

PART

I

THE ROOTS OF AFRIKANER  
NATIONALISM

## 1 • THE ORIGINS OF APARTHEID

### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

### DEFINING APARTHEID.

**A**PARTHEID is the doctrine by which the South African Government regulates the relations between its black and white citizens. It is a doctrine that constitutes the most urgent and potentially explosive problem that faces the free world—a problem that will have to be solved quickly and effectively on the African continent in order to persuade large numbers of Africans to keep to the democratic side of the ideological fence. For the emergence of independent African states has stimulated a consciousness of solidarity and brought about a unity of purpose among the Africans that could very well push black and white South Africans to war. As will be shown later, factors are already at work pushing events in this direction.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the African nationalist, who is the most determined advocate of race oppression, regards apartheid as something higher than a mere political formula. He sees it as a way of life, a world outlook by which to create for himself the social order after his design. He accepts apartheid as a vindication of himself, a guarantee of physical, cultural, and economic security and survival. It is the creation of his history, the concrete achievement that marks his moment of fulfillment.

His community came into being just about three hundred years ago. This, coupled with the pressures that affected his life after his ancestors had settled in the Cape, has made him regard

FREE WORLD: AN  
UNPROBLEMATIC CONCEPT  
NOVBARIE.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICA:

- ① STIMULATED A CONSCIOUSNESS OF SOLIDARITY &
- ② BROUGHT ABOUT A UNITY OF PURPOSE AMONG AFRICANS.

AFRICAN  
NATIONALISM.

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM SEES HISTORY AS AN EXPERIENCE IN VINDICATION

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history as an experience in vindication. The past is real because it is reflected in the present. The defeat suffered by his forefathers a hundred years ago is not a moment in the life of a growing nation; it is the personal crisis which gives form to his attitude toward the first African he meets. This makes apartheid a unique phenomenon in Africa. It develops contradictions in the Afrikaner's make-up which complicate his relations with all the nonwhite peoples of Africa. In vindicating himself, he is haunted by a consciousness of crisis that he cannot escape. As a result, history to him is a continually unfolding experience whose real validity lies not so much in its being a guide to the future as in being a justification. Apartheid is thus also a reaction to the pressures which gave meaning, form, and direction to his life in the past. When pressed to modify it, he is bewildered. In his view, all this is tantamount to saying he should renounce the world he has created for himself. He feels he is being pressed to give up the sources of inspiration for his culture. In the final analysis, he concludes that he is being asked to sign his own death warrant, and his natural reaction is to fight to defend what he regards as his own. He does not really mind standing alone while doing this. If he goes under fighting, that would be right and proper for him.

On quite another plane, his determination rests also on a limited understanding of the motivating urges which lie deepest in contemporary humanity's bosom. His ancestors arrived in South Africa at a time when evaluations of the human personality were not what they are today—when political absolutism, for example, was accepted as the attribute of governmental power by most people in Europe. His subsequent isolation and his present encounter with the modern world produce emotional crises, among others, which make it difficult for him to accept wholly the fact that the African and he have precisely the same humanity.

→ To understand the factors which have produced this state of mind, we have to go back to 1652. For then Jan van Riebeeck, a Hollander, landed at the Cape of Good Hope with a group of men and women who had been sent out by the Dutch East India

→ FROM THE MOMENT OF ENCOUNTER BE TWEEN BLACKS & WHITES: VIOLENCE, APPROPRIATION, THE ORIGINS OF APARTHEID. EXPLOITATION, OPPRESSION, DOMINATION.

