

74
10
14

APARTHEID AND THE SOUTH AFRICA CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

By

PAUL C. Y. LEE

S.B., Central University, Nanking, China

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
in
The Biblical Seminary in New York

New York, N. Y.
1953

**BIBLICAL SCHOOL OF
THEOLOGY LIBRARY**
HATFIELD, PA.

24248

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION.	iv
A. Significance of the Problem.	iv
B. Statement of the Problem and Delimitation.	vi
C. Method of Procedure.	vii
D. Sources of Data.	viii
I. THE HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID.	1
A. Introduction	1
B. The Land and the People as Factors in the Development of Apartheid	1
1. The Land	2
a. The Position	2
b. The Climate.	3
c. The Mineral Resources.	4
2. The Peoples.	6
a. The Size	6
b. The Distribution	6
c. The Modes of Living.	7
C. The Traditions as Factors in the Develop- ment of Apartheid.	7
1. Racism	8
a. Religious Racism	8
b. Anthropological Racism	10
2. Capitalism	11
a. Sugar Plantations.	11
b. Mining Industries.	12
c. Land Segregation Policy or Reserves	13
D. Summary.	13
II. APARTHEID IN THE STATE.	16
A. Introduction	16
B. The Nature and the Theory of Apartheid	16
1. The Proclamations and Legislations	16
2. Comparison with the Previous Colour Bar Policy	13
C. The Policy of Apartheid.	19
1. Political Domination	21
a. Domination as a Technique and A Race Attitude.	21
b. Domination in the Government	22
c. Domination by force.	23
2. Economic Domination.	24

Chapter	Page
a. Standard of Living	24
b. Land	25
c. Labour	29
3. Social Domination	32
a. Domination in Public Life	32
b. Educational Domination	34
c. Sexual Domination	36
D. The Result of Apartheid	37
1. Poverty, Disease, and Ignorance	37
a. Poverty	37
b. Disease	38
c. Ignorance	39
2. The Impracticability of Apartheid	40
a. Cultural Theory	40
b. Economic Theory	43
E. Summary	46
III APARTHEID IN THE CHURCHES	49
A. Introduction	49
B. Attitude of White Churches Toward Apartheid	49
1. The White Christian Churches in South Africa	49
a. The Dutch Reformed Church	49
b. The English-speaking Churches and The Christian Council	50
2. The Attitude Toward Apartheid as a Policy of Domination	51
a. The Accusation of the English- speaking Churches	53
b. The Answer of the Dutch Reformed Church	57
3. The Attitude Toward Apartheid as a Policy of Separation	60
C. Apartheid In Church Practice	62
1. The White Christian Churches	62
a. The English-speaking Churches	62
b. The Dutch Reformed Church	64
2. The African or Separatist Church	66
a. Origin	66
b. Ethiopianism	68
c. Zionism	69
D. Apartheid and Other Racial Policies	70
1. Apartheid and Parallelism	70
2. Apartheid and Total Separation	71
3. Apartheid and Assimilation	72
4. Trusteeship and Apartheid	73
5. Apartheid and Liberalism	74
E. Apartheid and Christianity	76
1. Social Equality	77
2. Political Equality	81
3. Economic Equality	83

Chapter	Page
4. Religious Equality.	86
F. Summary.	87
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	91
APPENDIX	94
Chart I - Apartheid or Race Separation.	94
Chart II - Religions of the Population (1946).	95
Chart III - Union Legislations Specially or Differentially Affecting Natives 1910-1932.	96
Chart IV - Map of Native Reserves.	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	99

APARTHEID AND THE SOUTH AFRICA CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

INTRODUCTION

A. Significance of the Problem

A French anthropologist, Vacher de Lapouge, predicted about a century ago, "I am convinced that in the next century millions will cut each other's throats because of one or two degrees more or less of cephalic index."¹ Cephalic index was known as the quotient of the greatest breadth of the head divided by its length. Therefore, the long-headed Germans would have less index than the broad-headed French for instance. This statement has not been fulfilled, as there has not been any record of millions being slaughtered on the basis of anthropological measurement. However, persons who have been persecuted, or discriminated against, after Vacher de Lapouge, because they bore the name of certain race or people, were countless. The author has experienced this colour discrimination, as the following quotation from one of Johannesburg's Daily News in December, 1942, about him shows:

"Quite recently, a young and cultured Chinese teacher, with high academic qualifications, in

.

1. Benedict, Race, Science and Politics, p. 3

short, a University man, travelling from Chungking to Johannesburg for educational purposes met with the following treatment:

"Travelling first class by air, train and streamer, he naturally mixed with many European men of his own standing---and of similar educational status.

"He was, as might be expected, treated by one and all, as an equal and a good travelling companion to boot, till he reached Mombasa.

"Here he was refused admittance to the air-ship on which first class accommodation had been reserved for him, because he was a 'Chinaman.' In Durban his finger prints were taken."¹

During the author's residence in South Africa, he found himself with many other non-whites living in humiliation and oppression. The race problem in South Africa was not only a matter of humiliation, but also of political domination, economic exploitation, and religious divisions.

Politically, the majority of the population are unrepresented in the Parliament. Economically, millions of natives are living in poverty, disease and ignorance. Religiously, the Separatist Church has drawn million of African Christians away from the European-run missions.

The race problem has become more unbearable every year. As Senator Brooks says,

The process of time has made it a dream, a Utopia 'laid up in the heavens.' Every year

.

1. Forward, Dec. 25, 1942

it becomes more and more impracticable, and because its faithful adherents persist in treating it as practical, more and more dangerous."¹

The year 1948 marks a sharp turn in South Africa's racial problem. The old colour legislations were strengthened and new racial laws have been added.

Opposition was aroused all over the country. The Torch Commando under the leadership of Adolph Gyshert Malan, a distant cousin of Prime Minister Daniel Malan, has gained its ground in the Cape.²

The Indian Passive Resistance movement has joined its force with the Natives under the leadership of Manilal Gandhi, a son of the late Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Patrick Duncan, son of Sir Patrick Duncan, former Governor General of the Union of South Africa.³

The Christian churches were divided because of the racial issue. Special conferences were called for discussion and prayer. The churches have realized that the race problem is a moral problem. Its solution must be guided by the Word of God.

B. Statement of the Problem and Delimitation

.

1. Brooks, The Colour Problems in South Africa, p. 53
2. Dvorin, Race Separation in South Africa, p. 84
3. New York Times, Dec. 9, 1952, p. 7

The term "apartheid" means separation in the African language (an official language in the Union of South Africa). It was coined by the Nationalist Party in 1948 to mean race segregation, which includes all social, economic and political colour discrimination of the past in the country. In this thesis, the word "apartheid" is used to cover all colour segregation - political, economic, social and religious, in the state as well as in the church.

The Christian churches in South Africa are divided into three groups, namely, the Dutch Reformed Church, the English-speaking churches and the African or Separatist churches.

This thesis is aiming to survey the problem of apartheid and the answers to the problem, from the Christian churches as well as from other alternatives.

C. Method of Procedure

In order to understand the problem of apartheid, the first two chapters are to be devoted to the background and nature of apartheid in the state. The third chapter will deal with the attitudes of the Christian churches toward apartheid and with their practices. The alternatives of apartheid are also to be discussed and, finally, the chapter is to be concluded with

a Christian view on apartheid policy, or apartheid and Christianity.

D. Sources of Data

In addition to the author's personal experience in the country of South Africa for a period of four years, and the privilege he has had of studying Political Philosophy, Economic History and South African Geography at the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, books by authorities such as E. H. Brooks, R.F.A. Hoernie, L. Marquard, and many others were included. Periodicals specially included: "The South African Outlook," "Race Relations," and "Race Relations News." The author was grateful for the privilege of using the special reference books and materials on the course "Christian Witness in a Multi-racial Society with Special Reference to South Africa" of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, in the Missionary Research Library under the direction of Professor Z.K. Mathews (a Bantu) who came to the Union Seminary recently from South Africa.

CHAPTER I
THE HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID

THE HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID

CHAPTER I

A. Introduction

The present policy of apartheid cannot be fully understood unless one has examined the factors which have brought it into being. The meaning and implications of this policy are deeper than appear on the face of the policy itself. Therefore, this chapter is to be devoted to the background of apartheid, giving light to its meaning and its implications.

B. The Land and the People as Factors in the Development of Apartheid

Modern geography has devoted itself to the interpretation of the environmental influence on human activities. It has thrown much light on many historical events and policies, that could not be adequately explained otherwise.

In the author's travels in East Africa, South East Africa, and South Africa, and most parts of Asia, he was amazed to note the fact that there was no place in either country where race and color prejudice (called apartheid in this thesis) was so intense as it was in South Africa. It was the author's conviction that geographical factors must be included in explaining this human phenomenon. By geography

is meant the natural environment, namely the terrain, the climate, the mineral resources, and also the inhabitants, their numbers, their distribution and their modes of living. To this end, therefore, it is fitting to survey the geographical setting of this country.

The Union of South Africa is located south of the great R. Limpopo in the East and the Orange River on the West. Its size is about half a million square miles, or one seventh of the area of the United States. Generally speaking, it is a plateau rimmed by a narrow coastal plain on the east and the south. Its importance in world position grew in successive stages as its position, its climate, and its mineral resources were discovered and exploited. These three geographical elements brought this country decisively to world attention, on the other hand they were also largely responsible for the development of the apartheid policy.

1. The Land

a. The Position: It was the Portugese navigators who had discovered the Cape and called it "Good Hope", because there they could anchor their ships after a long and dangerous voyage across the Atlantic.¹ From there they sailed to the Far East. This original strategic commercial position of South Africa at the Cape in the later part of the Dutch occupation also invited the white men to reside at the Cape to grow vegetables and to raise cattle to supply fresh food to

.....

1. Kiewiet, A History of South Africa, p. 2

the passing ships.¹ These early white sailors and temporary settlers (most of them were bachelors) who married or lived with the natives (or Hottentots) created a new racial problem, the new racial class known as "Colored people" or Coloreds who were not blacks but descendants of black and white ancestors. Slavery developed at the Cape also with slaves being bought and sold locally as well as shipped through the port of the Cape.

b. The Climate: South Africa was no more than a refreshment station before 1700 A.D. It was the discovery of the High Veld and Natal by the Dutch descendants (Boers) which allowed South Africa to be established as a white man's country or Republic. The policy of apartheid was further developed under the Boer's influence along lines of racism and land segregation, with racism developing as a religious prejudice. The Boers considered themselves as the chosen people, the favorable climatic conditions made them consider South Africa as their "Canaan". This religious belief and practice was an important factor in the exterminating wars and land segregation (known as Reserves) which resulted.

In order to understand the historical development of this new apartheid (establishment of land segregation) in their new conquest, the geographical environment of the High Veld and Natal needs to be understood. The High Veld is the conventional name for the area of the Orange Free State province and the south part of Transvaal (province), which lie

.....

1. Ibid., p. 4

south of the Witwatersrand, a moderate high range which is the waterdivide between the Limpopo and the Orange rivers. There the climate was extremely favorable to health,

The dryness of the air and the elevation of the land temper the heat of the sun. The climate has a bracing quality that gives men keenness in their youth and strength in their ages.¹

This high region also had sufficient precipitation for grazing and cultivated crops. The climatic condition of this region in South Africa was decisively responsible for the white men's ambition to desire it as their permanent resident land and the country was conquered and established for this purpose. It is well to note that there has been no other region in Africa or in Asia which the white man has so considered as his own country.

Natal province is located on the east of South Africa. Due to its abundant rainfall and high temperatures, sugar plantations were encouraged which again created another racial problem with the present Indian population in Natal, who were described as strangers forcing themselves on a reluctant society.

c. The Mineral Resources: Further development of apartheid policy began with the discovery of diamonds and gold in Kimberley and Johannesburg in the Cape and Transvaal provinces, and many other lucrative minerals such as platinum, coal, tin,

.....

1. Ibid., pp. 11-12

and in recent years uranium. The total mineral values mined in South Africa from the earliest dates to 31st December, 1947 was £ 3,272,636,000 or about \$10,000,000,000.00, for gold £2,629,748,000, for diamonds £ 363,936,327 and for coal £179,126,000.¹ It was the author's privilege to attend the national science conference in the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg in 1946. The mining reports concluded that the mineral output could not possibly be maintained without the economic color bar policy of keeping the manual-labour wages low, especially in the gold mines. In spite of its being the richest gold-bearing area in the world the cost of the mining was higher than in other mines in other countries because of the "rock mines" from the conglomerate rocks and "deep mines" about 7,000 ft. below the surface.

It is not difficult to demonstrate that the apartheid policy was developed along capitalistic lines. Capitalism here is taken to mean the making of profits by way of cheap labour and low wages. Under this capitalistic influence apartheid lost its previous meaning under the Boers, where it was largely a policy of physical separation of the whites and non-whites. Now it was changed to bring the Natives to the white man's urban and mining areas to work in mining and other industries, to be house servants and farm workers. However, the significance of apartheid was by no means lost. Its function now was to ensure separation of the whites and non-whites in wages and in professions. This unpassable

.....

1. Sachs, The Choice before South Africa, p. 106

gulf debarred the non-whites from competition with the white people in the labour market especially, and ultimately kept their wages at an incredibly low subsistence level.

2. The Peoples

The pattern of population in its size, its distribution and its modes of living influenced the development of the apartheid policy.

a. The Size: According to the latest census (1950) of South Africa, the native population was 9,250,000 (including 1,000,000 Coloureds who are of mixed racial stock) out of the total population of 12,000,000. The whites (2/3 Afrikaners of Dutch descent; 1/3 British stock) number 2,500,000.¹ Outnumbered as they were the whites feared the black Africans and this fear is a motivating force behind the desire to keep the blacks under the domination of the whites in order that the white man's civilization might be preserved in South Africa. Some even suggested the removal of the blacks from South Africa entirely.

b. The Distribution: The Reserves or land areas assigned to the Natives to reside in and to cultivate constitute only 13% of the total land of the country. The are located mainly in the desert areas on the west and the mountainous areas on the east. However, only 3,000,000 out of the 9,000,000 Natives live in the Reserves, while the rest live in the temporary compounds or locations in the European urban areas or the separated houses on the farms.² This

.....

¹: Paton, South Africa Today, p. 16

²: Maruard, The Peoples and Politics of South Africa, p. 40

present distribution of the white and black population is of course patterned under the apartheid policy.

The Natives were distributed all over the country before the white man came. When the whites came, constant conflicts between the blacks and the whites made this present distribution or land segregation policy not only necessary but inevitable.

The Httentots looked upon the coast-belt as theirs. The settlement of white men upon their land was fatal to them. In the beginning the administration strove desperately to keep the whites and Hottentots apart. It even thought at one moment fantastically of digging a canal or growing a hedge across the Cape peninsula. 1

c. The Modes of Living: The wars between the whites (mainly the Boers) and the blacks had two main causes. Both raised large herds of cattle, and they had a conflict over grazing grounds. The other reason was the difference in concepts concerning ownership of land. To the Natives land was communal. Private ownership was unknown to them. This was not tolerated by the whites, who would live with the blacks. Other reasons such as different religions, cultures, and standards of living made not only the whites but the Natives also desire to live in areas separated from each other.

