the racial prejudice of white church members. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century is was still quite common for black and white people to be united in one worshipping congregation: but several attempts were made by whites to segregate them completely. Against this the Church at first stood firm. For instance, whereas in some congregations white people received Holy Communion first while the black people waited until last, the church council of Somerset West in 1829 asked the Cape Presbytery whether Coloured people should indeed be permitted to take Communion at the same time as whites. The Presbytery replied: "According to the teaching of the Bible and the spirit of Christianity one is in duty bound to admit such persons to Holy Communion <u>together</u> with those born Christian." In the same year the church council of Swartland (Malmesbury) also raised objections to common Communion. Consequently, the Synod of that year - after lengthy debate, and after the political commissioner had urged that the very discussion of the question was unworthy of the Christian religion - expressed its unanimous conviction that the administration of Holy Communion "simultaneously to all members without distinction of colour or origin" was "an unshakeable principle based on the infallible Word of God" and that "therefore all Christian communities and each individual Christian are obliged to think and act accordingly". This decision, however, was unacceptable to the church councils; and in 1845 the council at Swellendam even went to the length of threatening to impose economic santions and to secede under a minister "who would not act in this way".

Meanwhile, during the 1830s more and more whites had been moving into the area around Stockenström, and for some while they had worshipped with the Coloured congregation there. But in 1855 forty-five of them asked the

(1) <u>Human Relations in South Africa</u> (NGK 1966 Report) p16.

church council to arrange for them to celebrate Communion on a different Sunday of the month, "so as not to hinder one another". The council refused, on the grounds that "such a step should be contrary to the articles of faith dealing with the celebration of Holy Communion in our Reformed Church, contrary to our creed and, above all, contrary to the dictates of Scripture." The whites then made another attempt and asked the council to allow them Communion on the same Sunday as the normal service, but after that service. They requested that they be served by their own deacons and that they might use their own cups. The request was referred to the Presbytery of Albany, which agreed unanimously that the whites might receive Communion after the blacks.

This resolution caused a great deal of discussion and the whole matter was brought before the Synod of 1857. After a stormy meeting the Synod succumbed to popular pressure. While it regarded it "as desirable and Scriptural that wherever possible our members from among the heathen be received and incorporated in our existing congregations", it went on to allow that in cases where this was impossible "on account of the weakness of some", whites and blacks might meet in separate buildings. Thus for the first time separate services and buildings for white and Coloured people in the same area were officially permitted.

Clearly, while recognising that multi-racial worship was the ideal Christian norm, the Synod had allowed separation not on scriptural grounds but for expedience - to accommodate the racial prejudice of some.(1) Marais has reported that "practically all the well-known church leaders of those days" disapproved of this colour prejudice in the Church and expressed the hope that the 'walls of partition' between the racial groups would be broken away: though it was admitted that as matters stood at that time the interests of both racial groups made it undesirable to break the 'walls' by force. On the other hand some justified the Synod decision by arguing that failure to respect white sentiment might alienate many Church members, and that separation would benefit the black people for they would feel more comfortable in their own congregations and have greater opportunity for participation in Church government. Commented a later historian: "The significant decision taken at this Synod not only brought about a radical change in the policy of the Church, but made it determinate and permanent." (2)

(1) Marais, B.J.: Colour: Unsolved Problem of the West (1952) pp290-292; The Dutch Reformed Churches in S.A. and the Problem of Race Relations (NGK 1956 Statement) pp3-6; The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society (1949 Conference) pp58-59; Apartheid and the Church (Spro-cas Church Commission) p30; Strassberger op.cit. pp25-35.

(2) Kriel, C.J.: quoted by Ritner art.cit. p19.

Moreover, it was to have its effect on the whole community. "The 1857 decision is by all odds the major watershed in the Church's racial policy. Here the single most influential force in the Afrikaner community sanctioned institutional separation along lines of colour in the one vital area hitherto unbreached by white prejudice."(1)

By 1872 the church council of Swartland had effected complete separation between its white and Coloured members. Elsewhere too the distinction of colour gained ground rapidly, so that separate worship and the formation of separate white or black congregations soon became the norm in the NGK. It should be added that some of the black converts apparently welcomed worshipping separately from the whites, for petitions by blacks for the establishment of separate congregations were presented at the Synod of 1863. Certainly the NGK in later years has been quick to point out that no official objection against this separate ministry was ever registered by black people.(2)

For a time, the various Coloured and African congregations that were formed remained an integral part of the NGK. But it was only a short step between separating members of different races into separate congregations and organising the segregated congregations into separate Churches. So it was that in 1880 the NGK Synod granted its Coloured congregations autonomy: the right to combine to direct their own affairs - though subject to certain restrictions from the white Church. The following year saw the first Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk in Suid-Afrika (N.G. Mission Church) which was to minister largely to Coloured people. No mention was made of a Scriptural basis for this division, nor was it permitted merely as a concession to 'the weakness of some'. Rather, reported Hewson, "the Synod took this as a forward step with the prayer that its conclusions might be in harmony with the purpose of the Holy Spirit".(3) Coloured members and congregations which were already part of the NGK were not forced to leave to join the new Church, but any subsequent congregations that were established were expected to do so. So we find that the Stockenström Coloured congregation belonged to the white Church until 1957, and the St. Stephen's Coloured congregation in Cape Town is still represented at white circuit and Synod meetings by their minister and a Coloured elder.

(1) Ritner art.cit. p.19.
(2) Human Relations in South Africa (NGK 1966 Report) p16.
(3) 1949 Conference p59.

Once this Sendingkerk had been established, African congregations in the Cape were also joined to it. But as missionary activity increased such congregations were linked together with one another to form their own separate Churches (the first in 1910) in different parts of the country. These were united in 1963 to form the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika - largely for Africans.

Similarly in 1957 there was established the Indian Reformed Church - which in 1976 became known as the Reformed Church in Africa - ministering largely to Indian people.(1)

In each of these 'daughter' Churches the white 'mother' Church at first retained a large say in the exercise of power. For instance, the 'daughter' Churches were to a large degree financially dependent on the white Church, owing to the poverty of the people in the black congregations. In addition the Synods were to include white representatives of the 'mother' Church, and had only restricted authority with regard to changing constitutions and rules, while the 'mother' Church held the right to veto decisions. In some Churches only white ministers could be elected to the moderature. However, by the 1960s we find that these restrictions were gradually being removed. Moreover, in 1964 a new Federal Council (Die Federale Raad van NG Kerke) was constituted with representatives from the 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches: the purposes of which included seeking 'with honesty and sincerity an answer to the manifold problems created by the multi-racial constitution of Africa, within and outside the Church'.(2)

This development of separate Churches by the NGK was in line with much thinking in international missionary circles at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. For it was then being advocated that missionaries establish self-supporting and self-governing indigenous churches. Thus, for instance, the synod of the Reformed Church at Middelburg in the Netherlands in 1896 resolved: "Since God did not create all people similar, but the Javanese different from us...the demand must never be put that he adopt our forms, but there must emerge out of the bosom of the converted Javanese, the eastern form of song, prayer and confession

(1) The NGK missions established in Central Africa and Northern Nigeria at the beginning of the twentieth century have also been developed into self-governing Churches.

(2) Strassberger op.cit. pp37-38. This Federal Council was wider than the old Federal Council which had been established in 1907 with representatives from the four white Churches. Refer p5 supra.

that conforms to his existence."[1] Such advocacy of indigenous churches, together with the fact that various missionary societies based overseas, (whose purpose was to evangelise the black peoples) were establishing in southern Africa Churches primarily for black people, may indeed have influenced the NGK policy. Certainly leaders of that Church have since claimed that it did do so.[2]

So we find the Reverend J. du Plessis of the NGK in 1911 enunciating two principles that he believed should be observed in missionary work in South Africa. Firstly, "we need a larger and better qualified native ministry. It is a truism to say that the best work for the African can be done by the African himself, but it is a truism that requires to be re-stated and re-enforced." Secondly, "the ultimate object of missionary enterprise should be the establishment of a national native Church."[3] So too, in the 1930s the NGK adopted a formal Missionary Policy along these lines. In the introductory paragraph it was affirmed that "while the Church acknowledges the existence among the nations of the world, of different colour, cultural and language groups, it also acknowledges that God 'made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth' (Acts 17:26), and that all souls for whom the Saviour shed His blood, are equal in the eye of God." The Policy then went on to state that people converted to Christianity should be gathered unto Churches, which should develop towards achieving their own independence. Each mission Church should gradually assume responsibility, until it eventually achieved entire self-support, self-government and self-expansion, and furnished and trained its own workers. The Policy added that evangelisation should not presuppose denationalisation. Christianity should not deprive the African of his language and culture, but should eventually permeate and purify his entire nationalism. So racial customs which did not militate directly against Christian principles should be preserved and ennobled by the influence of Christianity.[4] At the same time it was generally taken for granted that while the black peoples should be helped to establish their own separate Churches, they should not have membership or control in the affairs of the whites' Church. 'In this way only will each develop a mature Christian community.'

(1) Quoted in NGK 1966 Report p26. For further mention of this thinking refer p210 infra.
(2) NGK 1966 Report pp17, 26.
(3) Du Plessis, J.: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (1911) p407.
(4) Gerdener, G.B.A.: Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field (1958) pp269-273.

However, it should be observed that much of this theory was developed some time after the establishment of the separate Sendingkerk for Coloured people - as though to justify a practice that had already come into being. Similarly, it was not until the 1940s that churchmen were to put forward scriptural arguments to support the formation of separate Churches. Thus, bearing in mind that racial prejudice had been an important factor leading to the separation of whites and blacks into different worshipping congregations, it seems fair to conclude that such prejudice in white church members was also a factor encouraging the establishment of separate Churches.

During the twentieth century the missionary outreach to black people by the NGK, largely through its 'daughter' Churches, has been considerable - and even more extended than the missionary work of other Christian Churches in southern Africa. Clearly there has been great enthusiasm for this amongst white NGK members.(1)

Black members of the 'daughter' Churches, on the other hand, have not been entirely happy with the developments. Some it is true, were glad to be apart from the whites - among whom they had not felt welcome nor been given full equality - but many have since criticised the paternalism and subordination evident in relationships between the 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches. Amongst other things, it has been observed that black ministers, in spite of their office, have not been accepted as social equals by white fellow-ministers, let alone by the laity.(2) Even in 1962, the NGK declared that white missionaries in the 'daughter' Churches should be dealt with as members of those Churches 'for all practical purposes' - but still made the reservation that in the final settlement of disciplinary matters they remained members of the white Church.

In the 1940s a large number of Coloured people turned away from the Sendingkerk: apparently, on the whole, because of the racial policies of

(1) In 1951 Dr. Malan, defending the NGK against charges of racial prejudice, claimed that it was spending nearly half a million pounds annually on mission work. Such expenditure has been in contrast to the situation of the previous century when overseas based missions were able to draw on a fund of good will and money in Europe, while the NGK was entirely dependent on the resources of local Afrikaners, who (until the 1920s) possessed much land but little cash.

(2) In 1952 it was reported that white missionaries in the Sendingkerk received black preachers in their studies but not in their sitting-rooms, and that tea or a meal might be offered but not in the presence of the white family. (Paterson op.cit. p201.)

the NGK.[1] Some moved to other Christian Churches where racial discrimination was less evident. Of particular note was the break-away under the chairman of the Wynberg Presbytery, the Reverend I.D. Morkel. In 1950, after issuing a statement condemning racial segregation, he and his congregation left the Sendingkerk and set up, with no doctrinal change, the Calvyn Protestantse Kerk in Suid-Afrika. They were joined by another Coloured minister and a theological student, and by 1954 had a membership of some 6 000 people. This, said C.J. Kriel, was a "purely political schism".[2] Meanwhile, some other congregations within the 'daughter' Churches, having become financially self-supporting were dissociating themselves from the racial separation advocated by the 'mother' Church: and at its 1962 Synod the Sendingkerk stressed that its Churches were open to all "irrespective of race and colour".

Back in the 'mother' Church itself it was stated that none of the NGK provincial Synods had ever legally or in any other way forbidden communion of believers of different racial groups.[3] Contrary to this assertion, however, we find that in 1885 when union had been effected between a majority of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk and the NGK in the Transvaal, these two Churches had agreed as a principle of union that "the Church allows no equality of treatment (gelykstelling) between whites and non-whites". A law had indeed been passed ruling that "members of the mission congregation shall not make use of church buildings of the white members of the Church."[4] This was to be an important influence on much subsequent thinking in NGK Synods, for the opinion of churchmembers in the Transvaal has borne considerable weight. Nevertheless, no clause restricting membership has ever been laid down by the other Synods: and in 1956 the Federal Council of the NGK resolved that "as a matter of principle no person will be excluded from corporate worship solely on the grounds of race or colour."[5] The Church Order of the unified NGK (1962) - its defenders point out - contains no reference to a man's colour. Yet in practice, with the single exception of the St. Stephen's congregation, the NGK is an exclusively white Church: and black people have even recently been refused admission to worship in some white congregations.

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(1) Between 1946 and 1951 the number of Coloured people belonging to the NG Churches decreased from 30% to 26,4% of the total Coloured population. (Strossberger op.cit. p39.)
(2) Refer ibid p39; Patterson op.cit. pp201-202.
(3) NGK 1956 Statement p11.
(4) Cawood, op.cit. p22; Spro-cas Church Commission p30.
(5) Spro-cas Church Commission p30. Refer also to the resolution of the national missionary conference of the NGK at Kroonstad, April 1960. (NGK Statements on Race Relations No. 1, November 1960, p15.)

2. CHURCH AND STATE RESPONSES TO THE 'NATIVE PROBLEM'

At the end of the nineteenth century poverty was a growing problem amongst whites in the rural areas. Because the law of inheritance necessitated the division of a man's property among his sons, farms were becoming smaller and smaller, until many could no longer provide a living for their owners: for much of the land was not suited to intensive agriculture, and much had deteriorated through over-grazing and deforestation. Wasteful farming methods, drought and disease aggravated the situation - as did the systematic devastation of land by the British forces during the Anglo-Boer War. Thus it was that many people became bywoners or landless squatters, living precariously on the margins of another man's land and working for him in return for a share of crops or cattle. However, after the War and after a harvest failure in 1903 many farmers refused to allow bywoners to return to their farms; while consequent competition between people within this squatter class enabled other farmers to lessen shares given to those living on their property. Thus the poverty of many increased. To make matters worse, there was an economic depression from 1906-1908.

In search of a living, more and more whites moved into the towns.(1) But there they found themselves in a strange world of alien ideas. They had little or no formal education nor had they much knowledge of a cash economy, for they had been subsistence farmers. Now, without training or experience, they found the skilled labour field closed to them - for it was already filled by artisans who jealously guarded their skills and their high wages against all comers. On the other hand, they found that a virtual monopoly of unskilled and manual labour at low wage rates had already been gained by Africans (or in the western Cape by Coloured people) who had preceded them to the towns. Thus many remained unemployed and their poverty continued. Each year the problem was to grow graver. By 1923 it would be estimated that abubt 10% of the white population could be classified as 'poor whites'.

As the majority of the rural white population were Afrikaners, it followed that some 80% of the 'poor whites' were Afrikaners too. Thus it was natural that the NGK should show concern for their plight. At first the Church attempted to stop their movement to the towns by establishing land settlement schemes where they might have small-holdings and be taught

(1) Between 1891 and 1911 the white urban population increased by more than 200%.

better farming methods. Then in the country and in the towns local congregations administered relief schemes; and orphanages and institutions for the aged and infirm were established, as well as hostels for indigent children where they might receive the education which would rehabilitate them. At the same time the NGK did much to bring the plight of 'poor whites' home to the white population in general, by preaching the need for Christian charity from the pulpit, by representation to the Government, and by calling successive conferences to discuss the problem.(1) (Indeed, Strassberger has given much of the credit for eventually solving the 'poor white' problem to the Dutch Reformed Churches and their untiring efforts towards the education and economic growth of their people.)(2) Meanwhile, a growing awareness among Afrikaner churchmen and intellectuals that much of the white poverty was in fact Afrikaner poverty encouraged in them a greater national consciousness and assertiveness over against the English-speaking people.(3) On the other hand, the competition from Africans for unskilled jobs, posing as it did a threat to their economic security and sense of superiority, engendered in Afrikaners fresh hostility against black people.

Meanwhile, another development was to prompt a flow of Africans too towards the towns. In 1913 the Natives Land Act ruled inter alia that only labourers might live on land belonging to white farmers, while those Africans who wished to raise their own cattle and crops should do this in African areas. It also stipulated that Africans might not acquire land from whites outside the scheduled African reserves (while whites were prohibited from acquiring land in these reserves).(4) So an end was decreed to the widespread practice of Africans living as tenants on land belonging to whites, and two streams of Africans were to move from the 'white' rural areas: one into the already congested African reserves, and the other into the towns. Later industrialisation would further encourage the latter stream, and yet more Africans would come to face the whites in the urban situation.

At about the same time in the mines of the Transvaal a number of Africans were moving up from unskilled to semi-skilled occupations, and so were increasing the use which mining companies could make of cheap labour. Such encroachment was not pleasing to the white miners, for they felt themselves menaced in their monopoly of skill and high wages. Many of them

(1) As early as 1893 the NGK had called such a conference in the Cape.
(2) Strassberger, op.cit. p46.
(3) Later national-minded clergy were indeed to encourage Afrikaners to the towns, to take their place in industry, commerce and the public service 'so that the cities might be conquered by the Afrikaners'. (Patterson op.cit. p194.)
(4) Thus, occupation as well as ownership of land were to be divided on racial lines, and segregation to become more rigid.

were local people who had replaced the first generation of miners from overseas, and had added an emphatic racial consciousness to the self-interest of their predecessors. Some were Afrikaners too, for the trade unions had been opened to them after the recession of 1907. To these miners it was intolerable that black and white men should meet in equality over a machine or a drill. Here was further racial confrontation.

As a concession to the interests of the white miners, Parliament in 1911 adopted a Mines and Works Act under which regulations effectively prevented the employment of black people in skilled occupations on the mines - 'in the interest of health, safety and discipline' - and the traditional 'colour bar' became statutory. But in the post-war depression of 1921 the Chamber of Mines announced that it proposed to use more cheap African labour for semi-skilled work, and coal-mining companies attempted to cut wages. Promptly white miners came out on strike; and there followed (in March 1922) a general strike, during which bands of men marched 'in the name of the white race' and fighting errupted. Military action under the Prime Minister, General Smuts, restored peace. Meanwhile, however, the 'poor white' problem had become manifestly more critical during the depression, and it too demanded government attention.(1)

So it was that economic competition between white and black people in the urban areas brought the question of race relations, or the 'Native problem', squarely into the centre of political thinking. No longer could white people simply treat Africans in a paternalistic but firm manner and ensure that they remained in a peaceful condition. Now a positive racial policy was called for. Indeed, the racial issue 'began to assume an urgency....that had been lacking before and which it was not to lose again'.

In 1923 the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed empowering local authorities to set aside locations for African urban workers and to make regulations controlling entry into and residence in such areas. Thus residential segregation in urban-areas, hitherto enforced only by local regulations was made uniform, and there was an attempt at discouraging the movement of Africans to the towns.

However, the ruling South African Party had been branded as unconcerned for the protection of white people (due to Smuts' handling of the miners' rising in 1922), and in the 1924 elections there came to power under General Hertzog a coalition government of the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party: described by De Kiewiet as "a white people's front against the natives".(2)

(1) At the same time the 1921 census hinted at a considerable growth in the African population, and made many whites more acutely conscious of their numerical inferiority.

(2) De Kiewiet, op.cit. p224.

By this time the basic pattern of racial discrimination in employment and of segregation in urban and rural areas had already been legislatively established, and accepted by the majority of white people. But Hertzog now expounded a more detailed policy of racial separation - which, he said, would be to the benefit of both black and white people. Africans would be withdrawn from competition with whites so that in their own reserves they could develop their own society; while whites, protected from African competition,. could preserve their racial identity and western civilisation. Thus, two distinct 'streams' of culture would pursue their parallel course into the future.(1) It was added, though, that the white people, 'because of their innate and invincible superiority over the Africans', should retain a dominant position in the country and act as 'trustees' concerned for the welfare and development of the Africans. Thus, in the following years laws would be amended and old Acts changed for new in an effort to draw more clearly the lines between white and black.

It was shortly before this that the NGK became explicitly involved in discussions on the 'Native problem'. Aware of the need for better understanding between the racial groups, and also sensitive to criticism of its segregated Churches, the Federal Council of the NGK in September 1923 summoned a three-day conference at Johannesburg.(2) This was an inter-racial meeting, and was attended by representatives from eleven Churches and missionary societies and from universities, welfare associations and various African organisations. It is said to have been the first conference "at which Natives with Englishmen and Dutchmen sat down at a round table to discuss together the inter-relation of the races, not only on religious matters but also social, educatienal, economic and political."(3) The Conference did much to bring these people of different races closer together, and it gave a more favourable understanding of the attitude of the NGK than others had had of it in the past.(4) There it was resolved: "The Conference

(1) ibid. pp235, 241; Moodie, op.cit. p337. Note the similarity between this thinking and that which argued that Afrikaners and English-speaking people should likewise continue as parallel 'streams' within the white community. (Refer p75 supra.)

(2) This was the Council that had been formed in 1907 with representatives from the four white provincial Synods. Strassberger has suggested that one of the motives for forming this Council had been a desire for a united racial and mission policy. (op.cit. p298)

(3) The South African Outlook, April, 1924; quoted by Gerdener, op.cit. p181.

(4) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p636; cf. Strassberger, op.cit. p299.

believes that complete segregation (of the races) is neither possible nor desirable. It considers, however, that a partial segregation ...while not providing a panacea for the Native Problem, is a useful subsidiary measure tending to facilitate administration."(1)

Two years later the Federal Council appointed a standing committee to consider matters relating to the African people. In September 1926 this Native Commission organised a conference at Bloemfontein for representatives of eight Churches to gain a better understanding of one anctther's approach to the 'Native question'. While believing that co-operation between white and black people was necessary for the prosperity of the country, the Conference agreed that it would not necessarily be contrary to Christian principles if the progress of the African people was sought separately from the whites. It was added, though, that Christians should keep a look out for discrimination to ensure that all sections of society received equal treatment.(2)

In January 1927 a similar conference was called by the NGK at Cape Town. Here again resolutions made it clear that the Church did not consider racial segregation as a cure-all for the 'Native problem'. It was, however, clearly accepted as an ad hoc response to immediate practical problems. Differentiation within one community was a practical expedient for avoiding friction and maintaining racial harmony.(3)

The concern of the NGK in calling these conferences reflected the growing awareness among whites of the need to introduce some sort of ordered racial policy in the country. The conferences also revealed that the NGK felt a need for direct communication between Christians of different racial groups. But already there was evident some tension between the NGK approach to race relations and that of members of some other Churches. For instance, Strassberger has reported that the question of the African franchise was a major area of disagreement - and was specifically not discussed at the 1926 conference lest the harmony which had marked the meeting become marred.(4) Such tensions prevented the Churches from coming to a deeper dialogue on racial matters.

(1) The South African Outlook, December 1923, p275; quoted by Ritner, art. cit. p22. Refer European and Bantu, being Papers and Addresses read at the Conference.
(2) Strassberger, op.cit. pp300-301.
(3) cf. Ritner, art.cit. pp21-22.
(4) Strassberger, op.cit. p301. The franchise was being discussed in political circles at that time.

The new Government meanwhile was taking steps to implement its policy of dividing black people from white.

A Department of Labour was created, of which a prime function was to establish areas of employment for 'poor whites' in which they would be protected from African competition, and paid not according to their productivity but according to their needs as 'civilised' people. Municipalities and other public bodies were encouraged to employ more whites, while many were given unskilled or semi-skilled work on the railways, roads and irrigation schemes.(1) Such manual labour had previously been despised as incompatible with a white skin, but now it became acceptable to whites - provided it was not done for black wages or side by side with blacks. Meanwhile black people were being exluded from certain kinds of work and from opportunities for their own advancement. The Supreme Court had in 1923 declared that regulations under the Mines and Works Act of 1911 could not be legally enforced, but in 1926 a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament passed the Mines and Works Amendment Act, closing many avenues of employment in skilled trades to both Africans and Asians. The following year the Native Administration Act did much to remove the benefits of the Rule of Law from Africans and to increase the power of officials over them.

For many decades sexual relations between white women and black men had generally been frowned upon. Although there were in some parts provisions for mixed marriages, in the Transvaal and similarly in Natal, there were severe penalties for "unlawful carnal intercourse between white women and any 'native'", while in the Cape and Orange Free State such extra-marital relations were forbidden if they were for the purpose of gain.(2) At the present time, however, many feared that the economic status of 'poor whites' would lead them to social equality with black people, and that then through miscegenation they would become lost to the white racial group. 'The solidarity of white society and the integrity of its blood were supreme values.' So it was that in 1927 the Immorality Act was passed, prohibiting all extra-marital intercourse between whites and Africans.

In the elections of 1929 the Nationalist Party, basing its campaign on the racial issue and a cry against the 'black peril', obtained a clear majority in the House of Assembly.(3) Hertzog officially committed his

(1) Between 1921 and 1926 the number of unskilled whites employed by the government-owned South African Railways jumped from 4 700 to not far short of 16 000. (Geen, op.cit. p270).
(2) Refer Patterson, op.cit. p242.
(3) For two decades at least the threat of British imperialism and of the 'black peril' would run in harness as rallying cries for Afrikaner nationalism.

Party to keeping South Africa a "white man's land".[1] Four years later, after losing some support because of their failure to follow Britain off the gold standard, the Nationalists were joined in a coalition pact by Smuts' South African Party, to become in 1934 the United Party. This coalition was made possible by the South African Party's acceptance of the Nationalist segregationist racial policy - which to many of that Party was not a major concession. Indeed, Moodie has pointed out that Smuts himself had proposed a policy of racial segregation back in 1929.[2] So racial policies continued much as before, with the United Party emphasising that 'the essentials of European civilisation' were of paramount importance, and stressing the principle of 'Christian trusteeship'.[3] Meanwhile the economic depression of the early 1930s and drought had raised the number of 'poor whites' to one fifth of the total white population.

In 1936 the Native Trust and Land Act gave authority for acquisition and allocation of further land as reserves for African settlement, but allowed that in the final apportionment no more than some 13,7% of the total area of South Africa would be used for such purposes. The Act helped to make more rigid the division of land ownership on racial lines, and also made provision for controlling Africans on white-owned land by requiring a licence for each squatter and limiting the number of labour tenants permitted. The following year the Native Laws Amendment Act prohibited Africans from acquiring land in urban areas from people of other races and ruled that urban Africans could be sent to the reserves and refused passes to seek work in the towns. This would reduce their competition in the labour market.[4]

At the same time the voting rights allowed to Africans in the Cape and Natal were being questioned. Since the First World War the value of money had fallen and literacy among Africans had increased, so that the educational and economic qualifications required by those wishing the vote now had less restrictive value. Lest the number of African voters be allowed to outnumber the whites, Hertzog had in 1929 introduced a Bill to deprive them of their common franchise rights; but this had not received the two-thirds majority of both Houses in joint session required by the South Africa Act.[5] Nevertheless, the weight of the black vote had been reduced by half in 1930 when voting rights had been extended to white women: and in

(1) Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) Vol.II p404.
(2) Moodie, op.cit. p316.
(3) Robertson, op.cit. p15.
(4) While the white urban population had more than doubled between 1904 and 1936, the African urban population had in that time more than trebled. (De Kiewiet, op. cit. p206.)
(5) Hertzog had in fact sought support for such a scheme as far back as 1926.

1931 the educational and economic qualifications required by white voters in the Cape and Natal had been waived. Now, in 1936, the fusion with Smuts' party having made it possible, the Representation of Natives Act was duly passed, eliminating Africans from the common electoral roll. A concession was made, however, in that African voters in the Cape were placed on a separate roll which was to elect three whites to the House of Assembly (and two to the Cape Provincial Council); while chiefs, local councils and advisory boards throughout the country (acting as electoral colleges) were to elect four whites to the Senate. The Act also established a Natives Representative Council: but this was a purely advisory body, and its impotence was soon demonstrated when government departments paid scant attention to its requests for the removal of many restrictions on the movement of Africans.

This latter Act removing the African franchise together with the Native Trust and Land Act were considered by Hertzog and many others as the permanent solution to the 'Native problem'. Moodie has observed, however, that Hertzog envisaged the policy of segregation and white domination as applying only during the 'minority' of the African people, until they had developed to the same level of civilisation as the whites. Just as it emerged that Hertzog did not mean perpetual political separation between Afrikaners and English-speaking whites [1] so his racial policy, it was suggested, did not mean eternal separation between black and white people but eventual integration into a unified South Africa.[2]

The aforementioned legislation, it should be added, affected almost exclusively the African population, while the Coloured people were left practically untouched. The Indian population, on the other hand, did have several measures taken against them. Before Union the Transvaal had introduced a registration fee for Indians, and had practically excluded further Indians from entering the territory; while in the Orange Free State there was a law against the entry of Asians, and Indians born in the Cape had no right to return there. In 1913 the Union Parliament passed the Immigration Act under which the authorities could debar from entering South Africa anyone whosehabits of life were unsuited to the requirements of the country. This measure was frankly aimed at limiting Indian immigration. Soon many, led by Mohandas K. Gandhi (later Mahatma Ghandi) in a policy of passive resistance, were protesting against the harsh administration of this and other earlier laws.[3] The outcome was the Indian Relief Act of 1914 which abolished the tax on those Indians in Natal who neither

(1) Refer p77 supra.
(2) Moodie, op.cit. pp338-339.
(3) Refer p55 supra.

reindentured nor returned to India, and which allowed the sole wife of an Indian to be admitted into Natal. Meanwhile, Indians were infiltrating 'white' areas and presenting keen competition in the sphere of retail trade, so that Natal in 1923 forbade them from buying or leasing municipal land, and then deprived them of the municipal franchise. Two Bills that would have restricted them to specific areas throughout the Union were shelved; but in 1932 the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act reinforced previous laws forbidding Indians from owning fixed property in that province, and also prevented them from occupying land in proclaimed areas (including practically the whole of the Witwatersrand) except in the locations and bazaars set aside for them.

What should be noticed is that the legislative action of this time, while drawing lines between white people and black, did not completely separate them. Similarly, it should be remembered that in the 1920s the conferences convened by the NGK had stated that complete racial segregation was neither possible nor desirable.

In contrast to this, there was developing within the Afrikaner community and also within the NGK during the 1930s a new concept of race relations. Continued anxiety for the white man's cultural identity in the face of larger numbers of black people and competition from them for employment, and also anxiety for his physical identity threatened by miscegenation, led many to believe that the only way their people could be safeguarded was for them to live entirely apart from the black people. Hence there were increasing calls for total separation of the racial groups.

Ritner reported evidence of this new thinking in articles by NGK clergymen published in 1935.(1) There was also some indication of it in the formal Missionary Policy adopted by the NGK Synods at that time.(2) In its paragraph on social matters it stated:

> "The traditional fear of the Afrikaner of equality of treatment (gelykstelling) between black and white has its origin in his antipathy to the idea of racial fusion. The church declares itself unequivocally opposed to this fusion and to all that would give rise to it, but, on the other

(1) In Koers in die Krisis Vol I (Stellenbosch); Ritner, art.cit.p23.
(2) Gerdener, op.cit.pp269-272; cf. p90 supra.

hand, as little begrudges the Native and Coloured a social status, as honourable as he can reach. Every nation has the right to be itself and to endeavour to develop and elevate itself. While the church thus declares itself opposed to social equality in the sense of ignoring differences of race and colour between white and black in daily life, it favours the encouragement and development of social differentiation and intellectual or cultural segregation, to the advantage of both sections.

"The policy of trusteeship, as exercised at present, must gradually develop into a policy of complete independence and self-determination for the Coloured and Native in his own community, school and church. The NGK considers all differential treatment as a means of enhancing life and independence".

On economic affairs the Policy stated:

"The Native and Coloured must be assisted to develop into self-respecting Christian nations. By self-help and especially by the practice of self-control, own initiative and perseverance, they must develop their own economic solidarity as far as possible apart from the Europeans."

It was added that since the whites were the trustees of the black people they should help and encourage them by providing them with opportunities for labour and development. The Policy also advocated "co-equal" education and instruction "in their own sphere" for black people, each of whom should be prepared "to take up his appointed place in his country and amongst his people." Here were many of the themes and catchwords that were to be used by politicians in years to come. What was more, this Policy statement was to be pointed to to show the Church's official approval of racial segregation.(1)

In 1942 the NGK constituted a Federal Missionary Council on which there were representatives of the four provincial synods.(2) That same year

(1) cf. eg: Cronjé, G., Nicol, W. & Groenewald, E.P.: Regverdige Rasse-Apartheid (1947) pp33,40. Patterson reported that in 1939 the Federal Council of the NGK voted in favour of 'segregation'. (op.cit. p205) Similarly the Transvaal Synod of the NGK in 1944 expressed approval of racial separation and white 'trusteeship' 'founded on the principles of Christianity'. (Carter, G.M.; Karis, T., & Stultz, N.M.: South Africa's Transkei (1967) p35).

(2) This replaced the Native Commission of the Federal Council.

the Council took up the question of race relations with the Government. There were consultations with the Minister of Native Affairs, during which members of the Council called for separate residential areas for the different racial groups, and for separate universities, as well as for a prohibition of mixed marriages.(1) The Council also sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister (who was now Smuts) recommending that the Government move towards a policy of race separation, beginning with stronger measures against miscegenation and a tightening of residential and economic segregation. The Church declared itself "unalterably opposed to miscegenation and all that might further miscegenation". It also informed the Government that it was "the sacred conviction of the Afrikaner People and Church that the only salvation of the people's existence lies in the implementation of this principle of race-separation".(2)

At the same time the Council formed several study commissions. One on education proposed that African schools be placed separately under the Minister of Native Affairs, and that while this education should not be inferior to that of whites it should have its own character and be peculiar to the African people (eiesoortig). Another commission was specifically concerned with race relations. Of note there were two conferences in 1945 that arose from its study groups. At first in the Transvaal African ministers and teachers met with representatives of the NGK and the Sendingkerk, and "it was clearly stated that the time had come for the whites to confide more in the Africans and to give them greater responsibility". At the second conference in the Cape white and Coloured leaders met together and indicated several areas in which the relationship between white and Coloured people could be greatly improved. These meetings seem to indicate that the Federal Missionary Council was seeking ways of coming to a better understanding with African and Coloured members of the 'daughter' Churches.(3)

That the principle of total separation of the racial groups was gaining rapid acceptance among Afrikaners was evidenced in the resolutions of a Congress of the People (Volkskongres) in which the NGK participated at Bloemfontein in September 1944. There it was agreed:

> "That it is in the interest of the white and non-white peoples of South Africa that a policy of separation (apartheid) should be followed, so that the non-white population groups

(1) Strassberger, op.cit. pp308-309.
(2) Quoted in Ritner, art.cit. p24.
(3) cf. Strassberger op.cit. pp306-307. Strassberger also reported that in 1935 representatives of the NGK had participated in two meetings organised by secular bodies with Africans and Coloured people respectively. (op.cit. p301).

will each receive the opportunity to develop according to its own character, in its own territory, and can eventually gain control of its own affairs there."

"That it is the Christian duty of the whites to act as guardian over the non-white races until they have reached the level where they can decide for themselves over their own affairs: that is, that the whites should give to them the necessary leadership and should assist in providing the necessary means for the maintenance of social services so long as it may be necessary."(1)

Carter has observed that in these resolutions the Congress conceded that there should be a measure of African autonomy at some time in the future. "But the central issue considered was not what kind of dispensation the Africans should receive, nor how gradually to end white trusteeship, but the immediate methods for differentiating Africans by statute."(2) Three years later in July 1947, another Volkskongres would also call for separation between the races in every area of life.

Meanwhile, the years of the Second World War and afterwards were seeing a large-scale development of industry in South Africa, giving employment opportunities to many more people and enabling most of the remaining 'poor whites' gradually to attain a higher economic status. Thus white poverty eventually ceased to be a pressing problem for the Government.

But the flow of whites and Africans to the towns did not cease. Rather it accelerated during the 1940s so that the 'Native problem' once more became acute.(3) For many Afrikaners employment opportunities were to low-grade jobs in the civil service, staffing post offices, pass offices, or public transport, or serving in the police force. Such employment brought them into daily contact with large numbers of black people, and life in the cities gave many opportunities for this contact to be abrasive. With their preconceptions about black people and the ordering of society

(1) Cronjé et. al. op.cit. pp41-42.
(2) Carter et.al. op.cit. p35.
(3) By 1948 the number of Afrikaners living in the urgan areas had for the first time overtaken the number of English-speaking whites living there. Meanwhile the number of Africans living in the towns had grown from just under 13% of the entire African population in 1911 to 27% in 1951. (Geen, op.cit. p275.)

on the farms, they now met an unaccustomed 'cheekiness' (as they called it) in city blacks. What was more, the vast pool of black labour that was ever available still threatened their economic security.

The Smuts Government, however, (divided between a few who pulled in the direction of more freedom for Africans and others who were fearful of 'going too fast') had an ambivalent racial policy, and did little besides try vainly to restrict the movement of Africans to the towns. In 1946 it set up a Native Laws Commission under Justice H.A. Fagan to investigate social problems related to this migration, but its report was only presented in March 1948, just before the United Party was ousted from power. It is noteworthy that this Commission found that the African reserves would be utterly unable to carry the whole African population, and that the movement of Africans into the towns could not be prevented nor reversed.(1) Meanwhile, the Natives' Representative Council despaired of the Govern ent ignoring its resolutions. It took little notice of Smuts' rather vague offer to give it some authority over local government and development of the reserves, and suspended its own sittings indefinitely.(2) Many Africans, meanwhile, were demanding better wages and more rights, and the African National Congress (established in 1912) was growing in numbers and in influence.

The fact that some Indians had been buying property in white residential areas in Natal led Smuts to appoint in 1943 a Provincial Board of Control to divide Natal into residential areas, in some of which no property deals between whites and Indians should be allowed. He also put into operation an Act to peg the land situation in Natal and the trading situation in the Transvaal for three years. Then in 1946 the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was passed. It provided that, except in exempted areas, no Asian could acquire fixed property from a white person in the Transvaal or Natal except under permit, while people of other races required permits if they wished to purchase from Asians within the exempted areas. However, the Act also provided for some representation of Indians in Parliament. Indian men in Natal and the Transvaal who possessed certain educational and financial qualifications were placed on a separate communal roll, to elect one white to the Senate, (another being appointed on their behalf) and three whites to the House of Assembly (while Natal Indians could elect two members, who might be Indians, to the Provincial Council). However, Indians boycotted the scheme.

(1) Report of the Native Laws Commission (UG No.28-1948) paras. 22. 65.
(2) It was subsequently to be abolished in 1951.

Then in 1948, while accusing the United Party of having no clear-cut racial policy and thus of allowing the black 'threat' to 'white civilisation' in South Africa to develop, the Nationalist Party put before the electorate a policy known as 'apartheid'. Worked out by Afrikaner intellectuals and churchmen, this policy elevated racial segregation to the level of an ideal - according to which the racial groups would be separated from one another in social, economic and political spheres. Such a policy would secure the safety of white people from the 'black domination' which they feared. Yet it would not involve oppression or exploitation of the black people, for that would be "in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life". Due regard would be given to their natural rights "to a proper living and... to their own development in accordance with their own requirements and capabilities." Said an election pamphlet, this was a product of "the experience of the established European population....based on the Christian principles of justice and reasonableness". It was a vague policy, but to many people it seemed to offer a solution to the 'Native problem'. So it was that with this thrust and with a strong appeal to Afrikaner nationalist sentiment the Nationalist Party in a coalition pact with the Afrikaner Party came to power in May of that year, under the leadership of Dr. Malan.

Almost immediately the new Government embarked on a programme of legislation and administration that systematically separated members of different racial groups from one another in all areas of life.

Among the first Acts to be passed was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, which made marriage between white and black a crime; followed by the Immorality Amendment Act in 1950 which now prohibited extra-marital sexual intercourse between whites and people of any black race.

A Population Registration Act was adopted in 1950, providing for the classification of every person into a particular racial group and the issuing of racial identity cards. Such classification would help prevent individuals of one population group from 'passing' as members of another more privileged group. In the same year the Group Areas Act was adopted, empowering the Government to declare any area as reserved for occupation by a particular racial group. The principle of segregated residential areas had long been accepted in South Africa, but now this law made separation between people more rigid. Even Coloured people were to be divided from whites, and

Indians were to be forced from areas in which they had been long-established. Other legislation would allow only certain categories of Africans to remain in urban areas, and provisions would be made for the forced removal of people from one area to another. Further measures would be taken against the presence of African squatters and labour tenants on white farms. 'Pass laws' restricting the movement of all Africans would be tightened up. Meanwhile whites would be restricted from entering African areas.

Africans had long been accustomed to separate facilities, but now the Government extended this principle and made it more rigid. Coloureds too would have to travel in 'non-white' railway coaches, for instance, and stand at 'non-white' counters in the post office. What was more, the Reservation of Separate Amedities Act of 1953 would establish the principle that separate amenities need not be equal. Also in 1953, the Bantu Education Act would transfer the control of African education from provincial departments and from the Churches and vest it completely in the hands of the central Government. The need for mother-tongue instruction would be emphasised, to bolster tribal self-consciousness - but this would restrict the access of African children to the 'white' community. Six years later the Extension of University Education Act would limit the admission of black students to open universities and provide for separate university institutions not merely for the three black racial groups but more particularly for each of three main African linguistic groups. Later the control of education for Coloureds and Indians would likewise be transferred to separate departments of the central Government. Meanwhile it would be ruled that separate welfare organisations , professional organisations and sporting bodies should be formed for each racial group. Laws would also prevent people of one racial group from attending public entertainment or being served refreshments in an area set aside for another group.

In 1948 the Government re-affirmed the 'civilised labour' policy for the Public Service and Railways, according to which whites would be employed in lower skilled posts and paid at far higher rates than those received by blacks doing similar work in the private sector of the economy. In 1956 an Industrial Conciliation Act would provide for 'job reservation' whereby specified types of work would be reserved for persons of a specified racial group. Registered trade unions would be prevented from having African members, and no further unions catering for whites, Asians and Coloured people together would be allowed.

Meanwhile the Government started to pursue the disfranchisement of black people. In 1948 it repealed that part of the 1946 Act which had

given Indians in the Transvaal and Natal parliamentary representation (though they had never used it). In 1951 a Separate Representation of Voters Bill would be introduced to take Coloured voters in the Cape and Natal and Asians in the Cape off the common roll: but having been passed bicamerally and not, as required by the South Africa Act, by a two-thirds majority of both Houses in joint session, it would be declared invalid by the Appeal Court. There would follow a protracted constitutional struggle; but eventually, after enlarging the Senate, the requisite two-thirds majority would be found in 1956 to remove the entrenched voting rights from the South Africa Act and to validate the Separate Representation of Voters Act.(1) In its final form the latter enactment would place Coloured (and Asian) voters in the Cape on a separate electoral roll to elect four whites to the House of Assembly (and two to the Provincial Council) while the Governor-General would nominate one white to represent them in the Senate. Registered Coloured voters in Natal would remain on the common roll until their death, but no further Coloured persons would be registered as voters there. Then in 1959 the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act would abolish all parliamentary representation of Africans: and finally in 1968 the representation of all Coloured people (and Asians) in Parliament would also be abolished. Thus black people were to have their voting rights eroded until they ceased to have any direct voice in the governing of the country.(2)

On the question of what exactly apartheid required in the way of territorial separation between the racial groups - and to what extent it would involve more than simply residential segregation - the Government in 1948 was vague . Indeed, Malan was wary of formulating too precise a definition. Developments in this field we shall consider later.

Clearly apartheid in 1948 was not an entirely new concept. For it had its roots in the racial segregation implemented by previous governments of the Union, and even before that in racial policies of the various territories of southern Africa, both Boer and British. What the new Government did was to extend and enforce the social separation which had been generally accepted custom for many, many years, and to systematise an already imposing set of racial laws. making them more rigid and pervasive.

(1) After this had been done, the number of Senators would be reduced in 1960.

(2) The Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968 would prohibit racially mixed political parties and make it unlawful for a person of one racial group to give any political assistance to persons of another group.

Said Van den Berghe: "Apartheid differs from the race policy of earlier governments mostly in that its ideology is more explicit, its rationalisation more elaborate, and its implementation more thorough and systematic."(1) Meer on the other hand has commented: "There may be those who draw academic distinctions between the concept of apartheid and of the segregation that preceded it. To blacks the difference is basically linguistic."(2)

Some observers have suggested that the NGK played a major part in the evolution of Government policies of racial segregation. Certainly the consultations between the Federal Missionary Council and various Cabinet Ministers in 1942 and subsequent years clearly indicated that the Church was directly involved in political thinking; and the fact that the Church was putting pressure on the Government towards the separation of racial groups was reflected in the memorandum which the Council sent to the Prime Minister in 1942. Some NGK thologians, as we shall consider shortly, were expounding a theological justification for racial segregation; while it is also apparent that some churchmen were involved with other intellectuals in the formulation of the 'apartheid' policy put forward by the Nationalist Party in 1948. It is noticeable, furthermore, that some legislative action after 1948 was in line with recommendations made by earlier Church study commissions, and we note, for instance, Brookes' report that in the 1949 Parliamentary debate on racially mixed marriages it was declared that the three Dutch Reformed Churches had asked for their prohibition.(3) Furthermore, it stands to reason that the NG pattern of separation between white and black church members did reinforce Afrikaner attitudes of group exclusiveness and separation.

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that policies of racial separation had been developing in southern Africa in the early nineteenth century before the NGK started extensive mission work or approved of racially separate congregations.(4) The pattern of segregation had been legislatively established before the NGK called its conferences of the 1920s, and Hertzog had expounded a detailed policy of racial separation in 1925 long before the formation of the Federal Missionary Council and its representations to the Government. So we may conclude that while there was obviously a certain amount of interaction between Church and State, yet their thinking on race relations was to a large extent in parallel.

(1) Study in Conflict p110;cf.Van den Berghe, P.L.(Ed.): Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict (1965) pp505-507.
(2) In Sociological Perspectives (Adam, Ed.) p124.
(3) Apartheid p181.
(4) cf. Strassberger op.cit. pp35, 309, 452.

3. FURTHERING APARTHEID

(a) BIBLICAL JUSTIFICATION

Prior to the 1940s the common emphasis of NGK churchmen arguing in favour of racial segregation was that such a policy would do justice to all the racial groups. A new note was struck, however, in those years. Partly in response to a growing criticism from members of some other Churches, and particularly from the 'English-speaking' Churches, NGK theologians now began to seek a biblical basis for separation of the races, both within the Church and in the wider society. If it were to appear that such a policy was in conflict with biblical principles, it was reasoned, then churchmen would be obliged to seek alternatives: but if it was found to be compatible with Scripture, then they "need not yield an inch to any man's arguments".

Amongst the first such biblical expositions was a comprehensive paper delivered at the 1944 Volkskongres by Professor J.D. du Toit of the Gereformeerde Kerk.(1) In response to this, the Congress expressed its conviction that the policy of racial segregation "is based on Holy Scripture which teaches us that God did not wish uniformity but diversity of nations, and realises his will in the pluriformity of peoples, races, languages and cultures".(2) Similar analyses of Scripture were developed and elaborated through the 1940s. We shall study here thinking evidenced in an exposition by Professor E.P. Groenewald published in 1947;(3) and in a memorandum read at a national Congress of the NGK in 1950.(4)

It was first admitted that Scripture taught the unity of mankind, in that God had created one man, Adam, and then a wife out of his own body, and then from this first couple the whole of humanity had originated in pursuance of God's command that they multiply and fill the earth. Thus Paul had been able to declare that all humanity had come from one (blood) (Acts 17:26), and that through Adam sin had touched all men but in Christ all had been redeemed (Romans 5:12; 1 Corinthians 15:21, 45). After the Flood the human race had developed a second time from one couple (Genesis 7:21; 10:32). This unity was supported by the common physical resemblance of men and their possession of spiritual qualities that differentiated them from animals.

(1) 'Die Godsdienstige Grondslag van ons Rassebeleid' published in Inspan Vol. 4, No. 3 (1944)(FAK).
(2) Cronjé et.al. op.cit. pp41-42; refer p103 supra.
(3) In Cronjé et. al. op. cit. pp40-67.
(4) Die Naturellevraagstuk (1950 Congress) pp9-14

Nevertheless, because God's majesty was so great that no single person or even people could glorify him fully, he had willed the diversity of peoples so that out of this diversity his name might be brought greater glory (cf. Philippians 2:9-11) In Genesis 1:28 and 9:1 man had been commanded to "fill the earth", and in the genealogy of Genesis 10 it was shown that men had been divided by the decree of God into "their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations" and "the nations spread abroad on the earth." Then by the building of the tower of Babel (Genesis 11) an attempt had been made to preserve the unity and homogeneity of the human race, but God had intervened and by his conscious act had confused the languages and scattered the people, so that his design for their division and dispersion had been fulfilled. That this had been by no means the accidental course of natural development but had taken place under the hand of God was shown by Deuteronomy 32:8 : "When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of men, he fixed the bounds of the peoples...." God himself had promised to the descendants of Abram and to other peoples their dwelling-places (Genesis 15:18; Amos 9:7) and for every people he had assigned set times and places (Acts 17:26). So the origin of separate peoples and also the geographical area for each could be traced back to God's ordaining. ("It is definitely concluded that the thought of world-dominion and the absorption of small nations is sinful still today."(1))

The New Testament dispensation had in no way abolished separate peoples nor erased their boundaries. Jesus and the apostles had accepted the existence and continuance of such peoples without the slightest attempt to change anything. Men had been able to learn from Jesus without altering their nationality (cf. Matthew 8:5ff; 15:22ff; John 4:7ff). The distinctions between heathens and Israel, Samaritans and Israel, Greek and Israel, had often been mentioned. At Pentecost the divisions between existing peoples and languages had not been abolished but rather perpetuated in that by the Holy Spirit the different languages henceforth had become the means to carry the Gospel to the different peoples (Acts 2:8). The continuance of separate peoples had been assumed in Jesus' last command that the Gospel should be declared to all nations (Matthew 28:19), and only when that had happened would the end come (Matthew 24:14). The peoples and nations and languages would continue until the end of the world so that at the Second Coming God would be glorified by the saved from amongst them all (Revelation 7:9).

It was unthinkable, it was argued, that God had allowed the separate

(1) 1950 Congress p14.

peoples to develop with no other purpose than that they should merely merge into one unity in the course of time. Natural intercourse between peoples had been assumed in Scripture as one of the conditions for the preservation of peace on earth, but this had in no way meant that the boundaries and divisions should be abolished. "Every individual people.... has its own character, destiny and calling...To be able to fulfil that calling, the people must maintain its independence and keep its identity."(1) (We note Groenewald's false logic as he arrived at a similar statement thus: "The history of Israel shows that the people which keeps itself strictly separate from others and in so doing protects its purity of blood, language, customs and religion, can be used by God to carry out a lofty calling. From that we learn that only the people which keeps its identity can fulfil its divine destiny".(2) One cannot conclude from God's use of separated Israel that only separated peoples can be used by God.) Some might have said that Israel had been an exceptional instance, ordered by God to remain pure because it was to be the carrier of a particular revelation, and thus that the insturctions to it had no essential meaning for a present-day Christian people that had received the full revelation in Christ. Against this it was pointed out that Paul had often spoken of the things that had happened to Israel as a warning for other men (eg. 1 Corinthians 10:11), and also that in the history of Israel God had made known what he desired of any people that served him. So it was argued that the maintenance of blood-purity and separation of nations had never been regarded as merely of secondary importance. "It is just as essential for a people in the execution of the will of God as it is for the individual to hallow himself, that is to separate himself, if he will serve the Lord with his whole heart."(3)

History showed, it was said, that the peoples that had protected their identity had been able to bring advantage to themselves and neighbouring peoples, while those that had abolished the divisions had perished. However, it was admitted that "related peoples in specified circumstances" (rasverwante volke in bepaalde omstandighere) had mixed and so new peoples had come into being; but it was argued that these had been exceptions according to the will of God, whereby the number of separate peoples had been enlarged and the diversity enriched - to the greater glory of the Creator. The Afrikaner people itself had developed through the fusion of Huguenot and Dutch, but in that fusion the survival and peculiar calling of the French and Dutch people had not been endangered. It was when the culturally and

(1) ibid. p10.
(2) Cronjé et.al. op.cit. p47.
(3) ibid. p48

religiously superior people had to bend down and relinquish its own character and calling that there was danger. An example of union between unequal groups which had not been beneficial was seen in the Samaritans - "who played no role worth mentioning and against whom the Jews developed an implacable hate."(1) Further, it was admitted that Scripture showed some exceptions to the general rule of separation amongst individuals: such as the reception of Rahab of Jericho into the Israelite community (Joshua 6); the marriage of Ruth, a Moabitess, with a Jew; the mixed ancestry of Timothy; and the general recruiting of proselytes. But, it was asserted, these exceptions did not abolish the rule. "As general principles it is laid down that God's curse rests on the abolition of boundaries, but his blessing on the respect of them."(2)

Such underlying principles in Scripture were sufficient to support a case for separation of different peoples or races the 1950 memorandum asserted. However, Groenewald went on to seek explicit pronouncements to further his argument. Firstly, he stated, separation between peoples should be part of their national life. The Old Testament showed throughout that God had desired the preservation of Israel's national separateness; and even in exile, when circumstances had been highly unfavourable for the preservation of self-identity, Israel had remained a national unit and as a result could be led back to its own land where it had been a blessing to the world in that the Messiah had been born out of it. Israel had been likened to the vineyard of God, planted in Palestine. There God had placed a strong fence round the vineyard and so ensured its safe growth: but as soon as the fence had been destroyed the vineyard had been picked clean (Psalm 80:8ff). "Thereby is signified that the neglect of national boundaries would mean the perishing of the Lord's people." In the New Testament a healthy nationalism and national pride had still been encouraged. Paul had prided himself that he was a Jew and had rebuked those that would become other than what they were (Philippians 3:4ff; 1 Corinthians 7:18). To bring the Gospel to different groups he had adapted himself to them as far as possible (1 Corinthians 9:20-22): yet whilst he had said that to the Jews he had become as a Jew (which he could do because he had been a Jew) he had not said that to the Greeks he had become as a Greek. Rather, he had said that to those outside the law he had become as one outside the law, "and thus he did his national identity no damage."

(1) 1950 Congress p14.
(2) Cronjé et. al. op.cit. p57.

Secondly, separation should extend to social life. In the Old Testament social intercourse between different peoples had been strongly disapproved of, for it had been seen as an inducement to miscegenation which might lead again to religious apostasy (Deuteronomy 7:2-4). Mixed marriages, particularly, had dimmed national boundaries and had resulted in a generation that no longer respected or even knew its own language, customs, religion or nationality (Nehemiah 13:23ff). "Thus the people that would prevent the judgement of God must ensure that, in spite of accidental contacts with neighbouring peoples, it guards against cultural, moral and other influences."(1) Such social separation had been accepted by Jesus, for he had made no pronouncement to bring about social intercourse between Jews and Samaritans and he had used the existing separation between Jews and Gentiles as an image of the separation between believer and hardened sinner (Matthew 18:17). A Jew would not enter the house of a heathen (John 18:28); though the Holy Spirit had made it known to Peter that for the spreading of the Gospel a certain social association had been permissible (Acts 10:28) "An unrestricted social association with people that do not belong to your own community conduces to moral and spiritual damage. Such an intercourse may only exist in the interest of the Gospel of Christ."(2) There should also be separation in employment, for Israel had been directed not to plough with an ox and an ass together (Deuteronomy 22:10); Paul had taught that there should be no partnership between believers and unbelievers (2 Corinthians 6:14); and at Corinth he had worked not with Greek tentmakers but with Aquila, a Jew (Acts 18:2f). Further, from Paul's teaching that believers should not go to unbelievers for the administration of justice (1 Corinthians 6:1-5) it was argued that there should be separation between peoples in legal affairs also.

Not only was biblical argument being given for the separation of racial groups in general society, but scriptural grounds were now also being put forward to support separation between peoples within the Christian Church. This was significant for we remember that in 1857 racial separation in the Church had been considered a deviation from scriptural precept.

(1) ibid. p53.
(2) ibid. p54

All peoples of the world, it was argued, might freely share in the Gospel of Christ; and in spite of their diversity believers out of all races, peoples and classes were united as brothers and sisters in the Lord. Hoever, this unity did not belong to the natural sphere of life but was a spiritual unity, born out of the common experience of the grace of Christ and the indwelling of his Spirit. It was a unity "through faith" and because everyone had "put on Christ". "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." (Galatians 3:26-28).

That this spiritual unity did not cancel natural distinctions and boundaries was shown by the mention of unity between man and woman, whose natural distinctions clearly remained. Furthermore, Paul had said that a slave's circumstances did not have to change for him to be a "freedman of the Lord" (1 Corinthians 7:18-24) "Spiritual calling and Christian brotherhood thus do not demand social or civil equality of treatment".(1) Artificial divisions should certainly give way on the strength of unity in Christ, but not natural divisions of sex, age, class and nationality that lay in the order of creation, although these should be purified from all exaggeration and hardness. Although Christian believers were 'not of the world', but favoured with a heavenly citizenship which they possessed in common with believers out of all peoples, they yet lived 'in the world', bound to natural forms of life. (cf. John 17:14). "The natural divisions are not abolished when men from different peoples become Christians, but in spite of the divisions the possibility exists for them to have communion together in a higher sphere, namely that of the spirit."(2)

This spiritual unity led to a better understanding between peoples and could be a substantial force in the regulation of relations between them. Where two peoples served the same Lord and were led and inspired by the same Holy Spirit a strong possibility was established that they could live in peace next to each other. Nevertheless, the distinctions that were there by nature would still have to be taken into consideration, otherwise a people might forfeit the blessing of God. Separate Churches should be established for different peoples. The boundaries between peoples might be crossed for the preaching of the Gospel (as had been done by Peter when he had gone to Cornelius and by Paul on his missionary journeys to foreign lands) and for works of Christian charity (as had been indicated by the example of the Good Samaritan, and by the collections in the Greek congregations for the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem): but the crossing of such

(1) 1950 Congress p11.
(2) Cronjé et.al. op.cit. p59.

boundaries in the service of Christ did not mean in any way an abolition of the boundaries.

Once again, Groenewald sought specific pronouncements to back up this argument. Some of the strongest declarations of the judgement of God in the Old Testament, he said, had been aimed at those who had wiped out the boundaries between Israel and Gentiles on religious grounds (eg. Deuteronomy 7); while the New Testament also asserted that between believers and unbelievers should stand a definite boundary (1 Corinthians 10:20-22; 2 Corinthians 6:14). This led Groenewald to claim that there also existed a boundary between Christians of different peoples. When Jesus had spoken to the Syro-Phoenician woman he had expressly declared that there was a distinction between Israel and the Gentile peoples (Matthew 15:26), and so Groenewald concluded that even if she had become a Christian that boundary would have remained between her and other Christians. Because of this inequality the Gospel could not come to Jews and to Gentiles in the same manner, and there should be a distinction in ministry to them. The belief that each people could best serve God within its own national boundaries had already been revealed in the message from God that Moses had taken to Pharaoh: "Let my people go, that they may serve me." (Exodus 9:1). Only in their own land, within their own boundaries and unimpeded by the influence of foreign political, cultural and religious influences, would they have been able to serve God with their whole heart. So the same principle was applicable to the Christian community as it came into being among separate peoples.

(We might at this point comment that a study of Groenewald's argument leaves us with the clear impression that, despite his denials,[1] he was interpreting Scripture in an arbitrary manner to support a principle that he had already decided upon. Sometimes basing his argument on phraseology or on the fact that things were not recorded in Scripture (such as Paul's statement on adapting himself to the people he met, and his reference to working with a Jewish tentmaker, and Jesus' failure to promote association between Jews and Samaritans), he drew conclusions for which there was no evidence at all. Many of the inferences he made were extremely doubtful (such as those from Moses' message to Pharaoh, and from the rule against ploughing with an ox and an ass). Further, we note a false logic in his suggestion that separation between good and evil, or between believers and unbelievers should imply separation between one whole people and another, or between believers of different peoples.)

(1) ibid. pp43, 65.

So NGK theologians were arguing from Scripture that racial segregation in all spheres of national, social and religious life was not merely permissible, but indeed obligatory. Closely bound up with this was the understanding that racial or national self-preservation was also compatible with Christianity, and was also obligatory. It was the Afrikaner's right and obligation, they stressed, to preserve his racial and cultural identity. Said Dr. W. Nicol (Moderator of the NGK in the Transvaal): self-preservation was "a healthy Christian principle". The sanctity of national existence as a creation of God compelled men to protect that existence, and their vocation towards their posterity demanded that they hand over their heritage intact to them.."We can be good Christians and still look after the survival of our race with a sacred earnestness."(1) Further, it was said, the only way to secure this racial identity was by total separation of the racial groups in the country, 'as is called for by Scripture'.

At the same time it was pointed out that the black peoples had also been created in the image of God and so should also be allowed to secure their own identity. In their own sphere they would be able to develop their talents and wealth to an unlimited extent, and as separate nations to honour their God-given calling. Whereas if they were to mix with the whites they would merely become 'imitation whites'.

Associated with this thinking, the concept of 'trusteeship' of one race over another was developed further and shown to conform to the Christian doctrine of love for one's neighbour. In Galatians 4:2 the principle of guardianship or trusteeship of an individual had been acknowledged and seen as lasting for a stipulated time, usually until the child had developed to adulthood. So, it was argued, this principle could be applied to peoples as a whole, and superior nations were called by God to accept responsibility for those that were less developed. No one might reject his responsibility as Cain had done with the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The commandment had been given that everyone should love his neighbour as himself, which meant that the stronger should carry responsibility for the welfare of the weaker, and particularly for their spiritual welfare. This duty was so important that Christians should be prepared to sacrifice some of their own comfort and freedom if by that their neighbours could be helped forward (Romans 14:15; 1 Corinthians 8:9-13), and at the last judgement the nations would be judged according to whether this law of love had been carried out(Matthew 25:31ff). Added Groenewald, no

(1) ibid. p21.

people that accepted guardianship over another in the name of God should do this out of self-exaltation or as a demonstration of greater worthiness, but out of thankful recognition for the privileges that God had given and the responsibility that these privileges entailed. At the same time those peoples that were still 'minors' should acknowledge with thankfulness those that sought to help them forward, and their duty of piety demanded that they willingly subject themselves to the authority and discipline that God had put over them.(1)

Thus it seemed that there was a firm biblical basis for the segregation of racial groups in South Africa. This understanding was to satisfy many in the NGK who were genuinely disturbed at aspects of current racial policies, yet who shrank from accepting what appeared to them to be equally repugnant consequences of any policy which looked to possible racial integration. It also provided strong argument to counter the challenge of those English-speaking churchmen who held that enforced separation of the races was a negation of Christian ethics.

Such biblical justification soon won acceptance in many quarters of the NGK. For instance, the Federal Council in 1947 issued a report enunciating biblical support for racial segregation. This report was at first not accepted by the Transvaal Synod, which asked that the question rather be approached from the point of view that in the interests of the Kingdom of God and of the survival of Christianity the Church was forced to accept such a policy of separation. However, after a further meeting behind closed doors in April 1948 a majority of the Synod now voted in favour of the report. "The Synod declares...that its policy of segregation is not only born out of circumstances, but has its foundation in the Holy Scriptures." (2) Three years later the Synod would accept a ten-page justification of total racial segregation on scriptural grounds.(3)

Meanwhile such biblical reasoning would to some extent be consolidated at the 1950 Congress of the whole NGK: which Congress would also seek a more moral basis to segregation by calling for <u>total</u> geographical separation of the races rather than the partial separation which was presently in practice.

(1) ibid. pp61-65.
(2) Quoted in Strassberger, op.cit. pp310-311.
(3) ibid. p312; Patterson op.cit. pp205, 207.

(b) THE BLOEMFONTEIN CONGRESS

In April 1950 the Federal Missionary Council convened in Bloemfontein a three-day Congress of the NGK. Attended by some five hundred and sixty delegates, this Congress was to consider the 'Native question' in South Africa. (Other conferences concerning the Coloured and Asian peoples were also envisaged.)

The Congress began by discussing a scriptural basis for racial segregation, as put forward in the memorandum we have just examined. This memorandum concluded: "Let us accept that there is scriptural ground not only for the development and survival of separate nations, but also for separate Churches,"(1) and the Congress declared its conviction that there was indeed this basis.

There were also 'practical reasons' given to show that separation in the Church was beneficial. Every population group had the right to worship in its own language and according to its own cultural background and to formulate its creed in its own way. Though we observe that the memorandum stated that "except for language, our non-white groups will perhaps not have much to contribute: possibly a little music and art and here and there an ancestral custom or sanction, but no more."(2) Moreover, every group had the right to be served by its own people, and by this it would enjoy greater recruitment, responsibility and independence. Nevertheless, the Congress urged that the unity of all believers in Christ should not remain just a confession of faith, but should be put into practice by Christians extending the hand of respect and trust to one another.

The Congress then went on to consider the social, economic and political aspects of race relations. Many of the problems and ills that were seen as prevalent in African society were ascribed to the fact that these people had had contact with and had been influenced by the Western civilisation of the whites.(3) Tribal ties, ethical norms and codes for social conduct that used to operate had now lost their force, with the result that African social structures were disintegrating and disorder was developing. Africans were unable to assimilate the culture and values of the whites, but meanwhile came to despise their own. More integration would simply mean that the situation would become worse. Therefore there should rather be total

(1) 1950 Congress p17.
(2) ibid. p8.
(3) Refer ibid. pp46-81.

segregation, with Africans living in their own national homelands where they could develop again their own cultural forms and tribal order (though, in apparent contradiction, it was added that these should be "impregnated by the Christian civilisation").(1) Only in this way could a healthy, binding and integrated community exist.

"Development according to peculiar types (eiesoortige ontwikkeling)," it was said, "is nothing more than a way by which we seek to bring every population group to its full right, namely the right to become children of the Kingdom of God and worthy citizens of their own fatherland."(2) Such separate development was not a static condition but dynamic, pointing to a process of development by each group towards its own destiny and independent status, without conflict and friction or unequal and unhealthy competition between more and less developed people. "Only when the less developed..has reached his majority and taken his full heritage, will we be able to extend to each other the hand of spiritual community in the fullest sense of the word, when each one will contribute his own natural and God-given possession to mutual enrichment and we all come to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (cf. Ephesians 4:13). (3) If such a goal and attitude was right, the Congress believes, the means and methods used would also be beneficial.

There was obvious sinderity in the concern shown for improvement in social conditions among Africans. In seeking to push racial segregation through to a total separation of white and black people churchmen believed that they had found a morally acceptable policy that would ensure justice to all peoples in the country. Total segregation would both facilitate the development of the African people and eliminate friction and enmity between the racial groups. Nor should the motives of these churchmen be seen as purely selfish, for heavy sacrifices were called for on the part of white people. They should be prepared to forego African labour, so that Africans might gradually be moved from the white industries to become productive in their own industries. Furthermore, the whites would have to grant sufficient land to the Africans for their healthy development. "This is the sacrifice that the whites must be prepared to make to ensure racial peace and the survival of both groups."(4)

We do note, however, that concern for the preservation of the white people was indeed a strong element underlying the choice of policy. For the Congress eventually resolved:

(1) Refer ibid. p232.
(2) ibid. p18.
(3) ibid. p20.
(4) ibid. pp117, 118.

> "The policy of ultimate integration is rejected because it leads to unnecessary clashes between the two races and to the undermining of the future of the white race, with great detriment to the development of Christian civilisation in Africa. In addition, it has a highly detrimental effect on the healthy national growth of the Bantu himself.
>
> "The policy of separate development is accepted as the healthy foundation upon which both whites and Bantu can live happily together without the interests of the one clashing with the interests of the other and without the one feeling that the development of the other is a danger or threat to himself."(1)

The Congress rejected perpetual subordination of any kind,(2) but stated that the principle of Christian trusteeship should be maintained as long as it was necessary for the happiness and welfare of both whites and Africans.(3)

However, so strongly worded was the resolution calling the Government to implement total territorial separation of the races,(4) that the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, was impelled to issue a warning during a Parliamentary debate that such a policy was impracticable. He agreed that if total separation could be attained everyone would admit that it would be the ideal state of affairs: but processes that had taken a long time to mature could not be reversed in a few months. Nor was complete separation the policy of the Nationalist Party. It would not be practicable in the existing circumstances of South Africa, where the entire economic structure was to a large extent based on black labour, for the Government to put into force a policy that required large economic sacrifices from the white electorate.(5)

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(1) Ibid. p131.
(2) ibid. p19; cf. p171.
(3) ibid. p132. Proposals for total separation were also being made by intellectuals in the Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede (SABRA). Established in September 1948 by Afrikaner academics and churchmen, this body was to provide intellectual support for government racial policies - though there were also to be serious divergences. At first it enjoyed whole-hearted support from the NGK.
(4) ibid. p117.
(5) Hansard p4141/2; Ballinger, M.: From Union to Apartheid (1969) p317. Patterson has pointed out, however, that the Goverment leaders were by no means unanimous: for on the same day Dr. Verwoerd informed the Senate that the Church's policy of total separation was that of the Nationalist Party. (op.cit. p108).

Nevertheless, the Govenment did subsequently set out to bolster up the tribalism of the Africans by invigorating or where necessary re-creating tribal institutions and loyalties. Chiefs in the reserves were offered the restoration of powers that they had previously lost; while the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 made provision for the establishment of African tribal, regional and territorial authorities, and for the gradual delegation to these authorities of certain executive and administrative powers in their own areas. Thus is 1955 the General Council in the Transkei,(1) having agreed to accept the Government policy, would be proclaimed a Bantu Territorial Authority, and would in future consist only of black members - though whereas they had previously been indirectly elected their appointment would now be strictly controlled by the central Government. The Ciskei would likewise have an authority established : but it would be many years before other African areas followed suit.

Perhaps it was because of the Government's open rejection that the NGK resolution calling for total separation was not endorsed by the separate synods of the NGK,(2) Mason has reported that one synod subsequently met to seek scriptural justification for a modified form of separation, which would allow for black migrant labourers to work in white industries, but that unanimity was not achieved and so the matter was set aside for further study.(3) What was particularly significant was the fact that the NGK made no public response to the Government nor attempt to press home its call for what it saw as the only just racial policy. It preferred to remain silent rather than hamper the Government. In future years it would send delegations to the State, which at times would lead to changes in laws being implemented, but because these were without the knowledge of the general public it would seem as though the Church had simply acquiesced and supported the State in every respect of its racial policies.(4)

There were present at the 1950 Congress representatives of the NGK 'daughter' Churches - but these were white representatives, as it was felt that racial policies should be clarified before talks between members of the different races could profitably be held. During the following two years, however, representatives of the Federal Missionary Council held discussions with leading black members of the Sotho, Zulu and Xhosa sections of the Church. Amongst other things the need for more black representation and consultation in the Churches was discussed. However, at the request of the Africans, political matters were omitted from the

(1) Refer p48 supra.
(2) SAIRR Survey 1952-1953, p18.
(3) Mason, P.: An Essay on Racial Tension (1954) p104.
(4) Strassberger, op.cit. pp328-329, 378, 452.

findings, which dealt with social conditions and allied problems.[1]

Meanwhile, now that the NGK could show a united front it prepared to confer with other Churches that were critical of its approach to race relations.

(c) DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER CHURCHES

Apart from the conferences of the 1920s[2], there had been little consultation on race relations between the Dutch Reformed Churches and the 'English-speaking' Churches. Even in those early years tension over their different approaches to the issue had prevented any deep dialogue.

There had, it is true, been mutual discussion on questions relating to the evangelisation of Africans - at the General Missionary Conference of South Africa which had been founded in 1904 and had met on eight occasions in the following years. But this Conference had disbanded in the 1930s, just when the 'Native problem' had been coming to the forefront of thinking. White missionaries and officials of mission boards had been entitled to become members of the Conference, but African ministers had been allowed to attend only if they had been sent by bodies already represented by whites: so it had been suggested at the meeting in 1932 that a new body be formed, "particularly with a view to giving Native members a place, without their requiring to be nominated by missionary societies."[3] Thus the Christian Council of South Africa had been established in 1936 (with more than thirty Protestant Churches and missionary societies as members). In this new body Africans had been allowed to take full part in discussions and serve on the executive committee. However, of the Dutch Reformed Churches only the Transvaal synods of the NGK and of the NGK 'daughter' Church for Africans had joined the new Council, Then in May 1940 the Reverend W. Nicol, of the NGK, first President of the Council, had resigned; and in April 1941 the two NGK synods had withdrawn. The reasons given by Nicol for this action had been the small hope of any of the other Dutch Reformed Churches joining the Council, the limited use of the Afrikaans language in deliberations, and, more particularly, the divergences in attitude between the 'English-speaking' Churches and the NGK on most questions

(1) Refer The Racial Issue in South Africa (NGK, Bloemfontein, 1953); SAIRR Surveys 1950-1954; Gerdener, op.cit.p177; Strassberger, op.cit.p332.
(2) Refer p96 supra.
(3) Gerdener op.cit. p173.

affecting the relationship between whites and blacks. The English-speaking missionaries, he had said, had wished to see as little difference as possible between the white man and the African, while NGK members had felt revulsion at the thought of welcoming even a highly civilised African into their homes.(1) No doubt the growth of aggressive Afrikaner nationalism at that time had also been a factor behind the withdrawal. So in April 1942, as we have seen, the NGK had formed its own consultative body, the Federal Missionary Council, where the Dutch Reformed viewpoint of the social application of the Christian Gospel to South African conditions might be adequately voiced. (There African church leaders could be co-opted onto various committees, but the Council itself had been limited to white membership.)(2) Thus Dutch Reformed and 'English-speaking' Churches had gone their separate ways.

Two other instances when the NGK had declined to enter into discussion with representatives of other Churches because of differing approaches to race relations might be mentioned. Firstly in 1940 an international Sunday School Conference had been due in Durban. Because a principle of racial integration had been accepted by the organisers of the conference, the NGK of the Orange Free State and of Natal had refused to participate, while the NGK of the Transvaal had declared willingness to participate only on condition that their representatives would be treated on the basis of racial separation.(3) Owing to the Second World War, however, the conference had been cancelled. Secondly, according to Patterson, the Synodal Committee of the NGK in the Transvaal had in 1950 decided not to receive a delegation from the World Council of Churches, because the latter had been a colour-blind organisation and the delegation would have included black members.(4)

Now in the 1950s, however, when the 'English-speaking' Churches were becoming more vocal in their condemnation of apartheid as implemented by the new Nationalist Government, both Dutch Reformed and English-speaking church leaders were realising more than ever before the weakness of their divisions and the virtual impossibility of understanding one another's standpoints without adequate opportunities for consultation and discussion. Thus it was

(1) The South African Outlook, August 1940, p151; December 1941, p251. Dvorin has observed that had the other Dutch Reformed Churches joined the Christian Council, they with the sympathetic German missionary societies would have had sufficient representation to ensure that their point of view with regard to racial questions bore weight. (Dvorin, E.P.: Racial Separation in South Africa (1952) p53-55).

(2) Gerdener op.cit. p176.

(3) The NGK of the Cape declined participation on the grounds that their Sunday Schools had developed along different lines from those to be discussed.