Company to establish a (victualing) station for its ships sailing between Europe and the Orient. Van Riebeeck found the Cape inhabited by a number of African tribes whom he collectively called the Hottentots, from the way they spoke. These were a seminomadic, cattle-rearing people, and his contact with them started South Africa's race problem. Almost from the moment he landed at the Cape, three influences came into operation. The arrival of white settlers and their establishment of a separate colony on land that the Africans regarded as their own was an important assertion of white initiative as the main factor which was to regulate future relations between black and white. Since the company had sent out van Riebeeck without prior consultation or negotiation with any of the Hottentot chiefs, it apparently looked to the use of the gun to justify its claims to the Cape settlement. ✓

\*On the other hand, the Africans regarded the arrival of the white man, with varying degrees of determination, as an encroachment on their land, on the pastures where they grazed their stock. The climax to the friction that developed was reached about a year after van Riebeeck's arrival, for in 1653, the Hottentots made a bold bid to stop white encroachments on their land. They raided the company's cattle post, killed the herdboy, David Jansen, and made away with over forty<sup>1</sup> of the company's cattle. This collision represented an attempt to assert African initiatives as the main factor by which to regulate future relations between black and white. To assert the authority of the white man, van Riebeeck sent out a small expedition against the Hottentots to recover the cattle. The resultant clash in 1653 was the first war in which black and white initiatives collided openly. ✓

Friction continued between the Africans and the whites. By 1660, van Riebeeck had been compelled to pursue a vigorous policy of residential segregation in endeavors to protect his group against the Hottentots. After the war fought with the Kaapmen (another Hottentot group) during that same year, he took over the Liesbeeck lands and enclosed them within a fence to mark

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), p. 38.

\*NORBANNE: INCLUDES THE KHOISAN AS PART OF BLACK PEOPLE.

AT THE MOUTH OF THE OCEAN...  
 OVER THE OCEAN...  
 BY THE OCEAN...  
 TO THE OCEAN...  
 FROM THE OCEAN...  
 TO THE OCEAN...  
 FROM THE OCEAN...  
 TO THE OCEAN...  
 FROM THE OCEAN...  
 TO THE OCEAN...

AFRIKANER BELONGS TO VINDICATE HIS OWN

AFRIKANER IS AN INITIATIVE, MAIN FACTOR TO REGULATE RELATIONS TO

them out as white territory. The whites were to keep to one side of the fence, the Africans to the other, and trading was to be done at the fort.

\*Economic and physical imperatives constituted the third influence at work on the Cape, but these recognized no boundaries.

The demand for beef forced van Riebeeck to jump over his fences to send messengers to the Hottentots with these words: "You must try every imaginable means to persuade them to come to the fort or at least to send some of their people with you."<sup>2</sup>

The scarcity of marriageable women gave him another kind of headache. In keeping "with East Indian precedents [he] had recommended mixed marriages, and Jan Wouter had duly wedded Catherine, a freed woman, daughter of Antonio of Bengal. . . .

Van Meerhof, the doughty explorer, married Eva, a Hottentot. He was the first European to marry a Cape Native and received promotion to the rank of surgeon as a wedding present from the Company."<sup>3</sup>

But while the clash between black and white initiatives produced war and segregation, economic and physical realities moved events in the direction of integration. This contradiction has always been basic in the relations between black and white, and one of the most significant reasons behind it was that the company saw no valid reason for laying down a clearly defined racial policy as long as its ships were properly victualled at the Cape. It issued various decrees, or placaaten, from time to time, the central theme of which was to instruct van Riebeeck and his successors to react in ways that would best safeguard its interests. Thus, from the very beginning, neither black nor white had any clearly stated set of principles on which to base their attitudes toward each other. To the African, the white man was the invader who would, whenever the opportunity permitted, be butchered or pushed into the sea. To the white settler, the African was the primitive barbarian who opposed the march of progress and civilization. If he could not be bribed, then he had to be shot into submission.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

\* THE STRUGGLE OF  
CIVILIZATION & PROGRESS  
AGAINST BARBARISM.

The Cape settlement had not been in existence for long when a trend started that was to contribute immensely toward giving permanence to the confused pattern of race relations then being evolved. The men whom van Riebeeck had brought to the Cape with him had come out as the servants of the company; as long as they were bound to it, their dealings with the Africans were limited by its interests. But when some of them retired from active service, they decided to settle down at the Cape instead of returning to Holland, and they supported themselves by cultivating wheat and vegetables. They became, in short, the members of a new social class—the free burghers, who were not under the authority of the company in the way its employees were. Their emergence affected the settlement in two important ways: Their desire for more land for themselves sharpened the conflict with the Hottentots, and the company came to assume the function of a colonizing power. Its interests in the Cape were no longer just economic; the political factor entered as well.

