

THE SADF CONSCRIPT GENERATION AND ITS SEARCH FOR HEALING, RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The former (Afrikaner) SADF conscript generation is to a large extent experiencing an identity crisis. This crisis is due to two factors. First of all, there is a new dispensation where Afrikaners are a minority group. They feel alienated, even frustrated and confused. Secondly, their identity has been challenged and some would say defeated. What is their role and new identity in the current SA? They fought a war and participated internally in operations within a specific local, regional and global context. This identity was formed through their own particular history as well as certain theological and ideological worldviews and frameworks. The Tempe shooting incident in Bloemfontein in 1999 was due to the clash of two ideological worlds. It showed that peace and relationships between different diverse groupings were still very fragile. The responses to a questionnaire completed by this generation, indicate a certain degree of confusion, woundedness, ignorance and an unwillingness to embrace the changes taking place in this country. This Afrikaner identity (beliefs, attitudes, worldview), as argued in this study, should be Biblically and Christologically reoriented. The Church as an agent is in the unique position to facilitate a spiritual process of taking responsibility for its part in the past and present, to confess to it and thus starting the process of being healed of the scars of the past, experiencing forgiveness and being in the position to make a positive contribution to our country. It is the only way to adapt, survive and make meaningful contributions towards the new South Africa. A spiritual process, their own 'TRC', can contribute to real reconciliation in the country.

SUMMARY

The SADF conscript generation, as Afrikaners, is experiencing an identity crisis due to the changes that have taken place in South Africa since the early 1990s. They fought within and outside its borders against an enemy who now governs in Namibia and South Africa. The current government does not perceive the SADF in a positive light; an example would be the omission of the names of fallen SADF soldiers from the wall at Freedom Park.

The SADF conscript generation participated in an armed conflict with a specific identity (image of itself as Afrikaners). This identity was formed based on certain historical events such as the Great Trek, the battle of Blood River and the Anglo-Boer War, to mention a few. Theological and ideological influences contributed to this world paradigm. This identity was strengthened during the Bush War. This identity has been challenged, some might even say defeated, in the new democratic administration. Furthermore, Afrikaners are often at the receiving end of affirmative action. This, coupled with crime and corruption, contribute to their feeling of alienation from the current administration. They might argue that they were only obedient children and soldiers during a local struggle for freedom in South Africa, a regional anti-colonial conflict in South West Africa/Namibia, as well as the global Cold War that partly took place in Angola.

The SADF conscript generation, however, contributed to the maintenance and extension of apartheid. Afrikaans churches condemned this system and guilt was confessed. However, it seems like very few Afrikaners fully grasp the horrific impact the system had on the majority of South African citizens. In order to live peacefully with compatriots, it is therefore important to face this reality. This study requests a Biblical approach where responsibility for past actions is taken, remorse shown, confession made, forgiveness given and received, and restitution understood and implemented. This is true conversion. Furthermore, the Afrikaner's opinion of others needs to be reoriented Christologically. Their current view is based on an identity, which is self-righteous and somewhat arrogant. They live in denial and withdrawal to an extent. With this identity it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for them to survive in the country. They will have to ask themselves whether they are willing to make patriotic and constructive contributions to

the country. Too many are standing on the side-lines criticising, not really believing that an African can govern successfully. They need to realise that they too are Africans.

One of the consequences of the new SANDF was the integration of former forces. On 16 September 1999 eight Whites were killed by an integrated member of the former Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). This incident was in essence the result of a long and sad history of conflict and distrust between two ideological enemies, which never had the chance to fully come to know each other. Today, in the midst of diversity, the same challenges persist.

SADF members indicated in the survey that they are willing to contribute positively towards the country, if given a chance. They have, however, certain conditions, perceptions and baggage from the past. It seems as if they have a longing for healing and closure. The Church has a huge role to play in this regard. It will not be easy though, as the Church itself lost credibility because of the role it played in the past. It seems that the SADF conscript generation in particular and the Afrikaner in general has not yet come to terms with their loss; they need their own 'truth and reconciliation' process. This study pleads for a spiritual process where the Triune God leads them, like in the past, to find direction and meaning again.