.....

C. The Tradition as Factors in the
Development of Apartheid

.....

1. Kiewiet, Op. cit., p. 20

It would be geographical fatalism to suggest that geographical factors are entirely determinative of the apartheid policy. Many other intellectual or traditional factors have entered to shape the people's policies and activities. Two chief current thoughts which had been previously prevailing in the country deserve discussion.

1. Racism

Ruth Benedict of Columbia University in New York has defined racism as,

the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by Nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority. It is the dogma that the hope of civilization depends upon eliminating some races and keeping others pure. It is a dogma that one race has carried progress with it throughout human history and can alone ensure future progress.¹

Benedict uses the term "dogma" because she says it is a belief which cannot be demonstrated scientifically. She adds that racism, therefore, can only be understood by studying its history. This holds true in South Africa. Historically, racism in South Africa might be divided into two periods, namely, the religious racism and the anthropological racism, with both aspects being present today.

a. Religious Racism: When slavery was made illegal by the British authority in the Cape in 1834, great numbers

. . . .

1. Benedict, Op. Cit., pp. 98-100.

(about 10,000) of Boers sold their farms and trekked north of the Orange River and Natal. This migration was known in South Africa as the "Great Trek" in 1835-1837.¹ As they travelled, they packed up their belongings in oxen wagons, separated groups of a hundred families each led by an able leader. Bible study was their daily devotion. God was their guide. The decisive battle was fought against the Natives (Zulus) in the "Blood River" where the preacher, Cilliers, vowed to God if they should win the war, they would make that day an ever commemorated day in their nation. This was the "Dingaan" Day on Dec. 16, a national thanksgiving day even now.

The Boers' attitude was then developed toward the Natives that they were either enemies or servants.² Coupled with their self-consciousness as the chosen people,³ the religious racism, similar to the Jews' experience in Joshua, was shaped along two lines: one was the strictest prohibition of sexual relations with the Natives, which had been practiced in the Cape, under the penalty of casting out from the community,⁴ the other was the exterminating wars.

During the course of their trekking the cattle farmers found the Bushmen...They killed with poisoned arrows. The cattle farmers organized hunting parties which killed adult Bushmen and

.....

1. Soper, Racism, a World Issue, p. 157
2. Paton, Op. cit., p.11
3. Plessis, The South Africa, I.R.M. July, 1926, p. 367
4. Paton, Op. cit., p. 11

captured their children whom they used as herdmen. What remained of the Bushmen families fled northwest to the semi-desert lands where their descendants were to be found today living in a reserve under the protection of the Union Government. 1

The black Natives' inferiority and servitude was further justified by the Boers by Noah's condemnation to Ham. The interpretation was that all dark people were already condemned to perpetual servitude because of their forefathers' sin.

b. Anthropological Racism: Racism based its argument on anthropological data in modern times. It was when Count de Gobineau published his great racist classic on the Inequality of Human Races in 1893-1857² that he taught that the hope of the world was and had always been the fair-haired Teutons or Aryans(nordics) and that the glory of any nation depended upon only one class. This doctrine was later developed by his successors along two lines:

1. the interpretation of anthropometric measurements
2. the survival of the fittest

Because this second theory borrowed from Darwinism, racist theories after Gobineau gave more and more weight to the sacredness of conquest and of force. These racial doctrines which were responsible for the German Nationalism during the second world war, had definitely reenforced the anti-Semitism

.....

1. Marquard, Op. cit., p. 6
2. Benedict, Op. cit., p. 113

in South Africa, which is not being dealt with in this thesis. However, the Boers' nationalism led by Dr. Malan who had sympathized with the Third Reich in theory and practice, has shown its antagonistic attitude not only to the blacks but also to the Jews (white) and the English in South Africa.

2. Capitalism

Capitalism first arose in England in the 16th century with a new economic philosophy to produce for profits and money (exchange), contrasting with the self-subsistence economy of the Feudalism in the Middle Ages. A capitalist's primary concern was profits, because he was dealing with economics and laws, and not with ethics. This means he aimed to produce with all the economic means which he could reach such as machines, better economic methods and systems within the sphere of laws in the country. In other words, he was not concerned with what he should but what he could do.

This introduction of capitalism explains why capitalism had taken all advantages of South Africa's apartheid policy and turned it almost immediately into a kind of economic exploitation, or "slavery wages" as called by Lord Oloviere. Its theory and practice is to be examined under the following topics:

a. Sugar Plantations: Indian indentured labourers were brought to Natal to work on sugar plantations for what were called "racial work" and "racial wages". These

ideas of racial work and racial wages were descended from the time when manual labour was only done by slaves and the low-wages were only paid to slaves. After the indentured period, those Indians were allowed to remain in the country. Now Indian descendants (mainly in Natal) had mounted in number to 250,000 and the present day Indians were not plantation labourers but traders and business men who competed with the white merchants over their absolute superiority of hard-working and low standard of living. This was the cause for all anti-Indian laws in South Africa.

b. Mining Industries: The mining industries of diamonds and gold were established on a basis of unequal pay to the black workers regardless of their work. Their average wage was two shillings or about thirty cents per shift, about one seventh of the white man's. The theory behind this practice was that high wages were only possible for the white workers while the black workers' wages were low, incredibly low, and the low-wage black workers must be the basis of the mining industries. However, the mine-owners were not so much interested in the high wages for the white workers as the low-wages of the black workers. Therefore, more black workers were employed in the ratio of more than ten to one of the white workers in the mines.

The white man commands, directs, supervises, the black men work. Further, the employer in all classes, acting in accordance with the essential principle of capitalist economics, has constantly taken advantage

of the cheapness of the subsistence needs of the Kaffir (blacks), of his ignorance of the ways of white civilization and of his political impotence to keep down the wages of all unskilled labour to levels at which the white man cannot live on them.¹

c. Land Segregation Policy or Reserves: The lands set aside for the black natives to live ~~and~~ to cultivate were 13% of the total land of the country, comparing with 87% of the total land for the 20% population of the country who were whites. The Reserves were over-crowded so that only 3,000,000 natives out of the total 8,500,000 stayed there, while the rest had to seek work in the white man's areas. It has been said that the white employers, especially on farms, feared the shortage of laborers. Efforts had been made to force the natives to work under the "master and servant law," and many mining industries had to import foreign African workers from Basutoland and Portugese East Africa. It was believed that the Reserves must be kept crowded, so that the whites might get cheep labor for farms, industries, and even for house work.

D. Summary

Apartheid policy was developed and molded under the influence of the geographical factors such as the position, climate, mineral resources; and population factors such as

.

1. Olivier, The Anatomy of African Misery, p. 20

numbers, size and modes of living. As the policy developed, it was justified philosophically, religiously, and scientifically, and utilized by politics and Capitalism.

CHAPTER II
APARTHEID IN THE STATE

CHAPTER II

APARTHEID IN THE STATE

A. Introduction

The previous chapter has dealt with the development of Apartheid. This chapter will be devoted to the nature of Apartheid as a national policy in the Union of South Africa and also to the calamities resulting from this policy.

B. The Nature and the Theory of Apartheid

1. What Apartheid is

a. The Proclamation and Legislations: The word properly and significantly pronounced as apart-hate, was first coined by the Nationalist Party in South Africa. Malan's party chose this term for their racial policy in the election campaign of 1948. It was chosen for two reasons. The non-European disliked the term segregation as well as color bar; the term apartheid which literally means separateness was vague enough not to offend the non-Europeans and also gave the Europeans a sense of security from their fear of the threat of non-European competition.

The content of the new apartheid policy was given by the Nationalist Party's Headquarters in 1948:

...we have the policy of apartheid which has grown from the experience of the established European

population of the country and which is grounded on Christian principles of justice and fairness. It contemplates the maintenance and protection of the white population of our country as a pure race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous race-groups as separate national entities, with possibilities of developing within their own areas into self-supporting national units, and the fostering of national pride, self-respect and mutual regard within the various races of the country...either we must follow the policy of equality which will eventually mean national suicide for the whole white race, or we must move on the path of apartheid whereby the character and future of each race is protected and safeguarded with full opportunities of development and self-maintenance within its own area...apartheid is the guarantee of racial peace.¹

After Malan was elected as the Prime Minister of the Union, he explained this apartheid policy in his address to a group of native representatives in Oct. 26, 1948:

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. My Government has no intention of depriving you of your rights or oppressing you. Nothing will be taken from you without giving you something better in its place. Your reserves will remain intact and where necessary, will be enlarged. Your land will be restored and your young men and women trained to improve methods of cultivation, so that your reserves will be capable of supporting a large population. What you want is a rehabilitation of your own national life, and not competition and intermixture and equality with the white man in his particular part of the country.²

A number of new legislations were passed in the Parliament after the advent of the new apartheid policy. They may be grouped in three headings. Politically, the

.

1. Pamphlet, published by the Nationalist Party in South Africa
2. Dvorin, Op. cit., p. 95

Separate Registration Act was introduced in the House in 1950 taking away the existing right of franchise of the Cape Coloured and Natives. Economically, the Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, further separating the Cape Coloured and the Native in the Cape province from the white area. Socially, the Mixed Marriage Act which was enforced in 1950 illegalized mixed marriage between European and non-European espousers. Other Acts which assisted the former Acts to be carried out were the population and Registration Act 1950 and the Communism Suppression Act in 1950.¹

b. Comparision with the Previous Colour Bar Policy.

The term apartheid was originally used in the national election campaign in 1948 by the Nationalist Party for their racial policy. When the Nationalist Party won the election, they were embarrassed by the vagueness of the word apartheid which they had used. They claimed all old social segregations as apartheid and added new apartheid. There is no fundamental difference between the old segregation or colour bar policy except in degree. The new apartheid policy is more severe in nature and wider in extent in its separation and domination policy. It has taken away the existing franchise rights of the Natives and the Coloureds in the Cape. It stressed territorial segregation more completely, restricting more strictly the influx of the Natives to town and separating the Coloured and the Asiatics from the Europeans in residence as well

.....

1. Cf. Dvorin, Ibid., pp. 61-70; 89-91; 132; New York Times Feb. 2, 1953, p. 7

as in social life.¹ A new Bill was introduced into the Parliament in January 1953 to grant the Government the dictatorial power to issue regulations superseding the whole body of existing law to abolish freedom of speech and press in connection with racial problems. In other words, the non-Europeans were further deprived of the democratic or constitutional right to air their grievances and fight for their freedom.²

C. The Policy of Apartheid

Technically speaking apartheid policy began in 1948. Actually apartheid has no difference in its nature and spirit from colour bar or race segregation. The former term has become common since 1926 with the Colour Bar Act, the latter began to be known in 1913 when the Natives' Land Act or Land Segregation Act was passed in Parliament. As the term is used in this section apartheid is used to cover all these racial policies since 1909, the beginning of the Union. As the Nationalist Party has claimed the previous Colour Bar and Segregation policies to be included in apartheid, so the existing policy of apartheid is not the new apartheid legislations alone but all colour legislations, attitudes and traditions.

.

1. Ibid., pp.189-202

2. The New York Times, Dictatorial Rule Sought by Malan, p.7
Feb. 28, 1953

The policy of apartheid is two-fold, namely separation and domination. The function of the policy of separation is to divide or separate the population of the Union into four groups: territorially, politically, economically, and socially. In other words, each race is a distinct and isolated unit in the Union. The Group Areas Act divides the races territorially, the Mixed Marriage Act and Population Registration Act socially, and the Franchise Act¹ politically.

The policy of domination divides the racial groups horizontally. The policy divides the population into two main groups: the Europeans and the non-Europeans. One is on top of the other; one is the dominating group and the other is the dominated. This is well illustrated in Chart 1. Here apartheid is a horizontal line separating the population into two sections, the Upper White Group and the Lower non-White Group. No non-White can climb above this heavy black line, the race barrier or apartheid, nor is any White allowed to live below this line socially, economically, or politically. This demonstrates what is called the policy of domination in this thesis.

Within these two sections there are meridian or vertical lines which divide both the White and the non-White sections into sub-sections. In the White section, there are Boers or Afrikaners, English and Jewish sub-sections. They are parallel but separated. In the non-White section, there are Native, Coloured, and Asiatic sub-sections. They

.....

1. Officially called the Separate Registration Act (1950)

are also separated with more or less the same status. This demarcates the policy of separation.

This two-fold apartheid policy was based on two principles according to the "Proclamation"¹ of the Party and the Prime Minister's address.² The first principle was that the Native must develop on his own line, the second that he must develop in his own place. According to the former principle, the Native must not compete with the European, according to the latter, he must be separated.

1. Political Domination

a. Domination as a Technique and A Race Attitude: The term domination designates a technique which functions to safeguard the superiority of one race over the other, but it is also an attitude to solve problems one may confront. Hellmann summarizes MacCrone's findings in race attitudes in South Africa and explains domination in the following statement:

(Domination is) the technique of responding to others by which a person resists differences, resists change, resists growth. In dominative behaviour a person is rigid and inflexible, he has his mind made up, he does not reduce the conflict of differences by finding a common purpose among differences, rather he maintains or increases conflict or tension between himself and others who differ from himself, he expends energy against or in opposition to others. In dominative behavior a person disregards the wishes of others, he issues commands, threats, or force to gain his unyielding objectives, he attacks the status of others, he adds to the insecurity of others...Domination may

.

1. Pamphlet, Nationalist Party
2. Dvorin, Op, cit. p. 95

evoke counter-domination. But if the relative strength is too great, domination will produce submission.¹

Domination here means a relation established by force and conquest or a dictatorship ruling in the political sense.

South Africa often claims herself a democracy. True democracy, however, is government of the people, for the people and by the people. The people of South Africa definitely do not include the Natives or any native-born non-Europeans, even though they compose the great majority of the population. In their government, moreover, they govern by force without parliamentary discussion. Therefore, the majority of the population of South Africa is under dictatorship rather than democracy.

b. Domination in the Government: The political domination of the Whites over the non-Whites in South Africa is obvious in the parliament, which is composed of white representatives and senators. The British South Africa Act of 1909 allowed the Natives in the Cape to elect three white representatives to the Assembly, and three white senators to the Senate. The South Africa Act, however, also vested the power in the Parliament to change this Act by a two-third's vote of both the Senate and the Assembly.² This power was exercised in 1951 and the privilege of the Native's representation in the Assembly was withdrawn. The Coloured in the Cape also lost their right to vote in common roll. Now

.

1. Hellmann, Handbook of Race Relation in South Africa, p. 677
2. Cf. Burger, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 139-140

they have only representation in the Senate, and even then are represented by white representatives.

Thus the white man in South Africa produces the legislation and the non-white obeys it.