This subtle transformation in the character of the company was not accompanied by corresponding changes in the attitude toward the Cape. The directors continued to regard the Cape as a commercial venture. The settlement was run as a victualing station without adequate provision being made for the political tensions that were to develop from the existence of a growing class of free burghers. But as long as the merchants constituted the most important class of free burghers, the problems were not apparent, for it was in the interests of the merchants to be amenable to the discipline of the company. In 1688, French Huguenot refugees, who arrived with new ideas on the manufacture of wine, swelled the numbers of the free burghers and diversified their economic interests. The pressure on the Hottentots to give up more land for white occupation was therefore intensified. And as the white population grew and prospered, the social stratifications at the Cape assumed a more complex form—slave labor, for example, was imported from Madagascar and the Dutch East Indies—so that by the end of the seventeenth century these stratifications had been cast into molds from which the present race crisis in South Africa derives its form.

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION?  
AT THIS MOMENT WHICH THE...  
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\* A STRONG TENDENCY  
CONTRARY TO THE  
TENDENCY OF THE  
AFRICANS

NON-RACIAL EMPLOYERS A CLASS ANALYSIS;

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WITHOUT THE REVERSAL TO UNOCCUPY LATER AMONG AFRICANS.

Let us first follow the exploits of the burghers more closely: By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the population of the Cape consisted of the whites, their slaves, and the free blacks. The whites belonged to two main classes—the employees of the company and the free burghers. The latter were further divided into three distinct sections—the merchants, the wheat and wine farmers, and the stockowners. The first two were more closely attached to the company, and up to a point they depended on it for the disposal of their produce. In addition, they were often in communication with Holland and Europe through the ships that called at the Cape. Hence they were never cut off from the main stream of European civilization for long periods. In their public and private lives, as well as in their homes, they attempted to follow as closely as possible the patterns of life they had known in Europe: They maintained fairly high standards of refinement in their manners and erected beautiful homes in and around Cape Town. Partly as a result, the Cape Afrikaner nationalist is a more refined and more sensitive person than his brother in the northern provinces.

Commerce, trade, and wheat farming soon became inadequate means of supporting the growing numbers of free burghers. The most enterprising of them turned, in ever increasing numbers, to stock farming. The life they led—moving with their stock from point to point—was in many ways different from that of the whites in Cape Town. They became seminomads, who roamed the plains in search of better grazing lands. This circumstance progressively cut them off from the refinements of life in the metropolis and increasingly made them strangers to the main stream of European civilization. For life in the hinterland was harsh, primitive, and full of all sorts of dangers, including man-eating animals. The farmers were often isolated by long distances from their neighbors. The people with whom they lived most of the time were their slaves; occasionally, however, they were with Hottentot tribesmen. Both black and white existed at about the same economic level, ate more or less the same type of food, and the stock farmers built mud huts whose floors were smeared over with cow dung or fat like those of their African neighbors.

CAPE

CIVILIZATION

DISTINCTION THROUGH MARRIAGES

ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD

\* PARTICIPATION OF COMPANY CIVILIZATION

\* ABSENCE OF A POWERFUL POLITICAL AUTHORITY AT ANY ONE TIME

They faced other troubles, too. They were always a minority, both in the white group, and among the Africans; and they were not exactly comfortable, living as they did almost at the level of the Africans, some of whom they owned as slaves!

Their biggest headache was the fear of extinction. Small numbers in a hostile environment made this a real fear. In periods of conflict, the Africans fought to exterminate the white men. Since they were out to rid their country of the white pestilence, they took no prisoners of war. Anything that reduced white numbers lowered the Europeans' fighting potential and, therefore, their capacity to survive.