(4) Patterson, op.cit., p207.

that in November 1953 the Federal Missionary Council of the NGK convened in Pretoria a three-day Conference of white leaders from virtually all the Protestant Churches and missionary societies working in South Africa. The task of that Conference was to consider the application of Christian principles in the country, with special reference to the extension of the Kingdom of God amongst the black peoples. There followed in December 1954 a 'more comprehensive' Conference of Protestant Church leaders in Johannesburg, again convened by the Federal Missionary Council. This time there were both white and black delegates present, although they sat and ate separately. The theme was again the extension of the Kingdom of God in multi-racial South Africa. Each of the conferences covered a wide area of concerns - but we study here only the NGK thinking on theological aspects of race relations.

The Reverend C.B. Brink (Moderator of the Transvaal Synod and Chairman of the Federal Council) spoke of the fundamental principles of the mission policy of the NGK, as he believed the majority of NGK ministers understood them.(1) All men were equal, he said, in the sense that all had been created in the image of God: all had the same dignitas. Yet they were not equal in all respects, for God had created each one with his own personality and task in the world, and in the natural sphere differences between individuals and between peoples did exist. To say that one person or people was different from another was not to impugn the equal dignity of one or both. "The difficulty, however, arises when that equal dignity of all men is rationalistically transferred to the plane of the natural."(2) The NGK did indeed recognise the equal value of all men. Thus barbarians were not to be liquidated, but "seen as (creatures) of God, to be brought to the gospel of salvation. For them, too, Christ died because, however faintly, in their souls little sparks of God's image yet glowed."(3) But the Church did not admit them equal in other respects, so did not argue that they must enjoy equal rights. Rather, discrimination in the sense of differentiation was indispensable for an ordered society.

Asserted Professor E.P. Groenewald, equality between all people would be an aspect of the future Kingdom of God. "We must guard against the danger of, consciously or unconsciously, finding ourselves in a situation which, here and now, wishes to make all things equal. This is an attempt to shift the final dispensation to our times."(4)

(1) Christian Principles in Multi-Racial South Africa (1953 Conference) pp28-40, 143.
(2) ibid. p39.
(3) We observe that Brink was close to implying that in the barbarian the image of God is not as obvious as in more civilised people.
(4) ibid. p145.

Brink went on to reject as unscriptural the suggestion that God was the Father of all mankind. "The Bible definitely does not consider man per se as a child of God or give him the power, as man, to call God his father."(1) By nature man was a child of wrath, and Christ had said of some: "You are of your father the devil...." (John 8:44; Ephesians 2:3). However, through Christ God had called man to become a child of God and to participate in the divine nature. (Hosea 11:1; 1 Peter 1:23). So man could become a child of God only when called and received thereto. He should receive power to become this, by being reborn through the Holy Spirit (John 1:12-14; 3:3-5; Romans 8:15-17). Thus God was not the Father of unbelievers, although he was their Creator. So, if God was not by nature the Father of all mankind, all men could not be said to be brothers or to be of equal value in God's sight.

God the Creator was the Maker of Separations. To create a cosmos, he had separated things: light from darkness, waters above the firmament from waters under the firmament, dry land from the sea. All living creatures he had created each according to its own kind. Mankind too had appeared diverse as man and woman. So in the creation there was not to be uniformity, but a multiplicity containing rich diversity. (Keet pointed out, however, that Brink spoke first of the division of light and darkness, and then of the differentiation between man and woman, apparently equating the two ideas. It was false, said Keet, to assume that differentiation or diversity was synonymous with separation, for man and woman had not been separated).(2)

From the very beginning it had been the intention of God that mankind should live in separate nations and peoples, to replenish the earth (Genesis 1:28; 9:1; cf. Acts 17:26), but in their sinful self-conceit men had wished to frustrate this intention and to remain together, building a tower to heaven. So God as the Maker of Separations had confounded their language and scattered them abroad (Genesis 11:6-8), until the completion of all things, and possibly even until after that (Revelation 7:9; 21:24). Subsequent attempts at unification were a revival of the sinful Babylonian spirit, and the products of such attempts in the political field were called 'beasts' (cf. Revelation 17:13; cf. Daniel 7).

(1) ibid. p31.
(2) Keet, B.B.: Whither - South Africa? (1956) p33

Applying this argument to the Church, Brink concluded that there were sufficient scriptural grounds for the NGK to feel justified in saying that the creation of separate Churches for the different racial groups was not only permissible but essential. Thus its Churches had been established not merely for practical reasons.

What then of the unity which Christians professed? Brink argued that the calling of God did not nullify natural differences in endowment, and he pointed out that such distinctions had been accepted in the early Church. Paul had urged that "in whatever state each was called, there let him remain with God" (1 Corinthians 7:17-24). There had been masters and slaves, authorities and subjects, peoples and nations. Rather than attempt to abolish these differences, they had been accepted to be used. Thus, while Paul had spoken of the unity of circumcised and uncircumcised in the Church (Colossians 3:11), he had nevertheless taken Timothy and circumcised him (Acts 16:3). Consequently Brink believed that Paul had not been pleading for the ending of natural diversities, but for a unity of the spirit in Christ. Whoever were in Christ were spiritually one, in spite of all other national, language or sex differences. "The body (did) not consist of one member but of many", which had been united in the one body by the Spirit (1 Corinthains 12:13-14). In Galations 3:25-29 Paul had three times used the expression 'in Christ', saying that "you are all one in Christ Jesus"; and in John 17:21-23 Jesus had prayed that his disciples might be one, several times using the expressions 'in me' and 'in thee'. So the unity that had been advocated was to be found only in Christ and in God. It was a spiritual unity.

This, said Brink, did not mean that the Church could escape its responsibility to demonstrate to the world the oneness that it confessed in Christ. "Opportunities to practise communion with all Christian believers, of whatever race or colour, occur often enough, and when this does not happen, they should be sought."(1) Further, every Christian should needs deplore the multiplicity and pluriformity of Churches and admit that this was not in accordance with the revealed will of God. But the oneness that should be striven for was a oneness of faith, not a uniformity in the institutional sense. Christians should not be tempted to convert the spiritual unity of the Church into an outward form. The Church existed within all the the limitations of space and time and was subject to these. Only when the Kingdom of God came in perfection would these limitations pass away, and the unity be seen outwardly. "The fact is that unity in Christ is a community of soul transcending anything that man can plan or

(1) 1953 Conference p35.

think. It belongs to those things that 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard...' (Corinthians 2:9); that can be accepted only in faith."(1)

These arguments put forward by Brink were supported by several members of the NGK.(2) Professor G.B.A. Gerdener covered similar ground when he spoke of the unity of the Church as a spiritual unity and argued that "in its deepest essence...unity is not uniformity, but unanimity." It was not in the first place something outward or formal, but something inward and spiritual: a unity of the Spirit, and of faith. (Ephesians 4:3, 13). Yet at the same time this unity was represented as something manifesting itself outwardly (cf. Ephesians 4; John 17): the inner unity should somehow acquire shape and be shown by men's interest in and community with one another - if they indeed said that they believed in the holy catholic Church and the communion of saints. Nevertheless, that Gerdener did not see such manifestation as necessarily a structural unity was shown by his conclusion: "Not our differences and the distinctions we hold it necessary to make, are sin, but our dissensions and the fact that with our diversity, we yet cannot find and practise true unity."(3) Likewise, Dr. M.W. Retief deplored the large number of Churches and sects in South Africa, and pleaded for a greater unity amongst believers: but added in parenthesis that unity did not mean that there should be only one church. There could be several churches which were still one in Christ.(4)

Dr. J.C.G. Kotzé stressed that the only true <u>locus</u> for the unity of the Church was the community of <u>koinonia</u> of its members - which did not have to be produced through organisation or structures, but merely discovered, accepted and practised. "All that is required is a healthy spiritual condition, in a living relationship with Christ." Because of differences in temperament and nature, each population group's approach to and practice of the Gospel was different, with the result that the Church in general became richer in so far as each group made its own contribution to the life of the Church. Thus Kotzé argued, that separation of races could serve to enrich Church life, for it allowed each group a chance for free and independent development, whereas if divergent cultural and racial groups were pressed together into a mixed uniformity a weaker group was often overruled by a stronger and its talents did not achieve real development. Thus a 'healthy' division ought not to eclipse unity in Christ, but rather enrich it. Nevertheless, Kotzé added that although

(1) ibid. p37.
(2) eg: ibid. pp144, 148-149; cf. Walker op.cit. pp855-856.
(3) 1953 Conference pp130-131.
(4) ibid. pp73.74

circumstances of culture and language might render it difficult, groups should find ways of fellowship together even at the cost of great self-denial; for if unity in Christ was not given concrete demonstration, division would become discord. Kotzé did not clarify to what extent this fellowship should be sought, but he concluded by saying that the fellowship of the Church was one of persons, and the extent to which unity in Christ was lived out in practice depended largely upon individual members. On the basis of their deeper unity, all Christians were called to acknowledge, respect and love one another as of equal status in the Kingdom of God, even if there were natural differences between them. However, Kotzé asserted that to transfer the conception of a mystical unity to relations between different peoples, regardless of their relationship with Christ, was not permissible: for the coming of Christ had not terminated enmity between all men, but only between individuals in whom 'new men' had been born in Christ. The relations of different peoples might indirectly gain by the influence of Christ, but their discord continued so long as they were themselves without Christ.(1)

If there was no coercion towards integration between the Dutch Reformed and 'English-speaking' Churches, which were culturally similar and had stood side by side for so many years, how much more, urged Gerdener, should there be no coercion towards integration of white and African Christians, who were different in language and 'spiritual structure.'(2) (We must point out however, that whereas there are doctrinal differences that to a large extent prevent unity between the Dutch Reformed and 'English-speaking' Churches there are not necessarily doctrinal differences between white and black Christians, as for instance in the NGK 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches.)

Maintained the Reverend W.H. du Plessis (a white missionary in the Sendingkerk): "Non-Europeans as a whole are not yet ripe and ready to attend all European church functions, and....it will be many, many years before this will come to pass, if indeed it does come to pass." Because of their historical and cultural background, they would not fit in and feel at home amongst whites, but they did feel perfectly happy and at home in their own, separate buildings.(3) Some speakers argued that Africans should not be allowed to join the white Church even if they wished to do so;

(1) God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial South Africa (1954 Conference) pp78-82. Further mention of Kotzé's thinking is not included here, as much of it is refelcted in the NGK 1956 Statement (refer p136 infra.)
(2) 1954 Conference p114; cf. Race Relations Journal Vol. XVII Nos.1 & 2 (1950) p8.
(3) 1954 Conference p115.

but Brink believed that the NGK would allow black people to attend white churches if they had no place of worship of their own.(1)

NGK speakers emphasised that their 'daughter' Churches which catered for the black racial groups should be working towards their own independence as soon as possible. Gerdener warned that the NGK "must be especially on its guard against the danger of retaining too much authority too long over its daughter churches, even if the reason is that they still receive financial support from the mother church." With the increase of African clergy and the growing independence of the African churches, the white missionary should render himself more superfluous.(2) (In an article written at that time, Gerdener also urged that white missionaries should in future work more in co-operation with the black people than in domination, more in partnership than in baasskap, for the latter attitude was unchristian.(3) At the same time, it was stated with pride that there were strong bonds of unity between the NGK 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches. Several speakers urged that there should be more contact and co-operation between them, that knowledge of each other and a feeling of mutual responsibility might be aroused. "However much we.....desire to take the road of the indigenous Bantu churches, we shall have to be vigilant lest separateness should bring about distance and produce estrangement. Points of contact should be found and bridges should be built."(4)

Moving to consideration of race relations beyond the Church, we observe Retief's explanation that the main reason for Afrikaners' desire for separation between white and black people was one of self-preservation. They wished to maintain and protect themselves as a nation, and could not do so if intermarriage and miscegenation were to take place, nor social intimacy which could give rise to miscegenation. "By means of (separation) we protect everything that is holy and dear to us, and we commit no injustice to the Non-White, but we promote (his) best interests. That is the conviction of our nation and of our church."(5) Elsewhere Retief remarked: "If we in this country wipe out the dividing line between white and Bantu, it will be suicide on the part of the whites, and this is contrary to God's commandment. We shall then simply be drowned in a black flood, because of the tremendous disparity in numbers. Therefore we have the right, and the duty, to take measures for our survival as a white nation in South Africa."(6) Argued Professor F.J.M. Potgieter. the commandment to honour

(1) 1953 Conference p151.
(2) 1954 Conference p105.
(3) In Die Kerkbode; quoted in SAIRR Survey 1954-1955 p7.
(4) 1953 Conference p134, cf. p52.
(5) ibid. p71.
(6) In Op die Horison, Sept 1954; quoted by Keet, Whither - South Africa? p22.

one's father and mother demanded that every person keep in honour his people's past - in so far as it had not been tarnished by sin - and his mother tongue. He who left his own group and joined that of another people with a different language and tradition identified himself with the adopted group; and he who pleaded for such a step on a wide scale was in reality pleading for the destruction of his own national existence, and so was transgressing the commandment.(1) Said Brink: "The easiest way to extinguish the light of the cross in South Africa would be a policy of total fusion of the races. Therefore, in order to remain faithful to his divine calling and to continue proclaiming the Gospel of God's love in Christ, the Afrikaner had to retain his identity. This obligation rested on him. He had to love himself, that which he had become through the grace of God, in order to be able to love his neighbour. He had to separate himself in order to be a blessing to the millions of non-whites."(2)

On the other hand, Brink also spoke in defence against the accusation that the policy advocated by the NGK was nothing else than a measure of self-preservation. He did not deny that there might be some or even many people in South Africa who thought only in terms of self-preservation, and pointed out that the instinct to preserve one's own life was common to all men. However, he doubted whether the history of South Africa would have been the same if the urge to preserve themselves had been the sole or the main motive which had inspired his people and caused them to hold the views they did. "Let me...state that in my own church there is the conviction that the policy we advocate calls for the greatest measure of exertion and self-denial." At the same time, "there is a great difference between the calling to self-denial whereby the Christian is called to lose his life for Christ's sake, and the desire to destroy life for the sake of certain human ideals. Suicide is not equivalent to self-abnegation and can never be undertaken for Christ's sake." Members of the Church saw no other way than separation open to them for the future, if indeed they were to be true to their calling to extend the Kingdom of God in South Africa.(3) During discussion the threat was often made that those who supported integration "would have to be willing to accept its full consequences"; but seldom was any explanation given of what those consequences might be. It seems clear, however, that many believed a mixture of races would lead to the downfall of 'Christian civilisation' in South Africa.(4)

(1) 1953 Conference p149.
(2) ibid. p32. Brink suggested that Coloured people were born of sinful unions, in which Christians were 'drawn downwards'.
(3) 1954 Conference p51.
(4) cf. 1953 Conference p159.

We shall not at this stage study the arguments put forward by representatives of the 'English-speaking' Churches, but observe that the Conferences revealed just how wide the differences indeed were between them and the NGK members on the question of race relations.

According to a Statement released by the 1953 Conference, the talks produced no change of views - though a sentiment that was often expressed was: "We cannot share your beliefs and convictions, but we gladly acknowledge your honesty and right to profess those convictions."(1) Dr. N. Goodall, an observer from the International Missionary Council, commented: "I can appreciate better than ever a certain deep logic in both the principles and policies which have been mainly expounded by members of this (NGK) Federal Council. I can certainly appreciate and could wish to see realised that ideal of full separate development for the Bantu people, an ideal to which you have given so much thought and towards which your mission policy has made, and is making, so great a contribution." However, he went on to say that this ideal was being expounded in an era in which economic and industrial factors meant that separation would be impossible for an indefinite period, and he spoke of the suffering that fell on so many people "as long as our discernment and application of God's will in this matter tarries." "The need for a more excellent way is urgent; the need to resolve that agonising dilemma between ideal and practice, in which we are all involved, is desperately urgent."(2)

Discussions at the 1954 Conference revealed a realisation amongst delegates that they had responsibilities as Christian leaders, and not as leaders of any particular race or group. There was no general agreement on principles of racial segregation or integration. (The NGK members, including some black people voted in favour of segregation.) In resolutions that were unanimously adopted, delegates declared that they recognized and accepted one another as brothers in Christ, and they undertook to use every opportunity to practise the fellowship of believers. They called on all Christians to regard and treat every human being with honour and respect.(3) Commenting on the Conference, Archbishop G.H. Clayton of the Anglican Church said that it was clear that there was no difference at all among the whites in their goodwill towards black people. Every speaker had made evident his belief that whites and blacks were equally

(1) ibid. p176.
(2) ibid. p139.
(3) 1954 Conference pp131-132; SAIRR Survey 1954-1955 p7; Walker op.cit. p909.

dear to the heart of God and equally entitled to the privileges of the Gospel. However, while the whites wished to do the best for the blacks, there was a wide difference of opinion as to what that best was, and as to the proper relation of people of different races to one another within the Christian Church. It seemed to Clayton that the practical differences of method between the Churches had their roots in profound theological differences. There was wide difference of opinion about such things as the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and of the nature of the Christian Church, about the ultimate purpose of God for humanity and how far that purpose could be realised there and then. So Clayton pleaded for a deeper discussion of these differences on a theological level.(1) We note in contrast the opinion of the Reverend J.P. Whyte (General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa) that any attempt to solve differences of policy such as total segregation or integration on a scriptural or theological basis would not be helpful. The only way of securing anything like agreement would be by considering objectively the merits and demerits of each case.(2) Nevertheless, both Clayton and Whyte admitted the sincerity and honesty of those arguing for separation of the races.

At this point we should mention a defence of the NGK written at about that time by Gerdener. He stressed that segregation, as advocated by his Church, was not something static or negative, leading to aloofness, repudiation and estrangement. It was rather a dynamic concept, "a separation to live, something that leaves room for indigenous survival and development from within," taking account of racial aptitudes and allowing each group to make its full contribution to the common good. Gerdener admitted that he could not predict all the final practical implications of such a policy, but stressed the need for faith to believe that, provided the starting-point was sound in principle and motives were absolutely honest and altruistic, then one could leave the rest to God. Nor could he predict what would be the relation between separate white and black states after the Africans had been Christianised and become culturally and economically the equals of whites, but he had sufficient faith in the guidance of God to believe that two Christian groups next to each other would be guided to the wisest relationship. Gerdener spoke of equality of opportunity, but maintained that while some people were still too immature to share full responsibility with the more mature they should not enjoy full rights and privileges. To make the ward a partner in open competition could only mean

(1) 1954 Conference p5.
(2) ibid. p129.

that he stood to lose, but guided and guarded as a ward through the years the day might yet come when he would enjoy full rights of citizenship. There should be no doubt, Gerdener said, on the spiritual equality of all men before God, though this did not wipe out the natural differences which no time could efface nor spiritual communion obliterate. Christians should seek to know and serve each other more and more, and no amount of geographical separation could remove from them responsibility for each other's spiritual welfare and for spiritual communion.(1)

A few years later there was some further discussion between the Churches, touching on race relations. This was prompted by the World Council of Churches, which, through its Department on Church and Society, initiated in twenty-seven countries a three-year study project on issues that were challenging Christian thought and action in areas of rapid social change. In South Africa an inter-racial study group consisting of clergy from the Dutch Reformed Churches and the 'English-speaking' Churches met in May 1958 to consider the Christian responsibility in such areas of change and also the question of common citizenship. It was subsequently reported that "a very considerable measure of agreement" was reached at the meeting. Then in December 1959 a larger Conference of churchmen was convened to consider the same question. Amongst other resolutions, the Conference stressed "the responsibility of the Church to be a living community in which all believers share both the privileges and the duties of their common fellowship, liberated from the restraints of unworthy social systems...". The Conference called upon the Church and its individual members "to accept and practise respect for human personality, regardless of racial and cultural differences, as an essential duty and requirement laid upon us by our Master, Jesus Christ, and as a prerequisite to the proper solution of the problems arising from rapid social change in a multi-racial society." However, no further common mind was expressed on race relations.(2)

(1) Gerdener, G.B.A.: "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Racial Situation in South Africa." Race Relations Journal Vol. XVII Nos. 1 & 2 (1950) pp1-8.

(2) Christian Responsibility Towards Areas of Rapid Social Change (1959 Conference) p141; SAIRR Surveys 1955-1960

All these various consultations with English-speaking churchmen during the 1950s brought home to NGK leaders the realisation that their stand on race relations virtually isolated them from other Churches. NGK members found themselves constantly on the defensive, often put there by Christian colleagues who could not be accused of lack of sympathy.

(We note that there was no discussion between the NGK and the Roman Catholic Church, as many Dutch Reformed churchmen held a strong antipathy towards Roman Catholicism.)

Nor did criticism come only from Christians within the country. In 1952 Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, visited South Africa. As a Hollander he had every tie of sympathy with the NGK, and in writing about his visit he expressed this sympathy and begged churchmen not to judge the Afrikaans Churches harshly. Yet even he was constrained to say that the danger in South Africa was that, "owing to the historical co-operation between church and nation, the church is far too much inclined to support uncritically the decisions and policies of the Afrikaner political bodies."(1) Similarly, in 1955 the Reverend J.J. Buskes from Amsterdam visited South Africa on behalf of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and his report, while expressing sympathy for the Afrikaner Churches in their predicament, was a scathing attack on the Government's policy of racial segregation.(2)

Meanwhile, in August 1954 the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches met at Evanston, Illinois, and was attended by three delegates from the NGK. This Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that "any form of segregation based on race, colour, or ethnic origin is contrary to the gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ". It urged Churches to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for the abolition of these within their own life and within society: though it recognised that many Churches found themselves confronted by historical, political, social and economic circumstances which might make the immediate achievement of such an objective extremely difficult.(3) The NGK delegates abstained from voting on this resolution, but no dissenting voice was raised in the Assembly. It was clear, then, that most Churches of the world were

(1) Quoted by Marquard Peoples and Policies p231. Refer Visser 't Hooft: A Visit to the South African Churches. (London 1952).
(2) Refer Buskes, J.J.: South Africa's Apartheid Policy - Unacceptable (Heidelberg, Transvaal, 1956).
(3) Ecumenical Statements on Race Relations (1965) p21.

opposed to racial segregation as advocated by the NGK in South Africa.

(d) 1956 DEVELOPMENTS

Prompted by this rejection of racial segregation made by the World Council of Churches, the Federal Council of the NGK appointed a Commission for Race Relations to prepare a statement for publication overseas interpreting the viewpoint of the NGK. The report of this Commission was then approved by the synods of the Church and was first published in 1956 under the title: The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and the Problem of Race Relations.(1)

The Statement began with an historical review of the development of separate worship and separate Churches for the different racial groups within the NGK. It stressed that this separation had been done with sincere motives, and judged these to be: firstly, the desire to bring the Gospel to the black people in the "most effective way", bearing in mind their particular cultural and social needs, and to prepare them for responsibility and leadership; and secondly, the preference of white members to worship separately - due to social and hygienic considerations, the "racial attitudes" of the nineteenth century and, possibly, the danger of miscegenation.(2) That this separation was a matter of practical policy and not of principle was proved,it was said, by the fact that white missionaries as well as some other white people often worshipped in the 'daughter' Churches, while two black congregations still belonged to the 'mother' Church, and special services at some places were attended by believers from all racial groups.(3)

In the Statement the NGK went on to assert that it could not associate itself unreservedly with the general cry for equality and unity in the world of that time, as motives and aims in this connection were not always Christian. However, the Church had a genuine interest in attempts towards a better embodiment and realisation of the unity of the Church of Christ, for Scripture demanded this unity.(4) It did not need to be brought about

(1) cf. SAIRR Survey 1955-1956 p7; Cawood op.cit. p23.
(2) cf. Die Kerkbode 22 & 29 September 1948, in which an editorial also attributed the desire for separation within the Church to concern that common worship was leading to miscegenation. (quoted by Smith, E.W., op.cit. p112.)
(3) cf. 1950 Congress p16; cf. Cawood op.cit. p30.
(4) We note that some of the material that follows had been contained in an address by Kotzé at the 1954 Conference (pp65-84).

artifically, for it already existed in Christ. It was not to be found in the institutionalised or organised Church, but in the very nature of the Church, in the communion of persons assembled out of all the nations and united by the Holy Spirit through faith as members of the same mystic, spiritual body. This unity was indissoluble and much stronger and more dynamic than general friendship or goodwill or co-operation. It was an organic communion (koinonia), the Body of Christ, to be experienced only by the 'new creature' in Christ. Concerning the institutionary revelation of the Church, the NGK believed that if separate Churches co-existed as a result of doctrinal differences, then this was sinful schism, since but one truth and one spiritual reality had been revealed. The unity of the Church in its concrete manifestation was the Christian ideal. Nevertheless, this ideal of unity did not mean that the one true Church could not be embodied in separate independent Churches. A multiplicity of Churches could not destroy the unity of the Church, but only obstruct the concrete expression of such unity. Various factors caused the imperfect realisation of the existing unity in Christ, and of the chief of these were the racial contrasts and racial tensions which made the expression of unity of believers from different nations and races very difficult.

Working from this understanding of the unity of the Church and taking the specific racial situation in South Africa into careful consideration, the NGK stated the following as its policy:

> "(a) That the founding and development of independent indigenous churches for the purpose of evangelising the native races of South Africa, was both necessary and in accordance with our understanding of the nature of the Church of the Lord Jesus on earth, and has been richly blessed in the many years that have passed.
>
> "(b) That (when), under the pressure of circumstances, the historical development in the missionary sphere throughout the centuries showed tendencies of unchristian exclusiveness, thus impeding the realisation of the true Christian fellowship between believers, this happened, not through ill-will towards the non-whites, nor with the approval of the official leadership of the Church, but must be seen as the result of uncontrollable circumstances and of general human weakness.
>
> "(c) That in each congregation both the mother and the indigenous daughter-churches reserve the right to regulate their membership according to the realistic demand of circumstances, and in accordance with the spirit of Christ; but at the same

time it is also the Christian duty of the above-mentioned churches to educate their members for and in the practice of a healthy Christian communion of believers, while avoiding any evil motives or annoying and wilful demonstrations."

The NGK accepted the following scriptural principles:

- The Creation of God formed a unity which at the same time comprised the richest diversity. (Genesis 1 & 2) The unity of the human race was not annulled by its great diversity, which had been brought about by the creation and conservation of God. (Genesis 3:20; Acts 17:26)
- All men had been created in the image of God and consequently there was no respect of persons with God. In the sense of Creator God was Father of all mankind and all men were of equal worth; but in the sense of New Testament childhood and brotherhood he was Father of believers alone. (Genesis 1:27; 5:1-3; Deuteronomy 32:6; Ephesians 6:9; Malachi 2:10; John 1:12; Romans 8:16; Galatians 4:6)
- After the Fall God had maintained the unity and diversity of creation by his universal grace. He had decreed even greater diversity to restrict the expansion of the power of mankind in its apostacy and insubordination to him, and to check the effect of sin in this way. In his mercy he had decreed a multiplicity of tongues and peoples and dispersed and established the human race over the face of the earth. (Genesis 11:6-9; Acts 17:26.)
- Sin, however, had caused permanent schisms in the human race and only some, albeit from all nations, were ordained in Christ unto the eternal life. (Genesis 4:6-4; Matthew 25:32; Romans 9:6-8; Revelation 5:9)
- The Church of Christ, gathered together from all peoples of the earth, formed a unity, and this unity of his mystic body, the communion of saints (koinonia) should always receive the greatest emphasis. Only of these true members of the body of Christ was God the Father in the deeper and more spiritual meaning of the word, and only they formed a true brotherhood who, through faith in Jesus Christ, had in a special way become children of God. (Matthew 12:46-50; John 17:21; Romans 8:15; 2 Corinthians 6:17-18; Galatians 3:28; 6:10.)

- The natural diversity and different spheres of influence and relations of authority which God had ordained, were in no way broken down by this unity in Christ, but were rather restored and sanctified. This regenerating grace should be especially revealed in the Church of Christ in that the superior or stronger, in full responsibility to God and true love towards his neighbour, would educate and in every respect uplift the inferior or weaker so as to become a worthy fellow-member of the body of Christ. (Acts 2:6-11; Romans 13:1-7; 1 Corinthians 7:17-24; 8:9-13; 12; Ephesians 4:11-16; 5:22; 6:9; Revelation 21:24, 26.)

  The basic rule was valid here: men should love God with all their heart and mind and soul, and their neighbour as themselves. This entailed that they should do nothing through strife or vainglory, but in lowliness of mind should each esteem the other better than himself, and in righteousness should give to all what they deserved. (Philippians 2:3; 2 Timothy 2:22; 1 John 2:29; 3:10.)

- Continual watch should be kept that the unity in the Church of Christ be preserved, in spite of the diversity, and never allowed to degenerate into disruption as a result of sin. (Acts 6:1; 1 Corinthians 3:1ff; Ephesians 4:1ff.)

An addendum which the Commission gave to clarify this declaration of policy was noted by the NGK:

Though mankind was to be regarded as one great human family, sin had dispersed the nations and set them up in enmity against one another. In spite of the Incarnation this disruption between peoples outside Christ would last to the end of time. However, in the ranks of the believing people of God in Christ the restored unity of a new human race should be demonstrated to the world. Those who were in Christ experienced a unity of a special kind - a spiritual and mystic unity of believers, as members of the body of Christ - in spite of great differences of language, culture and race. This unity did not destroy the identity of nation or race, but changed the relationship between one and another to a relationship of faith, love and brotherhood in Christ instead of hate and rebellion against God. The Church of Christ was therefore supra-national but not a-national, and the existence and continued survival of independent nations and races within the Church should be accepted.

In view of this diversity of races, different independent indigenous Churches could arise within the same geographical area without denying or disturbing the essential unity of God's people. Such independent Churches among diverging groups could develop more fully, and as a result of differences of language, national character and approach could lead to a richer revelation of the Kingdom of God. However, there was the danger that wrong and unchristian motives and attitudes, such as a spirit of superiority, might lead to independent Churches. This would be a total contradiction of the unity in Christ, by virtue of which all believers, irrespective of race or colour, were called to acknowledge, respect and love one another as "fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God" (Ephesians 2:19 united with spiritual ties loftier than any natural ties of people, race or family. This professed unity in Christ demanded concrete expression between believers of different nations and races. Thus while accepting the existence of separate Churches according to each indigenous group, as a matter of principle no person should be excluded from corporate worship solely on the grounds of race or colour.

The Commission deeply regretted that in South Africa there was great discrepancy in race relations between principles and practice. The expression of the restored unity in Christ was impeded, partly because believers - individually and corporately - still possessed so much of the disposition of disruption; and partly because of the cultural, social and political conditions in the country. (A hint that fear for self-preservation pertained to this matter may be gathered from a comment by the Commission in the penultimate paragraph of the addendum: "Because of the danger of being swallowed up by a numerically stronger heathenism, which might have caused European civilisation to lose its spiritual and cultural heritage, the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa did not hesitate to warn against the integration of European and non-white races.") A similar discrepancy between confession and practice could be seen in the Scriptures, where the people of God had been urged to strive after unity but had continually fallen short of it. It had required the long-suffering teaching of God to bring the people of Israel into a right relationship with other nations. In the early Christian Church, in spite of the fervour of Pentecostal life and power there had been dissension, such as that between the Greeks and the Hebrews (Acts 6:1). Peter had found the expression of the unity of believers from different nations difficult, and although he had accepted it in principle, in practice he had drawn back and had separated himself (Galatians 2:12). His action had not been justified, and under the guidance of Paul the principle of unity had been carried into practice.

In South Africa the historical situation and the undeniable fact of the power of sin in all human relationships, compelled the Church of Christ to act carefully in its endeavour to apply the above-mentioned principles in practice. This need for discretion, said the Commission, explained why only some of the principles had been realised in the past; though the Church might not seek to justify its acquiescence and neglect on grounds of discretion. It took time for principles to become fully effective, and enforced practice of them was not always most fruitful. In the Scriptures God had spoken to man as man in his actual situation and had exhorted him to seek the norm of the Kingdom of God in that situation: and there had been no forced application, for example, of the principles of equal worth and freedom towards the emancipation of slaves. So the enforced practice of unity in Christ might do more harm than good. It might involve the stumbling of weaker believers, for whom Paul had made allowance (Romans 14-15), or it might involve an abuse of Christian principles for purely secular and political interests. Thus, while the Christian koinonia should be accepted and applied by believers from all nations and races, this should be done circumspectly so that weaker believers were not alienated but educated to the task.

The Commission concluded by observing that there was an attitude of goodwill between the various NGK 'mother' and 'daughter' churches, that would most certainly be undermined if they were to abandon the policy of separate churches, and so do serious damage to the extension of the Kingdom of God. There was no indication that either white or black members desired to abolish the separate Churches, though there was a desire for closer communion of believers from different racial groups.

We have seen that as recently as 1950 and 1953 NGK churchmen had been confident to argue on scriptural grounds that separate Churches for different racial groups had been not only permissible but imperative. Indeed, Marais reported that people who had opposed this appeal to Scripture had been declared heretics.

Now the 1956 Statement heralded a change in thinking, for, in contrast to such previous debate, it did not argue a 'scriptural basis' for separation within the Church. Indeed, in 1960 Marais would report (as would Keet) that he knew of no responsible theologian in South Africa who would subscribe

to such biblical argument.[1] Instead, the 1956 Statement officially acknowledged that the separation which had taken place in the NGK had been due to 'practical reasons'. Division in the Church was a result of the finite nature of man. It was emphasised that an outward unity of the Church should be seen as the ideal - but it was added that separation within the Church did not destroy the essential, spiritual unity that was in Christ. Thus the Addendum, while regretting the failure in South Africa to express this unity, urged that allowance should be made for 'weaker believers' - just as had been done by the Synod of 1857. So the NGK reverted to an earlier stance with regard to race relations in the Church (though this had little effect on the practical policies of the Church). The 1956 Statement testified to "an encouraging search for Christian brotherhood and unity in a time of discord and division."[2]

We note that this Statement confined itself to discussion of race relations within the Church, and that the NGK did not commit itself on race relations in the secular sphere.

However, in June 1956 the NGK, together with the other two Dutch Reformed Churches and two Afrikaans secular organisations, co-sponsored a Volkskongres at Bloemfontein - at which about two-thirds of the 600 to 700 people attending were ministers or missionaries. "The main purpose" of this Congress "seemed to be to propagate the idea of total territorial apartheid.[3] It unequivocally rejected any policy of integration, expressing the conviction that "there is no possibility in South Africa of a peaceful evolutionary coming together of White and Bantu towards a unified society. A policy of integration will necessarily bring increasing racial tension and conflict and ultimately the destruction of one or both of the population groups." On the contrary, the Congress was convinced that "the only acceptable policy that is also truly practical is that which is based on the principle of separate development" in separate areas. No other acceptable policy would have a peaceful conclusion.[4] Consequently, delegates were urged to help educate the public to accept the implications, with the sacrifices involved, of such territorial separation.

(1) In Geyser, A.S. et.al., Delayed Action! (1960) pp40, 5.
(2) Oosthuizen, G.C.: in Delayed Action! (Geyser et.al.) p121.
(3) SAIRR Survey 1955-1956, p152.
(4) Volkskongres oor die Toekoms van die Bantoe (1956 Congress) p137.

Here then was a reaffirmation by NGK churchmen, amongst others, of the call that had been made by the NGK Congress in 1950 for total geographical separation of the races. Still it was felt that this would be the only morally acceptable policy - in contrast to the outright baasskap, or complete mastery of white over black, that generally characterised the racial policies of the Government at that time, under Mr. J.G. Strydom who had become Prime Minister in 1954.

The Congress had been called to consider the future of Africans in South Africa in the light of a report made in 1954 by the government-appointed Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, under the chairmanship of Professor F.R. Tomlinson. Aiming to make the African reserves economically viable so that by the end of the twentieth century they might carry two-thirds of the total African population, the Commission had postulated extensive soil-conservation schemes, intensive industrial development with the aid of 'white' capital and enterprise, and the expenditure over a period of ten years of more than £100 000 000. It had also maintained that tribalism and rule by chiefs were not compatible with a modern industrial economy, and that a revision of land tenure to provide for individual instead of tribal ownership of land was essential. However, in April 1956 the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, had replied with a White Paper declaring the Government's firm intention to revive and strengthen tribalism, to bolster the power of the chiefs, and not to allow private ownership of land in the reserves. The recommendation that more land should be purchased for African use than that still to be acquired under the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act had been rejected, while it had become clear that the Government was not prepared to spend so much money on the reserves. Thus any realistic attempt to develop these areas had in effect been nullified. Consequently the resolutions of the Congress two months later might be seen as a call to the Government to reconsider its approach.

Indeed, after interviews with various NGK leaders Ritner reported that it was partly in response to the urging of influential churchmen that Dr. Verwoerd soon after he became Prime Minister in 1958 made it clear that the aim of total separation of the racial groups did in fact underlie government policy.[1] For early in 1959 he announced that increasing powers of self-government would be given to tribal authorities established in terms of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 in the African reserves or 'homelands' while the central Government would consider successive steps of 'creative withdrawal' from those areas. In their 'homelands' Africans

(1) Ritner, art.cit. p32.

would learn to manage their own affairs, to tax themselves, and to make their own laws; and a Bantu Investment Corporation (subsequently set up with an initial share capital of £500 000) would encourage them to develop their own industries. (Indeed, self-government had already advanced so far, he said, that it was no longer necessary for Africans to be represented in the central Parliament, and such representation would, therefore, cease in 1960.) Verwoerd envisaged various African 'national units' which he compared to colonies, and he suggested that when they had reached a sufficiently high standard of self-government they might ultimately become independent states, and form a commonwealth with neighbouring black and white states.

So it was that the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was adopted later that year. That would be followed in 1963 by the Transkei Constitution Act, whereby the Transkei would become a semi-autonomous territory with its own Legislative Assembly - until it was eventually declared a 'fully independent state' in October 1976. Then in 1968 further enabling legislation would make it possible to steer another nine territories (including Ovamboland in South West Africa/Namibia) towards independence.(1) The 1959 Act, it was asserted, signalled the bridging of the gap between theory and practice which had induced uneasiness of conscience and sensitivity to external criticism among intellectuals and churchmen.

The general argument behind this Government policy was that whites and Africans were plainly different from one another, with different life styles, cultural traits and expectations. If they remained together in one environment, the socio-cultural heritage of the whites would be swamped by the alien culture of the numerically stronger Africans, while at the same time the heritage of the Africans would be exposed to disintegration (or, as some expressed it, Africans would become imitation Europeans rather than good Africans). On the contrary, each of these racial groups should be allowed (some said was obliged) to preserve its own identity or 'uniqueness' and to develop its own potential 'along its own lines'. Consequently the racial groups should be separated from one another. Furthermore, because the Africans - unlike the whites, it was said - "do not constitute a homogeneous people, but form separate national units on the basis of language and culture", they should be dividid into separate territories for each linguistic or cultural group, where each could develop in its own way. As a corollary to this, the influx of Africans into the 'white' areas should be stopped and gradually reversed. A

(1) The second territory to become 'fully independent' would be Bophuthatswana in December 1977.

minimal number should be allowed in to meet labour requirements, but they should be regarded as migrant workers, in effect visiting the 'white' areas knowing that they must later return to their own areas. Hence in the 'white' areas they should expect no civil or political rights, should possess no fixed property, and should be subject to control in such matters as domicile, employment and freedom of movement.

The logic of Afrikaner nationalist ideology played an important part in the formulation of this racial theory. In the past Afrikaner nationalists had urged Afrikaners to separate themselves from English-speaking people and organisations in order that they might foster and preserve their own cultural identity. Now they rationalised that Africans likewise needed the opportunity to keep their particular cultural identity, and that they therefore needed to separate themselves from white people. At the same time, such separation would ensure that the identity of the whites on the other hand was not jeopardised. This nationalist logic gave the racial policy a great deal of respectability in the eyes of many Afrikaner leaders. It became a policy which could be pursued with virtuous zeal, for Africans were now being offered what Afrikaners had fought so hard for after Union: cultural, economic and even a measure of political independence.

Henceforth to be known officially as 'separate development' rather than 'apartheid', the policy described by Verwoerd was widely acclaimed in the Nationalist Press as a 'new vision'. In theory it was a radical departure from authoritarian domination of whites over Africans. Africans were no longer to be regarded as inferior but solely different.(1) In their own areas they would now be able to develop to the height of their capability without being hampered by ceilings previously imposed by whites. Or, as a favourite argument put it, horizontal, discriminatory barriers keeping Africans below whites were now to be replaced by vertical, non-hierarchical barriers between the racial groups.

However, many observers have suggested that in fact the policy was new only in the degree of emphasis that it placed on the African 'homelands' and on their constitutional relationship with the white areas. Otherwise it could be seen as a rationalisation to divert the criticism that was coming from other countries (for South Africa was at that time under pressure from the British Commonwealth and the United Nations to abandon racial discrimination); and to satisfy those whites in South Africa who were seeking a moral basis for racial segregation. "It would salve

(1) Adam has suggested, though, that biological inferiority was still latently assumed. Refer Adam in Sociological Perspectives pp79-82; Adam, H.: Modernising Racial Domination (1971) p71; cf. Van der Merwe, H.W.: 'Changing Attitudes of Whites Toward African Development' in Church and Development (1972) pp112, 118

consciences troubled by overt discrimination against black people in 'white' areas." Some observers have also pointed out that it would in fact make it easier for the white people to control the black people, in that emphasis on the Africans' tribal affiliations would divide them and deter them from a combined African nationalism. African political aspirations would be deflected to areas where they would be no danger to white rule.(1) It should be noted that the policy was indeed vigorously opposed by many Africans, who resented the deprivation of their representation in Parliament, and maintained that the self-government in their 'homelands' was a sham while the central Government infact kept a tight hold on all real political power.

It should also be observed that the theory behind this policy overlooked the essentially Western culture of urban Africans who had been in the towns for several generations. Influenced by their involvement in a wage economy, by formal education, and more recently by the mass media of communication and entertainment, they now had a basic set of values which was common to white members of the industrialised society. For many tribal relationships played hardly any role. But now they were expected to revert to traditional tribal ways of life.(2)

Meanwhile the Government's policy towards the Coloured and Indian peoples was characterised by ambivalence. These peoples were segregated from the white people and encouraged to develop along their own lines, but there was no comprehensive plan for such development. The fact that the Coloured people shared, for the most part, the languages, religion, culture and way of life of the whites (while many of the Indians were strongly anglicised) made it clear that this segregation was not on grounds of culture but on grounds of skin colour. Nor was it legitimised by a concept of separate 'homelands' for these peoples - though Verwoerd did announce in 1960 that he proposed to create a Coloured 'state'(3) and others were later to suggest likewise. Indeed, because both the Coloured and Indian peoples were relatively small in numbers and because they were scattered around South Africa, it would not have been really possible to create 'homelands' for them.

(1) Refer Adam, Modernizing, pp68-70, 75.
(2) Thompson has also pointed out that the essence of traditional societies could not be recreated in South Africa, for the conditions in which they used to flourish - political, economic and psychological self-sufficiency - no longer existed. (Politics in the Republic of South Africa p111; cf. Slabbert, F.van Z. in Anatomy of Apartheid (Ed: Randall, P.) (1970) pp64-67.)
(3) Marquard, Peoples and Policies p78.

A Union Council for Coloured Affairs was established in 1959; and this would be replaced in 1969 by a Coloured Persons' Representative Council, roughly a third of whose members would be government-nominated. This Council would have general advisory powers, but there would be provision for it to be given powers to legislate under government supervision on some matters affecting the Coloured people. Meanwhile the Government would set up in 1964 a National Indian Council, subsequently known as the South African Indian Council, to be a purely advisory body to the Minister of Indian Affairs - its members nominated by the Government (though at first there would be difficulty in finding people who would accept nomination). Then in 1968 that Council would be turned into a statutory body by Act of Parliament - still composed of nominated members only, though there would be provision for some members possibly to be elected in the future. Bearing in mind that neither of these peoples were located in one area Denoon has commented that such developments appeared to be "designed for ethnic tidiness rather than any more positive purpose".(1)

We have seen that in the first half of the century there had been a certain amount of interaction between the NGK and the State, but that their thinking on race relations had been to a large extent in parallel. We then observed in 1950 a marked difference in their approaches to race relations. Now after 1956 we perceive their policies coming closer into line with one another and it may be judged that the urging of Church leaders did some little part in prompting the State to attempt its more far-reaching approach.

(e) A MEETING WITH REFORMED CHURCHES

Meanwhile, during August 1958 representatives of the NGK again took part in consultation with other Churches - but this time with Reformed Churches from other parts of the world. Ten Churches in seven countries, of which the largest Church was the NGK,(2) were represented at the Reformed Ecumenical Synod which met that month at Potchefstroom in the Transvaal.

(1) Denoon, op.cit. p220.

(2) The Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika was also represented at the Synod.

There scriptural principles for race relations were one of the major concerns discussed. After a committee had considered reports on this subject by three study groups in Scotland, the Netherlands and South Africa, a Statement was drawn up and adopted by the Synod.

It was agreed, firstly, that the fundamental unity of the human race was at least as important as all considerations of race and colour, as implied in the fact that God had made of one blood all nations of men. (Acts 17:26). Secondly, because in Adam all human beings had been equally subject to sin (Romans 3:23), no race might consider itself superior to other races in its relationship with God. Similarly, Christ's redemption had atoned for the sins "of the whole world" (1 John 2:2) so all races were included in the plan of salvation (cf. Genesis 12:3; Matthew 28:19). From this it followed that a believer had primarily to regard members of another race as fellow-sinners, and the decisive commandment was that he should love his neighbour as himself. If the members of the other race were likewise believers, he should receive them as his brothers and sisters in Christ. "In such a relationship all human distinctions, no matter how much weight they carry in social life, become considerations of secondary imporance." All this neither denied nor ignored the fact of the multiplicity of nations, but in that multiplicity the unquestioned equality of all races, peoples and manifestations of true Church should be recognised.

By its teaching and example it was said, the Church should guide and prepare its members for the practice of Christian communion with believers of other races. In common congregational meetings and in admitting people of another race to their own gatherings, members should guard against any impression of discrimination which could imply inferiority of the other race. The others should be made to feel that they were being regarded as fellow-members in the body of Christ, bound by the closest of ties. Meanwhile, the efforts of younger Churches to achieve full ecclesiastical equality with the older Churches should be encouraged, with closer co-operation being sought on the level of church assemblies and consultations.

The Synod further agreed that no direct scriptural evidence could be produced for or against marriage between people of different races. However, the well-being of the Christian community and the pastoral care of the Church necessitated that due consideration be given to legal, social and cultural factors which affected such marriages.(1)

(1) NGK, Statements on Race Relations No. 1 (November 1960) pp10-12; SAIRR Survey 1957-1958 p19.

This Statement was an encouragement to the NGK, for it showed that there was basic agreement between other Reformed Churches and it on various principles. The equality of men before God and the brotherhood of believers were agreed upon. In the Church racial differences were to be of secondary importance - though not to be ignored. Indeed, we find that there were no significant points of difference between this Statement and the one published by the NGK in 1956.

However, we note that the Statement did not discuss segregation of races within the Church. It was sufficiently wide in its approach to allow for such separation, so could be adopted by the NGK. But the Reverend A.J. van Wijk (an NGK representative at the Synod) later warned that some of the theologians from elsewhere would have disagreed with such a policy and would have regarded "ecclesiastical and congregational integration as a sine qua non for spiritual unity". Furthermore, while the Statement spoke of the duty of the Church to scrutinise the policies of secular governments in the light of Scripture, the Synod did not study practices in South Africa. "No doubt serious points of difference would have appeared if the practical application of the Scriptural principles to every-day problems (especially South African problems) (sic) had been discussed."(1) Thus, although this broad agreement on scriptural principles was made, at least one representative of the NGK sensed that his Church was not in fundamental agreement with Reformed Churches in other parts of the world. Other NGK churchmen were also to be set thinking, and the Synod at Potchefstroom sounded a warning of things to come.

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(1) Van Wijk, A.J.: "The Resolutions of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod on Race Relations", Race Relations Journal Vol. XXVI No. 1 (1959) p16.

4. DISSENSION

(a) SOME THEOLOGIANS SPEAK OUT

The apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government had been vague in the beginning, yet it had seemed to NGK churchmen to be a Christian way of preserving white people or 'Christian civilisation' without doing any harm to the black people in the country. Soon it had been argued that the policy did in fact bring positive good to the black people too so, as we have seen, the justifications of theologians had given much support to the policy.

However, as apartheid legislation had been progressively enacted and black people had been placed under more and more restrictions, a few NGK churchmen had begun to ask whether something was not wrong.

Amongst them, two prominent leaders who in the 1950s spoke out clearly against what they believed to be bad theology and bad Christianity were Professor B.J. Marais and Professor B.B. Keet (head of the theological seminary at Stellenbosch for many years). These men did not join in public protest, but they wrote to the official NGK journals and spoke at Church conferences. Each of them wrote a book addressed to Afrikaners, to members of his own Church, pointing to the hollowness he saw in many arguments put forward by churchmen to support racial segregation.(1) Because they were leaders from within the NGK their criticisms were particularly significant. When members of the 'English-speaking' Churches protested against apartheid and its toll of human suffering, their protests could be passed off as the manifestations of an anti-Afrikaner complex: but here was criticism voiced by two staunch Afrikaners. They were severely condemned by colleagues and by the Afrikaans Press, but their arguments were telling.

Professor Marais argued that no scriptural command for separation of the races could be found. NGK theologians had made much of the history of Israel and the injunctions that it should not mix with the surrounding nations: but Marais argued that these nations had been Semites, like the Israelites, and had not belonged to another race. So the basis for this

(1) Marais, B.J.: Colour: Unsolved Problem of the West (1952). Keet, B.B.: Whither - South Africa? (1956)

command had not been racial, but rather religious: that Israel should be separated from other gods and so remain faithful to her God. The Moabites could share Israel's language; the Edomites could be bound to Israel by bonds of blood; the Canaanites could inhabit the same country as Israel; but as long as they served their own gods they should remain separate. The Gibeonites, on the other hand, had accepted Yahweh and ultimately had become Israelites. Throughout its history Israel had made proselytes from other nations and races, and no questions had been asked as to their racial origin. Similarly it was clear that the prohibition of intermarriage with other nations had been based on religious rather than racial grounds (Deuteronomy 7:3-5). Likewise, in the New Testament Christians had not been forbidden to associate with believers from other nations, but rather forbidden to associate with unbelievers even though these had been their compatriots.

Much had been made of God's dividing the people into nations at the tower of Babel, and it had been argued that man should not undo what God had done. However, Marais argued, the division of humanity had occurred not in connection with the creation as a permanent and static order, but after the fall as a temporary order. The fact that God had willed the variety of peoples and that in this sinful dispensation there always would be separate nations was not in itself a prohibition of mixing of peoples. If it was such a prohibition the coming into being of all new peoples throughout the ages (including the Afrikaners) especially by the crossing of existing nations would have been contrary to the will of God. "It was precisely by crossing that God built up the rich variety of peoples and even races,"(1) and for these too there was to be a fixed habitation (Acts 17:26).

The fact that at Pentecost every one of the proselytes had heard the gospel in his own language had sometimes been adduced as an argument for keeping nations apart. But in the miracle of tongues the different groups had not been segregated: they had been more closely knit together into one congregation of Christ. The barrier of language with which God had punished the sinful world of Babel had been broken. While those nations at Pentecost had not lost their identity, their apartness had been removed.

Criticising such scriptural arguments for segregation, Marais said: "I believe that this type of theology grows out of wishful thinking and is unchristian and dangerous because it tends to stimulate the arrogance and the selfishness of the white man."(2)

(1) Marais, Colour, p295.
(2) Marais, B.J.: Human Diversity and Christian Unity (1957) p13.

However, Marais stressed that for weighty practical reasons separation of the races might be justified; for the nature and condition of the real world in which the Christian was called to live would to a great extent determine the application of his Christian principles.

Christianity, Marais said, combined idealism and realism in itself, and he pointed to what he called the radical and the conservative aspects of the social doctrine shown in the New Testament.(1) On the one hand, Paul had spoken as though earthly distinctions and social divisions had been wholly without sense for the true condition of the Christian. To the Colossians he had written: You "have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator. Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all." (Colossians 3:10-11). As strongly he had put this new condition to the Galatians: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." (Galatians 3:27-28). Such unity, said Marais, could not be regarded as purely spiritual, for it should inevitably have practical implications. On the other hand, apparently in total contradiction, Paul had warned the Corinthians against any tendency to break away from the existing social order: "Everyone should remain in the state in which he was called. Were you a slave when called? Never mind." (1 Corinthians 7:20-21). He had given detailed instructions to masters and slaves for their mutual relations (Colossians 3:22ff), and he had even sent a slave back to his master without any specific command to liberate that slave. So, according to the radical principle Christianity was a revolutionary power which questioned all orders of society; but according to the conservative principle Christianity recognised the orders of society as orders of creation or as being of historical origin willed by God. A clear knowledge of these two principles was essential for a correct understanding of the social doctrine of the New Testament. There was always bound to be a conflict between the ideal and reality, but the danger lay in stressing the one principle to such an extent that the other was lost sight of.

So Marais argued that the historical situation in South Africa should be taken into account, and on the grounds of practical considerations, such as profound linguistic and cultural differences between races and a marked distinction in levels of civilisation, he believed that racial separation was justifiable - " on condition that the further demands of Christian brotherhood are not denied and the policy concerned is inspired by

(1) Marais, Colour pp296-298.

Christian love and not by racial selfishness or a feeling of racial superiority."(1) He did not, however, agree with those who had contended that race and nation were of such supreme and permanent importance that it was the God-given duty of the Church to see that cultural and racial integrity was in no way endangered. In the South African situation he urged a middle course between absolute integration and absolute segregation. (2)

Marais stated that he could raise no moral or religious objection to the territorial separation of races as such; and he would even condone many temporary measures which might seem harsh and unfair, if they were necessary to attain the ultimate goal of separation, provided he was convinced that complete separation was possible. (However, by 1964 complete separation seemed to him impossible in South Africa and so he argued that discriminatory measures could not be condoned.) He warned against segregation becoming an absolute ideology, whereby adjustments to changing conditions and realities were rejected.(3)

On the subject of miscegenation, Marais stated that he was strongly opposed to it where people of markedly divergent colour and culture were involved. In such cases assimilation could hardly take place, and those with the higher degree of civilisation would be harmed. In South Africa, where the blacks greatly outnumbered the whites, common miscegenation would mean that the whites would be engulfed and would gradually disappear, and with them would be lost their specific way of life. (Were the numbers more or less equal there would possibly not be much lost.) Thus the white man who had "built up a way of life...which he (believed represented) the highest and the best in the life and experience of man, surely (had) the right and the duty to stand guard over it and to defend his heritage," by ensuring that it was not lost through miscegenation. This was Marais' main argument, but he added that family life would be difficult where customs were divergent, and that hybrid children would be ostracised by both races involved, with bad psychological effects. Thus, although marriage was an intimate, personal matter, pressure should be used to prevent marriage between white and black people. In answer to those who believed that there was no danger of racial crossing on a large scale, or that only blacks who had accepted the Christian way of life and Western customs would be involved, Marais argued that all possibilities should be taken into account and warned that the process of crossing could never be reversed once it had been allowed, even though it might prove detrimental.(4)

(1) ibid. p298.
(2) Marais, Human Diversity p15; 1953 Conference p159.
(3) Marais, B.J.: The Two Faces of Africa (1964) pp31-32,66; cf. Marais, Colour p323.
(4) Marais, Colour pp35, 65-70.

Marais observed that self-preservation was not as such a Christian aim or virtue, but that it might become a Christian virtue if the protection of the rights of neighbours was included. He warned against regarding neighbours only as rivals and enemies.(1)

Prefacing remarks on race relations within the Church, Marais stressed that this was the mystical body of Christ and had a given unity in him. Thus believers did not need to create a unity by their own efforts, but their task was to make the given unity visible and effectual. While Protestants might not see the expression of this unity as necessarily taking the form of one visible organisation, Marais warned of the danger of over-spiritualisation and of regarding too lightly the visible Church. The visible Church should continually strive to reflect the invisible Church, which was one and transcended race and nations.(2)

However, Marais allowed that for practical considerations of race, culture or language separate churches could be justified for different racial or linguistic groups. The Bible did not forbid them. So, taking into account the historical situation, he believed that separate churches were justified in South Africa - though he urged co-operation at high levels between white and black church leaders. He warned, however, that the moment a person was excluded from common worship on grounds of race or colour that worship would cease to be Christian. (Marais suggested that any honest person would have to admit that for most white people the separate church system in South Africa was based on an unwillingness to worship regularly or naturally with black people. He pointed out that any German or English-speaking person would not be refused admittance to an Afrikaans church, but that an Afrikaans-speaking Coloured person would be refused regular attendance in almost any white Afrikaans church, and even occasional attendance in many. The Church, to be Christian, would have to free itself of this attitude.(3)) Separate churches for different racial groups could have beneficial and positive results, said Marais, on condition that real Christian brotherhood was not thereby denied and that there was natural and normal contact between the different groups of believers. "As long as there is no exclusion from common worship I cannot see in what way independent 'indigenous' or 'racial' Churches...destroy or deny the real unity of the people of God."(4)

(1) ibid. p324.
(2) In Delayed Action! (Geyser et.al.) p39.
(3) Marais, Human Diversity pp16, 18.
(4) ibid. p17; 1953 Conference p144. Marais discussed the question of the indigenisation of the Church in Africa in The Two Faces of Africa pp170-195

Finally, we note Marais' plea that South African Christians should realise what little emphasis the Bible laid on race and nation as such in comparison with the deep significance of the reconciliation of the people of God, his Church out of all nations and tongues. "When...will the realisation penetrate that to belong to the people of God is so significant and that such solidarity ought to be accomplished, that.....our membership of any other people is of secondary importance. Even our service to that other nation is dependent on our ties and loyalty to Christ and His people on earth."(1)

Like Marais, Professor Keet was highly critical of those who searched the Scriptures in order to justify the existing situation in South Africa, rather than to find out what attitude they should adopt. "Without the background of apartheid as it is practised in this country we should never have drawn the conclusions we do from our study of the Bible."(2)

He could find no scriptural grounds for racial segregation. The command that Israel separate herself from other peoples could not be indiscriminately applied to all nations. Israel had had a special vocation to keep herself pure, not because her national existence in itself had been so important, but because the revelation of God had been entrusted to her, and out of her was to have come the Christ. It might be argued that for the same reason a Christian nation should not mingle with a heathen one, but this argument could not justify separating Christians of one race from Christians of another race. Israel's separation had been a religious separation, but not a racial one. The New Testament likewise had recognised no social separation except on grounds of faith (2 Corinthians 6:14). "Everyone, according to the Bible, is my neighbour, of whatever race, people or nation he may be, and if he is my neighbour, I must be able to associate with him"(3) (In this sense, Keet added, one could certainly speak of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, even if strictly speaking only Christians could be called children of God.) Far from accepting separation between peoples, Jesus had asked the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well for water and had spoken to her of her most

(1) In Delayed Action! (Geyser et.al.) p42.
(2) Keet, Whither p19; The Church and the Race Problem (Rand Daily Mail) (1963) p28.
(3) Keet, Whither p32.

intimate concerns (John 4), so unequivocally condemning the powerful taboo that had rested on social intercourse between Jews and Samaritans.

Keet pointed out the false assumption made by many advocates of segregation that diversity was synonymous with separation. God had indeed willed different nations, but he had not separated them in the way understood by these advocates. Diversity was an essential part of his creation: but in diversity unity found its richest manifestation, and God condemned sinful, man-made divisions whereby men were placed in opposition to one another. It was true that Christ had not obliterated distinctions between men, but he had removed the lines that divided them. Thus those that argued that a Jew remained a Jew and that a man could not become a woman were correct. Paul had not implied that these differences as such would be wiped out, but he had rather stressed that they should not mean separation (Galatians 3:28; Colossians 3:11). Though each retained his own distinct status (which was not necessarily unchangeable, else the abolition of slavery would be unscriptural) all should be regarded as one in Christ. Just as there was a great difference between a man and a woman which yet did not prevent them from living in the closest union, so in Christ there should be no opposition between Jew and Greek. (Keet also pointed out that it was not being suggested that white people should be separated from other whites who were different from them, which fact confirmed that diversity need not imply separation.(1))

Many white Christians in South Africa had referred to their task of 'trusteeship', whereby they had felt a duty to act as guardian of the 'undeveloped' black races and to train these to be self-reliant. This, conceded Keet, was an admirable conception - in so far as it concerned the relationship between civilised and uncivilised people, and provided it did not imply that the guardian would always remain a guardian. Some day the ward should come of age and then the authority which the guardian had exercised over him should come to an end. Then the guardian should rejoice, even though he might be surpassed by his ward. However, Keet argued that current declarations of apartheid policy had not made provision for this eventuality and had disregarded the rapidly growing numbers of those who had emerged from their 'primitive' state. Further, he asked, how was one to determine the point of time when a whole black society had come to maturity and so was qualified to be treated as the equal of whites? And who would be arbiter in this matter? It was difficult enough when the qualifications of an individual had to be determined, but in the case of a group this was impossible. Keet also pointed out that the duty of guardianship

(1) ibid. pp25-32; The South African Outlook, January 1950,p15.

included the intellectual and spiritual preparation of the ward, which could not be performed by delegation or by sending the ward away and leaving him to his own devices. How could a guardian give help to a ward who was adjusting his primitive culture to the complexities of modern industrial civilisation if guardian and ward were seldom if ever to meet?(1)

The fulfilment of this task of guardianship, some had argued, was dependent on the whites' survival as a nation (to be ensured by segregaion), but Keet clarified that in fact it would not depend on the colour of the guardians' skin, but on their continued existence as a Christian people. Another argument for self-preservation through segregation had been that the sixth commandment forbade a man or a nation from committing suicide. Keet replied that one could not assume that wiping out divisions between people would necessarily involve their losing their identity. The motive of fear could not be unconditionally condemned, for the danger that the so-called white civilisation might be at the mercy of a semi-barbarian majority was not an imaginary one. However, barbarism should not be identified with colour. People should be grouped on different grounds, where white and black might together strive to preserve 'white' civilisation. (2)

It had also been argued that African culture should be preserved through racial segregation, but Keet pointed out that proponents of this argument had usually been vague as to what aspects of that culture they had seen as valuable. He suggested that a culture based on Christianity would give the Africans far greater spiritual wealth. The adoption of Western civilisation would not mean sacrificing his language and national identity, but he might give to this new culture the stamp of his individual and communal character.(3)

Keet felt it understandable that when civilised and uncivilised peoples met there should be a measure of social discrimination, for before there could be any intimate relation between people there should be a large degree of similarity of temperament, interests and ideals. However, he strongly criticised the colour consciousness and racial prejudice that had been added factors causing social discrimination in South Africa. Racial prejudice was so strongly felt by many whites that it assumed the character of a natural phenomenon, about which nothing much could be done. Some had even spoken of a 'wholesome' colour consciousness which had enabled each

(1) Keet, B.B.: The Ethics of Apartheid (1957) pp4-6; Keet, Whither p45.
(2) Keet, Whither pp22, 24, 47.
(3) ibid. pp82-84.

race to be proud of its colour. It had been defended as a necessary condition for the preservation of the white race: a virtue that protected whites from becoming too familiar with blacks and so from being degraded to the blacks' level of development. Such prejudice, said Keet, was irrational and therefore immoral. The identification of colour with civilisation was incorrect and there was no essential connection between them. Moreover, colour prejudice meant that a man's worth was measured not by his innate qualities but by the colour of his skin. He was condemned for what he had no control over, while for that which he could change, his character, he received no recognition. So Keet pleaded that division should not be between white and black, but between civilisation and barbarism or between Christianity and heathenism.

On the other hand, while some had been unwilling to admit an evil in colour consciousness, some had agreed that it did have evil consequences and they had concluded that racial segregation offered the only escape from these. Without segregation, it had been said, there would be constant friction and clashes between white and black people. This argument had become one of the most powerful of those advanced in favour of segregation. But Keet replied that if it were consistently maintained it would mean that no races or nations could ever live together unless they were in entire agreement about everything.(1)

Again, in contradiction to this argument, it had been assumed that with the removal of lines of division between white and black people colour consciousness would suddenly disappear and then general miscegenation would take place. This, said Keet, was an artitrary assumption. The whole history of South Africa refuted it, for whites and blacks had naturally gravitated to their own communities, and there had been no tendency towards miscegenation except in a few individuals. In the remote future miscegenation on a large scale might be possible, but not before conditions had changed so radically that the colour of a man's skin no longer had any meaning.

In reply to those who had opposed racially mixed marriages on the grounds that people of different races could not adapt themselves to each other because their differences were too great, Keet asked whether mixed marriages might be permissible when the differences were not so great. "Surely all human beings can adapt themselves to one another, because they are all of one blood." Keet agreed that in the present circumstances in South Africa mixed marriages were not possible, but he said that if a

(1) ibid. ppl0ff, 23; Keet, Ethics pp3-4.

perfect white Christian and a perfect black Christian wished to become married he could see no reason for preventing them.(1)

Keet stressed that racial segregation was fundamentally wrong in that it sacrificed the individual to the generalisations of group-thinking. A man was seen as one of a group according to his colour, and was without any personal attribues or claims. Moreover, he could not change from that group. The group was treated as a magnified individual with a personality of its own, apart from its constituent members, and this was an abstraction that led to disastrous consequences. Further, segregation took the less advanced individuals as normative of the whole group, whereas the outcome would at least have been better if the groups were judged by the best examples it was able to produce. Yet what characterised Christian ethics was the emphasis laid on the worth of the individual, and on his personality and freedom which were essential to responsibility. Accordingly, such a view which regarded the groups as of major importance, to the suppression of the individual, should be condemned as unethical.(2)

Keet criticised the NGK support for a policy of <u>total</u> segregation, whereby the black people would form states of their own in which they could fully realise themselves. Such a policy was just not possible in South Africa after centuries of co-existence and co-operation; but further, the enforced mass migration that would be required could never be reconciled with Christian convictions. The supporters of total segregation had argued that the steps which lead to it would demand great sacrifices, but that these were only transitional measures necessitated in order to reach the ultimate goal. How long, asked Keet, would such temporary measures of force be necessary and what mound of sorrow and misery with attendant hate would be built up in the meantime? Could the end justify the means which lead to it? "This is all a pipe dream in which a solution for the problem is sought in the easiest possible way, which is also an impossibility." "The more one examines the case for complete, permanent apartheid, the less can one avoid the conclusion that its supporters are labouring under a delusion that belongs to a world of make-believe." In fact, warned Keet, the way of total segregation was actually the greatest danger for the future of 'white' civilisation, as it merely increased the bitterness and hostility of the black people.

(1) Keet, <u>Whither</u> pp62-63, 22; 1953 Conference p142; cf. Marquard <u>Peoples and Policies</u> p70.
(2) Keet, <u>Ethics</u> pp6-9.

At the same time, Keet believed it foolish to represent the solution of the racial problem as a choice between segregation and integration. He did not propose that all discrimination should disappear immediately, for he believed the black races were still for the most part uncivilised or semi-civilised, and proper provision should accordingly be made to defend and safeguard the whites' spiritual heritage. Nevertheless, the safeguards should be recognised as temporary. Thus Keet advocated a policy of partial segregation. "I consider it the only just and safe way, provided it is regarded as a temporary measure and not as a permanent policy." It could only be justified morally if it served as a temporary measure to put an end to all subordination as soon as possible. Then, as ever greater numbers of blacks freed themselves from their barbarian past through education they should be given an opportunity to share in the privileges of their liberation and to take a rightful place in the service of the country. Keet believed that measures for segregation would be necessary "for a very long time to come"; yet at the same time he warned that social relations could not be regulated from above without impeding the development of men's personalities. He pleaded "for less hurtful methods, and more elastic lines of separation in the case of those non-whites who are no longer so far removed from us." Surely all social contact should not have to be avoided.(1)

Speaking of the Church of Christ, Keet stressed that there could be no doubt about its essential unity, for if Christians were to deny this they would also have to deny their common humanity, their common depravity and their common redemption in Christ. This unity was an identity in the midst of diversity. There was a danger of emphasising either the unity of Christians or their diversity at the expense of the other, and so gaining a distorted conception of the Church: either an artificial uniformity with no beauty in it, or a diversity which resolved into contrasts which led to estrangement and conflict. In South Africa it was the diversity which many had emphasised - in such a manner that it could not be seen as anything but division and separation. Many had interpreted the unity of the Church in a spiritual sense, but Keet emphasised that there should be some outward manifestation of this unity. "A spiritual unity...that...does not reveal itself in the tangible reality of our daily lives, is no true unity; its genuineness can only be tested by putting it into practice." "The ideal of the Christian Church is and will always be not only inward, but outward unity also."

(1) Keet, Whither pp48-57, 85; Keet, Ethics p16; Delayed Action! (Geyser et.al.) p7.

Keet recognised that certain practical circumstances such as geographical factors and differences in language and culture might stand in the way of a full realisation of Christian unity: but he urged that differences in colour and race could never be adduced as sufficient reason for organising Churches on a basis of separation. In South Africa separation of the Churches would be desirable and necessary until there had been a radical change in the whole attitude of the white people; for without that change it was only in a church for black people that a black man would have opportunities for development in his spiritual life and in his membership of a church. However, to recognise that the ideal of unity could not be realised because of men's colour consciousness (as in the NGK decision of 1857) did not exempt the Church from the obligation to strive after outward and visible unity. The accommodation to colour consciousness should be clearly seen as a temporary measure, and not accepted as the norm. The ideal of unity should be clearly formulated, "so that we can by degrees work towards the attainment of our ideal, for at present there is the danger not only that it may be lost sight of, but that its loss may lead to ever greater separation."

Those who tried to explain that the origin of the NG Sendingkerk could be accounted for solely by the white Christians' concern for the spiritual welfare of the Coloured people and for their distinctive and independent development, deceived themselves, for colour consciousness had played a great, if not an overwhelming part. Even within the separate Sendingkerk Keet reported that there was still this colour consciousness: for while the Church was served by both white and Coloured ministers, there was no equality of rights and privileges amongst them: "The coloured minister is subject to all sorts of restrictions...that are connected not with his lack of ability, but with his status as a non-white minister." "In view of the fact that we have here a section of the Christian Church possessing the same creed as we do, the same form of church government, the same liturgy and practice, and the same language, to organise separate churches on the grounds of difference of colour alone, shows a failure to understand aright the nature of the church." Keet agreed that the policy of separation which had led to the establishment of the Sendingkerk had borne rich blessing.(1) "Under present circumstances, apartheid cannot be unreservedly condemned. Its fruits, which can be seen so clearly in the growing independence and development of our coloured churches, are proof that God's blessing has rested upon it." But Keet continued, this was no proof that the policy was the ideal one. It could not be assumed

(1) This was often pointed out by others as a justification for the Church's separation policy. (eg. NGK 1966 Report p25.)

that an undivided church of white and Coloured people would not have brought even greater blessing. Also, there was no activity in Christians' imperfect life of faith that was not blessed by the grace of God despite their unfaithfulness and unbelief. The very existence of the Christian Church with all its imperfections and divisions was proof of this, in spite of so much that filled it with shame.

With regard to the African 'daughter' Churches, Keet acknowledged that Africans differed from white people in culture, language and interests to a greater extent than did Coloured people, though these factors had sometimes wrongly been regarded as of crucial importance. It was understandable that Christians who differed so much from each other that they could not follow each other's language and thought processes, should prefer to have their own organised communities. However, if these were based on the same creed, there should be a bond of fellowship between them, even though this bond between whites and Africans might be looser than that between whites and Coloured people.

Lastly, Keet noted that some supporters of separate Churches had spoken of the need to build bridges and to find more points of contact between the Churches. This conclusion they had reached not because of the assumptions with which they had started, but in spite of them. If the ideal was truly one of eventual unity, as the concept of the Christian Church postulated, there would be no difficulty in finding and developing points of contact. But Keet observed that on the congregational level there was little show of unity between the white and black Churches, and that even at higher levels the contact was limited. Proposals that there should be reciprocal attendance at public worship aroused storms of protest, or were turned down on the pretext that the Lord's house and the Lord's table were no place to stage a demonstration.(1)

Here then were two NGK theologians who rejected any suggestion that there might be scriptural grounds for segregation of the races. They were not of one mind, however: for whereas Keet believed that a partial segregation was at that time still necessary in South Africa, and would

(1) 1953 Conference pp16-19, 142; Keet, Whither pp27, 35-43

accept it provided it was only to be a temporary measure, Marais believed that separation in society and Church might indeed be justified for practical reasons. That Keet's criticism of segregation was more final than that of Marais was highlighted in his willingness to allow miscegenation, which Marais strongly opposed.

They were not the only ones in the NGK who were criticising current racial practices. Patterson reported in 1957 that there was indeed some ferment among a number of Dutch Reformed churchmen.(1) Through direct or indirect participation in the various ecumenical conferences of the 1950s, these men had become exposed to censure of their racial policies from members of other Churches, and had discovered that respected Calvinist theologians outside the country disagreed with their theory and practice in such matters. Consequently there was a stirring of conscience as they became more sensitive to the gap between Christian teaching and the reality of day-to-day injustices and hardships inflicted on black people by government legislation.

Largely upon the initiative of some of these ministers, ecumenical study groups were set up in various major centres in 1959 and then during 1960, specifically to consider the responsibilities of Christians in matters of race relations. Then in November 1960 eleven leading Dutch Reformed theologians published a collection of articles entitled Delayed Action!, discussing the nature of the Church and its calling in the multi-racial situation, and making public their misgivings about racial discrimination. We mention here some points made by writers who were members of the NGK.

In line with the usual thinking in that Church, Dr. G.C. Oosthuizen made a strong call for the development of an indigenous Church in South Africa. The Church should not remain a Western institution, but should take root in the soil of Africa upon which it stood. Amongst other things, he urged that conscious efforts be made to develop a black leadership in the Church, so that the 'younger' indigenous Churches might become less dependent on the 'mother' Churches. He then concluded that the establishment of an indigenous Church would obviously lead to separate Churches for black and white people. However, he went further to advocate the abolition of laws which laid down that only whites might belong to certain Churches. He did not argue this on ethical grounds, but reasoned that such laws became redundant when an indigenous Church was formed and naturally separated from the white Church; and he also warned that these laws impeded Christian

(1) Patterson op.cit. pp206-207, 212 .

witness in modern-day Africa.(1)

A stronger line was taken by Dr. G.J. Swart, who pointed out that an ekklesia or congregation consisted of people who had been called out (ek-kaleio) to form a new fellowship of believers. Anyone who had been redeemed by Christ was a new creature, and the Church should therefore consist of new creatures, so totally and radically renewed that the old order of things had gone forever. Those things which separated a man from others fell away when he was renewed in Christ. The differentiating elements such as language and colour might still remain, but they no longer acted as dividing factors as they had done before their renewal. Thus "if we place any restriction on membership of the Church, whether it be language or culture, race or colour, then we deny that every one of those who have been called is a new creature; that the old order of things is past." If Christians refused to worship with others owing to a feeling of superiority or racial pride, then the old prejudices in their lives were still paramount. (2)

Dr. J.A. van Wyk likewise stressed that believers might in principle never exclude from any worship believers of other languages even though a specific language might be used in a specific service. Gathered around the Word and sacraments people of different languages should rather meet and find one another as people in Christ. The Church as an institution should not be satisfied to reflect within its structure the coming together of only one language group, for the reality of communication across all barriers should be recognised. So the Church should search for the form which this truth required of it in its particular times and circumstances.(3)

On the subject of race relations outside the Church, van Wyk urged Christians to proclaim the fundamental potential that there was for people of all nations to be reconciled, however much they might differ from one another. The Church should emphasise that where people met each other and were guided by the Gospel they would be able to communicate with one another and develop a fruitful relationship; whereas without the will to communicate the differences between them would lead to hostility. He added that no nation was self-sufficient. There was no nation, however developed and richly endowed, which did not need something from another: and no nation, however undeveloped, which did not have something to offer for the enrichmen

(1) Delayed Action! (Geyser et.al.) p120.
(2) ibid. pp154-155.
(3) ibid. p131.

of others. "At the end of our difficult roads in South Africa, Whites and non-Whites will have to arrive at some relationship towards each other. We can never live without each other. We can never live as though the other did not exist. We are dependent on one another and in the future will be connected to each other. Our life as human beings will be deeply influenced by our relations with each other, by our failure or by the wonder of real contact therein."(1)

Bleaded Keet, "The bell has already tolled." The time had come for the Dutch Reformed Churches to inform the State that they could no longer see their way clear to continue with the apartheid policy, and to insist that a better way of solving the country's racial problems be sought.(2)

That there were still more members of the NGK who were critical of their Church's approach to race relations was indicated by the conviction of those who contributed to Delayed Action! that their work would be welcomed by many office-bearers and members of the Church "because it has put into words a sense of urgency which has been felt by many for a long time."(3) Nevertheless, the publication of this book raised a storm amongst conservative circles in the Church, and we note that the Transvaal Synod formally rejected the views expressed in it.(4)

(b) REPERCUSSIONS FROM THE COTTESLOE CONSULTATION

Meanwhile, in March 1960 South Africa had been jolted by widespread African protests against the 'pass laws' which restricted their freedom of movement. These protests had culminated at Sharpeville, where 67 Africans had been killed by the police, and 186 wounded.