The political domination has been further grounded in the white man's control of the executive branch of the Government. All civil servants are whites except a few whose service is connected with the Native affairs.

c. Domination by force: The "sinful idea of domination" was never accepted by the Natives nor by the non-Europeans. Whenever the Natives were given an opportunity to air their grievances they spoke against race segregation. Many conferences in the Native Council, the only Native representative organization in the Government, were abolished because of their severe criticism on the race issues. Therefore, if the whites were to continue domination, there was no alternative to government by force. Hellmann says:

In a multi-racial society, as we know it, the social system is in a state of extreme discrimination or disequilibrium since the existing dominating-dominated pattern of relations between white and black is not accepted by the dominated group and can only be maintained in the last resort by force.¹

The white man in South Africa knew this too well and tried by every means to insure this domination. Morrow gives a general description of the public mind of the white community in South Africa.

.

1. Hellmann, op. cit., p. 685

We must see that we have in our power all those things which insure tactical and military superiority. We must prohibit non-Europeans from possessing firearms or learning to use them. Manufacturing industries, wealth and education must be kept in white hands, for all these add up to military strength. We must frown upon trade Unionism among the Bantu or upon the formation of political bodies for that leads to potentially dangerous consolidation.¹

South African military forces are absolutely under the control of the white man. The Native is not allowed to serve in the army or carry arms under the South African Defence Act of 1912, and the Transvaal Arms and Ammunitions Act of 1907. During the world wars, native soldiers served as sanitation men or food workers. Some were used to fire artileries but not firearms.²

2. Economic Domination

a. Standard of Living: The South Africa Law which was passed in the British Parliament in 1909, reads, "There shall be no equality between white and black either in church or state."³ In conformation of this law, the white man's standard of living is kept on a level on which even the upper class non-European cannot afford to live.

The white man will not eat with the Native, and usually the latter eats different foods. The white man's clothes are different from the Native's. The white man must

.

1. Morrow, Jan Christian Smuts, p. 268

2. Hoernle, South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit, p.5

3. Joshi, The Tyranny of Colour, p. 5

be well dressed. He is supposed to wear a suit and a tie when he goes out. The street car will not admit him if he does not have on a tie. It admits, of course, no Natives.

The white man's housing is far above the Native's standard. This includes the space each person has in the house, the utilities, the conveniences, and even the beauty. The white man's standard is far beyond the Native's reach in the Reserves as well as in the Location (the Native compound in the white man's urban area).

How could these different standards of living between the white and the Native be kept. They were maintained by legislation, by depriving the Natives of the privilege of living in certain places and eating where they might wish, by different or discriminative payment in wages, and finally by Government aid to the poor Whites from the Native taxes. In other words, it was by apartheid.

There were a number of laws passed within the period of half a century to keep up this difference in standard of living between the White and the non-White. These included laws such as the Social Welfare Act, the Mother's Pensions Act, the Old Age Pension Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the School Feeding Act. But the most important factors which have fostered this difference have been inequality in land and in labour.

b. Land: There are three basic elements in production, namely, land, labour and capital. Among these three, land

is more basic, because it is fixed and inflexible.

The white man's first step of economic domination over the native in South Africa was to dominate the land. This would insure the superiority of the white man's production and his income. To dominate the land means two things: one, to have the sovereignty to allocate the land and two, to possess most of the land and the best.

Theoretically speaking, the native possessed no land in South Africa because he had no right to decide where he might live and cultivate. He had no right to choose where his permanent home should be or where he should be buried (there is segregation in cemeteries). The Location or the Reserve in which the Native lives may be removed by the order of the exclusive white man's Government any time.¹

The first land segregation law was passed through the Parliament in 1913. The Natives were prohibited to own land except in the Reserves and until 1950 in the Cape province. The right of the Natives to own land in the Cape province was abolished finally by the Group Areas Act in 1950.²

By the Native Land Act in 1913, nine million³ morgans of land were allocated to the Natives as Reserves, which were considered as the national home of the Natives, that is, where they might possess land. Because of the

.....

1. Hoernle, Op. cit., pp. 2-3

2. How Group Areas Act Will Be Applied, Oct. 7, 1950, p.8

3. There are 1 4/9 acres in one morgan

overcrowdedness in the Reserves, four million morgans of land were added to the Reserves through the Native Land and Trust Act in 1936. Now the Native Reserves consisted of a total of 13 million morgans of land in the Union, which equaled 13% of the total land in South Africa. The Whites, composing only one-sixth of the total population, were to occupy the rest of the land in the Union, that is, 78% of the total land.¹

Both the unequal distribution of land in quantity and the quality or productivity of the land deserve attention. Viewing from the Reserves Map (chart IV), one can see that the locations of the Reserves were either in the deserts on the West or in the malaria fever area on the north of Transvaal, where the climate was unfit for the white men to live. These were poor lands to cultivate either because of its mountainous surface, the dryness in climate, or because of the prevalence of disease, especially malaria and the cattle disease. The productivity was bound to be low even though other conditions were equal. The productivity of the Reserve was much lower than the white man's area:

Annual Average Production of Maize in Million of Pounds²

	Native Production	European Production
1921-1930	640	2900
1931-1939	490	3300

In the largest Native Reserves, the Transkei, the production of maize and kaffir-corn declined 25% during the decade of

.

1. Burger, Op. cit., p. 36
2. Hellmann, Op. cit., p. 184

the second world war.

In spite of their inability to own land and have other civil rights as a native of the country outside the Reserves, most Natives lived outside their national home, the Reserves.

Distribution of the Native Population (1936)¹

	Male	Female	Total
In Reserves.	1,236,300	1,726,096	2,962,396
European Urban Areas.	440,320	384,141	824,461
European Rural Areas.	1,062,678	1,133,057	2,195,735
Mining and Industrial Compounds.	573,353	40,744	614,097
Total.....	3,312,651	3,284,038	6,596,689

The reasons for the Natives leaving their Reserves were three: the Reserves were over-crowded, the lands were deteriorated and the productivity declined, and the last, not the least, they needed cash to pay their tax which, although only one pound per year per head and half a pound per year per hut, according to Mrs. Ballinger's calculation absorbed at least one-sixth of the average purchasing power of the Native.²

The passage of the Group Areas Act in 1950 was intended to force Natives outside the Reserves to be sent back to their "home". A Commission was appointed by the Government under the leadership of H.A. Fagan in 1948 to survey the conditions in the Reserves, the report reads,

.

1. Burger, Op. cit., p. 42
2. Ibid., p. 131

The Reserves are incapable of supporting their present population let alone providing for the vastly increased number that would be there if all the Africans now residing outside the Reserves were to be sent back.¹

Mr. Singh, the chairman of Indian Passive Resistent Committee in Durban, once told the writer,

If the Indian and Asiatic Tenure and Representative Act passes the Parliament, the Indian properties in the white man's areas would lose half of their prices, and the rental in the Indian exempted areas would be sky high.

This still holds true for the Natives outside the Reserves. This is what apartheid means. To the white man, it is a means of economic domination, but to the non-White it means economic bankruptcy.

c. Labour: There are three ways the White man in South Africa dominates the Native's labour: by dominating the movements of labour, by controlling the bargaining of labour, and by restricting the competition of labour.

The Native was restricted from moving freely under the Pass Law which was enforced throughout the Union except in Cape province. A Native who wished to move from one district to another was required to carry a pass issued by his employer or officer. Failure to produce this pass to any police officer at any time meant a fine or imprisonment.² This enabled the employer to retain his Native workers to

.

1. Jack, What Is This 'Apartheid?', Christian Century, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 1093

2. Dvorin, Op. cit., p. 118

work and accept his terms.

The Group Areas Act prohibited the Native's leaving the white man's farm or the Reserves to seek work in town where he might get more wages. Dvorin comments on the labour policy of apartheid in the following statement,

In order to prevent young Africans from seeking urban employment, attempts have been made to restrict their movement, and to increase the penal sanctions for any resultant break of contract. Under the Nationalist apartheid programme the general service contract will no doubt become compulsory for Native farm labourers, as it will provide another weapon to the Nationalists in their effort to control tightly movements of Natives within the Union and in addition will stabilize the agricultural labour supply.¹

To dominate the Native's labour bargaining, a number of laws have been passed through the Parliament. The Native Labour Regulation Act (1911) and the Master and Servant Act (1926) governed the service contract between the Europeans and Natives, and made it a criminal offence for the latter to refuse to obey an order or to break a contract.²

The Industrial Conciliation Act (1924) forbade the "pass-bearing Natives" to organize a labour Union. A Native's striking against his employer for more wages or better conditions or for both was a criminal offence under the Native Labour Regulation Act.³

The last step in dominating the Native's labour

.

1. Dvorin, op. cit., p. 118
2. Burger, op. cit., pp. 140-142
3. Cf. Ibid., pp. 142-144

was to deprive him of the right to compete with the Europeans and thus to enable the latter to monopolize the skilled labour market. The Mines and Works Act was passed in 1911. It was used by the Government erroneously to prevent Natives from obtaining certificates of skilled occupations in mining and engineering. However, it was made right by the Amendment Act in 1926 which was known as the famous Colour Bar Act. This Act limited the granting of certificates in engine-driving, blasting, surveying, and other skilled occupations in mines and works to Europeans, Cape Coloureds---in fact to every race except the Bantu. Coupled with the Colour Bar Act, the Native was debarred from acquiring skilled training by the Apprentices Act which enabled the master to refuse to admit Natives as apprentices.¹

Because of these restrictions in movements, bargaining, and competition, the Native's wages were bound to be low. The Native's monthly wage was from one to five pounds (1936-1942),² out of which ten shillings were withheld for tax. The European income was almost ten times as much as the Native's, and most of them did not pay income tax (except those exceeding 400 pounds a year).

.

1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 45

Spread of Wage-income over the Races¹

Wage Group	Percent- age of Workers	Bantu Percent- age	Coloured or Asiatic Percentage	European Percent- age
9-36 Lbs. p.a.	55	90	10	Nil
36-60 "	23	66	26	8
60-120 "	10	28	42	30
120-240 "	8	4	25	71
240-500 "	4	Nil	4	98

This explains why the Natives were poor. It was not because they were inferior by birth but because they were made inferior. They were totally disarmed and defenseless. It was because of Apartheid, a policy of labour domination.

3. Social Domination

a. Domination in Public Life: The social colour segregation or apartheid was because of long-standing convention or custom rather than by the Parliamentary laws. It was symbolized and indicated by the inscription "European Only", a living and most extensive apartheid.

Thus social apartheid or apartheid were carried out by the exclusive use of European officers, conductors, and managers in public utilities and organizations concerned.

There were two functions in this social apartheid, one was to separate the Europeans from the non-Europeans, the other was to accommodate the latter with a much inferior service for equal or even higher prices.

In stations, the waiting rooms and sitting benches

.

1. Ibid.p. 45

were separated. The train had different cars and compartments for Europeans and non-Europeans. An educated non-European man might be exempted from travelling in the "Reserve Car" (used in South Africa for the Natives) provided he had a letter from an officer certifying his high social standing.¹

There were separate trams (street cars) for non-Europeans, these were few and stopped at different stations from the European's. The white man's taxi would not carry non-Europeans even for emergency. The white man's elevator excluded non-Europeans and dogs.²

European recreation places generally refused to admit non-Europeans, such as cinemas, biscofes (South African term for theatre), swimming pools, and amusement parks.³ Although the Johannesburg Municipal Zoological Garden has admitted non-Europeans it has caused a great controversy.

Tea-rooms, restaurants, hotels, barber-shops admitted no non-Europeans. He might buy foods there, but usually he would be sent to eat it at a corner place or in the kitchen. If the latter were allowed, it was due to the extreme courtesy of the manager and his kindness.⁴

The white man would feel extremely insulted if he should have to sit with a non-European by his side. In case

.

1. Personal Observation in 1946
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

a non-European sat beside him in the street car or bus, the former would probably stand up and move to another seat. It was an unusual thing for a white man to walk side by side with a non-European or to eat with him at the same table.

b. Educational Domination: The schools were strictly separated between Europeans and the Natives through the Education Act of 1907. This separation or apartheid started with the administration. The European schools were governed by the Union Education Department while the Native school belonged to the Native Affairs Department. This apartheid opened the door of educational differentiation in quantity as well as in quality between the European and the Native.

For all European children between the ages of seven to sixteen, education was compulsory and free, but for the Native children only three out of eleven could go to school. The following official figures give an idea of the quantitative educational discrimination or apartheid.

School Statistics (1936)¹

Race	Population	No. of schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	State Expenditure
European.	2,000,000	4,600	375,000	17,000	7,400,000
Coloured and Asiatic....	900,000	1,000	141,000	12,000	1,500,000
Bantu.....	6,500,000	3,500	360,000		

The standard of the Native school was considered

lower than the European's. The school-going age of the former was three years higher than the latter's. Burger has a general survey on the Native educational standard,

...20% of children of a school-going age who are at school, about 75% are in standard 11 or below, and only about three percent are in Standard VI, for Europeans the figures are 30% and 10%. The vast majority of Native pupils never reach a higher standard than Standard 11, about one-sixth per cent of the Natives of a school-going age reach the secondary school, while 14% of European children are in secondary schools. Put another way, one Native child in every 600 receives an education beyond the primary school.¹

The cause of this educational differentiation was the Government financial control. The Government spent twenty pounds for each European child at school, but only three pounds for a Native child. The Native teacher's monthly salary was ranging from three pounds to twenty-five pounds,² while the European teacher with equivalent qualification received three to four times as large and carried pensions.

To most Europeans, to educate the Native was to endanger the white man's domination; at least, they could see no reason why the Native should receive academic education. The minister of Native Affairs once made this comment on the Native education:

He (the Minister) was afraid that very largely education was calculated merely to Europeanize the Native, with the result that every Native who had had a modicum of education did not want to do manual work. For many years to come the bulk of the Native

.

1. Burger, op. cit. p. 171
2. Ibid., p. 167

population would have to do manual work. But now they wanted to be clerks or teachers, or work in an office. People were asking to-day whether public money should be used to educate Natives and train people who became Communists.¹

The Natives were made to pay for their own education. In a sense, they paid for the European's education too, which was seven times more costly than their own education. The white man did not pay for his primary education which was fully paid through the general tax of the Government. The majority of white men in South Africa paid no income tax. The tax came largely from customs, mining companies and industries, and those whose incomes were over four hundred pounds. Their big profits were made possible only because the Natives were working much harder yet received only one-tenth of the white man's receipt.²

c. Sexual Domination: The last resort on defending the white man's supremacy in South Africa was sexual domination. The loss of distinction among the races will give no ground for apartheid politics, and the white man's supremacy will vanish.

The first sexual discrimination law was passed in 1903 in Transvaal province as the Immorality Ordinance, and was amended in 1908. Heavy penalty has been laid on illegal sexual relationship between European and non-European.³ Marriage contract between European and non-European was made

.

1. Dvorin, op. cit., p. 53

2. Cf. Burger, op. cit., pp. 102-106

3. Paton, Op. cit., p. 11

illegal throughout the Union except in Cape province. Since the inauguration of the apartheid policy in the Nationalist Government in 1948, the Mixed Marriage Act was introduced. Mixed marriage in the Cape now was made illegal.