The threat of extinction came also from another side. Living so close to the racially and culturally different African, some of the white farmers resisted with difficulty, while others did not overcome the temptation to cross the color line in search of mates. Miscegenation could have had the disastrous effect of depleting the numbers of a small and foreign minority. The man who crossed over, as Coenraad du Buys and others were to do, was as good as dead in the eyes of the other farmers. In these circumstances, protection for the group lay in developing a form of social coherence and a group exclusiveness that virtually refused to recognize the African as a human being.

The more the stock farmers moved into the interior, the less dependent on the company they became for protection against the Africans. This weakened their bonds with the authority in the metropolis at a time when another factor was creeping in to complicate the relationship. The company had never succeeded in evolving a clearly understood political philosophy to give direction to life at the Cape; instead, a policy of virtual drift had been dictated by its commercial interests. This convinced the farmers that the company was interested only in their money and not in their welfare. The absence of a powerful political philosophy linking the company and the burghers won increasing numbers of them to the view that they had to carve out their own political destiny by themselves if they were to survive as a distinct white group.

Other complications came in. Since the Cape Town authority

THE THREAT OF EXTINCTION

\* BRILLIANT HISTORICAL APPROACH

\* CARVING POLITICAL DESTINY

FACILITATED

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NOVOBANIC NOT A RABID AFRICAN NATIONALIST;  
SHOWING MORE EMPATHY TOWARDS WHITES.

AFRICA MUST BE BEING THE 10TH  
OF THE 19TH CENTURY REVOLUTION  
THE ORIGINS OF APARTHEID • 11

had been as dictatorial as its servants were rapacious, the company was finding itself in increasingly difficult financial situations. Its fortunes had begun to show signs of decline by the end of the seventeenth century. This affected the standards of living at the Cape. The farmers had difficulties in disposing of their produce, taxes tended to rise, and yet nothing concrete could be shown in return.

PROVIDED RESERVATIONS

These difficulties encouraged the farmers continually to cross the boundaries of the company's area of jurisdiction. They could then be free to make better use of their lives, away from what they regarded as the tyranny of Cape Town. The company replied by running after them and by extending its borders. And this process had the effect of pushing the whites farther into the interior and bringing them closer to the more powerful Xosa Africans. Although the whites in Cape Town had originally introduced the idea of segregating themselves behind van Riebeeck's fences, economic and other pressures had forced them to disregard their own boundaries. This process was to be repeated during the next hundred years, bringing more and more of the land the Africans owned under white occupation. It was accelerated after the Great Trek and led, finally, to the complete takeover by the whites and the consolidation of the process when the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910.

The estrangement between the stock farmers and the Cape Town authority was affected by the quality of the ideals associated with the French Revolution in a very interesting manner. When trouble developed between the Africans and the farmers in the eastern Cape, Governor van der Graaff had sent out H. C. Maynier, a man of liberal views, to collaborate with J. J. Wagenaar, the secretary of the Graaff-Reinet magistrate, in restoring the relations between black and white to normality. Maynier's view was that if the farmers were in trouble they were not wholly free from blame. So, when he became secretary upon Wagenaar's retirement, the farmers felt outraged by the appointment. It projected government policy as being modeled on the principle that the black man had the right to be treated like a white person. The support given Maynier by the government

WHITES AGAINST ANY EQUALITY  
BETWEEN THE TWO RACES

was regarded by the farmers as an endorsement of racial policies that threatened their physical survival. In the end, the farmers got together and expelled Maynier from Graaff-Reinet.

The remarkable thing about this dramatic rejection of the main ideals of the French Revolution as expounded from the government side is that within a very short time the farmers did a complete about-face to embrace those very ideals in order to support their revolt against the Cape Town authority. Some communities, notably at Graaff-Reinet itself and Swellendam, threw out government officers and proclaimed themselves sovereign independent states. To be in line with the French revolutionaries, they also called themselves the "nationals," hoisted their version of the tricolor, and elected their own "government." Another contradiction in the evolution of the Afrikaner's attitude toward race was also making itself clear. Truth was being judged from the perspective of race. This would give it one form of validity on the white side of the color line and another among the Africans. The ideals of the French Revolution were good when they inspired the farmers' revolt against Cape Town; they were bad when Cape Town acted on them, rather timidly, to regulate the relations between black and white.