Expressing alarm at the way in which the apartheid policy was causing hatred and racial tension, a few influential ministers in the NGK stated their rejection of the policy as unethical and unscriptural and agreed to speak out openly in the interests of justice.(5) But another nine leading ministers signed a public statement in which they affirmed

(1) ibid. pp132, 136.
(2) ibid. p11
(3) ibid. p4.
(4) SAIRR Survey 1961 p69.
(5) SAIRR Survey 1959-1960 pp94-95.

that their Church could justify and approve of racial segregation, provided it was implemented in a just and honourable way and did not impair or offend human dignity. The Church accepted that this policy, particularly in its initial stages, would cause a certain amount of disruption and personal hardship such as that involved in the 'pass' system: but the ministers urged the Government to implement it in such a manner that human relationships would not be disturbed and friction between the races would be reduced to a minimum.(1)

Also reacting to the events at Sharpeville, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town (Archbishop J. de Blank) pleaded that unless the Church in South Africa openly and publicy repudiated the doctrine and practice of compulsory racial segregation it was condemning itself to extermination. Various Churches had issued statements condemning apartheid and calling for co-operation between the races, and now the Archbishop called upon the three Dutch Reformed Churches to identify themselves with this repudiation.

Further, he appealed to the World Council of Churches to send out a fact-finding team to investigate the racial situation in South Africa. After a visit by Dr. R.S. Bilheimer of the WCC to consult with leaders of its eight member Churches in South Africa, and after lengthy negotiations between the Anglican and Dutch Reformed Churches, a Consultation was then convened at Cottesloe, Johannesburg in December 1960. This was attended by representatives of the WCC and by official delegations from each of the member Churches. Of eighty South African delegates, twenty were from the NGK and ten from the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk. (The NGK in the Cape Province and the NGK in the Transvaal were at that time separate Churches, so each sent a delegation.) The task of the Consultation was to seek together the guidance of God in achieving a better understanding of his purpose in South Africa.

It was clear that on the fundamental issues of racial segregation Dutch Reformed Churches and 'English-speaking' Churches stood far apart. After meeting behind closed doors for a week, the Consultation could not produce an agreed statement condemning apartheid and all its works: but it did issue a statement urging that so far as possible the blatant inhumanities and injustices of much apartheid legislation should be removed.(2)

- The Consultation affirmed that within the unity of the Church the natural diversity among men was not annulled but sanctified.

(1) NGK, Statements on Race Relations No.1 November 1960, pp13-14.
(2) Cottesloe Consultation (1961) pp73-77. Each paragraph of the Statement had been agreed upon by at least eighty percent of the participants.

Nevertheless, the spiritual unity of all who were in Christ should find visible expression in acts of common worship and witness, and in fellowship and consultation on matters of common concern. No-one who believed in Jesus Christ might be excluded from any church on the grounds of his colour or race. Furthermore, the State was urged to allow the provision of adequate and convenient facilities for black people to worship in urban areas, rather than only in their segregated townships.

- It was agreed that no scriptural grounds existed for the prohibition of racially mixed marriages, but that the well-being of the community and pastoral responsibility required that due consideration should be given to certain factors which might make such marriages inadvisable.

- The Consultation recognised that members of all racial groups in South Africa had an equal right to make their contribution towards the enrichment of the life of their country and to share in the ensuing responsibilities, rewards and privileges. It called for more effective consultation between the Government and leaders accepted by the black people. It condemned the disintegrating effects of migrant labour, the low wages received by the vast majority of black people, and the wrongs of job reservation.

- "It is our conviction that the right to own land wherever he is domiciled, and to participate in the government of his country, is part of the dignity of the adult man, and for this reason a policy which permanently denies to non-White people the right of collaboration in the government of the country of which they are citizens cannot be justified." It was added that there could be no objection in principle to the direct representation of Coloured people in Parliament.

Commented Archibishop de Blank later: "To those...who come from outside the South African situation, these principles and recommendations sound almost platitudinous. But not within the explosive South African scene."(1)

Simultaneously with the Consultation Statement, the delegations from the NGK issued another statement in which they affirmed that "a policy of

(1) De Blank, J.: Out of Africa (1964) p121.

differentiation can be defended from the Christian point of view" in that "it provides the only realistic solution to the problems of race relations and is therefore in the best interests of the various population groups". They did not consider that the resolutions adopted by the Consultation were in principle incompatible with this attitude. They had voted in favour of the resolution dealing with the right to own land and to participate in government on the understanding that, so far as the 'white' areas were concerned, participation in the government of the country be extended only to the Africans domiciled in those areas "in the sense that they have no other homeland".(1)

A few days later the delegates from the NGK issued a second statement, in which they said that if complete territorial separation was impossible then full rights, including political rights, could not be withheld indefinitely from blacks who were permanent residents of the 'white' areas. Those who disagreed with this view were challenged to give definite moral grounds for their attitude.(2)

These various statements attested to great changes in the thinking of some leaders in the NGK. Now they were accepting principles of land ownership and participation in government that implied a definite break in the logical structure of total territorial segregation. Ritner later reported that some had indeed been moving for some time before Cottesloe towards this position: that while separate 'homelands' must be created to contain the bulk of the black population, if the policy of racial segregation was to square with Christian ethics some sort of compromise would have to be made on the rights of those Africans permanently domiciled in 'white' areas to provide labour for industry. Such 'partial apartheid' compromise had in fact been suggested in the memorandum submitted to the Consultation by the NGK Cape delegation.(3)

On the other hand, the delegates from the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk opposed the Consultation Statement from the outset - causing much tension between them and the NGK delegates - and after the Consultation they issued a statement dissociating their Church from the findings made and affirming: "We wish...to state quite clearly that it is our conviction that separate development is the only just solution of our racial problems. We therefore reject integration in any form as a solution of the problem."(4) This Church, it was said, had remained loyal to the cause of the Afrikaner nation. Such an assertion, with its implication that the NGK had not remained loyal, was to be a strong influence on subsequent NGK synods.

(1) Cottesloe Consultation p80.
(2) SAIRR Survey 1961 p66.
(3) Ritner art.cit. p33; Strassberger op.cit. p371.
(4) Cottesloe Consultation p79; cf.SAIRR Survey 1961 p66; Refer also SAIRR Survey 1960 p96.

which did not want to break solidarity with this nor the third Dutch Reformed Church.

There followed 'one of the greatest controversies in NGK circles for many years'. The Press published the Consultation Statement prematurely and immediately raised opposition among general members of the NGK to the actions of their Cottesloe delegates. The Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, then attacked the delegates for misrepresenting the Afrikaner community, and added that their statements did not represent the opinion of the Church. Protest meetings were held, and church councils took decisions that not only rejected the Cottesloe resolutions but declared the NGK delegates guilty of disloyalty to the racial policy of Church and Government, even before they had had an opportunity to make their reports. One by one the provincial synods of the NGK dissociated themselves from the Cottesloe Statement as being at variance with Church policy, and furthermore voted to withdraw from the World Council of Churches (which withdrawal had also been considered after the Evanston Assembly of 1954). Asserting that the furtherance of the highest interests of the black people could best be done through the application of the policy of differentiation, the Transvaal Synod urged the Government to accelerate plans for total territorial segregation. The Federal Council of the NGK meanwhile expressed the opinion that integration in the Church would harm rather than promote the unity of the faithful. Intimidated by the ferocity of the attack, several Cottesloe delegates recanted, and in synodal meetings men voted against their known beliefs. Those who stood firm on the Cottesloe statements were ostracised.(1)

Ritner, after interviews with leading churchmen in 1966, reported that ministers who supported the Cottesloe position as well as opponents within the Church agreed that the Consultation had been a grave tactical error. One critic, Professor A.D. Pont, claimed that the Cottesloe men "went too far too fast" and "showed their hand before they could press their standpoint". Agreed another observer, the fault lay with the ministers, whose thinking had been steadily advancing without commensurate preparation of the public.(2)

Such strong rejection of the Cottesloe findings brought a sense of disillusionment and frustration to those members of the NGK who were critical

(1) Ritner art.cit. pp34-35; SAIRR Surveys 1959-1961; Strassberger op.cit. p375.
(2) Ritner art.cit. p35.

of its racial policies. Yet the Consultation had also give a fresh spiritual stimulus to many of them, and to the ecumenical study groups which they had recently formed. Some members of other Churches, meanwhile, had also experienced growing concern at deteriorating race relations in South Africa; as well as a new sense of urgency about the need for a more visible unity and united witness in the whole Church.

So it was that in May 1962 an interdenominational and interracial group of churchmen founded a monthly publication called Pro Veritate, with the aim of approaching and discussing vital problems of the Church and community in the light of the Scriptures, and of fostering a deeper unity of Christians in fellowship. This publication would serve as the mouthpiece of NGK dissidents and their sympathisers, who realised that if they remained silent on the racial policies of the country then their consent would be assumed. Soon the publication met with considerable opposition from the more conservative members of the NGK, and became branded as an "integrationalist" paper which "strikes at the heart of the Church."(1)

Then in August 1963 many of the same churchmen were instrumental in establishing the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. This was a fellowship of individual Christians across racial, denominational and cultural barriers, knit together by their concern for reconciliation between individual believers, and "seeking to discover and to do the will of God for the whole of Southern Africa and all his children who live in it." Its members believed:

- "....that the commandment 'love your neighbour as yourself' was seriously meant, and meant to be taken seriously, as well as to be positively obeyed, by Christ's followers.
- "....in social justice and charity as imperative for Christians, and in the practice of man's humanity to man as a divinely enjoined and therefore practical policy.
- "....that fulfilment of the ecumenical purpose of the Church of Christ is no utopian pipedream, but a charge laid upon all Christians by the Lord of the Church and therefore basically realisable." (2)

In the following years the Institute was to play a significant rôle in furthering the cause of Church unity across racial and denominational divisions, through discussion groups, courses and conferences. (In particular

(1) SAIRR Survey 1963 p6. One of the editors, at least, lost his status as a minister in the NGK as a result of taking up that position. (The Reverend R. Meyer in 1971.)
(2) The Christian Institute of Southern Africa, brochure, July 1967.

it was to express concern about the racial divisions within the Dutch Reformed Churches.) Together with the South African Council of Churches, it was to sponsor an extensive study project to present an alternative to the policy of racial segregation.(1) Furthermore, it was to promote various community development projects amongst black people.(2)

It should be emphasised that this body was not a new Church but a fellowship of individuals who were encouraged to remain loyal to their own Churches. Amongst those who took the lead in establishing it were several prominent men from the Dutch Reformed Churches, including the Reverend C.F. Beyers Naudé, who had been elected Moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod of the NGK in April 1963, but who felt constrained to resign his ministry in order to become Director of the Institute. In the following years he was to become widely respected as a leader in the search for Christian change in South Africa.

However, to the majority of leaders in the NGK the fact that Afrikaner churchmen in the Institute publicly expressed concern at the Government's racial policies and at the close relationship between the Church and Afrikaner nationalism "was akin to treason against the Afrikaner volk, and it was but a short step to equate treason with heresy and both with communism and liberalism."(3) Consequently members were subjected to considerable persecution. Several church councils and presbyteries took decisions against the Institute or against people they believed to be favourably disposed to it. Some clergy were forbidden to preach in certain congregations, while some lay people were forbidden election to leadership positions in their local church. In 1966 the General Synod condemned the Institute for "undermining true doctrine and good order in the Church and sowing dissension among its members", and decreed that members of the Church should not belong to the Institute - thus forcing a crisis of conscience on all those who had joined or wished to join it. While numbers of NGK members continued to support the Institute, many were afraid to admit this openly. In 1974 the General Synod would reiterate its decision.(4) Meanwhile the Government would attack the Institute for "endangering the State", and in October 1977 would eventually place it and several of its leaders, including Naudé, (and also the publication Pro Veritate) under banning orders.

(1) refer p290 infra.
(2) Refer eg. Kairos June 1975.
(3) Marquard, Peoples and Policies pp233-234.
(4) refer Pro Veritate, November 1974, supplement pp2-15.

So it is clear that a small minority of clergymen and members in the NGK continued to criticise the implementation of racial segregation in South Africa. According to Naudé there were many more who were convinced that great changes in the Church and in race attitudes were necessary, but who concealed these convictions out of fear of repercussions: for the pressures within the NGK to conform were immense.(1) Archbishop Hurley - ever optimistic of this dissension that had become apparent in the NGK in the early 1960s - was to speak in 1972 of a tension "simmering probably beneath the surface until another and undoubtedly fiercer climax boils up."(2)

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(1) SAIRR Survey 1963 p7; cf. Ritner art.cit. p35; cf. Keet in The Church and the Race Problem (Rand Daily Mail) pp28-29. Also conversation with Dr. Naudé, September 1973.

(2) In South African Dialogue (Ed. Rhoodie, N.J.) (1972) p466; cf. The Church and the Race Problem p32; cf. Hurley, D.E.: A Time for Faith (1965) p6.

5. SEPARATION CONTINUES

In the years following the Cottesloe Consultation there was evident in the NGK an element of withdrawal - away from the 'English-speaking' Churches and away from criticism. There was evidence, too, of a hardening of the official policy of the Church.

In 1961 the Cape Synod approved of attempts by several congregations to bring about closer contacts between congregations of the 'mother' Church and the Sendingkerk, and encouraged all to seek ways in which to know each other better, to work together better and pray together. This was considered an urgent matter.(1) Similarly, in 1963 both the Northern and Southern Transvaal Synods recognised the unity which existed between the 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches through their common faith, and both synods expressed the desire for this unity to find expression.(2)

Later, however, we find that multi-racial worship was no longer being encouraged but merely permitted. The Cape Synod in 1965 warned that the quest for spiritual communion should not be undertaken with improper motives, and declared it desirable that there should be some regulation of ordinary membership and of participation in ordinary worship, "since the establishment of independent indigenous Churches is considered necessary for kerygmatic, liturgical and other reasons." "Joint worship may, however, take place under special circumstances when such opportunities present themselves....Where members of Daughter Churches are deprived of Church privileges, or otherwise sincerely and earnestly desire to attend a service in the Mother Church and are able to follow the service fruitfully, a church council should not reject this."

Then by 1966 multi-racial worship was being discouraged - as was evident from the following principles put forward by the General Synod in October of that year:

> "(a) The true community of believers and of the Church is in the first place always the community of Christ, through His Word and Spirit. The emphasis must always fall primarily on the 'abiding in Christ' and not so much on the staying together or togetherness in ever greater or wider circles and connection.

(1) Cawood op.cit. p25.
(2) ibid. p22.

"(b) True fellowship in Christ is an unbroken reality of faith which can never be separated from the faith as seeing the unseen. Even for those who are together, the mystery of community does not consist in being together as such, or in the numbers of those who are together, but solely and only in 'abiding in Christ', which is and must be the unchangeable rule, also for those who must obediently and in faith take leave of one another where the situation calls for it, or where they are by necessity removed from one another.

The separation or separating of people can thus never be identified with the abrogation or destruction of our unity and community in Christ. This, however, does not imply that our unity in Christ must never be revealed.

"(c) For this reason the whole idea of a sporadic fellowship or exercise of communion must not be accentuated.

"(d) The provision or creation of all types of oppprtunity for fellowship and channels for its exercise can never be taken as a Biblical imperative; in other words, an artificial and forced exercise of fellowship is to be rejected."(1)

Meanwhile, following the 1962 unification of the white NGK in each province to form one Church, there had been some reconsideration of the missionary regulations of this Church. Some people had spoken against the establishment of separate autonomous Churches for each racial group, as these Churches would not be regarded as integral parts within one united NGK. On the contrary, they had argued, an organisational unity of the Church would create an opportunity for the spiritual unity of the body of Christ to be manifested concretely and practically, and so should never be regarded as insignificant or offensive.(2) Nevertheless, the new regulations that were framed in 1966 made separate Churches obligatory, and spoke of their unity in faith without envisaging an organisational unity.

(1) Human Relations in South Africa (NGK 1966 Report) pp29-30.
(2) Refer eg. Jonker, W.D.: Die Sendingbepaling van die Nederduitse Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk van Transvaal.

"In order that everyone should be able to hear and to witness to the great deeds of God in his own language, separate autonomous Churches shall be constituted from the different groups of the population."

A lengthy historical discussion and defence of this policy was contained in the report of a committee on current affairs that was adopted by the General Synod of that year, and published under the title Human Relations in South Africa. This referred in an indirect manner to the fundamental unity of Christ's Church through the relationship of believers to Christ. It pointed out that in New Testament times there had been but one Church although this had consisted of separate congregations, and that although there had been a meeting at Jerusalem to counsel together on current affairs (Acts 15) there had been no unifying church structure. The sum total of the congregations had not made up the Church, but every congregation had revealed the Church (cf. 1 Corinthians 1:2). Nor had the congregations been uniform, which fact implied that the unity of the Church should not be understood as uniformity. The Church could only strive for a realisation of the unity which already existed in Christ: and while this realisation in a visible unity should not be neglected, it should never be forced.(1)

The NGK, it was said, had always wished to base its policy on Scripture - even though it "did not always have the same insight with reference to the application of Scripture."(2) (This qualification was presumably to account for the change of policy in 1857 - which at that time had been admitted to be contrary to Scripture.) The policy of granting the 'daughter' Churches independence was being pursued purposefully and sincerely, though further consideration would have to be given to the exercise of 'spiritual communion' between the Churches and the revelation of their unity in diversity. However, from examples of possible contact that were given we gain the impression that this revealed unity was to be in the area of joint consultation and not of joint worship.(3) "We must see our Mother and Daughter Churches as separate aisles of one great cathedral, established on the one foundation, Jesus Christ, covered by the one roof of common belief in Him, and permeated by the Spirit of God."(4)

(1) NGK 1966 Report pp11-14.
(2) ibid. p25.
(3) ibid. pp36, 30.
(4) ibid. p32.

We note that there was a warning given that while the Churches should be indigenous, they should not be termed 'national' Churches, as the existence of a purely national Church embracing but a single people was at best a Jewish idea. Thus the Report approved of the way the NGK in Afrika had drawn together African 'daughter' Churches across ethnic, cultural and language barriers.(1) Yet this approval appears to have been in contradiction to the common argument which justified the division of the NGK as being due to cultural and language differences.

Moving to a discussion of race relations in the wider society, the Report argued that although there had been little reference in the Bible to race classification, the concept of race must have been known to the Israelites. It had been reflected in references to a tall and smooth-skinned nation (Isaiah 18:2, 7; 45:14), and to the colour of skin of the Ethiopian (Jeremiah 13:23). Descent in a biological sense had been of great importance to the Israelites, as was indicated by the special significance attached to genealogical tables. Furthermore, Israel's tribal bond had been based primarily on the 'tie of blood' (cf. Judges 9:21; 2 Samuel 19:13), and the strength of this had been revealed in such things as the custom of levirate marriage (Genesis 38:8; Deuteronomy 25:5-10).

With biblical references similar to those we have already studied, the Report showed that the unity of mankind had been specifically taught in Scripture. Then it argued that within this unity diversity and pluriformity had been present even before the Fall, for there had been physical and psychological differences between man and woman and diversity in the rest of creation - in the light and darkness, sea and land, and all the kinds of plants and animals. (This, we might add, may have pointed to diversity in creation, but said nothing of diversity between peoples. Rather, man was spoken of in the singular in contrast to the plants and animals created according to their various kinds.) The Report emphasised that although God had destroyed the human race in the Flood, he had saved and perpetuated his gifts of diversity and pluriformity in Noah's family; and an intensification of the process of differentiation had been indicated by the table of their descendants in Genesis 10. Then, when sin had once again assumed appalling proportions during the building of the Tower of Babel, God had confounded the language of men and scattered them across the earth, with the result that again a variety of peoples and races had come into existence 'to an extraordinary degree'. As a matter of course differences in development and in level of civilisation had also set in, and men had changed spiritually as well as physically. Although the primary

(1) ibid. p27.

cause of this intensification of diversity had been sin, the accomplishing cause had been grace, for God had mercifully broken the concentration of power which had constituted resistance to him.

Thus it was argued that Scripture had been seriously concerned with the fact of the existence of peoples and nations, and also, in a certain sense, of races. Furthermore, from Deuteronomy 32:8 ("a text of which the reading is not altogether sure and the interpretation of which is also difficult") it was deduced that the fortunes of peoples had not remained outside the will and intervention of God, but that "on occasion he allocated each its own area" - which process, it was assumed, still attended the providential order of God in the course of history to its end.(1) However, although the Report contained another section dealing with human relations in society (and including a discussion of migratory labour) it did not present any theological argument for the general separation of racial groups from one another.

(It should be added that the Report declared it impossible to determine exegetically how present-day peoples were related to the sons of Noah. It also noted that there were no scriptural grounds for extending the curse of Ham to any existing peoples (Genesis 9:24-27). Indeed, the curse had not applied to all Ham's descendants, but to Canaan alone, and had been partially fulfilled in the way in which Israel had exterminated and enslaved the Canaanite peoples after the entry into the Promised Land. Further, every curse could be lifted in principle by the grace of God in Christ - and this factor should be decisive in determining the Church's attitude towards all peoples.(2))

Bearing in mind the diversity of peoples which had been spoken of and which implied a distinction in development and cultural maturity, the Report did speak of Christian trusteeship. This was described as the calling of a Christian people to instruct in true neighbourly love the undeveloped peoples with whom they came into contact under the order of God, and in the course of time (necessary for material rehabilitation and spiritual growth) to lead those peoples towards full cultural evolution in agreement with their own character and towards political independence. Without such trusteeship heathen people could not become part of the civilisation founded on Scripture. On the one hand there should be no tendency by the guardian to dominate his ward or to treat him in any respect in a loveless way, while on the other hand the ward should accept

(1) Ibid. p4.
(2) cf. Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture (NGK 1974 Report) pp19-20.

the help he received with gratitude and appreciation. The individual who stood out above the general level of his own group in his spiritual, academic and cultural development, should be treated with understanding and appreciation by the guardian. He might feel alienated from his own community, but should not be separated from it nor integrated into the more developed community. Rather, he should be led to accept as a responsibility and privilege the task of helping with the development of his own group.

Next the Report turned to a consideration of racially mixed marriages. It admitted that in the Old Testament times marriages between people of different population groups had taken place. Judah had married a Canaanite woman (Genesis 38:2), Joseph an Egyptian (Genesis 41:45), Moses a Midianite and later a Cushite (Exodus 2:21; Numbers 12:1), Solomon an Egyptian, a Moabitess, an Ammonitess and other foreign women (1 Kings 11:1. Refer also Numbers 31:9, 18; Judges 3:5-6). However, these had been only isolated instances. Furthermore, the peoples concerned had had a common origin and had been very closely related to one another. Indeed, there had in all probability been only one race inhabiting the whole of Mesopotamia and Egypt - the Caucasians. Thus it was argued, that such marriages had not in fact involved racial mixing.

On the other hand there had been instances in which the contracting of mixed marriages had been expressly forbidden for the Covenant People. Isaac and Jacob had not been permitted to take a Canaanite wife, but each had had to select one from among his own people (Genesis 24:3-4; 28:1-2). Moses had clearly commanded against intermarriage beteeen Israelites and the peoples of Canaan (Exodus 34:11-16; Deuteronomy 7:1-4), and after the Exile Ezra and Nehemiah had condemned mixed marriages between Israelites and other peoples (Ezra 9:1-5, 12-14; Nehemiah 13:25-57; cf. also Malachi 2:10-12). Such prohibition of intermarriage,it was pointed out, had been bound up with the maintenance of Israel's existence and destiny as the Covenant People, and had been based on the spiritual danger of unfaithfulness to God and of apostasy from the true religion which would have been made possible by their mixing with foreigners who followed other gods. Also of bearing on the matter had been the command to honour one's father and mother, according to which they had had to marry among their own people so as to keep the faith of their parents intact. The Report concluded: "This is not to say that intermarriage within the same family is advocated, but rather within any group which has the same interests and especially the same religious convictions."(1) (Yet it was added that when Israel's

(1) NGK 1966 Report p2.

spiritual character had not been directly threatened, the prohibition of marriages with other peoples had apparently not had absolute validity.)

The Report did suggest that some mixing of peoples was beneficial, in that through this means new variations were still appearing, new nations were being born and the diversity of peoples was multiplying, although the dominant and stable overall picture of existing races and peoples was on the whole not being affected. However, the Report added a rider that every people which came into existence had a calling to be faithful to its own nature, to maintain and preserve that which was entrusted to it as distinctive in the interests of all mankind. If mixing should take place on a large scale or the obliteration of dividing lines be put forward as an ideological principle so that the God-willed diversity of mankind stood in danger of being levelled down to a colourless uniformity, peoples would not be able to fulfil their independent vocations and live according to their distinctive character, and the pure religion of Christian peoples would be threatened. In such instances mixing should be resisted with every resource as sinful. So, acting for the welfare of the whole community, a Christian State would be justified in taking legislative action to prohibit racial mixing and mixed marriages. A race or people might indeed take steps to preserve and defend its distinctive nature in order to carry out its God-given calling in freedom. Thus a marriage bond involved much more than the free choice of two people, for it was impossible to isolate an individual from social, religious and civil ties in the ordered life of the community.

Furthermore, the Church itself had a pastoral responsibility to point out all unfavourable implications of mixed marriages, where differences between partners would be too great, or where their children would be born into social problems. The greater the differences between partners, the less possibility there was of a successful marriage for them. Indeed, Scripture viewed marriage as a relationship between two people who were "suited to each other in an all-embracing sense in complete community of life. This requires a similarity of descent, language, culture, colour, nationality and religion....." "Only in the full experience of the unity of national consciousness and community of faith does the promise of ideal marriage lie."(1) Consequently the Report concluded that a marriage of people of different races "cannot fulfil all the essential requirements laid down for marriage by Holy Scripture, and must be rejected as impermissible."(2)

(1) ibid. pp6, 9.
(2) ibid. p8.

So the NGK in 1966 declared its mind on several issues concerning race relations. Clearly it stood firm on its belief that there should be some differentiation between people of different racial groups.

The following year Naudé reported that some of the laity and a small minority of the clergy in the NGK still attempted to justify racial segregation on biblical grounds. He reaffirmed that no theologian of any significance would any longer try to do so, and added that the traditional concept of the Afrikaner people being in a special sense 'an elected people' had also been rejected for good. But he felt 'an unhealthy silence' in the ranks of those theologians who had rejected such concepts. Little instruction or education on the controversial issues of race relations in the light of Scripture was being given, for clergy tended to avoid touching upon these issues last serious difficulties should arise between them and their people. Naudé believed that despite this silence a new understanding of the true nature and implications of biblical demands on racial issues was slowly growing amongst the laity, but added that it would be a long time before this understanding penetrated the rank and file of the Church.(1)

(1) Naudé, B.: The Afrikaner and Race Relations (1967) pp7-8

6. NEW PRESSURES FOR CHANGE

The 1970s were to see attempts by some of the 'English-speaking' Churches and by the South African Council of Churches to initiate dialogue with the NGK on questions of common interest. Although there has been a willingness on the part of some members of the NGK to foster ecumenical consultation, little has come of these initiatives, however. Clearly the fact that the Churches have had differing racial policies has impeded discussion, while mistrust and feelings of being misunderstood over this issue have no doubt been prevalent. While there is this separation between the Churches there seems little chance for the arguments of English-speaking churchmen to have much effect on the NGK approach to race relations.

On the other hand, the NGK was in the 1970s to be faced by growing criticism of its racial policies and by pressure to change from two other sources - which were likely to have far more influence on it than the arguments of English-speaking churchmen.

The first such source of criticism and pressure was from amongst Reformed Churches in other parts of the world.

In 1963 the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (1) had met at Grand Rapids, United States of America, where it had discussed the question of race relations and had stated its belief "that God's Word does not teach either racial integration or separate racial development as a universally regulative principle expressing God's will for our Christian conduct in race relations. God's Word speaks relevantly to specific racial problems but it cannot be simply assumed that every form of separate racial development is either biblical or anti-biblical; neither can it simply be assumed that every form of racial integration is either biblical or anti-biblical." Warning that all individuals, groups and nations should be equally accorded God-given rights before God and the law, and that in the exercise of these rights they should not violate the rights of others, the Synod had declared: "If two or more nations or ethnic groups in the same country wish to retain their respective identities, territorial separation between these nations or ethnic groups

(1) Refer p147 supra.

cannot be disapproved on the basis of principle."(1) So, as at Potchefstroom in 1958, it had seemed as if the NGK had had the approval of overseas Reformed Churches for its racial policies.

Now, however, with world opinion moving more strongly against the apartheid policy of South Africa, some leaders in the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands were voicing criticism of the NGK position. Consequently there was much tension when the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (now with thirty-two member-Churches) met in August 1968, at Lunteren in the Netherlands. There a thorough discussion of race relations took place amidst much pressure for the Synod to condemn racial segregation. Nevertheless, the apologists for race-separation appeared to win the day, for yet again the resolutions of the Synod were left open to wide interpretation.(2) Of interest to us was one which placed some limitation on self-preservation: "Since men inherently seek their own interests rather than the welfare of their fellows, the church should stress the duty of men, individually and collectively, to practise self-sacrifice for the welfare of others. Self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ is the highest form of self-preservation, for self-preservation is only then concomitant with obedience to the second great commandment when it is qualified and limited by the biblical demands of righteousness and love, so that it does not interfere with the indefeasible rights of other people." One resolution, however, which did stand out as being contrary to the usual line taken by the NGK was that on racially mixed marriages. After stating that Scripture did not give a judgement about such marriages, the Synod declared that "contracting a marriage is primarily a personal and family concern. Church and state should refrain from prohibiting racially mixed marriages, because they have no right to limit the free choice of a marriage partner."

As a result of this Synod a delegation from the NGK was invited to the General Synod of the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands in March 1970 to discuss the 'serious'differences of opinion between them over race relations. After lengthy debate the Dutch Synod passed a motion condemning racial discrimination, and sent a letter to the South African Church warning it against being "led by the idea that race purity could be in accordance with the Holy Scriptures" and appealing to it to reconsider its approach. This was the first time that the Dutch Churches had conveyed official disquiet about racial separation to the South African Church. Relations between them were now becoming strained.(3) Meanwhile in

(1) De Villiers, W.B.: (Ed): Lunteren en die Rassekwessie (1969) p85.
(2) ibid. pp86-88
(3) The Star, 26th March 1970

February 1969 a similar letter had been received by the NGK from the Reformed Church of America.(1)

Meanwhile, delegates from the NGK had in August 1964 attended the General Assembly of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (Presbyterian Alliance) at Frankfurt, Germany, There it had been resolved that "the exclusion of any person on grounds of race, colour, or nationality from any congregation or part of the life of the Church contradicts the very nature of the Church," and Christians had been called upon to protest against racial discrimination.(2) Now in August 1970 delegates from the NGK encountered strong criticism at a conference on reconciliation which was convened by the World Alliance (now with about one hundred and fifty member-Churches) in Nairobi. Racial segregation was condemned as being "against the nature of the Christian Church", while the NGK was condemned for implementing such segregation and for giving the impression that it supported a policy of white supremacy.(3) This was indeed stronger criticism than had been met in the Reformed Ecumenical Synod. As a result the NGK considered ceasing it membership of the World Alliance - but decided not to do so.

Matters in the Reformed Ecumenical Synod had not been finally settled. There followed in March 1972 in Pretoria a Regional Conference of the member-Churches of the Synod in southern Africa, at which the NGK presented a statement of its standpoint on race relations. In this statement the NGK agreed that there was a need for people of different races to join together for common worship, as a way of giving visible expression to the unity of the Church. However, the NGK felt that the Lunteren decision on racially mixed marriages had been a one-sided over-simplification, and that such marriages did indeed have implications which did not completely safeguard them from the 'intervention' of society, the Church or the State. The Church could not forbid such marriages but it did have a pastoral calling to warn against unfavourable complications which might affect the couple concerned and their descendants. The State, on the other hand, could forbid such marriages where they might disturb the stability of society, for the maintenance of peace was more important for the State than the free marriage choice of certain individuals. Nevertheless, such a prohibition would be an extraordinary measure (buitengewone maatreël) and could not be normative for all times and all places. Considering this and

(1) SAIRR Survey 1969 p13.
(2) SAIRR Survey 1964 p15.
(3) SAIRR Survey 1970 p20.

other standpoints, the Conference then proposed an amendment to the Lunteren resolution: "Although no direct Scriptural evidence can be produced for or against marriages between people of different racial and national groups, based on colour or race as a statement of principle, the well-being of the community and ordered relations in a multi-racial and multi-national situation may require that due consideration be given to all pastoral, social and cultural and legal factors which affect such marriages." (1)

Then in August 1972 the Reformed Ecumenical Synod met again, at Sydney, Australia; and after considering reports received from the member-Churches it amended various resolutions which had been adopted at Lunteren. In these amendments we see a clear swing against the policies of the NGK. The first issue of interest to us was the resolution on racially mixed marriages. While the Churches were urged to study the report of the Pretoria Conference and its proposal in this regard, the Synod not only confirmed its original resolution of Lunteren but made it more specific by adding that Church and State had no right to restrict the choice of marriage partners "on the ground of race or colour". The second issue of note was the strong emphasis placed on the unity of the Church and the need for this to be manifested. In their relationships with fellow believers Christians should recognise the new unity which they all had regardless of their race or colour, through redemption in Christ and their common faith and obedience to the Word of God. "The God-given unity of the church should be expressed on congregational, presbyterial and synodical levels, as the situation requires." " The unity of the Body of Christ should come to expression in common worship, including the Lord's Supper, among Christians regardless of race. It may be that linguistic or cultural differences(have)made the formation of separate congregations, often with their own type of preaching and worship, advisable; in (which) cases it is wise not to force an outward and therefore artificial form of unity but to recognise the differentiation within the circle of God's people. (But) even though different churches for different indigenous groups may exist, no person may be excluded from common worship on the grounds of race or colour. The worshipping together of people of different races is a sign of the unity of the church and the communion of saints and can be a Christian witness to the world." (2) These resolutions were an open rejection of the principle of racial segregation that the NGK had applied for so long.

(1) Die Afrikaner, 19th January 1973, pp16-19
(2) Pro Veritate, December 1973, pp15-17.

Though the white delegates of the NGK voted against the resolution on mixed marriages (the black delegates of the 'daughter' Churches giving it their full support), it is apparent that they voted in favour of all the other resolutions, including that on the need for common worship. This fact indicated a big change in the thinking of NGK leaders. Indeed, we note the similarity of some of these resolutions with those of the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960 - which latter had been firmly rejected by the NGK, and by some of the very men who were now present at Sydney. (In fact there was here a return to principles that had been laid down by the NGK in the Cape back in 1829.) If the voting was proof of fresh thinking, the implications for change seemed profound. However, as occurred after the Cottesloe Consultation, the resolutions of the Sydney Synod raised a storm in the NGK, amidst which its white delegates denied that they had voted in favour of Church unity and racially mixed worship. These denials were reiterated by a 'preliminary report' issued by the Broad Moderature, a senior committee of the Church: but they were on the other hand refuted by other people who were present at the Synod.(1)

The Sydney resolutions were now referred by the NGK to its own Ad-Hoc Commission on Racial and Ecumenical Affairs chaired by the Reverend W.A. Landman, which commission presented a lengthy report to the General Synod which met in Cape Town in October 1974. As ammended and approved by the Synod it was subsequently published under the title: Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture.

This Report stated briefly that the Bible upheld the essential unity of mankind as commonly descended from Adam and then Noah, and it added that this common descent implied complete equality of peoples and races so that they could not be classified in terms of superiority or inferiority or difference in kind. Furthermore, all people were bound together through the fall of man, the universal offer of salvation in Christ. and the common

(1) The Gereformeerde Kerk, which was also represented at Sydney, referred the resolutions to a special commission whose subsequent report was adopted by the Synod of that Church in 1976. This accepted that racially mixed marriages could not be regarded as unlawful or forbidden solely on grounds of race or colour, but did not accept that Church and State should refrain from prohibiting such marriages. (The Daily News, 29th January 1976) Meanwhile in 1973 the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, which was not a member of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, rejected the Sydney resolutions and, as at the time of Cottesloe, was held up to be the loyal protector of the Afrikaner nation. (Its rejection of racially mixed worship was unanimous.) (cf. SAIRR Survey 1973 p44)

eschatological destiny of all believers. (1)

Then the Report went on to place strong emphasis on the differentiation between peoples, which had been implicit in God's command at creation (Genesis 1:28; 9:1,7; Acts 17:26) and which had been given new momentum by him at Babel. Again it was emphasised that God's latter action had been not only a judgement on the sinful arrogance of man but also an act of mercy and blessing preserving mankind from destruction so that God's purpose for the fulfilment of the earth could be achieved. (2) Thus it was asserted that "the diversity of races and peoples to which the confusion of tongues contributed is an aspect of reality which God obviously intended for this dispensation. To deny this fact is to side with the tower builders." Furthermore, the New Testament had upheld this diversity of peoples (Matthew 28:19; Acts 2:5; Romans 1:16). Indeed, the Report suggested that Revelation 21:24-26, which had spoken of "the glory and the honour of the nations" being brought into the new Jerusalem, might have referred to the multiplicity of cultural treasures with which the nations in their diversity would enrich the new dispensation - thus emphasising the special value of the diversity of nations in the overall plan of God. The New Testament had never characterised the diversity of nations as sinful, nor had it ever called upon Christians to renounce their nationality. Paul had made no apology for the fact that he had been a Jew, and he had loved his own people so passionately that he had grieved for their lack of faith and had declared himself ready to be "cut off from Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen by race" (Romans 9:3). So the Report concluded that the diversity of nations - which in no way revoked the unity of mankind - was good, as was sound commitment to one's own nation. (3)

The command that Israel should exist independently of other peoples, it was said, had been motivated primarily by religious and not by racial considerations and so could not be applied directly to the South African situation of the present day. Nor did reference in Acts 17:26 to God appointing specific times and boundaries for the various nations provide a justification for the segregation of all peoples under all circumstances. However, from the fact that Scripture had accepted the diversity of peoples as a real premise the Report argued that it was permissible to infer that the New Testament allowed a country to regulate its race relations on the basis of racial segregation. "When such a country honestly comes to the conclusion that the ethical norms for ordering social relationships, i.e.

(1) NGK 1974 Report pp13, 30.
(2) cf. p176 supra.
(3) NGK 1974 Report pp14-18, 30-32.

love of one's neighbour and social justice, can best be realised on the basis of parallel development, and if such a conviction is based on factual reasoning, the choice of parallel development can be justified in the light of what the Bible teaches."(1)

Nevertheless, it was said that diversity should be prevented from leading to sinful separation of peoples through spiritual estrangement or attitudes of superiority (John 4:9), prejudice (Galatians 2:12ff), discrimination (Acts 6:1) or hatred (Titus 3:3). Instead the Church should do all in its power to establish mutual understanding and respect. Different peoples had the right to an independent existence and survival, but bearing in mind their unity in Christ their mutual relationships had to be determined by their common task, the expansion of God's kingdom, and by the all-prevailing principle within the kingdom, which was love for God and one another. Love at the very least implied social justice, which meant that every people should grant to others the same rights and privileges which it demanded for itself. So "where a people has been temporarily placed in a position where it governs the fortunes of another people or peoples, it must at all times check its actions against this demand for justice and, in particular, it must carefully guard against self-aggrandisement at the expense of others" (Romans 15:1; Philippians 2:3-4). Justice demanded acts of love towards every person, regardless of his status, descent and culture. Yet while justice was based on the equality of all peoples as created in the image of God, it also took cognisance of the inequality of gifts and talents, circumstances and responsibilities of each person, for these had also come from God (Matthew 25:14ff). So a man should not wish to transform his neighbour into a replica of himself but should accept him in his own right as someone created in the image of God and should accord him sufficient scope for true self-realisation. What was more, it was "perfectly permissible within the context of the second commandment for a person or his people to protect or safeguard their own life or existence, provided the interests of others are not sacrificed to self-interest."(2)

The Report then went on to say that just as humanity had been divided into various peoples and nations, so the one Church of God comprised various types of people. Because this Church could not be divorced from its people, it should naturally assume the cultural content related to those people in any particular situation. (Paul had gone as a Jew among Jews in order to win them over, it was pointed out.) Furthermore, the

(1) ibid. pp22, 31-32.
(2) ibid. pp29, 33-34.

miracle of languages at Pentecost had confirmed that it was the will of God that each man should learn of the great deeds of God in his own language. So the various peoples in the Church should not be denationalised to a homogeneity which denied their cultural identities, linguistic differences and psychological distinctiveness. Rather, each people should be allowed to preserve and develop what was its own, and to practise its religion within the context of its own language and culture.

Yet while the Church displayed a pluriformity related to the diversity of its peoples, the Report affirmed that no Church in a particular situation might be a closed community meant for members of one people only. There should be no bar against a believer from amongst one people joining the Church of another people should he choose to do so. Nevertheless, the Report did add that if such a transfer of membership should disturb the order and peace of the Church to such an extent that the kingdom of God was no longer served, or so that the fellowship of believers and their ability to serve should suffer and the peoples concerned find it difficult or impossible to give full expression to their national identity, then in such circumstances "a temporary arrangement against the transfer of membership (cannot) be condemned since it would enhance the well-being of the churches concerned."

The diversity within the Church did not abrogate its unity, the Report emphasised. (While at the same time the new unity of faith in Christ did not abrogate the natural diversity of peoples.) The unity of the Church was a unity in Christ, a community of faith which transcended all divisions (cf. 1 Corinthians 10:17; Ephesians 4:4-6). Indeed, diversity in the Church should never lead to spiritual estrangement between its members. Yet, while the unity of the Church was primarily a confessional reality of faith in Christ, the Report emphasised that this unity should not be taken for granted but "assiduously sought and protected if it is not to be lost". It should indeed be manifested in one way or another: for Christ himself had said that the unity of the Church would have to be observable to the world (John 17:20-23). "This unity is thus not merely a spiritual unity residing in the invisible relationship with God or a specific attitude or feeling in the hearts of the faithful: it must also find concrete expression in word and deed." The unity of the Church would have no 'publicity value' if it remained merely an abstract reality.

However, the Report went on to emphasise that the Church should proceed in this matter with due care and wisdom, taking account of historical situations, levels of civilisation, degrees of maturity and the diversity

of peoples. All compulsory and demonstrative manifestations of unity ought to be rejected, for these might seriously disturb the established order in Church and society. Nor need the unity of the Church be revealed in one institutional church structure - for, it was argued, there had been no suggestion in the Bible that this was needed. Instead unity should find expression in fellowship between believers on a personal level. Communications between them and mutual understanding should be promoted by open dialogue, and from time to time they should meet for special occasions, as well as for consultations and joint planning in official church meetings. Believers should always be free to have fellowship with one another, and whenever such fellowship was curtailed by tendencies towards exclusivism the believers should consider it their duty to eliminate such tendencies. "On occasion"fellowship might also be practised by believers from various churches gathering to worship together. How such occasions should be organised was the responsibility of the local church council, which should ensure that the purpose of the gathering was not defeated by the manner of the gathering.

Defending the NGK policy of forming separate Churches for the different racial groups, the Report said that the NGK had at all times let it be known that it wished the unity of these Churches to find expression in close relationships between them. There might be liaison between them at congregational, presbytery and synod levels, and they should be officially linked in federal meetings with predetermined and clearly defined objectives. Where this was not practically possible, contact should be maintained by correspondence. Indeed, the Report said that "the separate Dutch Reformed Church affiliations are the embodiment of only one Dutch Reformed Church.... If these affiliations were to exist separately without any official liaison among them, it would mean a contradiction of the existence of the Dutch Reformed Church as one whole."(1)

On the question of racially mixed marriages, the Report agreed that the biblical prohibition against Israelites marrying foreigners had a religious rather than a racial motivation; and that the Bible did not literally prohibit or encourage mixed marriages on purely racial grounds.

It was said that Scripture defined marriage as a most intimate love relationship between one man and one woman who should be suited to one another in every respect (cf. Genesis 2:18). Thus if two people were not so suited to one another marriage between them would be in conflict with such biblical precept. Any differences and contrasts which might be

(1) ibid. pp37-38, 46-50, 65-66, 82-89.

obstacles to their union, any factors which might impede the happiness and full development of a true marriage, or factors which would eventually destroy their God-given diversity and identity would render such a marriage "undesirable and impermissible". "Such factors are manifest when there are substantial differences between the two partners in respect of religion, social structure, cultural pattern, biological descent...." However, the Report did add that such marriages were undesirable for as long as the impeding factors existed and that if these factors were removed by a process of acculturation a marriage could then be regarded as permissible.

Having said that marriage was primarily a personal and family affair, the Report asserted that it also had social, religious and politico-juridical significance, and so did not fall entirely outside the concern of society, Church and State. Firstly, in view of the unfavourable complications that a racially mixed marriage would have for the partners themselves and more particularly for their progeny, the Church had a pastoral calling to warn against the contracting of such marriages. Secondly, where the equilibrium of relationships in a multi-racial situation might be disturbed by the contracting of racially mixed marriages, the preservation of peace in society would be of more importance to the State than the free choice of marriage partners by certain individuals. So when the State decided that in a multiracial society public order would be best preserved by separation of the various population groups, or when the State was convinced that public order was threatened by the contracting of mixed marriages, the prohibition of such marriages might be justified. However, the Report again added that this should at all times be seen as an extraordinary measure, to be reviewed whenever circumstances permitted.(1)

One observer at the 1974 Synod suggested that this Report, "looked at within the context of the NGK...represents an overall, strategic victory for the more enlightened thinkers in that Church." This might have been true of the Report as originally presented: but there was also evident at the Synod "a powerful bloc of deeply conservative thinking", which was able to win various amendments to the Report.(2) Consequently, while the final document did make some concessions to thinking at the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, it stood firm on several issues.

(1) ibid. pp93-99.
(2) Refer Pro Veritate, December 1974, supplement pp1-11.

Neither the 1956 nor 1966 NGK Reports had put forward any theological argument for racial segregation in society as a whole: but this present Report did suggest that such segregation could at least be justified in the light of Scripture. The logic that reasoned that because God had willed diversity of peoples it was permissible to keep diverse peoples apart should be questioned, however. (It should be pointed out that the Synod refused to approve sections of the original Report dealing with the effects of migrant labour on African family life and with the living conditions of black people in urban areas.(3) Perhaps this was in deference to those who feared that the Report might be construed as critical of Government segregationist policies, such as the delegate who warned that "we will be putting the Government in a very difficult position".) The Report did make some defence of self-preservation, albeit in terms compatible with the 1968 resolution on this issue by the Reformed Ecumenical Synod. However, in contrast to the 1966 Report it did not refer to the concept of trusteeship.

As opposed to the discouragement which the 1966 General Synod had given to multi-racial worship and fellowship within the Church (4), this present Report did emphasise fairly strongly that the unity of the Church should be made manifest in some way. Here was a notable change in emphasis. Though not accepting that there need be a structural unity within the Church, the Report did assert more firmly than before a fundamental necessity for its 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches to remain in liaison with one another. There should also be opportunities for fellowship and consultation between members of the different Churches, it was said. Furthermore, multi-racial worship was to be permitted: though we observe that this was thought of as only being 'on occasion' and was not really encouraged. Indeed the Synod overwhelmingly rejected a motion introduced by Professor Marais urging all church councils to open their churches to all worshippers irrespective of their race or colour. Instead it resolved that church councils could decide for themselves whether or not they would permit black people to use their buildings for worship or prayer meetings. (5)

However, altnough the NGK thus went some way in accepting the position of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod on church unity, it still did not accept the latter's position on racially mixed marriages. The Synod debate on

(1) ibid. pp95-99.
(2) Refer Pro Veritate, December 1974, supplement pp1-11.
(3) cf. NGK 1974 Report pp74-76.
(4) Refer p173 supra.
(5) In some white residential areas church halls were already being used by black domestic servants for these purposes.

this issue was a hot one and resulted in some significant changes to the original Report. An original recommendation that while certain factors made mixed marriages extremely undesirable these factors should not be seen as normative for all times and all situations was replaced by a statement that such marriages remained undesirable for as long as the impeding factors existed - though it was allowed that acculturation might remove these factors. A difference in 'biological descent' was added to the list of impeding factors; and it was also asserted that these factors would render a mixed marriage not only 'undesirable' but even 'impermissible'. Thus the NGK made little change in its stance on this issue. Indeed the Synod went on to suggest that the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act should be extended to apply to other racial groups, should they desire it. In other words, there should be a prohibition not only against the marriage of a white person to a black person but also, for instance, against the marriage of an African to a Coloured person. This suggestion was apparently made in order to remove the implication that present legislation was to protect only white people.

Two years later the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, meeting in August 1976 in Cape Town, reiterated its earlier resolutions on racially mixed marriages, re-emphasising that Scripture offered no grounds for regarding such marraiges as impermissible and that Church and State should refrain from limiting the free choice of a marriage partner on the grounds of race or colour.(1) So this Synod of Reformed Churches still stood in direct opposition to the stated opinion of the NGK. Such a stand was bound to have repercussions within that Church, and certainly some of its leading members soon reacted strongly.

Meanwhile the relationship between the NGK and the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands was under discussion. Some church leaders severely criticised the Netherlands Churches for not defending the NGK against adverse world opinion. Then in 1974 the NGK Synod resolved by an overwhelming majority that if the Netherlands Churches did not before the Synod met again in 1978 rescind their decision of March 1974 to give financial aid to the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism (2) - which was seen as encouraging violent change in South Africa - then the NGK would regard its ties with those Churches as broken.(3) Consultations between delegations from the NGK and the Netherlands Churches have since been held, but it is reported that no agreement has been reached on basic principles underlying the NGK approach to race relations.(4)

(1) EcuNews, 18th August 1976, pp5-6.
(2) Refer p300 infra.
(3) The Daily News, 17th October, 1974.
(4) EcuNews, 25th January, 1978.

Meanwhile some leaders in the Netherlands Churches have hit out strongly at the NGK support for racial segregation, and there has been talk of the Netherlands Churches themselves breaking with the NGK.(1) The issue is to be discussed by the Churches in both countries later in 1978. Should ties be broken, this would be another step towards the isolation of the NGK from other Churches.(2)

So the NGK has in recent years been under strong pressure from Reformed Churches in other parts of the world for it to change its approach to race relations. Though the Church has on the whole stood firm against this pressure, there have been signs that discussions with overseas churchmen have somewhat influenced the thinking of some NGK leaders, particularly on issues of church unity.

The second source of pungent criticism of the NGK approach was to be from amongst the black members of its own 'daughter' Churches. Prior to the 1970s these Churches had on the whole officially kept silent on racial issues, and their leaders had seldom made critical statements in public. Now, however, with the growth of 'black consciousness' throughout the country encouraging black people to appreciate their own worth and human rights and to express themselves more frankly,(3) many blacks were becoming more vocal in their criticismns of State and Church. Inevitably members of the NGK 'daughter' Churches were being influenced by this tendency. So, for instance, whereas many of them had for some time felt embarrassment when accused by other black people of belonging to a Church which favoured racial segregation and which condoned the 'oppression of blacks', now some were prepared to express this publicly. "For me as a black man," said one minister, "it has become increasingly embarrassing to belong to a church which brought me Christ and his salvation, but which does not want to share with me the warmth of the Christian community."(4) Furthermore, the meetings of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod were also having a considerable influence on black church leaders, as they received encourage-

(1) The Daily News, 30th January, 1978.
(2) In 1976 the General Synod of the Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika decided by a considerable majority to break off ties with the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands. This was due not only to political but also some doctrinal and ethical disagreements between the Churches. (Pro Veritate, February 1976, p4.)
(3) Refer p298 infra.
(4) Selepe, S. in Pro Veritate, July 1973, p20.

ment from overseas churchmen at these gatherings and heard others criticising the racial policies of their 'mother' Church. "The time for the Mother Church and the Daughter Churches to speak frankly and openly with each other has come and Lunteren has prepared the way excellently," it was said in 1968.(1) Then in 1972 the resolutions of the Synod at Sydney, rejecting as they did any principle of racial segregation in the Church, gave new stimulus to these men. Said one black minister: "I believe that the NG Kerk should...seriously tell its congregations that whenever a black man wants to worship in their church they should receive him with all the love, with all the warmth that Christ would give that black man... The day will arrive when the black churches will tell the NG Kerk: 'Listen, we do not want your missionaries in our church nor do we want your white people in our church.'... Our people....have now seriously come to the conclusion that the time of being silent is over."(2)

In October 1973 a meeting of one hundred African ministers of the NGK in Afrika (about a quarter of that Church's African clergy) agreed unanimously that apartheid was irreconcilable with Scripture, and they called for reform. This public denunciation sent shock waves through the NGK and was followed by meetings between leaders of the two Churches. Subsequent reports revealed that the black ministers - who had stressed that their rejection of segregation was based on theological grounds - were uncompromising. It was reported that a tense situation was developing within the NGK family of Churches and that it might even divide them.(3)

Then in September 1974 the Synod of the Sendingkerk endorsed the Sydney resolutions on racially mixed worship and mixed marriage - and so officially took a standpoint over against that of the NGK. It unanimously resolved that the exclusion of black believers from worship in white congregations could not stand the test of Scripture, and the NGK was urged to open its doors at all times to all people regardless of their race. Furthermore, neither Church nor State had the right to prohibit free choice of a marriage partner on grounds of race or colour, it was agreed. Yet another significant resolution was that which declared that in future white ministers serving in the Sendingkerk would have to become full members of that Church and subject to its supervision and discipline, rather than remain members of the NGK as was presently the case. There was also a strong move to end the right which the NGK held to itself to veto decisions of

(1) Lunteren en die Rossekwessie (Ed: De Villiers) p116.
(2) Mannikam, E. in Pro Veritate, May 1973, pp6-8, cf. pp22-24.
(3) EcuNews, 26th October 1973; Sunday Times, 11th November, 1973.

the Sendingkerk. So it became clear that Coloured churchmen wished to reject the 'domination' of their 'mother' Church and to take an independent stand. It should be added that there was some open confrontation at the Synod between white and Coloured ministers, particularly over the question of racially mixed marriages.(1)

The following month when representatives of each of the three 'daughter' Churches conveyed the official greetings of those Churches to the General Synod of the NGK they were notably critical of the 'mother' Church and unambiguous in their rejection of the present policies regarding mixed worship, mixed marriage and racial segregation.(2)

Then in June 1975 the General Synod of the NGK in Afrika met. Whereas white ministers at the Sendingkerk Synod the previous year had managed to temper some of its decisions, here there was no compromise. Perhaps one decisive factor in this regard was the fact that for the first time in the history of any of the 'daughter' Churches the Moderator was a black man (the Reverend E.T.S. Buti). Declaring that white ministers would be welcome in the Church - but would have to become members of it and resign their membership of the NGK - the Synod demanded in turn that the NGK open its doors to black ministers. It resolved that the unity of the Church should be manifested on an organisational and practical level, and committed itself to seeking unity with the other Churches of the NGK family, asking for a single synod instead of the present Federal Council which recognised the autonomy of each of the four Churches. It formally rejected the political system of separate development: while Buti at one point warned that the Church must not allow itself to be dictated to by the State. Not only did the Synod give a warm welcome to two officials of the Christian Institute, but it decided in the face of much opposition from its white ministers, to seek full membership of the South African Council of Churches, which body was also regarded with hostility by the NGK.(3) The Sendingkerk and the Reformed Church in Africa meanwhile were to be observer members of that Council. "Our Black and Brown people are turning to the SA Council of Churches," it had been said, "because they feel that there they find more concern about their existential situation than they find among their own people in the NG Kerk."(4)

Informal meetings followed between representatives of the three 'daughter' Churches to discuss possibilities of closer unity - to which ...

(1) Pro Veritate, November 1974, pp5-13.
(2) Pro Veritate, December 1974, supplement pp8-9, 12-13.
(3) Pro Veritate, July 1975, pp11-13.
(4) Pro Veritate, December 1974, supplement p6.

they all seemed committed. Indeed, at a meeting of 170 clergymen from all four of the NG Churches in February 1976 the black delegates indicated that they were even prepared to 'go it alone' if the 'mother' Church was reluctant to join them in one united Church.(1)

Later that year, following racial disturbances in the country, leaders of each of the 'daughter' Churches issued strongly worded statements unequivocally rejecting racial segregation and challenging the NGK to clearly define where it stood on this issue.(2)

So the NGK has in recent years met with strong pressure for change from its 'daughter' Churches - or 'sister' Churches, as some black churchmen now call them. There has been a growing confrontation between them, and the pace at which the latter Churches have been moving has clearly been worrying to NGK leaders. No doubt this pressure will influence their thinking on race relations in some measure. For unless the NGK makes some changes in its approach to race relations, it is likely that the gap between it and its 'daughter' Churches will widen still further, leaving the NGK even more isolated than it already is.(3) Certainly it will be in the interests of the NGK not to allow a complete gulf to develop between them.

Brief mention should also be made of comment that has come from people within the white Afrikaner society during the past decade. With the Nationalist Party gaining increasing support though the years and likely to be in power for some time to come, and with Afrikaners gaining a growing share of the income in the private sector of the economy, there has been an increasing number of Afrikaners who security has no longer been dependent on an unquestioning allegiance to the Volk. Many have been able to express attitudes at variance with commonly accepted group values without risking estrangement from the Afrikaner community, as so often happened to Afrikaner rebels in the past. Consequently criticism of sacred Afrikaner traditions and beliefs has been expressed in recent years by several prominent

(1) Pro Veritate, March 1976, p16; Sunday Tribune, 15th February 1976.
(2) EcuNews, 11th and 18th August 1976.
(3) It should be noted that the 'daughter' Churches have not aligned themselves with the NGK proposal to break with the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands, and will probably seek to ensure that their own ties with the Netherlands Churches are not broken. (cf. Pro Veritate, October 1976, p16.)

Afrikaners, including respected writers and artists, journalists and editors of leading Afrikaans newspapers. Numbers of Afrikaner intellectuals have publicly criticised discrimination between people on grounds of their colour and have called for a morally justifiable racial policy. Several have given strong support for closer relationships between white people and black people and for equal treatment for all. Some have called for the granting of full citizenship rights in a common society to urbanised black people, while others have called for an acceptance by whites of Coloured people as equal citizens.

It should be added that such views have frequently been expressed within the broad framework of a policy of racial segregation. Nor have they represented the opinions of the average Afrikaner, for most whites have still wanted rigid segregation without material sacrifices being required of them, and some have been anxious to support white domination at all costs. Nevertheless, while we cannot judge whether or not this new trend in thought may be encouraging leaders in the NGK to take a new approach to race relations, it is possible that the expression of such thinking by prominent Afrikaners may free some churchmen to make similar comment.

Certainly there have been reports of heart-searching among NGK academics and theologians. It is apparent that the rising generation of leaders in that Church includes many who are in real sympathy with the aspirations of black people, and who seek change towards a just racial policy for the country and towards a better manifestation of unity within the Church. These leaders are still the exception, but behind them, according to reports, there are many young ministers who will not defend present racial policies. "In general it can be said that there is a strong undercurrent in the Church comprised of young ministers who would be willing to accept radical changes in church and state.....Usually these younger ministers are not yet willing to speak out, but if they received the right leadership and encouragement, they would vote for proposals more relevant to the current situation." (1) However, it seems that the majority of delegates to church synods are still of an older generation, and there have been indications that the more traditionally orientated leaders have by no means been losing control in the Church. It is clear that change will not come before their influence has diminished.

(1) Pro Veritate, December 1974, p6.

Having noted these various pressures and possibilities for change in the NGK approach to race relations, we observe that the Cape Synod, which in 1975 endorsed the original finding of the Landman Commission that factors impeding racially mixed marriages would not necessarily prevail for all times and in all circumstances, is to recommend to the General Synod of the NGK which will meet in October 1978 that its decision to classify such marriages as impermissible be repealed. According to reports, the Cape Synod will also ask the General Synod to end its support for the maintenance of race differentiation. Furthermore, it is expected that the Synod will again be urged to open all church doors to people of all races; and to unite the NGK family of Churches into a single multi-racial Church.(1) Such moves have clearly been motivated by deep and urgent questioning. If the NGK were to implement some of these proposals the impact on race relations in South Africa would no doubt be substantial.

The future is uncertain. That there will be immediate radical change seems unlikely. Nevertheless, the pressure for new thinking will continue.

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(1) Saek, December 1975; The Daily News, 11th January, 1978.

PART THREE

APPROACHES TO RACE RELATIONS IN THE ANGLICAN, METHODIST AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES

1. UNITY AND SEPARATION WITHIN THE CHURCHES

According to one church historian writing in 1910, the Methodist, Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches amongst all the Churches and missionary societies in southern Africa at that time were the only ones which drew no distinction between their white and black members.(1)

Some of the pioneer ministers in the various branches of the Methodist Church (which in 1931 would be united to form the Methodist Church of South Africa) believed that they should devote themselves to work entirely among the black heathen. But in 1820 William Shaw went to the eastern Cape in a dual capacity. He had been ordained by the British Conference and appointed chaplain to a party of white settlers, but had at the same time been designated by the Missionary Society in Britain to undertake missionary work amongst black people. Subsequently all Methodist ministers that were sent to the eastern Cape or to Natal normally came to exercise this dual function. This was significant, for few other Christian ministers at that time did so. The Methodists were identified with both whites and Africans as pastors and evangelists; and they met annually in District Meetings where the work of the Church was regarded as one whole.(2) There is record too of white and Coloured people at the Cape worshipping together in those early days.(3) In 1882 when the Wesleyan Methodist Church south of the Transvaal established its own South African Conference, the following statement was made: "Our mission is not and never has been restricted to men of one nation or colour. We believe that success and prosperity have been vouchsafed to us, largely because we have always sought to benefit both the European and Native races. This glory of our Connexion, will, we trust, be always maintained."(4) Similarly, in the Transvaal in 1902 the Methodist Chairman stated his strong conviction "that English and Native work must be vigorously prosecuted, simultaneously and in their due proportions."(5) Thus it was that Du Plessis could affirm in 1910: "In the division of circuits and the allocation of spheres of work the mission station and the European congregation, the missionary and the colonial pastor, stand upon an equal footing."(6)

Like the Methodist Church, the Anglican Church (which in 1870 would become known as the Church of the Province of South Africa) from the ....

(1) Du Plessis, op.cit. pp294, 359, 368.
(2) Hewson, L.A.: An Introduction to South African Methodists (1951) pp12, 26.
(3) ibid. p40.
(4) ibid. p90.
(5) ibid. p87.
(6) Du Plessis, op.cit. p294.

beginning organised itself as one Church for people of all racial groups. "Bishops and clergy in the various dioceses labour indifferently among white and coloured and black. Where the various races are mixed, as in the large towns and cities, it is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle white statistics from black and coloured".(1) It was reported in the 1840s that there were no special services for converted Malays in Cape Town: "they sat in the free seats in the cathedral for matins or evensong, and perhaps understood a little of what was going on." (2) What was more, the trust deed of a Cape Town church built about that time laid down that all seats were to remain free and open to all without distinction of race or colour.(3) In 1900 Bishop Cornish in the Grahamstown diocese would write of "a Confirmation for whites and blacks at the same service".(4)

The Roman Catholic Church in the early days of its ministry in southern Africa did not appoint any special missionaries for work amongst black people, for the bishops occupied themselves first of all with "those who ought to be papists", and only attempted to convert heathens when time and men could be spared for this. It has been suggested that they were specifically instructed by the Pope to hold this emphasis,(5) but there is some doubt that this was so.(6) In later years, however, the Church became prominent in missionary work amongst black people, and large mission stations were established, especially in Basutoland and Natal. Nevertheless, it was generally taken for granted that converts, whether Coloured people or Africans, would become part of the common society: and parishes included both white and black people worshipping together, receiving the sacraments from the same priest, often being taught together in the same school. Thus it was reported in the 1860s that Bishop Grimley had "the blacks, at least eleven of them, walking in procession" at ceremonies in the cathedral at Cape Town; while the Marist Brothers admitted the sons of Cape Malays to their college in the Cape without any opposition.(7)

However, while it may have been the official policy of these three Churches not to distinguish between people of different races, it is clear that there were instances when some form of racial segregation occurred. For instance, when Bishop Wilkinson of the Anglican Church visited Potchefstroom in the 1870s he found a Sotho Christian in the porch of the church listening to the service as best he could, because "natives were not allowed in the same church as white men."(8) About the same time Bishop

(1) ibid. p359.
(2) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit.p96.
(3) Clayton, G.H.: Where We Stand (1960) p8.
(4) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p283.
(5) cf.eg. Du Plessis, op.cit. p369.
(6) cf. Brown, W.E.: The Catholic Church in South Africa (1960) pp194 - 197.
(7) ibid. pp180, 195.
(8) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p575.

Bousfield dealt sharply with another congregation which attempted to exclude Africans from its services.[1] In 1882 the priest at Harrismith wrote in indignation: "It is true that not only Natives, but any with the slightest colour are excluded from All Saints church. I learnt this when, passing, I found the priest baptising children of coloured people in his own room because a certain subscription had been given to erect the church on condition that no coloured person should ever enter it. I felt the matter so serious and so disgraceful that I felt it to be my duty to bring it before the synod, when not a few showed strong condemnation."[2] Again in 1910 there would be reports of Africans being turned away from white congregations in Bloemfontein and in the Transkei.[3]

Similarly we find that in 1856 Father Hoenderwangers of the Roman Catholic Church in Bloemfontein wrote to Bishop Allard asking for a letter to quieten some members of his Church who thought it wrong for a white person to marry a black. The episcopal reply was unequivocal: "As to colour the Catholic Church does not pay attention to it. Jesus Christ died for all without distinction." This was apparently effective, for the would-be moralists came and asked pardon.[4] Later the nuns in the Transvaal Republic had to accept local racial prejudice and to separate white children from black in their schools.[5] Then in 1897 Church authorities in Rome complained that Bishop Jolivet in Natal was accepting a racial division in the Roman Catholic institutions there. In reply he pointed out that the schools for Indians and Africans were supported mostly by the alms of white people whose wishes had to be respected; but he claimed to be gradually and prudently eliminating colour prejudice. He reported that all churches were of course open to Indians and Africans as well as to Coloured people and whites, though he added that the former racial groups still needed some churches of their own where sermons and devotions could be in their own languages. It seems that no corrective instructions were sent from Rome: though Brown has commented that "whether Bishop Jolivet could have done more to remove the evils which he tolerated is of course arguable".[6]

Clearly instances such as these of separation between black people and white in local churches or in church institutions were to a large extent prompted by racial prejudice amongst white churchmen. It seems that when such occurrences came to the notice of higher authorities in the Churches they were frequently condemned. However, there were no doubt

(1) Hinchliff, P.: The Anglican Church in South Africa (1963)p155.
(2) Quoted in Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p474.
(3) Roux, E.: Time Longer than Rope (1948) p117.
(4) Brown, op.cit. p180
(5) ibid. p303.
(6) ibid. p169.

similar incidents which did not come to light.

Meanwhile there began another development which was to result in a far-reaching racial segregation in these Churches.[1] As we have seen, there were during the nineteenth century various types of missionary policy. Some of these advocated taking the Christian faith out to Africans in their own traditional communities - in the belief that people should be ministered to not only in their own language but also in their own social setting. Furthermore, some missionaries urged that the cultural background of the Africans should be preserved, and, some said, should even be insulated from western influences. Accordingly each of these three Churches in time started mission congregations specifically for Africans, where they worshipped in their own language and were ministered to according to their own particular needs and background.

Now if we look at the Anglican Church, for example, we find that although this missionary work was in some places regarded as the responsibility of the local parish clergy, it was in fact more frequently carried out by other clergy or 'missionaries'.[2] Indeed the Provincial Missionary Conference of 1892 recommended that "though a parish priest is in charge of all souls in his district, yet to secure full ministrations for Natives" there should be mission clergy, directly responsible to the bishop, who might work within existing parishes but who would not be subject to the control of the parish clergy.[3] In practice this came to mean that all pastoral work was divided, with 'missions' on the one hand whose congregations were African, and 'parishes' on the other whose congregations were predominantly white. That this separation of ministry constituted racial separation was highlighted in urban situations, where sometimes a 'parish' congregation and a 'mission' congregation used the same church building for worship but at different times,[4] or where separated churches were built for 'parish' and 'mission'.[5] (Meanwhile, in some remote rural areas scattered white churchmen who did not easily fit into their nearest ('mission') congregation were ministered to by a priest who travelled up and down the railway line, visiting them and taking services.[6] That there was this distinction in practice if not in theory between 'African work' and 'European work' was further indicated by the fact that some dioceses for many years held an annual missionary conference specifically for the discussion of questions

(1) Refer p60 supra.
(2) We note that the Anglican Church did not start concerted missionary work amongst Africans until the 1850s.
(3) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p211; Hinchliff, Anglican Church p177.
(4) eg. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p129, cf p101.
(5) eg. ibid. pp132, 332, 482, 599.
(6) Hinchliff, Anglican Church p199

concerning ministry amongst Africans. Nevertheless, because all congregations remained part of the one Church, representatives of both 'parishes' and 'missions' met together in the diocesan synods - though we observe that in some dioceses it was not until after the turn of the century that African lay representatives were admitted to synod as well as African clergy.(1)

Here then was a form of racial separation within the Anglican Church that had official approval. In the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches -though perhaps to a lesser degree in the latter - it seems that on the whole a similar situation developed (2). In earlier days, however, not all church leaders would have been happy with this system. For instance, in 1864 a conference of Anglican clergy and laity in Natal had unanimously resolved that every priest in the diocese ought to minister to both white and African people, and that to increase the number of mission stations would be to perpetuate "the mischievous separation between the races". "The systematic practice under which Missionaries minister solely to native congregations in places where the population is of a mixed character acts injuriously upon both European and native; being calculated to excite class prejudices, and to prevent the white population from taking that practical interest in the natives which would tend so much to their elevation ....." Consequently, Archbishop Gray (at that time in charge of the diocese) had decided to appoint a number of clergy to minister to both white and African people.(3) Indeed, in Natal diocese most 'missions' were for many years to be regarded as daughter-churches of 'parishes'. Similarly there were other dioceses where the division between 'mission' and 'parish' were not always to be clear-cut.(4) We note, for instance, that in 1903 Bishop Chandler of Bloemfontein in his charge to Synod stressed that clergy in distant parishes had responsibilities to both whites and Africans.(5) Hinchliff has since commented that when Africans were still living in a 'primitive' and rural society there was perhaps no alternative to the system of missions. "At least it was recognised in theory," he added, "that no distinction could be made between one Christian and another on grounds of colour alone."(6)

At this point it should be observed that each of the three Churches were at first slow to ordain African clergy. Although the Methodist Church from early times made extensive use of Africans as lay preachers and .....

(1) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p635, cf. p597.
(2) Refer eg. Brown, op.cit. pp228-229; Du Plessis op.cit. p294.
(3) Welsh, op.cit. p44; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p322; Hinchliff, Anglican Church p96.
(4) Hinchliff, Anglican Church p249.
(5) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p452.
(6) Hinchliff, Anglican Church p194.

assistant missionaries, it was not until February 1871 that the first three African men were ordained. Similarly, it seems that it was not until the 1870s that the Anglican Church started ordaining Africans.(1) Furthermore, according to Brown, there was hesitation in some quarters of the Roman Catholic Church on this issue. For instance, although four young Zulus were sent to Rome to be trained for the priesthood in the 1880s, Bishop Delalle, Vicar Apostolic of Natal from 1903 to 1946, refused to ordain any more Africans until near the end of his episcopate. His reasons for this were difficulties he had experienced with those few Africans already ordained, and his belief that their traditional culture made them temporarily ill-gifted for priestly work.(2) While these Churches may also have been slow in ordaining white people who had been born in southern Africa,(3) it was particularly significant that there was some delay before clerical status and responsibility were entrusted to Africans.

On the other hand, it should also be observed that after this initial hesitation these Churches were to place more emphasis on the need for African clergy than were other Churches. In the Methodist Church the number of African clergy increased steadily after 1871. Indeed, in the 1880s those who were responsible for missionary work in the Transvaal held to the principle that "we must use the minimum of white men and the maximum of Native men".(4) The Anglican Church, meanwhile, from the 1870s onwards also gave much attention to the development of an African ministry. "The best missionary is a properly trained Native," it was said in the 1890s. "It is difficult for an Englishman to appeal to a Native mind." Said one white priest in 1903: "The great future of Missions lies in the part the natives themselves take in them. Our proper work is the training and guidance of native massionaries, and until we have these.....we shall never have a really self-dependent genuinely Native Christianity."(5) So it was that Du Plessis could report in 1910 that the Anglican and Methodist Churches were well ahead of other missionary bodies in their number of African ministers and helpers.(6) Meanwhile authorities in Rome were questioning the cautious attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in this regard, and in 1919 an article in the Journal of the Congregation of Propaganda urged the need for native clergy everywhere.(7) Later this Church in South Africa was to encourage the training and ordination of black clergy "with an enthusiasm which puts the rest of South African Christendom

(1) Hewson, op.cit. p74; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. pp268, 363, 536.
(2) Brown, op.cit. p325.
(3) cf. Hinchliff, Anglican Church p116.
(4) Hewson, op.cit. p49.
(5) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. pp592, 209.
(6) Du Plessis, op.cit. p359.
(7) Brown, op.cit. p326.

to shame",[1]

We find, then, that while these three Churches, in contrast to other Churches in southern Africa, each sought to draw people of different racial groups together in one Church, they did in fact tend to separate their African members from their white members - whether because of their style of missionary outreach or because of some degree of racial prejudice. We also find that they were at first slow to admit Africans to positions of leadership. Such factors, prevalent in other Churches too, were to be amongst those which soon prompted the movement of many African Christians away from the Churches.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century increasing numbers of Africans became dissatisfied with the established Churches, so left them to form their own 'separatist' or 'independent' Churches - similar to those first seen in West Africa in 1862 and now found throughout the continent.