The Native Definition Act was used to prevent mixed marriage. It defined a Native as "a person both of whose parents belong or belonged to an aboriginal race or tribe." A person who wished to free himself from all restrictions as a Native had to be a great-grandchild of mixed marriage.¹

D. The Result of Apartheid

1. Poverty, Disease, and Ignorance

a. Poverty: The Natives were poverty-stricken. In a broad sense poverty may be indicated as lack of money, wealth, knowledge and skill. But the most direct indication should be the income. According to 1942 statistics, the average Native family in the Reserve had about three pounds (about \$10.00) per year to spend on taxes (one pound and ten shillings), on clothes and on extra food. The total annual income of the family was probably twenty pounds, or about two and a half pence per day per head of population. Resulting from this, most families were permanently in debt. The only way to pay off the debt was to work in the European area.

.

1. Burger, op. cit., p. 138

Sixty per cent of the adult male population were at least once absent from the Reserve, seeking work in the European area, twenty per cent of the adult males were constantly absent from the Reserve.¹

Because of the lack of adult population in the Reserve the farms became deteriorated, family life was destroyed, polygamy flourished, more children were born, and poverty increased.

Apartheid was responsible for the Native's poverty through its policy of economic domination. South Africa as a whole was rich, ninety-eight per cent of European families received an annual income from 240 to 500 pounds. Why were the Natives poor? It was not necessary at all that one person's wealth should result in another's poverty. However, some one's poverty might by chance, if not by apartheid, result in another's prosperity, as Burger says,

It is well known that recruiting for the mines reaches its peak when there have been crop failures in the Reserves, or during what are officially known as the 'hunger months'. In a very real sense, mining dividends depend on misery in the Reserves and part of Britain's national income is derived from the misery of under-nourishment and disease.²

b. Disease: The death rate of both Coloureds and Natives was high in south Africa. According to 1940 statistics,

Coloured death rate is twice as high as that of the Europeans. Moreover, the Coloured poverty-rate is also abnormally high and in Cape Town it is ten times as high as that of Europeans. The reason for this abnormally high death rate can be summed up

.

1. Cf. Burger, op. cit., pp. 51-53
2. Ibid., p. 49

in one word 'poverty'.¹

The infant death rate in the Reserve was incredible,²

15% to 25% of children die during the first year,

30% " before second "

60% " before eighteenth

The reason for this high death rate might be explained by the deficiency of food resulting, of course, from poverty.

The Native food was composed mainly of mealie meal (maize), wild spinach and kaffir beer (a drink made from corn and maize). Meat was a luxury and milk was scarce and far beyond the reach of an average family. These starchy foods were insufficient to enable a person to perform continuous labour. And even these foods, although inadequate in quality, were frequently unobtainable.

According to statistics, twenty-five per cent of adult males were physically unfit for mining labourers.³ Because of this, the Native Reserves have gradually failed as being the reservoirs of labour for the white man's industries. More Africans had to be imported from abroad to work in mines.

c. Ignorance: Ignorance begets superstition, superstition makes life more miserable and poor. In the Reserves, eighty-eight per cent of school-going age children did not go to school. Even among the twelve per cent of children at school, the majority of them were under or at standard eleven. Oc-

1. Burger, op. cit., p. 49

2. Race Relation News, December, 1940

3. Burger, op. cit., p. 51

occasionally, there have been a few Bantu receiving a bachelor's degree from the University of the Witwatersrand and the Cape Town University, the only universities in South Africa having no race discrimination in admission of non-European students.

Thus, the mass of the population remains illiterate and superstitious. Initiation schools where puberty rites were performed were regular features of life. Magic, witchcraft and polygamy flourished. The witch doctor performed healing, prevented evil, "smelled out" the evil-doer and told fortunes.

Ploughing and reaping were dictated by the witch-doctor according to his "doctoring" of the field. There was superstition against having good seeds in cultivation for fear that the white man might come and take away their Reserve.

Through traditions cattle were used mainly for religious ceremonies and marriage compensation known as "Lobola". A certain number of cattle was required by the bride's parents to compensate over their loss of a child-bearer. Little had been done to remove the cattle's quality for meat, milk and ploughing.

2. The Impracticability of Apartheid

a. Cultural Theory: The same old argument, that the Native should develop on his own line, was still the new apartheid's cultural theory. Some argued that the Native would be happier if left along his own line, others main-

tained the "good" life for the Native is found in his racial, cultural, and territorial isolation. The Nationalist alleged, "every person can only attain his highest freedom and fullest self-realization within the unit of the nation."¹ Others went further to say the Native can develop in European areas only at the expense of the European. Leo Marquard summarizes apartheid's cultural theory in the following words,

The African and the European are two different races and can never live in one political state without producing either injustice to the African or the decline of European power. The European on the other hand, dare not allow the African his political rights because Western civilization will then be swamped by Bantu civilization. On the other hand, if the African is working in European industries, it is unjust not to grant him civil rights. Farther, the African, like the Afrikaner, is entitled to develop his own language and culture, in fact, without that development he will never become a really integrated personality. As long as he remains part of the European state he will become an imitative European instead of a good African. In the European state he cannot be allowed to attain positions of trust and power and responsibility as he could if he were in his own country. 2

The implications of the theory would be the revival of the tribalism, the emphasis of Bantu language, and separation between the Native and the European. The Governor General of the Union, Dr. E.G. Jansen, once urged the de-tribalized Native to come back to their tribal life,

.....

1. Dvorin, Op. cit., p.5
2. Marquard, Op. cit., p. 135

It will definitely be worth one's while to consider whether this type of Native cannot again be part of a progressively oriented tribal relationship to the advantage of all concerned.¹

Missionaries have transcribed the Bantu language into writing. It has been studied in the leading universities in South Africa as a subject. It was also used in the Bantu schools as their medium until Standard IV. As soon as the Native realized it was the English language, not Bantu, which enabled him to get a job in the European area, he was reluctant to learn the latter. For a few advanced Native students in colleges, requirements had to be met according to the English standard. One cannot expect them to learn the Bantu language which offers very little credit to their success.

The question of tribalism needs to be considered. Can tribalism be preserved? What is tribalism? Would it mean the tribal relationship, the authority of the chief, the matrimonial traditions, pubertal initiation, or many other traditions? No one can deny that the African tribalism was broken down simply because of the European contact. If tribalism is inevitable, the former result should be expected, even it is undesirable. One should not expect the Native to keep "Lobola" and yet receive Christian missionaries preaching the free will of man. Tribalism was doomed to be broken, as Dvorin says,

.

1. Dvorin, op. cit., p. 97

Tribalism cannot be preserved. The influences which lead inevitably to its disappearance are already too powerful and widespread. The African all over the continent is claiming liberty from the old tribal restrictions, he has seen or heard enough of a new world to make him frankly bored with village life on the customary model, and he is rapidly losing his respect for traditional lore. The tribes are breaking up from within and it is too late for the process to be arrested.¹

The last implication of apartheid's cultural theory is separation of contact between European and non-European. Can this be done? Contact is the beginning of cultural assimilation and the impulse of cultural progress. Separation of contact would mean stagnancy at least of Bantu civilization if not the European's. Even if separation should be done for European cultural expediency to prevent the European deterioration, it would be impracticable simply for economic reasons. This will be explained later.

B. Economic Theory: This involves the theory of "developing within his own area." Malan had promised the Native leaders during his inauguration, "Your land will be restored and your young men and women trained to improve methods of cultivation."² Therefore, the expectancy of future development in the Reserves was the justification of apartheid policy, justification to force millions of Natives to come back to the Reserves.

There are two practicable problems here. Can the

.

1. Ibid., p. 98

2. Ibid., p. 95

Reserve be developed as a happy and prosperous national home? Can the three million displaced Natives be sent back to the Reserves?

The burning problems of the Reserve now are the deterioration of land, the reduction of productivity, and the deterioration of the cattle. All of these are related to the shortage of land and the misuse of it. Before Europeans dominated the country, the Native primitive method of cultivating and pasturing often caused periodical famine. Because the land and labour were abundant, the situation was not too severe. After the European arrived, the Natives were jammed into the designated Reserves, the acreage was much reduced. Because of the cessation of tribal war, the population had increased rapidly. The land was much wasted because of the absence of adult male labourers and because of the self-subsistence economic system. All these resulted in the deterioration of land and reduction of productivity.

Efforts have been made by the Government to restore the land in the Reserves. Three million pounds (paid through the Native Taxation), were spent during the period, 1910-1936, while during the same period one hundred million pounds were spent for the European farms.¹ The European insisted the Native must pay for his advancement. Bearing in

.

1. Burger, op. cit., p. 49

mind that the average Native received only about one-tenth of the average European income, one can visualize how far the Native could advance and how much the Reserves can be improved.

Much has been said about allocating more land to the Reserves. The movement started in 1913 when the Native Land Act was passed and nine million morgans of land were allocated to the Native. After twenty years of pleading for more land, four more million morgans were added, composing only thirteen per cent of the total area of the country. It is very doubtful if more lands are available for the Reserve right now.

The problem of the displaced Natives must also be considered. Can these three million Natives be sent back to the Reserves? The famous Fagan Report of 1948 has stated the impossibility of sending the town Natives back and of stopping the influx of Natives to towns. Statistics have shown that in the year of 1953 more Natives came to town to work in the industries than four years ago before the inauguration of the apartheid policy. Malan's Opposition in the Parliament quoted the figures of increasing Natives in the white man's area as from 165,000 to 220,000.¹

The sincerity of the apartheid policy in separating the European and non-European population has been doubted by the late Prime Minister simply because of its impracti-

.

1. New York Times, February 2, 1953, p. 7

cability,

The policy of separating and segregating our Native population as a whole in our Native Reserves is a policy which is impossible to carry out in this country. If that is the policy which is meant by apartheid then I have no hesitation in saying it is an impossible to carry out. 1

The further impracticability of the economic theory of apartheid is that the European society cannot afford to lose the Native's cheap labour, which has become an integral part of the Union's production. If, one day, all Natives left the white man's area, all economic establishments would cease to function.

E. Summary

The Unionist, E. Sachs, in his new book, The Choice Before South Africa paints apartheid really dark in his summary paragraph,

To sum up; 'Honourable Apartheid' means for the Native people landlessness, poverty, a complete denial of elementary rights, a denial of proper education, vocational training of ever becoming skilled; it means violence, terror, wholesale imprisonment, perpetual slavery. 2

According to the findings in this chapter, apartheid was not a new social policy of the white man's South Africa. The difference between the Nationalist's apartheid and the previous Colour Bar policies was only in degree

.....

1. Proposed Abolition of Native Representation, Weekly News Letter, No. 445, Aug. 23, 1948, p. 7
2. Sachs, Op. cit., p. 35

rather than in nature. Apartheid was more strict and thorough and wider than the Colour Bar policies in its applications.

There were two functions in the implications of apartheid, one was to divide, the other was to rule. In other words, it was a policy of separation plus domination. It separated the population of the country into four isolated races, European, Coloured, Asiatic, and Native, in territory as well as in social systems. The separation was not only a horizontal one but also a vertical one which elevated all Europeans on top of other races. This was the policy of domination, another name for apartheid. Domination was dictatorial and was possible only through force.

It was noted that the Reserve deteriorated rather than improved in the Native's "developing on his own area." The tribalism was broken rather than reinforced by the non-White's "developing on his own line."

The result of apartheid was poverty, disease, and ignorance. Apartheid was impracticable and dishonest. Its result came far short of its allegations, "Nothing will be taken from you without giving you something better in its place."¹

.....

1. Dvorin, Op. cit., p. 95

CHAPTER III
APARTHEID IN THE CHURCHES

CHAPTER III

APARTHEID IN THE CHURCHES

A. Introduction

As the previous chapters have dealt with the background and policy of apartheid in the state, this chapter will deal with the attitude and practice of the White Christian churches in this apartheid policy. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a comparative survey of the world's existing racial theories and with the Christian judgment on apartheid policies.

B. Attitude of White Churches Toward Apartheid

1. The White Christian Churches in South Africa

a. The Dutch Reformed Church: The South African Christian Churches were divided also along the racial line. The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, officially called "De Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid-Afrika," was established as the oldest Christian church of the land after the arrival of Van Riebeeck in 1652 in the Cape.¹ In 1946 it had won the unanimous support of the white population of the country with an enrolled membership of one million and a

.

1. Taylor, Christianity and the Natives of South Africa, p. 205
Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa,
p. 7
Dvorin, op. cit., p. 39

quarter out of the total two and a half million white population in the country.¹ It composed four Federated Dutch Church mission churches of the Cape, Free State and Transvaal as well as the Gereformeerde and Hervormde Churches.

In the days of the Great Trek, a century ago, the Dutch Reformed Church followed the trekkers to the inland and has woven itself deeply into the life of the Calvinist Boers. The Church then identified itself with the Afrikaan-speaking Boers and their Nationalistic racial policy.² Today the Reformed Church stands closest to the Government. The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, was a former Reformed Church minister in the Cape and a seminary student of the University of Utrecht where he received his Doctor's degree of Divinity.

b. The English-speaking Churches and the Christian Council: The Anglican and many other Protestant denominations came to South Africa accompanied by English Colonists. Owing to the reluctance of learning the Afrikaan language and to the Nationalistic action of the Boer toward the English newcomers as conquerers, those Churches often grouped themselves as the English-speaking Churches. This dividing line was sharpened after the withdrawal of the Christian Council of South Africa in 1941.³ It is justifiable, there-

.

1. Marquard, op. cit., p. 203

2. Burger, op. cit., p. 177, Dvorin, op. cit. p. 40

3. Taylor, The Christian Council of South Africa, South African Outlook, May 1, 1941, p. 101

fore, to consider the Christian Council of South Africa as a collective representation of the English-speaking Churches of this land in racial attitudes for two reasons. First, the Council was established in 1936 and was affiliated with more than thirty churches and missions in this country. These included four of the principal English-speaking churches with large European communities, namely, the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) and the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. Each of these had its own missions among the Coloured and African people.¹ Second, the Reformed Church withdrew its support from the Council on account of the racial issues. This was verified by the president of the Council, Dr. Edward W. Grant as he said,

If racialism or a different social outlook or whatever it may be has deprived the Council of the rich benefit of the presence and help of the Dutch Reformed Church, there is the more reason for the other churches to draw together.²

2. The Attitude Toward Apartheid as a Policy of Domination

With the findings of the previous chapter in mind, apartheid policy had seemingly been formulated and carried on as a policy of domination. Most accusations which had been made by the English churches to the Government as well as the Dutch Reformed Church were on this base. Christian principles and Scriptures were used on both sides pro and con, to some degree, both were seemingly honest in their

.

1. Grant, The Christian Council of South Africa, I.R.M., July, 1944, p. 258
2. Taylor, The Christian Council of South Africa, Op. cit., p. 101

beliefs.

Both were convinced that the racial issue was involved with moral and religious principles of human relationship, therefore, the church could not keep silent. Both the English-speaking and the Dutch Reformed Church claimed this policy must be in conformation with God's purpose, and His guidance must be sought.¹ However, the English-speaking Churches referred more often to the principles of the New Testament while the Dutch Reformed Church had more Hebrew Nationalistic influence drawn specially from the Old Testament. While the English quoted the Scriptures for Christian unity, the Reformed Church sought in them for the Divine sanction for racial differentiation. As the argument grew bitter and as the New Testament support for this apartheid policy was almost exhausted, the Reformed Churchmen started to talk about the history of racial relations in South Africa. Their realistic philosophy was accompanied with words of accusation and ambiguity such as "The Crux of the Racial Situation in South Africa,"² and "the voice of Communism."