The real significance of the risings, however, is that they resulted largely from the company's failure to evolve a unifying political philosophy for the administration of the Cape settlement. This failure had led to a political vacuum which had never been filled. When the French Revolution came, the farmers borrowed its ideals to fill the vacuum and give content to their revolt. Viewed in this light, the risings could also be said to have been the political expression of the feeling of community which was slowly welding the farmers into a distinctive cultural group. It was motivated by the desire to insure that white initiatives remained the dominant influence in the life of the Cape, as well as to fix the pattern of relations between black and white. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the stock farmers had met the Xosa-speaking Africans, who belong to the same family as the Sutu and the fighting Zulus. Unlike the Hottentots, the Xosas made it unmistakably clear at the very outset that they

(DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL GROUP)  
POLITICAL EXPRESSION OF THE FEELING  
OF COMMUNITY

ABSENCE OF A UNIFYING  
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

NOVOBANIC WAS TO  
BY TRAPPAZE TOO  
HITLERS.

XHOSAS  
XHOSAS FORMERLY KNOWN AS DUTCH WHITES  
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were determined to resist forcefully any encroachments on their lands. This started a war of conquest between the Africans and the whites which was to be waged with brief intervals of peace for well over a hundred years. The Xosas were unlike the Hottentots in one other respect—they were not nomads; rather, they were stock farmers and tillers of the soil. They had their own forms of government and ran states that showed a remarkable capacity to withstand the shock of the white man's gun. Their generals were brave and skillful fighters, and they succeeded at least in bringing the white march to a temporary stop. The bitterness which these wars generated left an indelible mark on the white farmers.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES  
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The religious and cultural differences between the farmers and the Africans were another factor that affected the relations between them. The majority in the Dutch-Huguenot community were Calvinist fundamentalists. They accepted the pattern of society in which the whites were masters as the visible expression of the divine will; they took every word in the Bible as revealed truth and believed that the African Negro was the delinquent descendant of the Semitic Noah. Hence, the blacks had been created to serve the whites. For the African to claim equality with, or challenge the authority of, the white man was an outrage indistinguishable from treason and sacrilege. Then, too, the ancestors of the Cape Dutch had left Europe when absolutism was accepted as the main attribute of governmental authority. Fulfillment for the individual lay in obedience. These people had not been exposed to the liberalizing doctrines of the French Revolution, which emphasized the right of the individual to liberty and equality.

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These two factors combined to give rise to an inflexible attitude that saw men from the perspective of the group. Man's destiny was regarded as having been predetermined by a Higher Being, whose sole representatives were the white race. The will of the representatives was the law for those created for a lower destiny. To challenge this was to question God's infallibility.

This outlook, which we shall refer to as the fundamentalist dynamic, has played and continues to play a very important role

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CHRISTIANITY ←  
→ LIBERALIZING DOCTRINES OF THE

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in the life and thinking of the Afrikaners. It has been upheld by the Dutch Reformed Church, by Afrikaner universities, and by predominantly Afrikaner political parties. (It might be pointed out in passing that the relationship between the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the government was unique from the very beginning. The ministers at the Cape were the servants of the company, since they were maintained or transferred by it. The link with authority was thus strong from the beginning.)

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All the factors discussed so far combined to transform the stock farmers into a hardy, crude, fearless, ruthless, self-conscious, and ruggedly individualistic community with a personality that was to become more distinctive as new pressures from outside made their impact on it. The influences that gave meaning to their life were the Bible, the gun, their hatred of the African and of constituted authority, their deep-seated sense of inadequacy, their self-reliance, their belief in repudiation, and their pride in their uniqueness. They regarded themselves as having nothing in common—other than race, language, and religion—with the sophisticated citizens of the metropolis. To emphasize this fact, they called themselves the Trekboers—the emigrant farmers. The Trekboers were that section of the Dutch-Huguenot community which spearheaded the movement of revolt against Cape Town's authority and expressed in the sharpest forms possible the desire for national fulfillment that is today the main driving force behind Afrikaner nationalism. They, more than the Dutch-Huguenots who remained in Cape Town, gave to Afrikanerdom most of the qualities that are its distinguishing features today.