What was probably the first secession in southern Africa occurred in 1872, when about one hundred and fifty members of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society at Mount Hermon in Basutoland broke away from the control of the Society and declared that they would no longer be bound by any regulations other than those made by themselves. Apparently the reason for this secession was the Africans' distrust of the motives and policies of the white missionaries when the Society had formed a synodical government that year. However, the dissidents were later won back to the fold. Then in 1884 the first permanent secession took place when Nehemiah Tile founded the Tembu National Church. He had been a Methodist minister stationed in the Transkei but had been criticised by his superior over various political matters so had resigned to set up his own Church. The Tembu chief was enthroned as the visible head of this Church and large numbers of the tribe became members. The following year there was a secession from the London Missionary Society at Taung in Bechuanaland, when a tribal chief took an active part in the founding of the Native Independent Congregational Church, and appointed ministers of his own choice. In 1889 a notable secession was led by Pastor J.A. Winter, a white missionary of the Berlin Missionary Society in Sekukuniland. Declaring that missionaries treated even educated Africans as inferiors and that independent Churches should be created to

(1) Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p99.

be governed by Africans, he set up a Church among the Bapedi tribe - in which the first decision of the church council was to denounce and dismiss him as a white intruder. In the same year an evangelist of the Anglican Church in Pretoria formed the Africa Church. In 1896 the leader of an American Board Mission congregation in Natal seceded to form the Zulu Congregational Church; while two years later a respected pastor of the United Free Church of Scotland broke away with Fingo people of his congregation at Lovedale to form the African Presbyterian Church. Other Churches were to spring up elsewhere in years to come.

Meanwhile Mangena Mokone, a Methodist minister in Pretoria, had become dissatisfied with that Church because he felt that Africans were not being given equal rights with the white members. He found that an African missionary was not allowed the same privileges as his white colleagues, and that if he differed from them on any matter he was obliged to submit to their ruling. When in November 1892 African ministers attending a large Methodist missionary conference found themselves disqualified from holding any positions on the central board and excluded from meetings of the white delegates, although the whites were free to attend meetings of the blacks, some withdrew in protest and resigned from the Church. Soon afterwards Mokane and twenty others founded the Ethiopian Church. What was significant about this one was the fact that while other secessions had been restricted to particular areas or had confined themselves to one tribe or another, this Church was to make its appeal to all Africans. (Its name was derived from the psalmist's prophecy that "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God"[1] which was interpreted as a promise of the evangelisation of all Africa.) Within a short while Mokone had won over a number of leading preachers, including at least one from the Anglican Church, and the Church grew rapidly. It proselytised freely from the established Churches, won over some of the smaller secessions, and made strides in converting the unevangelised. Then, impressed by the success of the Negro Churches in America, Mokone started correspondence with the black African Methodist Episcopal Church in that country. In 1896 a conference of the Ethiopian Church agreed to seek union with the American Church, and James Dwane (who had also been a Methodist minister) visited America where he assured Negroes that "the Africans would never allow the white man to ride roughshod over their country". He obtained the formal incorporation of the Ethiopian Church into the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and was appointed General Superintendent of that Church in southern Africa. Two years later an American bishop visited southern Africa where he ordained 65 ministers

(1) Psalm 68:31, Authorised Version.

and consecrated Dwane assistant bishop. Meanwhile membership of the Church had already grown to over 10 000. It was to be the largest of all the African independent Churches.

Sometimes secessions took place because of disagreements with church leaders, or because of conflicts over the control and use of church funds, or in reaction against church discipline. But it should be noted that particularly in these early secessions the underlying cause was very often criticism of race relations in the established Churches. Contrary to the teaching of church leaders Africans found that racial discrimination was prevalent. Some had experienced the indignity of being turned away from services or meetings because of the colour of their skin. Some found that positions of leadership in church government were reserved for white people, in practice if not in theory. Africans were not readily ordained as ministers, but if they were they usually had to take orders from white superiors. Moreover, they found that many white churchmen tended to treat them as if they were children. So in a desire to exercise initiative and leadership and to be free of white domination and paternalism many broke away.

It should be added that resentment at the political and social disabilities imposed on black people in the wider society was also a stimulus towards parting from white people, who were seen to preach one thing but practice another. Indeed, Sundkler has shown that a later growth in the number of separatist Churches was concomitant with increasing government legislation discriminating against black people.(1) No doubt in all this Africans were encouraged by the awakening African nationalism at that time, which was urging them to stand together against whites. This influence was perhaps reflected in the slogan of Mokone's movement: "Africa for the Africans". In turn, Williams has observed, some ministers of separatist Churches were to play an important role in the growth of this nationalism in that they preached "freedom from the whites", while their Churches served as prototypes for African political and social organisations.(2) Later, however, as political movements and trade unions developed, nationalist fervour seems to have flowed more into these secular channels than through the Churches.(3)

(1) Sundkler, B.G.M.: Bantu Prophets in South Africa (1948) pp33-34.
(2) Williams, art.cit. pp380-381.
(3) Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) Vol.11 p83. Sources used for this section: ibid. pp81-83, 434-436; Sundkler, op.cit. pp32-59; Roux, op.cit. pp85-89; Handbook on Race Relations (Hellmann Ed.) pp565-570; Hinchliff, Church in South Africa pp90-97; Verryn, T.D.: A History of the Order of Ethiopia (1972) pp5-30, 61-74.

Some of the separatist Churches retained the organisation, discipline, dogma and ritual of the Church from which they had sprung. Such Churches with 'orthodox' teaching have been classified as Ethiopian Churches. Many others, however, sought to produce not 'a black copy of a white Church' but a Church suited to the particular genius and heritage of Africans. Their leaders noticed that white missionaries were divided among various Churches which differed from one another on points of doctrine and practice, and so they felt at liberty to differ too. In their own Churches they could develop their own ideas and express their own personalities. So there were to come into being early in the twentieth century Churches which have been classified as Zionist Churches. These would generally show a syncretism of elements of traditional African paganism and American pentecostal Christianity and would place emphasis upon apocalyptic teaching, purificatory rites, speaking in tongues, ritual taboos, healing ceremonies, and often an admixture of the jazz culture of the cities. There would be a phenomenal growth of these Churches or 'sects': but they would be largely unaccompanied by nationalist considerations.

Later in the twentieth century, however, there would be a rise of Messianic movements, led by men who would become quasi-divine figures or black Messiahs, promising to lead black people to the Promised Land. As white Christians had not loved black men, they would say, how could the white Christians' Christ love black men? So as the white people had already received good things (as the rich man in Jesus' parable about Lazarus had done) the black Christ would allow only black people through the gate into Heaven. Clearly these movements would be further reactions against race relations as practised by white churchmen.(1)

Meanwhile the number of African independent Churches in South Africa would be growing rapidly. In 1913 there would be some 30 such Churches; by 1948 there would be about 800; and by 1977 the number would be calculated by some to be as many as 4 500, catering for the needs of between three and four million black Christians.(2) However, it should be recognised that the great majority of these Churches were to be offshoots from other African independent Churches, rather than from the 'white' established Churches. This fact suggests that after a while race relations would cease to be the major cause of separatism.

At first the development of the separatist Churches caused much alarm among white churchmen. They were distressed at the fragmentation of the

(1) Sundkler, op.cit. pp278ff, 290, 323ff; Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p104.

(2) South African Council of Churches National Conference 1977: Divisional Reports p18.

Christian Church, also at the possible involvement of African political movements in church life. Dr. Casalis "suffered cruelly" when the members of his congregation at Mount Hermon seceded in 1872, even though he managed to win them back to the fold. Mzimba's secession at Lovedale in 1898 was said to have left a scar upon the heart of Dr. Stewart "that I believe he felt each day until he died". Later Coillard, near the Zambesi, described separatism as the destruction of all Christian work. The first General Missionary Conference of South Africa in 1904 passed a strongly worded resolution which stated that "Ethiopianism is largely a misdirected use of newborn energy", and criticised secessionist Churches for displaying "an utter lack of regard for the principles of Christian comity". Nevertheless, the conference thought that for the moment at least the movement required not so much repression as careful guidance.(1)

While some white church leaders thus condemned those who had seceeded from the established Churches, it seems that not many were prompted to consider the underlying causes of the secessions and in the process to take stock of race relations within their own Churches. The movement indicated that there was indeed racial discrimination in these Churches, and showed the need for greater responsibility and leadership to be shared with Africans and for them to be allowed more freedom of expression. Yet few if any changes seem to have been implemented as a direct result thereof.

What did prompt some of the Churches to consider their approaches to race relations was the thinking in international missionary circles at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. As we have seen,(2) missionary societies in Britain, America and elsewhere were then advocating that the 'younger churches' which their missionaries had established in China, India or Africa should be made fully independent and entrusted to their own indigenous leaders. Thus they should become "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating" Churches.(3) This emphasis had considerable weight and would be carried through to the meetings of the International Missionary Council in 1928 and 1938. When it was first considered in southern Africa, however, it was not widely accepted

(1) Verryn, op.cit. p10; Sundkler, op.cit. pp60-61. The following year the government-appointed Native Affairs Commission reported that the movement was not a result of political agitation; but warned that if misdirected by ignorant men or repressed through misunderstanding and harshness it might be fraught with the seeds of racial mistrust and discontent. (Du Plessis, op.cit. p459.)

(2) Refer p89 supra.

(3) Sundkler, op.cit. p29; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p218.

for missionaries opposed amongst other things a 'too hasty' ordination of African ministers.(1)

Then at the General Missionary Conference of 1904 the Revernnd E. Jacottet of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society spoke strongly on the need for an indigenous church. This should be the true aim and end of all missionaries, he said. "As long as Christianity remains too much connected and too closely identified with European organisation and European ideas, it cannot become the true religion of the great bulk of the Native population." "A little less Presbyterianism, a little less Anglicanism, a little less Lutheranism...would do no harm, and a little more Africanism would do a great deal more good. Christianity must lose its European form and colour...." In order to achieve this, Jacottet believed that there should be 'complete separation' between white and African Churches. This was of paramount importance, because in a multi-racial church there would be antagonism between racial groups and the Africans would always be expected to take second place. The first step towards the ideal should be the appointment of African elders and ministers (who should not become immitation whites); though Jacottet added that some white supervision and help would be necessary before complete independence and self-government could be granted to the African Churches.

Five years later, at the third General Missionary Conference, the Reverend John Lennox of the United Free Church of Scotland at Lovedale spoke of the differences of language, background, outlook and civilisation which separated Africans from white people. "Christianity, to take a thorough hold of the Native people, must take possession of their national spirit and become the free expression thereof. So long as Christianity continues to be an imported form of belief, it has failed to do its best work". Lennox opposed the Anglican wish to maintain visibly the unity of the whole Catholic Church, and emphasised that what was needed in southern Africa was a racially segregated Church, divided into a white section and an African section in order to give the Africans freedom of expression and opportunities for the development of their own leadership.(2)

Another powerful advocate of racially separate Churches at that time was the Reverend J. du Plessis of the NGK, who maintained that one of the chief objects of missionary policy was "the establishment of a self-directing and self-extending native Church."(3) Indeed, the example of

(1) Sundkler, op.cit. pp29-30.
(2) Sundkler, op.cit. p31; Gerdener, op.cit. pp256, 171; 1953 Conference p129; 1949 Conference p55.
(3) Du Plessis, op.cit. pp306, 407; cf. p90 supra.

his Church, which had already divided into separate sections for different racial groups, was a strong one.

The most notable outcome of this thinking was the formation in 1923 of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa. Prior to this the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa and the United Free Church of Scotland had each been developing its own missions. These bodies had differed in their policy: the former being of the opinion that there should be only one Presbyterian Church for all racial groups in the country; the latter believing that there should be a separate Church in which Africans could take an active part in worship and administration, rather than be consigned to subordinate roles in a white-dominated Church. Now, however, in July 1923 the various missionary sections of the United Free Church in southern Africa were united with the Presbytery of Kaffraria of the Presbyterian Church to form the Bantu Presbyterian Church (with Lennox as one of its first office-bearers). The members of this Church would all be African. It was to be served by a few white missionaries, but they would be heavily outnumbered by African ministers. In the early years there apparently was a power struggle between white and black clergy, but this was sorted out as time passed.(1)

This new Church should be clearly distinguished from the African independent Churches which had come into being because of dissatisfaction with the established Churches. At the time of its formation it was regarded as a new experiment in South African church life, for it was seen as a Church 'of the people' rather than a 'racial' Church.(2) "Happy is the apartheid in which the self-government is real," said Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd. "Happy is the apartheid in which the highest office in the church is open, not merely in theory but in fact, to Africans."(3) The Church has often been criticised as seeming to support racial segregation, "but at the time, against the background of the tensions over Ethiopianism and Zionism, it seemed the only way to encourage independence and responsibility amongst the African ministers."(4) Wrote Dr. J. Steward: "Theoretically we are all agreed that there should be one church and no colour line of division, but that seems reserved for a day beyond our own."(5)

(1) Gerdener, op.cit. pp64-67, 158-159; The South African Outlook, November 1973, pp181-182, 193-197.
(2) ibid. p181.
(3) The South African Outlook, November 1949, p165.
(4) Hinchliff, Church in South Africa, p96.
(5) Quoted by Gerdener in God's Kingdom in Multi-Racial S.A. (1954 Conference) p114.

A significant feature of this Church is the fact that it has long been concerned for reconciliation between racial groups. As we have seen,[1] it has since 1934 been involved in negotiations towards union with the predominantly white Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (and more recently with the smaller black Tsenga Presbyterian Church). In this regard it was stated at the 1966 General Assembly: "We are sometimes tempted to think that the way would be simpler if we were to go forward as a 'Bantu' Church. It would be easier. But the way of Christ is not the easy way; the way of Christ is the way of reconciliation, and this is always difficult. The committee believes that to reject this way forward would be to fail in our reconciling task as a part of the world-wide church..."[2] However, we also observe that while the 1970 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa approved a plan to unite with the two African Churches,[3] the Bantu Presbyterian Church decided in 1972 not to enter this union.[4]

Meanwhile other missionary bodies were also forming separate African Churches in South Africa. In 1911 the Berlin Missionary Society created four regional synods and placed the administration of finance and the general supervision of congregations in their hands, though the committee in Berlin still maintained general oversight of the work. This, like the formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, was a move towards independence from overseas control. A South African based Church that established a parallel Church for Africans was the Baptist Union of South Africa. This had formed a Baptist Missionary Society to work amongst black people, and now in 1927 constituted under its wing a separate Bantu Baptist Church.[5] Thus it adopted a similar policy to that of the NGK.

This pressure of missionary thinking and movement towards the formation of separate African Churches prompted much discussion in the Anglican Church. It seems that several leaders in that Church thought in terms of eventually forming a 'Native Church': but it was not always clear whether such a Church was envisaged as being completely separate from a 'white' Church or not.[6] Verryn has reported that even Archbishop

(1) Refer p10 supra.
(2) The South African Outlook, November 1973, p197.
(3) SAIRR Survey 1970, p19.
(4) Nevertheless, the three Churches are now considering union on a larger scale with the United Congregational Church, and are also involved in unity negotiations with the Anglican and Methodist Churches.
(5) Gerdener, op.cit. pp155, 76.
(6) cf. Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. pp209, 592, 597, 610; Verryn, op.cit. pp79-80.

West Jones, in his private opinion, believed that for cultural reasons there ought to be a black Province of the Anglican Church in South Africa, with African priests and bishops and freedom to adapt such things as ceremonial to the African ethos. However, this opinion was apparently not shared by many other influential Anglicans, and Jones later retreated from it.(1)

In 1904 the Provincial Synod, supreme legislative body of that Church, made a pronouncement on the Church's duty towards African people in which it stated that "the Church of Christ, being Catholic and composed of all nations, cannot attain the full measure of her beauty until each race has brought in to her its own special gifts and graces."(2) The Synod then appointed a commission to study the needs of African Christians " with special view to the natural expansion of the Native Church": which commission reported to the 1906 Provincial Missionary Conference. There there appeared two parties, one in favour of and one opposed to the distinct organisation of African and white work. The bishops were sympathetic to the idea of assistant bishops being appointed where necessary to take responsibility for African work only, "but the Bishop of Pretoria was cheered when he said that the diocesan bishops had no desire to cease to be Fathers in God of all Christians, black and white." Eventually, after the matter had been considered in the various dioceses, the next Provincial Missionary Conference in 1909 adopted a report which made it clear that there was to be no division of the Church. (Recommendations were made, however, to ensure that African opinion was better heard.)(3) Nevertheless, argument on this matter would still be put forward in subsequent diocesan synods.(4)

At this point mention should be made of a development concerning the Anglican Church at about that time. A few years after James Dwane had been made assistant bishop in charge of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in southern Africa,(5) he began to doubt the validity of his consecration. Then he met and became influenced by the Anglican priest in Queenstown, who explained that the African Methodist Episcopal Church could not transmit episcopal orders because it had never received them. So he was urged to seek admission for himself and his followers in the true Catholic Church. Thus after corresponsence with the Archbishop of Cape Town and after a conference of members of his Church he and a majority of them applied to the Anglican Church for a valid episcopate and priesthood and to be asked to be included

(1) Verryn, op.cit. p79.
(2), Lowther Clarke, H.: Constitutional Church Government (1924) pp371-372.
(3) Official Report of the Provincial Missionary Conference (1909) pp8-10, 15-16; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p213; cf. Verryn, op.cit. p80.
(4) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. pp288, 629; cf. Victor, O.: The Salient of South Africa (SPG, London, 1931) pp53-54.
(5) Refer p208 supra.

within the fold of the Catholic Church. By this they envisaged remaining a separate African Church, but now with valid orders so that their claim to be authentic could not be challenged.(1) Protracted negotiations followed in August 1900, during which the Ethiopians were forced to give way on several points, but a Compact was eventually drawn up between them and the Anglican Bishops which established an 'Order of Ethiopia' within the Anglican Church, governed by its own Provincial and Chapter but subject to the general control of the diocesan bishops.(2) Dwane was confirmed by the Archbishop and formally appointed Provincial. Later the same year he was ordained deacon. Then during the following years the Ethiopians were each prepared for Confirmation within the Anglican Church, while their ministers were trained for ordination.

The Compact did not, however, clearly define the situation, and relations between the Ethiopians and the church authorities deteriorated. Then after further lengthy consultations the breach was healed and a Constitution for the Order of Ethiopia was approved by Provincial Synod in November 1909. This Constitution defined the Order as "an Order of members of the Church of the Province of South Africa banded together for the special purpose of bringing the heathen of the Bantu Race into the fold of Christ by means of the ministrations of members of their own race."(3) Thus it was seen by church authorities as a missionary spearhead of the Church. Clearly defined as being outside the ordinary jurisdiction of parochial and missionary clergy, it was to have its own missions and finances. This would mean that there were often two Anglican congregations side by side - one of the Order and one of an ordinary parish - which fact would lead to friction between them. Nevertheless, the Order was not to be a separate or independent Church (as many observers were to infer(4)), for the Constitution stated clearly that it remained under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops, and as such was an integral part of the Anglican Church. Indeed, the Compact still affirmed that "all churches shall be open to all people, without distinction of race or colour". (It should be added that congregations of the Order are mostly in the eastern Cape, and comprise but a small minority of the African members of the Church.)

Neither Dwane nor any of his successors has ever been consecrated bishop, though the Ehtiopians clearly expected to be given their own episcopal head. It was never made clear to them that giving them 'valid ...

(1) The remainder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church meanwhile grew from strength to strength, so that by 1948 it numbered some 100 000 members. (Handbook on Race Relations (Hellmann Ed.) p566.)
(2) Du Plessis reported that the bishops were warned by some that this might erect a barrier between white and black members. (op.cit. p456.)
(3) Constitutions and Canons of the C.P.S.A. (1970) pp168ff.
(4) eg. Gerdener, op.cit. p158; 1954 Conference p114.

orders' did not mean giving them their own bishops, and "no subsequent explanation has ever removed a sense of grievance" on this matter.(1) Indeed many left for the separatist Churches because of this. Dwane continued for years to campaign for the right of the Order to have its own bishop: but in 1915 the Episcopal Synod stated that while the bishops "look forward to the time when under the guidance of Almighty God a Native Episcopate will be raised up in South Africa," yet they "do not consider that it is in the best interests of the Church that there should be a separate Bishop for the Order of Ethiopia."(2) Again in 1960 the Episcopal Synod considered a memorandum from the Order which requested that it be placed outside the authority of the diocesan bishops and be given full control of its own affairs. In reply the Synod pointed out that a bishop could only be appointed for a specific area, and that it would therefore be unacceptable to allow the appointment of a bishop who would have episcopal jurisdiction over the Order within the existing jurisdictions of the other bishops of the Church. Similarly the Order could not be allowed to make its own decisions about developing new work without reference to or consultation with the bishop of the area concerned.(3) (We add that it might conceivably have been possible for a diocesan bishop to appoint an assistant bishop to take responsibility for members of the Order in his diocese - but that the latter would not have had any authority concerning members of the Order in other dioceses, and would moreover have been still subject to his diocesan bishop.(4) However, recent church legislation has coincidentally removed this possibility, for it requires that a suffragan (assistant) bishop be no longer appointed but elected by representatives of all the congregations in the diocese concerned.) Discussions wre still continuing between the bishops and leaders of the Order over this whole issue.(5)

As we turn to observe the effects of pressure for the formation of separate African Churches on the Methodist Church, we note first the explanation which Hewson has given for the fact that that Church had been particularly prone to secessions. It was not because the genius of that Church was essentially disruptive he said, "but because the Methodist mission work in South Africa is of such dimensions and stretches to so very many tribes that factors operating in all Missions and among all tribes have produced proportionately more numerous secessions."(6) We observe that there was

(1) Hinchliff, Anglican Church p 202.
(2) Lowther Clarke op.cit. p387.
(3) Verryn, op.cit. pp178-184.
(4) cf. 1900 Compact para. 12.
(5) Sources used for this section: Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p92; Hinchliff, Anglican Church pp201-203; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. pp217-226; Roux, op.cit. pp89-91; Verryn, op.cit. pp74-193.
(6) Hewson, op.cit. p94.

some discussion on the question of indigenous Churches, and that in 1925 Professor Jabavu, an African, addressed the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, and urged a system of African autonomy within the Church. After a whole day's discussion this idea was turned down, however.(1) On the other hand, by 1951 Hewson could write: "With the growth of our African ministry...the pastoral care of the African members of the Church is rightly passing into African hands."(2)

Meanwhile, it seems that the Roman Catholic Church was little touched by the secessionist movement, and that little impression was made on it by calls for separate African Churches.

Our study of these three Churches has so far been concerned primarily with the position of their African members, and little mention has been made of Indian or Coloured people. It can be said that in each of the Churches it was more common for people of these racial groups to worship together with whites than it was for Africans to worship with whites: but it should be added that in each of the Churches separate congregations would at some stage be formed for them in some places.

So we see that as the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches moved into the twentieth century they continued, despite some pressures to the contrary, to uphold the ideal of bringing people of different racial groups together within one Church - and all their congregations were officially to remain open to members of any race. Yet in practice there was a measure of racial separation in each of these Churches, and, as we shall see more clearly later,(3) black people were in fact discriminated against in various ways.

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(1) Gerdener op.cit. p160.
(2) Hewson, op.cit. p29.
(3) Refer p273 infra.

2. INCREASING COMMENT ON RACE RELATIONS

During the first half of the nineteenth century many Christian missionaries in southern Africa had been vocal protagonists of the black peoples, seeking to protect them from encroachment and ill-treatment by white people. However, as we have seen, this had engendered strong opposition among whites, and there had consequently followed a long period when "fear of taking any political stand, however necessary it might seem,.....acted on the missionary societies like a creeping paralysis."(1)

Of responses in the Roman Catholic Church to racial issues in society during the second half of that century, Brown has merely reported that Bishop Moran had spoken out against the granting by Britain of responsible self-government to the Cape Colony, and also against the Boers being allowed to govern the northern territories themselves: because, he had warned, the interests of the white minority would dominate all policy of such governments. John Bird, a prominent layman of that Church, had made similar protests; but otherwise there had apparently been few in the Church of like mind on this matter.(2) In the Anglican Church Bishop Webb had criticised the retrocession of the Transvaal to the Boers after the First Anglo-Boer War, saying that Britain had thus surrendered hundreds of African people "to the domination of masters whom they dreaded". Similar criticisms had been voiced by various church leaders in 1906 when the Boers had once again been granted responsible government.(3) But apart from such protests, racial issues had received little public attention from church leaders.(4) Indeed, Hinchliff has reported that in the Anglican Church round the turn of the century the attitude to racial discrimination had generally been "a rather hesitant one".(5)

Now in April 1909 there was a new departure. Drawing up a draft constitution for a united South Africa, the National Convention had suggested that franchise qualifications should remain as before: meaning that while in the Cape the right to vote would belong to people of any racial group who passed certain qualifications, in Natal Indians would be denied the franchise and Africans would first have to obtain a stiff exemption from...

(1) Macmillan, Cape Colour p284; refer pp 36-39, 59 supra.
(2) Brown, op.cit. pp179f, 286.
(3) Hinchliff, Anglican Church pp186, 195; Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p95.
(4) Hinchliff has explained this factor in the Anglican Church by pointing out that it had been doing most of its missionary work in the British colonies rather than in the more rigid republics. (Anglican Church p230.) But we have observed that there was in fact a good deal of racial discrimination in the colonies too.
(5) ibid. p194.

customary law, and in the Transvaal and Orange Free State only whites would be entitled to vote. Reacting against these proposals, Archbishop Carter of the Anglican Church, a minister in the Methodist Church and clergy from the other large Protestant Churches (other than the Dutch Reformed Churches) signed a letter which was "a classical statement of the case for basing political rights upon other grounds than race or colour". It dealt with all the arguments which had been used by advocates of racial discrimination, and warned that while the provisions of the proposed constitution appeared to uphold the security of white rule in southern Africa they would inevitably sever the white and black population groups into opposite and hostile camps. This and a similar letter from an individual Methodist minister were laid before the Convention. But "no discussion ensued."

After the publication of the Convention's final report later that year the Archbishop and various clergy, this time including a minister of the NGK, were among the signatories of an appeal to the British Parliament to intervene and prevent the enactment of this proposed legislation. In measured language the appeal urged "that the ruling principle should be the principle which has animated past policy - the principle of freedom of opportunity to all civilised citizens of whatever race or colour." A deputation was sent to London to argue the case in meetings with the Colonial Secretary and with Members of Parliament and in statements to the Press. But, as we know, that September the South Africa Act was passed and the proposed franchise became law. However, the protests of these churchmen were "the beginnings of a new relationship between the Churches and South African society at large."(1)

During the previous century most white church leaders had been more or less paternalistic in their outlook toward the black peoples. They had been kind and sympathetic, but fatherly, believing that blacks were not yet sufficiently mature to be given real responsibility in Church or State. For example, Bishop Gibson, Anglican coadjutor bishop of Cape Town at the end of the century, had advocated that Africans in urban areas be concentrated into townships where they would be subject to 'supervision and discipline'. He had admitted that 'class legislation' would be entailed but had seen that to be necessary "as a temporary, educative, and protective measure, designed for the good of those on whom the legislation is imposed. As things are now," he had written, "the bulk of the Kafirs have to be looked upon as our younger brothers; and in dealing with them festina lente must be our motto." According to Hinchliff such paternalism - the attitude of 'let's be kind to the **kafirs**' - had probably been typical of most church

(1) Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p94; Thompson, L.M.: The Unification of South Africa (1960) pp109-111, 375, 386; Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p141.

leaders of that day.(1)

Now, however, such blatant paternalism was very slowly beginning to fade within the Churches (though it would persist for a long time in some circles). Many clergy coming to the country had been influenced by the work of theologians such as F.D. Maurice, and by the crusades of Anglo-Catholic priests in the British slums. For them the ideal of a priest had become that of a Christian socialist, fighting the battle of the poor and underprivileged, striving for social justice. Then after the First World War this 'socialism' in the Church was revitalised as the sort of ideals for which men such as William Temple stood began to influence church leaders. They came to see new social implications of the Gospel, and to believe that poverty, housing, conditions of employment, education, social justice and political rights were matters on which Christian opinion ought to be expressed. At the same time the economic depression and the whole discussion in the political arena of the 'Native problem' was creating a situation where social concerns were indeed of pressing importance.

(An indication of this trend may be seen in the fact that although the biographies of the two previous Anglican Archbishops are substantial volumes while that of Carter, who was Archbishop from 1909 to 1931, is but a slim booklet, yet (according to Hinchliff) 'colour questions' play little part in the earlier works while a whole chapter of the book on Carter is devoted to 'political comments'. A man of Anglo-Catholic and Christian socialist background, he was to be known for his emphatic protests against discriminatory legislation.(2)

The fact that the creation of the Union of South Africa now made it more obvious that the 'Native problem' was an internal issue rather than a matter of tribes on distant borders may also have encouraged the Churches to express views about the rights of black people. Certainly what did influence them in this regard were the voices of Africans who had been educated in church institutions but who found themselves without opportunity to use their education and abilities. They had been trained to take responsibility, but found it virtually impossible to reach positions of leadership in any sphere. Thus in the period between the two World Wars there was rising a generation of Christian Africans who resented the limitations imposed upon them by whites and who were asking that their people be given a fairer share in the running of the country. As paternalism declined within the Churches such frustration was bound to affect white Church leaders and make them feel uncomfortable.(3)

(1) Hinchliff, Anglican Church pp194-195.
(2) ibid. pp195-196.
(3) ibid. pp201,230-234; Hinchliff, Church in South Africa pp95, 105.

Meanwhile, as we have seen,[1] the Government was enacting more and more legislation which discriminated against black people. Notably, in 1911 and again in 1926 many avenues of employment in skilled trades were closed to them; in 1913 the purchase of land by Africans was restricted; in 1923 provision was made for regulations controlling their entry into and residence in urban areas; in 1936 it was ruled that no more than 13,7% of the land could be used for African reserves; and in the same year Africans were eliminated from the common electoral roll. There was, moreover, an ever-increasing demand among some politicans for the complete separation of the white and black racial groups in the country, and 'segregation' was being spoken of more and more on party-political platforms.

So it was that Church assemblies and synods now began to express concern on social matters, and "tried, little by little, to act as a conscience for the nation".

Among calls in the Anglican Church for new racial policies in the country was that of Bishop Talbot, who in 1922 organised a deputation of leading members of the Churches in Pretoria to discuss with representatives of the State the 'inequalities of justice' that applied to whites and Africans. Apparently the Prime Minister there acknowledged the duty of the Church to educate public opinion in such matters.[2] Meanwhile at the Provincial Synod of 1915 "native and social questions" had been discussed, while at the Provincial Synod of 1929 Archbishop Carter expressed support for those Africans who resented legislation which concerned them intimately but on which their counsel had not been asked, and stressed that "the Church cannot countenance, but must resist every effort to retard the development of the native races."[3]

In 1930 the Anglican bishops issued an important statement which emphasised that God was the Father of all; that man had been made in the image and 'after the likeness' of God; and that Christ had come to redeem all men, and to make them the sons of God and heirs of eternal life. Therefore every man, of whatever race or colour was of infinite worth in the sight of God. To deny this would have been to reject the very Gospel which Christ had come to proclaim; while to thwart the progress of even the least of God's children or to deny them opportunity for the fullest devel-

(1) Refer p94ff supra.
(2) Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p632.
(3) ibid. pp198, 143.

opment of which they were capable would have been grave presumption. So, quoting from the report of the 1930 Lambeth Conference (an assembly in London of all the bishops of the Anglican Communion), the bishops affirmed that "the interests of the various sections of the community are one and indivisible. Therefore, any attempt to govern (only) in the interests of a section or of the people of one colour, must in the end lead to disaster....."

The bishops then went on to say that rights to full citizenship in any country not dependent on men's race or colour, but on their fitness to discharge the responsibilities which such citizenship involved. The principle of trusteeship on the one hand forbade that the determining voice in government should be given to those who were still uncivilised and ignorant, for that would have entailed abdication of responsibilities by those who were their trustees; but on the other hand it required full acknowledgement that when individuals and peoples had progressed their position of trusteeship should become one of partnership. As the Lambeth Conference had declared: "the ruling of one race by another can only be justified from the Christian standpoint when the highest welfare of the subject race is the constant aim of the government, and when admission to an increasing share in the government of the country is an object steadfastly pursued." However the bishops added that this latter ideal could not be attained in a moment.

In concluding, they emphasised the need for all questions concerning race relations to be regarded from a definitely Christian standpoint. "The task of the Church is to multiply the number of persons whose relations with their fellows are governed by respect and reverence for the individuality of others because they have learned to see them in relation to the purpose of God." (Lambeth Conference Report). The bishops recognised that in South Africa the racial issues were of a more delicate and difficult character than elsewhere, but they called for people to have faith rather than fear.(1)

With regard to the Methodist Church, it was significant that one of the reasons put forward in 1931 for the union of the three branches of Methodism in the country (to form the Methodist Church of South Africa) was the need for a more effective means of marshalling the full moral force of Methodists "in relation to the Government on questions of racial and inter-racial problems, particularly on land and educational matters as they relate to the great Native people of the country."(2) Year after year that Church was to issue a 'Statement on Public Questions', and its leaders

(1) CPSA: Resolutions and Statements (1971) pp4-6.
(2) Quoted in Hewson, op.cit. p89

were to stress the conviction that co-operation between the racial groups was not merely desirable but an urgent necessity.(1)

The Roman Catholic Church, meanwhile, was more reticent in its comments on race relations. There was some criticism by the editor of the widely respected Catholic Magazine of the racial discrimination in the South Africa Act, but the bishops themselves did not protest at the implications of this legislation. Presumably, Brown has suggested, they deemed that comment on the issue would have been "an imprudent intervention in politics". However, Bishop Matthew Gaughren did write to a newspaper in 1910 to protest against proposed legislation which would have forbidden marriages between white and black people. Such marriages, the bishop admitted, were generally undesirable and the proposed law was well-intentioned enough, but it would introduce the moral evil of conflict between the law and the conscience of good men. Catholic clergy would continue to bless such marriages if called on to do so.(2) We note, too, that in 1939 Bishop Henneman wrote to his clergy in the following terms: "The rights of man are inherent in his human nature, irrespective of race or colour. Any attempt therefore to introduce legislation based purely on race or colour must be opposed and condemned as unjust....Furthermore, charity demands that we consider all men as our brethren, and treat them with one consideration. Any legislation, therefore, attaching a stigma of inferiority or implying that one group of people despises another group, is opposed to the law of charity."(3)

Although the second World War for a short while pushed the 'Native problem' into the background of thought, the question of race relations was amonst aspects of South African life that were discussed at a conference of churchmen at Fort Hare in July 1942. This three-day conference was convened by the Christian Council of South Africa (of which most of the Protestant Churches and missionary societies except the Dutch Reformed Churches were menbers) to consider the prospects of 'Christian reconstruction' in South Africa.

There Archbishop J.R. Darbyshire of the Anglican Church maintained that "there is no room in Christian thought for racial pride or any way of life that denies to any men of any race or colour full citizenship in the City of God. The pride of race....that withholds from any the offers of the

(1) ibid. p102.
(2) Brown, op.cit. pp192, 314-316.
(3) The Churches' Judgement on 'Apartheid' (1948) p14

Gospel is unchristian." An attitude of racial pride, he said, "violates the Revelation of God's universal Love as shewn in the Incarnation of our Lord." (1)

The resolutions made by the Conference(2) included a statement that "any naturalistic teaching of racial or national superiority is incompatible with the teaching and example of Christ and the implications of the Gospel." Relations between racial groups whould not be based on claims of superiority or accusations of inferiority, but should be those of mutual respect and service. The Conference advocated that white people should deal with the more 'backward' black people in a spirit of trusteeship, but should bear in mind that a ward will come of age and that trusteeship should then become partnership. To combat the temptation to generalise about other racial groups, the Conference stressed the importance of personal contact between Christians of different races, and went on to urge that "in the matter of segregation and the colour bar....every Christian should examine his own conscience in relation to race prejudice; should seek to understand the causes of such prejudice in himself and others...."

Although the concept of racial segregation was referred to, the ethics of such a policy were not considered. However, the Conference did recognise that South Africa was an economic unity in which it was essential that all racial groups should make the fullest contribution of which they were capable, and it was held it to be "contrary to Christian principles that one race should seek to hold another in permanent inferiority of status, or make arbitrary and discriminating conditions of progress." The Conference believed that the true interests of the white and black peoples in South Africa "do not, in the long run, conflict".(3)

Finally, we note that the Conference resolved: "Though separate worship may normally be advisable by reason of language and other causes, we believe that occasional joint worship is a helpful practice." Here it seems that delegates generally accepted the practice of separate worship for different population groups. Certainly the call for common worship was a very weak one.(4)

(1) Christian Reconstruction in South Africa (1942 Conference) p16. One of the main speakers at the Conference was the Reverend S. Mokitimi of the Methodist Church. As he was an African, whereas our study is primarily concerned with approaches to race relations by white people, we shall not record his comments.
(2) ibid. pp67-68.
(3) The qualification in that statement suggested an admission that their interests might at the present time have conflicted to some degree.
(4) Mokitimi's comments in this regard were likewise not at all forceful.

In the years following this Conference Archbishop Darbyshire assessed the problem of race relations in South Africa to be due to prejudice and fear among the white people; and he observed that "many of them were reluctant to promote the education of black people lest this increase the possibility of miscegenation -" an ominous word full of dread." He spoke of the difficulty facing the Church in such a situation. To some white people the Church appeared to encourage miscegenation; to some of the Coloured people it appeared to deny in practice what it preached in principle; while to Africans it was too slow in promoting black people to positions of responsibility. For Darbyshire the best policy for the future was obscure.(1)

Meanwhile, almost immediately after the War the 'Native problem' became prominent again, and churchmen were faced by new calls for racial segregation, this time under the title of 'apartheid'. Such a policy was to draw from the Churches a much stronger stream of comment in the years to come.

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(1) In The Anglican Communion (J.W.C. Ward, Ed.) (1948) pp111-114.

3. FACING APARTHEID

(a) THE ROSETTENVILLE CONFERENCE

The advent of apartheid as the official racial policy of South Africa, following on the election to power of the Nationalist Party in May 1948, prompted many Churches to speak publicly of their unhappiness with such a policy. Some sought an opportunity to discuss the matter with heads of State: but such an opportunity was not given. There was "growing apprehension in a setting of mounting racial tension."(1) Then it was that the Christian Council of South Africa - described by Whyte as a symbol of inter-church and inter-racial co-operation(2) - was urged to give a lead to Christian people, to make clear where the Churches associated with the Council stood on the question of Christian belief and duty in such a racial situation. Thus in July 1949 the Council convened a Conference at Rosettenville, Johannesburg, to consider the task of the Christian citizen in a multi-racial society. Just over a hundred accredited representatives of twenty-five Churches, Missionary Societies and organisations were present, including one representative from the Dutch Reformed Church. We consider here only that discussion which related to the theology of race relations.

In an address to the Conference, the Reverend E.L. Cragg of the Methodist Church emphasised that man was no mere earthly being, but a child of God, made in God's image. The image of God in man was found in his spiritual nature and in his potential for development into a free, moral personality, linked to God in fellowship and service. Man had been made not for himself, but to be a creature of God, endowed by God with all his powers of body, mind and spirit, and responsible to God for the use of his life and his powers. So man's essential value lay in his nature as man, and not in his race or class or earthly position.

There were certainly differences between men, but whatever these differences might have been there was a oneness in the essential humanity of all men. "God's family is not meant to be all of a sameness; there is diversity in the unity, but the essential facts and values of man's being belong to all men. In the deepest things, and in God's purposes for mankind, race and class are irrelevant."

Man was a fallen being, corrupted by self-assertion, greed and pride. All men were fallen, irrespective of their race or class. Thus while one

(1) The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society (1949 Conference) p5.
(2) In Handbook on Race Relations (Hellmann Ed.) p666.

might hope to diminish social evils one could be under no illusion that a change of social order or ruling class would achieve an earthly Utopia. Nevertheless, God's purpose for man as man was to redeem him from the evil of his fallen nature, to restore him to his true place as a child of God, living under divine authority and moved by the love of God, that God's image might be truly seen in him. God's supreme goal for human life was the perfection of man's spiritual personality.

Furthermore, man had been made for eternity. His goal was to attain eternal life in the eternal family of God's redeemed children. Thus, while the individual could not exist without society (nor society without the individual), it was the individual that was of final importance, for all earthly societies were transitory and only individuals were eternal. The place of earthly societies in God's plan was to be the sphere where individual personalities might live and grow, finding in co-operation the means of physical, economic, intellectual and spiritual life, and where through the life of fellowship and love on earth they might be trained for the higher spiritual fellowship of heaven.(1)

Cragg went on to say that on entering the Church, which was God's redeemed family on earth to be perfected in heaven, men entered a universal society which was supra-racial and supra-national. That was not to suggest that the Church on earth could ignore differences of culture and tradition, nor that racial differences ceased to exist in the Church. However, in the Church there should be a fellowship and a loyalty which was stronger than racial ties, a supreme loyalty to God and God's community, and a oneness which rose above differences, even if it did not obliterate them. Similarly, in society the Christian citizen's first loyalty was to God and to God's laws, and this loyalty came above his loyalty to race or State or class. "This does not mean that the ideals of heaven can be transplanted completely into this world, for human limitations, imperfections and sinfulness make a perfect realisation of Christian ideals impossible in earthly society. Ideals have to be applied to facts as they are, and true justice consists in treating individuals, classes, races according to their conditions and needs and not by any uniform theoretical pattern."(2)

In the purposes of God there had been one chosen race, Israel: for it had been through Israel that the true line of God's revelation had been made, and in Israel that Christ, the fulfilment of God's purpose of salvation, had come to earth. Yet Israel had been chosen not for privilege but for service. While the Old Testament might in part have been nationalist

(1) 1949 Conference pp16-19.
(2) ibid. pp19, 21.

and isolationist, breathing a spirit of hostility towards all other racial groups, yet at its highest, in its greatest prophets, it had seen Israel chosen not for her own sake alone but to be a light to the Gentiles, that in her all the families of the earth should be blessed, and that her religion and Messiah should become the religion and the Saviour of all mankind. Now God's choice of Israel had passed over into his choice of the Church, the new Israel of God, chosen also for service. This new chosen people of God was not exclusive but was open to all who would enter it by faith in Christ. Cragg accepted that it might be true to say, as some had done, that God had chosen other races besides Israel to be the vehicles of his gifts: but he stressed that one could not argue from the choice of Israel to the election of other races, for the election of Israel had been unique in that through her the way had been prepared for God himself to come to earth. "Every race is apt to fancy that it is God's favourite, but there is more of pride than of religion in the fancy...If there is any truth in the belief in God's choice of races for His own purposes, then we must insist that it is an election to service, not to privilege, an election to share privileges with others, not to dominate them for its own gain."(1) Cragg dismissed as a "perverted kind of Calvinism" that thinking in South Africa which applied the doctrine of the election of individuals to races, so forming a belief in a chosen race, elected by God to bear rule over others. "This racial form of Christianity is used to give a religious colouring to racial pride and prejudices."(2)

Cragg could see no religious reason against a separation of white people and Africans in South Africa into separate States if this were practicable and desirable, any more than he could see a reason against the separation of French, Germans, Spaniards and Italians into their several territories. On the other hand, he could see no religious reasons against racial mixture, for the history of mankind had been one of constant migration and mixture, and it was no use saying that every race should stay where God had put it. "In fact," he observed, "South Africa is...a multi-racial society, and seems likely to remain so, and it is our duty to consider our position in this society and not in some other which could be devised if we could reverse the process of history."(3)

After discussion of Cragg's address the Conference agreed to the following 'findings':

"Recognising that a theological background is essential to all social

(1) Ibid. p20.
(2) ibid. p16.
(3) ibid. p21.

and political policies, we affirm the relevance of the Christian doctrine of man; as a child of God, as corrupted by sin, as redeemed in Christ, and as finding his true goal only in eternity.

" This implies that man's essential value lies in his nature as man, and not in race or culture.

" While acknowledging that one historic people was chosen by God to be the medium of His fullest revelation in Jesus Christ, we repudiate the claim that any other race has been so chosen, but affirm that His chosen people is now the universal Church."(1)

Also addressing the Conference, the Reverend L.A. Hewson of the Methodist Church judged that 'trusteeship' need not be a discredited ideal provided the trustee kept faith with the ward. He believed that 'in the interim' racial separation might well be in the interests of the black people in that their land and culture would thus be secured from encroachment. Taking up Hewson's points the Conference agreed:

"At this stage in the affairs of our country we accept the principle of trusteeship. But we are emphatic that this policy should mean the preparation of the ward for taking his full share in the life of the community. When this maturity has been reached by any individual the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship should be granted.

"Trusteeship, therefore, can only be an interim measure, and we look forward to the day when partnership shall be established involving worship, education, and citizenship, in common."(2)

A third Methodist speaker at the Conference was the Reverend E.W. Grant, who was at that time President of that Church. He urged that "the Christian Fellowship, based on principles which themselves over-ride external differences, must become within the State a community in which inter-racial unity is demonstrated to the world." Referring to the call for an indigenous church in South Africa, he pointed out that whereas the Church in China was composed exclusively of Chinese nationals and the Church in many parts of Africa embraced almost exclusively African Christians, "the true indigenous Church in South Africa is, and must always be, multi-racial." "It should be a Church in which the New Testament ideal is realised: in which different races achieve a unity of spirit and purpose within one fellowship, while preserving all racial integrities and relinquishing no part of any racial heritage which the Spirit of God can use". Following this address the Conference declared:

(1) ibid. p25.
(2) ibid. p57, 68.

"In speaking to a multi-racial society we affirm that the Church planted by God in this country is multi-racial and must remain so. This is one of its glories."(1)

At the end of deliberations the Conference issued a Statement which regretted that there were "conditions prevailing in South African social life which make it difficult, if not impossible, for many of our brethren to develop fullness of personality." The Statement went on to affirm certain fundamental truths which "we shall neglect at our peril", amongst which we note the following:

"God has created all men in his image. Consequently, beyond all differences remains the essential unity."

"Individuals who have progressed from a primitive social structure to one more advanced should share in the responsibilities and rights of their new status."

"The real need of South Africa is not Apartheid but Eendrag." (A footnote was added which rendered eendrag as 'unity through teamwork.')

Further principles were enunciated on the franchise, education, and the right to work.(2) The Statement ended with an open invitation to members of the Dutch Reformed Churches to join with other Churches in discussion of the practical implementation of these principles in the ordinary affairs of daily life. Perhaps this invitation was in some measure what prompted the NGK to call the ecumenical conferences of the 1950s.(3)

(b) A BIBLICAL COMMISSION

It is clear from a comment in the Report of the Rosettenville Conference(4) that some churchmen were at that time searching for a scriptural answer to those who contended that racial segregation had scriptural sanction. So it was that in May 1952 the Christian Council of South Africa published the report of a Commission which it had appointed to investigate.

(1) ibid. pp12, 14.
(2) ibid. pp7-8.
(3) Refer p125 supra.
(4) op.cit. p42.

the teaching of the Bible on racial issues.[1]

The Commission began by pointing out that while the Old Testament recognised a distinction between Israel and the Gentiles it nevertheless had a doctrine of man as man irrespective of racial affiliation, and recognised certain fundamental characteristics belonging to all mankind. Man had been created by God and made in the image of God. All races had had a common origin in Adam and again in Noah, and mankind was thus of one common stock. God was concerned with all people and controlled their destinies. The covenant with Noah had been with all mankind; and God had used other nations as well as Israel to carry out his purposes (eg. Isaiah 10:5ff;45:1ff; Jeremiah 25:9). All mankind was fallen and sinful, and both Israel and the Gentiles had been repeatedly exposed to the judgement and wrath of God. Furthermore, the Wisdom writings, and in particular Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, dealt with man as man, his weakness, sinfulness, mortality, his destiny, and what should have been his true way of life and welfare. "Thus the Old Testament recognises a fundamental unity of mankind in origin, nature and experience, in sinfulness and mortality, and in the moral and spiritual laws to which men are subject."

In the New Testament there was no account of the origin of man, though Paul had assumed the Old Testament story of Adam and had regarded mankind as having come from one common stock (eg. 1 Corinthians 15:22; Acts 17:26). There was mention of God as the Father of those who believed in him (irrespective of their race) (eg. Galatians 3:26ff) more often than as the Father of all men, yet several passages did suggest a universal Fatherhood of God (eg. Ephesians 3:15; 1 Corinthians 8:6; Hebrews 12:9).[2] God was the source or life to all (Acts 17:24ff). Furthermore, the New Testament doctrine of man's nature, sin and salvation applied to man as man irrespective of his race. This had been most explicitly stated by Paul in Romans 1-3 when he had said that both Jew and Gentile had sinned, and that both alike needed to be and could be justified by faith in Christ (cf. Galatians 2:15ff; Ephesians 2). If all men could be saved through Christ,

(1) This was a lengthy and thorough Report, but the line of thought was not very clear and sometimes its choice of biblical references was inapposite.

(2) In the Old Testament the Fatherhood of God was generally limited to Israel (eg. Exodus 4:22; Hosea 11:1; Jeremiah 31:9), though there were possibly exceptions to this (eg. Ps. 103:13).

it followed that all men shared an original common spiritual nature. Indeed, the teaching of Jesus, while addressed mainly to Jews, had been general in its declaration of man's sinfulness and sonship (eg. Matthew 5:45ff; 12:35ff). The gospel was for all mankind (Matthew 28:19) and the Church triumphant would include people of all races (Matthew 8:11; Revelation 5:9; 7:9). All this assumed that in the deepest things of his nature mankind, irrespective of race, was one.

Back in the Old Testament it was recognised that diverse races, nations and languages had come from common stock by a natural process (Genesis 9:18f; 10:1f), and there was no suggestion that race would or should be abolished, even in the Messianic Kingdom. Though the Commission did add that as the story of Babel (Genesis 11) regarded the origin of different languages and the scattering of races as a penalty for human pride, to prevent a particular unity which might have been used for sinful purposes against God, "it might therefore be argued that in an ideal world differences of race and language would be overcome." It was pointed out that while the Old Testament made a distinction between Israel and the Gentiles it had nothing to say about racial or national distinctions among the Gentile nations. Some nations were stronger and more prominent than others, but the Old Testament did not teach any natural or God-given superiority or inferiority between them in essential human characteristics.

The New Testament, furthermore, gave no account of the origin of race though it did recognise differences of race as fact. As in the Old Testament, the main racial distinction was between Israel and the Gentiles, while differences between the Gentile nations themselves hardly came into account, except in Colossians 3:11 where they were mentioned only to be transcended in Christ. Thus there was no support here either for any theory of racial discrimination, separation, or superiority among the Gentile nations themselves (As in the Old Testament, Israel had a primacy - which was not due to racial factors but to its having been chosen as the vehicle of divine revelation and salvation - but this primacy would ultimately be transcended.)

Commenting on the curse in Genesis 9:25ff the Commission pointed out that this had not been on the Hamites in general (which people might be taken to include Africans) but on the Canaanites who had been among the descendants of Ham. The fate of Canaan to be the servant of Shem had no reference to the relationship between Africans and Europeans, but was obviously meant to justify the subjugation of the Canaanites by the Hebrews who were descendants of Shem. It was not clear who was referred to as Japheth (Genesis 9:27) but there was no justification for regarding this name as standing for

modern Europeans, for these had not appeared in the range of Hebrew vision. The blessing on Japheth merely illustrated an attitude of tolerance toward Gentile peoples.

Saying that Deuteronomy 32:8 explained that in fixing the boundaries of the nations God had left a place for Israel (cf. Acts 17:26), the Commission criticised the suggestion that not only the origin of separate peoples but also the geographical domain of each was to be ascribed to the ordination of God. The Commission commented: "If these texts are to be used to support the view that every nation or race has its own divinely appointed land, and that no mixture of races, or departure from the divinely appointed borders is legitimate, we must ask, in view of the fact that history shows a continual migration of peoples from land to land, at what particular period in history are we to regard the lands occupied by any particular people as those allotted to it by God?...If changes take place in the boundaries of any people who is to decide whether these changes have been ordained by God or are a sinful disobedience to the divine order?...In particular, if God has allotted each race or nation its own territory, the reasonable application to South Africa would seem to be that the European races should have remained in the lands ostensibly allotted to them by God, ie. Europe or Central Asia, and that the Bantu should have remained in the land originally allotted to them, ie. Central Africa. It would be difficult to provide a solid basis for the claim that God has allotted South Africa or any particular portions of it to the white race except on the assumption that whatever is is ordained by God, a plea which could be used to justify any aggression or conquest. The separation of different races into separate areas by human action has no claim to divine sanction on the basis of these texts."(1)

From early times intermarriage between the people of Israel and the inhabitants of Palestine had been prohibited: but the motive for this had been not racial but religious separation, to prevent the adoption of heathen practices (eg. Genesis 24:2ff; 28:1; Exodus 34:11ff; Deuteronomy 7:3; Joshua 23:12)(2) Nevertheless, marriage had occurred between Israelites

(1) Race - What does the Bible say? (1952 Commission Report) p7.
(2) The Commission noted that sexual relations with foreigners were not included in the list of sexual offences in Leviticus 18 and 20.

and people of Palestine (eg. Judges 3:6) and other foreigners.(1) In some cases these foreign marriages had been condemned, in others not. The story of Ruth related as an ordinary event the marriage of two Israelites with Moabite women (Ruth 1:4); and the marriage of Ruth, a Moabitess, with Boaz by which she became the ancestress of David was related with a approval. After the exile Ezra and Nehemiah had endeavoured to enforce racial separation and to forbid or annul mixed marriages (Ezra 9-10; Nehemiah 10:30; 13:23ff). Yet intermarriage had taken place even among the priests. This, the Commission suggested, might have been due not merely to religious indifference "but to a genuine difference of opinion and ideal on the question of 'race purity'." The Commission concluded that Israel had in fact been a racially mixed people both before and after the exile. "God's purpose of revelation and salvation was accomplished through the spiritually faithful remnant amongst a sinful nation, but there is no evidence that the faithful remnant at any time were racially 'pure', and in view of the extent of intermarriage at all periods of their history the probability is against this. Spiritual faithfulness and racial purity are not necessarily connected."(2)

Following on from this it was noted that some parts of the Old Testament had demanded the extermination of the inhabitants of Palestine and sometimes of other foreign nations too. Deuteronomy had been particularly antagonistic towards foreigners (eg. Deuteronomy 7:1ff; cf. Joshua 6:17; 1 Samual 15:3); and some of the later prophets and psalms had displayed a similar hatred (eg. Psalm 137:8f). This attitude had been due partly to a fanatical nationalism and primitive moral standard which had demanded revenge from their enemies, and partly to a religious concern that Israel be saved from contamination by heathen practices.

On the other hand, many foreigners had been allowed to play an important part in the life of Israel. Philistines, Hittites, Edomites and others had been members of the army and some had occupied high places there and in the royal service (eg. 1 Samuel 22:9; 26:6; 2 Samual 15:18; 1 Chronicles 12:4) as well as the temple guard (2 Kings 11:4). Even in the days of Ezra

(1) Abraham had had a child by an Egyptian woman (Genesis 16); later Joseph had married an Egyptian (Genesis 41:45); and there appeared to have been other marriages with Egyptians during the sojourn in Egypt (Leviticus 24:10). Moses had married a Midianite (Exodus 2:16ff) and also a Cushite (Ethiopian) Numbers 12:1). Women of distant foreign cities (but not of Canaanite cities) might be taken captive in war for wives (Deuteronomy 20:14ff; cf Numbers 31:9). Samson had married Philistine women (Judges 14, 16); David had married a daughter of a foreign king, and a Hittite woman from whom Solomon had been born (2 Samuel 3:3; 11:2ff). Solomon had married many foreign wives (1 Kings 11).

(2) 1952 Commission Report p9.

and Nehemiah many who had been admitted to the service of the temple had probably been of foreign descent (Nehemiah 7:46ff; 11:3). Furthermore, although Israel had been regarded as a holy or 'separated' people (eg. Deuteronomy 14:2), and although ancient custom had ruled that a foreigner had no rights in the nation (Deuteronomy 15:3; 23:20), the ger (sojourner or stranger) who had been resident in the community had been commended to the generosity and kindness of the people (Exodus 22:21; 23:9; Deuteronomy 10:18f). According to the law of Deuteronomy he, along with the Levite, the fatherless and the widow, was to share in the sacrificial feasts (Deuteronomy 14:29; 16:11), though he was not subject to religious laws (Deuteronomy 14:21). According to the Priestly Law he might be circumcised and might take part in the Passover and other sacrifices (Exodus 12:48). He had the same rights and was subject to the same laws as an Israelite (eg. Leviticus 16:29; 17:8) - although a distinction was observed with regard to the Feast of Tabernacles (Leviticus (23:42). Furthermore, Leviticus 25:47 showed that a foreigner had been permitted to engage in business, to acquire wealth in Israel and even to own Hebrew slaves. Ezekiel 14:7 recognised the duty of the ger to worship Jehovah, while Ezekiel 47:22 stated that he was to share in the inheritance of the land. "The ger therefore in the post-exilic community is practically a Gentile proselyte who has adopted the Jewish religion and is therefore accepted into the Jewish community in spite of his racial origin, This is important as illustrating that the dividing line is religious rather than racial. Nothing is said of intermarriage but it is difficult to believe that intermarriage would be prohibited in the case of a foreigner who has been accepted into the community."(1)

Thus the Commission observed a broad distinction in Old Testament attitudes to foreigners. The narrower attitude of prohibiting intermarriage and encouraging complete conquest and extermination had been chiefly in relation to the Canaanite inhabitants of Palestine, and had been due partly to the natural desire for conquest and partly to the fact that the danger of religions contamination had been greatest from the inhabitants of the land among whom the Israelites had settled. On the other hand, there had been a more tolerant attitude to foreigners from beyond the borders of Palestine, as well as to the ger or isolated foreigner living in the Israelite community for the danger of religious contamination from these people had been less.(2)

(1) ibid. p10.

(2) This distinction had indeed been made in Deuteronomy 20:10ff though it had not been absolute, for Deuteronomy 23:3 had excluded Moabites and Ammonites from worship because of their early hostility to Israel, and Nehemiah's policy had been directed against these peoples along with the inhabitants of Palestine, for in his day they had no doubt penetrated into Judah.

This distinction in attitudes emphasised the fact that the Old Testament distinctions between peoples had been based on a desire for religious purity rather than on a purely racial concept.

The Commission then noted that in their anticipations of the future Messianic Kingdom the prophets had exhibited various points of view. Some of them had shown the nationalist hatred of the Gentiles and had expected either their destruction by the wrath of God or their complete conquest by God and subsequent submission to Israel. Nationalist and religious motives had been combined here (eg. Zephaniah 2:4ff; Obadiah; Nahum; Jeremiah 50-51). Other prophets had held to what the Commission called a 'nationalist universalism', looking for a universal reign of God over the nations, with the Gentiles in subjection to the Jews or to the Messianic King (eg. Isaiah 49:22ff; Micah 5:4; Zechariah 9:10). Then a higher form of universalism had been found in Isaiah, where umiversal peace had been assured for all nations that accepted the rule of God in Jerusalem (Isaiah 2:2-4; 11:9; Jeremiah 3:17; Zechariah 2:11). Finally the height of universalism had been reached in the Servant Songs of Deutero- Isaiah, where Israel had been called to be a light to the Gentiles and to preach the true religion to them (Isaiah 49:1-6) and even to suffer for their salvation (Isaiah 53). The story of Jonah had also taught the universal mercy of God to all peoples. Now the Commission noted that even in these most universalistic passages it had not been suggested that differences of race would be merged into one common race, or that distinctions of nationality would cease to exist, for the primacy of the Jews as the the people of God had been preserved in almost every case. Nevertheless, when all nations came up to Jerusalem for worship and to accept the rule and judgements of God racial and national distinctions would cease to be of any importance in God's final purpose for mankind.

So the Commission could conclude that the fundamental racial distinction in the Old Testament had been that between Israel and the Gentiles on primarily religious grounds. Israel, as the people of God, had been separated from other peoples in order that it might preserve its religious purity and keep the revelation of God committed to it free from heathen contamination: yet foreigners had been accepted into the community once they had adopted Israel's religion, and might be accepted in the Messianic Kin dom if they worshipped Israel's God. Meanwhile though the division of Gentiles into many races and nations had been admitted, no doctrine or ideal for racial or national separation amongst them had been laid down. Thus the only distinction had been that between the people of God and other peoples, and not between one people and another <u>per se.</u>

From the point of view of the New Testament, the call of Israel to be God's chosen people had been in preparation for the Incarnation and the establishment of the universal Church of Christ. Israel had therefore been a unique people, and the justification for its separation from other peoples which had been neither rigid nor complete, had lain in this vocation, to be the channel of the true revelation of God. While it might be true that God had called other nations for this or that special vocation, as he had called Assyria or Babylon to be his instruments of judgement or Cyrus to be the agent for the deliverance of the Jews, no such calling was at all comparable to that of Israel. Of no other people could it be said that it had been called to be the means of the true revelation of God. Thus it was not permissible to apply to other races the Old Testament doctrine of the separation of Israel from the Gentiles.

The true fulfilment of Israel as the people of God was, according to the New Testament, in Christ and the Christian Church. This was the new Israel, the new people of God with whom the new covenant had been made, and who had inherited the privileges, calling and obligations of the old Israel.(1) Now the doctrine of the purity and separation of Israel from the world had its Christian application in the moral and spiritual (but not geographical) separation of the Church from the world (eg. 2 Corinthians 6:14ff; John 15:18ff; 17:14ff; James 4:4). As the Church included people of all racial groups, the spiritual line between the Church and the world could not coincide with any line of separation between races and peoples. God had now no racial favourites, but all who through faith belonged to Christ were his people.(2) Thus the Commission concluded: "Since the Old Testament teaching on race is concerned almost entirely with the relation of Israel to the Gentiles, which finds its application in the relation of the Church as the people of God to the world, there is nothing in the Old Testament thus interpreted in the light of the New, either to forbid or to command either the separation or fusion of races and peoples in the political and social spheres." Further, "the final goal of history, in Old Testament Messianic ideals are fulfilled in the New, is the gathering of people from all races and nations into one community of God, to some degree on this earth, completely in eternity. Whether this international religious community involves the fusion of races and nationalities on the political level is a question which the Bible does not decide."(3)

(1) Refer ibid. pp22-23.
(2) It was added that the intermarriage on which Paul had frowned was not marriage between people of different races but marriage between Christian and heathen.
(3) ibid. p15.

The Commission later pointed out that Jesus had set aside all questions of race during his ministry, and had united Jew and Gentile in one religious community. He had spoken to people from Idumaea and beyond Jordan (Mark 3:8), and had preached in the regions of Tyre and Sidon (Mark 7:24). He had talked freely with a Samaritan woman, and had been willing to stay in Samaritan villages (John 4; Luke 9:52). His ideal of neighbourliness and brotherhood he had portrayed in an account of a Samaritan (Luke 10:30ff). He had praised the gratitude of a Samaritan leper (Luke 17:18), and had commended the faith of a Roman centurion (Matthew 8:10). His promise of life had been given to whoever believed, and he had finally commanded his apostles to "make disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28:19; Acts 1:8).

Yet the Commission observed that there were some episodes in the gospels that did not at first sight seem to fit this universal character of Jesus' ministry. Most outstanding of these was his dealing with the Syro-Phoenician woman (Matthew 15:21ff; Mark 7:24ff). Many attempts had been made to explain the hard treatment that he had given her. It had been suggested that he had wanted to test her faith; that he had been undecided whether he should begin a healing ministry outside Galilee; that he had wanted to teach the disciples a lesson about calling foreigners 'dogs'; and that he had spoken in a playful tone. However, the Commission suggested that once the woman had been brought to acknowledge that she was not of the chosen people Jesus had been able to show implicitely that the blessings of the Messiah were for Gentiles as well as Jews. Thus while Jesus' words to his disciples, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and his similar injunction to the apostles on the occasion of their missionary tour (Matthew 10:5ff) indicated that his ministry had at that time to be limited chiefly to the Jews because of limitations of time and strength, later Jesus was indeed to send his apostles to the wider world.

In the early Church some Jewish Christians had attempted to maintain segregation between themselves and Gentile Christians, and Peter had for a time been led into this path, until a vision revealed to him that all men were acceptable to God irrespective of their race (Acts 10). For such approval of separation Peter had later been strongly rebuked by Paul, who had been convinced that Jew and Gentile alike were saved by faith in Christ (Galatians 2:11ff; cf. Ephesians 3:6).

Under the guidance of the apostles, the Christian Church had extended to many lands and peoples. What was more, there had been churches of mixed

racial composition at Antioch (Acts 11:20; 13:1), Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:43, 48), Tessalonica (Acts 17:4), Berea (Acts 17:12), Corinth (Acts 18:4ff) Ephesus (Acts 19:10) and Rome (Romans 2:17; 11:13). Never had it been suggested that in any of these places it was common practice or regarded as necessary for Christians of different races to meet in separate assemblies for worship or to be organised in separate bodies. On the contrary, the New Testament evidence suggested that apart from some Jewish Christians in Jerusalem people of all races had mixed freely in the Church. So the Commission argued that the New Testament offered no support for racial or national churches either in local or in wider areas. "This is not to say that differences of language, custom etc. may not sometimes make it advisable for Christians to meet separately for worship, but it does mean that there is no New Testament authority for regarding racial separation within the Church as either essential or even desirable."(1)

The common life of the Church had found expression in the abolition of those barriers that men had set up between themselves. In the new temple, the Church, the dividing line that had preserved the inner ccurt of the temple for Jews and relegated the Gentiles to the outer court was now down (Ephesians 2:11-22). Distinctions due to the contingencies of birth and nationhood, of culture and of social status had been eliminated: for in the Church "there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all and in all" (Colossians 3:11). Even the distinction between male and female was no longer of central significance (Galatians 3:28). There were no privileges and disabilities, for all were members of Christ. When Paul had declared that in Christ there was neither Jew nor Greek he had not meant that race as race ceased to exist, any more than that the distinction of male and female ceased to exist, but he had meant that loyalty to Christ and spiritual unity in him made these differences of little importance.

The Commission added that Paul's words should not be interpreted as meaning that in the State or in society race was or should be done away with. "The unity of which he speaks is unity 'in Christ', that is, in the Christian community, and has no immediate reference to the political or social sphere."(2) However, after saying that Christian unity could not remain merely 'spiritual' but should be expressed, at least within the Church, in outward fellowship between Christians of different race, social status or sex, the Commission went on to say that "if Christians of different races meet in fellowship within the Church, can they refuse to mix when they meet each other outside the Church in the affairs of the world?.

(1) ibid. p24.
(2) ibid. p25.

Unity in Christian fellowship must inevitably spread into fellowship in secular activity....If Christians of different races meet in fellowship and co-operation in the social, economic or political spheres, must not that same spirit of fellowship extend to those of other races who are not Christians?" There was no sharp line between sacred and secular. "This....does not mean that all distinctions can be immediately abolished for there may be other reasons for or against racial mixture or separation, but it does mean that there is nothing specifically Christian in favour of separation. The whole bias of Christianity in fact, as expressed by the command to love they neighbour as thyself, is in favour of unity rather than of separation, a fellowship both spiritual and material, spreading outwards from the inner centre of Christian life in wider and wider circles throughout the world."(1)

The ultimate unity to which Christians looked forward was the unity of the Church triumphant in heaven. The Commission found it hard to suppose that the various tribes, peoples and nations which made up the community of the redeemed (Revelation 7:9) would each keep its own segregated place in heaven. The transcendence of earthly conditions spoken of in Luke 20:35 (that there would be no marriage in the new age) would surely apply to racial as well as to sexual differences. Having said this, the Commission argued that the unity of heaven should surely have its foretaste on earth, at least within the Christian Church. Indeed, this New Testament bias towards unity naturally led to the understanding that on earth as in heaven (if the will of God is to be done on earth) unity was the ideal. It was not obvious in the New Testament whether this unity should be a merging of all races and nations into one common nation or a unity of different races and nations in a world federation. The clearest picture the Bible gave of world unity was in Isaiah 2:2-4, which suggested a federation of nations under the sovereignty of God. The Commission felt that there was much to be said for this type of unity - "a unity in diversity, a unity in which each people still retains and cherishes what is of value in its own culture and tradition, while contributing its own riches to the common stock and living in co-operation and harmony with others in one mankind. But such world unity and co-operation must ultimately be a unity on equal terms, not of superiors dominating over or condescending to inferiors."(2)

In concluding the Commission reported that it could find in the New Testament no clear directions for social and political life on earth. Mixing or separation of Jew and Gentile or of other racial groups was neither commanded nor forbidden for the political and social sphere. "There may be various other reasons in human sinfulness, weakness or tradition,

(1) ibid. p26.
(2) ibid. p27.

or in geography or history, which make racial or social separation desirable or undesirable for we live in a world where the ideal is not always immediately practicable, but the New Testament gives no divine sanction on either side. Whether racial intermarriage and social mixing is in any particular instances good or bad is a matter to be determined by biology, psychology, sociology or economics rather than by Christian teaching."(1) With this rider in mind, the final emphasis of the Commission was that "the bias of the Christian spirit in the New Testament is towards unity rather than separation, a unity expressing itself in the widest possible fellowship."

(c) METHODIST STATEMENTS

While the Christian Council of South Africa made these contributions to the church debate on race relations, many of the 'English-speaking' Churches were issuing statements condemning the introduction of apartheid as government policy. During subsequent years Parliament was to pass measure after measure to implement this policy: segregating residential areas and providing separate facilities and educational institutions, restricting the movement of people and their freedom to meet with others, reserving some employment for whites and disenfranchising blacks.(2) As it did so such legislation and the implementation of it was to draw bold and repeated protests from the Churches and from churchmen - generally condemning state control which denied the dignity of human nature and seemed to disregard true justice. In our study, however, we must consider only those theological statements and discussions which reflected on the principle of separating different racial groups from one another.

The Methodist Church was the first in the field in this new era, when in 1947 its annual Conference, its supreme legislative and executive body, warned of the detrimental effects of segregationalist policy for the country.(3) Then in September 1948 the Conference declared it a basic Christian principle that "every human being is entitled to fundamental human rights and dignity and belongs to the family of God." It was the duty and obligation of men of goodwill, the Conference said, to find the way for co-operation and friendship between members of the various racial groups, and to implement it as far as possible and in a realistic manner

(1) ibid. p25.
(2) Refer p106 supra.
(3) The Methodist Attitude to Race, pamphlet (1961)

so as to produce a feeling of confidence and security among all people. The Conference then went on to condemn discrimination that was based merely on grounds of race.(1)

The following year the Conference deplored the serious deterioration in race relations in the country, and attributed this to the continued application of the policy of apartheid, "which has emphasised the things that divide rather than those which unite." In 1952 the Conference stated that apartheid was "inconsistent with the highest Christian principles. Legislation which differentiates against particular groups merely on grounds of race or colour is essentially wrong."(2) Then in 1956, having noted reiterations by many political leaders that the aim of apartheid policy was to save 'white' or Western civilisation, the Conference affirmed: "We believe that it is much more important to make our civilisation Christian than to make it 'white' or 'western'." It called upon all sections of the community to seek the path of Christian reconciliation, harmony and goodwill.(3)

Meanwhile Methodist leaders were emphasising that "one of the highest doctrines of Christianity concerns the dignity and worth of personality."(4) "We all agree today that it is not the work of the Church to turn Africans into black Europeans; but in our zeal to keep our Civilisation white, we may find that it ceases to be Christian."(5)

With regard to race relations within the Methodist Church itself, the 1958 Conference passed the following resolution, which was subsequently re-affirmed in 1959 and 1960: "The Conference declares its conviction that it is the will of God for the Methodist Church that it should be one and undivided, trusting to the leading of God to bring this ideal to ultimate fruition. It believes that an increase, not a decrease, in multi-racial co-operation is God's will, and throughout the organisation of the Church inter-racial contact should be promoted as freely as possible."(6) Said Hewson in 1951: "It would be a bitter betrayal of our incomparable heritage if we modern Methodists ever permit the racial division of the one Body of our common Lord and Master". "Our history has made us one multi-racial Church and give us pastoral care of the greatest missionary membership of any Christian Church in South Africa. Fidelity to that ideal is laid upon us by our understanding of the teaching of the New Testament, and by the

(1) The Churches' Judgment on 'Apartheid' (1948) p11.
(2) The Methodist Attitude to Race, pamphlet.
(3) Paton, D.M.(Ed.) Church and Race in South Africa (1958) p113.
(4) Webb, J.B. at 1953 Conference, p62.
(5) Hewson, op.cit. p24. Refer also to the Methodist thinking at the Rosettenville Conference, p226ff supra.
(6) The Methodist Attitude to Race, pamphlet.

events in which we believe God speaks to our time. We understand Him to be saying that not in apartheid but in eendrag (unity) lies the true destiny of this land."(1)

An important discussion of racial issues was that contained in a lengthy Statement published by this Church in July 1958, in which it set out its convictions concerning multi-racial society and gave the biblical and theological basis for its attitude. (The Statement studied here is a revised edition of 1960.) The compilers made use of the 1952 biblical report published by the Christian Council of South Africa which we have just studied, so where the findings are the same we mention them here only briefly.

Part of the Statement discussed the biblical doctrines of man and of race, and pointed out as the Christian Council report had done that the Old Testament recognised the fundamental unity of mankind and that it also accepted without comment the fact that the Gentiles had been divided into separate nations. It "teaches us nothing as to whether it is God's purpose to keep them apart, or to blend them into one."

Saying that the people of Israel had been elected by God not to enjoy exclusive privileges but to share inclusive blessings, the Statement also emphasised the uniqueness of this election. There could be no other people with a responsibility such as that of the people of Israel, so no other nation had the right to arrogate to itself the Old Testament commands for separation or promises for peculiar favour. Furthermore, it was quite clear that Israel had been mixed as a race and as a nation, and therefore that it had been through a racially mixed people that God's supreme revelation had been made. Even the ancestry of Christ had not been racially pure, for it had included Ruth the Moabitess (Matthew 1:5).

Referring as the Christian Council report had done to the two traditions in the Old Testament regarding the treatment of the Gentiles, the Statement observed that "When every allowance is made for the religious motive of saving the People of God from contamination by heathen practices, we must admit that many passages still express a fanatical nationalism, a desire for revenge, and a hatred of foreigners. This fact serves as the warning

(1) Hewson, op.cit. pp29, 103.

of the Word of God to Christians of the moral depravity to which the tradition of exclusiveness can drag ardently religious people." The Statement found it impossible to reconcile the noble ideals of the inclusive tradition, such as seen in Isaiah's vision of a commonwealth of nations centred in Jerusalem, with the more violent expressions of the exclusive tradition, and it urged that the Bible bade men make a choice between the two traditions, as Christ had done: "You have heard that it was said, 'you shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, Love your enemies...." (Matthew 5:43f). Here Christ had bidden men reject the old commandment and obey his new commandment. The same choice between the exclusive and inclusive traditions was to be seen in the New Testament Church in the struggle between the champions of Judaising Christianity and Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles. "In the Old Testament no decision was made between the two traditions, and so the documents of both survive in our Bible; but the Christian Church decided that the mind of Christ on the matter was that declared by St. Paul, and so his writings are included in the New Testament, and those of his opponents were exluded from the Canon."(1)

Then the Statement observed that according to the New Testament the Covenant community was no longer the Hebrew people consisting of one nation but the Christian Church gathered from all nations. There was still a call to separation no longer racial, but religious, a separation from sin, not from people. The Church was constantly renewed by the grace and love of God given without regard to colour or race; and the community or koinonia created by the Holy Spirit transcended race and class.

Later an appendix to the Statement considered in detail several biblical passages which are relevant to our study.(2)

(a) Comment on the curse of Canaan (Genesis 9:20-27) was the same as in the Christian Council report except that the Statement added that the curse had not been a decree by God, but the words of Noah, an angry old man recovering from a drunken sleep. Certainly the curse was no justification for white supremacy and black subservience.(3)

(b) Some people had assumed that the fact that Joshua had made the Gibeonites "hewers of wood and drawers of water" was a warrant for white people to impose a servile status on black people. Contradicting this the Statement pointed out that the Gibeonites'

(1) Christian Convictions about multi-Racial Society (1960) p12.
(2) ibid. pp20-23.
(3) cf. Clayton, G.H. in Race Relations Journal Vol. XVII Nos. 1 & 2 (1950) p12.

status had been a punishment for their deceiving Joshua into thinking that they were a distant people rather than a people akin to the Israelites (Joshua 9:27).