"The Kerbode (the official papers of the Reformed Church) after listing the churches lined upon the other side declared, "the editors of the Christian Century stated, "that it recognized 'The Voice of Communism' in the condemnation which these churches have leveled against the Malan racial

.

1. A Report of the Rosettenville Conference, Op. cit., p. 7

2. Gardener, The Crux of the Race Relation, I.R.M., July, 1949, p. 281

politics.'" "When a Christian church is reduced to charging the other churches are Communist's dupes or agents," the editor continued, "That's a sign that it has about run out of valid arguments by which it supports its position."¹

a. The Accusation of the English-speaking Churches.

When the Colour Bar Bill was under discussion in the House in 1926, the English-speaking Churches launched their official protest against it to General Hertzog's Government. The protest was signed by the Archbishop of Capetown and all the Anglican Bishops in South Africa; by the Councils and other representative bodies of the Wesleyan, Unitarian,² Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregationist communions.

The protest stated that

it is certainly wrong that any should be legally prohibited from doing any kind of work for which he is qualified; merely on the ground of colour. ³

The protest went on,

It is contrary to the moral and religious principles of white civilization and Christianity to discriminate as this Bill does against working men on the ground that they are 'natives as therein defined. ⁴

This protest was rejected by the Prime Minister as "A most unworthy document." Then he turned on the English ministers, as well as missionaries with contempt and hatred saying,

...people of South Africa have not seen the light of day in connection with a matter like this for

.....

1. Church Opposition to Apartheid Growing, The Christian Century, Nov. 16, 1949, pp. 1348-1349
2. Olivier, Op. cit., p. 146
3. Ibid., pp. 145-146
4. Loc. cit.

a hundred years, when the Boers on the eastern borders were slandered and driven out of the country by a number of missionaries and othersthe people of South Africa looked on the missionaries of South Africa as a contemptible class of persons who should not be here.¹

When the new apartheid policy was initiated by the Nationalist Party, the Christian Council in South Africa published a pamphlet entitled "The Churches' Judgment on Apartheid" which reads,

The churches in South Africa, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, have condemned as immoral and unchristian any policy based on racial distinctions in so far as such a policy is contrary to the precepts of natural law and of Christian revelation....The policy of apartheid is not a purely political matter. It affects the foundations of relations of men to men and involves our deepest valuations of human nature. It is primarily a moral and religious issue....The churches stand firm on the universal dignity belonging to all men as rational creatures called to one end.²

In addition to the accusation of the violation of the Christian principles in the racial issue, a further attack was made on the racial attitude of the Reformed Church. A century ago, ever since the Great Trek, the Boers have always considered themselves as the chosen people of God with the right to dominate other races. Mackenzie verified this fact as he said,

...the literal fact is that the Boers apply the Old Testament language concerning Israel literally to themselves and its language concerning the Canaanites who were destroyed and crushed out, literally to the Native tribes....

.

1. Ibid, p. 143

2. The Civic Rights League, Capetown, 1949

In their prayers the language of the heroes of the Old Testament is freely appropriated, they are God's people, and their enemies are His enemies. No one who has freely mingled with this people can doubt that they have persuaded themselves by some wonderful mental process that they are God's chosen people and that the blacks are the wicked and condemned ...over whose heads the Divine anger lowers continuously. 1

This is not merely a historical record but a live attitude which had been carried down for a century. Coupled with this concept of Jewish nationalism, the Calvinistic creed of predestination had also played a great part in their racial attitude. In Dr. MacCron's elaborate study of the racial prejudice in South Africa, he admitted the Calvinistic theology of the Reformed Church had greatly influenced the people,

its (the Calvinistic creed) doctrine of predestination, its emphasis upon the community of the elect, the exclusive twist that could be given to its teachings, were all perfectly adapted to the interracial situation of the frontier. The conclusion was readily drawn and applied, that the heathen fell outside the scheme of salvation. 2

By virtue of this fact he (the Boer) justified to himself his right to dominate others, the Coloured and the Native alike, who could never compete with him on equal terms. 3

This over-simple interpretation of the Scripture was ridiculous to the English Churches. To clarify this Christian concept of race, the Archbishop of Cape Town published his article, "Christianity and Race," in 1950. He

.....

1. Mackenzie, South Africa, p. 154
2. MacCron, Race Attitude in South Africa, p. 129
3. The Most Rev. the Archbishop of Cape Town, Christianity and Race, Race Relations, Nos. 1-2, 1950, pp. 13-14

answered the Boers' question in a simple statement,

...the claim that because you belong to a particular race you have the right permanently to dominate other races seems to me to be un-Christian.... Race according to His will is good, but racialism is of the Devil. 1

The English-speaking Churches' accusation on apartheid policy will not be complete without mentioning the declaration of the famous Rosettenville Conference of the Christian Council of South Africa in 1949. Here the Conference solemnly proclaimed, "The value of man belongs to all men." God's purpose for man is not that one race should be dominated by other or that the state should reduce the individual to a slave, but to produce free men and to afford men regardless of race and colour to develop his personality and talents unrestrictedly.²

In line of this liberal and Christian view of humanity, Professor Mokitimi, an African Vice-Principal of Healdtown Institute, echoed this declaration and poured his lamentation over apartheid in his article, "Apartheid and the Christian Spirit."

Those who preach apartheid insist that it is the only way by which white domination can be preserved. To the non-European this can only mean perpetual subjugation, a denial to him of the fundamental human right of attaining, in the land of his birth and his domicile, the highest of which he is capable. There will be obstacles purposely laid against his advance. There will be limits set

.....

1. Loc. cit.,

2. Cf. Report of Rosettenville Conference, Op. cit., pp.15-41

to his progress. It must mean this, otherwise one cannot see how white domination can ever remain ensured. And to let any one see the light and then deny him the right to aspire to reach it is of the very essence of cruelty.¹

b. The Answer of the Dutch Reformed Church: The Reformed Church denies that apartheid is a policy of domination.² Concerning the political domination, the Reformed Church excused itself on the grounds of the Native's political immaturity as "having (not) cut their wisdom teeth and become of age." The Reformed Church Federal Council also argued,

The franchise is a means of grace that must be used with the greatest care and responsibility to God. The Christian does not regard the franchise as qualifying him to make laws, which is the function of the state, the vote, for the Christian is always a symbol of God's sovereignty and every vote cast must reflect the will of God...The franchise is a treasure which should belong only to those who are of age politically and are able to use it responsibly before God. The African does not fulfil these requirements, and therefore, will not be able to use their right correctly.³

The Church never defended the economic domination. The aims of the Church's economic policy was parallel development of both white and black. It was entirely different from apartheid as a policy of economic domination. At this point the Church had a clean hand and the Government admitted its responsibility of initiating this economic policy. It

.

1. Mokitimi, Apartheid and the Christian Spirit, I.R.M., July, 1949, p. 277
2. Ibid., p. 289
3. Marquard, Op. cit., p. 213

is interesting to note that the Reformed Church was silent both in the Colour Bar Act and in the apartheid policy on their economic aspect, because there was a complaint which was made to the Economic Commission in 1926 when the Colour Bar Bill was under discussion, "We wish to apply Christian principles but apparently we cannot do so without committing suicide."¹

A congress of the Reformed Church was held in Bloemfontien to discuss the apartheid policy in 1950. The conclusion was made that apartheid should mean total separation instead of domination. When Malan, the Prime Minister of the Union, referred to the Church's decision in the Parliament, he said,

It was not considered, however, that total territorial separation was a practical policy. It was an ideal but it was not the policy of the Nationalist Party.²

In other words, the Prime Minister implied the economic policy of apartheid will continue to bring the Native into the European economic system as a labour class under the Colour Bar Law.

The Church made no defense on its doctrine of chosen race or heathen race from the Scriptures but from the authority of their experience. Dr. Gerdener, the Reformed Church's spokesman, called the racial situation in

.....

1. Van der Merwe, The Development of Missionary Attitudes in the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, p. 208
2. The Dutch Reformed Churches Call for Root and Branch Separation, South African Outlook, May 1, 1950, p. 69

South Africa the "crux" which could only be understood by long experience.¹ Malan praised the Bloemfontein congress's approval of apartheid not so much for their Biblical knowledge but because "delegates there had been authorities on missionary work."²

It is not just to classify all Reformed Churchmen as holding the same view. There were many church members who spoke against the Church's policy. Dr. B.B. Keet, a prominent scholar of the Dutch Reformed Church and also a member of the faculty of the Theological Seminary at the Stellenbosch University wrote in "Die Kerbode", the official paper of the Church, dealing with the Scriptural grounds quoted by the Synodal Commission, that

When we come to the second part of the Commission's report, viz. the Scriptural grounds of apartheid, we must remember that the pronouncements of the Scriptures are used to support the political as well as the religious policy of apartheid,...the whole reasoning is false and unscriptural. One can ask: 'How does the Commission arrive at such an interpretation and declaration of the Scriptures?' I notice that some of the members of the Commission were old students of mine. I can but declare solemnly here that they did not learn such an interpretation of the Scriptures at the Theological Seminary, and they will find it no where in the Christian Church....The Commission says that they find nothing in the letter or spirit of the Old and New Testaments in conflict with the policy of separate, autonomous development to independence. It all depends what is meant by separate development. If it means separated, divided from, as it must be read in the whole con-

.

1. Gerdener, op. cit., I.R.M., July, 1949, pp. 283-290
2. The Dutch Reformed Churches Call for Root and Branch Separation, Op. cit., p. 69

text, then it is opposed to everything to which the evangelical message both in the New and Old Testaments stand.¹

3. The Attitude Toward Apartheid as a Policy of Separation

Both the English-speaking and the Reformed Churches agreed that there should be a separation between the black and white races. However, the cause, the method and the extent of separation are totally different according to both Churches. To the English Church separation was necessary because of the temporary and cultural difference of both races, the method should not entail force and the extent was confined to the residence only. On the other hand, the Reformed Church conceived that the separation was imperative because of the permanent difference between the white and black races. It is like "an African lily," as it was literally expressed, which can never become "a European rose."² Separation should therefore be extended to every sphere of life: political, social, and religious.

The Reformed Church spoke boldly on segregation as her "solemn duty"³ and here she claimed that this was the purpose of God,

...it is evidently impossible for the White and Black to live together and fulfil the purposes of God for them....there are basic principles in God's Word which support it, it is agreed that separate churches and schools are in the interests of the Natives,

.

1. Weekly News Letter, Jan. 1, 1950

2. Gerdener, The Dutch Reformed Church and the Racial Situation in South Africa, Race Relations, No. 1-2, 1950, p. 6

3. Paton, Christian Unity, p. 4

while the main purpose of the Church remains the dissemination of God's Word. 1

The Scriptural sanction of apartheid was not clearly stated with definite references. In this juncture, Dr. Gerdener only argued on the negative side,

If segregation needs Biblical justification, then surely integration (race) cannot do without it. We are not prepared to acknowledge that the Bible contains in so many words any text in favour of such things as the abolition of slavery, the repudiation of polygamy or the practice of infant baptism. And yet these things have been brought about---in some cases long after the New Testament was written....2

Maybe the real cause of race segregation in this connection was not a matter of Scriptural approval or disapproval. Viewing the historical development of the race attitude of the Reformed Church, one can find nothing against race integration. Even mixed marriage was never
3
considered wrong in the early years. It was through many sad experiences of mixed marriages and miscegenation in the Cape that the Church started to preach against it, and Scriptural disapproval was sought. To this purpose, both Reformed and English Churches are holding firm.

Many other reasons have been given for supporting the separation policy, Dr. Gerdener of the Reformed Church argued that the separation policy was ecclesiastically,

.....

1. The Dutch Reformed Churches Call for Root and Branch Separation, Op. cit., p. 68
2. Gerdener, Dutch Reformed Church and the Racial Situation in South Africa, Race Relations, nos.1-2, 1950, p. 4
3. Van der Merwe, Op. cit., p. 240

morally, and educationally sound. Educationally, separate system would ensure best and practical results for the Natives to meet the needs of their daily life. Morally, it prevented the Native from leaving his home to work in the white man's area for the materialistic gain. Ecclesiastically, it assisted the missionary work by increasing the efficiency of the work when the Bible and hymn books were used in the native's own tongue.¹

C. Apartheid In Church-Practice

1. The White Christian Churches

a. The English-speaking Churches: The English Churches considered all Christians, white and black alike as members of the same community and that they should share in the Government of the Church even though it might be practically expedient for white and black to worship in separate churches. In fact, there were only a small number of Anglican churches where Europeans and non-Europeans worshipped together, but the great majority of congregations had separate churches.

Not like the Reformed Church, a non-European would not be refused admission into the church. However, the non-European would, in most cases, sit on the back pew. In Communion, he would wait on one side and be served after the white communicants.

.

1. Gerdener, op. cit., International Review of Missions, July 1949, pp.292-294

The English Churches did not believe the idea that the European should not treat the non-European on equal terms in daily contacts. This would be best illustrated in the Sunday School Convention.

The World Sunday School Convention was due to be held in Durban in 1940. All South Africa Christian Churches were invited to send representatives to the Convention. Controversy was aroused because there would be no colour bar in the Convention. The Afrikanerbond Vir Rassestudies protested, saying that the equality of colour proposed by the Convention is opposed to the religious and social policy which, under God's guidance, makes a sharp dividing line between black and white. Other reasons were given that joint conferences cause the "lower cultural race" to lose his respect for the white man and also lose his respect for himself.

Some liberal Reformed Churches compromised by agreeing that they would go to the Convention if their representatives would be housed separately, sit separately, and have their tea separately. The English Church immediately replied, that if this were agreed to, it would be the Africans who would be separated in the Convention.¹

The English-speaking church believes that Christian fellowship and unity are based on equality. Galatians

.

1. Burger, op. cit., p.178

3:38 was often quoted in support of the absolute equality of all. At this point, Dr. Gerdener argued, there are two kinds of equalities like the equalities between husband and wife. They are spiritually equal but physically unequal. Dr. Gerdener implied the unequal treatment of a non-European Christian in the daily contact is only a reflection of the physical inequality and it does not injure the spiritual equality in fellowship.¹ This idea is well expressed in one of the Reformed Church's Synods,

The disposition of Christian love and spiritual oneness of which the New Testament speaks does not in any way demand social equality. We can feel one and be one in the Lord, without having contact with every colour and race on equal footing in daily life.²

In this connection the English Church does promote inter-racial Christian fellowship in conferences and in church fellowship with the educated Natives.

b. The Dutch Reformed Church: Separate Communion for the Natives in South Africa was first suggested early in 1857 by Andrew Murray, a prominent missionary for the Africans of the Reformed Church. Separate mission churches were then established in 1880. In the early days the question of baptizing slaves was once raised in the Church's conference in the Cape. Nevertheless, many slaves were baptized but not one was permitted to be a full member of the Church.³

.