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The slaves played a role in the evolution of the Afrikaner people which is too important to be ignored even in a brief probe into the origins of apartheid. They were divided into three main groups: The Malay craftsmen, the most expensive; the Negroes, the laborers; and the "half-castes"—slaves of mixed parentage—who did most of the domestic work and called themselves the Afrikaners, the people of Africa. The Afrikaners were closest to their masters physically and culturally. Unlike the Negroes and the Malays, they were a new people in history, with

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→ AFRIKANER NATIONALISM: NATIONAL

BRILLIANT

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no past, language, or culture of their own; they were the result of the mixture and segregation of the races at Cape Town. They worked in Dutch-Huguenot homes and had little in common with the Negro or Malay side of their parentage. Since they were largely illiterate and found Dutch somewhat complicated for their needs, they collaborated with their masters in evolving a kitchen lingua that became the sole medium of communication with their owners or among themselves.

One of the things which British emancipation of the slaves was to do, years later, was to destroy the Afrikaner community. When slavery ended, these people disappeared into the social stratifications of the nonwhite community to constitute that section of the nation known as the Cape Coloreds. But before this happened, Britain had, after she had occupied the Cape, adopted the policy of Anglicizing the Cape Dutch. That had started what is today known as the first language struggle. In this fight, the Dutch-Huguenot community campaigned to retain Dutch on a footing of equality with English.

Dutch was, however, the language of the educated and the cultured, mainly around Cape Town. The Trekboers gradually showed a liking for the lingua of the Afrikaners, for it was more in keeping with their situation. Furthermore, it was not, strictly speaking, a European language; it was a lingual amalgam born of the Trekboer's experience of life in Africa. To adopt it as his own would emphasize his distinctiveness as an African national group. In the interior, he was always something of an oddity. Africa was the land of the black man. The Trekboer wanted passionately to be accepted as belonging to Africa, but he nevertheless refused to identify himself with the real Africans. (He feared to lose his racial identity.) To establish his claim to being an African, he abandoned the idea of calling himself the Trekboer or Boer. Since the Afrikaners, who had been known to belong to Africa, were a dying community, he would take on their name and call himself the Afrikaner. He would finally repudiate Dutch, the language of that Europe on which he had turned his back and take over, in the second language struggle, that lingua

SLAVES PRESERVING  
AFRIKAANS.

which the slaves had helped to preserve with so much diligence in his kitchens. It was to be his—the Afrikaans, which is today one of the two official languages of the republic of South Africa.

By helping to develop Afrikaans, the Afrikaners made the Dutch-Huguenot community indebted to them in a unique way. The man of color in South Africa is often accused of ingratitude for some of the worthwhile things which the white man has done for him. Reluctance to be thankful or to acknowledge indebtedness is not a particularly nonwhite weakness. The denial to the people who made positive contributions to the culture of the Afrikaner of the right to sit in Parliament is an act of ingratitude on the part of the Afrikaner which should remind all that in the final reckoning no race of men has a monopoly of virtue.

It can be said, by way of conclusion, that the Trekboers had been born into a historical cleft stick. One side of it was the overwhelming legal and economic power of the company, and subsequently of the British. The other was the overwhelming numerical power of the Africans. The one was continually pushing them into the interior, while the other pressed them backwards toward Cape Town. To yield to either meant physical extinction. This developed in the Afrikaner the habit of judging men and events by the extent to which they threatened or secured his survival. In this mood, he grew to rely on the unity and strength of his own group as his guarantees of security. It is difficult to see how a small minority, always unwanted, often treated with contempt and living under the constant threat of extinction, could have behaved differently in a situation in which they had known only the tradition of absolutism and had been nurtured on spiritual values that set the greatest store by the group.

It is in the Afrikaner's preoccupation with considerations of survival that the crux of South Africa's race problem lies. The solution is also there.

TRADITION OF ABSOLUTISM.

\* SIMILAR  
TO CAPITALISM.