(c) It had been argued by some that the fact that Abraham had been told by God to heed Sarah's request to cast out from their home Hagar, an Egyptian, and her son Ishmael (Genesis 21:12) proved that God was in favour of racial segregation. However, the Statement pointed out that Ishmael had been circumcised by Abraham to include him in the covenant community (Genesis 17:11, 25). As Sarah had herself given Hagar to Abraham as his wife and had then resented the birth of Ishmael, the story illustrated jealousies rising from polygamy rather than from miscegenation. It had been told to explain the later antagonism between the Hebrews and the Ishmaelites.

(d) In the account of the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1-9) the diversity of languages and the scattering of peoples were regarded as a penalty for human pride which used new discoveries for sinful purposes against God. On the other hand the New Testament account of Pentecost (Acts 2) gave men grounds for hope that in a nobler world the strife resulting from differences of race and language would be overcome. When men resolved to extol not the mighty works of man but the wonderful works of God, scattered peoples would be drawn together and different languages would be harmonised.

(e) Discussing the passages which spoke of God determining the boundaries of nations (Deuteronomy 32:8; Acts 17:26) the Statement raised similar questions to those posed in the Christian Council report. "These passages asserting a divine control of history cannot be applied to any particular situation without arrogating to ourselves divine infallibility or assering that the particular distribution which we may dictate is divine." Rather the passages showed that God was the Lord of history and that he would make a home for the people who were the instruments of his salvation. Paul's statement that God had "made from one every nation of men" was an emphatic assertion that mankind was fundamentally a unity.

(f) Finally the Statement drew attention to Peter's visit to the home of Cornelius, a Gentile, where he had become convinced that God showed no partiality between men (Acts 10:34); and to the occasion at Antioch when he had been rebuked by Paul for withdrawing from

table fellowship with Gentiles (Galatians 2:11ff). Paul had accepted that there were distinctions between people of different races ("If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile....") but had asserted that those distinctions could not justify Christians keeping apart from one another.

Another section of the Statement formulated and briedly commented on several principles of Christian doctrine, the essence of which discussion is given here:

+ God had made man in his own image. In this fact was found the unity of the human race, which was not annulled by its diversity. There was, moreover, only one standard of judgment, for men were judged in God's sight according to their own inherent worth, and not according to any outward differences.

+ As creator, God was the Father of all mankind, Because he had a relationship with all men, and because he was righteous, he demanded righteousness among all men, and equal justice for all men.

+ All men were alike in being sinners, having defaced the image of God within themselves, but God had not left any man in his sin. As made in the image of God and destined to be restored to that image and to become children of God, all human personalities were entitled to respect, freedom, and opportunities to become what God intended them to be. The worth and dignity of human personality were fundamental to all political and racial policies which claimed to be considered just.

+ Man's sin was met by God's grace, and God had provided salvation for all men in Jesus Christ. Just as no one was exluded from the offer of God's salvation, so no one should be excluded from enjoying the full privileges of the fellowship of the Church, which was the community of salvation.

+ Man had been made for fellowship and his true nature was developed in fellowship. According to the New Testament the unity of all Christians in the Church was to be a fellowship transcending race and class. There was no political scheme for unity laid down, but the command to love one's neighbour as interpreted by Christ required a recognition of people of all races as neighbours, and implicitly condemned all barriers and restrictions that aimed at denying fellowship between individuals of different racial groups.

+ The Church was entered by individuals not through their identification with a chosen race, but through faith in Jesus Christ. Its members were therefore gathered from all races: though the Church remained one in this relationship of faith. Because all the members of the Church were sinners still in the process of being made Christ-like, the visible Church did not yet show forth the ideal unity. But the Church acknowledged as sins those disunities caused by spiritual pride or racial prejudice, and sought to be delivered from them.

+ The Church of Christ, in welcoming into its fellowship people different in sex, social status and race, did not ignore these differences, but received the power of the Holy Spirit to transcend them in a common relationship to her Lord. In this connection the Methodist Church had declared: "Every man has the right to worship in the language medium of his mother tongue; but every man who seeks reverently to worship God in Christ should be welcome in any Methodist Church at any time. Differences of language, custom, tradition and locality do justify provision for separate worship. Nevertheless, the Christian ideal is a fellowship of all believers in Christ. It is not enough to say that this fellowship already exists 'in a spiritual sense'; it should be expressed in outward form; and the Church should show this inter-racial fellowship in every possible way."

Then, after this consideration of biblical teaching and after a study of the South African situation, the Statement made several conclusions, of which the following should be noted:

1. "To assert a 'spiritual unity' among Christians while denying its expression in corporate liturgical and sacramental worship savours of hypocrisy. We confess with shame that our Church has been and is guilty of this hypocrisy, and we call upon our members to repent and to put into practice what we believe and assert.

"This does not imply that peoples of different languages and cultures must be forced to worship together; (but) it does imply that a congregation from which any Christian is excluded otherwise than by his own preference cannot claim the title of a Christian congregation, though its members may personally be avowed Christians.

"We must affirm that no plea of human sinfulness can turn aside this judgment, because a congregation which lodges that appeal is by its own words asking to be allowed to continue openly in a

known, recognised and admitted sin, in other words to be excused from repenting....."

2. "We do not consider that there are any theological grounds for forbidding marriage between members of different races. Inter-racial marriages, provided they are securely founded on common cultural attainments and spiritual ideals, are not contrary to the law of God, and the law of man should not prohibit them.

"We do not, however, advocate a general racial admixture, believing that neither European nor African desires mixed marriages. The essential foundations for a happy and successful marriage are a shared heritage of culture and religion. Where this foundation is lacking, family life will be full of tensions and conflict, especially for children."

3. Total racial segregation involving the establishment of completely separate and independent white and black states "would not be unchristian, provided it were effected by mutual agreement and with justice on both sides." However, such a policy should be rejected as impracticable in South Africa, for the white and black sections of the community were becoming increasingly and inextricably dependent upon one another.

There could be no objection to voluntary social segregation between groups which were widely different in culture, but if segregation were imposed by one group on another to prevent the rising group from challenging the privileged position of the dominant group then it should be objected to. The retention of one's own dominance and privilege can never be a Christian motive"

Racial segregation in South Africa (which tended to involve only a partial separation) was based on group selfishness, since its underlying motive was the preservation of the white race, of white privilege, and of white domination. Imposed by statute and enforced by legal sanctions, it was unchristian, and its application had led to injustice. Men were being judged by their colour or racial affiliation instead of by their character and ability. Men were being denied individual rights to liberty in the political, economic and social spheres. Men were being classified as superior or inferior, which fact was fostering an attitude of contempt on the one side, and resentment on the other. "We are therefore led by our

studies to the conviction that it is impossible to devise or to apply any system of apartheid without oppression and injustice accompanned by brutality and hatred."

The Statement went on to say that in a predominantly Christian society every individual human being should be treated as a person of infinite worth, even if his economic and educational position might be low. Thus every person had as much right to freedom, justice, courtesy and opportunity as every other person. Whatever his racial affiliation he had a right to a share in the government of the State proportionate to his cultural development, maturity, and ability. He also had a right to enjoy the amenities of society and to contribute fully to its life and progress according to his gifts. In such a society the fellowship of Christians ought to be the great uniting force, and no one should be compulsorily excluded from any part of it. On the contrary, in this fellowship individual differences could be means of enrichment to all, widening the outlook and sympathies of every member.

Finally, the Methodist Church declared through this Statement that it did not pretend to be able to work out a detailed blue-print for the future of society. Its duty was to state objections when trends in political and social conduct went contrary to the will of God as revealed supremely in Christ, and to do its utmost to reverse those trends. Beyond that, it could but proclaim the Gospel, applying this to immediate problems as its wisdom permitted under God's guidance.

In 1961, after much thought and planning, the Church started a vigorous programme of education in race relations. This was directed at its own members. In various ways they were encouraged to meet people of other racial groups, and discussion between them was promoted. Meanwhile, ministers were asked to preach sermons expressing the Christian attitude to moral and spiritual aspects of race relations.

Four pahphlets were drawn up and distributed to every church member. The first of these stated several biblical principles related to racial attitudes, which were similar to those principles set out in the 1958 Statement, which we have just considered. Two other pamphlets expressed rejection of the Methodist Church in South Africa and elsewhere of discrim-

ination based on race or colour. Amongst the assertions they made were the following:

> "We reject apartheid because it exalts racial differences and tends to judge a man not by what he is but by the racial group to which he belongs."
>
> ".....because it hinders brotherly love, whether between all men or between Christian believers...."
>
> ".....because it over-emphasises a man's race or colour as against his moral condition, and stresses his supposed inherent racial characteristics at the expense of his essential worth."
>
> ".....because it is a policy of privilege and generates a sense of self-importance....."
>
> ".....because it sets out deliberately to perpetuate division in the Church rather than true unity, by encouraging and sometimes enforcing the separation of believers on the basis of race and colour."
>
> ".....because it denies opportunities of fellowship....."(1)

Then the final pamphlet stated some of the implications of a Christian attitude towards race relations for the life of a Christian, for the Christian Church, and for a Christian country.(2)

Another contribution towards this education programme was the publication by the Christian Citizenship Department of the Church of six sermons preached by the Reverend S.P. Freeland. Some of his comments are relevant to our study.

All men were equal, he said, in the sense that they were made equally in God's image: that is, in that they possessed personality, or were made up of mind and spirit as well as body. They thought, felt, willed in a way that no member of the animal creation could do. Thus there was a basic and fundamental similarity and likeness among them. That this likeness existed despite many differences between men was indicated by the fact that even sexual differences (which were differences of function as well as form and therefore went much deeper in purpose than mere racial or colour differences) did not affect the underlying fact that man (including woman) was made in God's image (Genesis 1:27). It followed that man's real and essential worth lay in his nature as man, in his eternal spirit which

(1) Why the Methodist Church Rejects Apartheid, pamphlet (1961)
(2) These pamphlets were again published in 1968.

distinguished him from the rest of creation, and not in his outward body.[1] Therefore, Freeland might have added, his worth did not lie in his racial affiliation.

It was this image of God, this underlying equality and worth of man, that was denied by implication in the doctrine of racial segregation. For segregation stressed the differences between men rather than their essential equality with one another. It exaggerated their differences in racial affiliation and standard of civilisation to such a degree that man's worth as man was blurred and pushed into the background. Furthermore, emphasis on these differences led to exaggerated ideas of their inequality in capacity and ability and so to ideas of a supposedly innate superiority or inferiority. There thus arose the tendency to exalt one race above another, and it was forgotten that all men were equally sinners (eg. Kings 8:46; Romans 3:23). Indeed the Bible condemned any separation that was based upon self-righteousness or supposed superiority (cf. Isaiah 65:5; Luke 18:11ff).

Freeland further criticised the policy of racial segregation for saying that each race should develop "along its own lines" instead of growing in likeness to God and therefore to one another. Instead of accepting that various peoples were progressing along converging ways, it sought to force their development into permanently parallel or even diverging ways. It sought their eternal separation rather than their ultimate unity, and so was in direct contradiction to the prayer of Christ "that they may all be one....." (John 17:21).

According to the Bible, Freeland argued, man was to cut himself off from sin rather than from sinners, from evil rather than from people. He admitted that the people of Israel had temporarily had to separate themselves from other peoples, but pointed to Christ who had kept himself free from sin without separating himself from sinners. Indeed he had made a point of mixing with them. This was the new dispensation - whereas segregation not only separated people from people, but separated people of God from other people of God.[2]

Finally, we note comment by Freeland in 1963, when he pointed out that some people disputed that <u>all</u> men were brothers because they believed that true brotherhood was to be found only 'in Christ', arguing that it was of those within the Christian family that Paul had been speaking when he had said, "We are members one of another." (Ephesians 4:25) and "You are

(1) Freeland, S.P.: <u>The Christian Gospel and the Doctrine of Separate Development</u> (1961) pp19-22.
(2) ibid. pp36-43.

all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). Said Freeland: "There is a sense in which all men are brothers, for Christ clearly speaks of God as being the Father of all men. There is, however, a special and deeper sense in which those who have entered into the Christian family by an acceptance of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour are brothers. Whichever of these two views of brotherhood we accept, in neither of them are the accidental differences of race and colour of essential importance. (Christians) recognise that there are differences but they are differences within the family. Just as differences within any family - of age, sex, gifts, temperament, etc. - do not affect the unity of the family, so differences between men should not in any way affect their essential brotherhood."(1)

(d) ANGLICAN STATEMENTS

The political situation in 1948 had meanwhile also prompted the Anglican bishops to call for a Christian reappraisal of race relations in the country. As they had done in their statement of 1930,(2) they began by associating themselves fully and completely with reolutions passed by the Lambeth Conference of July 1948, in which it had been declared that:

> "All men, irrespective of race or colour, are equally the object of God's love and are called to love and serve Him.
>
> "All men are made in His image, for all Christ died.
>
> "Every individual is therefore bound by duties towards God and towards other men and has certain rights without the enjoyment of which he cannot freely perform those duties....."
>
> "Discrimination between men on the grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion.....in every land men of every race should be encouraged to develop in accordance with their ability; and this involves fairness of opportunity....Every Churchman should be assured of a cordial welcome in any Church of our Communion and no one should be ineligible for any position in the Church by reason of colour."

The bishops quoted from the report of a committee of the Lambeth Conference.

(1) The Church and the Race Problem (RDM) p12; cf. Freeland, op.cit. p16; cf. Why the Methodist Church Rejects Apartheid, pamphlet.

(2) Refer p221 supra.

in which it had been said: "The Christian doctrine of man is the true justification for the recognition of human rights. According to this doctrine every individual man is of supreme value in the sight of God, for he is made in the image of God, he is called to be a child of God, for his sake Christ died, and his heritage is life eternal. Every man must have freedom to respond to the call of God and be given opportunities whereby the whole of his personality may be fully developed to the glory of God. Without these elementary rights man cannot use completely the talents with which God has endowed him." In conclusion, the bishops saw the only hope for the future of the people of southern Africa in the creation of harmonious relationships between the various racial groups. This harmony could only be achieved if the white people wielding power engendered a spirit of confidence among the black people. If, on the other hand, the whites sought to preserve for themselves the exclusive benefits of Western civilisation, and to allow the black people merely its burdens, "South Africans will inexorably draw apart into mutually antagonistic racial groups." The bishops called upon people to reconsider their racial attitudes in the light of the teaching of Christ, and in their lives to uphold the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.(1)

The following year, the bishops re-affirmed their conviction that no policy for the future of South Africa would be acceptable which did not envisage the extension of some effective voice in the government of the country to persons of all races who had attained an adequate standard of education; and which did not provide for all citizens opportunities for making the fullest contribution of which they might be capable towards the cultural, economic and industrial welfare of the country. The bishops were of the opinion "that the most effective method of developing the latent possibilities of men of all races is the granting to them of real responsibility, and that it is only through the co-operation of all sections of the population, that any country can fulfil its vocation to which God has called it." In addition the bishops called upon all members of the Church to recognise the truth that through Baptism men and women of whatever race were made brethren in Christ, "and to face fearlessly the implications of this truth in the life of parish and diocese." (2)

Then in 1950 the Provincial Synod associated itself as the bishops had done with the 1948 Lambeth Conference resolution on racial discrimination, and went on to condemn much of recent legislation(3) as "inconsistent with

(1) The Churches' Judgment on 'Apartheid' pp4-5; refer The Lambeth Conference 1948 (SPCK, London, 1948) pp36, 13.
(2) Resolutions and Statements (1971) p7.
(3) Notably the Group Areas Act of 1950 which was to segregate residential areas more rigidly than before.

the respect for human personality that should be characteristic of a Christian society". For, said the Synod, it was likely to divide the population into social classes with unequal rights, privileges and opportunities, and to relegate black people to a position of permanent inferiority. However, the Synod also recognised "that the Church has not in practice been always faithful to her own principles and has allowed herself to be infected by the racial prejudices prevalent in the world about her". It therefore called upon all members of the Church to re-examine their racial attitudes in the light of the Christian Gospel, "that in every parish witness may be borne to the equal standing of all churchmen before God, and to their brotherhood one with another in Christ."

Commenting on this Resolution, Bishop J. Boys warned members of his diocese: "If it is not implemented by us....then we must register with sorrow a pitiable moral failure on the part of the Anglican Communion in South Africa to be true to her word."(2) In 1955 the Provincial Synod would reiterate the resolution, and in 1960 it would add, inter alia, that "only on a Christian basis can the solution to the problems of our multi-racial society be found in which due regard will be paid to the rightful aspirations of all individuals and racial groups.(3)

Meanwhile the 1950 Provincial Synod also passed a resolution concerning racially mixed marriages. It recognised that due to conditions determining the inter-relationship of racial groups in South Africa, miscegenation, even when regularized by marriage, "is peculiarly undesirable on social grounds".(4) However, it protested strongly that recent legislation(5) absolutely prohibiting any mixed marriage was "an unwarrantable interference by the State with a Divine means of grace". Among other things, it would deny a couple who were living together 'in a state of sin' the opportunity of expiation by the conversion of their unhallowed union into a union sanctified by God's blessing, while their enforced separation would mean hardship for them and any children of theirs.

Three years later the bishops stated clearly: "We believe that the only national policy which is morally defensible must be that which gives the fullest opportunity of development to the members of all racial groups. We believe that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial groups in a permanent position

(1) Resolutions and Statements p7.
(2) Racialism in South Africa: The Voice of the Church (1954) p16.
(3) Resolutions and Statements p9.
(4) We note that the Synod did not object to miscegenation on moral grounds.
(5) The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949.

of inferiority; and we believe that racial discrimination as it is practised in this country is directed to this end. In every racial group there are wide differences of ability between man and man, and it is wrong that the opportunities open to a man should be determined by the racial group to whidh he belongs and not by his own character and abilities. Such a policy seems to us to lead to a system of caste against which the Christian Church has always set its face." Some people had suggested that it would be possible to keep the different racial groups separated and yet to give to each of them equal opportunities for economic and cultural development, but the bishops did not believe this was practicable. "The industrial, economic, and cultural development of the country demands the co-operation of the different racial groups that make up its population." Furthermore, recent legislation[1] which had absolved the State from providing equal facilities for different racial groups meant that it was "no longer legitimate to defend racial segregation by claiming that it does not involve any infringement of the principle of equality."

The bishops then went on to deny that the fact that white people and Africans normally worshipped in different church buildings was itself an acceptance of the principle of segregation. Linguistic and geographical factors made it natural that these people should normally worship in different places. "But an African member of the Church is at liberty to worship in any church which he may desire, and no one has any authority to exclude any churchman of any race from any of our churches, if he presents himself there for the purpose of worship."[2]

Meanwhile many Diocesan Synods took up the lead given by the Provincial and Episcopal Synods and likewise condemned racial segregation and its practical implementation. For example, the Pretoria Diocesan Synod declared in 1949 that "any action, the aim of which is to hinder the just and rightful development of the members of any one section of the community, and to keep that section of the community in a state of perpetual subjection and subordination is unjust and contrary to the mind of Christ".[3] Altogether the Anglican Church, of all the Churches, was to have the longest and probably the most consistent record of protests against legislation and government action involving racial discrimination.

(1) The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953.
(2) Racialism in South Africa p8.
(3) ibid. p10.

From time to time, various individual bishops made public statements expressing their opposition to policies based on racial discrimination and condemning aspects of the implementation of these policies. We consider now the theological arguments on race relations put forward by some of them and by some other Anglican leaders in writings, speeches and charges to synod.(1)

Archbishop G.H. Clayton, who had become head of the Church in 1948, believed that every social system should be judged according to its effect on human personality: for Christianity ascribed personality to God himself; it found the key to redemption and salvation in the action of a person; it asserted that the personality of the Christian survived death and also that the Christian reached his ultimate destiny as a person. "So far as God has revealed to us, there is nothing else, except the indivudal person, that is of eternal value. Heaven and earth shall pass away. But you will not pass away...Man's works, man's environment, yes, and God's works, pass away. But man remains."(2) Now, Christianity did not have anything to say about whether or not all men or all races were equal. Clearly some men were in fact more able than others or were capable of doing things that others could not do, though there was no evidence that one race was capable of rising to greater intellectual or spiritual heights than another. "But what Christianity does teach is that all men are equally important in the sight of God."(3) Each man "matters to God, and he matters for ever". Because all this was true, and because Christ had spoken very sternly against those who despised other men, Clayton criticised racial discrimination for its tendency to reject black people and produce in them a sense of humiliation. Furthermore, because all this was true, it was clearly God's will that every man should have the opportunity to develop himself to the utmost extent that his own capacity allowed. But racial discrimination held back black people from developing according to their abilities, and thus was again strongly condemned by Clayton. It placed a man in a particular situation out of which he could not develop or remove himself, because he could not change his racial affiliation. "It seems to me that it would be morally justifiable to say that (an African) must not be employed in a European industry at all. But if he is employed there, it is not morally justifiable to say that he must not be allowed to progress as far as his ability and his energy make possible."(4) Thus it seems that Clayton would not have criticised a policy that involved total separation

(1) A charge is a solemn exhortation delivered by the President of a synod to the whole body of the faithful, and is considered as having more weight and authority than pronouncements made in other circumstances.
(2) Clayton, Where We Stand p4.
(3) Clayton, G.H.: 'Christianity and Race' in Race Relations Journal Vol. XVII Nos.1 & 2 (1950) p13.
(4) Racialism in South Africa p2.

of the racial groups from one another so as not to prevent a man's development.(1) On the other hand he did acknowledge that there would always be a good deal of voluntary segregation in society, for 'like tended to mix with like'. This was not simply a matter of race, but was due also to differences of education and culture and general interest, which factors were open to change. There was no particular harm in such voluntary segregation, Clayton felt.(2)

Bishop R.A. Reeves likewise emphasised the importance of the individual: "Whatever may be the colour of our skin, we are all God's people. We are all the work of His hands. Each one of us is loved and valued by God, whatever may be our racial origin. For us, each one of us, Christ died."(3) While the Christian ethic, in no sense ignored the social aspects of human life, it did emphasise the value of each individual human being, his worth as a person, and his capacity to respond to other human beings with generosity and sacrifice. On the other hand, "the cardinal error of apartheid is that it never regards human beings as individuals. It persists in ignoring their personal worth because it always treats them as members of a particular ethnic group."(4) Thus Reeves condemned segregation as clearly immoral. Similarly, Bishop C.W. Alderson argued that the tendency to think of men in the mass had cheapened the recognition or value of human personality. "We do not think of the men we meet primarily as individual persons, each an individual and marvellous product of the creative mind of God, bearing in some measure...God's image, each a brother for whom the Son of God died, each (if a baptised Christian) incorporated with us, a living member, into Christ's Body...not so do we think of them, but simply as members of a category which we may or may not like."(5) (Said the Reverend T. Huddleston, when calling people to treat others as people and not just as members of a race: "You cannot love an abstraction: neither can you trust it: you can only know and love a person."(6) Like Clayton, both these bishops spoke of the irrevocable nature of racial discrimination, Such discrimination was even more serious an error than discrimination on other grounds, "for it fixes a gulf that is for ever impassable, and has as its criterion that most superifical, trivial, and insignificant aspect of any human being, namely the colour of his skin."(7) People "are quite defenceless, and they have no escape...the cruelty is that a man knows that

(1) Where We Stand p43.
(2) ibid. p48.
(3) Paton, D.M., op.cit. p41.
(4) ibid. p47.
(5) 1954 Conference p46.
(6) Huddleston, T: Naught for Your Comfort (1956) p182.
(7) Paton, D.M., op.cit. p46.

even if he breaks down all other bars, however much he may qualify himself for human fellowship and friendship, his colour is ineradicable."(1)

Again, Archdeacon R.P.Y. Rouse reasoned that because God had made man in his own image, man, and only man, could receive God's grace and respond to his call. This constituted a binding unity within mankind, not of men's own making but of God's. However, in spite of this special creation, all men were sinners. The only remedy for man's sinfulness was the death of Christ, which death had not been for a chosen few but for all men and for all time. Because God had given his own Son for the salvation of men it followed that all men were precious in his sight. Sometimes it might be hard to realise that a 'savage' in heathen surroundings was precious in God's sight: yet a 'savage', by God's grace, could become converted. Thus it was clear that every man possessed a dignity given to him by God, a dignity not earned but bestowed. This dignity rested in the fact that God had given to men various talents which he wished them to develop and to use for the glory of his name and in the service of their fellows. These talents were diverse and not necessarily equal, but it was nevertheless God's will that they all in their various degrees should be developed and used. Consequently it should be repugnant to Christians if the development of a man's talents was so controlled and directed by other men that he could not serve God and his fellowmen to the best of his ability. The dignity given by God to a man should be fostered and preserved.

Rouse went on to assert that distinctions of race were part of God's will. Scripture clearly showed that although all men had come from a common source God had allowed differences of race to occur. Moreover, it was clear that at the end of time these differences would persist, for John, given a vision of heavenly things, had seen before the throne of God all nations, races and tongues worshipping their Creator. Man's present historical situation showed that there existed well-defined racial groups which were at different levels of development, some having made enormous advances in civilisation, others having remained stationary and primitive. As history showed, some of the highly advanced groups of today were at one time very primitive, while some which were once highly civilised had now deteriorated. So it could not be argued from levels of civilisation that it was God's will that one race should be for ever subordinate to another race.(2)

Clayton did not think it wrong to be proud of one's race, of its traditions, of its heroes. "But the claim that because you belong to a

(1) 1954 Conference p46.
(2) 1953 Conference pp23-25,

particular race you have the right permanently to dominate other races seems to me to be unchristian. Remember what Christ said about people who flattered themselves that Abram was their father. To say that the race to which one belongs must always be dominant over another race is unchristian. To say that a man, because of the race to which he belongs, must always be in a subordinate position, is also unchristian....For Christianity...is not interested in a man's race. It is interested in the man himself. It is not a nation or a race that is important in the sight of God. It is the individuals who belong to it: and they are all different."(1) Said Huddleston: "The desire to dominate in order to preserve a position of racial superiority, and in that process of domination to destroy personal relationships, the foundation of love itself. That is anti-Christ."(2) In this regard several bishops expressed their dismay that the purpose of the policy of racial segregation had frankly been declared by some of its advocates to be that of saving 'white' South Africa. Said Alderson: "It is a Christian duty to give rather than to receive, and to lose your life rather than save it. The most unchristian aspect of South African life is our pre-occupation with the salvation of white South Africa....If we believe it is worth saving, will not God save it, without all this injustice and suspicion of our fellow men."(3) Beneath much of the racial prejudice that was prevalent in white people, bishops saw a deep sense of insecurity and a fear of losing their particular social status, whereas for Christians, they said, there should not be fear but faith. "Let us face the fact," said Reeves, "that it is God who has set us all in this land, whatever may be our ethnic group, cultural background and language, so that we may learn to live together." This was one of the most important lessons God had set men to learn in this world.(4)

Clayton stressed that it did not follow from the teaching of Christianity that what should be aimed at was a general amalgamation of races, by which all men might grow alike and racial characteristics disappear. Indeed, the glory and the honour of the nations were to be brought into the Holy City, and each should make its own contribution to the One Body (as in a family each member had his own characteristics and his own contribution to make). On the other hand this did not mean that the characteristics of a race should not change, for surely many would change as historical circumstances and environments changed. Though Clayton added that complete loss of a racial type, as opposed to the development of that type, would indeed be a real loss.(5)

(1) Race Relations Journal art. cit. p13.
(2) Huddleston, op.cit. p182.
(3) Racialism in South Africa p17.
(4) Paton, D.M., op.cit. p29.
(5) Race Relations Journal art.cit. p14.

Discussing race relations within the Church itself[1] Clayton in 1950 made many observations similar to those that were subsequently to appear in the Christian Council biblical report of 1952, but as we have already considered that report we shall not record these observations here. Mention should be made, however, of his comment with regard to the incident when some Jewish Christians had objected to Peter eating with the Gentile Christians at Antioch. "What those who came from James wanted was not that Gentiles should not be converted", said Clayton, "but that there should be parallel churches." Pointing out that the issue had been won by Paul, who had believed that Christ had come to break down barriers and that the Church should be one, Clayton suggested, as the Methodist Statement would do later, that "the fact that St. Paul's description and comments are in the Canon of Scripture means that the Church has accepted St. Paul's view."[2]

So Clayton concluded that according to the Bible as a whole Christianity took no account of a man's race. It was doubtful that the Jew had been interested in any distinction between different kinds of Gentiles, and the Christian was not interested in any such distinctions at all. Every man was capable of being admitted by baptism into the family of God: and all men who were so baptised, because they had a common Father, were brothers of one another. If a man was not a Christian, from the point of view of the Christian Church he was a potential Christian, and so still a brother for whom Christ had died.

Clayton also asserted that Christianity had never been interested in purity of race. A man who was free to marry might marry whom he would: but only 'in the Lord'. That appeared to mean that he should marry another Christian. The New Testament said no more than that.

Rouse, meanwhile, remarked that Christianity could inspire and enrich any civilisation, when it brought into the life of the community in general the values of the Kingdom of God. This was not a monopoly of 'Western civilisation'. He argued that in the Kingdom of God it was not civilisation that was important, but the Christian way of life. People of all races were baptised into the Kingdom of God, and differences of race did not make

(1) ibid. pp10-12.
(2) Diocesan charge 1949, Where We Stand p8.

any difference in the kind of life which they as Christians sought after. So "in a community sharing the same ideals and endeavouring to follow the same way of life there must result a fellowship. To extend the Kingdom, as Christians are in duty bound to do, implies first that by the power of the Gospel men are converted to Christ, and then (that) they are introduced into a common way of life. They are brought into a fellowship, the one fellowship of the servants of God." A Christian's ultimate question was not whether a person was of the same race, but whether he was a Christian, for that was more important in the sight of God. A white Christian's deeper relationships should not be with whites just because they were white, but with Christians of whatever race because they belonged to the Kingdom of God.(1)

Affirmed Clayton, "The Church of Christ is not a group of individuals each of whom has responded to the Gospel message. We are called in one body. We are a multi-racial Church."(2) He emphasised that the duty of the Church was to bear witness to the unity in Christ of all believers. This unity was a spiritual concept, but it should find bodily expression. Though Clayton did not believe it to be in accordance with the Spirit of Christ to force this expression everywhere and always, for regulations to that effect would not destroy racial prejudice, he was emphatic that no one who was a member of the Church in good standing might be repelled from a church where he had come to worship. "I do not see how anyone can approach our Lord and make conditions as to which other of His disciples should approach Him at the same time. It would be as though someone had come to Him in the days of His Flesh and had said to Him that he wanted to follow Him but that he did not like the company He kept. I don't think our Lord would have accepted him as a disciple."(3) This fellowship of faith in the Church was intended by God to be the pattern for human society.(4)

Writing several years later, Archbishop J. de Blank, who had become Archbishop in 1957, covered much the same ground as his predecessor. Because man had been made in the image of God, he said, his relationship to his fellow man was already established, in that the other man's relationship to God was equivalent to his. In the scriptural record the first two imporaant questions put into the mouth of God were these: 'Man, where are you?' and 'Where is your brother?' These two questions could never be separated; just as Christ's commands that anyone who would be his disciple

(1) 1953 Conference pp26-27; cf. Clayton in 1954 Conference p16.
(2) Where We Stand p13.
(3) ibid. p29.
(4) ibid. p14; cf. Reeves in Paton, D.M., op.cit. pp17, 47.

should love God and should love his neighbour always went together. Cain had not been allowed to say 'no' in answer to his own question, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' So men should accept their common humanity.

A special relationship had existed between God and people of Israel, but these people had been chosen not for superior qualities. Scripture emphasised over and over again "that when God chooses a people or an individual He chooses them, not for their own sakes or for any superior qualities they possess, but in order that He may use them to serve the rest of the world until all men find their essential one-ness in Him". Furthermore, the Covenant with Israel had not been limited by race; and discrimination against foreigners had been forbidden: "You shall have one law for the sojourner and for the native" (Leviticus 24:22); "The stranger who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself" (Leviticus 19:34).

Speaking further of the Church of Christ, De Blank argued that Christ had broken down the 'middle wall of partition' between peoples: he was the reconciling agent in a divided world. "In fact, He makes the Atonement, i.e. He effects the at-one-ment, through which men, made at one, secure that richness which is the fruit of a God-given unity in diversity." The very thought of racial discrimination "is alien to the whole spirit of the Bible, and the new creation in Christ is the new patriotism which comes before any national or racial allegiance, and demands a Christian's primary loyalty."(1) Christianity at its best had always jumped across social and racial barriers; and astonished pagans in the early days of the Church had cried out: 'See how these Christians love one another.' "In the Kingdom of God there are no nations, there are no races, there are no colours, but only persons....."(2)

De Blank went on to criticise those people "who profess a spiritual unity in Christ in the heavenlies, in the empyrean, sufficiently vague and distant and future, (but) who yet reject unity in the life of everyday here and now". Said De Blank categorically, such a partial faith was not the historic Christian faith, was not the Gospel of the Incarnation. There could be no doubt that physical man in his material situation was the object of God's saving love and action, as had been witnessed by the Incarnation. God's word to man was not addressed to his disembodied spirit but to man as he was, body, mind and spirit, his complete personality caught up in a chain of actual relationships. Just as God had created the world, so God's

(1) In Hill, C.S. & Mathews, D. (Ed.): Race - A Christian Symposium (1968) pp123-128.
(2) De Blank, J.: Out of Africa (1964) pp65, 52.

will for mankind had to be worked out in the stuff of this material world. Eastern mystics might seek to ignore the world, but those who lived by the Bible knew that they were called to work for the establishment of God's kingdom in this world, even though it extended far beyond. For man's holiness to have any reality it had to be worked out in the social and ethical demands of ordinary life.(1) "We have to live our lives here after the pattern shown us on the Mount....we are a 'colony of heaven' (Philippians 3:20, Moffatt's translation) and the kind of love and service and fellowship that unites all heaven in the praise and worship of Almighty God is to be expressed in our church life here below."(2)

Finally, we record two comments that were made by Dr. Alan Paton, one of the leading laymen of the Anglican Church: "Apartheid, of whatever brand, is a rejection of one's fellow man, not those of Kamchatka and Patagonia, but those who are born and live and die in the same land. To make apartheid total does not fundamentally alter the fact that it is a rejection. Total apartheid is a device whereby one can have in imagination rejection and justice simultaneously. Seen from a religious point of view, total apartheid is love of one's neighbour, provided he does not live next door.W(3) "What we dread about separation is not residential or territorial separation, or the existence of separate congregations....but the profound separation of man from man. We have a conviction that if separation of man from man goes beyond practical and utilitarian considerations, and becomes itself elevated into some kind of morality, that we shall shortly find ourselves separated from our God. In so far as separation policy can be an act of love, we are not so greatly concerned; but if separation policy becomes the act of fear or of self-interest, we fear that we shall shut ourselves off from God. It is this knowledge I believe which prevents many of us from regarding separation policy as an act desired by God, no matter how lofty may be some of the motives inspiring it."(4)

(e) ROMAN CATHOLIC STATEMENTS

Before 1948, as we have seen, the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa had made few public pronouncements about race relations. In the following years, however, several lengthy statements and pastoral letters

(1) In Hill & Mathews, op.cit. pp129-130.
(2) Out of Africa p52.
(3) Paton, A: Hope for South Africa (1958) p54.
(4) Paton, A: Christian Unity: A South African View (1951) p10.

were to be issued by the bishops of that Church, meeting in Plenary Session in the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.(1)

The first declaration was a Statement on Race Relations issued by the Bishops' Conference in June 1952.(2) In this the bishops emphasised the full dignity of all men, and the great truth that all were bound together in one household of God. They pointed to the fundamental Christian truths that man had been created by God in his own image, with a spiritual soul, the power of reason and free will; that he was fallen but redeemed and restored in Christ to supernatural grace and the heritage of Heaven; that Christ had died for all men and that all now had the same right to eternal salvation.

It was not easy, the bishops said, for fallen men, even with the help of God's grace, to attain the ideal of love of God above all things and of one another for his sake, and this was particularly so in South Africa. "Were the attitude of the Europeans the sole reason for South Africa's racial problem, it would be simple enough to condemn it as unjust and un-Christian, and, by a determined process of education, endeavour to modify it. However, the problem is far more complex than that. Its complexity arises out of the fact that the great majority of non-Europeans, and particularly the Africans, have not reached a stage of development that would justify their integration into a homogeneous society with the Europeans." The bishops did recognise that there were many black people well qualified to participate fully in the social, political and economic life of the country, patterned after 'western standards'; but they believed that the majority were totally unprepared for this. "There must be gradual development and prudent adaptation. Nor must they be required to conform in every respect to European ways, for their own distinctive qualities are capable of rich development."

Speaking of charity, the bishops said that this forbade the harbouring of dislike or contempt for any person, but "does not, of course, oblige us to disregard differences of condition and culture", for "social inequalities in no way detract from the great truth that all men are the creatures and children of God". Of justice, they said that it "demands that we give every man his due. It is a virtue that prompts us to recognise the rights of others and forbids us to hinder their legitimate exercise. These are rights that flow from the very nature and constitution of man, whatever the inequalities in the natural and social spheres." The bishops then went

(1) This was a permanent consultative body, established in 1947 to co-ordinate and organise various aspects of activity in the Church.
(2) Pastoral Letters pp1-7.

on to stress that all rights had duties as their counterparts..

Their statement concluded with the following assertions:

"(1) Discrimination based exclusively on grounds of colour is an offence against the right of non-Europeans to their natural dignity as human persons.

"(2) Though most of the basic rights of non-Europeans are in theory respected, conditions arising out of discriminatory legislation.... social conventions and inefficient administration seriously impair the exercise of these fundamental rights.....

"(3) Justice demands that non-Europeans be permitted to evolve gradually towards full participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

"(4) This evolution cannot come about without earnest endeavours on the part of non-Europeans to prepare themselves for the duties connected with the rights they hope to enjoy.

"These are the principles that must govern any Christian solution to the racial problem....What has been said remains in the realm of principle; it is for the men versed and specialised in different branches of study and technique to apply these principles to difficult and complicated situations. It will be no easy task....."

In July 1957 the Bishops' Conference issued a second and stronger Statement on Apartheid.[1] This opened with a severe and uncompromising condemnation: "The basic principle of apartheid is the preservation of what is called white civilisation. This is identified with white supremacy, which means the enjoyment by white men only of full political, social, economic and cultural rights. Persons of other race must be satisfied with what the white man judges can be conceded to them without endangering his privileged position. White supremacy is an absolute. It overrides justice. It transcends the teaching of Christ. It is a purpose dwarfing every other purpose, an end justifying any means." Against the argument that under the policy of segregation different races were being given the opportunity to pursue their respective and distinctive social and cultural evolutions according to the will of God, the bishops replied that this sounded plausible only if one overlooked the fact that the separate development of the races

(1) ibid. pp13-17.

was indeed subordinate to the principle of white supremacy, in which "the white man makes himself the agent of God's will and the interpreter of His providence in assigning the range and determining the bounds of non-white development."

"It is a sin to humiliate one's fellow man," the bishops said. "There is in each human person, by God's creation, a dignity inseparably connected with his quality of rational and free being. This dignity has been immeasurably enhanced by the mystery of our redemption. In the words of St. Peter we are 'a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a consecrated nation' (1 Peter 2:9). Christ Himself has said, 'I have called you my friends.' (John 15:15). No man has the right to despise what God has honoured, to belittle one whom Christ has called friend, to brand a fellow man with the stigma of inborn inferiority. It is an insult to human dignity, a slur upon God's noble work of creation and redemption. Christ has warned us against inflicting such injuries: '...any man who says Raca to his brother must answer for it before the Council....'(Matthew 5:22)."

Although the bishops condemned the principle of racial segregation as intrinsically evil, they did not condemn all South Africa's differential legislation, believing that it was not unjust for a state to make provision in its laws and administration for the differences that did exist between people. "If some require special protection it must be accorded." The bishops believed that people could not fully share in the same political and economic institutions until culturally they had a great deal in common. So once again they advocated moderation, and warned that the sweeping away of every difference and the immediate extension of full civil rights to all would bring confusion, the collapse of all public order, and the complete dissolution of society. "All social change must be gradual if it is not to be disastrous." Nevertheless, they emphasised that a change should come soon if South Africa was not indeed to face a disastrous future. There should be the elaboration of a sensible and just policy enabling any person, irrespective of race, to qualify for the enjoyment of full civil rights.

Next the bishops addressed a candid word to white Roman Catholics. The practice of segregation, though officially not recognised in the local churches was indeed present in many of the church societies and institutions and in the social life of church people. "In the light of Christ's teaching this cannot be tolerated for ever...We are hypocrites if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions." "This does not mean that we can easily disregard all differences of mentality, condition, language and social custom. The church does not enforce human

associations that, because of these differences, can produce no good. She understands that the spiritual welfare of her children cannot be fostered in a social atmosphere wholly alien and uncongenial. But the Christian duty remains of seeking to unite rather than separate, to dissolve differences rather than perpetuate them.. A different colour can be no reason for separation when culture, custom, social condition and, above all, a common faith and common love of Christ impel towards unity."

In conclusion the bishops reiterated their plea to all white South Africans to consider carefully the implications of racial segregation, "its evil and anti-christian character, the injustices that flow from it, the resentment and bitterness it arouses, the harvest of disaster that it must produce....."

Then in 1960 the bishops again set forth the themes of the essential unity and dignity of all men as seen in the light of basic Christian doctrines. Again they emphasised that all human beings were one, sharing the same human nature, all made in the image and likeness of God, and all with an eternal destiny. This unity was strengthened, they said, by the truth that all men were brothers in Christ, for Christ had taken to himself the same nature as all men had, and it had been through that human nature that he had redeemed men by his death. It was true that man differed.. from man in the heritage of the past that he carried with him and in the ability that he had to contribute to the common good, and these inequalities should be taken into account in the ordering of social life: but they could not deny the fundamental unity of the human race. (Nor did they render less forceful the fundamental rights which each man possessed, arising precisely from the obligations he had to fulfil his nature and reach his destiny.) The unity of men "overrides all differences and make us one family, the human family, all ultimately related to one another." Furthermore, this essential unity of men showed the value of each human person, and the great dignity he possessed. Group loyalties and social distinctions should be subordinate to this great overriding fact of the human person's dignity and his unity with all fellow men.(1)

This strong emphasis on the unity of mankind was once more set forth by the bishops in 1966. Now they drew attention to chapters of the Vatican

(1) ibid. pp21-23

Council Decree entitled the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, which had said that "God has willed that all men should constitute one family, and treat one another in a spirit of brotherhood. For having been created in the image of God...all men are called to one and the same goal, namely, God himself." Indeed, the whole economy of the Redemption of mankind, they said, could not be understood without the essential unity of the human race("For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Corinithians 15:22)). It was a matter of faith that all men, without exeption, had their origin in Adam ("The God who made the world and everything in it...made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth" (Acts 17:26)); it was a matter of faith that all men, inheriting the sin of Adam, needed Redemption; it was a matter of faith. that Christ, dying on the Cross, had died for all men, redeeming them from sin ("Jesus Christ the righteous...is the expiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world" (1John 2:2)). "To the Christian the sequence is obvious: One Creator, one Human Race, one Redeemer. This is the groundwork of our Christian faith....."(1)

The Vatican Decree, it was pointed out, had emphasised that while the world was being torn into opposing camps by conflicting forces, and while racial and other disputes continued, men nevertheless had an innate sense of unity and interdependence. Man, by his very nature, needed the company of his fellow men. It was only through constant commerce with them, through brotherly dialogue, through the give and take of social routine, that his talents were sharpened, his personality developed, to fit him for his destiny both in time and eternity. This social exchange knew of no impediment of colour, creed or class. Indeed, where there were inequalities close inter-communion became all the more necessary and all the more fruitful. This natural right of free association among men was unassailable, and could not be either diminished or taken away on racial grounds or on the pretext that such association would damage the common good. On the contrary, it was the prohibition of easy inter-communion among all peoples of the state which really offended against the common good.(2)

The Decree had also warned that while people should develop a generous and loyal devotion to their own country, this should be done 'without any narrowing of mind'. In other words, they should always look simultaneously to the welfare of the whole human family, which was tied together by manifold bonds linking races, peoples and nations. The true patriot saw his own nation as only one of the whole family of nations. Indeed, his love for his own people was deepened and enriched by its close fellowship with other

(1) ibid. pp49-50.
(2) ibid. p46.

members of the family of nations, to which of necessity it belonged."[1] On a similar theme the bishops had said in 1960: "National groups may well exist within a community, and they have their legitimate claims, but they must be subordinate to the good of the whole community. They arise from reasons of history and custom, but they are not unchangeable, and in the course of time they alter or even disappear through merging into other groups that must be left to the Providence of God."[2]

While the Vatican Decree had allowed that "all men are not alike from the point of view of varying physical power and diversity of intellectual and moral resources", it had nevertheless declared that with respect to the fundamental rights of a person, every type of discrimination including that of culture, race or colour was to be overcome and eradicated as "contrary to God's intent".[3] In a similar way, the bishops called for a transcendence of racial discrimination and for the treatment of fellowmen as human persons, essentially the same as oneself. They called for justice and love, which expressed concretely the unity of the human race and which gave meaning and life to the statement that all men, no matter what their race or colour, were equal in the sight of God.[4] Commented the bishops in 1962, when urging that a man's colour should never offer an excuse or pretext for injustice: "Since we are people of diverse racial and national origins, it seems inevitable that human weakness will express itself in colour prejudice and in national misunderstandings. The fact of human frailty should not however constitute an insurmountable barrier to the building up of mutual trust and co-operation, if we remain faithful to the moral principles which are the foundation of Christian tradition 'where Justice joins hands with Charity'."[5]

Finally, we note the bishops' exhortation in 1960 that "the people of South Africa must see in their history the Providence of God, which has brought them together as one community, though of differeng origins and stages of social development. In that Providence they have lived together for a long period, and have already been associated in all spheres of life. In the light of the same Providence they have been called to a unique task, that of achieving a way of life whereby all can live together in peace and mutual assistance."[6]

(1) ibid. pp50-51.
(2) ibid. p24.
(3) ibid. p49 (1966).
(4) ibid. p25 (1960), p37 (1962).
(5) ibid. pp37-38.
(6) ibid. p21.

Among all the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa at that time Archbishop D.E. Hurley of the Archdiocese of Durban was probably the most outspoken in criticism of the policy of racial segregation. He did say that a policy of separation could not be condemned in principle. "When groups cannot get along together it is better for them to separate," he said, and he pointed to the biblical precedent of Abraham and Lot separating into different areas (Genesis 13:9). Such a principle could not be ruled out entirely.(1) On the other hand, however, he argued that it was by its practical application in South Africa that the policy showed itself to be questionable. There the cardinal principle of legislation was an overriding concern for the well-being and self-preservation of the white section of the population. "This is totally anti-Christian because the supreme moral value in Christianity is love for mankind based on love for God. Therefore to place the self-preservation of a race, nationality or culture above neighbourly love is an inversion of Christian values." Such self-preservation seemed to have fallen under the judgement of Christ when he had said, "He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that shall lose his life for my sake shall find it." At the same time the bias towards self-preservation for the whites amounted to the limitation and suppression of the rights of black people. Protagonists of segregation had argued that its ultimate aim was peace and harmony among the racial groups, and that if it was necessary to commit injustice to achieve this it was worth the price: but Hurley replied that such an acceptance of the maxim that the end justified the means was a "frightful perversion of morality".

To justify the moral acceptability of racial segregation Hurley suggested that there were four conditions which should be demonstrated as possible of fulfilment: (a) The policy should be feasible. Men should be able to spell out in clear detail how the races were to be separated and what the implications of this would be. It was not enough to say that segregation was a trend towards a distant and not too clearly defined goal. (b) The policy should meet with the free consent of each racial group involved, for it would have far-raching repercussions on the rights of all their peoples. Hurley dismissed the contention that there were not separate parties involved but that the Government could legitimately provide for its citizens what it deemed would in the long run be in the interests of all. This might have been so if the citizens in question had all been equal before the law and had all received equal treatment from the government - but in South Africa "this is not the case." (c) The policy should ensure a proportionate share of sacrifice. (d) The rights of all parties should be adequately protected during the transition period. However, Hurley concluded

(1) Hurley, D.E.: Human Dignity and Race Relations (1966) p6.

that not one of these four conditions showed any likelihood of being fulfilled in South Africa, and thus that racial segregation as contemplated could not be pursued without injustice, nor was it in accord with the Christian ethic.(1)

For Hurley the main evil of segregation was that it refused recognition of human dignity, "and by every cruel refinement of law, custom and convention pours scorn on the humanity of men and women created with an inborn hunger for recognition, for acceptance by their fellow-men". In the consciousness that accompanied all man's thinking and doing there was an awareness of what he was, a realisition of identity, of self-hood. Of all his treasured rights and attributes there was none more treasured than this: "the quality of being human, the quality of being capable of rational thought and free choice and tender emotion: of being worthy of the death of God - and of the life of God." Man's consciousness of his dignity was concomitant with his awareness of the spiritual element of his nature. He found that he was outside the realm of quantity and measure, the characteristics of material and physical things. There was no way of calculating the force of an idea or measuring the power of a great emotion. They were capable of almost infinite communication, and it was by this power of communication that the spiritual transcended the physical and the sensual and was capable of becoming involved in a world outside itself. This opening to infinity, characteristic of the spiritual, Hurley identified as the constituent of human dignity. "When a man realises, no matter how confusedly, that he has within himself the power of communication with the infinite - with the physical infinite of the universe and the spiritual infinite of its Creator - he knows with a deep and unconquerable conviction that he is subservient to no other man, that only the infinite can demand the absolute dedication of his life and the ultimate loyalty of his spirit. He is a person inviolable." But in South Africa the hunger in the heart of the black man, Hurley judged, was for everyday acceptance of this his human dignity.(2)

Some people had maintained that there was nothing more conducive to a proper respect for human dignity than reasonable pride of race and nation: for human dignity dealt not with humanity in the abstract, but with people who belonged to races and nations, who could be justifiably proud of belonging to them, of inheriting their traditions and sharing in their achievements. However, Hurley questioned what was in fact 'reasonable' pride. In terms of real human values it was much more important to be human than to be this or that kind of human. Colour, race and culture

(1) The Church and the Race Problem (RDM) p31; Hurley, D.E.: Apartheid: A Crisis of the Christian Conscience (1964) pp11-14.
(2) Apartheid: A Crisis pp17-18; Human Dignity p2.

were incidental differences. Being human was a value that transcended them all by an infinite distance. To be reasonable then in one's pride of race and nation was to keep a sense of proportion, not to concentrate so exclusively on racial and national values that there could be no appreciation of what one had in common with all mankind. "To be reasonable indeed one should be concentrating most of the time on this common human heritage, enjoying it, revelling in it, glorying in it - with a little time off now and again to glory in one's particular national or racial expression of it - and the national and racial expression of others as well." "Human dignity is the value beyond nationalism beyond any class or caste distinction, any particularism.(1)

Hurley placed great emphasis on the need for love. He believed that mankind was involved in a single destiny, that all men shared together the pain and work of the world, and so the building and transforming of the world demanded an increasing degree of human communication in thought, in action and in love. Christianity was the acceptance of the law of love as the fundamental law (Mark 12:28-34). That this was no mere secondary aspect of the way of life taught by Christ was obvious from the standards by which Christian behaviour was to be assessed: whether men had fed the hungry, welcomed strangers, etc. (Matthew 25:34-35). At the hour of his farewell Christ had reiterated this need for love (John 13:34-35; 15:12-14, 17) Love was the supreme test of the Christian spirit - a love which should be extended to all men (Matthew 5:46-48). On the other hand Hurley believed that in South Africa the legislation for racial segregation so regulated relations between men that the observance of this law of love was impeded.(2)

In conclusion we note Hurley's plea that the white people in South Africa should see in their black neighbours not a menace to their whiteness but the warm and precious value of human dignity. "In the light of this endeavour the white man's civilisation no longer appears as something fragile and delicate that needs protecting and defending. No longer does the white man profess his lack of faith in the ability of his Christian culture to absorb new human contacts. He is suddenly aware that Christian civilisation is a vigorous, confident, dynamic growth, thriving and expanding on new human contacts, that the refusal of such contacts is the very negation of all that Christian civilisation has ever been and claims to be, and a denial of the faith that inspries it. Fired with these convictions there is nothing he finds more exciting than encounters with men of other cultures, for he knows that he will discover in them new reflections of the God in whom he believes, new achievements of the human spirit. He knows that in his own life Christianity has, unfortunately, its limitations, that his own culture is

(1) Human Dignity pp8, 5.
(2) Hurley, D.E.: A Time for Faith (1965) p15; Apartheid: A Crisis pp3-5; cf. The Church and the Race Problem (RDM) p30.

far from exhausting the potentialities of the human race. He strongly suspects and hopes that his encounters with other men will reveal new attitudes for his faith to embrace, new values for his culture to adopt in exchange for what he may have to offer himself."(1)

(f) CONTRADICTION BETWEEN TEACHING AND PRACTICE

These various theological statements by councils and leaders in the Methodist, Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches showed clearly that the official policy of each of these Churches was to unite people of different racial groups into one Church and to condemn racial segregation and discrimination.

On the other hand, however, while councils and assemblies may well have made such statements, the church leaders who were openly critical of policies of racial segregation were comparatively few. Nor did they express the views of the majority of white members in those Churches. Indeed, there was a considerable gap between their decisions and statements and the fairly complacent approach to race relations that was more common amongst white churchmen. What was more, the criticism of segregation that was voiced by such leaders did not on the whole filter down at all forcefully to ordinary church members, for the majority of them either were oblivious that such statements were being made or else listened patiently to them but ignored any implications for their own lives. Many clergy, it should be added, were amongst those content with the status quo in the country.(2)

Meanwhile in the life of the Churches themselves there was still a large measure of separation between white and black members, as well as a fair amount of discrimination against black people.(3)

At national and regional levels church courts were usually multi-racial, with white and black clergy and lay representatives deliberating together. Having said this, however, it should be added that there was for many years

(1) Human Dignity p10.
(2) One press statement of note was that released by Archbishop W.P. Whelan of the Roman Catholic Church in February 1964 which was interpreted by many as a qualified acceptance of the policy of racial segregation. It was promptly followed by a statement from the Bishops' Conference reaffirming the official policy of that Church as set out in their earlier statements and saying that comments by individual bishops were made on their own responsibility.(SAIRR Survey 1964 p11; Pastoral Letters p41).
(3) Refer p202 supra.

a notable exception in the Methodist Church, where District Synods (except for the Cape Synod) each met in two sections, one for white delegates, one for Africans. It was only now in the 1960s that they were changing their policy in order to have joint sessions with white and African delegates together. Furthermore, in that Church congregations were grouped regionally into circuits which were defined not only geographically but also according to race, so that there were often separate circuits within one area, each for a different racial group.

Also at a regional level, multi-racial gatherings were held from time to time, and services at great festivals or on special occasions were usually attended by members of different racial groups.

Then at the local level all congregations were open to members of any racial group, and some church notice-boards bore a notice to this effect. There were indeed some multi-racial congregations. These were to be found in some cathedrals in the centre of cities and in some areas where racial segregation had not been strictly enforced. They were more common in the Cape where white and Coloured people had lived in close proximity to one another for some time, but there were also congregations elsewhere where whites and Coloured people or Indians worshipped together - for there was no language barrier between them. In some places there were individual Africans who attended basically white services, but seldom in large numbers. However, it should be added that in many of these mixed congregations there was a tendency for black people to sit in rear pews, either voluntarily or because they had been shown there by church officers. (1) Furthermore, they seldom participated in other activities of those congregations, largely because they did not feel at ease among white people or because they were ignored by them and not made to feel welcome.

Such multi-racial congregations were comparatively few in number, however, and were becoming fewer as the policy of residential segregation became more strictly enforeed. Certainly it was more common for local congregations to be racially homogeneous. This was usually because people of different racial groups were living in separate areas, or because they spoke different languages. But separation did also occur where no such practical reasons applied. Sometimes this may have been due to racial prejudice in the people who started such congregations. Certainly there were many white churchmen who were opposed to any thought of regular multi-racial worship. For several reasons, then, there would be two or more congregations in one area, each ministering to people of one particular

(1) When white people visited African congregations they were usually shown by church officers to the front seats.

racial group. Even in the Roman Catholic Church (which probably had a greater measure of unity than the other two Churches) this was so.(1) The Anglican Church attempted to remove any suggestion that by such separation it was countenancing racial segregation by amending its legislation in 1955 to give 'missions' and 'parishes' the same status and to declare them both equally 'pastoral charges' - but this did not alter the fact that there was racial separation in its ranks.

Usually the different congregations in one area would use separate church buildings, but in some places they used the same ones. In some 'white' urban areas a service in an African language was held in the local church on a Sunday afternoon for domestic servants who were at work during the hours of morning services, but these services were usually the responsibility of the nearest African congregation rather than the white congregation in whose premises they met. Seldom were the people concerned integrated into the life of the local white congregation.

Most church leaders saw no harm in having services in different languages or according to different cultural backgrounds for different people, providing there was no compulsion about where one should worship nor exclusion of anyone. Leaders stressed repeatedly and clearly that no person of whatever race might be turned away from any congregation or service.(2)

In this regard we note the strong stand taken by these three Churches against the 'Church Clause' of the 1957 Native Laws Amendment Bill, which as finally enacted made it possible for the State to direct that the attendance of Africans at any church service ir a 'white' area should cease as from a date specified. Whereas the Dutch Reformed Churches accepted this legislation, the Methodist Church asserted that it was unchristian and could not be regarded as binding upon the conscience of any of its members; the Anglican bishops called upon the clergy and members of their Church to disobey any government notice that might be issued in terms of it; and the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church solemnly declared that "Catholic churches must, and shall, remain open to all without regard to their racial origin....there is no restriction on attendance at any Catholic Church.....(3) These protests received immediate and tremendous support from the laity of the Churches. It should be added though, that such

(1) Strassberger has observed that wherever Roman Catholics exercised free choice of association there did not seem to be any greater fellowship between white and black members than in other Churches. (op.cit. p140.)
(2) cf. Webb in 1953 Conference p155; Clayton, Where We Stand pp13, 51; De Blank, Out of Africa pp116, 132.
(3) Brookes, E.H. and Macaulay, J.B.: Civil Liberty in South Africa (1958) pp122-132; SAIRR Survey 1956-1957 pp17-25; Christian Convictions p17.

support was basically in protest against the State's intrusion on men's right to freedom of worship, rather than a direct affirmation that people of different racial groups should worship together.(1)

Not only was there separation between people of different racial groups in the local congregations. While some of the organisations that were organised on a national level for men, women or young people in these Churches were multi-racial, there were many that catered only for one particular racial group.(2) Furthermore, there were church schools that refused to accept black pupils. Indeed, government politicians often derided the Churches for criticising racial segregation while turning away black applicants (sometimes the children of clergy) from their white schools. There were some attempts within the Churches to encourage racial integration in these schools,(3) but most of them had autonomous boards of governors and so were not in fact subject to the wishes of the Churches.(4)

A further important aspect of these Churches was the fact that in each of them the power was generally held by white people. Although black members vastly outnumbered white members they were not represented in church courts in similar proportion. On the contrary, most courts had white majorities. Indeed the national Conference of the Methodist Church was so structured that it could never have a majority of black delegates. Furthermore, boards of trustees maintained a white voting majority - and were required to do so by the State in order that they might each register as a 'white body' before they could hold property in 'white' areas.

Although the Churches did put emphasis on the essential need for black clergy, whose numbers were increasing considerably, they were still being tardy in advancing blacks to positions of higher authority. Consequently the vast majority of positions in their hierarchies were filled by white people. In the Roman Catholic Church there were two African bishops consecrated in the 1950s, but by the early 1970s there would be only one black bishop amongst twenty-six. In the Anglican Church there were a number of African Archdeacons (who had jurisdiction over white clergy and lay people), but it was not until 1960 that an African, the Reverend A.H. Zulu, was consecrated assistant bishop, nor until 1966 that he became a diocesan bishop. Indeed, there was strong adverse reaction from many white members of the

(1) Although the Government has apparently not yet invoked this legislation, there have been occasions when under legislation enacted in 1937 services mainly for Africans in the white areas have been discontinued by government or police action. (cf. Cawood, op.cit. pp12-13.)
(2) ibid. pp53, 66, 80.
(3) cf. Hinchliff, Anglican Church, p240.
(4) One reason for this discrimination was that the schools were afraid of losing their State subsidy if they went contrary to government policy.

Diocese of Zululand when he was elected to be bishop of that diocese - some, for instance, refusing to allow their children to be confirmed by him.(1)

In the Methodist Church it was not until 1968 that a black man, the Reverend J.C. Mvusi, was appointed Chairman of a District: though it should be added that in 1963 the Reverend Seth Mokitimi was elected to be the first black President of that Church (and automatically served as Chairman of his District during his year of office).

Because white people were more familiar than Africans with procedures followed in decision-making bodies, and because the language used there and in official communications was usually English, they tended to be more adept in debates and so effectively retained power, whether consciously or unconsciously. Furthermore, they tended to see matters in terms of white concerns and interests and so frequently neglected the more specifically black point of view.

One important area of racial discrimination was that of clergy stipends. In the Roman Catholic Church all priests received the same stipends, but in the Methodist Church the scale of minimum stipends varied for each racial group, and in the Anglican Church eleven out of fourteen dioceses likewise had racial disparity while in another two dioceses stipends were the same for all clergy but child allowances differed for each racial group.(2)

In the deployment of clergy, too, there was not complete equality between the racial groups. In the early 1960s white clergy were still being appointed to some black congregations, but seldom if ever was a black man appointed to a white congregation, even when educational qualifications and cultural sophistication fitted some for such appointments. (Similarly, white clergy were more often invited to preach in black congregations than blacks in white congregations.)

It should be added that the fact that white people in the country were generally more wealthy than black people led to various other inequalities within the Churches. As deployment of clergy usually depended on financial resources rather than the size or needs of congregations, white people had more clergy ministering to them than did the black people, even though the

(1) It should be added that in 1961 there were only three bishops in the Anglican Church who had been born in southern Africa, of whom Zulu was one. (Hinchliff, Anglican Church p240.) There had been pressure for a Sotho priest to be consecrated bishop back in 1922, but this had been unsuccessful. (Lewis and Edwards, op.cit. p474.)

(2) Further inequality, in the Roman Catholic Church as well, was due to the fact that in white congregations (which tended to be wealthier than black) clergy received more in the way of gifts and better housing.

whites were outnumbered by the blacks.[1] One consequence of this was that there were in many regions more white congregations or parishes than black and thus greater white representation in church courts to which each congregation or parish sent delegates. Also, on bodies where all clergy were present the whites were again in the majority. Meanwhile, again because of the disparity in wealth, the buildings and equipment of black congregations were usually inferior to those of white congregations, or else were completely lacking.

So for the most part the life of these three Churches reflected prevailing race relations in the country. Said Huddleston: "In the Church, as outside it, it is prejudice and fear and racialism itself which operate to confound the principles and ideals of episcopal pronouncements."[2]

On the other hand, when seen in their wider social context it is observed that these Churches were some of the few places in the country where black and white people could meet in an environment of relative acceptance. They also constituted probably the only area of society where some black people exercised any authority over white people. Indeed, Kuper has suggested that the large growth of African membership in these Churches during the twentieth century indicated some affirmation and acceptance by Africans of white Christians: though Paton was probably correct when he attributed this growth to the devoted work of missionaries rather than to the example of such Christians.[3]

Protests by black church members against racial discrimination in their Churches was growing; and there was at one time a movement for a black split in the Methodist Church which abated only when Mokitimi was elected President. Among white churchmen there were also many who were dissatisfied with such race relations and who searched their consciences. Some were active in encouraging people of different racial groups to meet for fellowship, discussion and worship together, in the hopes of 'healing the wounds of separation'. Some joined the Christian Institute, of which we have spoken,[4] to identify with and work with people from other Churches in the cause of better race relations. Individuals were loud in their criticism of church life.[5] and church courts admitted the weakness in

(1) According to the Spro-cas Church Commission(p43) there were in 1972 1 380 white and only 144 black priests in the Roman Catholic Church in southern Africa.
(2) Huddleston, op.cit. p59.
(3) Kuper in Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) Vol.11 pp442, 453, 466; Paton, Christian Unity p11.
(4) Refer p170 supra.
(5) cf. eg. Cawood, op.cit. pp52, 65, 79; Church and the Race Problem (RDM) pp5-7, 17-18.

their own camp. The Anglican Provincial Synod in 1950 recognised "that the Church has not in practice been always faithful to her own principles..."; in 1957 the Roman Catholic bishops decried segregation in the instititions of their Church; and the following year the Methodist Church confessed its failure to express in its worship a unity among Christians. Yet they seldom proceeded beyond issuing statements to taking effective action expressing their ideals.

Such contradiction between teaching and practice led many Dutch Reformed churchmen to resent all the more deeply the accusations by English-speaking churchmen that their practice of racial separation was unchristian. It also prompted many outside observers to accuse these Churches of hypocricy. Cettainly there was a need for them to improve their own race relations if they were to continue criticising the State and society for their segregation and discrimination.

A study of church statements and discussion in the later 1960s reveals that although these Churches continued to protest against hardship to people caused by the enforcement of racial segregation, and against measures imposed by the State to silence church criticism, less attention was at that time being given to specifically theological argument on the principle of segregation. Perhaps this was because what could be said had already been said in many different ways. Perhaps it was because there was some realisition that something more was wanted than just statements and debate. (1)

It was in the midst of such developments and with a sense of urgency that A Message to the People of South Africa would be published - cast in a different style from that of the traditional church statement or resolution.

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(1) cf. criticisms of Huddleston, op.cit. pp55-61; Magee, M.: White Christianity (Sheed and Ward, London, 1968) pp86ff.

4. A NEW THRUST

(a) APARTHEID TERMED A 'PSEUDO-GOSPEL'

In May 1968 the Christian Council of South Africa convened a conference of church leaders to consider the prevalence of various 'pseudo-gospels' in Church and society. Of particular relevance to our study was an address given at this conference by the Reverend John Davies (of the Anglican Church).(1) He did not define the term, but said that 'pseudo-gospels', like the true Gospel of Christ, came "claiming to be good news, claiming to have a valid answer to our problems, claiming the attention and belief that is due to Christ". They were, however, fraud and deviation, falsifying and corrupting witness to the genuine Gospel. Amongst such pseudo-gospels facing the Church in South Africa was the doctrine of racial segregation. In scattered references through a detailed address Davies showed how this clashed with the true Gospel.

The Christian Gospel declared that men could find hope and security in the free gift of the grace of God in Christ, and called them to live in faith with an unknown future. It did not promise that nothing could ever be lost. But it did show that really worthwhile possession took place by finding on the far side of losing; and emphasised, particularly in the resurrection of Christ, that all that was really valid in a person could not be finally lost. So it answered one of the basic fears of man that he might lose his identity and individuality by becoming absorbed in an amorphous mass of people. On the other hand, the pseudo-gospel of racial segregation declared that men could depend on something more immediately verifiable and tangible than God's grace - racial identity - to give that security. Thus it exploited men's preference for dealing with what they knew and could identify. It invited them to safeguard their future by a policy of racial self-preservation.

The Christian Gospel stated that separation was the supreme danger for men, the clearest opposite force to the purpose of God which was characterised as love. According to this Gospel men found their identity in association with Christ and with one another, and depended on the real validity of factors which enabled them to respond positively to one another. The Gospel did not deny differences between people, but it did say that those differences should not necessarily lead to hostility. It asserted that hostility between individuals and between groups was due to human sin, which had been conquered in the resurrection of Christ when a reconciliation had been made in him. Christ in his resurrection had defeated the forces which were hostile to

(1) Pseudo Gospels in Church and Society (1968 Conference) pp24-36.

community, of which the most potent was death. So this Gospel also answered the basic human fear of isolation. On the other hand, the pseudo-gospel of racial segregation required men to identify themselves in terms of those factors which asserted their difference from other people, and to characterise themselves in dissociation from others. It stated that hostility was quite simply due to the differences between people, and that the cure was for people to be separated from one another. Reconciliation was impossible. So that no one should be afraid of being isolated, this pseudo-gospel offered men a way to make absolutely sure of their relatedness by narrowing its range and insisting that relatedness meant relatedness to those who were visibly similar.

The Christian Gospel declared that a man need not have anxiety about maintaining faithfulness to his ancestors and to what they had stood for, for Christ was their Saviour and a man's links with them were through him. But the pseudo-gospel of racial segregation declared that men discovered their identity in their loyalty to their ancestral group.

The Christian Gospel presented as the final image of blessedness the picture of a city in which different members had a relationship of function towards one another in virtue of their different abilities which they could use for the benefit of the whole. But the pseudo-gospel of racial segregation called men to identify themselves not in the flexible terms of the functions which they fulfilled but in the rigid terms of the status which they had acquired from their ancestry. (Thus, for example, an individual would be thought of first as an African and then as a teacher.)

The Christian Gospel declared that the Kingdom of God was already present in the world and was demanding men's obedience and commitment at the present time. But the pseudo-gospel of racial segregation alleged that the Kingdom would be a purely future phenomenon, and that the implementation of its conditions could be left to a future state.

To many people racial segregation seemed to be a necessary and permanent expression of the will of God, for it offered salvation and security. But the salvation it offered was a self-salvation based on an assertion of racial identity, and the security it offered was based on the dominance of one group over all others. It sacrificed people's humanity, for it insisted that racial identity was the most important feature of a person, taking priority over the features which really made him human - the ability to respond to the love of God and man, and the freedom to grow as a unique individual in relationships with other people. In practice, it led to a

whole range of obstacles which restricted the ability of a person to obey the Christian Gospel's command to love his neighbour as himself; and it entailed great suffering in its implementation. These factors, Davies said, exposed the character of the pseudo-gospel. To accept such separation as normative of men's relationships was to curse as undesirable the reconciliation and fellowship which Christ had bought for men. It was to call good evil and to reinforce divisions which the Holy Spirit was calling men to overcome.

So Davies and those who spoke with him of racial segregation as a 'pseudo-gospel' gave a new emphasis to the theological consideration of race relations. Instead of looking at this in the wide perspective of relationships between groups of people, they narrowed their emphasis to consider racial thinking as it affected the individual in his relationships with other individuals. No longer did they speak of an ideology which could be dismissed by an individual as fairly remote from him and impersonal. Now they spoke of a 'gospel' as it presented itself to the individual: and in doing so contrasted it to the Gospel by which Christians professed to live. This was to be the line of thought in a document (of which Davies was one of the authors - and which showed close similarities to his address) which was discussed at that conference before being directed to the Churches.

(b) 'A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA'

In September 1968 the South African Council of Churches (this being the new title adopted the previous May by the Christian Council of South Africa) issued A Message to the People of South Africa. This was a document drawn up by a theological commission of the Council composed of theologians and ministers of various churches and confessional stand-points, including members of the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches.(1) The Council also published an Authorised Summary of the Message.(2)

The Message began by stating several principles that were understood to be declared by the Gospel of Jesus Christ:

- Christ was the truth who set men free from all false hopes of freedom and security.

(1) Refer SAIRR Survey 1968, p21.
(2) De Gruchy, J.W. & De Villiers, W.B. (Eds.): The Message in Perspective (1969) pp12-15.

- In the crucifixion of Christ sin had been forgiven. God had triumphed over the forces that threatened to isolate and destroy man.
- In the resurrection of Christ God had shown himself as the destroyer of the most potent of all forms of separation, namely death; and he had "proved the power of his love to overthrow the evil powers of fear, envy and pride which cause hostility between men".
- By the work of Christ walls of division had been broken down and men were being reconciled to God and to one another. Barriers such as race, nationality, language and culture had no rightful place in the inclusive brotherhood of Christian disciples.
- God was the master of the world and of history; and it was to him alone, not to any subsection of humanity, that men owed their primary obedience and commitment.
- The Kingdom of God was already present in Christ and through the Holy Spirit, and therefore demanded men's obedience and faith at the present time.

This Gospel, it was said, offered hope and security for the whole life of man. It was to be understood not only in a mystical and ethical sense for the salvation of the individual, and not only in a sacramental and ecclesiastical sense within the framework of the Church, but in a cultural, social and cosmic sense as the salvation of human existence in its entirety. Furthermore, this Gospel was not only the object of men's hopes for the future but should be experienced as a reality in the present.

The Message observed that in South Africa a policy of racial segregation was being deliberately effected, touching many aspects of life. It was being seen by many people not merely as a temporary political policy but as a necessary and permanent expression of the will of God, and as the genuine form of Christian obedience for the country. "There are alarming signs that this doctrine of separation has become, for many, a false faith, a novel gospel which offers happiness and peace for the community and for the individual. It holds out to men a security built not on Christ but on the theory of separation and the preservation of their racial identity." So the Message set out to show that racial segregation inevitably conflicted with the Christian Gospel, which offered salvation, both social and individual through faith in Christ alone.

Firstly the Message suggested that early Christians had discovered that God was creating a new community in which differences of race, nation, culture, language and tradition no longer had power to separate man from

man. Christians were now under an obligation to assert this claim and to live by it. The most significant features of a man were "the characteristics which enable him to be a disciple of Christ - his ability to respond to love, to make choices, to work as a servant of his fellowmen; these are the gifts of the grace of God at work in the individual person." (The Summary clarified this and even gave a new slant when it translated that the most important feature of a man was "the nature which he has in common with all men and also the gifts and abilities which are given to him as a unique individual by the grace of God". To insist that racial characteristics were more significant than these characteristics was "to reject our own humanity as well as the humanity of the other man" (or according to the Summary, "to reject what is most significant about our own humanity...."). Nevertheless, in South Africa everyone was expected to believe "that a man's racial identity is the most important thing about him". Only when this identity had been clearly established could any significant decisions be made concerning an individual, and a tragic insecurity and helplessness afflicted those whose racial classification was in doubt. Parodied the Message: "He who has racial identity has life; he who has not racial identity has not life."

Secondly, the Message countered the suggestion that racial segregation was an order of creation confirmed by the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, by showing that this disunity had been healed at Pentecost. Biblical teaching about creation had nothing to say about distinctions between races and nations. God had made man - the whole human race - in his image. Where differences between people were used as signs of opposing groups or were exploited to generate hostility, this was due to human sin. (The Summary again said something different: "Where different groups of people are hostile to each other, this is due to human sin....") Any Christian scheme for the rectifying of man's disorders, the Message said, should take account of this essentially sinful element in the divisions between men: yet it should also take account of the reconciliation already made in Christ. On the other hand, the policy of racial segregation promised peace and harmony between peoples not by a faithful pursuit of the reconciliation wrought by Christ, but through separation, "which, being precisely the opposite course, is a demonstration of unbelief and distrust in the power of the Gospel". As any demonstration of the reality of reconciliation would endanger this policy, its advocates inevitably found themselves opposed to the Church if it sought to live according to the Gospel and to show that God's grace had overcome racial hostilities.

The Message also argued that the policy of racial segregation was based

on the domination of one group over all others and depended on the maintenance of white supremacy: which again meant that it was rooted in and dependent on a policy of sin. According to the Christian Gospel a man's brothers were not merely the menbers of his own race, nor the people with whom he might choose to associate. His brother was any person whom God had given to him: so that to dissociate from that person on the grounds of natural distinction was to despise God's gift and to reject Christ.