1. Gerdener, op. cit., I.R.M., July 1949, p. 286
2. Dutch Reformed Church and Colour Bar, South African Outlook, March 1, 1941, p. 52
3. Defiant South Africa, Christian Century, Sept. 28, 1949, p. 1126

The South Africa Law of 1909 decreed, "There shall be no equality between white and black either in church or state." This was the old faith of the Boer Republics and was interpreted in a way that the black and white must not¹ associate on equal terms. It was in conformity with the State Law as well as with social condition that the Native was not permitted to enter the white man's church to worship. It is interesting to know that Mahatma Gandhi was once refused admission into a church at Durban on account of his being non-European. Rev. C. F. Andrews lamented this fact as he said, "Christ himself had been denied entrance² into his own Church where His name was worshipped."

The English-speaking churches have taken their stand against apartheid upon the principles of Christianity and the words of the Holy Scriptures. Even the Dutch Reformed Church did not approve the economic inequality of the apartheid policy in the past as well as at the present. Here a question was asked once by the Native Representative Senator Brooks,

If, for example, the principle of the colour bar is wrong, how is it that we have a de facto colour bar in so many of our churches. If the Church practice is right, ought we not to be a little less self-righteous in our criticism of the State?

Is it not true that in the most sacred of Christian service, bitter resentment would be felt by many at the intrusion of colour? Is it not true that,

.....

1. Dutch Reformed Church and Colour Bar, Op. cit., p. 52
2. Brooks, Op. cit., p. 169

to obtain real fellowship a Coloured man or woman, light enough to pass as white, would frequently have to live a lie in his church just as much as he has to do in the world outside? Is it not the case that sometimes behind a facade of equal rights are hidden practical discriminations of great importance? ¹

These accusations were applicable not only to the Reformed Church but the English Churches alike. The English Church would pay his Coloured worker just as the way the Crown Mine would its Coloured miner upon a coloured discriminative scale. Separate congregations were just as distinctive as separate residences. Separate churches were just as significant as separate Reserves. One can go to endless numbering of race discriminations in the Christian Churches.

However, the existence of race segregation in the English Churches must not discredit her faith in race equality and unity and their lip service in propagating this cause.

2. The African or Separatist Church

a. Origin: "Separatism has been the result, to a very large extent, of the presence of the colour bar within the Christian Church." ² This is Senator Brooks' interpretation of the result of apartheid in the Christian Church.

The first Separatist church was established in 1892 by a Native Wesleyan minister Mokoni. Within these 60 years, there have grown up 200 separate sects, 800 ³ separate churches with 759,000 members (1952).

.....

1. Ibid., p. 168

2. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets, p. 37

3. Marquard, Op. cit., p. 203

The Reformed Church, believing in the separate congregations for different racial groups, maintains the African should establish his own separate church. He must not have membership or control in the affairs of the parent church, as it was often said, people of different races should worship God each in his own church.

On the other hand, foreign missionaries advocate planting an indigenous church; which has been defined as a self-supported, self-propagated, and self-governed church. This would produce a truly native type of Christianity suited to the genius and needs of the race.

But to the Africans their motivation was to establish a church under their own control in reaction to the race attitude and discrimination found in the white man's church and among the white missionaries. Due to the increase of colour consciousness of the Natives, "the Black man discovers that his salvation is not found through the white Christ."¹ As he is not wanted in the white man's church, so his church must not be controlled by the white Church's Government.

The Separatist church does not owe its existence to any theological differences with its mother mission church which is under the European control. All Separatist churches are the results of secessions from European missions. They all retain the doctrines, policy, hymns and methods of

.

1. Sundkler, op. cit., p. 280

worship of their parent bodies. They all draw recruits from established European controlled missions.¹

The Separatist church is a nationalistic church, anti-European in sentiment, if not in its activities. It is an emotional escape from racial prejudice. Under the racial domination system, the Natives found no place in the land of their birth. They dreamed that in Heaven, there will be a place for them. It is interesting to note that John 14:2 was used to justify their hope. "In my Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so, I would have told you, for I go to prepare a place for you." was literally interpreted as a charter and a guarantee that there will be a separate mansion in Heaven for them.²

b. Ethiopianism: The idea of establishing a church separated from white control was early conceived by Rev. Nehemiah Tile, a minister of the Wesleyan Church at Tembuland. He designated his church's name, the Tembu Church of South Africa and in 1884 enthroned Chief Ngangelizwe as its visible head.³

The Ethiopian Church was not established until 1892 when Rev. Mangena Mokoni seceded from his mother Wesleyan Mission Church in Pretoria.⁴ The name given it was taken from Psalm 68:31, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Mokoni also took Acts 8:27 as a promise

.

1. Hellmann, Op. cit., p. 567

2. Sundkler, op. cit., p. 276

3. Taylor, Christianity and the Natives of South Africa, Op.cit.,

4. Ibid., P. 76

of the evangelization of Africa and to mean self-government of the African Church under African leaders.¹ The movement under the leadership of Mokoni and his successors Mzimba, Dwana and Coppin (1904) drew 16,000 members into their folds, and missionaries were sent to Rhodesia, Zambezi, Sudan and Egypt.

The Black Christ was portrayed in this movement, and rumor was spread that the white man's Bible is not the true Bible. It says,

The Bible has been distorted by the Whites. The Bible which the Bantu now have is the wrong book(There is) another Bible, hidden away from the Bantu by the Whites, a book containing real truth, whilst the 'old Bible' was written only to cheat the Black man.²

c. Zionism: The next largest Separatist movement in South Africa was the Zionist movement. It sprang up at the turn of the 20th century. This movement was characterized by Pentecostal speaking in tongues, and healings which recall the "language of the dead" and magic spiritualism. The worshippers wear white robes adorned with crosses of bright colour and carry holy sticks. Their meetings are characterized by shouting, singing, and drum beating. More African religious spirit was manifested in them than Christian.

The Separatist Churches have grown and spread all over the land. But it is a result of racial hatred and Nationalistic response and African Spiritualism rather than a healthy development of an indigenous Christian church.

From the beginning the suggested African (Separatists) Church would be built on hatred and divisions.

1. Sundkler, op. cit., p. 38

2. Ibid., p. 277

An observer said,

It would confine its activities and aggressive energies to the creation of discord and division in the existing Churches....It would try to grab from the existing Churches, by means of splits, as many people as it can to be able to gain ground. The way open to this Church tells us that unity will never be obtained by creating a church on the foundation based on division and hatred. What would happen is that the distance between the Europeans and the Africans would be widened and that the Africans out of touch with European thought would compromise with heathenism. Such a church would be more African than Christian.

This warning should awaken the Christian Church to realize the severity of the race problem. She should not just blame the State but work to put her house to order.

D. Apartheid and Other Racial Policies

South Africa is not unique in her racial problem, there are many countries in Africa (as well as in South and North America) facing this problem of race relations. Many racial theories have been practiced and some have proven successful.

1. Apartheid and Parallelism

One successful policy is that of parallelism which allows all races to develop in a multi-racial society parallelly. Each race has full and equal opportunities to develop its excellence in its culture as well as in its mode of life.

.

1. What African Church Leaders are Thinking, South African Outlook, Feb. 1, 1951, p. 23

Each race is to be a distinct unit, and there is to be a separating of each from another socially, politically and economically.¹ But the separation is a vertical rather than a horizontal one like apartheid. The function of Apartheid is rather horizontal separation than the vertical division of the races. Apartheid is a policy of domination of one race over the other, admitting no equality and parallel development of the dominated race. White South Africa will not accept the parallelist race policy as long as the white can keep his supremacy.

2. Apartheid and Total Separation

The racial policy of total separation had been practiced in Africa where the African population was dominant. The word "sundering" or "dissociation" has been coined for its meaning. It was a policy of complete separation between the European and the Native in order to prevent the possibility of the domination by the advanced race and to preserve the integrity and cohesion of the Native population. They would not live in a multi-racial society but a society of their own. Their economic system would be based on self-support. They would keep their social entity and indigenous political system. Professor Hoernle argues a true total racial separation system should,

include all that they (Natives) can, and choose to

.

1. Hoernle, op. cit., pp. 160-164

make their own. It would emphatically not mean that they would be pushed back into, or kept in, an artificial perpetuation of primitive 'ways,' on the contrary, they would have every opportunity to become acculturated at their own pace and according to their own wishes, developing industries and professions as required. Total separation, so conceived, would mean for the Native escape from white domination, coupled with unhindered access to European culture.¹

This policy is in conflict with apartheid because the latter allows no economic self-sufficiency in the Native Reserves. The Native under Apartheid policy cannot be separated from the European society economically. Therefore the total separation policy is no more practicable than parallelism, for S.A.

3. Apartheid and Assimilation

The policy of assimilation has been carried out in South America. Racial assimilation does not mean race assimilation but individual assimilation. A race does not assimilate but an individual does. Racial assimilation cannot happen on a large scale, it can only happen in a small scale and very slowly. It is a very natural thing for one race to become assimilated with an other when both come into contact in one society.² The first step of assimilation would be cultural. The weak race would learn the language, religion, philosophy, science and many other cultural backgrounds of the advanced race. The individual of the weak race might totally forget his own cultural background and

.

1. Ibid., p. 172

2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 165-168

adopt the alien culture as his own. The next step would be naturally economic assimilation. The individual of the weak race might submit himself to work for the advanced race. He might acquire the civilized skills and become a craftsman in the multi-racial society. Then he might take a further step to change his modes of living as his income increased. His food, clothes and many social habits might be changed. Further assimilation would be political assimilation. He might vote in the same roll with the individuals of the advanced race and he might even hold public office in the government. The last step of assimilation would be naturally racial assimilation in the form of inter-marriage. This policy would never be accepted in South Africa. The European might have no objection to the first three steps of cultural, economic and social assimilation. In fact they reject the whole development because they know the outcome would be racial assimilation. Racial assimilation will destroy both apartheid and racial domination.

4. Trusteeship and Apartheid

The name trusteeship came after the first World War while the former German and Italian colonies in Africa were under the Trusteeship of the League of Nations. "There should be applied the principle," the League of Nations proclaimed, "that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization."¹

.

1. Oldham, Christianity and Race Problems, p. 100

It was called a "sacred trust" to rule in the interest of the indigenous race. This rule was to come to an end as soon as the aboriginal race was politically mature. In South Africa this would mean as Senator Brooks of South Africa claims:

the gradual extension of the vote on a common roll to all the people who have accepted Western civilization; the gradual abolition of the colour bar in industry, with proper safeguards to European workers; eventual compulsory education for Africans; the increase of land available for African occupation; the provision of sub-economic housing for urban Africans; the abolition of legislation that restricts the free movement of Africans.¹

Trusteeship will not be accepted in South Africa because the white man wants to keep his rule forever, the Native will not be brought up to the level where the latter may compete with the former politically, economically and culturally. In this connection, trusteeship is totally contradictory to apartheid.

5. Apartheid and Liberalism

The liberal in South Africa claims to love liberty and wants to have it extended to every one regardless of his colour and race, not like the English man, as Professor Hoernle says, "a man whose birthright is liberty is an English man, or at least a white man, and no non-European is a man within the meaning of the formula,"² nor like the Boers who fled from the English persecution to preserve their free-

.

1. Marquard, op. cit., p. 159

2. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 127

dom on the one hand and subjected the Natives into slavery on the other. The liberal race policy claims liberty for every one regardless of his race that he may do his best to obtain the highest possible happiness in this life and benefit society as a whole to the utmost. The liberal does not claim equality on a racial basis but on a cultural basis. As a liberal, Professor R.F. Hoernle set forth his racial view as:

...equality not...uniformity. The liberal spirit may foster and encourage differences, provided they are different forms of human excellence, or different values which make human life worth living. What the liberal spirit is pledged to resist is the denial to any human being, or group of human beings, of the opportunity of achieving such excellence, or filling their lives with such values as they are capable of. It opposes those man-made inequalities of opportunity and power which secure fullness of life to some whilst denying it to others. There is nothing in the liberal ideal, so interpreted, which implies that there is only one pattern of life worth living; on the contrary, to limit the development of excellences, other than one's own or those of one's own culture, is to be illiberal.¹

Before the liberal's eyes, a man is not a race but an individual. What matters in a man is not his blood but the attainment of culture, not necessarily the European culture only but all cultures alike, or at least the potentially being able to do it is what matters.

In the eyes of apartheid, man is not considered as an individual but as a race. His value lies not in him-

.

1. Ibid., p. 130

self but in the race he belongs to. Mr. Dvorin describes the spirit of apartheid in the following excerpt

Thus in the idealized community which apartheid envisages racial derivation is the sine qua non which determines the role of the individual in the community and the benefits to be conferred on the members of this multi-racial society. The organization of the community is to be determined by racial principles arrived at and applied by the white element of the population. Natural law is replaced by a racial law.

The implication of such a theory is that the existence of a 'natural', 'common' or 'universal' man is denied and that men are conceived as only members of different races. The destiny of an entire people is to be governed by racial law. The 'good' in life thus becomes associated with that which is to be preserved at all costs, that is, the white race and its European culture.¹

E. Apartheid and Christianity

The million Separatist Africans are a live protest to the injustice of the Christian Church in the land. The church cannot wash her hands and place the blood of apartheid entirely upon the Government.

These foregoing facts and arguments, true and honest as they appear, should be the evidences to a further analysis of the apartheid policy from the standpoint of Christianity.

To substitute the word Church with "Christianity" here is significant. Concluded from the light of church

.

1. Dvorin, op. cit., p. 56

history, the Christian Church was never, nor is, infallible. She has sinned and betrayed her Christ again and again. But a Christian needs not to fix his eyes on the church on earth, it is Christ and his mind which never fail.

A Christian should never feel discouraged with the imperfections and shortcomings of his time. But he should constantly be seeking, with an unquenchable hope, the truth, goodness and justice. These are independent and self-evident, and cannot be eradicated.

1. Social Equality

Before J.H. Oldham wrote on the equality of man in his book, "Christianity and Race Relations," he elaborated on man's inequalities in a previous chapter.¹ It is a biological and ethnological fact that man is not equal to man in talents or heritage. "Men are not equal" Dr. Oldham says, "in their capacity to serve the community, nor are they equal in their needs."² If the word equality here tends to mean resemblance, it is contrary to the natural law which eliminates the varieties of nature which would eventually suffocate the living impulse of mutual communication.

As a matter of fact, no one has ever asked for natural equality. When equality was demanded by a class or a nation, they demanded it with a specific end and target.³

.

1. Cf. Oldham, op. cit., pp. 63-79

2. Ibid., p. 92

3. Ibid., p. 84

They wanted to remove the inequalities which had been imposed by men and to claim for themselves the liberties which others have enjoyed so much.

The social inequalities in South Africa are involved in privileges and means of subsistence of present and future. Here a Coloured man is denied having the same standard of living on the ground of his different heritage and skin, and forced to live in a location where diseases strike the Coloured men as surely as the Whites. In spite of all biological and ethnological differences between the European and Coloured which are fully recognized, how can this colour discrimination and social inequality be justified? The Coloured man was often blamed for alienating himself from his own people, and so excused from sympathy. It is not a question of not being willing to live with his own people but that where his people are, all modern utilities end.