Thirdly, the Message asserted the Christian Gospel's declaration that God was love, and that if this was so then separation was "the ultimately opposite force to God. The will to be separate is the most complete refusal of the truth." The Gospel declared that separation was the supreme threat and danger to men, but that in Christ it had been overcome. It was in association with Christ and with one another that men found their true identity. Yet the policy of racial segregation had a view of life which insisted that men found their identity in dissociation and in distinction from one another. It rejected as undesirable the reconciliation and fellowship which God had given to men by his Son. "It seeks to limit the limitlessness of God's grace by which all men may be accepted in Jesus Christ. It seeks to confine the operation of God's grace within the barriers of human distinctions. It reinforces divisions which the Holy Spirit is calling the People of God to overcome." So the Message concluded that a policy of racial segregation called good evil, and was a form of resistance to the Holy Spirit.

Finally, the Message argued that according to the Gospel Christ was man's master and to him all authority had been given. So Christians betrayed their calling if they gave their highest loyalty, which was due to Christ, to one group or tradition, especially where that group was demanding self-expression at the expense of other groups. Yet, in South Africa it seemed that many did believe that their primary loyalty should be to their group.. This kind of belief came as an attractive substitute for the claims of Christ. It encouraged a loyalty expressed in self-assertion; it offered a way of salvation with no cross. However, God judged men not by their faithfulness to a sectional group but by their willingness to be made new in the community of Christ. So the Message suggested that Christ was inevitably a threat to much that was called 'the South African way of life', and it implied that some (the Summary stated that many) features of the social order would have to pass away if the lordship of Christ was to be fully acknowledged and if the peace of God was to be revealed as the destroyer of men's fear.

If the Church failed to witness to the true Gospel of Jesus Christ

it would find itself witnessing to a false gospel. "If we seek to reconcile Christianity with the so-called 'South African way of life' (or any other way of life) we shall find that we have allowed an idol to take the place of Christ. Where the Church thus abandons its obedience to Christ, it ceases to be the Church; it breaks the links between itself and the Kingdom of God. We confess, therefore that we are under an obligation to live in accordance with the Christian understanding of man and of community, even if this be contrary to some of the customs and laws of this country." People should be able to see in the Church an inclusive fellowship and a freedom of association, and the power of God changing hostility into love. But, the Message regretted, even in the life of the Church there was conformity to the practices of racial segregation. "Our task is to work for the expression of God's reconciliation here and now. We are not required to wait for a distant 'heaven' where all problems will have been solved. What Christ has done, he has done already. We can accept his work or reject it: we can hide from it or seek to live by it. But we cannot postpone it, for it is already achieved. And we cannot destroy it, for it is the work of the eternal God." "The word of God is not bound, and....it will move with power in these days, whether men hear or whether they refuse to hear".

So saying, the Message put to every Christian in South Africa the question: "To whom, or to what are you truly giving your first loyalty, your primary commitment? Is it to a subsection of mankind, an ethnic group, a human tradition, a political idea; or to Christ?"

The major downfall of this Message was the fact that it was a poorly written document. It made bad use of punctuation and tenses, the line of argument was confused at times, and in parts the meaning was not clear. As it was sent to a wide readership this factor was to lead to much misunderstanding and criticism. Presumably it was one of the reasons for the publication of the Authorised Summary. One gains the impression that the Summary sought to remove doubtful passages from the text and to improve it, rather than merely to summarise it.

An important emphasis of the Message was that the Gospel of Christ offered hope and security not just for the individual but for the whole life of man, for the whole of society. Furthermore it was important for its urging that men should not wait for reconciliation and unity at a future

date, in a heavenly kingdom, but should make it present there and then. The Gospel needed to be experienced in the present time. The Kingdom of God was already present and demanded obedience and faith in the present. However, although the Message did say that by the work of Christ men were being reconciled to each other, and although it spoke of the pursuit of the reconciliation wrought by Christ, it also at times suggested that reconciliation between man and man was in fact already achieved. On the contrary, although Christ had broken down barriers so that reconciliation might be possible - and would be effected in the ideal community - still sin did divide men, as could easily be observed in society.

The new way of arguing that racial segregation was basically hostile to the Christian faith was significant, as was the new challenge to individuals to be obedient to the demands of Christ. But there was a danger of over-simplification when the Message posited loyalty to Christ over against loyalty to one's group, for many people would have seen these as not necessarily mutually exclusive. Certainly the Message showed that racial segregation had become not just a political policy but an ideology: though the terming of it as a 'gospel' was to cause confusion.

(c) REACTIONS TO THE MESSAGE

Close on seven thousand copies of the Message were sent out to Christians of all denominations, with the invitation that they should give it serious consideration and should sign it as an expression of their Christian commitment. Relatively speaking, the number of people who were known to have signed the Message (about two thousand by December 1968) was slight, but it was significant that of those about six hundred were ministers of member-Churches of the South African Council of Churches.

The Message aroused strong condemnation from tne Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster, who warned that church leaders should not turn their pulpits into political platforms but should return to proclaiming the word of God. Reacting to his warnings, twelve leading clergymen (including the Anglican Archbishop) sent an open letter to him in which they said:

> "As regards, then, the policy of apartheid of the Government which you lead, it is obviously not in accordance with the intention of

God as revealed by Him in His Word. It clashes with the universally held convictions of Christian faith. Any church in South Africa wanting to justify the policy of apartheid, as taught and practised in our country, as being in accordance with the Christian doctrine of faith and morality, does so in opposition to the obvious testimony of the Scriptures."

".....as long as attempts are made to justify the policy of apartheid by an appeal to God's Word, we will persist in denying their validity; and as long as it is alleged that the application of this policy conforms to the norms of Christian ethics, we will persist in denying its validity."(1)

This letter received support from many Christian ministers in the country.

The response of the various Church courts was, on the whole, favourable towards the Message, though cautious. The Conference of the Methodist Church commended the Authorised Summary to members of that Church for "serious study and careful consideration". In the Anglican Provincial Synod the Message was apparently not acceptable in its entirety, but the Synod endorsed the principles underlying it and associated itself with the call to repentance and renewed commitment. It urged clergy to expound the Message and with the laity to study and act upon it: and also voted a substantial financial contribution towards the production and dissemination of further study material.(2)

The Bishops' Conference of the Roman Catholic Church, meeting in August 1969, gratefully recognised the Message as a prophetic summons to all Christians and Churches to reform their lives according to the Gospel and to apply the precept of Christian love of all men in a truly effective way both in their individual lives and in their communities, not allowing any ideology of nation or race to take precedence over the Gospel. The bishops whole-heartedly endorsed the substance and aims of the Message and accepted it as a basis for further ecumenical study and action. Though they added: "The Conference does indeed feel that the South African situation is more complex than appears to be recognised in the Message. And it must also confess its inability to associate itself with all the theological and ethical elements in the Message, some of which proceed from a tradition and outlook

(1) De Gruchy & De Villiers, op.cit.p31.

(2) ibid. pp37-38; SAIRR Survey 1969, p12; Faith in Action, December 1968, p3. From correspondence with some who took part in the Anglican Provincial Synod debate, it seems that there were no particular points of major objection to the Message - but that there were objections to the wording of the document.

different from the Catholic one."[1]

In Durban the Diocesan Synod of that Church endorsed the Message, and a Pastoral Letter signed by Archbishop Hurley was issued. Based on the Message, it said that the policy of separating racial groups was creating a most unhappy atmosphere of superiority of one race over others. "We must know clearly, and be brave enough to admit openly, that the most important thing about a man is not his race. The most important things are the common nature he shares with others, and his own unique gifts and abilities given to him by God's grace."[2]

Then in February 1972 the Bishops' Conference issued A Call to Conscience addressed to Catholics in Southern Africa by their Bishops. This was not a reply to the Message, but might be seen as an attempt at a statement which was more acceptable to the Roman Catholic bishops. The bishops expressed deep concern about the quality of life in South Africa and about all that was dehumanising and out of harmony with the mind of Christ. "The social situation here gives us serious misgivings. Legislation and conventions divide even those who are called to live and work together and to share the same bread in Christ. We are thus prevented from knowing one another. A social gulf separates us as Christians and humans, causing ignorance of one another, resentment and suspicion. In collaboration with other Christians and all who are willing to work with us, we must do everything in our power to stop this fragmentation of brotherhood and love." The bishops urged Christians to work for social justice, and particularly interracial justice, and they stressed that witness to this should begin at home if it was to be credible. The problems that were faced should not make men lose hope or energy. "Moral courage and a sense of human dignity and vocation are essential to Christian Witness. St. Paul has told us: 'There is nothing I cannot master with the help of the One who gives me strength' (Philippians 4:13 - Jerusalem Bible)." Then in the major part of this document the bishops went on to consider the effects of various aspects of apartheid legislation, and strongly attacked the inequalities that resulted from this. They concluded by stressing that so long as the evil of racialism existed no one might rest. The greatest evil of all would be to disregard its existence. Other Churches supported this document, while Naudé described it as "the most significant statement from official Church leadership on the racial issue".[3]

(1) On the other hand, however, the Executive Committee of the Baptist Kairos, October 1969. Correspondence with leading members of this Church has not elicited clarification of the theological and ethical objections to the Message.
(2) Bulletin of the Archdiocese of Durban, October 1969.
(3) SAIRR Survey 1972, p46.

Union of South Africa in November 1968 issued a lengthy statement in which it strongly criticised much of the theological reasoning and some of the conclusions contained in the Message.(1) A year later this Church - largely as a result of the publication of the Message, it would seem - withdrew its membership of the South African Council of Churches.(2) The Dutch Reformed Churches, meanwhile, remained silent on the Message, though there was editorial comment in some of their newspapers.

(d) A REPORT ON THE CHURCH

Realising the need to work out in detail the implications of principles expressed in the Message, the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa in mid-1969 jointly sponsored what was to become a three-to-four year 'Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society' (Spro-cas). Under this project six study commissions were established - in the fields of economics, education, law, politics, society, and the Church - whose task was to examine South Africa's national life in the light of the Message and to make recommendations for change towards an acceptable social order.(3)

In July 1972 the Church Commission (which reflected a wide range of Church affiliations and included members of the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches) published its report, Apartheid and the Church. A lengthy work, it was a searching and critical study of church life in South Africa which called for a radical self-examination of the Church, its policies and structures.

While not suggesting that the Message itself had been beyond criticism nor that it had been a final theological pronouncement, the Commission believed that that document had been badly misunderstood. It stressed that while the Message had interpreted the Christian Gospel as advocating an open and common society in the Church and also ideally in society, "this does not mean that there are absolutely no circumstances possible in which political partition may be necessary." Though the Commission added that

(1) De Gruchy & De Villiers, op.cit.pp39-41.
(2) The Star, 12th November 1969.
(3) More than 130 leading South Africans of various racial groups and interests agreed to serve on these commissions.

such necessity "must be very serious and it must be purely practical." Further, it was emphasised that the Message had not been an attempt to transform the Christian message into a social Gospel without remainder. "It merely seeks to state what the Gospel says when applied to rebutting the ideology of apartheid."(1)

In an attempt to clarify passages that had been criticised, the Commission drew up a new Summary of the Message.(2) In this parts of the original Message were re-worded or even expanded a little, but mainly it was freely re-arranged and shortened. We judge that this new Summary was a great improvement; but note here only two extracts which bear on our discussion:

- Clarifying what had been meant when racial segregation had been described as a false gospel, it was said that "the ideology of apartheid calls to its support a heretical interpretaion of Scripture and implies in the end that we must believe in a different novel gospel. It offers also a 'salvation', namely, the political salvation or security of our society through the way of separation. But the Christian Gospel denies that either the individual or society can be saved through any programme which is hostile to God's purpose of reconciliation and unity."
- "To be realistic (especially as few of us are faithful and obedient Christians) the State must take pragmatic account of the divisions between men and between groups of men in proposing any scheme for the ordering of our relationships. But even the state must see men's wish to divide into permanently separate groups as the essentially sinful element it is. It may not regard the differences or divisions between men as of ultimate significance or make separation between them the ultimate ideal. If it does it stands in opposition to Christ and the reconciliation made for us in Him."

In an examination of biblical texts which many people had used to support racial segregation,(3) the Commission argued that the placing of the story of the Tower of Babel long after the creation showed that the diversity of languages between men (and any cultural differences that might result from their being separated by language) were by no means to be regarded as as fundamental as the singularity and unity of man which was the order of

(1) Apartheid and the Church pp4-5.
(2) ibid. pp77-81.
(3) ibid. pp34-36.

creation. Moreover, part of the meaning of Pentecost was that the effect of the babel of languages in dividing men had now been overcome by the Holy Spirit. Men from every part of the known world and speaking every kind of language had become visibly united into one congregation. "The curse of Babel is overcome by the redemption through Christ."

The Commission pointed out that there were two possible meanings in Deuteronomy 32:8: either that when the nations had settled in their separate localities God had seen to it that there was room for Israel (Massoretic text); or that God had parcelled out the nations to the heavenly beings for them to look after (Qumran and Septuagint text).(1) The passage had merely been concerned to explain the special relationship between God and the nation of Israel, and neither of the readings meant that the different nations should not mix with one another. The Commission then suggested that in Acts 17:26 Paul had been rebutting the Athenians' idea that they were essentially different in origin from the rest of mankind and had been showing that the determining of times and places had not been subject to their own control. (However, there was no evidence in the text to support this suggestion. Rather it would seem that when Paul asserted that God made all the nations and determined their times and places he merely wished to show the greatness of God, who needed nothing from men.)

In a later discussion of the biblical witness on race relations (2) the Commission referred to many passages that we have already studied, but we briefly trace here their line of argument. They pointed out that God had chosen the people of Israel not because they had been intrinsically different from or superior to the other peoples of the earth, nor because they had merited special favour to the exclusion of the Gentiles, but in order that they might be the instrument through which God blessed the Gentiles. The Israelites had had to count the purity of their religion as of supreme importance and to take any measures necessary to prevent its being compromised and distorted by syncretism with the false religions of the heathen round about them. The Books of Ruth and Jonah stood as witnesses to the fact that the basic issue had not been fundamentally that of race or people but that of religion. The Commission pointed to various instances of foreigners, including black people, living in the midst of Israel without any thought that such integration had been wrong. However, despite these examples and despite warnings by their prophets the Israelites had come to interpret their election in nationalistic terms, as meaning that God had favoured them not only above but to the exclusion of the Gentiles. So

(1) cf. New English Bible. Refer also to Daniel 10:20f; Psalm 82.
(2) Apartheid and the Church pp87-91.

there had developed a strict segregation in all spheres of life between them and all other peoples.

Then with the advent of Jesus Christ there had been a complete break with this nationalism. He had been of mixed ancestry and had repudiated the laws and taboos of segregation. He had prophesied that by his death and ascension he would draw all men across all boundaries to himself and thus draw them together (John 12:32). For he had himself been the new Adam representing all mankind, and their unity in him had been accomplished and (rather than any natural diversity) had been revealed as their fundamental condition.

In the early Church some Jewish Christians, including Peter, had believed that they should revert to their traditional segregation, but Paul had accused them of abandoning the true Gospel. He had insisted that the Gospel of justification by grace alone, through faith, posited all men as equal and identical in their standing before God, so that none might separate themselves from others on the understanding that any differences between them were more fundamental than their solidarity in sin and forgiveness. Indeed, it had become now an essential of the Gospel that Jewish and Gentile Christians should sit and eat around the same table in visible unity (cf. Galatians 2:12). An invisible unity was not enough. (Added the Commission: "Paul is therefore asserting precisely the opposite to the idea that the sacrament of Communion must not be used 'as a demonstration of ecumenical unity' between the different national and racial groups in the Church" - as had been insisted by some Dutch Reformed theologians.) Elsewhere in the New Testament it had been emphasised that in the Church Christians had together become a new "chosen race...a holy nation, God's own people" (1 Peter 2:9); and that all previous natural distinctions had become quite secondary to this. All Gentile Christians of whatever race and all Jewish Christians had been united together into "one new man" in Christ (Ephesians 2:15). This had meant that if any groups of believers had rejected the fellowship of any other group on racial grounds it would have been rejecting what Christ had accomplished and would have been cutting itself off from the "one new man" which was the true Church. Thus there had been no racial or national segregation in the New Testament Church. It had recognised only one separation: that between believers and unbelievers, which had not even been a rigid separation (for Christians had been sent to live in and witness to the world) but had been merely a detachment Christians had had to observe in circumstances where they might have been detrimentally influenced by bad company. Within the Church no Christian of one race might say to one of

another, "I have no need of you" (1 Corinthians 12:13, 21ff).

So Scripture proclaimed that man's fundamental 'identity' was in Christ and thus in the community of Christ's Church rather than in men's separate groupings. This primary identity overruled all other classifications whether they were racial, social, cultural or political. In Christ all the differences between men could no longer have decisive significance, and they could therefore have no power to keep men apart from one another. "To be faithful to Christ and His Gospel is to live by this truth and so to let the unity which Christ has given us become concrete and visible in our lives. We are called, as members of the one Body of Christ, to share and manifest together a corporate unity in Christ. This involves common worship, prayer and discussion, and united witness and compassionate service in the world."

Whilst elsewhere emphasising this unity of the Church, the Commission did warn against overlooking the differences that existed between races and groups of people.(1) The need for adaptation to different cultures and backgrounds had been seen by Paul when he had declared that in his evangelism of Jews and Gentiles he had radically adapted himself to their different religious cultures. "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." (1 Corinthians 9:19-23). Similarly, the form of the Gospel had been transformed as it had moved from the Jewish Palestinian culture and ethos into the Hellenistic culture and ethos of the pagan Roman empire. For instance, key ideas such as 'the Kingdom of God' and 'Messiah' had been translated into concepts such as 'eternal life' and 'Son of God' which had been more easily understood by non-Jews; and John had attempted to use elements of the Greek concept of a universal Logos to explain the meaning of the Messiah to his readers. Indeed, the Gospel did not reject differences in culture (in so far as these did not hinder the Lordship of Christ) but it added to them by giving to each Christian a different spiritual gift with which to serve God in and through the Church. So the Church was called to recognise and even encourage diversity within its own body. It should become 'indigenised' in each racial or cultural group. (The Commission noted that the Church should also adapt its life and worship to different subgroups within the same broad culture, such as to modern, urban youth.) At the same time, the Commission warned that the essential Gospel itself should not be compromised. Thus John had used the Greek idea of the Logos critically and partially, subjecting it to the basic norm of the Gospel of the Incarnation itself and so in fact transforming it. In contrast some of the African separatist movements had sought to become indigenous but had gone to extremes which had not observed this

(1) ibid. pp50-59.

principle and so had resulted in syncretism.

A further warning was given that indigenisation of the Gospel might not be thought of as a rigid or static adaptation, for this would assume that culture was a static and unchanging phenomenon. In this regard it was pointed out that the culture of many Africans was being transformed by such things as education and urbanisation and was becoming radically different from the old tribal culture. Furthermore, it was pointed out that the cultures of two groups which had originally been disparate might in time become broadly homogeneous. Thus, for example, the more educated and sophisticated of the Coloured people had to a large extent become culturally one with the white people. So "the Church should adapt itself by conforming not to the separate (racial) groupings prescribed for it by the Government or society but to the actual differences between cultural trends which overlap racial groups."

While it was not legitimate to have an ideological separation between racial groups (made in principle and therefore rigidly) by which groups rejected and excluded one another, the Commission did allow that there might legitimately be a purely practical, fluid separation for worship, in which every group was open to every other one and joyfully welcomed members from them.

However, there was to be a manifest unity in the Church. This need was not denied but enhanced by the need to recognise differences between people. Scripture regarded the differences between men not as opposite nor as antagonisitc but as complementary. Paul had made it clear that diverse spiritual gifts and functions in the Church were all for the common good of the Church (1 Corinthians 12:4-13). He had explained how each member of the Church needed the complementary gifts or function of every fellow member and that this bound them together in one corporal unity just as the different parts of a man's body all needed each other in the unity of the whole. Stressed the Commission, this common need of each other bound church members into a conrete <u>bodily</u> union - not merely a spiritual unity. "Paul, who is no docetist, here takes absolutely seriously the incarnational aspect of the Church's unity." This principle applied not only to people with different spiritual functions, but also to people of different cultural groups: for Jews and Greeks were "by one Spirit...all baptised into one <u>body</u>."

So the Commission suggested that different 'indigenous' styles of worship needed the enrichment of mutual influence and even fusion with one another. The more 'stilted and restrained' worship of many white people might be

enriched by the emphases on 'atmosphere' and a place for warm emotion, on spontaneity, on movement and on a real sense of belonging which were to be found in the worship of many black people. In theology, too, the white man might very often learn much from the culturally different way of thinking of even a more 'primitive' African. So Christians should open the way to the enrichment of their cultures by exposure to one another in common worship.

The Commission then went on to argue that the same scriptural principle of unity which demanded joint worship also demanded united government of the Church. In the New Testament it was clear that when the Gentile churches had emerged these had not been autonomous but had been regarded as extensions of the one Church centred in Jerusalem. Later Jerusalem's hegemony had become less effective - for geographical reasons and not because of differences of race or language - but a strong sense of the general unity of the Church had nevertheless remained. So it was argued that there should not be a separation of different cultural or racial groups under separate church courts. If language and cultural differences made it difficult for one group to follow a court's proceedings and to feel free to participate in them fully, it might be well to hold separate courts: but even this should explicitly be regarded as a temporary arrangement for the period it would take the different groups to get to know one another's languages and cultural ways. Moreover, separate courts on the regional level should not be completely separate but linked together as far as possible within some kind of federal scheme on the national level. "Thus the separation must be for merely practical and not ideological grounds and it must therefore be understood as a temporary expedient which is limited at all points to what is really necessary." "In every way possible the whole Church should seek to manifest visibly and corporately the unity between all groups within it which Christ has given to it as His one Body."

We shall not at this point study other observations by the Commission, but note that its report was wide-ranging. On the one hand it was critical of the principle of segregation that was held by the Dutch Reformed Churches and of the paternalism that was frequently evident there: while on the other hand it criticised in some detail the discrimination between racial groups that obtained in many areas of life in the 'English-speaking' Churches. It sought to analyse, too, the underlying causes for the existent racial attitudes in the Churches and the factors which hindered a more faithful representation of the Gospel of Christ. In conclusion the Commission made many practical recommendations: amongst which we note an urgent call for a substantial programme of education in attitudes reflecting

faith in the Gospel of reconciliation; and also a call for a deliberate policy of education of black people for leadership in every area of the life of the Church.

Here then was a cry for change in the Church. The other study commissions, meanwhile, were publishing far-raching reports and recommendations for change in other areas of society. Together they represented a substantial attempt by Christians to point men towards new approaches to race relations for South Africa. It remained to be seen whether their efforts would be heeded.

At the beginning of 1972 the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute sponsored a two-year follow-up, known as the 'Special Programme for Christian Action in Society' (Spro-cas 2), which sought to implement some of the recommendations that had been made and to enable and stimulate action for social change. Its dual thrusts into the white and black communities, each developing programmes relevant to the differing needs of those communities, were to continue the challenge.(1)

Other factors, meanwhile, were prompting changes within the Churches themselves.

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(1) Refer Randall, P.: A Taste of Power (1973) pp106ff. This Programme expired at the end of 1973. Its two thrusts were continued by newly-created autonomous organisations: the Programme for Social Change which planned to promote communication and co-operation among those working for change in the white community, but which made little impact and so ended in 1975; and the Black Community Programmes which sought to help black people work for change, and which was banned by the Government in October 1977.

5. CHANGES AFOOT

Just as the NGK was in the 1970s being faced by growing criticism and pressure from black church members on the one hand and from Churches in other parts of the world on the other, so too were the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches being affected by pressure from such sources.

As Western civilisation had been a dominant force in southern Africa for so many years, not only had white people tended to see themselves as culturally superior to black people, but black people had conversely tended to see themselves as inferior to white people. They had accepted the common assumption that the western way of life was the norm for being regarded as 'civilised', and many black people had striven to become the same as a white man in every respect except colour. Now, however, there was developing a 'black consciousness' which encouraged black people to reject any suggestion that they were inferior, to see and appreciate their own inherent worth as human beings, and to take pride in the fact that they were black and in their own particular cultural background. Proponents of this thinking urged others to cease former attitudes of servility towards white people and to act with a sense of their own dignity. They encouraged them to see that they too, with their particular abilities and point of view, indeed had something of value to contribute to the life of society as a whole.(1) At the same time they were becoming increasingly conscious and resentful of discrimination against black people on racial grounds, and consequently were more vocal in their criticism of this and also of paternalism amongst white people. There were calls for black solidarity, and many withdrew from multi-racial organisations because they felt that "no useful purpose could be served in maintaining a wishy-washy contact with whites". Some vigorously repudiated white 'liberals' who had in the past espoused the cause of the black people.(2) This 'black consciousness' was not yet a strong popular movement, but it was growing, especially among intellectuals and young people. It was to have various repercussions in

(1) A simple indication of this thinking was the rejection of their common appellation 'Non-Whites' for the more positive 'Blacks'.

(2) There were striking similarities between this thinking and that of Afrikaner nationalism at the beginning of the century, when Afrikaner leaders, resenting the British victory over them in the Anglo-Boer War and the subsequent cultural and economic predominance of English-speaking people, encouraged their people not to feel inferior but to take pride in their own cultural background, language and achievements, and to assert themselves and their own identity.

the Churches.

Firstly, there was a growing tendency for black churchmen to assert themselves in the life and courts of their Churches. Many began to articulate their dissatisfactions with these Churches, to criticise more openly than before the racial separation and discrimination that was present in church structures, and to demand that changes be made. In particular, emphasis was given to the need for more leadership positions to be entrusted to black people. Sometimes white churchmen were condemned for hypocrisy, and on occasions there were threats of a mass withdrawal of black people from one Church or another. This new assertiveness and this criticism was to prompt several changes in the Churches, some of which we shall mention shortly.

Secondly, many African churchmen pointed out that western music, architecture and religious symbolism had been imposed on them, while their own cultural forms had been ignored or suppressed. They complained likewise that the emphases of the Churches and their western liturgies did not meet the spiritual needs of African people. For these reasons the appeal of the African independent churches was growing tremendously and there was every indication that it would continue to do so.(1) As a result of such observations, there was much consideration in the Churches of the need for worship to be 'indigenous', and there is evidence that attention was being given to this in current liturgical reform. Furthermore, there developed what might be called 'African theology', which sought to make Christian theology indigenous, whereby the Gospel was spelled out for and took shape in African thought-forms and in terms of African culture. To a certain extent there was with this an examination of the relationships between Christian and traditional African beliefs and practices.

Thirdly and closely linked with this latter factor was the development of 'black theology', not only amongst Africans but amongst other black peoples as well. This sought to understand and interpret the Christian Gospel from the point of view of black people in their particular sociological situation; or, more specifically, to answer the question: "What does Jesus Christ mean to us in terms of our political situation as oppressed people."

(1) Between 1946 and 1960 the total membership of these Churches increased from 9,6% to 21% of the African population. Whisson has suggested that their growth and maturing organisation will give membership of them an equal status alternative to membership of the established Churches, so that they might become the greatest challenge that the latter Churches have hitherto faced. (in Towards Social Change (Spro-cas Social Commission) (1971) p86).

So much of the theological understanding in the Churches had been shaped by men who had been members of a ruling elite, that while Jesus Christ appeared to be one making appeals to the rich to relieve the burden of the poor, he hardly ever appeared as the one standing alongside the poor encouraging them to stake their rightful claims. Now 'black theology' sought to help black people see Christ as liberator, and to understand that in preaching good news to the poor, proclaiming release to the captives and setting at liberty those who were oppressed (Luke 4:18) God was indeed concerned to set the black man free from poverty, humiliation and exploitation at the hands of white people. "We understand Christ's liberation to be a liberation not only from circumstances of internal bondage but also a liberation from circumstances of external enslavement".(1) So this was "a theological study of disinheritance and liberation from the perspective of people who are oppressed because of their colour".(2) It was similar to the 'black theology' of the United States of America and the 'theology of liberation' of Latin America, yet the particular men involved in South Africa had a different background and history and so brought different insights to bear as they grappled with their significantly different situation. As a theological movement it was still in its early stages but it was bound to have an important influence on any future consideration of the theology of race relations.(3)

Meanwhile, in September 1970 the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches announced that as part of its Programme to Combat Racism it would make grants totalling 200 000 American dollars to organisations combating racism in various parts of the world, including several movements in southern Africa. The grants were to be used for legal aid and for educational, health and welfare measures, and each organisation concerned had given an assurance that it would not use the money for military purposes. However, some of those organisations were committed to bring about political change by violent means, which fact meant that the World Council was implicitly encouraging violence in southern Africa. This caused widespread indignation in the country, and amongst those to raise their voice in criticism were the Churches. It is beyond the scope of our study to discuss

(1) Pro veritate, July 1971, p25.
(2) The Black Sash, June 1971, p22.
(3) cf. Becken, H-J.(Ed.): Relevant Theology for Africa (Lutheran Publishing House, Durban, 1972); Motlhabi, M. (Ed.): Essays on Black Theology (UCM, Johannesburg, 1972).

the ethics of violent change. What should be observed, however, was that this decision of the World Council prompted its South African member-Churches to intensify their witness to justice and reconciliation in society and, more particularly, within their own structures. The need for change had become manifestly more urgent, if it was to be peaceful. Moreover, the Churches needed to show the world that they were indeed working for such change.

In October 1970 the Conference of the Methodist Church unanimously passed a resolution which took exception to the action of the World Council - but which at the same time acknowledged "our own shortcomings in seeking a solution of the problem of racism". The Church pledged itself to seek true unity between the races in Church and nation.(1) The following month the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church likewise criticised the World Council - but acknowledged that the growing condemnation of South Africa by the rest of the world "is a judgement on our policies of racial discrimination and a warning to us". It confessed that the Church had frequently been ineffectual as a witness to the lordship of Christ, and as an agent for change in society, and added that the Church should acknowledge its failure to remove racial prejudice from within its own ranks. So all church members were called upon to "work for the restoration of a Christian fellowship in which sinful racial descrimination has no place".(2)

Reaction did not stop short at making statements, however. At the same Synod the Anglican Church established a 'Programme for Human Relations and Reconciliation' which was to approach the problem of race relations from various angles. The first major thrust was an educational programme of planned change in racial attitudes. As part of this programme, 'Challenge Groups' were formed at provincial, diocesan and parish levels with the following aims:

> "First to identify those features in the life (including the general attitudes and responses of members) and form (structures and procedures) of the Church which contribute to the formation and perpetuation of those attitudes and responses which alienate the races from each other and in which the Church is conformed to the apartheid society in such a way as to hinder its witness.
>
> "Then to challenge the Church at any of these points identified...
>
> "and....to stimulate creative reformation, so that there may be closer

(1) Pro Veritate, November 1970, p13.
(2) Pro Veritate, December 1970, p10.

connection between the values the Church professes and the concrete expressions of its life and form."[1]

Also in order to encourage a change in attitudes, conscious efforts were made to create opportunities for people of different races to meet one another within the church context. Meanwhile some sought ways of supporting by encouragement and practical means those people who were suffering unpleasant consequences, due to State strictures or otherwise, because of their stand for better race relations. The second major thrust by the Church was a programme for community development among under-privileged people. Some dioceses appointed full-time community development officers, while a large and comprehensive pilot project was initiated on an ecumenical basis in Zululand.

In a similar manner, the Methodist Church established a 'Programme for Justice and Reconciliation'. The Roman Catholic Church was not directly involved in the action of the World Council of Churches which started these activities (for it was not a member of that council) but it too formed 'Justice and Peace Commissions' at diocesan and parish levels with similar aims to those of the other Churches. (The South African Council of Churches, meanwhile, established in November 1972 its own Division to co-ordinate and assist the responses of Churches to social issues and particularly to racial justice.)

There was a mixed response amongst church members to these various programmes. Some showed apathy; some hostility. Others were greatly encouraged to see the Churches move from issuing statements to concerted action for better race relations. Whether the attitudes of people were being changed by such action remained to be seen, but there is evidence that the programmes did have a definite impact on the structures of these Churches.

So it is that, due in some measure to pressure of opinion from church bodies overseas, and more particularly to pressure from black members within the Churches, as well as from many white members, there have in recent years been various noteworthy changes in race relations within the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches.

In 1976 the Conference of the Methodist Church instructed its synods

(1) From a working paper of Provincial Standing Committee.

to investigate a plan for the progressive integration of their circuits by 1980. Subsequently several circuits have been redefined on a purely geographical basis, so that clergy and officials in those situations now minister to people of various racial groups, albeit usually in separate congregations within each circuit.(1)

In the same year the Roman Catholic Church decided in principle to integrate its schools, and was supported in this move by the Anglican and Methodist Churches. At the beginning of the following year some black pupils were admitted to various schools, but after negotiations between church and government authorities it was agreed to freeze the situation pending the outcome of further discussions. Subsequently the Government gave authorisation for black pupils to attend white church schools providing each pupil had the approval of the respective provincial administration. By March 1978 it was reported that there were about 500 black pupils at formerly white church schools around the country (though the Transvaal Provincial Administration was still refusing to approve the enrollment of about 200 in that province).(2)

Meanwhile a more balanced racial representation had been achieved in some church courts, and others were striving to that end. Several more black bishops had been consecrated in both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches; and in the Methodist Church a Coloured man, the Reverend A. Hendricks, was elected President in 1975 and then again in 1977. Other black clergy were promoted to various senior positions, and some prominent lay officers were black people. In a few situations in each of the Churches black clergymen were appointed to minister to white congregations.

Some church courts were now using simultaneous translation equipment during their debates, and new efforts were being made to translate official documents and communications into African languages. Though there was still need for more of this, as was evidenced by the decision of the Anglican Provincial Synod in 1976, on the prompting of an African bishop, to postpone two major agenda items until its next meeting in 1979 because the reports on them had not been translated into other langues.

Furthermore, significant moves were being made towards the racial parity of clergy stipends. In 1976 the Methodist Church established a minimum rate with no reference to race and started towards a progressive equalisition of stipends.(3) In the Anglican Church every diocese had attained

(1) The Daily News, 18th October 1976, 14th May 1977; EcuNews, 15th July 1977.
(2) SAIRR Survey 1977, p41; The Daily News 28th March 1978.
(3) The Daily News, 20th October 1976).

parity for its own clergy (sometimes through the white clergy voluntarily forfeiting increments), and in 1977 that Church started a scheme to bring parity between stipends paid in the richer and poorer dioceses.

Having said this, however, it should be added that there is still much evidence of separation between the racial groups within these three Churches.

As with the NGK, the future is uncertain. That there will soon be complete uniformity between teaching and practice is unlikely. Nevertheless, pressures for change will comtinue.

PART FOUR

A CRITIQUE

We have gained some insight into the theological approaches to race relations that have been evident in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk on the one hand, and the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches on the other. The debate on these approaches has been wide-ranging, and arguments have changed through the years. Now we should make some assessment of important aspects in this thinking.

1. GOD'S 'CHOSEN PEOPLE'

The history of the Afrikaner people shows a long tradition of belief that they have been a 'Chosen People' of God - 'called ' by God to serve him in a special way, by bringing Christianity and a 'Christian way of life' to southern Africa and safeguarding it there. We have see how this belief arose during the time of the Voortrekkers, and was later used to great effect by nationalists to weld Afrikaners together. We have seen too that Dutch Reformed churchmen have been among the leaders in propounding this doctrine - though it is significant that NGK theologians of today would reject it.(1)

No doubt it was their Calvinist background that enabled Afrikaners to think of themselves as a chosen people. The doctrine of election, teaching that some people are chosen by God in preference to others, filled a central place in the Institutes of Calvin. Some critics have argued that this doctrine applied only to individuals rather than to peoples as a whole: though there is the possibility, as Moodie has suggested, that a covenant between God and a people was allowed by Calvin when he reasoned that God predestined not only individuals, as he had given an example of predestination "in the whole posterity of Abraham, to make it plain that the future condition of each nation was entirely at his disposal".(2) Yet this people of God that Calvin spoke of should not be broadened out and identified with a whole nation as such. Indeed, Calvin's teaching was developed further by Afrikaner churchmen. Nevertheless, whether or not this was so it was that teaching that gave impetus to their belief in being specially chosen by God.

(1) cf. p180 supra.
(2) Calvin, Institutes, Book III, 21:5; Moodie, op.cit.p41.

However, it should be added that an equally important influence towards this thinking was the fact that the Afrikaners felt their existence threatened by other peoples round about them. Being devout and very conscious of their Christian faith, it was significant to them that the black people threatening them were heathens. As they read their Bibles they found their circumstances strikingly similar to those of the People of Israel, who had likewise journeyed through many dangers to a new land where they had had to uphold their Faith amidst heathen peoples and influences. So it was fairly natural to identify with Israel and come to think of themselves as a 'Chosen People', as Israel had been. God himself had led them to this land which he had given them. This understanding gave them encouragement in the face of opponents. It also served to justify their concern for their own preservation as a people. For just as Israel had had to guard her unity and purity in order to preserve her Faith, so Afrikaners were to guard their particular national characteristics and way of life - or, as they described it, 'Christian civilisation' - in order to preserve the Christian faith in southern Africa. (That the emphasis was placed on preserving Christianity rather than bringing it to that part of the world, may be seen in the fact that there was for many years not only little attempt made by the Dutch Reformed Church to spread the faith amongst black people, but also frequently antagonism towards missionary endeavour by other Churches.)

Furthermore, this notion that they were a special people before God served to justify their feeling of superiority over black people.

Now, we must allow that God may use various nations for particular purposes or as vehicles of his gifts (as he was seen to do in Old Testament times). So, indeed, he has used people from Europe to bring the Gospel of Christ to southern Africa. But we cannot deduce from this that God has chosen one people <u>in preference</u> to another, nor favoured one above another. The fact that God may use a people does not mean that they are superior to other peoples nor more special in God's sight than others - as has been implied when Afrikaners have called themselves 'Chosen People'.[1] Nor may they on these grounds preserve for themselves a special place in society. Israel was chosen not because she was superior to other peoples, nor that God might bestow privilege on her, but that she might serve him.

Furthermore, it is important to recognise that no nation has been called to a vocation comparable to that of the People of Israel - who were chosen by God to be the means of his revelation to the world in preparation

(1) We note that others, such as Puritans in America and Germany have at some stage thought of themselves as chosen people in much the same way as have Afrikaners.

for the Incarnation. Thus, bearing in mind the importance and special status that is commonly attributed by the title 'Chosen People', we would suggest that this title should rightly be given only, in the first instance, to the People of Israel with their unique and supreme calling, and in the second instance to the Christian Church, which has taken the place of the Old Israel in revealing God - and which is open across national boundaries to all peoples.(1)

Any suggestion that one people in South Africa has been specially chosen by God in preference to others should be rejected; and warning should be given against arrogance when one people or race see themselves as agents of God's will to the extent that they become interpreters of his providence for other peoples or races.

2. 'CHRISTIAN TRUSTEESHIP'

Ever since the early days of their settlement at the Cape, there has been wide-spread tendency among white people in southern Africa to regard themselves as superior to black people. Judging their own culture to be more advanced than that of Africans, many have been inclined to think of themselves as endowed with greater intelligence and initiative, and have been disposed to look down on blacks as immature, backward, even stupid.

During the nineteenth century this attitude was modified slightly as the work of Christian missionaries developed, and then as liberal humanitarianism became for a time the political tradition of the Cape. White people were prompted to show concern for the welfare of their 'inferiors'. As bearers of a 'higher civilisation' they cast themselves into the role of caring for the blacks - who were 'immature children' needing the help and supervision of their ruling fathers, and guidance towards a western way of life. So there developed the concept of whites acting as 'guardians' of the black people or 'trustees' with the responsibility of managing their affairs.

This concept of trusteeship of one people by another was not unique to South Africa. It had been developed towards the end of the eighteenth

(1) We note that Karl Barth was critical of suggestions that peoples may have particular historical missions. (Church Dogmatics, Vol.III 4, p300).

century by British statesmen in India who had held that Britain should rule the Indian Empire until the Indians had "become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves". It had also been applied in the United States of America in 1831 when the federal government had been declared trustee for the land of the Cherokee Indians. Now the concept was gaining international popularity and was given sanction by the Covenant of the League of Nations, whereby Mandatory Powers were given the 'sacred trust' of administering territories "inhabited by peoples unable to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world", and the task of promoting the welfare and 'social progress' of those inhabitants. Subsequently the United Nations Charter was to retain the concept when speaking of some nations taking responsibility for the development of others.(1)

As elsewhere, 'trusteeship' was not a specific programme in South Africa but merely a principle, susceptible of varied interpretations. It was developed into a political doctrine under the government of Smuts, who held that "the upliftment of the backward peoples is the sacred trust of civilisation".(2) It was also used by his opponents to describe their racial policies. Said Malan: "I regard the Bantu not as strangers and not as a menace to the white people, but as our children for whose welfare we are responsible, and as an asset to the country."(3) On the other hand, Professor Hoernlé, one of the foremost liberals in the country, upheld trusteeship as something liberals should strive for, providing it was given a liberal interpretation.(4)

As the concept developed, it took on a specifically Christian overtone, and 'Christian trusteeship' was propounded by churchmen as well as politicians. Superior nations had been called by God to accept responsibility for those nations that were supposedly 'less developed' than they. It was the 'Christian duty' of whites in South Africa to act as guardians for the blacks - not only bringing the Gospel to them, but helping them in their social, educational and economic development towards 'maturity'. We have seen that prominent NGK gatherings encouraged this principle, and that as recently as 1966 an NGK report described it as the calling of a Christian people.(5) Likewise, leaders in the 'English-speaking Churches (at least until 1949) accepted the idea.(6)

(1) Rheinallt Jones, J.D.: Christian Trusteeship (SAIRR Memorandum, 1949) pp2-3.
(2) Smuts, J.C.: The Basis of Trusteeship in African Native Policy, p7.
(3) Quoted in Dvorin, op.cit. p95.
(4) Hoernlé, R.F.A.: South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit (1939) pp153-154.
(5) Refer pp 102,104,121,177 supra.
(6) Refer pp 59,222,224,229 supra.

Because trusteeship implies taking care of black people rather than exploiting or oppressing them, the concept has been an attractive one. Indeed, we must acknowledge that the will to care for other people is admirable, particularly when some sacrifice is called for on the part of those who are caring.(1) The principle seems to conform with Christ's command that everyone should love his neighbour - though we must assert that it cannot be directly deduced from that command, as has been suggested. Nor may we accept the assertion that this is a biblical concept by extending the principle of guardianship of an individual as mentioned in Galatians 4:2 to apply to peoples as a whole.(2)

The term 'trusteeship' is seldom used with reference to race relations in South Africa nowadays - yet because it has been put forward as a Christian appraoch to race relations, and because the underlying attitudes are still prevalent, we should examine the concept. It is a vague one which has not been clearly thought out by its advocates. Indeed, it would seem to be in basic contradiction to the political ideal of racial separation - which has been supported by many of those who have called for trusteeship.(3) For a guardian cannot give help to his ward if they are seldom if ever to meet one another: so how are black people to learn from white people if segregation is to keep them separate? Moreover, if trusteeship is seen as preparing Africans for a western way of life, this is contrary to the principle which is supposed to underlie segregation, that peoples be enabled to develop their <u>own</u> distinctive culture and civilisation at their own pace in their own situations.

While some have defined trusteeship as preparing black people for a western way of life, they have not made it clear that evidence would be required to show that the blacks had in fact adopted such a way of life, or were able to take responsibility for themselves within it. Others have simply maintained that whites should act as trustees for the black people until the latter group has "reached the level where they can decide for themselves over their own affairs". But it has not been clarified what that 'level' should be, nor how it should be determined whether people have reached it. What evidence would be required to show that they were able to take responsibility for themselves? Furthermore, while it might be possible to judge the maturity of an individual in some way, how would one go about judging the maturity of a group? How many people in the

(1) cf. p 117 supra.
(2) Refer ibid.
(3) The Nationalist Party at one time urged that apartheid be administered in a spirit of Christian trusteeship.

group should be deemed mature before that group as a whole was allowed to graduate from a position of trusteeship? (We should add that it has not been defined what would actually happen when the black people have eventually 'come of age'.)

A serious criticism of trusteeship is that it deals with black people en masse and does not allow for individuals who might be deemed to have 'reached maturity', whether because they have become urbanised and westernised or because they seem able to act responsibly. If these individuals are to be treated justly, surely they should be granted the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship, free from trusteeship. Yet the NGK Report of 1966 (while saying that they should be treated with understanding) emphasised that they should not be admitted to the more developed community.(1) In contrast, one of the emphases of Christianity lies on the individual. Although God does create man within communities, he creates each human being separately. He has "called you by name" (Isaiah 43:1) and knows you "personally".(2) It is each individual that matters to God and is loved by him. It is the individual that is of eternal value. So the Christian ethic emphasises the worth of each person, and men are to be judged by their character and ability and not by the group to which they belong, their race or colour. Thus, if a racial policy regards people not as individuals with personal attributes and claims but only as members of a particular racial or colour group; if the individual is sacrified to the generalisations of group-thinking; then such a policy should be condemned as being contrary to Christian teaching.

It must be clearly seen that the concept of trusteeship has provided white people with a rationalisation for their domination over black people. Just as a trustee retains authority over his ward, controls his life and makes decisions on his behalf, so white people have argued that they, as trustees, have had the right to retain power and leadership over black people and even to control their daily living. This control, they have said, has been for the benefit of the black people. "We know what is good for them." So 'trusteeship' has seemed to replace domination in the interests of a conquering and colonising power by domination in the interests of those conquered,(3) and the white people have been encouraged to believe in all sincerity that their domination has been not only just, but beneficial to the black people. However, whether or not the domination has changed in character, it is clear that it has still remained domination - and, as we

(1) Refer p178 supra.
(2) cf. Brunner, E.: Justice and the Social Order (1945) pp39-40.
(3) cf. Hoernlé, op.cit. p57.

shall observe shortly, this has not in fact been beneficial to black people for it has indeed hindered their development. So trusteeship may be seen as a euphemistic term, disguising the maintenance of white superiority. It has been described by one observer as 'benevolent despotism'.(1)

If trusteeship is to be genuine then at some stage the ward must 'come of age' and the authority which the trustee has exercised over him must come to an end. Then the trustee must allow the ward to take a full share in the life of the community, as an equal with him. Nearly all those who have urged the practice of trusteeship have stressed that it must essentially be an interim measure. But if the decision as to when the period of trusteeship is to end is left solely to the whites, it is likely that they would be influenced by their own interests, and would continue the trusteeship indefinitely so as to maintain their superior position. Indeed, in 1939 Hoernlé observed that trusteeship tended to be administered as if it were a permanent institution, as if the relation of ward to trustee would remain the standing pattern for all time of whites' relations with blacks.(2) Then in 1956 Keet warned against a guardian always remaining a guardian, and observed that current declarations of apartheid seemed to disregard the rapidly growing numbers of Africans who had emerged from their 'primitive state'. Today, still, whites maintain that they must guide the black people for their future, and are still reluctant to relinquish authority over them. 'Trustees' plead that time is necessary for the spiritual growth and material preparedness of the black people to care for their own welfare. But the danger is that that time will last for ever.

It should be acknowledged that many white people, including supporters of the policy of racial segregation, have been dedicated to working for the welfare of black people. Many have been sincere and well-meaning in their relations with and treatment of blacks, and have frequently displayed generosity towards them. But all too often their approach has been paternalistic: one of condescension from a position of power and control, maintaining a rigid principle of inequality. There has, perhaps subconsciously, been an underlying attitude that black people are backward or like children - and blacks have been told that they should willingly and humbly submit to the authority and discipline imposed by the whites and should gratefully accept the help that they have received.(3) This paternalism has been wide-spread.

(1) That some advocates of trusteeship have recognised this tendency is seen in their warnings against domination over a ward by his trustee. (refer eg. p177 supra.)
(2) Hoernlé, op.cit. p58.
(3) Refer eg. pp118,178 supra.

It has been evident in the relationships between individuals and their domestic servants; as well as in the actions of state officials who "condescendingly receive tribal honours, assure their 'children' of sympathy, and dispense government favours". It has been noticeable in liberals espousing the cause of black people and mixing with them, as much as in supporters of segregation. In the NGK the Churches for black people have been termed 'daughter Churches' even after the recognition of their independence; while the Spro-cas Church Commission discerned "an endemic general attitude" of paternalism in the English-speaking Churches too.(1)

Brookes has suggested that paternalism is preferable to negligence, uncaring or cruelty.(2) At first this may seem true: but it overlooks the effects of paternalism. Because paternalism appears to be a benevolent approach, it enables whites who are racialistic to remain psychologically blind to their racialism and convinced that they are only benevolent in their attitude. Because they relate downward to blacks as superiors to inferiors, they are inhibited from recognising maturity in a black person, and there is little chance for real understanding between them, nor for mutual acceptance. In contrast to the fundamental tenet of effective community development that people should be encouraged to take responsibility for themselves and help themselves, paternalism inspires whites to do things <u>for</u> the black people - and so denies them opportunities for taking such responsibilities themselves. Further, paternalism encourages a dependent attitude among black people, prompting them to accept uncritically the actions and decisions of white leaders. It has stifled initiative and self-confidence among many black people. It has inhibited the development of black leaders, and has blocked them from taking over the real centres of power. Thus, encouraged by proponents of black consciousness', many blacks have come to despise whites for their very condescension; and many who have become aware that paternalism has inhibited the development of their people, would, in disagreement with Brookes, prefer whites to be uncaring rather than paternalistic. The concept of trusteeship, it is true, has in some measure been a result of a paternalistic outlook: but it should be strongly criticised for the way it has itself encouraged and reinforced such paternalism.

(1) Spro-cas Church Commission p46.
(2) Brookes, <u>White Rule</u> p84.

3. SELF-PRESERVATION

It is not really surprising that self-preservation in the face of other peoples has been a prominent concern for many white people in South Africa. As we have seen, whites at one stage found themselves competing against a very much larger black population for land and livestock - their very livelihood - which competition frequently involved bloodshed. Later many whites were unable to find employment and a livelihood in the towns because of the plentiful black labour there. More recently whites have been challenged by increasing demands from black people, and have had forebodings of happenings similar to those in other parts of Africa, where whites have been attacked or killed or have had to flee their homes and livelihood in the face of black people taking over political power. Nor is it surprising that whites, apart from being concerned for their own safety as individuals, have also sought to preserve their racial group as a whole with its distinctive characteristics - for they have found security within that grouping of people similar to themselves. Likewise, because they have had an identity rooted in their western culture and traditions, it is understandable that they have been anxious to preserve that culture against assimilation by the more numerous black people, and that Afrikaners have also sought to preserve their distinctive national characteristics against anglicisation. The instinct to preserve one's own life as well as one's own identity amongst others is common to all men.

As concern for their self-preservation has been a major impetus towards the policy of racial segregation, and has provided something of a rationale for that policy, we should examine arguments that have been put forward to defend and encourage this concern.

It has been argued that every person has a <u>right</u> to preserve himself. "That every living being has the right to protect himself is a law of nature which no thinking person can doubt. The capacity to do so was given by the Creator to every being - certainly with the intention that he use it."(1) Following on from this, it has been argued that a national, racial or cultural group has the right to defend itself and its own identity. With these assertions we may agree - providing such preservation is not maintained at the expense of others, nor involves their subjugation. The right of all individuals and groups to their own preservation must be respected and guarded. (Thus we may agree with those who stress that change to a new political power structure in South Africa should guarantee the survival of

(1) Dr. T.C. de Villiers in <u>Inspan</u>, June 1948: quoted by Moodie, op.cit. p319.

white people there with freedom to maintain their own racial identity and culture.)

Some have added that if people have built up a way of life which they believe to be better than any other, then they have a right to defend that too. Providing that way of life does not restrict the freedom of other men or groups, nor prevent those from choosing their own way of life, we may accept this assertion. But here it should be emphasised that the way of life of white people in South Africa has been based on their political, social and economic privilege and their domination over black people. A way of life on this basis they have no right to defend.(1)

Many Dutch Reformed churchmen have gone further than asserting a right to the preservation of one's own racial and cultural identity, to assert that the white people in South Africa have indeed a solemn duty to preserve this. They are obliged to take measures for the survival of the white population group with its distinctive identity. Some have given this obligation sacred overtones, and have described it as "a healthy Christian principle". Various arguments have been put forward to support this.

It has been argued that the white population group and the Afrikaner national group (as well as other racial groupings) are a creation of God, and therefore that the white man and Afrikaner is compelled to protect the identity of his group. But Barth's response to such an assertion seems telling. He agreed it to be important that a man should honour his people - his language, fatherland and culture - and treat them with love and fidelity: for these had been given him by God. A man should joyfully and thankfully be what he was. But Barth gave stern warning that a man should not regard it as a fixed determination by God that he should be within his particular people. That determination might change and be replaced by another. "It must not be decked out as an order of creation." Nor should the past and present of a people nor its language and territory be thought of as 'holy'. The historical existence and task of a people could not be an end in itself. "To ascribe to (groups or peoples) a divinely willed and guaranteed persistence is quite arbitrary and even laughable for those who are prepared to hear the divine command."(2)

(1) Nor may it be argued that the loss of privilege would endanger the right to preservation of a cultural identity: for many peoples, such as Indians in South Africa, have maintained an exclusive identity without access to political power. (cf. Spro-cas Social Commission p12.)

(2) Barth, Church Dogmatics Vol III 4, pp289-304. Likewise, Reinhold Niebuhr argued that one should not regard 'creation' as fixed, "but as part of the historic development to which every race and person (is) subject". (in Love and Justice (Robertson, D.B.(Ed.)) p152.)

It has been suggested that in order for Christianity to continue in southern Africa, as God surely wills, then white people who brought the Gospel to those parts should be preserved to spread it further amongst the heathen. Similarly, they should be preserved to bring the black people to 'maturity' through Christian trusteeship. If the whites were to disappear it has been said, Christianity and western civilisation would disappear. The fault of this argument lies in the fact that it identifies Christianity and western civilisation with the whites, and does not credit that many black people have become imbued with them and might well see to their continuance should it happen that the whites no longer remain as a distinctive group.

Some have pointed to the biblical commandment to honour one's father and mother (Exodus 20:12), suggesting that this demands that every person keeps in honour his forebears' culture, language and traditions and ensures that these be not destroyed. A man must defend his heritage. Should he not preserve it, or should he leave his own group to join another, then he would be breaking this important commandment. But this, we suggest, is stretching the commandment too far - a commandment which essentially calls for respect in personal relationships. Similarly, we cannot accept the suggestion that a man's 'vocation towards his posterity' demands that he hand over his heritage just as he received it. For he would surely give more benefit to his descendants if he sought to improve what had been given to him and to adapt it to changing historical circumstances and environments.

Many have argued with feeling that it would amount to suicide if the white people allowed their racial group or their culture to be destroyed, and that they would thus be breaking the sixth commandment: "You shall not kill" (Exodus 20:13). To avoid this, they should do all that they could to preserve the identity of their people. Again a commandment has been given a figurative exegesis, prohibiting the 'death' of a racial identity or culture, but again we would warn against giving the commandments too wide an interpretation. The most patent understanding of this one is that it forbids that a man should be put to death. Now, human life would not necessarily be endangered if racial characteristics or a culture were allowed to disappear through miscegenation or through the predominance of another culture within the population. But the mention of suicide and the invocation of the sixth commandment in this context does have the connotation of physical death - and so is misleading. We should recognise the high emotional content in this argument. Indeed, emotionalism is present in many discussions on the question of self-preservation. The very

suggestion that a man has a duty to protect his racial and cultural identity is an emotive one. However, we may conclude that none of the arguments given shows convincingly that there is in fact such an obligation laid upon men. We might add that any individual should have the right and freedom to withdraw from his racial or cultural group and dissociate himself from the identity of that group.

The appeal for the preservation of the white population group has been tempered by some who have asserted that black people likewise have a right to self-preservation, and so should be encouraged to preserve their own cultures and to secure their own identity within these. This, as we have seen, has been an argument for the government policy of 'separate development' But it is significant that such proponents have usually been vague as to what aspects of black culture they have regarded as particularly valuable. Moreover, white people have been more anxious for the preservation of the black peoples' identity than have the black people themselves, at least until the growth of 'black consciousness'. It seems clear that the whites' call for black self-preservation has been basically to make their preoccupation with their own preservation seem more presentable, as well as to give support to the policy of racial segregation.

We would at this point comment on the counter-argument of other churchmen that self-preservation falls under the judgement of Christ, who said that "whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake, he will save it". (Luke 9:24). This saying is surely not a blanket condemnation of concern for one's own safety and protection. Christ was warning his disciples that if they were to follow him they might well face suffering and death inflicted by others. If they were prepared to die because of their allegiance to him ('for my sake') they would retain the eternal life promised to them, and a share in the Kingdom of God. But if in order to save their earthly life they denied him, then God would be ashamed of them and they might lose their inheritance in his Kingdom. It seems clear that Christ was warning against seeking to preserve oneself by denying allegiance to him, but was in no way condemning those who sought to preserve themselves in other circumstances, where the question of allegiance to him had no bearing on the situation.

It is not wrong to be proud of one's own people, their culture and traditions (in so far as these have not been tarnished by sin), nor is it wrong to want to preserve whatever elements of these seem worthwhile. Certainly there is a need for some appreciation of what is one's own if one is fully to appreciate what belongs to others. But it is sad that whites in

South Africa have had this great pre-occupation with the preservation of their own identity, seeing in black people a menace to their 'whiteness' rather than a common human dignity. For this pre-occupation has been founded on fear. How much better would be an attitude of faith that all that is really valuable in a person cannot finally be lost; [1] that God will preserve what is worth preserving. (Though we must appreciate that this suggestion is not likely to bear much weight with those who have no belief in God, nor those who have seen culture and values which they believed to be of value for all men suppressed other parts of the world.)

Clayton suggested that the complete loss of a racial type would limit the diversity of mankind and so be a real loss to humanity. This is questionable, however, for just as one racial type might disappear in the course of time so another might appear, and diversity thus continue. Furthermore it is important to recognise that racial or group characteristics may have limitations, and that some change and development of them could well be healthy and beneficial. Such development should be allowed to happen. Indeed, there is some truth in the comment by Brookes that when the whites in South Africa are ready to lose themselves they will be big enough to find themselves. [2] There is need for them to appreciate Hurley's observation that their civilisation is not a fragile, delicate thing which needs protecting, but something vigorous which thrives on encounters with other cultures, and may profitably adopt new values in exchange for what it offers to others. [3] Western civilisation, said Marquard, "is not preserved by 'protecting' it by hot-house methods, but....flourishes only when it expands and seeks to attract to its ranks on terms of equality all, of whatever colour, who are imbued with the spirit of liberty, of culture, and of humanity that is characteristic of the greatest traditions." [4] Indeed, one should keep a sense of proportion and not concentrate so exclusively on one's own racial and national values that there can be no appreciation of what is valuable in others and of what one has in common with all mankind. Said Hurley, one should concentrate <u>most</u> of the time on one's common human heritage. The true patriot sees his own nation as only one of the whole family of nations, and love for his own people should be enriched by close fellowship with other peoples.

(1) cf. p280 supra.
(2) Brookes, E.H.: <u>The City of God and the Politics of Crisis</u> (1960) p38.
(3) Refer p272 supra.
(4) Marquard, <u>Peoples and Policies</u> p260.

4. MISCEGENATION

We have seen that during the early years of white settlement at the Cape miscegenation did take place, by irregular liaisons and sometimes through intermarriage. But as the white society became more settled such miscegenation became less and less acceptable to them, until by the beginning of the nineteenth century their disapproval had become abhorrence. Today it is probably true to say that the majority of white South Africans contemplate miscegenation with a shudder of aversion amounting to angry horror. "How would you like your daughter (or sister) to marry a black man?" is the popular expression of this dislike.

MacCrone(1) explained this aversion in terms of unconscious psychological factors. He pointed to a universal belief among white people that black men are more virile and sexually more potent than they, and that black women are more voluptuous and have more 'abandon'. Black people, whites surmise, indulge their sexual appetites more freely and more promiscuously than do whites. Because of the fascination of this 'freer sexual life', and because people of a socially superior class often find more complete sexual gratification in intercourse with those who belong to a socially inferior and despised class, it is feared that a black person might exercise a greater attraction upon a white man or woman than would partners of his or her own race. Consequently, primitive jealousy shows itself in a blend of anger, resentment, horror and fear; and miscegenation comes to be regarded as a form of perversion. Equally, jealousy, as well as the projection of the white man's own sexual desires onto the black man, gives rise to the fixed idea that every black man prefers a white woman to a woman of his own race: which belief serves to maintain suspicion and hostility against the black man, and makes it more difficult for him to become a serious rival of the white man.(2)

The same explanations may also account for an excessive concern for the honour of white women - which white men have felt it incumbent upon themselves to protect. A strong element in the ideal picture of the Afrikaner <u>vrou</u> is the concept of her as a white woman, chaste and aloof amongst a black population. The notion of any white woman in the arms of a black man, particularly if it is of her own free will, is enough to give rise to most pronounced emotional reactions in a white man. In turn, this concern for her purity has been readily displaced onto the white race as a whole and

(1) MacCrone, <u>Race Attitudes</u> pp300-304.
(2) We note, on the other hand, that a prominent reason given for the Immorality Act is that it is to protect the innocent black woman from the guiles of the white man. This is a rationalisation.

has become a demand for the preservation of the 'purity of the race'.

Another factor which no doubt encourages the whites' aversion to miscegenation is their concern for their own preservation as a distinctive people. If miscegenation became a common practice, then, it is feared, there would be complete biological assimilation, and the white people would disappear in a Coloured mass.

Marquard suggested that fear of miscegenation is the strongest motive for racial prejudice, and so seems to be one of the main reasons for the policy of racial segregation.(1) A great deal of social discrimination is justified popularly on the grounds that it prevents a lead up to mixed marriages which would endanger the white race in South Africa. "It is felt that if there is once political equality, that things will not stop there. They will go further, and continue an economic and social lines. It is felt that you will ultimately have social equality, which in the long run it will not be possible to stop, and if you have social equality, you subsequently get mixing of blood, and the ruin of the White race."(2) Some would perhaps tolerate every degree of equality or integration except this last, but because they believe this to be the inevitable outcome they reject the whole development. Indeed, fear of miscegenation is expressed again and again in discussions on race relations. "Lincoln's reply, that because he wanted justice for a Negro woman it did not mean that he wanted to marry her, has little effect on this deeply rooted anxiety."(3)

Arguing for the prohibition of miscegenation, some Dutch Reformed theologians (and the NGK Report of 1966) have pointed out that God willed a diversity among the peoples of the earth, and that it would thus be contrary to his will and therefore sinful if peoples were to intermarry and through miscegenation become one uniform type of people where previously there were two distinctive types. But is is clear, as Marais has said,(4) that the variety of peoples has in fact been increased through miscegenation and new peoples have come into being - whilst the peoples from which they came have continued through those individuals who have not engaged in mixed marriages.(5)

(1) This might explain why prejudice is particularly strong against social activities where physical contact between people of different races is close and on a basis of equality rather than a master/servant relationship.
(2) Quoted in Tatz, C.M.: Shadow and Substance in South Africa (1962)p76.
(3) Marquard, Peoples and Policies p127.
(4) Refer p151 supra.
(5) We have observed that God has not ordained particular variations to be fixed for all time, so that it would be in order for each of these to change at the same time as the overall diversity changes. (Refer p315 supra.)

At first, too, Dutch Reformed theologians pointed to the strong prohibitions in the Old Testament against Israelites marrying people from other nations, to show that intermarriage had been condemned by God. However, it has since been admitted that such prohibitions were not to preserve racial purity but to ensure the religious purity of the Israelites, lest their mixing with other peoples led them to follow other gods. It has also been shown clearly that intermarriages did in fact occur.(1) The NGK Report of 1966 wished to prevent these marriages being taken as examples of racial mixing, by suggesting that all the peoples in Mesopotamia and Egypt were probably of one race,(2) but whether this is correct or not, it remains certain that there were no racial prohibitions against mixing. Likewise, it has been admitted that the New Testament does not discourage marriage between people of different races, but only between Christian and unbeliever. (One argument against miscegenation has been that today, too, Christians should only marry Christians, so that the purity of the faith in southern Africa may be preserved: but it should be rememberd that many black people are indeed Christians - so marriage between these and white Christians cannot be precluded.) Thus theologians from both Dutch Reformed and 'English-speaking' Churches have agreed that no direct scriptural argument can be produced either against or for miscegenation.

However, when one turns to social considerations involved in a mixed marriage there is no clear-cut pronouncement that can be made. It may be accepted that for an ideal marriage there should be a degree of similarity between the partners - but it is not easy to state to what extent that similarity should be present. Dutch Reformed churchmen have asserted that there should be"a similarity" of descent, language, culture, colour, nationality and religion"(3) if a couple are to live together happily. Where customs are divergent they will find it difficult to adapt themselves to one another and their family life will be full of tension. Where their cultural backgrounds are different they will find assimilation difficult and that partner with the higher degree of civilisation will be 'harmed'. A marriage between people of different races in South Africa, it is concluded, would not have all the similarities required, and so would not be permissible. English-speaking churchmen have also placed great emphasis on such social and cultural factors, but in contrast they have seemed prepared to allow intermarriage - providing due consideration has been given to these factors by the partners concerned. We should point out that just because a man and a woman may be of different races does not mean that they are

(1) Refer eg. p234 supra.
(2) Refer p178 supra.
(3) Refer p179 supra.

totally dissimilar, as is suggested by those arguing against miscegenation. Indeed, they may have the same language and religion, and a similar background of urban culture, customs and interests. We must admit that differences may militate against their marriage (just as differences may militate against a marriage between people of the same race); but we assert that where individuals have given careful thought to their differences, and are convinced that such differences are not too great, then there can be no objection on these grounds to their marriage.

Another point which has been argued by opponents of miscegenation is that children of a mixed marriage will suffer because they will be noticeable by their hybrid features and will be teased by other children and probably ostracised by both racial groups. It is not easy to judge whether this will be so, as it may depend on their pariicular social situation, but it is a question which should be carefully weighed by couples considering marriage. (As a couple may decide not to have children, this obviously cannot be a reason to prevent all mixed marriages.) Certainly in a society such as that in South Africa, where there is strong public opinion against miscegenation, the partners in a mixed marriage as well as their children are likely to experience contempt and ostracism. Moreover, where there is legal discrimination between people of different races in most situations of daily living, a mixed marriage would be difficult because partners could not do everything together. Also, as happens to some Coloured families, a family may be divided if some of the children are 'darker' than the others so that they associate with different racial groups. However, while for many people, both Afrikaans-- and English-speaking, these conditions prevalent in South Africa may make intermarriage "peculiarly undesirable", we would assert that these are not reasons for preventing a mixed couple from marrying, if they are aware of such difficulties and prepared to develop their marriage life within them.

The question then to be decided upon is whether the State has the right to legislate against miscegenation, as has been done in South Africa by the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. Many Dutch Reformed theologians have argued that the State does have this right. The choice of a marriage partner implicates many more than the two people concerned, for it is impossible to isolate these individuals from their community. More important than their free choice is the maintenance of peace: so the State, acting for the welfare of the whole community, may forbid miscegenation where this may damage or disturb the stability of society. Furthermore, it has been argued, a racial group may take steps to preserve its distinctive

nature, and this may be done by government legislation preventing their assimilation into another race. However, it was added in 1972 that such legislation should be an 'extraordinary measure', not normative for all times and all places.(1) In contrast to this stand, the Reformed Ecumenical Synod in 1968 said that State and church have no right to limit the free choice of a marriage partner.(2) Leaders of the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches have stated that absolute prohibition of miscegenation by the State would be an unwarrantable interference in a personal concern.(3)

When we turn to Bonhoeffer we find he held that everyone has the right to personal choice of a marriage partner. He admitted that social, religious and biological factors must be considered in making that choice, but he stated that racial and national restriction of the right of marriage would rob it of its universal human title and declare it to be a purely racial and national institution. Where alien authorities assert a claim to direct and shape the coming generation, they thereby "impoverish the abundance of God's creation which seeks to develop through the desire of individuals for children of their own and not through the compulsory breeding of a particular human type. This constitutes a disastrous interference in the natural order of the world." Brunner likewise believed that every man has the right to freedom in the use of his sexual powers, and he stated that the abolition by the State of this freedom in favour of eugenic planning is "one of the most terrible forms of despotic injustice".(4)

However, lest this be taken as unequivocal support for those who would allow miscegenation, we note that both these theologians did qualify their stand. Both allowed (as Dutch Reformed churchmen have done) that some limitation might be validly imposed where free use of that right to choose a marriage partner would be detrimental to the community - though they emphasised that such restriction should be occasional, and should operate "within the narrowest limits".(5)

So the argument hinges on the question whether and to what extent miscegenation might be detrimental to a particular community. In South Africa it has been urged that wide-spread miscegenation would result in the

(1) Refer p183 supra.
(2) Refer p182 supra.
(3) Refer pp223,248,254 supra.
(4) Bonhoeffer, D.: Ethics, pp128-130; Brunner, Justice and the Social Order, p61.
(5) We observe that the total prohibition of all sexual intercourse and marriage between white and black people in South Africa is not in accord with the 'limited restriction' allowed by these theologians, nor even with the 'extraordinary measure' permitted by the NGK in 1972.

development of a homogeneous population, with a corresponding loss of distinctive cultures, and also of the white race as a distinctive group. (That it is the loss of the white race which is the real concern may be seen in the inconsistency that miscegenation is only prohibited between black and white people, but not between people of different black races (such as African and Indian) even though these may have different and distinctive cultures.) Again it should be said that the disappearance of a culture or of a racial group would not really be detrimental to the South African community for variety in the population would continue. Furthermore those qualities or characteristics of a culture or group which were valuable to society would be fostered by society and hence would be unlikely to disappear. Indeed, we must ask whether there would in fact be any disappearance of a culture or racial group, if miscegenation were permitted in terms of the law. Without denying that legislation has been a cause of separation between white and black population groups, it would seem true to say that on the whole people have also naturally gravitated towards their own racial groups, as has generally occurred among language and national groups throughout the world. This natural tendency would seem likely to continue, even where the social gap between black and white had narrowed. For we should bear in mind the revulsion against miscegenation that is so prevalent amongst white people. This alone would be a strong social deterrent against miscegenation. Moreover, the growth of 'black consciousness' among many of the more westernised Africans may well discourage them from liaisons with white people. The fact that there were comparatively few mixed marriages prior to prohibitive legislation is surely significant. In the period between 1925 and 1949 there were an average of only 79 mixed marriages per annum with a gradual drop over the latter seven years.(1) It is true that if prohibitive legislation were removed there might be an increase in the number of extra-marital liaisons between white and black individuals. Also, mixed marriages would once again occur. But there seems to be no compelling reason why the

(1) Moreover, only some 10 to 20% of these marriages involved white women. Patterson pointed out that the legislation of 1949 came at a time when social sanctions against miscegenation were stronger than they had ever been. (Patterson, op.cit. p243.) Commented Marquard: with only 75 mixed marriages as against 28 000 white marriages in 1946 "the Act hardly seemed to have been necessary". (Marquard, Peoples and Policies p162; cf. Hoernlé, op.cit. pp55-56.)

ratio of such marriages to uni-racial marriages would now be considerably greater than it was before the legislation was introduced. In short, we agree with Keet's observation[1] that until conditions in the country have changed so radically that colour no longer has any meaning, miscegenation is unlikely to take place on a wide scale: and we conclude that this comparatively small incidence of miscegenation, though increasing the Coloured population, would not automatically lead to a complete biological or cultural assimilation and so would not greatly alter the racial or cultural composition of the population. Thus we must disagree with the claim that the free use of the right to choose a marriage partner would in this way be detrimental to South Africa: and hence there seems here no adequate reason for the State to impose legislative restrictions on this right.

5. THE UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF MANKIND

Two biblical principles that have been discussed a great deal in the theological debate on race relations in South Africa have been those of the unity and the diversity of mankind.

Firstly, it is clear that all men share the same human nature, as is witnessed by their common physical resemblance and by their common spiritual qualities which differentiate them from other orders of creation. There is a basic and fundamental likeness in all men. This unity is emphasised in the Old Testament doctrine of creation which speaks of men having a common origin in Adam and again in Noah; while in the New Testament Paul similarly regarded mankind as having come from one common stock, for God "made from one every nation of men" (Acts 17:26). We may not accept the literal derivation of all men from one person, but this does not deny the underlying truth of mankind's unity that Genesis portrays. Likewise, whether or not we accept that it was due to the failure of one man, Adam, that sin touched all men, we may accept the underlying truth that all men have sinned; just as it is clear that all are redeemed through Jesus Christ. Finally, all men have an eternal destiny. Other orders of creation, and the works of man's own making, are all transitory: only human individuals are eternal. Emphasised Brunner, those who take their point of view from the Bible are completely indifferent to the question of biological genealogy, believing that the unity of the divine creation of man lies upon a quite different

(1) Refer p 158 supra.

plane: "its one origin and its one destiny in God's creative Word and plan of salvation".(1) Thus, in the deepest aspects of his origin, nature and experience, mankind, irrespective of racial differences, is one.

Closely related to this principle is the understanding that all men have a common dignity, in that all are created in the image of God. (Thus it is a dignity which is not earned but which is bestowed upon them.) Every man is of infinite worth and of equal value in the sight of God, and all men are equally the object of God's love. So it may be concluded that an individual's essential value lies in his nature as man, which nature he holds in common with all other men: and his value is not in his particular racial affiliation or earthly position.

Theologians of the 'English-speaking' Churches and the Roman Catholic Church have continually stressed this unity of mankind: but we find that while Dutch Reformed theologians have agreed that there is this basic unity they have made little more than passing reference to it. Indeed, it would appear that some have sought to move attention away from man's unity by implying that it is synonymous with uniformity - which is plainly contradicted by the obvious diversity of mankind. Further, English-speaking theologians have strongly emphasised the equal dignity that is in all men: but their Dutch Reformed counterparts have again made little mention of it. Though we cannot immediately assume from this that the latter would deny an equal dignity, such an implication has sometimes been made, as when Brink suggested that the image of God might be stronger in some people than in others.(2)

As if to impugn a unity and common dignity, Dutch Reformed theologians have denied that God may be called the Father of all mankind, and consequently have denied that there is a 'brotherhood of man'. Such a suggestion was unscriptural, said Brink and others at the 1953 Conference. People do not have the right to call God 'Father' unless they have been reborn through the Holy Spirit: thus all people cannot be referred to as brothers or as of equal value in God's sight.(3) This stance was modified by the NGK Statement of 1956 which admitted that in the sense of Creator God is the Father of all mankind, and that all are therefore of equal worth: yet it was stressed that in a 'deeper and more spiritual' sense God is the Father only of those who have faith in Jesus Christ, and only these form a true brotherhood.(4) English-speaking theologians have accepted that in the Old Testament

(1) Brunner, E.: Man in Revolt pp332-333.
(2) Refer p125 supra.
(3) Refer p126 supra.
(4) Refer p138 supra.

the Fatherhood of God is generally limited to the people of Israel, and that the New Testament more often speaks of God as Father of all who believe in him than as Father of all men. Although some biblical passages do suggest a universal Fatherhood (eg. Ephesians 3:15), we may accept that God is indeed Father of believers in a more particular sense. It should be emphasised, however, that this in no way denies the basic unity of mankind, nor man's common relationship to their one Creator. Indeed, if the fundamental unity is agreed upon, argument as to whether mankind may be loosely termed a brotherhood or not seems to be merely a question of terminology and not a crucial consideration. Whether God is referred to as Father of all or only as Father of believers, there is no distinction between people of different races. Lest there might be inferences to the contrary, it should be remembered that there is at least a brotherhood between white and black Christians (in that God is at least Father of all believers), and thus if black unbelievers are to be excluded from this brotherhood, so too should white unbelievers be excluded.

Secondly, over against its unity, there is a noticeable diversity in mankind. Not only are individuals distinctive, but races are different from one another. There is diversity in physical features, in language, in historical background, in talents and interests. This diversity is clearly recognised in Scripture where it is understood to persist to the end of time (Revelation 7:9). There is no suggestion that it ought to be abolished. Indeed, it is seen as an essential and original part of God's creation. Said Brunner: "The inequality which results from individuality is just as much created and willed by God as that which is common to all mankind. Inequality springs from the same root and hence has the same dignity as equality."(1) This diversity in no way destroys man's underlying unity - but rather enriches it. Brunner again said that while the elements which compose the humanum are blended differently and are represented in a different degree, the essential elements are never wholly absent. "They bear a different imprint, but at bottom they have in common that which is essential and fundamental.....Every human being, to whatever race he may belong, shares in the common treasure of the humanum."(2)

In their diversity it is clear that one man may be capable of doing things that another man cannot do, so that in this sense they are not equal. Some theologians have drawn attention to this inequality (in order to argue that there is therefore no necessity for all people to be given equal

(1) Brunner, Justice and the Social Order p40.
(2) Brunner, Man in Revolt p334.

rights[1]), but it must be emphasised that such inequality does not deny the essential equality of dignity that all men have as men. Scripture does not teach any natural or God-given superiority or inferiority between races in essential human characteristics.[2]

English-speaking theologians have allowed that there is plainly a diversity among men and have welcomed it. Dutch Reformed theologians, however, have made a special point of emphasising it. They have shown that it is created by God, and have said that it therefore must not be destroyed - and precautions should be taken against the disappearance of any particular identity within the variety.[3] Notably, it has been said that division should be maintained between peoples lest their diversity should be lost in uniformity. Some theologians have even spoken of diversity as if it were synonymous with division[4], and one gains the impression that others have hoped that frequent emphasis on diversity would lead their readers to make such an association, and so to conclude that God has willed both diversity and division between different peoples.[5] It should be warned, however, as Keet has done[6], that diversity is <u>not</u> the same as division.

In forming a sound doctrine for race relations, both this unity and this diversity of mankind must be taken into account. Both are established by creation, and both are important. One aspect must not be over-emphasised to the detriment of the other. In South Africa, Dutch Reformed theologians and others who have propounded the policy of racial segregation have tended to lay all emphasis on the differences that exist between racial groups, but in doing so they have to a great extent lost sight of the essential unity that there is between black and white people as people. Man's worth as man has been blurred and pushed into the background. On the other hand, while those in the 'English-speaking' Churches have usually found men's common humanity to be a factor of greater significance than their racial differences, they have frequently thought of people as uniform, and important differences,

(1) eg. p125 supra.
(2) We would suggest that 'human rights' should be allowed in accordance with men's common human dignity, and not in accordance with their abilities. It should also be noted that there is no evidence that one race is in the long run inherently incapable of rising to the same heights as another race. Brunner's suggestion that not every race is capable of civilisation to the same extent needs some qualification. (<u>Man in Revolt</u> p334).
(3) This we have already discussed.; refer pp320,314 supra.
(4) eg. p126 supra.
(5) cf. Gerdener, art.cit, p4.
(6) Refer p156 supra.

such as those of culture and background, have sometimes been overlooked.

However, while emphasising that both these factors, unity and diversity, are important, we would assert that the unity is of prime importance, for man's humanity is fundamental. As Brunner said, while the one aspect does not annul the other, the cardinal factor is the unity of mankind and men's consequent dignity and equality. In the order of value, he explained, a man and woman are first human beings, then husband and wife. "Their dignity as persons, as human beings, transcends the creaturely distinction of kind and function.....Hence the rights of the human being as such take precedence (over) all rights which arise from the differentiation of human beings...." "In the Christian idea of justice, equality and the equal rights of all are primary, while the difference of what is due to each in the fellowship is, though not inessential, secondary."(1)

6. MUST RACIAL GROUPS BE SEPARATED?

During the 1940s, as we have seen, there was a movement amongst Dutch Reformed theologians in South Africa to find a biblical justification for the policy of separating racial groups from one another. Some sought explicit pronouncements in Scripture which would show that such separation was obligatory, according to the will of God.(2) But many of the references that were pointed to had little bearing on the subject, and inferences were made for which there was no sound evidence at all. It was clear to other churchmen, including some from the NGK, that Scripture was often being interpreted in an arbitrary manner to support a principle that had already been decided upon. There are, however, several important passages that we cannot so lightly dismiss, for they do seem relevant to the discussion and have frequently been referred to by supporters of racial segregation in more recent times.

Dutch Reformed theologians have aruged that it was from the very beginning the intention of God that mankind should be divided into separate nations and peoples. Brink even described God the Creator as the 'Maker of Separations'.(3) In support of this understanding, particular attention

(1) Brunner, Justice and the Social Order pp53, 43.
(2) eg. pp113-114 supra.
(3) Refer p 126 supra.

has been given to Genesis chapters 10 and 11. After the Flood man was commanded to "fill the earth"; and the genealogical table in Genesis 10 shows that mankind was soon divided into different nations. However, although it is apparent that this division was not condemned by God - so that we may accept, with Barth[1], that there was some divine disposing in it - we should nevertheless point out that this text simply recounts the situation and gives no indication that the dividing was specifically commanded by God.

Then, it has been argued, the building of the Tower of Babel was an attempt by men to frustrate God's intention of division and to remain together: with the result that God had to intervene, confuse their languages, and scatter them in order to fulfil his design of division and dispersion. God decreed even greater diversity than there had been, to prevent such attempts at unification. English-speaking theologians, on the contrary, have suggested that God intervened not because the unity evidenced at Babel was in itself sinful, but because this united action of building the tower was an act of pride and might have been used for sinful purposes against God. The scattering was a penalty for human pride. Further light has been shed on the matter by Barth, when he pointed out that before the building of the tower (at the beginning of Genesis 11) man was not divided but still united. So it was not their desire to be one that was wrong, but their anxiety about their given unity and their arrogance in attempting to build their own guarantee of unity. They became no longer united naturally but thrust together by an ideology and deployment of force. Thus - because they misused the unity already given them - they were scattered by God. The separation, said Barth, "although right as concerns the divine will and action, is altogether wrong as concerns the human. We read unmistakeably of an original unity of the race forfeited and lost by its sin and guilt. We read of a judgement of God which, if it is not without grace, is still a judgement under which man stands." Barth reasoned that God's grace was to be seen in this action, in that human sin would not be able to threaten again the continuance of the the race as a whole: yet, at the same time, the disposition was a severe one, for men would also be separated from one another in good.[2]

We may conclude by admitting, as Dutch Reformed theologians have asserted, that there has at least been a divine disposition of acceptance towards separation of peoples (as shown in Genesis 10), and also that the division of mankind at Babel was indeed willed by God. Yet it is clear

(1) Barth, op.cit. Vol.III 4, p312.
(2) ibid. p317.

that this division was not an original and permanent order of creation but took place long afterwards. It was not to restore a division that had already been ordained, but was a response to the sinfulness of man. Thus the division is not to be regarded as as fundamental as mankind's unity, nor should it be seen as the ideal.

Indeed, English-speaking theologians have suggested that the barrier of language with which God punished the sinful world of Babel has since been broken by the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. Whereas supporters of segregation have argued that at Pentecost proselytes heard the gospel in their own languages and so their divisions were perpetuated, it would seem that these different people were in fact drawn together into one church fellowship. Their distinctions were not abolished, but their apartness was removed. The Holy Spirit had bridged the gulf between peoples and overcome their separation.

Two other texts that have received great emphasis from Dutch Reformed theologians are Deuteronomy 32:8 and Acts 17:26, which speak of God separating peoples and fixing the 'boundaries of their habitation'. These passages, it has been argued, are further evidence that it is God's will that peoples should remain separate. It is true that the passage in Deuteronomy states that God dispersed mankind, but again there is no indication that this was an order of creation or to be final and permanent. Likewise, while both passages are describing the greatness of God, and that it is due to him that peoples have their very existence and land on which to dwell, neither asserts that the boundaries of those lands are to remain unchanged for all time. (Indeed, as it is clear from history that there has been a continual migration of peoples we cannot point to any particular boundaries as being those allocated by God.) Moreover, the 'boundaries' may be understood as defining the areas of habitation for each group, but not necessarily as dividing one group from another. The passages do not rule out the possibility that the territories of different peoples may overlap with one another.

In the early stages of debate Dutch Reformed theologians made much of the many biblical injunctions that the people of Israel should keep themselves separate from other peoples, and it was argued that racial groups today should likewise be segregated. However, it is clear from our study that the motive for Israel's separation was religious purity rather than any racial ideal. The true faith was to be protected from the contamination of heathen beliefs and practices, as might have occurred in a mixed society. Thus the

commands to Israel may be used to support separation between Christians and unbelievers, but not separation between people of different races. Theologians who support segregation have now admitted this.

We conclude by asserting that there is no indication in Scripture that different peoples or racial groups must be kept separate and prevented from mixing. Segregation is not obligatory. Today most Dutch Reformed theologians would agree with this assertion.

7. MAY RACIAL GROUPS BE SEPARATED?

Having seen that Scripture does not command separation of racial groups, we must now concede that on the other hand Scripture does not literally forbid it. (It should be borne in mind that we are at present speaking of society as a whole, and not of the Church community.) We have just recognised that the Old Testament does indicate an acceptance by God of groups or nations separating from one another, and we remember, for instance, that there was no condemnation of Abraham and Lot and their peoples parting to settle in different areas so as to stop the strife that was between them (Genesis 13:8ff). Indeed, the Tower of Babel episode suggests that God himself separated men as an act of judgement on their sinfulness. There does not seem to be any specific prohibition against peoples living apart from one another. Leaders of the 'English-speaking' Churches and the Roman Catholic Church have apparently recognised this. Cragg said that he could see no religious reason against segregation of whites and Africans into different States, any more than he could see a reason against the segregation of French, Germans and Italians into their several territories.(1) Clayton would not condemn separation of races as unchristian provided the development of individuals was not hindered. Hurley, likewise, could not condemn separation in principle.(2) Thus some people would argue that because Scripture does not explicitly forbid it, racial groups may indeed be separated from one another.

(1) We note that France and Germany comprise the people that are naturally settled in those territories, whereas the formation of separate states in South Africa for the different racial groups would involve mass movements of people that are at present intermingled. This means that a simple analogy cannot be made between these countries.

(2) Refer pp228,256,270,266 supra.

However, we would reply that such a conclusion would be the result of far too legalistic use of Scripture. Instead we should look beyond the lack of specific injunctions to ascertain what the very ethos of biblical teaching is in this regard. This we shall examine shortly.(1) but we suggest at this point that the New Testament as well as parts of the Old hold out the hope of reconciliation between men, and that there is in Scripture a distinct bias towards the integration of peoples rather than their separation. If we should find that this is indeed so, then we must surely answer that according to biblical teaching racial groups should not be purposefully separated from one another.

Now, however, we should investigate the question from another starting point, to determine whether racial separation might be acceptable in terms of justice to all men.

First we examine the concept of <u>total</u> separation of racial groups, remembering that this was what the 1950 Congress of the NGK urged the Government of South Africa to implement as soon as possible. It was a policy that Hoernlé said should claim support from liberal-minded people.(2)

For separation to be total there would need to be separate, self-contained, social units, each racially homogeneous, co-operating on a footing of mutual recognition with one another. (Accordingly <u>all</u> Africans would reside permanently in African areas. Said Hoernlé, "permanent residen is a sham, unless the resident makes, or earns, his living where he resides".(3) This territorial separation would need to carry with it complete economic separation, involving, for instance, the development of an independent African economy, with African employers of African workers, and a diversification of skilled occupations and professions supplying the African community with all essential services required. With this territorial and economic separation would need to go political separation, so that each unit was self-governing. Such overall separation, providing it was total, would (as the advocates of segregation have long argued) obviate the tension and conflicts that so often arise when people of different races

(1) Refer pp 341ff infra.
(2) Hoernlé, op.cit. p181.
(3) ibid p170.

live and work together. It would free black people from domination by whites, and from racial discrimination and denials of social equality; and it would also relieve the fear that many whites have of the black majority and of being ousted from their livelihood.(1)

Now, if such total separation were to be just, it would need (in our estimation) to comply with the following provisos:

+ Firstly, separation should not be imposed by one group on another without their free consent. It should be the product of genuine and extensive discussion and of agreement by representative national and local leaders of the groups concerned. There can be no objection to voluntary segregation. (Though this is not to suggest that such would be ideal.)

+ Secondly, the free development and rights of individuals must be safeguarded, not only in the final separation but also in the process towards separation. Some, including the NGK Congress in 1950(2), have argued that if the ultimate goal of separate development is beneficial then the methods used to bring about that separation may be approved of. The negative aspect of a policy which restricts rights and freedoms is counterbalanced, they have said, by providing something better in the end. But we cannot accept such an argument that the end justifies the means, and must urge that if injustice is involved in implementing racial separation then alternative policies must be sought to ensure the peaceful co-existence of different racial groups.

+ Thirdly, the apportionment of land and economic resources should ensure that these are fairly distributed among the groups involved.

+ Fourthly, it seems important that for total separation to be reasonably advocated it must be practicable - for if it cannot be fully implemented then it will lead to injustice for some people. For instance, if large numbers of one racial group are obliged to remain within the area of another group they may still find themselves discriminated against because of their race.

In South Africa the government policy of racial segregation, as expressed by its ideologists though not necessarily as envisaged by politicans,

(1) Dutch Reformed theologians nowadays advance these 'practical' reasons for racial separation rather than specifically scriptural or theological reasons.
(2) Refer also p153 supra.

plans for a total separation of the racial groups in the country. Central to this policy, as we have seen[1], will be the removal of African people from the 'white' areas into nine or ten tribal 'homelands' or Bantustans' with their own political institutions. The Government has started to implement this separation. But on examination we find that such implementation does not comply with the stipulations that we have made for total separation to be acceptable.

Although some African leaders have agreed that the establishment of such 'homelands' seems the best way forward, and have started working towards the self-government of these areas, there has not been general consensus. Debate outside the apartheid framework has been restricted, and opponents of the system have been prevented from organising themselves for effective counter-pressure and therefore have been unable to share in such a far-reaching decision. "The majority support which the apartheid policy now seems to receive within the tribal framework cannot be considered as representative of African opinion since the basic rules for this game are laid down by the ruling group and the alternative of a common non-racial society is excluded from African political activity within apartheid rules."[2] (Indeed, Carter and Adam have surmised that the very consultation and compromise that would be essential for a mutually agreeable separation would in itself help to provide an atmosphere in which non-racial societies could be organised,[3]) So we find that it is the white Government that is defining the boundaries of the 'homelands' and putting its own conditions on what goes on within them. Separation is being imposed by one group on another without their free consent.

Towards the attainment of this separation, many Africans who have been regarded as 'superfluous' in the cities have been 'endorsed out' to the 'homelands'. Whole communities of African people have been removed from 'white' areas and resettled in African territory. This resettlement has more often than not brought social disruption and great physical suffering to the people concerned (at which the 'English-speaking' Churches have been loud in their protest).[4] So in the process of separation it would seem that the rights and welfare of individuals have not been safeguarded.

Only 13-15% of South Africa's land area has been set aside for the

(1) Refer p 143 supra.
(2) Adam in Sociological Perspectives p92.
(3) ibid. p95; Carter op.cit. p182.
(4) cf. eg. Desmond, C.: The Discarded People (Christian Institute, Johannesburg, 1969). It should be added that some white people have similarly had to move from areas now proclaimed 'black': but Schlemmer reports that during 1970 less than 1,5% of families forced to resettle were white. (Schlemmer, L.: Social Change and Political Policy in South Africa (1970) p8.)

African 'homelands' - to cater for 70% of the total population. Though these areas do not include any large cities, they are already heavily populated, with 110 persons per square mile compared with 34 persons per square mile in other parts of the country.(1) Bearing in mind that only half the African population is at present settled in these areas, it seems clear that they should be greatly enlarged if the apportionment of land for total separation of the races is to be just.(2) Furthermore, these areas are mostly rural, with a lack of exploitable resources, and are hitherto undeveloped. They are at present incapable of providing for the sheer survival of all their inhabitants (most of whom depend on earnings from labour in the 'white' areas) and could not support a much larger population, unless there were to be a vast and systematic inflow of capital. Thus a just partition would require not only a greater percentage of land to be allocated to the Africans, but also some part of the industrial sections of the country and the developed ports, as well as a share in mineral resources such as the vast goldmines of the Witwatersrand - all of which have been developed largely on the basis of black labour. Such division is not envisaged by the Government, nor does it seem likely that the white electorate would agree to it.

This latter point brings us to consider the very practicability of total separation of the races. Despite rigorous enforcement of existing restrictions, the influx of Africans into the 'white' urban areas is continuing, so that now nearly one-third of the 15 million Africans live there permanently - mostly in segregated townships on the edge of the cities. The African urban population rose from 3,5 million in 1960 to 4,2 million in 1970, hence outnumbering the white population of both urban and rural areas. Although 80% of the whites live in cities, they are outnumbered there by blacks in the ratio of about 2:1.(3) Besides intensifying influx control, the Government has encouraged the movement of labour-intensive industries to border areas adjacent to 'homelands' so that African labour may continue to reside within those 'homelands'; and white immigration has also been encouraged, to provide skilled manpower in the cities; yet the urban racial ratio has been little affected. Indeed, it would seem unlikely that this ratio can even be preserved, let alone reversed. "According to

(1) Adam, Modernizing p93.
(2) We note, too, that some of the tribal areas are not themselves geographically consolidated, which suggests that political independence or sovereignty would have doubtful significance. In 1971 there were 81 pieces of 'homeland' throughout the country, with KwaZulu consisting of no less than 29 pieces. (Slabbert in Spro-cas Social Commission Report p68.) The Government is attempting, by appropriation of land and mass removals of people, to consolidate these areas to some extent.
(3) Schlemmer, L.: City or Rural 'Homeland' p4; Adam in Sociological Perspectives p85.

the most optimistic projections of conservative demographers and politicians, the majority of the Black population will remain de facto in the common society."(1)

Furthermore, one of the imperative requirements of a highly industrialised country such as South Africa is the availability of a large unskilled and semi-skilled labour force. From the earliest days of their settlement at the Cape, the economy of the white society has depended on black labourers. Imported slaves and Hottentots were employed at an early stage. Later Africans were 'apprenticed' to white farmers or voluntarily entered their service. Then were it not for African workers the development of the diamond and gold mining industries in the nineteenth century would not have been possible. Now domestic service, agricutlrure, mines, industries, roads and railways, and every manner of manual work draws African men and many women away from their tribal territory to employment in the 'white' areas. Moreover, the African population of South Africa cannot even supply the demand, so African workers for the mines are recruited from neighbouring states and as far afield as Malawi. Meanwhile, there is a shortage of semi-skilled labour in the country, which has meant that since 1970 there has been a growing number of black people employed in semi-skilled and operative jobs that were previously reserved for white people. So it is clear that if all African servants and workers were removed from the 'white' areas, the life of the white community would be completely disorganised and much of it would come to a standstill. Consequently, if only for their own economic necessity, it does not seem likely that the white electorate would agree to a total separation of Africans from whites, even if this were practicable.(2) On the other hand, most of the African people depend for their very subsistence on the wages that they earn in the employment of whites. There are few African men physically capable of working for a wage who do not spend some portion of their lives in white employment, whilst many spend all their working lives thus, except for periodic holidays in their nominal 'homes' in the African areas. Thus the two racial groups are in the present economic system so intimately interdependent that any sharp break would spell disaster for both.

(1) Van der Merwe, Changing Attitudes p113. Some opposition politicians have suggested that African townships in urban areas be declared part of the 'homelands': but this seems to be side-stepping the basic issue.

(2) A simple example of this was seen in 1968 when attempts to remove African domestic servants from Randburg (where basic apartheid policy has wide support) were strenuously resisted; and when attempts to make Pietersburg a 'white by night' town met with the suggestion from prominent townspeople that the scheme should be pursued as slowly as possible - over some ten years - as it would inconvenience the whites. (Siedle, R. in Anatomy of Apartheid (Randall, Ed.) p50.) In contrast we remember that the NGK has been among those bodies which have called white people to make sacrifices in order that total separation might be attained. (Refer p120,cf.p142 supra.)

(At this point it should be noted that we have only considered the possible separation of whites and Africans. Although the Coloured and Asian peoples are segregated into separate residential areas (as are the Africans) the Government has not proposed establishing separate and independent 'homelands' for them, but envisages them remaining within the white economy. Indeed, to separate them completely from all other racial groups would present similar problems to those we have just discussed, aggravated by the fact that these are smaller yet scattered communities.)

It is to such demographic and economic factors that many competent observers have pointed to show that a programme of total separation of the races in South Africa is impracticable - an illusion. "The interdependency of all groups determines the continued economic progress of the country and it will never be possible to devise a set of completely independent racially defined economies."(1) Racial segregation "is completely utopian in that it can never be implemented in the form of an equitable geographic, political and economic partition of the country - the only form of implementation", said Schlemmer, "which would preserve the moral justification which its adherents claim for it." (2)

Thus we must conclude that while the concept of <u>total</u> separation of racial groups may be deemed just if it meets certain provisos, the present South African movement towards total separation is not acceptable in terms of justice to all men, nor does it seem feasible to pursue total separation as a truly Christian proposal for South Africa.

Having thus dismissed the concept of total separation of races for South Africa, we cannot immediately assume that the only Christian alternative must be one of total integration. A concept of <u>partial</u> separation - being a mean between total separation on the one hand and total integration

(1) Doxey, G.V. in <u>Sociological Perspectives</u> (Adam, Ed.) p109

(2) Schlemmer in <u>Anatomy of Apartheid</u> (Randall, Ed.) p20. cf. Brookes, <u>White Rule</u> p160, Keet, p159 supra. This is not suggesting that economic necessities are in fact undermining the Government's racial policies and forcing it towards a policy of integration, as has been suggested by some observers. It has been pointed out by others that in fact the Government is not literally pursuing the official ideology - not attempting to implement <u>total</u> separation. (Refer eg. Johnstone,F.A.: 'White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today' in <u>African Affairs</u>, Vol.69. No.275 (April 1970); Adam, <u>Modernizing</u> pp145-156; Asheron, A.: 'Race and Politics in South Africa' in <u>New Left Review</u> No. 53 (1969) p64; Kuper, L. & Smith, M.G. (Eds.): <u>Pluralism in Africa</u> (1969) p187.)

on the other - might be acceptable: provided that it at least met the same requirements as we have applied to the concept of total separation.(1)

In a sense, the present situation in South Africa is de facto one of partial segregation, in that people of different races are largely but not totally separated from one another. However, this is unacceptable, for most black people are required to play a part in a common society and economy, yet are discriminated against and denied equal rights with the whites in that society. Though they are in the majority, they are denied access to most of the country's land and economic resources, and are prevented from taking part in the decision-making and power structures of the country.(2)

It is not for us in this study to consider all possible variations of partial separation, but for an example we briefly examine one that has been proposed. It has been suggested by Cilliers that those of the African population who are still involved in tribal social structures and belong to a predominantly subsistence economy in the rural areas - and so are culturally distinct, subscribing to a value system quite different from that of modern western, urban culture - should be encouraged to develop within their own tribal areas, separated from the rest of the population. At the same time, the white people together with the Coloured and Asian peoples and those of the African population who are permanent residents of the urban centres - all of whom by and large can be said to share a value system and to have many cultural features in common - should be encouraged to develop a common culture in a common society. There would then evolve two different societies (on the one hand African tribal, on the other hand multi-racial) each separated from the other; each accommodating those in the population who shared one value system to such a degree that it could form a basis for the evolution of a society with its own social structure, economic system, cultural setting and political organisation; and each having jurisdiction over separate territory within which it could develop and maintain a relative degree of self-sufficiency.(3)

Now, within the western society there would need to be no social or economic discrimination on grounds of race, but an equality of rights and a sharing of power. The white people would need to overcome their fear of

(1) Marais and Keet both called for a middle course of partial separation, Keet stressing that this should be a temporary measure until 'more primitive' black people had been educated and were able to take part in a common society on an equal footing with others. (refer pp153,160, cf.p168 supra.)

(2) It would seem that the NGK was strong in its call for total separation largely because it had to admit that the existing partial separation was indefensible.

(3) Cilliers, S.P.: Appeal to Reason (1971) pp6-12.

domination by a black majority, albeit a smaller one within the common society, and would have to make similar sacrifices to those expected of them by a policy of total separation. Though not as much land would be required for the tribal areas, for a smaller African population would need to be accommodated there, nevertheless land and economic resources would have to be redistributed so as to make these areas economically self-contained, and also to allow the possibility of economic and social modernisation there. For it should not be expected that the tribal sodiety should always retain its traditional way of life. If the separation was to be genuine, and not to become the same as the present situation in South Africa, then it would be imperative that members of the tribal society should not cross to the western society as migrant workers or 'visiting aliens' (unless there was to be no discrimination against them there - which would contradict the basic intent of the policy). However, as we have just seen, nearly all African men have to work for some time in the 'white' economy, because they require the money - and also because the economy requires their labour. (This situation would only change if the tribal areas were greatly developed - and if the western society were prepared to make cut-backs in its own development so as not to need the influx of labour.) Furthermore, many Africans in the western society would still have families in the tribal society and could not be expected to dissociate from them. So Schlemmer's general observation would seem to be as true for this policy as for any other: that inter-relationship and economic interdependence between people of different races will force a considerable degree of unity in South Africa, no matter what attempts are made to separate the population into a number of autonomous political systems.(1)

So it seems that while proposals for <u>partial</u> separation of racial groups in South Africa may appear attractive as means of compromise between segregation and integration, yet there is a strong likelihood that they, like total separation, will be impracticable and unable to comply with the stipulations of justice.

Thus we conclude that any practical implementation of racial separation in South Africa is likely to be unacceptable.

(1) Schlemmer, <u>Social Change</u> p23.

8. WHAT IS THE IDEAL ORDER FOR RACE RELATIONS?

Jesus Christ, it has been pointed out by advocates of racial segregation, accepted the existence and continuance of different peoples without attempting to change their differences. This is true. But, far from accepting the separation between peoples, Christ was remarkable for the way he ignored social taboos that divided them from one another. For instance, he had many dealings with Samaritans, who were customarily segregated from the Jews, and he sent his apostles out to all nations.(1) He did not obliterate distinctions between men, but he did remove the lines that divided them. The very command that one should love one's neighbour - who may be of another people or race - envisages that one should have some sort of fellowship with him. Again, in the command to love one's enemies, Christ put the emphasis on inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in social relations.

Similarly, Paul accepted the existence of national differences and of social distinctions between people without attempting to change these: but he emphasised that 'in Christ' these differences should not entail separation. In Christ all should be regarded as one, and there should be no opposition between Jew and Gentile. These injunctions he gave to the Christian community, rather than to those in the wider social or political sphere, but they are significant for our discussion at this point, for they show that Paul believed inclusiveness and unity to be according to the will of Christ and to be the ideal for relationships between men. As we shall discuss later(2), the new people of God in the Church are called to be one - united not only in faith but in fellowship - and so we can surely accept this unity as God's pattern for human society, the ideal for the whole of humanity. This understanding would concur with our earlier conclusion(3) that the unity of mankind was a fundamental order of God's creation, not to be annulled by men's diversity and certainly prior to the biblical concept of God scattering people at the Tower of Babel.

When the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament look towards the future, there are anticipations of a Messianic Kingdom or a Church triumphant in heaven where people will be gathered together in an ultimate unity. Then differences of race or language will not cease to exist: yet they will not divide men from one another. Racial and national distinctions will have no importance in God's final purpose for mankind. So, if unity is the ultimate goal of God's creation, it seems reasonable to suppose that this

(1) Refer p. 238 supra.
(2) Refer pp344ff infra.
(3) Refer pp325ff supra.

unity should also be the ideal for mankind at the present - particularly if God's will is to be 'done on earth as it is in heaven'.

We may come then to the same conclusion as was made by the Biblical Commission of the Christian Council in 1952: that "the bias of the Christian spirit in the New Testament is towards unity rather than separation".(1) The New Testament does not give clear directions for social and political life outside the Church, but it seems to suggest that a unity in fellowship is the ideal for relations between men and groups of men.

Next we should consider more general Christian teaching.

A system of racial separation by definition pays attention only to the racial groups to which a man belongs, and overlooks his individuality. His personal attributes and claims are forgotten, and he is seen merely as a member of a particular group (usually according to the colour of his skin), and is treated as one of that group. His place of residence and work, his movement and his style of life, are dependent not on his own character or capabilities nor on his own choice, but on his particular group affiliation. Moreover, he cannot change from that group, so will always be consigned to the particular place in society which his group is given. In short, the individual is sacrificed to the generalisations of group-thinking. On the other hand, as we have said before(2), Christianity lays great emphasis on the imporance of each individual, his worth as a person, created in the image of God. It is the individual alone that is of eternal value. In no sense does the Christian ethic ignore the social aspects of human life, but it emphasises the value of each human being within his society. Now, in contrast to a system of racial separation, a system of integration or unity in fellowship would allow a man to be regarded as an individual, and treated according to his own merits. His racial affiliation need not be ignored, for this is part of what makes the individual what he is, but that affiliation would not be seen as his most imporant attribute nor would he be classified or treated simply according to that affiliation. He would be treated as an individual and could find his own place in society according to his character and qualities. So, in contrast to the group-thinking of racial separation, integration would allow the Christian emphasis on the individual. Thus we would assert that it is integration which seems most appropriate as an ideal in the light of this Christian teaching.

We have seen that Christianity understands there to be an essential unity in mankind. This would suggest that an individual is placed not only

(1) Refer p 241 supra.
(2) Refer p 311 supra.

in a particular group but also in mankind as a whole, and that he has a part to play not only within his group but also within mankind as a whole. Barth explained that while a man belongs wholly and utterly to his own people, the horizon by which his people is surrounded and within which it exists is humanity, which means that he himself belongs also wholly and utterly to humanity. Man is not first and intrinsically in his own people and then perhaps in humanity as well, but he is essentially in both. Language, location and history need not be barriers between peoples, and are often inter-related, which means that the confrontation between one's own people and other peoples is reversible, fluid and removable. So Barth spoke of man as being in transition from a narrower to a wider field, from his own people to other peoples, and he believed that the divine disposition by which each individual has his own place in his people and its relationship to others is not merely the assignment of a place but the giving of a direction - from his own people to humanity.(1) A system of racial separation confines a man to his particular racial group, and restricts him from movement out into the wider humanity. It tends to deaden any sense of the community of mankind. But a system of integration would allow that he is indeed part of the total mankind and would permit him free movement within it.

We have seen, too, that Christianity recognises the great diversity that there is between individuals and between groups of people within mankind. In looking towards the underlying unity of humanity, this diversity is not lost sight of. We have shown in this present discussion that even as Jesus Christ and Paul and the biblical vision of the future have pointed towards the ideal of a unity in fellowship, they have not denied the differences that exist between people nor suggested that these differences should be abolished. (Furthermore, Christian emphasis on the importance of each individual has enhanced awareness of this diversity, for it shows that each man is unique, not just one of a number.) So it should be firmly stated that in advocating an integration of people and of racial groups we are not calling for uniformity. We would disagree with those who have argued that integration will of necessity bring fusion and uniformity,(2) and have elsewhere suggested that should integration encourage miscegenation then this would in fact increase the diversity of mankind by bringing new varieties into being.(3)

Far from denying the ongoing diversity of mankind, we point out that

(1) Barth, op. cit. Vol III 4, pp286-302, cf. pp319-320.
(2) Refer eg. Hoernlé, op.cit. p167.
(3) Refer p320 supra.

this diversity in itself requires the integration of different people. The uniqueness of every individual constitutes his limitation. One lacks in his being what another has, and has what another lacks. This means that individuals need to complement one another, and to depend upon one another - and it is in association that they find their identities and develop their own personalities. For Christianity, this mutual dependence in community is the ideal for mankind (cf. 1 Corinthians 12). (1) Furthermore, as with individuals, so no people or race is self-sufficient. There is no people, however developed and richly endowed, which does not need something from another: and there is no people, however underdeveloped, which does not have something to offer for the enrichment of others. (2) Thus, for the continued development of peoples it is necessary that they mix with other peoples and interact with them. While retaining and cherishing what is of value in their own cultures and traditions, they contribute their riches to the common stock and share what they wish to of the riches of others. Different races need to complement one another - and to do this they must share a common life.

It must be acknowledged that integration would not be easy to implement in South Africa by peaceful means. Human weakness and sinfulness would hinder such a radical change from the present order of racial separation (which weakness we shall be considering shortly (3)). Nevertheless, it is clear from our examination of theological approaches to the problem, that the Christian ideal for the ordering of race relations is one of unity or integration rather than separation. This is the ideal that Christians should hold up before the country.

9. MAY RACIAL GROUPS BE SEPARATED WITHIN THE CHURCH?

Long before church leaders in southern Africa were prompted to examine alternatives of racial separation or integration for the country as a whole, they were faced with these two alternatives within the Church itself. Ever since 1829 when white members of the NGK asked to worship separately from black members, and since the turn of the century when black Christians were moving out of the 'English-speaking' Churches to form their own independent Churches, the problems of race relations within the Church have

(1) cf. Brunner, Man in Revolt pp323-324.
(2) cf. p164 supra.
(3) Refer pp361 infra.

called for the attention of theologians.

It is clear from the New Testament that the early Christian Church was of mixed racial composition. Some Jewish Christians attempted to maintain a separation between themselves and Gentile Christians, and Peter was for a while party to this: but their attitude was sternly rebuked by Paul (Galatians 2:11ff; cf. Acts 10:9ff). Otherwise it appears that people of different races mixed together freely within the local church communities,(1) without any suggestion of meeting separately for worship or being organised in separate bodies. There was a strong sense of all Christians being members of one wide Church: and Paul's writings contain many exhortations emphasising this unity (eg. Galatians 3:28; Colossians 3:11; cf. Ephesians 2:11ff, 3:6). Indeed, it was understood to be the will of Christ that all Christians should be one (cf. John 17:20ff).

Therefore we may assert that there is no scriptural authority for regarding racial separation within the Church as either <u>essential</u> or <u>desirable</u>. During the 1940s and as late as 1953 some Dutch Reformed churchmen maintained that such separation was demanded by Scripture (basing their arugment on the same texts which they used to show that separation was obligatory in social and political spheres(2)); but today they would find no support from NGK theologians for such a doctrine.(3)

However, the NGK does still assert that the biblical understanding of the nature of the Church would not be denied by a racial separation of church members: or, in other words, it is asserted that such separation is <u>permissible</u>. It has been strongly emphasised that the unity of the Church is essentially a spiritual or mystic unity. Christians are united in faith, through a common experience of the grace of Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. They are one 'in Christ' (Galatians 3:26-29; cf. John 17:21-23). Their unity is inward, unseen, a unity in spirit. There is no need to give this inward unity any outward manifestation, Dutch Reformed churchmen have said. Because it is in the very nature of the Church, it exists without the efforts of men. Furthermore, it is indissoluble, and thus is not destroyed when Christians of different racial groups worship separately or form separate church structures.

Since the 1950s several leaders in the NGK have urged that some effort should be made to put the unity into practice. It should be shown by a

(1) cf. p239 supra.
(2) cf. p127 supra.
(3) Refer p141 supra.

'healthy Christian communion of believers', all acknowledging, respecting and loving one another as 'fellow citizens' of the Kingdom of God. Quite how this is to be done has been left very vague and seems to depend on the individual Christians themselves - though they have been frequently warned against 'artificial and forced' exercises of fellowship, and multi-racial worship has not been encouraged. (In fact, as we have seen, such worship was being discouraged in 1966; though after pressure from Reformed Churches in other parts of the world the NGK in 1972 admitted that there was a need for common worship.) However, what has been continually emphasised is that the Church need not have an institutional or structural unity - for this might prove to be an 'artificial' unity. True, some have lamented the large number of Churches that are in existence and have warned that a watch be kept against the disruption of the one Church, but we find that their concern has usually been lest doctrinal differences fragment the Church, rather than a concern about racial separation. Also, while calls have been made for more contact and co-operation between the NG 'mother' and 'daughter' Churches - lest their separateness become estrangement - these calls seem to have been for consultation between leaders rather than for joint worship at a congregational level, and it has not been suggested that the Churches need organically unite to become one body. Thus we find that though some NGK leaders have indeed expressed concern that there should be a better embodiment and realisation of the unity of the Church, their concern has been partial. They have tended to think in terms of token gestures of acceptance between individual Christians of different racial groups, but have not allowed that outward realisation of the Church's unity need include structural unity. Separate congregations and Churches for different racial groups remain permissible.

On the other hand, while theologians of the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches (as well as Dutch Reformed churchmen such as Marais and Keet) have acknowledged the 'spiritual unity' of the Church as emphasised by the NGK, they have warned against a danger of 'over-spiritualisation' - by which they have meant a tendency to place all emphasis on spiritual unity and little on the need for this unity to be made manifest in day-to-day life. The visible Church, they have said, should not be regarded too lightly, for it should continually strive to reflect the invisible Church. The ideal of the Church is not only inward unity but outward unity also.

Most leaders have stressed that this outward unity must include structural unity, so that Christians of different races may together be members of one organisational Church. But, beyond this need for one Church, we find that only a few English-speaking churchmen have called for regular multi-

racial worship at a congregational level. Most frequently the call has been simply for inter-racial fellowship within the broad Church - a call similar to those made by Dutch Reformed churchmen, although the English-speaking calls have been more assertive, and within these Churches more inter-racial fellowship has been achieved. Thus we find that while they have held that it is not permissible to establish separate Churches for different racial groups, they have allowed separate local congregations.

Our first task is to consider whether separate congregations for different racial groups may be permitted.

It would seem true to say that racial consciousness in white church members has been an important factor behind the establishment of separate congregations in South African Churches. In the Anglican Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches, if black and white people have attended the same service the blacks have frequently been relegated to sit apart in the rear pews of the church: and in some places black people have even been excluded from services. There has frequently been evidence, in recent times as in the past, of white people bitterly opposed to mixed worship, and to being ministered to by black clergy. Certainly black people have often felt unwelcome or patronised within the company of white churchmen - and this has been one of the reasons why many have left to establish independent Churches. We observe that few English-speaking church leaders have openly ascribed the establishment of separate congregations to such racial consciousness: yet this consciousness must surely have played a part as congregations became established. In the NGK, meanwhile, it was certainly a major factor behind their policy of separation. This has been admitted by that Church, though leaders have attempted to play down the fact.(1) Whereas it had been previously regarded as 'an unshakeable principle' of biblical teaching and of the spirit of Christianity that people of different races should worship together, permission was given in 1857 for their separation - 'on account of the weakness of some', so that worshippers of different races might not 'hinder' one another nor tension be engendered between them. Since then it has been admitted that white members have long been averse to mixing at worship with black people because of 'social and hygienic considerations', and we have seen that some have even feared that mixed worship might encourage 'abhorrent' miscegenation. So it is that the NGK maintains separation as

(1) cf. pp136ff, 142 supra.

an accommodation to 'weaker believers', as an allowance for the finite nature of man.

It is true that both the NGK[1] and the other three Churches have resolved that none should be excluded from worship because of his race or colour. In the latter Churches this has been dogmatically asserted by many. Certainly, just as Jesus Christ welcomed the company of anybody that came to him (irrespective of their sex or social class or nationality or whether they were regarded by others as 'sinners' or 'righteous'), so it should be a fundamental principle that anybody may enter a Christian church for prayer. The moment a person is excluded from a worship service because of his race or colour, or in other words because of the racial consciousness of others, then that worship ceases to be truly Christian. However, while it is important that this principle should be emphatically stated, it has not countered the formation of separate congregations: for it has remained possible, without exluding any people from a congregation, to establish other congregations for them and to encourage them to worship there.

We would strongly assert that racial consciousness in church members is not a valid reason for separating worshippers into different congregations. We have already pointed out that the Christian ethic emphasises the worth of each individual, and calls for men to be judged by their character and ability and not by their racial affiliation.[2] The individual should not be sacrificed to the generalisation of group-thinking. Therefore the Christian Church should not allow itself to be swayed by those members who think in racial generalisations. It should not fall into the error of classifying and separating its members simply according to their race or colour.

Some have argued that to compel Christians to worship together in multi-racial congregations would not be in accordance with the spirit of Christ, and would do more harm than good to the Church in that those who were particularly racially conscious would become resentful and might be alienated from the Church. Thus it would involve the stumbling of weaker believers, for whom Paul made allowance (Romans 14-15). It must be acknowledged that there is some force in this argument. Nevertheless, the Church should be seen to stand by its principles. Thus if Christian teaching says that people should not be classified simply according to their race, then where separation between church members is called for or already practised simply because of a racial consciousness in some members, there church

(1) Refer p92 supra.
(2) Refer p311 supra.

leaders should be urged to make a stand on principle. The Church will be more credible in the eyes of outsiders, as well as of members who are opposed to racial separation, if it has the courage to bring people of different races together in mixed congregations, even if some racially conscious members then leave to worship elsewhere. This does not mean that racial consciousness should be ignored. Certainly it should be realistically worked through: but it should not be allowed to pressure the Church into a policy of racial separation.

What has also militated against white and black Christians mixing together in one congregation has been the fact that people naturally seek fellowship with others of their own social class or with the same level of education or similar interests. Conversely, a business executive and a domestic servant or labourer, for instance, may find it hard to meet freely in a relationship of equality. Thus where church membership is to involve not only worship but fellowship and discussion as well, it is evident that people will gravitate towards others who are similar to themselves. Because social class distinctions in South Africa have frequently coincided with racial distinctions, this factor has tended to reinforce racial separation in the Churches. However, it is a factor which may be worked through in pastoral ministry, and is certainly not an acceptable reason for separating people into different congregations.

Another feature which explains why some congregations are racially homogeneous, is the fact that black and white people in South Africa usually live apart from one another in separate residential areas, whether by custom or according to government legislation. Because people usually wish to attend worship on Sundays near their homes, particularly if transport to another centre is poor or non-existent, it is inevitable that congregations will be formed in the residential areas and so cater only for those of the racial group living there. Where there is indeed only one racial group living in an area it is justifiable that a congregation there should be racially homogeneous. But where residential areas are not far from one another, people from those areas should be able to come together for worship, and there is therefore no geographical reason for establishing separate congregations for different racial groups. Further, where there are in fact people of one race living amongst those of another (as in white suburbs where black domestic servants live on the property of their employers) it seems obvious that congregations there should cater for more than one racial group (subject to language and cultural considerations that we shall examine

shortly.[1]

Of the clergy and church workers who were involved in establishing the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches in South Africa during the nineteenth century, some came to the country as chaplains ministering to armed forces or to the white settlers, while others came as missionaries devoted to spreading Christianity among the heathen black people. (Some, it is true, came in a dual capacity.) Similarly, in the NGK some men were ordained as missionaries with the sole task of preaching to the heathen, and their work was seen as distinct from that of other clergy, even before the NGK agreed to people of different races worshipping separately. Today too, many personnel in each of these Churches, whether from overseas or born in the country, see their ministry as a specifically missionary one amongst black people, as against other clergy who are concerned with ministry amongst their own white people. This dichotomy between missionary outreach to heathens and ministry to those who are already Christians may be seen as another factor which has encouraged the evolution of the more or less parallel system of some congregations for black members and others for white members. However, it should be remembered that many black people are now of a second or third generation of Christians, which means that work amongst them should no longer be regarded as simply 'missionary work', but seen as similar to ministry amongst white people. Thus where this is the case it should be possible to minister to black and white Christians within the same congregation. Nevertheless, it must be added that ministry to people of an African cultural background may differ from ministry to people brought up in a western society with a largely Christian background, and so may need to be organised separately.

This brings us to consider the central argument that has been put forward to support a policy of forming separate congregations for different racial groups. It has been maintained that if a man's worship is to be whole-hearted and truly spiritual, then he must 'feel at home' in that worship, must understand what is being said, and must be able to express his faith in a way that is natural to him. Thus he has the right and the need to worship in his own language and against his own cultural background or ethos. To make this possible, it is concluded, separate congregations should be formed for different language and cultural groups (which, it is said, largely coincide with different racial groups).

(1) We notice that it is the English-speaking church leaders rather than the Dutch Reformed who have justified separate congregations on the grounds of geographical separation. This is probably because the former have wished to suggest that it is by circumstance rather than design that separate congregations have come into being.

This argument has been put forward in both the NGK and the other three Churches (though to a lesser extent in the Roman Catholic Church). It was originally prompted by thinking in international missionary bodies towards the end of the nineteenth century, when there was a swing away from the earlier practice of imposing western or 'Christian' culture on converts, to a new vision of Christian life and worship taking indigenous forms among other peoples. It is significant, however, that the argument was only formulated after the custom of establishing separate congregations had already been followed for some time. Thus it was not the reason for the original separation of racial groups into different congregations. Nevertheless, it is an argument that bears much weight.

Firstly, we must agree that a man must be able to worship in his own language. This has been a fundamental tenet of most Churches since the Reformation, and is one with which the Roman Catholic Church has more recently concurred.

Secondly, we must accept that for the Christian Gospel to be communicated most effectively, its presentation should be adapted to those who are listening. This includes adapting it to their particular cultural background (just as it may be adapted to different age groups or sub-groups within a society). Such need for adaptation was appreciated in the early Church, where Paul became "all things to all men" (1 Corinthians 9:19-23), and where the form of the Gospel changed as it moved from the Jewish culture of Palestine to the Hellenistic culture of the wider Roman Empire. Similarly, the worship within which the Gospel is communicated, if it is to be a true expression of the worshippers, should be adapted to different cultural groups.

Certainly the requirement for unity in the Church does not demand that there should be uniformity. Just as we have seen that within the unity of mankind there is diversity (which is an important feature of God's creation), so within the unity of the Church there should be room for diversity. The Church should recognise and welcome the diversity of men and of their needs, and should encourage expression of this diversity in its life (provided, of course, that the essential unity is not compromised). Believing that all Christians should be united, the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches have tended to assume that unity requires uniformity - which has meant that to a large degree they have failed to encourage Africans to develop liturgies and styles of worship true to their cultural idiom. Or, in other words, some have argued that the Church should be non-racial,

but in doing this have overlooked cultural differences and so again have not allowed African needs and emphases to emerge. This has prompted many Africans to move away from those Churches to independent Churches, where ritual and rhythm and dance, for instance, have been greatly emphasised. Similarly it has given rise to the recent development of African or black theology (which has been stronger amongst members of those three Churches than amongst members of the NGK). So it is clear that those Churches have failed to meet some of the deeper needs of many of their members. The growth of black theology is to be welcomed, as it attempts to translate the Gospel more radically into African ways of thinking and to develop forms of worship in terms of African culture, experience and spiritual needs.(1)

Now, as we have agreed that men in their diversity should be able to worship each in his own language and according to his own cultural background, we must conclude that separate services for different language and cultural groups are permissible. Further, because worship is the major part of the life of a congregation, and because fellowship and discussion within a congregation may also require language and cultural similarities, we must allow that separate congregations for these different groups are likewise permissible.

It should be stressed, however, that people may not be regimented into separate groups. Anyone should be free to attend a service or join a congregation that is primarily for a language or cultural group other than his own. He should not be excluded because he is different, either by church regulations or by the exclusive attitudes of other members.

It should further be remembered that language and cultural groupings may cut across racial differences, or, in other words, that some such groupings should be multi-racial. For instance, Indian and Coloured people in South Africa commonly use the same languages as the white people (Afrikaans in some areas, English in others), and the culture of the Coloured people and to a large extent that of Indian people today is similar to that of the whites. Thus these black peoples should be grouped with white people. (It is clear then that the separation of these three racial groups by the NGK and also in some places in the other Churches has not been simply due to linguistic and cultural factors, as has frequently been alleged, but to a large extent due to racial consciousness.) Because racial

(1) Refer p298 supra. The warning of the Spro-cas Church Commission should be borne in mind, however: that the essential Gospel must remain authentic and not be subverted by syncretism. (refer p294 supra.)

and colour differences per se do not require different forms of worship, it is not permissible to form separate congregations on the basis of those differences. So it should be emphasised that language and cultural differences, but not racial differences, may divide church members into separate congregations.

Having admitted that such separation is permissible, we must bear in mind that the unity of the Church should nevertheless be maintained, and we shall argue shortly that this unity must be given outward expression; that separated congregations should be visibly united in one institutional Church. The Church should seek every possibility to bring its different members and different congregations together. Where differences of language and culture (and location) cause people normally to worship separately, the Church should encourage them to meet at least occasionally for worship, discussion and fellowship, that they may learn to know, understand and love one another, and that their meeting may witness to the fact that they belong to one Church. We would go further to urge that, where possible, different language and cultural groups in an area should form one extended congregation, using the same buildings (perhaps at different times) and sharing administrative facilities and clergy (whether one who is able to minister in each language or culture, or more than one who work together as a team). More than this, it should be possible in many places to develop forms of worship in which different cultural needs are each given a part, and in which two or more languages may be used, whether simultaneously or alternating with each other.(1) So again it should be said that while separate congregations may be permissible the ideal of uniting Christians in one fellowship should be striven for as far as possible.

Christians have diverse spiritual gifts, all "for the common good" of the Church. Each member needs the complementary gifts or function of every fellow member - and this need binds them all together in one corporate unity (1 Corinthians 12:4-26).(2) So different individuals and groups within the Church should be able to support one another and learn from one another - and for this to happen it is necessary that they should meet. The Church should open the way to their enrichment by bringing them together. An example of new insights gained is seen in a report of the consecration of the Anglican Bishop of Swaziland in September 1975. After taking part in this multi-racial service, where the congregation sang choruses accompanied by hand-clapping, and where the procession of clergy "was helped on its

(1) Where worshippers do not understand each language used this practice may prove tiresome to them if done frequently; but where they are conversant with each language it may be enriching for them, for something said in one language or idiom may bring new insights or understanding to someone who is from another language group.

(2) cf. p344 supra.

> "Even when the whites have gone, if their black replacements have been thoroughly schooled in white norms and procedures, other blacks, who know only their traditional methods, will not feel at home in the courts and councils of the church."(1)

This factor Verryn has described as 'ecclesiastical imperialism' arising from an "unsuspected arrogance lurking in the (white man's) self-identification with his own cultural norms".

So it is that white members of these Churches need to look critically at themselves and realise to what extent they subconsciously maintain their own cultural ethos as normative, and to what extent they do control the leadership of their Churches.(2) Some churchmen, we have observed, are indeed now giving attention to this matter and are encouraging the rise of black leaders.

(To this end and to obviate the danger that Verryn has described, the Spro-cas Church Commission has gone so far as to suggest that if language and cultural differences make it difficult for one group to follow a church council's proceedings and to feel free to participate in them fully, then it may be preferable to form separate councils on a regional level - provided these were linked together within some federal scheme on a national level. Such separate regional councils should be seen as temporary, until the different groups came to know one another's languages and cultural ways.(3) We should point out, however, that the different groups would not get to know one another unless they were to meet on a regional level, and so we would suggest that it would be preferable to encourage each group to caucus separately but within a combined regional council - particularly if these Churches wished to preserve as much unity in their structures as possible.)

In contrast to these three Churches, the NGK has long expressed the need to foster black responsibility and leadership, With this concern in mind, leaders have argued that the talents of black people will not be developed if they remain in a Church where whites are dominant. Nor will blacks be able to try the skills that they do learn, for if there is to be competition between them and white people for leadership positions the latter will have the advantage through longer experience. Furthermore, the racial consciousness of the whites will make them reluctant to relinquish their power to black leaders. But if they were in their own separate Churches, black people would not be tied to western cultural patterns so would be able to develop 'indigenous' forms of church life and government, and

(1) Verryn, op.cit. pp18-19.
(2) We remember that a desire to be in positions of leadership has been one of the reasons for Africans leaving to form independent Churches.
(3) Refer p296 supra.

and therefore ineffective and useless in terms of God's purpose for it, a light which has been put out, salt which has lost its savour."[1] The Church exists as God's reconciling and uniting agent, bringing men together, and it needs to act and to be seen as such.

Although the NGK has argued that in New Testament times there was no unifying Church structure,[2] it is clear that when local churches emerged these were not autonomous but regarded as extensions of the one Church centred in Jerusalem, from where emissaries were sent out to inspect them.. The Council of Jerusalem felt itself able to take decisions concerning doctrine and practice for the Church as a whole, and it took it for granted that these would be accepted and applied even in the Gentile churches outside Palestine (Acts 15). When Jerusalem's hegemony became less effective the Church developed along geographical and to some extent national lines (until Rome was able to assert a central hegemony once more). Yet in any one area it remained united - even when the area comprised both Jewish and Gentile Christians.[3] Thus there is strong precedent for uniting different groups within one Church.

So we would assert that the unity of the Church must be made outwardly manifest. To this end, we have already said that the Church should seek every possibility to bring its different members and different congregations together for worship, fellowship and discussion, and for united witness and service in the world.[4] But if the unity of the Church is really to be outwardly manifest, then this sort of coming together - all too often sporadic - will not be sufficient evidence, particularly to critical observers. Thus different groups and congregations must be associated within one Church or structural unity. Indeed, if there is to be a concession in allowing different language or cultural groups to worship separately and perhaps form separate congregations, then the need to bring these different congregations within one organisational unity is all the more pressing.[5] Moreover, it would not be sufficient to link different groups together simply under the banner of a denominational heading, or by a joint council at national level. The unity of the Church must be seen in a united structure or organisation at a regional level at least, where individual members of the Church may sense a solidarity with one another, and where the unity will be

(1) ibid. p83.
(2) Refer p 175 supra.
(3) Spro-cas Church Commission p56.
(4) Refer p 353 supra.
(5) Similarly there is a need for the Churches that are divided because of differences in doctrine or practice to seek an outward unity.

more explicit to onlookers.

This demand that different racial, cultural and language groups be brought together within one Church, does not mean that a uniformity should be imposed upon them. While members of a united Church, they should be enabled to express themselves in their own languages and against their particular cultural backgrounds - and their very diversity should not be allowed to preclude them from sharing together in the leadership and life of that Church.(1)

We have seen that the bias of New Testament teaching and of the Christian understanding of human relations is towards the unity or integration of diverse peoples rather than their separation.(2) This unity was a fundamental order of God's creation, and is God's final purpose for men. It should at least be realised in the new people of God, the Christian Church. So Christians of different races should come together in a visible unity within the Church: and their fellowship should not stop short within the Church, but overflow into their lives in the wider community. The Church should be a pattern for human society, and Christians are called to demonstrate to the world the unity which God intends for mankind.

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(1) The Spro-cas Church Commission suggested that the NGK itself to some extent sought uniformity by separating different racial groups and so maintaining uniformity within each racial Church. (Report pp48-49.)
(2) Refer pp3[illegible] supra.

PART FIVE

FACTORS INFLUENCING WHITE CHURCH MEMBERS IN THEIR APPROACHES TO RACE RELATIONS

We have seen that the Christian faith calls for all people of whatever racial groups to live together in unity, both in the Church and in the wider society. Now we should ask why Churches in South Africa have largely failed to implement this ideal even though they may have accepted it; or why they have indeed promoted a contrary ideal of separation of racial groups.

1. FACTORS GENERALLY INFLUENCING WHITE PEOPLE

We should first gain some understanding of the fear, racial prejudice and self-interest that have been generally prevalent within the white population of the country.

(a) FEAR

Now constituting only 17,5% of the population of South Africa, white people have always been vastly outnumbered by black people, and particularly by Africans (who now represent 70,2% of the population). This fact that they have been such a small minority has prompted whites to fear for their own existence.

Conflicts over land and wars with African tribes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries prompted whites to fear for their lives, for their personal safety. (That there has remained a lingering memory of such open black-white hostilities and of the threat to white people which those hostilities posed is indicated by the importance which Afrikaners have given to the annual Day of the Covenant, when the trekker victory over the Zulus at Blood River has been celebrated.) More recently threats by militant black leaders elsewhere in Africa and the killing of white people in other parts of the continent (notably in the Congo in the early 1960s) have left

many whites in South Africa with a fear that they might be killed should they lose their control over the black population.

Furthermore, the movement of Africans to the cities at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the dearth of employment for many whites during times of economic depression evoked in white people another fear: the fear that they might be displaced by black people from their livelihood and material well-being. That this fear has remained may be seen in legislation that has reserved many types of work for white people. Then too, just as anxieties and a sense of threat from lower status groups are fairly typical among members of privileged groups, so there has been a fear among whites of losing the political, social and economic privileges that they have enjoyed over black people.(1)

These fears have been accompanied by an even more potent though largely irrational fear that the white people as a whole might lose their racial and cultural identity and become 'swamped' by the 'rising tide of black people'. It has been feared that unless some control be imposed 'Christian civilisation' might be overtaken by the 'primitive' culture of the more numerous Africans, and the white people as such would be annihilated, lost in an amorphous mass of colour. This anxiety has been stimulated by Afrikaner nationalism, as it has defined and placed great value on the group identity of Afrikaners. (Such anxiety is fairly typical of situations where a need for group identification is strongly felt.) We may see signs of this fear in alarmist predictions of a high birth rate amongst Africans, and in the common aversion to interracial mixture through miscegenation.

To a large extent these fears have been vague and unconscious, yet they have been specifically stated on occasions. They have been readily excited in the minds of people who have been conditioned by the sectionalism of South African society, and politicians have frequently resorted to a swart gevaar (black danger) bogey to attract political support.

So it is fear that has moulded much of the white man's thinking and his emotional reaction to black people. This has in turn led to hostility towards blacks, as a defence mechanism. It has encouraged the doctrine of white supremacy, and has prompted opposition to even small extensions of African political rights - seen as the thin end of a wedge which might overthrow white domination. It has contributed to the desire for racial

(1) We note that even many Indians and Coloured people - who have enjoyed some social and economic privileges - have feared a reversal of the racial order and been ambivalent about the risk of supplanting a white government with a black one.

segregation, by which whites have sought security within their own laager.[1]

Segregation, in turn, has been conducive to anxiety, for it has made black people virtual strangers for most whites - and a stranger is generally more easily feared. More important, the system of white supremacy has given rise to the fear of reprisal by black people. For, not unnaturally, whites have projected their own hostility onto blacks; while some sense of guilt at their domination, even though dimly perceived, has easily been translated into fears of what blacks might do in revenge if given the chance. "If white men are now afraid of the black men it is because they know deep down within themselves - even it may be, unconsciously - that they have created the situation where such a fear is justified."[2] This has been compounded by mounting demands by black leaders and by the growing incidence of 'terrorism' on the borders of the country.[3] So fear of retribution has reinforced the whites' initial fears - and exacerbated their hostility - and so a continuing cycle has occurred.

We pause to observe that many African leaders have given assurances that their hostility has not been racially motivated and that they have not been seeking a reversal of the existing racial domination. In the face of great provocation Chief Lutuli, leader of the African National Congress in 1960, consistently maintained a policy of co-operation between white and black. Nelson Mandela stated in a speech from the dock in 1964: "The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs, it will not change that policy." Still this organisation emphasises its nonracial stand.[4] Similarly, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu has sought to allay the fears of whites: "The Africans are magnanimous people and that is why even against their strong feelings, they still co-operate in the hope that the White man might in turn show real goodwill."[5] Indeed, it has been pointed out by blacks that the poverty of the African on the one hand and the white man's skill in creating wealth on the other provide limitless scope for collaboration across the colour line, so that white men will find themselves wanted.[6] The status of the minority white group has been based

(1) MacCrone saw similarities between whites' treatment of Africans and the characteristic behaviour of conventional neurotics, showing aggression and repression, segregation and isolation. (Race Attitudes pp308-310)
(2) De Blank, Out of Africa p44.
(3) Though the majority of whites have at the same time suppressed any awareness of or been oblivious of the increasing signs that there is indeed hostility and resentment amongst black people within the country.)
(4) Adam, Modernizing ppll,115.
(5) Buthelezi, G.D.: White and Black Nationalism, Ethnicity and the Future of the Homelands (1974) p8.
(6) Ngubane, J.K. in Sociological Perspectives (Adam, Ed.) p22.

on their privilege, but once that is ended by a majority government there will be no basis for conflict. A material equality of chances will be what is sought for after a successful African revolution, rather than the political suppression of a population group.(1)

However, racial discrimination by the whites and also the terms in which their policies have been justified - encouraging people to see blacks and whites as incompatible with one another - have been constant encouragement to counter-racialism. Moreover, it must be observed that white intransigence has driven many African nationalist movements in Africa from a non-violent philosophy to accept the alternative of armed struggle, and as their struggles for liberation have intensified so has their radical outlook. There are indeed signs of this development in South Africa. So, as Adam has pointed out, even the most astute analysts of white rule have tended to be pessimistic about the outcome of an eventual change in power. Said Legum: "After the kind of treatment Black South Africans have received over three centuries, why should one suppose they will behave any better than White South Africans?"(2) Warned Schlemmer: "If the whites continue with current policies or modified versions of these policies until violent revolution, mass labour unrest, or something else leads to a collapse of White control then a merciful and tolerant treatment of Whites by Blacks in the initial stages could hardly be expected."(3)

(b) RACIAL PREJUDICE

In the early days of white settlement in southern Africa there was no distinction made between people on the grounds of their racial affiliation. But with time, as it became apparent that many disparities between white and black individuals related to features common to members of their particular racial groups, there developed in whites a racial consciousness and a tendency to classify people according to the colour of their skin. Whites began to generalise about black people, to think of them in terms of stereotyped categories. What was more, they came to think of blacks as inferior to them: for the latter did not have the white man's command of a written language, his more advanced technological skill, nor such things as guns

(1) cf. Adam, Modernizing p11.
(2) quoted in ibid. p11; cf. Van den Berghe quoted in ibid. p118.
(3) In Anatomy of Apartheid (Randall, Ed.) p28.

and wagons. Not only were the cultures of the black peoples deemed inferior, but many whites believed that these peoples were also innately inferior in intelligence. At the same time the different standards of cleanliness amongst the black people aroused feelings of repulsion in the whites. So racial prejudice developed in the white community.

MacCrone has suggested that features of western culture may have played a hidden role in this development.(1) For instance, the symbolism of the colours white and black - the former being used to express purity and the latter to express that which is sinister or diabolical - may have encouraged fear of black people.(2) Similarly, blackness was associated with dirt, and also with the lower, animal, sexually repressed side of man's nature. In Europe black men were customarily seen as savage or uncivilised beings. Whether or not such factors influenced the image of black people held by whites in southern Africa, it was not unnatural for those whites to recoil to some extent from people whose social habits and ways of life were so different from theirs. To dislike the unlike, to disapprove and condemn as abnormal any departure from the accustomed, is a universal feature of social contacts between members of different groups, and a common cause of group prejudice.

Since those early days, the long history in which master/servant relationships have been virtually the only form of social contact between white and black people has reinforced white opinion of blacks as inferior. From early childhood most whites have been accustomed to see black people as members of a servant class, who have done the physical labour in the community and have occupied an inferior status in the social system. Thus whites have grown up to regard blacks as menial by nature and have proceeded to relate to them in accordance with the social habits of their own group - in an attitude of aloofness and superiority. To see a person as primarily a member of a particular goup is a clear-cut and pragmatically convenient method of relating to him. So for the white individual a rigid group-definition has set the place of a black man in society and dictated how he should be dealt with. The white man's relationship with him has been prescribed, and to act accordingly has been the path of least resistance and so has been emotionally satisfying. In this respect, racial prejudice has been a matter of habit. At the same time, however, memories of violent conflicts with Africans on the frontiers as well as more recent threats of economic

(1) MacCrone, Race Attitudes pp296-300.
(2) Bastide argued that the cultural aspects behind racial prejudice are merely derivatives of this earlier symbolism. (Bastide, R.: 'Colour, Racism, and Christianity' in Daedalus Vol. 96 No. 2 (Spring 1967) pp312ff.)

competition from them have prompted whites to feel threatened and hostile. Such fear has been an important stimulant of prejudice.(1)

Such prejudice has been sustained through the years in various ways. In white homes it has been moulded into the personality through the example and direct teaching of parents. In schools children have been influenced by the attitudes of their teachers and by history text-books which have portrayed the black man as aggressor.(2) Some Churches too, as we have seen, have played a part by providing scriptural justification for practices of discrimination. Moreover, the development of exclusive and aggressive Afrikaner nationalism, incorporating anti-black feeling as one of its components and raising this to the level of an ideology held with fervour and emotionalism, has been an important social process fostering racial prejudice. At the annual Day of the Covenant celebrations the exclusive white attitude against the black man as traditional past enemy as well as potential future enemy has been intensified.

Kuper has pointed out that government legislation, particularly since 1948, has also fostered racial prejudice - initially by heightening racial consciousness amongst the people.(3) By the Population Registration Act of 1950 each person has been classified according to a racial category. Other legislation has ruled that his education, marriage, place of residence, franchise, occupation, medical treatment, and his attendance at places of entertainment and public gatherings, as well as other social situations, must be govdrned by his racial classification. So racial differentiation has been woven into the perception of individuals and has formed a guide to their conduct. Further, a system of punishment and reward has emphasised the primacy of racial criterion in daily living. Many acts which have not in themselves been criminal offences, have become such if they should involve forbidden relations with someone of another race. Thus there has always been present the threat of punishment as a criminal if one should transgress across the racial line. Organisations have been obliged to re-examine and perhaps modify their policies in the light of racial laws, and even those who have opposed these laws have become more racially conscious under conditions in which inter-racial contact has savoured of deliberate

(1) Rose tells us that all theories of the prejudiced personality observe a basic insecurity underneath prejudiced behaviour. (Refer Rose, B.W.: Prejudice and Personality (1962).)
(2) Refer Thompson, art.cit.
(3) Kuper in Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict (Van den Berghe, Ed.) pp238-242.

defiance. At the same time, the reservation of amenities for a particular racial group has provided reward for those so benefitted; and there has been the promise of ultimate reward embodied in the whole concept of separate development along racial lines. Now, racial consciousness that has been heightened in this way need not necessarily lead to an increase in racial prejudice, but on the whole it seems that it has done so. Emphasising as they have the unfitness of someone of another race as a neighbour or a marriage partner, racial laws have encouraged unfavourable stereotypes. In that they have rested on the basic incompatibility of the races, the racial policies of the Government have created and intensified competition between them. Conflict in racial contact has been encouraged, since there has been an ideological expectation of conflict. Discrimination has been invited, since self-preservation has been assumed to depend on withholding from other races, as far as possible, any opportunities which might contribute to their power as competing groups. Further, as a result of systematic discrimination in society the white man has found himself consistently in a superior position, and this routine experience may be expected to have reinforced his sentiments of superiority. Indeed, discrimination has severely limited opportunities for development for members of black races, and so has given a realistic basis for the white man's sentiments of superiority. Kuper has also pointed out that people generally tend to disapprove of an act because it is a crime, and hence the legislative creation of new crimes relating to inter-racial contact has exerted pressure towards disapproval of inter-racial contact, thus laying a basis for racial prejudice.(1) In all, government enforced discrimination has not only generated racial prejudice, but has reinforced already existing prejudices, in the white public as well as in the legislators themselves. As generations of white politicians have persistently defined and emphasised the situation in terms of race conflict, thereby heightening racial tension and antagonisms in the minds of the white electorate, so this electorate has in turn become even more race-conscious and as a result made consistent demands upon politicians that they uphold and consolidate white supremacy. As Schlemmer said: "A class system such as South Africa's tends not only to be reinforced by racialism, but in turn continually breeds more racialism."(2)

However, we must not conclude that racial prejudice in white South Africans can be explained simply in terms of psychological processes within

(1) ibid. p245.
(2) In Anatomy of Apartheid (Randall, Ed.) p28.

the minds of individuals. It is necessary to see that certain social needs have also been responsible for the prevalence of such prejudice.(1) Racial prejudice has had an important functional value for the white society. Firstly, it has not only assisted in maintaining group consciousness, in that it has strenuously denied any kind of equality with people of other races, but it has preserved the unity of that group. Any tendency in a white individual to deviate from the common attitude toward blacks has had very little chance of developing, so long as he has wished to regard himself, or to be regarded, as a member of the group. His attitude towards blacks has become a criterion of group membership and so has ensured the unity of his group. Further, since this attitude has been a negative or hostile one directed upon an out-group, it has provided an outlet for the discharge of hostile impulses which might otherwise have tended to weaken the unity of the in-group.

Secondly, racial prejudice has preserved the security of the white group and has safeguarded their privileges, in that it has kept the black people 'in their place', and so has prevented them from being in a position to threaten or challenge the white group. Prejudices have had a direct survival value for the whites. If they were to have changed their attitudes towards black people they would certainly have faced the loss of their supremacy. Whereas in other situations a change of mind would have remained without political consequences, in South Africa such a change would have altered the social structure. Thus racialism in South Africa has differed from other forms of race prejudice.

Thirdly, racial prejudice has played an important role in justifying to whites their right to treat blacks in the way they have done.(2) Prejudice has found more or less rational reasons for actions to which whites have felt themselves impelled. Proponents of the status quo have been able to justify the situation by pandering to the prejudice of others and drawing invidious comparisons between races and cultures. Further, as we have seen in the NGK, the very existence of racial consciousness or prejudice among whites has been used to show that racial separation has been necessary for peace. (At the same time, the obligation to discriminate has provided the prejudiced person who has claimed to be unprejudiced with a convenient excuse for conformity and private discrimination.) Thus racial prejudice has

(1) Refer eg. Schlemmer in ibid. pp26-28; Spro-cas Social Commission pp8,21.
(2) Refer eg. Turner, R. in Directions of Change in South African Politics (Randall, Ed.) (1971) pp78-79. Turner spoke of racial prejudice as a 'secondary reality'.

provided a rationalisation for exploitation, and has given white people security from guilt. So we may see that racial prejudice in South Africa has been due not merely to personality components in themselves, but in some measure to its usefulness in preserving and justifying the unity and privilege of the white people.

Built into the white society in South Africa has been a complex set of prejudices: shown by numerous studies revealing strong resistance on the part of whites to accept black people as social equals.

(c) SELF-INTEREST

Some observers have suggested that fear has been the greatest determinant in the racial policies of the white people in South Africa.(1) Others have argued that racial prejudice has been the more basic factor.(2) However, it seems clear that the attitudes of most whites have been not simply the result of fear or prejudice, but have been also very deeply rooted in and logically related to their material and psychological self-interest.

The rate of economic growth and industrialisation in South Africa has been among the fastest in the world. While people from all racial groups have benefitted from this, it has been the white people who have had the greatest gain. Although they have constituted such a small proportion of the population, they have had control over 87% of the territory, including virtually all developed areas, cities and large towns, and embracing virtually all economic resources in the country. They have also maintained control over the large and cheap labour force that has been available from within the African population, and over the economic benefits from this labour. So they have been able to secure for themselves a standard of living that has been much higher than that of the rest of the population: the average per capita income of whites being over thirteen times higher than the average income of Africans.(3) Indeed, their standard of living has been one of the highest in the world. Now, the greater the privileges of a particular group, the greater will be the incentive for that group to rally

(1) Refer eg. Paton, A. in ibid. p45.
(2) Refer eg. Van den Berghe, Study in Conflict p141.
(3) Spro-cas Social Commission p14.

to the defence of those privileges. This seems to have been true for the whites in South Africa. Their privilege has depended wholly on their retaining political and economic power exclusively in their own hands - and this they have obviously sought to do (as we shall see from the following observations).

The South Africa Act itself placed severe restrictions on the political rights of black people, and with subsequent legislation has denied them any part in electing representatives to the central Parliament. Thus legislative power has been reserved for the white people. Moreover, by encouraging and reinforcing existing tribal differences among the Africans, and cultural differences between these and the Coloured and Asian peoples, the government has succeeded in fragmenting the black masses and blocking attempts at their political solidarity. In particular, it has sought to prevent Africans from developing a sustained nationalism capable of wielding a power to match that of the State. By establishing in the various 'Bantustans' tribal authorities with their own legislative assemblies (under the oversight of the central government and frequently including people appointed by it), whites have hoped to deflect the aspirations of black leaders, and the inevitable political consequences of African economic advancement, away from the white sphere of interest.

The white government has maintained control over the lives and movement of all black people. This has been facilitated by the policy of segregation, grouping black people together in areas of their own - for surveillance and supervision is generally easier when those being controlled are living together. Many Africans have been compelled to leave the 'white' urban areas, and rigid pass laws have severely restricted the influx of others (so limiting amongst other things their opportunities for employment). At the same time, as Meer has suggested, the migratory labour system has prevented the black masses from presenting any real threat to the government. The African worker has had no real roots and no single loyalty, but has moved between the rural 'homeland' and the town, often between two women and two families. In such a situation aggression resulting from instability and deprivation, and which should grow outwards and become rationally locked in conflict with its true source of provocation, has been deflected inwards and irrationally dissipated in the neighbourhood and family, through violence in his own community.(1)

(1) Meer, F. in Sociological Perspectives (Adam, Ed.) p125.

Government legislation has reserved for white people many types of employment, and in particular skilled employment within the common society. This legislation has been backed up by pressure from white staff and public against employers who might engage a black person in a position 'traditionally' held by a white. So opportunities for upward occupational mobility have been denied black people. (Some blacks, it is true, have recently come to occupy skilled manual and routine white-collar positions - but the proportion of them at these levels has still been very small.) Meanwhile, the per capita public expenditure on education for Africans has been much smaller than on education for whites. So poor educational facilities, as well as the lack of compulsory schooling for Africans, has further hampered their advancement. Furthermore, because there has been a large reserve of African labour, these workers have been paid low wages - and their widespread poverty has in turn limited their power. In addition, the formation of trade unions for Africans has been discouraged, and those that have been established have been excluded from legal recognition. Also, strikes by African workers have been declared illegal. Thus they have had no power to negotiate on their own behalf, nor to compete in an organised form for a more equitable share of the national product. On the other hand, the white community has had compulsory and free schooling and the State has made good provision for their tertiary education. Because there has been a shortage of whites to fill the skilled positions reserved for them, their salaries have been high: and even where white and black people have done the same work it has been customary to pay the whites considerably more than the blacks. Thus it has been ensured that no member of the white group should descend to an unprivileged stratum, regardless of his abilities. The control of economic power has remained firmly with the white population group, and blacks have been denied access to this control.

Social privileges have also been preserved for white people. On the one hand, rapid industrialisation has created a large black urban proletariat (now comprising about one-third of the fifteen million Africans in the country), many of whom have broken with the tribal way of life to adopt aspects of western civilisation. Some integration of them with white people in commercial and industrial spheres has been necessary for ecomomic growth, and they have enjoyed some measure of economic advancement (though not equal with that of the whites). However, on the other hand, as this has happened so the whites have feared that if social distinctions should disappear political distinctions could no longer be maintained. Thus they have emphasised racially defined barriers at every level of social organisation. Egalitarian contact in public has been restricted, and the Government

has prevented cultural and sporting competition between black and white on the basis of merit.(1) In private life also contact between whites and blacks has become institutionalised and segmented. Separate but not necessarily equal social institutions and amenities have been established for the various racial groups - and many amentities have been provided only for whites (thus giving them more privileges). So the traditional social order has been preserved and social privileges have not been shared but safeguarded for white people.

Meanwhile legislative and executive action by the Government against social change has been backed by a subtle balance of persuasion and coercion. In terms of persuasion, the system has made rewards available to intellectual and professional people; and there has been considerable propaganda on the mass media (much of which has been controlled by the State). Coercive measures, on the other hand, have been both overt and covert. By such actions as censorship, withdrawal of passports, interrogation, imprisonment, banning orders and deportation, the Government has sought to intimidate those who have not complied with the system or who have been strong in voicing criticism. At the same time, there has been a build-up of the country's security police and military strength, in the belief that the white electorate can in the long run defend itself from internal uprisings and external pressures.