As to education, it is not an end but a means to achieve a more abundant and happier life, if this should be so defined. Slavish imitation of other people and visionless learning offers no great promise. Africa's future development, of course, lies in the genius of the men of the land just as in any other European country. Indeed, one should expect that many Shakespeares, Byrons, Goethes, and Newtons would come out from this immense land with all its mental and other potentialities of its one hundred million inhabitants, which will contribute a still richer civilization to the

world. One should not, of course, expect the African poet to be like the English poet. It is a pity and also a loss when a race loses its distinctiveness and becomes a bad imitation of other races. But the question is not solved by forcing one race "to develop on its own line" and then to debar it from free access to other civilizations. Separate academic institutions and universities cannot even be justified. For all European universities which have been established for generations were not for a temporary purpose, nor were they established for one race alone. If the African is debarred from or deprived of their education, no higher culture of any kind in Africa will likely be forthcoming.¹

According to the past experience, culture grew often from the free contact between peoples. To drive the Native back to the Reserves, to eliminate all their social contacts with Europeans, to debar them from entering European cultural institutions and to deprive them from sharing the common public responsibilities means nothing less than to keep them in perpetual subordination and to take away from them every chance of future advance.

The churches of South Africa of both English and African speaking population denounce mixed marriage

.....

1. Ibid., p. 173

between black and white races. With the past experiences, especially in the Cape in view, one should view the situation with a great sympathy. No one can deny that there are differences between the races which did not, and will not in the near future, give promise of a happy family life. Nor can one erase from history, the bitter experiences of the past. If mixed marriage has proved to be evil, it must be stopped.

But the idea of the State taking away this freedom by legislation in a matter which is essentially private in nature is invading the individual's inalienable right and stultifying the mentality of the (implicitly implied) inferior race, not just in South Africa but all over the world.¹

In light of the Old Testament, many Jews saw nothing wrong in mixed marriage. The stream of Jewish blood indeed had constantly received alien mixture. The beautiful story of Ruth and Boaz is a plea for the validity of mixed marriage. Even David had alien blood.²

In the New Testament there is a thorough-going break with the Jewish ideal of racial purity. In the Christian church there were peoples of all races and tongues. Paul described a new Community in which was neither Greek, nor Jew, Barbarian, Sythian, bond nor free but (where) Christ was all and in all.

.

1. Olivier, op. cit., p. 132

2. Bruce, Race Purity, South African Outlook, Feb. 1, 1951, p. 25

As it has been said before, marriage is essentially an individual matter. A nation does not marry, nor a race, only individuals do. If a mixed marriage proves to be evil, nature(alone) takes care of it. Before the passage of the Mixed Marriage Act in 1950, only forty-two European men married Native women and there was not a single marriage of a European woman and a Native between 1931-1936.¹

2. Political Equality

The problem which arises in matters of Parliamentary representations and rights of enfranchisement in South Africa are involved with local complexities. Failure to recognize these peculiarities with a hasty judgment proves to be unjust itself. Up to the present, the white population counts not more than 2,500,000 people. The Natives and other non-Europeans outnumber the whites five to one. This fact must be taken consideration seriously. This gives ground to Marshall General Christian Smuts' saying that they are a small population and a small civilization.² The threat of number could serious, "For white South Africa" he said, "it is not a question of dignity but a question of existence"³ There is justification for the white man in South Africa to be afraid of this ratio in numbers. His very existence may be endangered, in view of the continuous wars with the Natives.

--.....

1. Burger, Op. cit., p. 192
2. Oldham, Op. cit., p. 188
3. Loc. cit.

Coupled with the difference in numbers, the black race of South Africa is entirely non-homogeneous with the White races. The English are not sure whether they can assimilate the black race, as it is great in numbers and extremely different in its traditions. The present parliamentary system is a point in question. The population ratio makes proportional representation a danger to the White man's control. But the national and social life will surely change in South Africa.

The idea of keeping a white supremacy was not all together selfish. Apparently, the elements for good government, happy community and prosperous nation such as knowledge, virtues, skills and experiences are associated mostly, if not exclusively, with the white skin. True as this seems to be, to keep the white dominant means to insure good government, social security and prosperity for the land better than the people have ever seen in their lives.

To the Europeans themselves this dominance is a matter of their own interests and even of the interests of their many, many generations. Self-preservation, fear, stimulus of opportunities ahead, age-long bias on race relations allow them little freedom of seeing any alternative beyond their own horizon. Domination itself enhances fear and greed, as a lion over its prey has no time to consider its victim but only to grasp it with all its strength.

Justice, founded on one-sided interest and se-

curity, and the Darwinian idea of survival based on strength and force, plus the Teutonic assumption of greater responsibility and right to be the superior race has no basis in Christianity. "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me."¹ does not praise the strong except as the strong serve the least. Indeed, Christianity breeds strong and unconquerable individuals. A strong Christian is one who is willing to give up his physical force, even tho he can "beseech his Father to send more than twelve legions of angels,"² and humbly serve the weak.

Domination accompanied by mass disenfranchisement cannot produce justice. The Europeans indeed want to be just to the Natives. But in matters which involve group interests and attitudes, no individual nor political parties can afford to act impartially without losing their public vote and support, or refrain from aggressiveness in political matters concerning other classes who are unrepresented. The unrepresented mass of the country is bound to be dispensable. Their interests are neglected.

3. Economic Inequality

If two people, races, or nations dislike each other, they had better stay away from each other. Segregation in residence is an easy way to stop immediate conflicts and

.

1. Matthew 25:40

2. Ibid., 26:54

strife of groups or races. Land segregation, as early proposed, by sincere men, statesmen as well as missionaries in the Cape was not conceived as a matter of economic inequality. It was, as stated, to ease racial tension and avoid the clash of differences simply by a method of escape. Nevertheless, it worked for a while.

Early in Abraham's day, the conflict between Lot's men and his men was settled by separation. "And Abraham said unto Lot,¹ let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee; from me: if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left!"¹ But Abram allowed his opposer, Lot, to choose the land he divided and proved it to be equal and just in the quality as well as the quantity of the allocation.

In South Africa Land Act in 1913, thirteen million morgans of land (most of them were added after twenty years of the passage of the Act) which amounts to only thirteen percent of the total land of the country was allocated to the Natives. As it has been stated in the second chapter, these lands, or Reserves are located either in the desert, or in malaria fever areas, or in mountainous regions. The White man's Parliament dictated this land Act to force

.

1. Genesis, 8:8-9

seventy-five percent of the whole population to be crowded into this thirteen percent area, of the so-called Reserves, as a result.

The Colour Bar Act passed in 1926, debarring a Native from engaging in skilled work, perpetuating his status as a manual servant, and not allowing him a wage of more than one-seventh or one-tenth of the lowest income of a white labourer, cannot be justified in Christian ethics or by a normal human conscience. A black man painted the tops of a lamppost at two shillings a day while a white man painted the bottoms at twenty shillings. This discrepancy cannot be explained by any reason convincing to the black or even to the white.

This one-sided solution hurts both economics and ethics. Under this system of unequal pay for equal work all incentive in the individual is killed and a man is driven to a condition where he works only if he is forced by power or by life's necessities. No creative contribution could ever be expected. Economic inequality takes away from the million Africans opportunities of growth, of bettering their lives and of developing their abilities to the highest.

On the other side, the privileged whites who are so protected by this bestowal on them of unearned distributions, are gradually losing their strength and becoming degenerate. They are merging into a class of so-called "poor whites" who number not less than three hundred thousands,

or fifteen percent of the total white population.¹

5. Religious Equality

Man must be saved by religion because he realizes his finiteness in the immense universe. He must constantly look to a Being who can transcend all barriers, man-made or otherwise, in order to be free himself from the bondage of his limitations of birth or those inflicted on him by his fellowmen by the classifications of class, group, race, or nation.

The heart of Christ is manifested as he says, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven the same is my brother and sister and mother."¹

Colour consciousness creeps into the Church and plagues the Christian's mind, making him more aware of his social or racial ~~superiority~~ than of the presence of God. As a result the Church tries to compromise by this social or racial expediency. To substitute an institution based on social expediency for the church of the Master who died for all men, whether Greek or Barbarian, Jew, or Gentile, who rent asunder the inner veil between God and man, who bridges all gulfs and passes over all barriers of races and castes in order to enable men to worship the same God and to be brothers under the same altar, is doomed to failure.

A statement once made by an uneducated Moslem

.

1. Olivier, *op. cit.*, p.131; Oldham, *op.cit.*, pp.22,23

2. Mark 3:35

guide, recorded years ago, puts many Christian churches to shame and reminds them why thousands have turned away and looked for the bread of life elsewhere.

A visitor to a Mohammedan mosque enquired what place was reserved for the Nawab during divine service. 'What?' exclaimed his guide, 'A place for the Nawab in the House of God? The beggar and the Nawab stand side by side.'¹

F. Summary

This chapter has surveyed how the church has dealt with the racial problem in South Africa specially on the new issue of Apartheid. In theory, the English church opposed apartheid as a policy of domination, political, economic and social. The churchmen thus joined the Natives to ask for justice and equality in opportunities and future development. However, the Reformed Church held to the principle of inequality in social relations and political representation, but tried to keep herself apart from economic issues.

As to the apartheid as a policy of separation, both the churches of the Council and the Reformed Church accepted the general principle as such, but differed in degree and extent.

In church practice, both the churches of the Council and the Reformed Church have separate congregations. However, the churches of the council were prepared to fellow-

.

1. Oldham, op. cit., p. 263

ship with all non-European Christians on equal footing when circumstances allowed, while the Reformed Church strictly allowed no social or religious contacts with non-Europeans on equal terms.

The result of apartheid in the church is a separation of almost a million Natives, seceding from their mother European-run mission church to establish their own so-called Separatist Church, staying out of the white man's control. These churches are racial and anti-European in sentiment. Their existence had nothing to do with theological or ecclesiastical issues nor did they conform to the original principles of the indigineous church.

In conclusion of the chapter, a survey of the world racial theories was given, but there is no possible alternative to apartheid in view of the present attitude of the Europeans in the country.

Concerning attitudes, the author turned his hope to Christianity which alone can change the attitude of the people and ultimately the situation of the country if all others have failed.

This section on the Christian view of race relations aimed to interpret the foregoing facts and arguments from a Christian view or principle, tried to fathom the depth of the Master's mind in facing the realities of race relations. There is no room for speculation here, consideration was only given to the realities of those phenomena, political,

social and economic and above all the truth, goodness and justice which are self-evident and independent of all. The former were created by men and are by-gone facts and history, while the latter is the mind of God to which the former must be reconciled and ultimately be judged.¹ This may be put in another way, the problem of race relations or apartheid is not only a political, social, anthropological or economic problem, but is also a moral and spiritual problem, a problem which cuts across the true moral spirit of Christianity.

.

1. Brooks, op. cit., p. 166

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to discover the forces which have shaped apartheid policy in the past, and to survey how apartheid has worked in the state as well as in the church. In order to fully understand apartheid policy, the world racial theories have been surveyed and compared with apartheid itself. A Christian view was given to differentiate the views of the church, the world theories and the spirit of Christ.

The first chapter has given the forces, such as natural resources, economic system and religious belief, which shaped the apartheid into the modern form through almost three stages, namely: slave trade, religious prejudices and capitalistic exploitation.

The second chapter dealt with the nature and theory of apartheid in the state. Apartheid here is portrayed as a policy of separation as well as domination. It separates the white completely from the black and elevates the former over the latter, socially, economically and politically.

The third chapter has dealt with the attitudes and practices of the Christian churches toward the apartheid policy. Here it is noted that the English-speaking churches oppose this policy, while the Dutch Reformed church stands for it. However, both the English-speaking churches and the Dutch Reformed Church practice apartheid policy in their own

church in form of separate congregations. The result of apartheid in the church is the secession of almost a million African Christians from their European mission churches. There are other racial theories which have been propagated and practiced in other countries, but they are not practical in South Africa because of the white man's dominating attitude. The third chapter was concluded with a Christian view of race relations. The apartheid policy was analyzed in a Christian spirit.

In light of this study, apartheid has sprung up with Capitalism and religious prejudice along with the discoveries of the natural resources in South Africa. Apartheid policy itself is a policy of political domination and economic exploitation which is not only enforced by the white man's government externally, but also strongly supported by the white man's Dutch Reformed Church internally.

In spite of the fact that apartheid involves political, economic, ethnological and social problems, it is, at its root, a moral and spiritual problem. It must be reconciled and will be eventually judged by God. It has become clear that apartheid has been influenced by Calvinistic predestination and Jewish nationalism in its race attitude. It has little ground in the New Testament or in the spirit of Christ.

APPENDIX

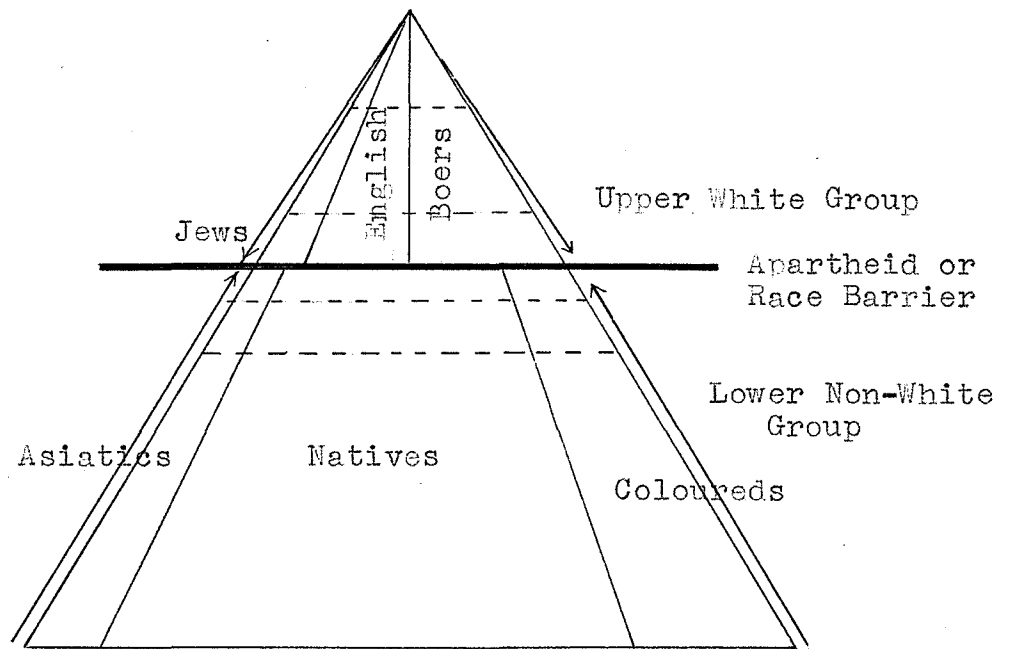


Chart 1

Chart 11. Religions of the Population 1946

Denomination	European	African	Coloured	Total
The Free Dutch Reformed Churches	1,278,000	267,000	292,000	1,837,000
Anglicans	375,000	553,000	186,000	1,114,000
Methodists	181,000	1,008,000	90,000	1,279,000
Roman Catholics	118,000	373,000	56,000	547,000
Presbyterians	95,000	164,000	5,000	264,000
Baptists	24,000	71,000	5,000	100,000
Lutherans	23,000	394,000	48,000	465,000
Congregationalists	13,000	113,000	100,000	226,000