These observations lead us to the conclusion that white people in South Africa have been determined to hold political and economic power, material and social privilege, to themselves. This has amounted to maintaining a position of domination over black people. For a long while it was not thought disgraceful for politicians to state publicly that they stood for such white domination; and the policy of Mr. Strydom was openly one of baasskap: "that the Europeans must stand their ground and must remain boss in South Africa." Later this policy mellowed under Dr. Verwoerd, yet he still asserted: "We want to make South Africa White....Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely White domination, not leadership, not guidance, but control, supremacy."(2) Some people even argued that white supremacy was in the interests of black people as well as whites, in that it ensured racial peace and economic prosperity for all in the country.(3)

(1) There have been some changes in government sports policy recently.
(2) Quoted in Van den Berghe, Study in Conflict p118.
(3) The 'prosperity' of the black people has been judged in contrast to the great poverty of many black peoples in other parts of Africa.

However, more recently protagonists of racial segregation have urged that white people should not seek to dominate blacks, and that separation of racial or cultural groups into different autonomous areas will prevent domination and allow each group complete freedom and power within its own shpere. Yet it is clear that such people have been attempting to play down the whites' concern for supremacy. Indeed, the very ideology of racial segregation has served as a justification for whites retaining their politically and economically superior position, albeit only within the 'white' areas (which, as we have seen, have been deemed to constitute the major portion of the country). (1)

Many have sought to defend government policies in South Africa as simply making allowance for cultural differences between the various racial groups. However, it is possible to see the social situation in other perspectives, which illuminate the more basic factor of self-interest in the whites that we have been considering. Firstly, the country may be viewed in terms of the theory of a plural society as originally expounded by Furnivall.(2) This theory emphasises the basically exploitative nature of the colonial type of plural society, in which a socially distinct population group maintains political domination over other distinct groups in order to extract labour from them for the benefit of the economy owned by the dominant group. The control exercised by the dominant group is not geared to the common good of all groups in the society, but operates to the advantage of the ruling group. The ruling group segregates itself from other socially and ethnically distinct groups in all spheres except those which are necessary for the continuation of economic activity and the administration of the country Control is essentially coercive, and the social and cultural separation is maintained in such a way as to discourage subject groups from assuming the right to share in the material privileges enjoyed by the dominant group. Looking at the basic pattern of South African society, we may see that it has matched this exploitative colonial pattern to a large degree (though not necessarily exactly (3)). But because racial and cultural distinctions have been prominent these have tended to obscure the underlying economic

(1) Observed Schlemmer: "Altruistic concern among White policy-makers for the preservation of Bantu culture for its own sake would be very surprising indeed." (City or Rural 'Homeland' p3.) Adam, in his book Modernising Racial Domination, has shown that the theory of racial segregation has formed a cover for "one of the most advanced and effective patterns of rational, oligarchic domination", "an increasingly streamlined and expanding system of sophisticated dominance". (op.cit. pp16, 15.)

(2) Furnivall, J.S.: Colonial Policy and Practice (University Press, Cambridge, 1948) pp303-312. Refer also Kuper and Smith, op.cit.

(3) Refer Rex, J.: 'The Plural Society: The South African Case' in Race Vol. XII No.4 (1971) pp401-413.

interest of the dominant white group.

Alternatively, the South African situation may be viewed as a situation of class conflict, where class divisions have followed racial lines.(1) The various racial groups have come to fill different positions in the occupational structure, and typically self-reinforcing class divisions have come into being between them, coinciding roughly with their racial differences. Whites have occupied virtually all the executive, higher technical and supervisory positions in the economy and the administration. Other whites who have had poorer education and who have occupied lower status positions have tended to identify themselves with these in the white middle class or executive groups, due to their common race affiliation with the white executives and also to the much higher wages that they have earned in comparison with the black proletariat. At the same time these whites in working class positions have tended to be hostile towards black workers. So the working class has, in a sense, been divided along racial lines: the white workers forming an 'aristocracy' of labour and sharing with the middle and executive classes of whites the affluence and privileged status in society. On the other hand, the vast majority of black people living in the common society have been employed at unskilled levels in the economy, and so have together formed one class group. (Those black people who have attained a 'middle class' status may be regarded as largely outside the class system since they have neither been members of the black proletariat nor have had access to the political and economic power of the whites.)

In a rapidly expanding economy the potential normally exists for class cleavages to become modified or blurred by the upward occupational mobility of members of the labouring classes. But in South Africa this process has been discouraged. Whites have used their political power to press for protected employment and for a virtual monopoly of most skilled positions and of high wages. They have made sure that their class has not been threatened by blacks moving upward. At the same time, the racial identity of the classes as well as the laws and social norms which have made it virtually impossible for members of one racial group to become assimilated into another group, have given the class system a caste-like character.

The situation cannot be described as simply one of class conflict, for class interests have been reinforced by racial differences. Nevertheless, we may see a picture of society in which distinctions in power and authority.

(1) Refer eg. Schlemmer in Anatomy of Apartheid (Randall, Ed.) pp21-24; Spro-cas Social Commission pp13-20.

occupational status and standard of living - all factors which constitute or relate to class divisions - have corresponded almost completely with racial differences. Because of this, racial and cultural distinctions have tended to obscure the underlying self-interest of the white privileged 'class'.

The Spro-cas Social Commission has suggested that the explanation of the South African situation according to cultural rather than economic factors may not have been a deliberate deception on the part of all the whites. "It is the system which is exploitative rather than the people in it."(1) Certainly, many whites have probably been unaware that their high standard of living has depended on the existence of poorly paid black labour, and it would seem true that most white employers have not deliberately exploited blacks, but have done as much as they could for them within the norms of the economic system. Yet this does not deny that a hidden self-interest has allowed domination over black people to continue.

We may indeed conclude that one of the important factors affecting race relations in South Africa has been the self-interest of the white people. Racial discrimination and segregation have been encouraged by them, in order to maintain their privilege and preserve their power and wealth.

From all these observations it seems clear that fear, racial prejudice and self-interest, intertwined with one another, have had a considerable influence on the attitudes and actions of the majority of white people in South Africa. When we bear in mind that some 94% of the white population have considered themselves to be Christians, it seems reasonable to conclude that these factors have also influenced the majority of white members in the Christian Churches. Indeed, the Spro-cas Church Commission asserted that "the attitudes and motives of Church members in South Africa strongly reflect the situation in the country as a whole".(2)

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(1) Spro-cas Social Commission p11.
(2) Spro-cas Church Commission p18.

2. WHAT HAS PROMPTED LEADERS IN THE NEDERDUITSE GEREFORMEERDE KERK TO ADVOCATE RACIAL SEGREGATION?

In the NGK the opinion of ordinary members has held great weight. In each congregation they have been responsible for electing a church council which, with the minister, has regulated the affairs of that congregation. While the minister has had much prestige and authority, a great deal of power has been vested in the council itself. Thus by electing to the council elders and deacons with attitudes generally acceptable to them, and also by subsequent social pressure on those elected, the people in general have been able to exert a fair amount of influence over their council - and over their minister. Furthermore, because in the overall organisation and government of the NGK the local congregation has had an important status, it has been possible for church councils to join together to exert considerable influence on the higher courts of the Church. We have seen an obvious example of this in the events leading up to 1857 when the Synod reluctantly agreed to bow to the pressure of church councils and allow black and white worshippers to meet in separate buildings. We have seen, too, how delegates to synods after the 1960 Cottesloe Consultation were able to pressure their office-bearers and leaders into changing their position even on matters of principle. So, while not denying that synods and church councils have been able to influence those below them in the church structures, nor denying that clergy and lay leaders have had influence over peopoe in their communities, we may discern that there has at the same time been a line of influence moving from the members of the congregations upwards to the leadership of the Church.

Judging that the majority of NGK members (as of other white people in the country) have had their racial attitudes moulded to a large extent by fear, racial prejudice and self-interest, we may thus conclude that these three factors have through those members influenced the Church as a whole in its approach to race relations. What is more, these factors have no doubt directly influenced many of the clergy and lay leaders themselves, quite apart from such indirect influence through church members. Thus, as we have seen, it was largely the racial consciousness of members, bound up with prejudice and hostility towards black people, that initially prompted the Church to separate its black and white worshippers into different congregations and Churches.(1) Then, for instance, the Missionary Policy of the 1930s when advocating racial segregation in society spoke of "the traditional fear" in Afrikaners of equality of treatment between black

(1) Refer p 347 supra.

and white and of their "antipathy to the idea of racial fusion". The resolutions of the 1950 Congress rejected racial integration lest it might lead to "the undermining of the future of the white race".(1) Indeed, fear, racial prejudice and self-interest have been basic factors underlying the NGK advocacy of racial segregation both within its own structures and in the wider society.

However, there have also been other contributory factors.

Quite naturally, clergy and church councils have cared for the well-being of their church members. So when large numbers of these members were suffering from severe poverty after the Anglo-Boer War and during later periods of economic depression church leaders sought to help them. (Added impulse was given to their efforts by the fact that the moral standards of many 'poor whites' was believed to be deteriorating due to their situation.) The cause of this poverty was seen as the unequal competition for employment that was coming from black people who were likewise moving into the urban areas. So, for the sake of their own people, church leaders were prompted to think in terms of racial discrimination or 'differentiation' and to encourage segregation of the racial groups in order that this competition might cease. At first in the 1920s only partial segregation was advocated, but as the plight of many continued so by the 1930s there was a cry from the Church for total segregation.

Meanwhile, a deep concern for their people led many church leaders to identify themselves closely with Afrikaner traditions and culture. We have seen that many of them played a creative role in the formation of Afrikaner nationalist ideologies, and how they took a lead in the spread of this nationalism and were involved in many of the organisations that fostered it.(2) We have seen, too, how nationalist sentiments gradually moved to include calls for separation not only from English-speaking people but from black people as well. The strength of this nationalist consciousness should not be under-estimated. Not only did NGK leaders influence it, but its fervour in turn influenced those leaders - and so eventually was one of the factors which swept them and their Church into advocating racial segregation. Afrikaner mythology created an intellectual and emotional climate in which it was easy for churchmen to accept segregation as a rational and moral policy

(In this connection it should be mentioned that the Afrikaner Broederbond

(1) Refer pp101,121 supra.
(2) Refer pp73ff supra.

may well have exerted pressure on NGK leaders to support its ideals of racial segregation. De Villiers has reported that in 1967 a delegate to the synod of Gereformeerde Kerk tried unsuccessfully to persuade the synod to record its opposition to attempts by the Broederbond to 'dictate' to church members. Quoting a 'strictly confidential' circular of 1st August 1962, he maintained in his petition that it was clear that the Broederbond sought to tell members how to act at church meetings. However, because the petition did not conform to correct procedure the synod refused to discuss it.(1))

As we have also seen, some church leaders were drawn by their nationalist sentiments into close collaboration with politicians of the Nationalist party - who must have had some sort of influence on their racial attitudes.(2) Furthermore there had been a history of co-operation between the Dutch Reformed Church and the State. In the Cape Colony until 1804 that Church had been regarded as the State Church and aid of government administrators; and from then until 1843 (and to a lesser extent until 1850), though no longer established in the strict sense of the word, it had continued to occupy a privileged position and to receive financial support from the State. Later the trekkers had made the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk the State Church of the Transvaal. This background must have made it seem natural for leaders of the NGK to co-operate with the Government after Union, and particularly once the Nationalist Party had come to power. Certainly liaison with Party and with Government has helped churchmen to support uncritically the racial policies and decisions of Afrikaner political leaders.

In all this church leaders have experienced considerable pressure from their fellows to conform. While their Church and their Government have been beset by criticism from other Churches and from other countries, Afrikaners have been called to remain united and loyal to their people. Once the Afrikaner people had achieved ascendency through their promotion of the policy of apartheid churchmen could not betray them by condemning that policy. Indeed, the NGK as a whole has been accused by the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk of being disloyal whenever it has seemed to slacken its support for racial segregation. Strassberger has reported that disagreement with the State's policies has even been seen as disloyalty to the Church and thus to the Christian faith.(3) In all, church leaders have been reluctant to entertain serious doubts about segregation for fear of being identified with reviled

(1) In Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson Eds.) p397. Refer p77 supra.
(2) Refer pp75ff supra.
(3) Strassberger, op.cit. p45.

'liberals' and so of becoming alienated from their people. For clergy there has been the added fear that no congregation would 'call' them to serve if they were known to have 'stepped out of line'. So it is that some leaders who have spoken out against their country's racial policies have been persuaded to return to the common approach - as happened after the Cottesloe Consultation.

Thus besides the general racial attitudes that have been common amongst white people, the particular social situation of Afrikaners and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism have had a profound influence on the thinking of leaders in the NGK concerning race relations. All these have been the factors that have led churchmen not only to advocate racial segregation but to seek and find support for it in Scripture and theological argument. These have been the factors that to a large degree explain their theological stance on this issue.

Nevertheless, it must be added that the Calvinist background of these churchmen has facilitated this development. The doctrines of election and predestination have had a central place in their thinking, maintaining that God has chosen some people in preference to others, and that he has predestined only some to salvation. These doctrines, modified to some extent, have encouraged Afrikaners to think of themselves as elect or set apart by God, and therefore as superior to the 'heathen' black people round about them and able to stand separate and aloof from them. Furthermore, the profound conviction that their task as a 'Chosen People' has been to bring the Christian faith to South Africa and to preserve it there, has encouraged them to believe that they have been given a divine mandate to protect their own way of life, or 'Christian civilisation', and to preserve themselves and their distinct identity as a people. Such a demand for preservation, they have said, has again necessitated that they segregate themselves from black people. Thus Calvinist thinking has helped leaders of the NGK to an over-emphasised pride in their own people and culture, and has at the same time allowed them to separate themselves from other peoples. Furthermore, it has provided a formidable theological rationale for those churchmen wishing to defend segregation.(1)

(1) After a sociological survey R. Buis has recently asserted that the religious beliefs of NGK members have been amongst the causes of their comparatively unfavourable attitudes towards black people. We would agree that these beliefs have played a part in those attitudes: but we find his particular research inconclusive, as it has not considered the possible correlation of Afrikaner nationalist sympathies with committed membership of the NGK. (Buis, R.: Religious Beliefs and White Prejudice (Ravan, Johannesburg, 1975).)

Another significant feature has been the fact that, generally speaking, the majority of NGK leaders have been conservative in their theology. There was a time in the middle of the nineteenth century when theological liberals found their way into the pulpits of the Cape, but their liberalism met with strong opposition and they soon became an insignificant minority,(1) Thus churchmen have on the whole adhered, often dogmatically, to traditional beliefs and understandings, and have not easily adjusted to new insights. With this theological conservatism has gone fairly naturally a political conservatism, which has enabled them to support in an unquestioning manner the racial segregation that has been customary for so many, many years. (Though we remember· that in the 1860s there were some church leaders who criticised the NGK decision to allow the racial separation of worshippers.(2)) Furthermore an evangelical stance has enabled even prominent theologians to accept fundamentalist interpretations of Scripture which have supported calls for racial segregation but which have not been able to stand up before more searching criticism. Associated with this evangelical thinking has been a strongly pietistic approach which has placed emphasis on personal religious life rather than on doctrine, and which has allowed churchmen to regard the harmful effects of segregation as unrelated to their Christian responsibility in society.

This conservatism has been encouraged by the fact that NGK leaders have to a considerable extent been isolated from thinking in other parts of the world and from trends that have occurred in other Churches. During the nineteenth century, in the interior particularly but also to a large extent in the Cape, churchmen were geographically cut off from "the mellowing breezes of liberalism that blew from Europe". Elsewhere Churches were adjusting to the vast social and industrial changes of those times, but in southern Africa Calvinism was to move "straight out of the seventeenth century into the twentieth". It is true that some new thinking and political outlooks were taken to southern Africa by Christian missionaries from other Churches, but their aggressiveness and their criticism of race relations there prjudiced the Dutch Reformed churchmen against what they were saying.(3) Meanwhile, after a great evangelical revival in the NGK in the early 1860s many young men offered themselves for the ministry and so obviated the earlier need to import clergymen from abroad. In a newly established theological seminary at Stellenbosch they and others after them were "solidly and thoroughly trained in a conservative and 'orthodox theology that was both

(1) Refer Hinchliff, Church in South Africa pp79-84; Moodie, op.cit. pp74ff; Patterson, op.cit. p186.
(2) Refer p87 supra.
(3) Refer pp23ff supra.

Calvinist and fundamentalist".[1] Later the growth of Afrikaner nationalism encouraged church leaders and their people to be inward looking and to avoid association with other communities who might influence them in some way and so weaken their group identity. Thus they were cut off from, or were able to ignore, the development of the 'social gospel' early in the twentieth century, and then the new ideas about race relations that swept the world after the Second World War.

What is more, it is evident that, in recent decades at least, ecumenical involvement between NGK leaders and leaders of other Churches in South Africa has been limited. As we know, there has been no co-operation between the NGK and the Roman Catholic Church at all. Back in 1941 the NGK withdrew its membership of the Christian Council of South Africa. In the 1950s there were discussions with other Churches on the application of Christian principles in the country, but consideration of racial issues did not on the whole go very deep lest the Churches offended one another.[2] Indeed, sensitivity over the fact that their racial policies have been different has meant that, generally speaking, NGK leaders have looked askance at 'liberalistic' tendencies in the 'English-speaking' Churches and have had little to do with their leaders even where matters other than race relations have been concerned. Certainly when the NGK has had its racial policies criticised its leaders either have tended to defend those policies all the more vigorously, or have merely withdrawn from debate and so increased their isolation - as occurred after the Cottesloe Consultation when they withdrew from the World Concil of Churches and shunned further involvement with their critics in South Africa. Observed Strassberger: "The DRC has, as a result of much criticism from outside and from the other churches within the country, become hyper-sensitive to criticism and this has created a climate which makes it virtually impossible to enter into real dialogue with the majority of the ministers and members of the DRC."[3]

Then too it should be observed that the NGK policy of separating white and black worshippers into different Churches has prevented white church leaders from hearing what black churchmen have been saying; and so, in the opinion of at least one observer, "has made them largely blind to and unconscious of black aspirations".

(1) Hinchliff, Church in South Africa p83.
(2) It should be added, though, that some NGK leaders were indeed prompted by these discussions to speak out later against the racial policies of their Church.
(3) Strassberger, op.cit. p45.

Thus NGK leaders have been isolated from a great deal of thinking elsewhere (whether in Churches overseas or in South Africa or in the NGK 'daughter' Churches) and have been shielded from pressure that might have persuaded them to change their approach to race relations.

Having said this, we must acknowledge that the NGK has retained links with the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands and with two international associations of Reformed Churches (1) - though we notice that recent statements by these bodies condemning racial discrimination have prompted the NGK to threaten breaking its ties with them. On the other hand it is also true that through the years some theologians in the NGK have studied in Europe - and that some of these have found encouragement from German and Dutch thinking for their Afrikaner nationalism. Furthermore, as we have seen, the NGK has claimed that it was influenced towards its separation of racial groups into different Churches by thinking in international missionary circles. Certainly many churchmen have been influenced by the arguments of the Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper, who made a strong plea for missionaries to establish independent, indigenous Churches; and a recent study by Dr. J.H. Bavinck, at one time a Dutch missionary in Indonesia, has also been much referred to in support of this principle. However, in so far as any correlation might be seen between such overseas thinking and the NGK concept of separation of racial groups in society as well as Church, we (bearing in mind the great weight of sociological factors on the Afrikaner) would judge that this thinking has been basically supportive rather than formative of the NGK stance.

All these observations give us some idea of what has prompted leaders in the NGK to advocate racial segregation. It seems fair to judge that while some may perhaps have been consciously moved by ulterior motives to adopt such an approach, others have honestly believed that total segregation would be the moral solution to the problem of race relations in the country. Indeed many critics of this policy have spoken of the personal integrity and sincerity of church leaders propounding it.

In conclusion it should be remembered that not all leaders of the NGK have advocated segregation. As we have been told, a number of them have in recent years been critical of this approach. Most have concealed their misgivings for fear of repercussions: but some have voiced their criticism - and been vilified by other churchmen for it. It has not been easy for a member of this Church to go against the influences that have pointed towards racial segregation as an ideal for South Africa.

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(1) The Reformed Ecumenical Synod and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches

3. WHAT HAS ENABLED SOME LEADERS IN THE ANGLICAN, METHODIST AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES TO ADVOCATE RACIAL INTEGRATION?

It should not be thought that only Afrikaners in South Africa have been imbued with fear, racial prejudice and self-interest. These factors have been just as evident amongst members of the English-speaking white population. In the first instance it should be remembered that although their struggle for survival may not have been as severe as that of the Dutch farmers yet many of them in the nineteenth century were caught up in wars against African tribes. Since then they may not have felt as compelling a need to protect their culture or the identity of their people as the Afrikaners have done - for they have been able, at least for many decades, to feel themselves culturally and in a sense politically part of another home in Britain, and many have had extensive and often personal contacts with the rest of the vast English-speaking world. Yet with the receding of British influence in South Africa since it was declared a Republic in 1961, and with immigration to Britain and elsewhere not as easy for South Africans as it once was, these people have become more emotionally tied to the South African situation and more committed to their continued existence there. Thus it would seem reasonable to suppose that fear for their future has been a factor for them too. Certainly they, as part of the white privileged minority, have had no less cause for fear than have the Afrikaners. Secondly, although many of them have been prepared to accept black people as social equals, there has been little to suggest that the majority of them have been any less prejudiced against blacks than have been Afrikaners. Indeed, we have seen that English-speaking people in the Cape Colony and Natal were responsible for much legislation that discriminated against blacks and that many were unsympathetic and even brutal towards them.(1) Since the establishment of the Union, too, they have played a considerable role in the furtherance of social discrimination, and it has been clearly apparent that many of them have regarded black people as 'primitive' or 'incapable' and that they have treated them without consideration simply because they have been black. Certainly black people have often expressed preference for the open discrimination shown by Afrikaners as against the 'facade of equality' shown by English-speaking whites who have been 'too hypocritical to admit their prejudice'. Thirdly, it should be remembered that English-speaking whites have had a share in the political power held by the Afrikaners; that they have

(1) Refer pp 46,49,56 supra.

for many years controlled most of the private sector of the economy, and in particular the gold-mining industry; and that they have enjoyed the same sort of material comforts as have Afrikaners. Secure in their overall economic domination, they have been able to view the racial issue in a more lenient fashion than have Afrikaners - [1] yet like them, they have been concerned to preserve their own white privileges. For example, English-speaking farmers and later mine owners and industrialists have co-operated with the State in forming and then butressing and perpetuating the socio-economic system in order to secure a plentiful supply of cheap African labour and so to maximise their output and profits. English-speaking workers have been at the forefront of those who have striven to protect their monopoly of skill and high wages from encroachment by black people. Further, it was only with the electoral support of many English-speaking people that the removal of the franchise from black people was possible. Thus self-interest has been plainly evident. So what we have said about the prevalence of fear, racial prejudice and self-interest amongst the majority of whites in South Africa should be seen as applying to a majority of the English-speaking whites as well as of the Afrikaners.

With this in mind it is not surprising that a large proportion of the English-speaking white population has supported the concept of racial segregation. Indeed, Schlemmer reported a poll in April 1970 which showed that as many as 40% of English-speaking whites believed that "Apartheid is the only way to solve our Bantu problem", [2] and he added that many others questioned would have agreed with apartheid in principle except for expressing opposition to the present policy on the grounds of dissatisfaction with the way it was being implemented. They might have disapproved of obvious instances of callousness or injustice, or been worried about the effect of job reservation on the economic prosperity of the country - but on the whole would have co-operated with the Government. Certainly, with a mellowing of Afrikaner nationalism and frequent affirmations by the Government of its intent to foster white unity without disadvantage to the English-speaking population, increasing numbers of these people have come to support the Nationalist Party. Meanwhile the United Party [3] - for which most English-speaking people have been accustomed to vote - has been in fundamental agreement with the aims of apartheid and has really differed with the

(1) cf. Robertson, op.cit. pp3-4.
(2) In Directions of Change (Randall, Ed.) p22.
(3) This was disbanded in 1977 and replaced by the New Republic Party.

Nationalists only on the methods by which this should be achieved. Its policy envisaging a federation of black and white self-governing territories has been only a modified form of segregation. It has insisted on residential, social and educational separation, with an "enlightened, just, but firm White leadership". (1) So we can see that amongst the majority of the English-speaking whites there has been basic agreement with Afrikaners on racial issues.

Having said this, we should acknowledge that most of the real opposition to racial segregation that has come from within the white population has been voiced by English-speaking people. Nevertheless, these dissenters have been only a small minority: drawn largely from the ranks of academics, church leaders, professional people, writers, trade union organisers, and a small number of top businessmen, supported by much of the English-language press. Most of them have supported the Progressive Party (formed in 1959 - now the Progressive Federal Party) which has called for a common society in which political, social and occupational mobility would be possible for all racial groups.(2) Yet it should be noticed that even this Party has stood only for a gradual integration of different racial groups, and for a franchise which, though non-racial, would be dependent on educational and property qualifications that would retain for whites a secure majority for many years. Moreover, it is significant that most of the people who have supported this Party have been from the intellectual and managerial elite, whose social and economic positions have been secure and would not be greatly threatened by the advent of a common society. To the left of these, who have been described by some as 'cautiously progressive', the number of whites who have been openly and unreservedly liberal in outlook has been very small. (The former Liberal and Communist parties, advocating an unrestricted, equal franchise for all people, never gained many white supporters.)

So we come to the question under consideration. Having observed that the majority of English-speaking whites have been subject to fear, racial

(1) Refer eg. ibid. pp52ff; Robertson, op.cit. pp42-46, 186; Marquard, Peoples and Policies pp167-168.

(2) An indication of the numbers of people involved here may be gathered from the estimate in 1970 that the Progressive Party then commanded potential support from no more than 10% of white voters: representing nearly 20% of English-speaking voters and less than 1% of Afrikaners. Refer Directions of Change (Randall, Ed.) pp25-26; Schlemmer, Social Change p38. The Party has, however, gained support since then.

prejudice and self-interest in the same way as Afrikaners and that they have been in basic agreement with the latter in supporting some form of racial segregation, we must ask what has enabled many leaders in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches, unlike leaders in the NGK, to take a contrary stance and argue that there should be racial integration in Church and society.(1)

Whereas NGK leadership has to a considerable extent been isolated from thinking in other parts of the world, these Churches under discussion have been open to a continual flow of ideas from abroad. Indeed, they have retained strong links with Churches overseas. The Roman Catholic Church in South Africa is an integral part of a world-wide Church deriving its authority from Rome, and its bishops are finally appointed by the Pope. The constituent parts of the Methodist Church only became completely independent from their parent bodies in Britain when they united in 1931. Meanwhile although the Anglican Church became self-governing in 1870 it has maintained close contact with other Churches in the world-wide Anglican Communion. Consequently through the years many of the clergy in these three Churches have come from other countries where they have lived in different social and political situations from those in southern Africa and where they have been subject to different influences in their upbringing and education from those affecting people born locally. We have seen, for instance, that Anglican and Methodist missionaries in the nineteenth century had been influenced by the Evangelical revival and recent ferment in social thought in Britain; and that early in the twentieth century many came from there with a new understanding of the 'social gospel'. Furthermore, many clergy born in South Africa have received their training overseas, and some have ministered for some time in congregations in other parts of the world. Then too the Anglican and Methodist Churches have maintained close association with various international bodies such as the World Council of Churches. All these overseas links have meant that many churchmen from South Africa have attended conference overseas, have studied writings and reports and have met with leaders who have visited South Africa. As a result they have been able to keep in touch with trends in theology and church practice as well as in race relations in other countries, and have been able to compare these with those in their

(1) Researchers in 1970 found that the leadership of the 'English-speaking' Churches was overwhelmingly Progressive or liberal in political outlook: a smaller proportion of the religious elite claiming to support the United Party than in any other elite group. (Refer Whisson in Spro-cas Social Commission p85.)

own situation.[1] Most important, they have been made aware of thinking that has not been influenced by the distinctive sociological situation in South Africa. It is this that has encouraged many of them to develop their theological understanding which has favoured the integration of different peoples rather than their segregation. That others have indeed recognised that overseas thinking has encouraged the Churches to oppose racial segregation is indicated by the Government's strict surveillance over books brought by clergy into the country, and its restrictions on the entry of clergy and religious leaders from elsewhere into South Africa. Numbers of them have been refused entry or re-entry permits, and several have been deported.

Furthermore, again in contrast to the NGK, these Churches have generally been open to and have encouraged ecumenical contact within the country. The Anglican and Methodist Churches were leaders in the establishment of the Christian Council of South Africa. More recently they (together with various Presbyterian and Congregational Churches) have jointly established a Church Unity Commission and have declared their intent to seek unity with one another. Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Church has been involved in top-level discussions on doctrine with the Anglican Church. All three Churches have been co-operating with one another and with others in various ventures at national and local levels. Of the leaders and church members who have been involved in these ecumenical relationships, many, though not all, have come to see that for there to be true unity in the whole Church there must necessarily be a coming-together not only of different denominations but also of different racial groups within one Church.[2] At the same time, the links between the Churches have enabled a cross-flow of ideas on race relations. Some leaders have become aware of thinking from other traditions, and some have been influenced by leaders in other Churches. Where there has been movement for better race relations in one Church, this has sometimes stimulated leaders in another Church to attempt the same thing.[3] Moreover, whereas those actively working for racial reconciliation have been in the minority in their own Churches and so have sometimes felt disheartened, many of them have found encouragement through their associations with like-minded people from other Churches. Enthusiasm for better race relations has been maintained and new strength derived from one another. So it is

(1) For instance, we have heard reports from the Lambeth Conference and the Vatican Council being quoted in local statements criticising racial policies.

(2) In this regard it seems significant that the South African Council of Churches whose task is to promote co-operation between Churches has become renowned for its stand for racial integration.

(3) For instance, the recent call in the Roman Catholic Church to open its schools to members of all races was followed by similar calls in the Anglican and Methodist Churches.

apparent that local ecumenical contact has been another factor enabling church leaders to become aware of different thinking from that in their own situation; and has also encouraged some to see the necessity for people of different racial groups within the Church to come together.

In addition, it should be remembered that white clergy in these three Churches have had black clergy working within the same structures and sometimes alongside them, and have sometimes themselves been ministering to black people. Although they have often related to their black colleagues in a paternalistic manner, their very association with one another has made their situation different from that of NGK clergy, and has encouraged some to be more understanding and accepting of black people. Certainly, with the rise of some blacks to senior positions in these Churches and latterly with the new readiness of many black churchmen to speak out more strongly, white church leaders have had shown to them some of the inequalities that have been consequent on racial discrimination and segregation and some have been so prompted to seek their redress.

No doubt some church leaders have also been influenced by other committed Christians who have not had leadership positions in any Church but who have been at the forefront of those opposing racial segregation in one way or another, working individually or through secular organisations as well as through church groups. Many such people have promoted educational programmes or encouraged people of different races to meet one another or given assistance to those who have suffered from racial discrimination. At the same time they have given support and encouragement to those leaders of their Churches who have been similarly committed. Again, the fact that there have been proportionately more people (whether Christian or otherwise) in the English-speaking community calling for alternatives to racial segregation than there have been in the Afrikaner community has meant that some of these clergy have been subject to stronger influences in this direction than have most NGK clergy.

Another factor of possible significance has been the particular approach of the Anglican and Methodist Churches to evangelism. Whereas the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape was for many years basically concerned only with white people, and even discouraged missionary work amongst blacks, these Churches (influenced by the enthusiasm in Britain early in the nineteenth century for missionary endeavour) were from practically the outset of their involvement in southern Africa deeply concerned for the black people

and had soon started missionary work amongst them. Indeed, they were soon ministering to more black people than white. This desire to win people to their Faith must have made it fairly logical for white missionaries to think of black converts as coming into their Church. We note in this regard that the movement of Africans away from the established Churches to form their own independent Churches evoked in some missionaries what was almost an instinct to keep all their members within one fold. Meanwhile in the Roman Catholic Church the doctrinal emphases on the unity and catholicity of the true Church meant that when they eventually started missionary work leaders took it for granted that black converts would be joined together with white members in one church structure. (In contrast, the NGK had already begun moving towards separation between white and black worshippers before it started missionary work in real earnest, and so it naturally sought to win black converts into their own separate Churches.

Now the fact that leaders in these three Churches have seen the desirability and also the possibility of bringing black and white people together in one Church must have helped them to accept the idea of black and white people living together in the wider society.

We go on to observe that leaders of the two episcopal Churches have on the whole been more vocal in their condemnation of racial segregation and calls for integration than have leaders of other Churches. The statement by the Anglican bishops in 1930 was one of the first to call attention to Christian principles relating to racial problems, and since then many Anglican bishops have been noted for their pronouncements and actions in the cause of closer race relations. Although the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church before the 1950s deemed it imprudent to make public statements on race relations, since then they too have made several important pronouncements and have numbered some outspoken critics of segregation. One reason for bishops making a stand for integration of all races in the Church is that an essential function of a bishop is not only to represent the unity of the apostolic Church but also to preserve that unity - and so to oppose division between different groups. Furthermore, the very nature of their office has enabled them to make this stand. For they, singly and together, have had absolute authority to set the principles of their Church — whereas in the NGK lay representatives in synod have been able to rescind decisions taken by church leaders, as we have seen happened after (1)

(1) With the reservation that the Roman Catholic bishops have been ultimately responsible to Rome.

in the world at that time; as well as to the fact that racial separation and discrimination which had to a large extent been merely customary was now being enforced with a new intensity; but it also seems likely that the strength of criticism was to some extent reaction against a Government whose members had waged bitter campaigns against the English-speaking people of the country. Likewise, it is possible that subsequent attempts of the Government to suppress criticism by English-speaking churchmen has merely strengthened the resolve of some to oppose segregation.(1)

All these observations give us some idea of what has enabled many (but not all) leaders in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches to advocate principles of racial integration and unity even in the face of strong sociological pressures to the contrary. Such integration has been the official policy of each of these Churches - though within their structures and in the life of their white members in the wider society these principles have not always been implemented.

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(1) It would also seem true to say that discussion on race relations between leaders of 'English-speaking' Churches and those of the NGK has been hampered not just because they have been of opposing theological convictions, but also because they have belonged to population groups which have to some extent been in conflict with one another.

4. WHY HAVE ANGLICAN, METHODIST AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHMEN FAILED TO IMPLEMENT THE RACIAL INTEGRATION ADVOCATED BY THEIR LEADERS?

We have seen that fear, racial prejudice and self-interest have been prevalent amongst the majority of white people in South Africa. Undoubtedly these factors have to some extent influenced most of the white members (including many leaders) of the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches in much the same way as they have influenced other white people. Deep-seated and long-established, they have prompted white churchmen just as other whites to discriminate against black people and to seek separation from them in Church as well as society. What is more, white people have been conditioned from an early age to believe that such discrimination and segregation is right - and, as we have seen, the conditioning process is still actively at work(1). Indeed, it is because people have been so conditioned to accept racial discrimination as an inevitable and just way of living that it has taken until the middle of the twentieth century for even church leaders (elsewhere as well as in South Africa) to recognise it for what it is and to condemn it (just as it took centuries before the Christian Church throughout the world stopped to question the practice of slavery).

To counteract these underlying influences and to reverse this conditioning has been extremely difficult: and in this regard church leaders have been largely unsuccessful. For the pressures of life and the values and customs of an apartheid society have been part of the everyday experience of church people, and so have had much stronger impact upon them than has the contrary teaching or example of their church leaders whose involvement with them has usually been confined to a relatively small part of their lives. So potent have been fear, prejudice and self-interest that many people who have agreed with church teaching in a theoretical perspective and have professed a willingness to accept black people on terms of equality, have nevertheless behaved to the contrary when confronted by situations in day-to-day living.(2)

It would seem that many church leaders who have sought change in race relations have failed to comprehend the very depth of fear and racial prejudice in their white church members and the hidden strength of self-

(1) Refer pp365ff supra.

(2) Van der Merwe has pointed out that the attitudes expressed by people (in response to questionnaires) are seldom accurate indications of how they will behave in an actual situation. (Changing Attitudes p1).

interest in them. Consequently it should not be surprising that their attempts to bring change have tended to be ineffectual - for any approach which fails to understand these factors and take them into serious consideration is bound to fail for lack of contact with the realities of the situation. Simply preaching against racial prejudice has been insufficient, and pointing to scriptural comment on fear has been unhelpful.(1) Similarly, accusations of selfishness and appeals to the consciences of churchmen have generally been futile - for people who have sincerely viewed the situation in terms of cultural and social differences between racial groups, have been unable to see themselves as exploiters of black people. Moreover, many church leaders have not fully understood the process of conditioning that has been going on round them and the resistance to change which this has engendered, and so have been unable to respond to it in an effective manner.

While, as we have recognised, there is a need for church leaders to see the social situation from an objective point of view and to become aware of thinking that has not been influenced by the distinctive sociological pressures that have been prevalent in South Africa,(2) it would appear on the other hand that many clergy (to some extent because of their professional status and education) have been too removed from the social conditions and pressures under which their church members have been living and working, with the result that their teaching has often been too theoretical and unrelated to the actualities of life. This has encouraged church members subconsciously to make a distinction between their church life and faith on the one hand, and the other areas of their life, such as their work situation, their social relations or their political views. So they have not applied church exhortations and teaching in those areas.

A significant factor widely evident in these Churches under discussion (as in the NGK) has been pietism, or belief that Christianity has primarily to do with the conversion and sanctification of the individual, disregarding the need for Christian involvement and action in society. There has been strong pressure put on church leaders by people of this tradition to 'stop preaching politics' and preach only 'the Word of God'. It has been reasoned

(1) In this manner the Spro-cas Church Commission enunciated biblical responses to prejudice and fear. (op.cit.pp18-22)
(2) Refer p387 supra.

by them that if all people simply became converted to Christ then their pride and sin would disappear and the consequent problems of race relations would fall away. "Wherever the Church consisted of the truly converted", it has been said, "there racial differences would be forgotten as men learnt that their only glory lay in their being part of the people of God." Many have believed that such 'conversion' would provide a genuine solution for the country. However, it seems clear that this approach has underestimated the real power of the influences of which we have been speaking and so does not present a realistic hope. Meanwhile critics of this approach have suggested that some people have turned to such a pietistic solution in order to escape from social responsibility. Because they have not desired to become personally involved in social and political issues as Christians, they have resorted to a wholly inward and individualistic interpretation of Christianity which has enabled them to avoid making a stand on issues when this has threatened to be costly.(1) Certainly, whether or not pietism has been genuine it has shielded a vast number of churchmen from having to join with others in calling for an alternative form of race relations to that of segregation.

Linked with this pietism has often been an Erastianism, according to which churchmen have not only argued that the Church should confine its concern to care for people's souls, but have also accepted the State's absolute authority in its own sphere. This has meant that the Church should never challenge or question any action by the State, for that would be to trespass on preserves forbidden to it. It should merely do its best in its own congregational life to live by the Spirit of Christ so far as the laws of the land permit. Such thinking has again prevented churchmen from giving attention to race relations in the country.

The division of the Church into different denominations has been yet another factor counteracting the call of church leaders for people to live together in unity. If churchmen cannot be reconciled and united with one another, it has been said, how can they in any way expect those outside the Churches to be reconciled and united? Furthermore, the division of each Church into separate congregations for different racial groups has likewise worked against those who have called for racial unity. Critics outside the Churches have made much of the 'hypocrisy' of these Churches in this respect: while those within the Churches have not been given a clear example of true

(1) Refer eg. Spro-cas Church Commission pp63-65.

unity by their Church, nor a lead for them to follow. (We note that there is a circular situation here: for while the Church cannot give a lead to its members until it removes its own racial divisions, it cannot remove those divisions until its members are prepared to do so.) At the same time, separate congregations have meant that many churchmen have been able to express agreement with calls by their leaders for them to be accepting of people of other racial groups without being held in a church situation where they have had to put this acceptance into practice.

Although the majority of English-speaking white people have described themselves as Christians, it seems that in the lives of most of them their Church has played only a very small part. Even of those who have placed their names on church membership rolls, a large proportion have been nominal members only, and there has in latter years been a fairly widespread decline in regular attendance at Sunday worship.(1) This has been another reason for the fact that clergy have been able to have but little influence on the daily lives of the average church member. Indeed, some observers have discerned an actual decline in their influence (as also, to some extent, in that of NGK clergy). Their role has been seen by many laymen as merely that of maintaining the Church as an institution, presiding over worship, 'witnessing to Christ', and showing concern for individual and family morality. So, it has become difficult for clergy to make demands on their church members, or for the Church as a whole to exercise any real discipline. "Whereas the Reformers considered discipline to be one of the important marks of the Church, ranking close behind the Word and Sacraments, English-speaking Protestant Churches today practise very little real discipline."(2) This lack of influence has meant that clergy who have wished to turn their people from racial segregation have been able to make little effect. Though they have spoken and written of a need for closer unity amongst peoples; though educational programmes have been used to point people to what seems right in race relations; though church councils and assemblies have adopted resolutions calling for unity and an end to segregation, the influence of these measures has been minimal. Indeed, increasing calls for better race relations have been paralleled by an increasing indifference to them amongst church people.

So we begin to see that various factors have accounted for the failure of white churchmen to follow the precepts of those church leaders who have called for people of different racial groups to live together in an integrated

(1) Though obviously in many local churches there have been exceptions to this generalisation.
(2) Spro-cas Church Commission p28.

society. At the same time there have been several factors which have hindered or discouraged the church leaders themselves from making a clear stand in this regard.

The very indifference of churchmen to the racial issue and the fact that church leaders have found themselves more or less impotent to bring change in race relations has evoked in some a sense of frustration and despair at the situation. This despair has in turn inhibited their efficacy for change.(1) (It should also be observed that many who have keenly felt the need for change have been burdened by a sense of guilt - in that they have been compelled by legislation and society to comply with the policy of segregation and to benefit from being members of the white privileged group even though such actions and privileges have been inconsistent with their own principles. Furthermore, many churchmen have become bewildered by the development of 'black consciousness': as they have, for instance, heard black members being urged to caucus separately within the church structures in apparent contradiction to the Church's principle of integration, or as they have heard themselves criticised for being patronising 'white liberals' by black people whose cause they have espoused.(2)

We have seen that many white churchmen have been quick to condemn clergy if they have felt them to be too critical of the country's racial policies or to be 'preaching politics'. It has often happened that some of these people have left their local church or even denomination for one where the problems of race relations have not been brought to the fore, while many others have stopped attending worship or church activities altogether. (It is significant that during the period 1951-1960, when it was the most outspoken in criticism of government racial policies, the Anglican Church was the only large Church which seriously decreased in the number of its white adherents, while the other large Churches increased their numbers.(3)) This readiness of members to leave their Church has meant that some clergy who have felt the need for changes in race relations have nevertheless remained quiet about their concern - and some have experienced pressure from their lay leaders to this end lest criticism of the racial situation offend people in those congregations and result in a

(1) There have been reports of clergy in both the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches who have in recent years left the ministry, disillusioned with the apparent unwillingness of their Church to change in its race relations. (Refer Strassberger, op.cit. pp74, 450; Pro Veritate December 1976 p13.)
(2) cf. p 409 infra.
(3) Cawood op.cit. p7, table C.

loss of membership and finance. For such losses would threaten the growth and security of the institutional Church which it has been their task to advance. (In this regard the Spro-cas Church Commission[1] pointed out that people usually have a need to succeed in what they are doing, or, conversely, a fear of failure. Accordingly clergy have been encouraged to put emphasis on matters of individual morality or on the development of their congregation - in which they have been confident of their own competence - rather than on matters of social ethics which have been more complex and have rendered less visible results.) Furthermore, there has been a natural inclination in many clergy to avoid causing controversy because of the tensions that this would bring to the life of their church; while some have failed to speak prophetically lest they encounter personal rejection from members of their congregations.[2]

Then again, some clergy, even when they have been resolutely committed to a policy of racial integration, have been prepared to speak up for it only in so far as they have seen the possibility of carrying their people with them; believing that they would be able to accomplish more by moving gradually than by demanding the immediate and total reversal of all discrimination. There is some merit in such gradual movement, for there is always the danger that radical statements or action will divorce leaders from their people and so render the former ineffective. (For instance, we have heard it said that the Cottesloe Consultation findings were rejected by the NGK because its leaders "went too far too fast".) However there is on the other hand the danger that those trying to move gradually will in fact not move their congregations at all - as appears to have happened in many situations.[3]

It should be added that many of these pressures against clergy making a clear stand for racial integration have also faced lay leaders seeking for change in race relations. In addition, because the life of a local congregation is largely shaped by the strengths, weaknesses and interests of its clergyman, if he had not been concerned for social justice lay people have found it difficult to make a stand in this regard.

(1) op.cit. pp18-19.

(2) To conform to generally accepted standards is psychologically reinforcing and rewarding. On the other hand, some clergy have indeed been rejected by their congregations for their failure to conform in this way.

(3) Whisson gave a graphic explanation of the predicament of church leaders: "As vehicles for the conversion of the voters, the English churches are obviously of great importance, but in hauling the congregations up the gradient of self-denial, there is always the possibility that the lead engines will become detached from the trucks, or that the cargo of voters will have leaked away before significant change can be achieved." (in Spro-cas Social Commission p85).

Meanwhile most black church leaders and members have been so conditioned by paternalism, in the Churches as well as in society, that (apart from those who have recently become more vocal in criticism)they have generally been unable to say with frankness what they have thought of current race relations. Thus white churchmen have been deprived of criticism from black people that might have been a power for change at an earlier time than the present.

State action and controls have also inhibited and curtailed church leaders from criticising segregation and from working for alternative forms of race relations. Some churchmen have had their writings censored when considered undesirable by government officials, while the threat of such action has dampened the enthusiasm of others. Some have been discouraged by the strong possibility of police informers being present at church gatherings or in their worshipping congregations; or have shrunk from the risk of security police investigation, which has at times involved intimidatory dawn raids on the homes of church leaders. Some have been inhibited by fear of being deprived of their passport or of being detained - as has happened to several. A number of church leaders have had banning orders served on them, drastically restricting their movement, preventing them from attending gatherings of more than two people, and prohibiting others from quoting them. Some have been placed under house arrest. Meanwhile church workers from foreign countries have been deterred by the knowledge that their right to remain in, or return to, South Africa might not be renewed if the Government should take exception to anything that they have said. Several, as we have said before, have been refused residence permits, and others have been deported.(1)

Furthermore, government propaganda against church moves for integration has been strong. Politicians and Cabinet Ministers have slated clergy for using their pulpits for 'political purposes'; and the State-controlled radio has condemned Churches and churchmen for aspects of their life and message, without giving opportunity for these to reply to the charges through the same medium. Obviously the weight of these attacks together with criticism in the more conservative secular press has done much to alienate people from church leaders.

Now it should be said that many attempts have been made to bring people of different racial groups together for worship or fellowship and discussion within the church context. However, all too often interest in such meeting has dwindled because of differences in language or levels of education or

(1) Pro Veritate in April 1972 carried a long list of churchmen acted against by the State to that date.

because of the lack of common experiences and concerns amongst those people involved. Sometimes the pressure of white public opinion and the threat of social ostracism has inhibited white church members from taking part; while many black church members have recently tended to shun such multi-racial gatherings as 'meaningless'. In addition, many other factors have limited the very organisation of such meetings. Because most Africans living on the outskirts of cities have arrived home from their employment only late in the evening, before leaving again early next morning, while many whites have wished to preserve their week-end for recreation and family activities, difficulties have been experienced in finding times for meeting that have been suitable to all. Entrance into African areas, whether urban or rural, has been prohibited for laymen of other racial groups without special permits; and where conferences have been held in 'white' areas permits have been required for Africans to remain there overnight. Not only have these requirements caused aeministrative difficulties, but sometimes permits have been refused. In many places the absence of public transport that people of one racial group may use to reach the residential area of another group has also hindered the organisation of multi-racial gatherings; while the lack of public transport facilities and restaurants that may be used by people of more than one racial group together has limited combined outings. In addition, because an association between a man and a woman of different racial groups might be seen by the police as a contravention or attempt to contravene the Immorality Act, a white man giving a black woman a lift home after an evening meeting, for instance, has had to run the risk of being stopped and asked to explain himself. Furthermore, legislation has forbidden the provision of entertainment for multi-racial gatherings, even in church halls, unless this has been reserved for specifically invited individuals or groups - and even then there have been other legislative restrictions to be complied with. What is more, apart from specific restrictions contained in legislation there has been an inhibiting factor of uncertainty, engendered by the wideness and vagueness of many regulations. It has been difficult for church leaders to disturb the real inner conviction of some white people that all multi-racial meetings are wrong. A great many people have assumed that the law has allowed them less freedom than it actually has, with the result that even legally permissible actions or inter-racial contact has been seen as inadvisable or dangerous. All these factors have meant that opportunities for meeting have often been neglected, and multi-racial groups have not easily been formed. Where meetings have taken place, limitations have frequently tended to give to them an air of artificiality.

As we have seen, legislation has also prevented church institutions and church schools from admitting people of more than one racial group, and those concerned have usually accepted these conditions in order to continue their establishments. "Faced with the choice of institutional continuation or institutional suicide for an uncompromising moral standard, the Churches have preferred the former." In some 'white' areas church sites have been granted only on condition that the trustees have guaranteed that no black person would be allowed to attend church activities there: while church officials applying for permission to occupy church sites in some African areas have had to undertake not to criticise government policy.(1)

In concluding, it should be added that while government legislation and local regulations have indeed hampered church leaders who have sought the integration of people of different races, it is also likely that some leaders have found such legislation to be a convenient excuse exonerating them from making concerted effort towards change in race relations. Commented Meer: "It is highly doubtful whether a single Church, Catholic and Anglican included, would dare to integrate all its activities if laws against social integration were suddenly dropped."(2)

Nevertheless, despite all that has been said, there have indeed been some leaders in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches who have been loud in their calls for racial integration. Over against their prompting, however, many other factors have clearly held sway. So it is that white churchmen have failed to implement this ideal of integration, either in society or in their very Churches.

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(1) For further legislative restrictions affecting the Church, refer Spro-cas Church Commission pp6-17.
(2) In Sociological Perspectives (Adam, Ed.) p124.

PART SIX

COMMENT ON

SOME AVENUES FOR CHANGE

TOWARDS A NEW ORDER

OF RACE RELATIONS

Our study has traced theological approaches to race relations in four of the major Christian Churches in South Africa. We have seen on the one hand arguments put forward by leaders of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk to justify a policy of separating people of different racial groups from one another, both in the Church and in the wider society: and on the other hand arguments by leaders in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches upholding a contrary ideal of people of different races living together in unity. We have made a critical assessment of these approaches - and have also observed the various factors that have given rise to them, and to the actual race relations in these Churches. There our study might end.

However, having in our examination come to the conclusion that the will of God is for people of different races not to separate from one another but to live together in harmony and mutual acceptance, it seems fitting that we should conclude by commenting on several factors that our study has shown need attention from churchmen who wish to bring this ideal into being.

1. We have seen that through the years church leaders, particularly in the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches, have made many and repeated statements protesting at the racial separation evident in society and Church in South Africa. Again and again they have called for unity and fellowship between people of different races; and to back this up they have pointed to Scripture and to theological understandings to show the fundamental unity of mankind, the common dignity of all, and the need for love and mutual acceptance. But on the whole their calls have made little effect on the lives of their white church-people or of the wider population.

While sincere protest, exhortation and rational argument may perhaps convert a few individuals, they are unlikely to influence the thinking of a significant number of whites or of their political leaders. For most have been so conditioned by the social system that they are now unable to question it. Moreover, they have too much to lose in the way of material, political and status privileges to be expected readily to change their outlook and behaviour. Said Schlemmer: "It is...fatuous to assume that Whites generally

will ever be so moved by appeals, protest or pressure that they will change their opinions and jettison their self-interest overnight."(1) Racial domination has become too firmly entrenched to be shaken by merely verbal assaults.

On the contrary, some critics have suggested that protests may in fact strengthen the status quo: by providing 'safety valves' for the harmless release of hostile reactions to the apartheid system; and by creating an impression that the situation is more flexible and less urgent than it really is, thus encouraging patient optimism and inactivity. Protests may indeed be useful to the Government as democratic ornamentation, for the social system depends on its semblance of democratic legitimacy in contrast to 'lawlessness' elsewhere in Africa. A certain amount of cautious dissidence and protest (under permanent supervision and restrictions by the Government) may reconcile the conscience of white people with western norms of democracy, and improve South Africa's image abroad. In this way it is possible that inefficacious protest from people such as church leaders may indeed contribute to the overall strength of racial segregation rather than its downfall.(2)

Many black people have looked with contempt on fruitless protest by churchmen, and have levelled the accusation that it has simply been a way for some whites to salve their over-burdened consciences.(3) Certainly there is a danger that protest might become simply an end in itself - as was suggested by the following editorial comment in a South African liberal journal: "The important thing is not whether we succeed, though that would be highly acceptable, and should never be thought to be impossible. The important thing is that life and truth and light should persist in us."(4)

However, having considered all these observations, we would nevertheless assert that church leaders who are critical of racial segregation should continue to make protests against its implementation, and to issue statements criticising its rationale and pointing to what they believe to be a Christian alternative for race relations. It is imperative that injustices that arise from segregation should be branded, and that arguments that have been put forward by academics and theologians in support of such a system should be logically countered. There is a continual need for

(1) Social Change p47.
(2) Adam, Modernizing pp47-49, 65-66; Schlemmer in Spro-cas Social Commission p164.
(3) Schlemmer in Spro-cas Social Commission p179.
(4) Reality 1 (November 1969) p3: quoted by Adam, Modernizing p116.

theologians to give an objective and well informed critique of the system from clearly defined theological positions, and to provide stable benchmarks against which racial policies may be evaluated. Biblical principles may have been enunciated before, but they should be repeated for each rising generation to hear, lest with the passage of time people forget how common custom has deviated from an acceptable standard. All who call themselves Christians should be reminded of Christ's example and teaching about love, and of the revealed will of God for reconciliation between people. Christians should be challenged by the Church to compare their lives and the conditions of their society with biblical teaching, and asked whether they are really committed to living according to the principles of their faith concerning human relationships.(1)

Protests and statements should confront not only those who actively support racial segregation, but also those who acquiesce in its implementation. Though the likelihood of such statements prompting change may be minimal, nevertheless this should be their prime objective. Indeed, it should be borne in mind that "without doubt....critiques have, on occasion, embarrassed the government, sobered what might be more extreme race laws or ameliorated their implementation".(2)

At the same time it should be observed that protests and statements have in the past served to maintain a sense of purpose among those wishing for social reform, and in this way they have been valuable. Thus they should continue to be made - not merely in order tc give encouragement to others who are opposed to government racial policies - but in the hopes that those others might be prompted to speak out where they would have been silent, or to act where they would have been still. Without signs that some are of the same mind as they, many might lose hope and incentive for change.

The sort of statements of which we have been speaking would show that leading Christians, and also Churches in their official policy, are opposed to racial discrimination - which should indeed be made clear. Church members

(1) Observers generally seem to have given little attention to this need for statements, apart from Whisson. The Spro-Cas Church Commission called Churches to draw up confessions of faith or theological declarations which stated clearly their position on the racial issue. "The need for a confessional symbol concerning this critical area of Church life in South Africa is urgent. It should then be made quite clear to all prospective members of the Church that they are necessarily committing themselves to what such a confession or statement stands for." (Spro-cas Church Commission p70) (For Whisson comment refer Spro-cas Social Commission p104)

(2) Adam, Modernizing p56.

should continually be reminded of this. At the same time, such statements might keep in the Church some people, black or white, who would otherwise reject the Christian faith because it seemed to accept such discrimination (though it must be admitted that the poor example of the Churches in race relations among their members may be more telling than their word in this regard). Furthermore, such statements would mean that when the world looked back after whatever conflict may come in South Africa, it would be clear that the Church as a whole had not been silenced from calling for change.

Certainly, more is needed than moralism or 'outworn clichés and stale oratory'. Bare criticism and challenges have frequently alienated those to whom they have been directed, provoking in them an aggressive, defensive reaction and so hindering rather than aiding change. Rather than simply making completely negative protests (as has all too often been done), church leaders firstly should speak from within an awareness that 'I too am involved in this sin', and secondly should strive to give people positive guidelines for new forms of race relations. They need to find new ways of communicating biblical and theological truths to people, both in the Church and outside of it. They need to discover new styles of prophetic ministry. Fresh impact must continually be made.(1) Yet, while doing this, church leaders should bear in mind the dangers and limitations that we have just observed of protests and statements. Obviously their statements should not be made in isolation, but linked with more salient action towards change.

2. We have suggested that many church leaders who have wished for changed race relations in South Africa have not appreciated the real depth and strength of fear, racial prejudice and self-interest that are prevalent among white people in the country. We repeat that if churchmen are to be effective in working towards change, it is important that they should have a full understanding of these hidden influences, and of the conditioning processes that are active in society, as well as of the various other historical and sociological factors that have led to the present situation (such as this study has set forth). Church leaders must be able to speak and act from a well informed position, knowing the extent of the problem with which they are dealing. So we would suggest that the Churches should

(1) The 1968 Message to the People of South Africa was an attempt at this, but the fact that it was poorly written curtailed its usefulness.

give attention to educating more of their clergy and lay leaders in the underlying dynamics of the South African situation.

Also to this end it should be remembered that white church leaders have opportunities that comparatively few other whites have to meet and talk with black people on a basis of equality, and so to gain a true picture of their concerns and feelings. This they should do, that they themselves may become more aware of implications of the social situation.

Then there is a need for white people in general to be shown the realities and implications of present race relations in South Africa. As observers have pointed out, much of the stability of the apartheid system rests on a climate of ignorance and self-deception among white people. Said one leading Afrikaner: "In South Africa the majority of the white population live in the blissful dreamland of ignorance with its false illusion of peace, safety, and the supremacy of the White."(1) Certainly ignorance is one of the major barriers facing those who seek change. Thus, while proclaiming what they believe to be the will of God for race relations, church leaders should try to make white people fully aware of the present racial situation, the reasons for it and its implications. In an honest and sober way they should point out the discrimination and inequalities that are present, and should show the consequent sufferings of black people and the bitterness that is ever growing among them, thus seeking to make white people fully aware of the cost of racial domination in human and material terms - not only for black people but also for whites.(2) At the same time it is imporaant that commonly held fallacies - and particularly those used to justify racial discrimination - should be removed. So awareness of the social situation may help white people, even if only to a small extent, to react rationally rather than irrationally to the sociological situation and the increasing pressures that are presently upon them to change. For the nature of their reactions will not only affect the manner in which change is eventually brought about, but also the structure of the new society. Church leaders have many opportunities to teach, which other groups and organisations do not have. It is important that they should use these opportunities to help people towards a better understanding of race relations.(3)

(1) Quoted by Van der Merwe, Changing Attitudes p14.
(2) One of the defences of those charged with gross injustice in the past has always been that they did not know what was going on.
(3) Spro-cas was noteworthy for its collection and publication of information on race relations in South Africa, but its effect has been limited in that the contents of its sometimes cumbersome reports have not been widely disseminated among church members.

Alongside such discussion there needs to be some concerted teaching on the social responsibilities that Christians have. We have seen that pietism is a controlling factor in much church life in South Africa. If there is to be a change in approach to race relations in a significant number of church members, then the emphasis which has been placed by pietism on the need for personal faith will have to be balanced by emphasis on the responsibility for social action which falls to all who follow Christ. New ways must be found to represent this repponsibility in a convincing manner to those church members who do not wish to accept it.

It should be emphasised, however, that mere education of white people is unlikely to persuade them to 'change heart'. Some observers have suggested that the careful and objective presentation of facts can do much to reduce racial prejudice, by showing that unfavourable stereotypes (which play an important role in prejudice) are indeed only stereotypes. But it is important to understand that racial prejudice is more profound than mere ignorance and operates on an emotional plane. If robbed of implausiable rationalisations it is quite capable of inventing more plausible ones. So MacCrone warned that to expose the irrationalities of prejudice is psychologically futile, since this cannot be affected by logic, argument or rational thought.(1) Men's attitudes will not be changed by enlightenment alone.

3. We have seen that people in South Africa have been conditioned to classify others according to their racial affiliation, and to think of people from other racial groups in terms of stereotypes: so that, for instance, a white man may regard all black people as being the same as the domestic servants or labourers that he sees in day-to-day life. It is on this tendency for people to relate to others not as individuals but in accordance with their classification and stereotype that much of the stability of the social system rests. Thus, particularly if the emphasis of Christian teaching on each person's individuality is accepted, there is a real need for people to move away from thinking in categories and to recognise the unique personality and qualities of each person they meet.

(1) MacCrone, Race Attitudes p291; Malherbe, E.G.: Race Attitudes and Education (1946) p17; cf. Mann, J.W. in Sociological Perspectives (Adam, Ed.) p61.

One way of encouraging this change of outlook is to bring people of different races together in non-discriminatory situations where they may experience relationships with members of other racial groups on a basis of equality. Finding themselves in a situation where their relationship is not defined in racial terms, they may then begin to perceive each other as individuals. Now, the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches are in a very good position to promote personal contact or meeting between people of different races, because their members are drawn from different racial groups. Many opportunities could be made within church life for these members to come together for worship, fellowship or discussion. Said the Spro-cas Church Commission: "The Church is still in a unique position to promote inter-racial contact, communication and dialogue on a large scale and should make effective use of its opportunities."(1) Indeed, the fostering of such meeting points is a vital activity for those churchmen who wish to stimulate change in race relations.

Although, as we have seen, there are many difficulties and hinderances to such meeting,(2) it seems important that church leaders should not be daunted in this matter, but encouraged to find ways round those difficulties. Nevertheless, there are some warnings that should be borne in mind by those pursuing this course.

It should be noted that under some conditions social meeting may increase tensions between people of different races rather than reduce it. A great deal will depend on the nature of a meeting and of personal contact that is made there. Lever has pointed out that situations should be arranged in such a way as to be of a stereotype-breaking nature. Contacts which highlight the lower status position of black people are not likely to lead to understanding but will serve to reinforce unfavourable stereotypes: therefore contact will be more effective when members of the black group are of the same or a higher status than those of the white group. Similarly, contact will not be very effective when the cultural differences between groups are considerable: therefore attention should be concentrated on beinging together those who are of a similar (probably urbanised) culture. Emphasis should be on what the groups have in common, such as their religious, social and economic interests and values. The most favourable situation will occur where people have to co-operate with each other as equals in order to achieve a common objective. Not only will people learn to see each

(1) Spro-cas Church Commission p71.
(2) Refer eg. p399 supra.

other as individuals, but if they find that they get on well together then there will be reason for them to enquire just how realistic their fears and prejudices are.(1)

What should certainly be guarded against is a paternalistic approach by white people towards blacks. This has been a failing of many white liberals both within the Church and in the wider social sphere. Perhaps encouraged by the fact that their contact has been with black people who have been of a lower social status or who have been less educated or in need of some kind of assistance, many whites have been condescending, and although well-meaning have tended to do things for black people rather than with them. Such paternalism has evoked strong reaction from black people, and in recent times some of these have spoken with bitterness of multi-racial groups 'controlled by arrogant liberals' who have acted as 'self-appointed trustees of black interests'.(2) So it is important that white people who wish to encourage inter-racial meetings and also those who become involved in such meeting, should be sensitive to the self-respect of black people and should learn to listen to them rather than to lead them.

It should be observed that there has recently been a growing withdrawal of more politicised black people from the few remaining multi-racial organisations in the country into their own black organisations. Such withdrawal has been evident within the Churches too, where many articulate black members are no longer interested in meeting with white members. They comment that multi-racial groups have tended to smooth over tensions between people of different races, giving black people a false sense of acceptance and optimism. These groups have also tended to control the responses of black people to their situation and to curb expression of their antagonism. Moreover, the actual and potential political solidarity of black people has been undermined, in that multi-racial contacts have drawn the attention of black people away from meaningful social and political involvement within their own communities. At the same time the process of unconditioning white people from their prejudice through introducing them to multi-racial groups has been slow, thus enabling them to retain their position of dominance. So it is possible that such groups have indirectly even been a help to white

(1) Lever, H. in Spro-cas Social Commission pp140-141.

(2) One black critic questioned the motives of whites who become engaged in multi-racial endeavours: "The liberal is in fact appeasing his own conscience, or at best is eager to demonstrate his identification with the Black people only so far as it does not sever all his ties with his relatives on the other side of the colour line. Being White, he possesses the natural passport to the exlusive pool of White privileges from which he does not hesitate to extract whatever suits him. Yet, since he identifies with the Blacks, he moves around his White circles - Whites-only beaches, restaurants, and cinemas - with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest." (Biko, S. in Van der Merwe, H.W. & Welsh, D.(Eds.): Student Perspectives on South Africa (1972) p194.

domination.

As we shall emphasise shortly, there is indeed a need for consolidation among black people, even though this may require them on occasions to group separately from whites. Conversely there is much sense in the argument of Schlemmer that "the appropriate role for whites who are opposed to apartheid is not to attempt to woo the friendship and goodwill of blacks in a situation where the prevailing political and economic system makes a complete and utter mockery of such peripheral contact and friendships, but to work primarily in their own groups and in white-controlled organisations to facilitate the advancement of black interest, aspirations and influence."(1) There is indeed a need for whites who wish for change in race relations to be concentrating their action within white groups and organisations. Nevertheless, we would urge that running parallel with these black and white uni-racial activities there should be some form of multi-racial contact and meeting. For white people need to be given the experience of meeting blacks on a basis of equality, that they may come to see them as individuals and to understand some of their needs and interests. If the attitudes of only a few whites are influenced significantly by such meeting, this will still be valuable. Indeed, some of them may become the leaders for change of tomorrow (2) Furthermore, multi-racial meeting may soften the resistance of some whites to black progress - even just sufficiently to give blacks an opportunity to gain confidence and bargaining power. At least some people will gain experience of the difficulties and benefits of a multi-racial society, which will help them adjust more easily to a changed order in South Africa and assist them in helping others to make that adjustment. In particular, church leaders should be encouraging meeting between people of different races, for the Church is called to witness to reconciliation between people and to show the unity which is God's will for man.

Having said this, we must add that mere contact between white and black people will not be sufficient in itself to change the social situation in South Africa. New relationships may effect changes in the structure of society in different spheres, but these changes must still be transposed to the collective or public domain. Thus leaders for change must consider means by which these inter-racial contacts may be rendered politically

(1) Schlemmer in Spro-cas Social Commission p162. Buthelezi has likewise said that the white liberal has an important role to play within his own white group. (Buthelezi, op.cit. pl.)

(2) Just as some of the leaders of today first became concerned for better race relations after they had become involved in multi-racial meetings.

effective for movement from racial domination to equal participation in all areas of life.(1)

4. Some people have put all emphasis on the need for changing the racial attitudes of whites, assuming that a change in racial practices will follow as a matter of course. However, it should be understood that racial attitudes are easily shaped by influences from the social system and so tend merely to reflect the system. Racial discrimination in society (particularly where the individual is forced to discriminate) tends to reinforce prejudice: so that where discrimination continues there prejudice will be likely to continue. Thus if the social situation of those individuals who have had their attitudes changed remains unaltered it will be highly likely that the modification of their attitudes will be only temporary, and that these will revert to their former content.(2)

So it is that other people would consider it necessary to re-structure social situations before attempting a change in attitudes. Not only would this procedure mean that changed attitudes would be less likely to revert back, but it would prove helpful in the initial changing of attitudes. For, just as attitudes tend to conform to social norms, so changing discriminatory practices may lead to change in discriminatory attitudes. People presented with institutional change usually adapt their attitudes to the effected changes, particularly if such changes have been introduced under favourable conditions and do not overtly indicate a threat to people's sense of security. Thus there is argument for those working for change in race relations to start by changing racial practices: though the greatest problem at the practical level will be to initiate changes without necessarily having to wait until full agreement has been obtained in advance from those concerned.

So it seems clear that the changing of racial attitudes and the changing of racial practices should be worked for simultaneously. On the one hand the effect of all conscious efforts to change attitudes and reduce racial prejudice will depend largely on the extent to which changes in the social

(1) cf. Kuper and Smith, op.cit. pp170, 182-190.
(2) Refer Schlemmer in Anatomy of Apartheid (Randall, Ed.) pp26-28.

and economic structure of society have already occurred; while on the other hand a change in attitudes will be necessary before some social changes can be effected. Thus we must underline the need for church leaders not only to be concerned with changing attitudes, but also to exert themselves for the removal of racial barriers and discrimination built into the structures of society. Clearly it is important that churchmen should be active as Christians in political, economic and social spheres, and doing all that they can in those spheres to bring justice and equality for all people.

5. The most serious handicap to the effective implementation by churchmen of programmes to change racial attitudes and practices is the very discrimination and disunity that is evident within the Churches themselves. We have seen that black and white church members are generally divided from one another into separate congregations; and that leadership tends to be concentrated in the hands of white people. We have seen that white church members generally show the same attitudes towards black people as do other white people in the wider society. So the Churches set a poor example in race relations.

People within the Churches are more likely to follow the accepted practices of their Churches than to re-orientate themselves according to the teaching of the relatively few leaders who urge them to change their attitudes. At the same time, people outside the Churches scoff at such teaching and retort, 'Physician heal yourself.' Thus if the Churches are to be effective in assisting South Africa towards the achievement of a just social order they must organise their own lives and government consistently with the ideal of all men living together in harmony. There is an immediate and urgent need for the Churches to erase discrimination within their own structures and to make their leadership more representative of their multi-racial membership. Urged the Spro-cas Church Commission: the Church is called "to engage in radical self-examination, to identify all the points at which discrimination is being practised in her, to welcome all frank criticism of such discrimination and to move quickly to eliminate it." (1) This must be one of the prime tasks of churchmen who seek for a change in

(1) Spro-cas Church Commission p42.

race relations in the country.

6. Until now we have been speaking of avenues for change basically within the white community in South Africa. Certainly it is among white people that there is needed a change in racial attitudes and a movement away from discriminatory practices. Nevertheless, because the proportion of whites who may change voluntarily is never likely to be very large or very powerful, it is clear that some assertiveness from black people themselves is going to be necessary for incisive change in the country. Thus it is that great weight should be given by churchmen to action within the black communities. There are several areas that should receive attention in this regard.

We have seen the need for more black people (who have generally been conditioned by society to accept an inferior status) to develop a sense of their own dignity and value as individuals, to appreciate their own abilities and the merits of thair particular culture, and to gain self-esteem. This consciousness is necessary if more black people are to gain an active appreciation of the rights that are due to them within the overall society. Many black church leaders are playing an active part in this 'conscientisation', and others should be encouraged to do so.

In association with this thrust, there is need for community development programmes which encourage individuals and communities towards a spirit of self-help. Again the Churches can play a valuable part in this, and we have seen that some have indeed committed themselves to such programmes. These tasks are for black people to undertake, but white churchmen may give encouragement and play an enabling role - provided they only become involved where they are wanted by black people, and not in a patronising manner.

Further, for meaningful change to occur in South Africa it is necessary that black people should develop a confidence in themselves and their own leaders, and self-assurance as a group with common interests. For this to happen, we have said, it will be necessary for black people at times to withdraw into their own organisations and communities, that they may together gain an understanding of the situation, articulate their group interests and gain organisational experience and bargaining strength. So it is that some have said to whites: 'Let us go our own way for a while - that later we may meet as equals.' Many churchmen have been reluctant to let this happen

within church life (as for instance to withdraw into a separate consultation during a church synod) and have argued that it would contradict the principle of the Church being a multi-racial community. However, if black people are to gain a real share in power structures then they will need to gain confidence in this way, and should be allowed to do so - providing the necessity for black and white to meet again after their separation is always borne in mind.

At the same time there is a need to prepare black people for leadership positions in every area of life. This should be a deliberate policy within the Churches (where there are at present comparatively few blacks in senior positions), particularly if it is accepted that the proportion of black to white church members should be roughly reflected in the proportion of black to white church leaders (black members being a large majority). More effort and imagination should be given to recruiting black clergy and lay leaders, and these should be given opportunities for furthering their education, and opportunities for experience in leadership roles - experience, that is, not in 'token' positions but in positions where they have real power. This will mean not only that whites should be prepared to share leadership, but also that some should responsibly relinquish their positions. (Care should be taken, though, to ensure that those promoted to leadership positions do have a degree of competence, for if they show that they do not they will merely reinforce the stereotype belief of whites that black people are not yet ready to take such positions.) Many whites have countered that such moves would amount to racial discrimination in reverse, in that a man would be chosen because of his racial affiliation and not because he was the best man for the job. There may be some truth in this, but if it is understood that blacks have been hindered from advancing to leadership positions by discrimination against them, such as in the provision of less adequate educational facilities for them than whites have had, then it should be accepted that this imbalance needs to be overcome in some way. To make a conscious effort at training them for leadership would seem to be a fair way of doing this.

It should be added that Churches and white churchmen should take seriously the protests of black people. What blacks feel and think has too often been ignored by whites - though they have sometimes reacted with resentment, perhaps tinged with fear.[1] As a community of people who are called to be aware of one another's needs, the Church should give particular

(1) cf. Hoernlé, op.cit. pvii; Buthelezi, op.cit. p1.

attention to consultation between people of different racial groups.

7. Finally it should be remembered that the most effective agents of change in any situation are those who have already changed. Thus churchmen who wish all peoples to live together in harmony and mutual acceptance should ideally proclaim the sort of 'alternative society' they envisage, not merely by their word but by their very style of life. (This, Paton has pointed out, was all that was done by the great Hebrew prophets.) Those who want change must learn to live differently now.

For white people this will mean rejecting values which have emphasised concern for one's own well-being, which have necessitated holding on to political and economic power, social and material privilege, and which have called one to find security within one's own racial identity. Instead, their personal lives will need to show a deep concern for the welfare of others and a willingness to share with them. This may require an attempt to identify themselves with those in society who are discriminated against and held in poverty and powerlessness, by adopting a lower standard of living and a simplicity in life-style. (Though the colour of their skin will prevent white people from identifying completely with black people and living under the same disabilities.) Certainly they will need to realise fully the Christian values of love and compassion in all that they do.(1)

So we have come to see that there are several factors that need attention from churchmen who wish to help bring in a new order of race relations - in which people of different racial groups might live together in an integrated

(1) cf. Paton in Directions of Change (Randall, Ed.) p46; Turner in ibid. pp84-85; Schlemmer in Spro-cas Social Commission p191. Valuable models of complete identification with the poor and oppressed may be found in the life-styles of many church leaders in South America.

society where there is mutual acceptance and equality of opportunity. The thrusts we have spoken of are those that have been indicated by our present study, and it is by no means suggested that these are the only avenues open for change. Furthermore our present comments have obviously been in gnneral terms. It is for churchmen to translate these into specific action according to their particular situations. Many are indeed already applying some of these thrusts.

Alongside other factors that are moving the country towards change (such as economic problems, a restlessness amongst Afrikaner intellectuals, growing pressure from within the local black community and from other countries, and guerilla activity and political developments in neighbouring territories) individual Christians as well as Churches as a whole could together make an important contribution towards a new order in South Africa.

The situation, as we have seen, is a complex one. Yet those Christians who seek for change should not be mesmerised by its complexity, nor by their apparent powerlessness in the face of the whole ideology of apartheid. They would be untrue to their Christian faith if they gave up the struggle and resigned themselves to being helpless units in a vast state of affairs. Indeed, there is a real need for them to move forward in confidence and hope. The future may be uncertain, but, as Brookes has pointed out, God did not create humanity in vain; Christ did not die in vain; history is a movement towards a consummation of love and life and victory. "There is a victory, but it is God's victory, not ours, in a cosmic struggle, our own part in which we may not be able to see."(1)

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(1) Brookes, City of God pp94-95, 7.

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