Union Legislations Specially or Differentially
Affecting Natives 1910-1932

South Africa Act, 1909 (Sec. 26,35,44,147 & 151)	
Act 12 of 1911	Mines and Works Act
" 15	" Native Labour Regulation Act
" 1	1912 Natal Native Trust and Native Administration Amendment Act
" 13	" South African Defence Act
" 12	1913 Maclear & Elliot Districts Further Provision Act
" 27	" Natives' Land Act
" 17	1915 Dipping Tanks Further Provision (Natives) Act
" 1	1916 Native Definition Amendment Act
" 48	1919 Native Reserve Locations Act (Cape) Further Amendment Act
" 23	1920 Native Affairs Act
" 24	" Native Registered Voters Relief Act 1887 (Cape) Amendment Act
" 9	1921 Natal Native High Court Act
" 18	" Native Advances Regulation Act
" 21	1923 Natives(Urban) Act
" 7	1924 Native Chief's Jurisdiction (Trans.) Act
" 11	" Industrial Conciliation Act
" 28	" Moraka Wards Relief Act 1924, Release Act
" 27	1925 Native Lands (Natal & Trans.) Release Act
" 41	" Native Taxation & Development Act
" 25	1926 Mines and Works Act 1911 Admendment(Colour Bar Act)
" 26	" Masters and Servants Law (Transvaal and Natal) Admendment
" 27	" Native Affairs Act 1920 Admendment Act
" 28	" Native Taxation and Development Act
" 15	1927 Native Affairs Act 1920
" 34	" Native Lands Further Release and Acquisition Act
" 38	" Native Administration Act
" 22	1928 Old Age Pensions Act
" 30	" Liquor Act
" 9	1929 Native Administration Act 1127
" 18	1930 Woman's Enfranchisement Act
" 19	" Riotous Assemblies (Admen.) Act
" 25	" Natives (Urban) Act 1923
" 24	1932 Native Service Contract Act

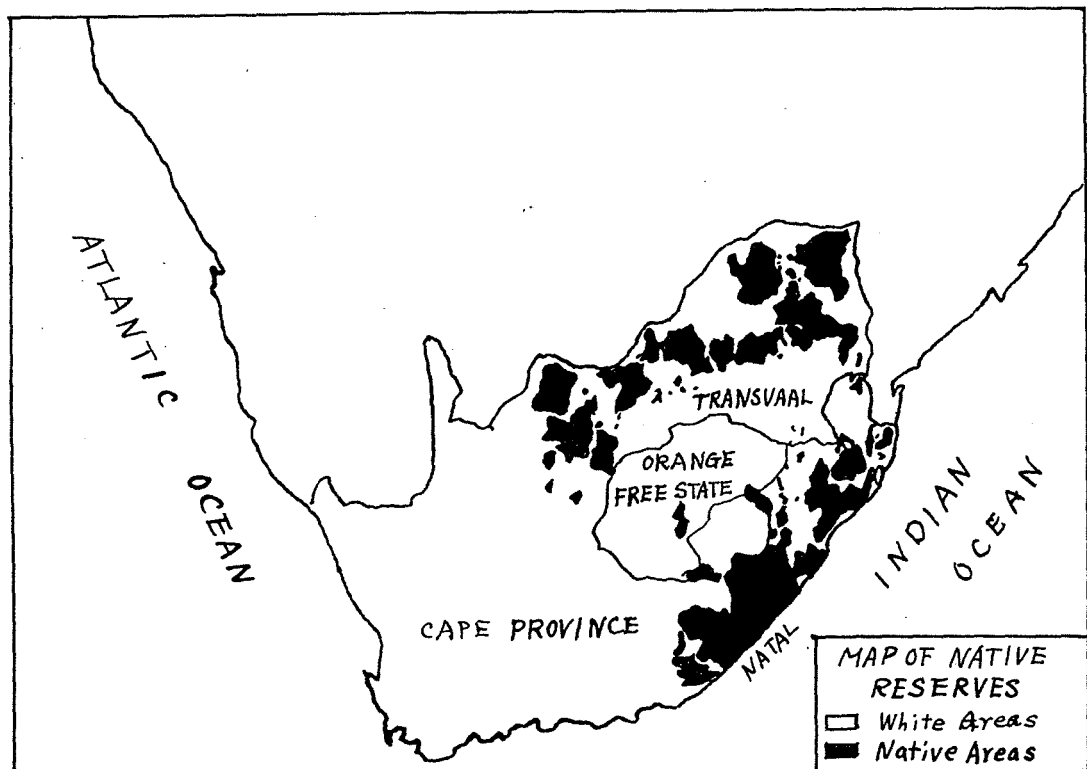


Chart 1. - Map of Native Reserves

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Ardizzone, M.: The Mistaken Lane. Falcon Press, London, 1951.

Ballinger, W.G.: Race and Economics in South Africa. L. and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, London, 1934.

Benedict, Ruth: Race: Science and Politics. The Viking Press, New York, 1945.

Brooks, E.H.: The Colour Problems in South Africa. Lovedale Press, London, 1934.

The Bantu in South African Life. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1947.

The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830-date. J.L.Van Schaik Ltd., Pretoria, 1927.

South Africa Faces U.N.O. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1947.

We Come of Age. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1949.

Burger, J. (pseud.): The Black Man's Burden. Gollancz, London, 1943.

Campbell, A.: South Africa, What now? Capetown Stewart, Capetown, 1947.

Christian Council of South Africa: Christian Reconstruction in South Africa. Lovedale Press, 1942.

The Christian Handbook of South Africa. The Lovedale Press, 1938.

The Churches' Judgment on 'Apartheid'. The Civic Rights League, Cape Town, 1949.

- Clayton, G.H.: Who Pays for Bantu Progress? Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1941.
- Cotton, W.A.: The Race Problem in South Africa. Student Christian Movement, London, 1926.
- Davies, H.: Great South African Christians. O.P.U., London, 1952.
- Davidson, B.: Report on Southern Africa. London, 1952.
- de Kiewiet, C.W.: A History of South Africa. Oxford University Press, London, 1941.
- Du Bois, W.E.B.: The World and Africa. The Viking Press, New York, 1947.
- Dvorin, E.P.: Race Separation in South Africa. Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1952.
- Grant, E.W.: South Africa -- What of the Church? Edinburgh House, London, 1952.
- Grubb, K.G.: Christian Handbook of South Africa. Dominion, London, no date.
- Hatch, John: The Dilemma of South Africa. Dobson, London, 1952.
- Hellmann, E.: Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa. Oxford University Press for South Africa Institute of Race Relations, New York, 1949.
- Hoernle, R.F.A.: South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit, Lovedale Press, 1947.
- Hofmayr, L.H.: Christian Principles and Race Relations. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1945.
- Joshi, P.S.: The Tyranny of Colour. Private Printed, Durban, South Africa, 1942.
- Keppel-Jones, A.: Race or Civilization -- Who is Destroying Civilization in South Africa? Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1952.

South Africa -- A Short History. Hutchinson's University Library, New York, 1949.

When Smuts Goes. Cape Town, 1947.

Friend or Foe. Cape Town, 1948.

Kirk, John: The Economic Aspect of Native Segregation in South Africa. P.S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1929.

Loram, C.T.: Native Progress and Improvement in Race Relations in South Africa, 1911-1931.
Dillard, James Hardy, Twenty year report of the Phelps-Stokes fund, 1932.

Mac Crone, L.: Group Conflicts and Race Prejudice. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1947.

Mackenzie, W.D.: South Africa, Its History, Heroes and Wars, J. Dewing Co., San Francisco, 1899.

Macmillan, W.M.: Complex South Africa. Faber, London, 1930.

Malhere, E.G.: Race Attitude and Education. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1946.

Marquard, Leo.: The Peoples and Politics of South Africa. Oxford University Press, New York, 1952.

Mockford, J.: The Golden Land, a Background to South Africa. Black, London, 1949.

Morrow, W.: Jan Christian Smuts. William Morrow & Co., Inc., New York, 1952.

Nelson, W.S.: The Christian Way in Race Relations. Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1947.

Oldham, J.H.: Christianity and the Race Problem. Student Christian Movement, London, 1924.

Olivier, L.: The Anatomy of African Misery. Leonard & Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press, London, 1927.

- Paton, A.: Christian Unity -- a South African View.
Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1951.
- Cry, the Beloved Country. Scribner's, New
York, 1948.
- South Africa Today. Phelps-Stokes Fund,
New York, 1951.
- Plessis, J.D.: A History of Christian Missions in
South Africa. Longman's Green & Co., New
York, 1911.
- Rous, E.: Tims Longer Than Rope. Cape Town, 1948.
- Sachs, E.: The Choice Before South Africa. Turnstile,
London, 1952.
- Schapera, I.: Western Civilization and the Natives
of South Africa. Routledge, London, 1934.
- Migrant Labour and Tribal Life. O.U.P.,
London, 1947.
- Shepherd, R.H.W. and Paver, B.G.: African Contrast.
Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1947.
- Smuts, J.C.: The Basis of Trusteeship. Johannesburg,
South Africa Institute of Race Relations,
Johannesburg, 1942.
- Soper, E.D.: Racism, a World Issue. Abingdon-Cokesbury
Press, New York, no date.
- Sundkler, B.G.M.: Bantu Prophets in South Africa.
Lutterworth Press, London, 1948.
- Suzman, H.: A Digest of the Native Laws. Johannesburg,
South Africa Institute of Race Relations,
Johannesburg, 1948.
- Taylor, J.D.: Christianity and the Natives of South
Africa. Lovedale Press, Johannesburg, 1927.
- Thompson, L.M.: Democracy in Multi-racial Society.
Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of
Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1951.

Tingley, J.M.: The Native Labour Problem in South Africa.
O.U.P., London, 1942.

Vander Merwe, W.J.: The Development of Missionary
Attitudes in the Dutch Reformed Churches of
South Africa. Nasionale Pers. Bpk., Cape-
Town, 1936.

verwoerd, H.F.: Apartheid Policy. Union of South Africa
Information Office, 1950.

Whyte, Q.: Apartheid and Other Policies. Johannesburg
South Africa Institute of Race Relations,
Johannesburg, 1949.

Walker, O.: Kaffairs and Lively. London, 1949.

Welsh, R.S.: The Law Relating to Natives in Urban
Areas. Johannesburg, 1946.

Periodicals and Pamphlets

Apartheid on Cape Trains: Weekly News Letter, August 23,
1948.

Bruce G.: Race Purity. South African Outlook, February 1,
1951.

The Christian Council of South Africa. South African Out-
look, May 1, 1941.

Church Opposition to 'Apartheid' Growing, Christian
Century, November 16, 1949.

The Coloured Franchise. Race Relations News, March, 1951

Commission Handicapped in Buying Land for Natives. Weekly
News Letter, No. 464, October 25, 1948.

Considerable Native Support for Apartheid Policy. Weekly
News Letter, January 13, 1951.

Defiant South Africa. Christian Century, September 28,
1949.

The Doctrine of Apartheid. Round table, December, 1948,
June, 1949.

The Dutch Reformed Churches Call for Root and Branch Separation. South African Outlook, May 1, 1950.

The Dutch Reformed Church and the Colour Bar. The South African Outlook, May 1, 1950.

Dvorin, E.P.: The Theory of Apartheid. Western Political Quarterly, March, 1951.

Eiselen, W.W.M.: Meaning of Apartheid. Race Relations, No. 3, December 1948.

Gerdener, G.B.A.: Dutch Reformed Church and the Racial Situation in South Africa, Race Relations, No. 1-2, 1950.

The Crux of the Racial Situation in South Africa, International Review of Missions, July, 1949.

Grant, E.W.: The Christian Council of South Africa. International Review of Missions, July 1944.

Group Areas Bill passed in the Assembly. Weekly News Letter, Jan. 3, 1950.

Hatch, John: Malan Sows the Wind. New Statesman and Nation, April 28, 1951.

Hoernle, A.W.: Alternative to Apartheid. Race Relations, No. 3, 1948.

How Group Areas Act Will be Applied. Weekly News Letter, No. 565, October 7, 1950.

Jabavu, D.D.T.: The Segregation Fallacy -- a Native's View. Lovedale Institute Press, 1928.

Jack, Homer, A.: What is This Apartheid? Christian Century, September 24, 1952.

Kirkwood, K.: The Group Areas Act. Johannesburg, South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1951.

Loram, C.T.: The Separatist Church Movement. International Review of Missions, July, 1926.

Dr. Malan Reiterates his Colour Policy. Weekly News Letter, December 4, 1948.

Meer, A.I. : Separation or Co-operation? Race Relation, No.3, 1947.

Minister Appeals for Goodwill Between White and Black. Weekly News Letter, Nov. 25, 1950.

Mokitimi, S.: Apartheid and the Christian Spirit. International Review of Missions, July, 1949.

The Most Rev. the Archbishop of Cape Town: Christianity and Race Relations. Race Relations, Nos. 1-2, 1950.

Nationalist Non-European Policy. Weekly News Letter, January 29, 1949.

Native Policy of the Union 1910-1932. The Round Table, June, 1932.

Native Teacher Asks for Fair Trial of Apartheid. Weekly News Letter, October 18, 1948.

New York Times. New York, Dec. 9, 1952; Feb. 2, 28, 1953.

Nicol, W.: Why the Christian Council Failed. South African Outlook, December 1, 1941.

Noted Dutch Reformed Church Scholar and Apartheid. South African Outlook, January 1, 1950.

Pamphlet published by the Nationalist Party in South Africa, 1948.

Prime Minister Addresses Natives. Weekly News Letter, November 1, 1948.

Prime Minister Pledges Racial Co-operation. Weekly News Letter, January 21, 1948.

Prime Minister Tells How Coloureds will Benefit Under Apartheid. Weekly News Letter, November 27, 1948.

Proposed Abolition of Native Representation. Weekly News Letter, August, 1948.

Report of: South Africa General Missionary Conference
from 1904 on.

Christian Council: Race -- What Does the
Bible Say? 1952.

The Christian Council Quarterly

Toward a Christian South Africa, published
by the Methodist Church of South Africa,
1944.

A Report of the Rosettenville Conference, Christian
Council, Lovedale Press, 1949

Scott, H.S.: the Christian Churches and the Colour
Bar. International Review of Missions,
July, 1942.

Shepherd, R.H.W. & Grant, Ed.W.: The Chris-
tian Council of South Africa. International
Review of Missions, July, 1944.

The South African Problem From Three Different Angles:
International Review of Missions, July, 1926.

Taylor, A.W.: The Christian Council of South Africa.
South African Outlook, May 1, 1941.

What African Church Leaders are Thinking: the South
African Outlook, February 1, 1951.