KEY TERMS

SADF-CONSCRIPT GENERATION IDENTITY CRISIS; QUEST FOR HEALING AND CLOSURE; SWA/NAMIBIA BUSH WAR; TOTAL ONSLAUGHT AND COMMUNISM; 'BOETMAN' DEBATE; TRC AND SADF; FW DE KLERK AND THE 'NIGHT OF THE GENERALS'; BIBLICAL RECONCILIATION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PATRIOTISM; TEMPE SHOOTING INCIDENT; SADF RESPONSES RE QUESTIONNAIRE: AFRIKANERSHIP, NEW SOUTH AFRICA, APARTHEID, FUTURE, RECONCILIATION, ROLE OF CHURCH; SPIRITUAL PROCESS AS MODEL FOR HEALING

FOREWORD

This study was emotionally more challenging and draining as was intended originally. In fact, very early on I doubted whether this research should be continued. This field of study was not the first option. But Providence guided differently. My concern as to proceed or not I shared with one of the women who lost a husband in the Tempe shooting. She encouraged me with the words she herself wrote as part of her own process of healing: *'God will show the way, it is a huge theme, emotionally laden, full of chisels that will sand and shave the soul in order to be formed into His image'*. He did indeed show the way, I received an abundance of grace with a lot of things that fell into place. To Him alone the glory!

To my promotor, Prof Pieter Verster to whom I have been a newcomer, my sincerest appreciation and gratitude. His guidance and style suited me as he did not interfere continuously. He 'left' me to work on my own, but influenced me subtly, giving advice, commenting, suggesting material and lending me some of his books. It has been a privilege to work under you. Also, to his wife who helped me with technical aspects.

My father in law, emeritus professor Hattingh (University of Pretoria-Geography) assisted me invaluablely. He was for all intents and purposes a co-promotor. I had many stimulating discussions over 25 years with him, tapping into his knowledge of academic, church and geography in the old and new South Africa. He worked through the writings and manuscript throughout, commented and corrected. His encouragement and support helped me to pull through.

My wife Lynette supported me enormously. She showed understanding for the topic and the many hours I worked. Maybe as her own father was 'absent' during some of his studies. She worked through the books of Bonhoeffer which also enriched her and helped me saving time. She is in fact a more natural reader and researcher than me! Thank you for journeying with me.

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To the ladies at the library, Mmes Hesma van Tonder, Annamarie du Preez, Estie Pretorius and Malefu Moposho who assisted in getting material and literature, references as well as insightful discussions. Your help made the load a lot easier.

Nola Redelinghuys at the Department of Sociology assisted in creating the questionnaire. Then also to Deidre van Rooyen and Amanda who helped with the processing of the data. Monique who showed me how to create a questionnaire on the internet. It was intimidating at first as I am of the technologically disadvantaged generation.

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My former unit, 61 Mechanised Battalion Group and many of its former members who completed the questionnaire. A special word of thanks to Gert Minnaar and some others who encouraged me and is part of reconciliation initiatives. The veteran group in Bloemfontein also proved to be an inspiration.

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'We have built a new Defence Force out of the ashes of an apartheid force that was known for its aggression against neighbours in the Southern African region, where it sought members of the liberation movement and to intimidate governments of the Frontline States. It was a Defence Force that enforced every apartheid law, terrorising our people in the townships, in the hope of stopping the march to freedom' (Zuma 2014).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEM STATEMENT AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Problem statement

Twenty years have passed since the Republic of South Africa became a democracy. The government and its institutions represent to a large extent the demographics of the country because of affirmative action (according to the policy that has been implemented since 1994) (Giliomee 2011:28,35). At the moment a growing Black middle-class is establishing itself. Numerous investments have been made in the country. Sanctions have been lifted. The country is a sought-after tourist destination and hosts various international sporting events and conferences. The South African Constitution is hailed as one of the best in the world. The Truth and Reconciliation committee was established to bring an end to the pain and iniquities of the past and to reconcile those affected. Unfortunately, many Afrikaners were critical and dismissive of this committee. South Africa was used as a model for other countries struggling with internal conflict like Northern Ireland and Rwanda. In the aforementioned case, the people were willing to listen to Archbishop Desmond Tutu because the expected bloodbath did not realise – *"Something happened that gave them reason to pause and wonder...in parliament I was not shouted down as I repeated my appeal for them to consider choosing forgiveness and reconciliation rather than their opposites"* (Tutu 1999:260). Through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) the government is trying to include and empower this section of the population in the economy of the country, where previously they were excluded due to apartheid. Due to the diverse cultural, religious, language and ethnic groups, South Africa is also known as the rainbow nation.

South Africa is still a developing country with an array of social problems. The country has a reputation of being one of the countries where the gap between rich and poor is the largest in the world in spite of government interventions and – policies. The so-called PUI (Poverty, Unemployment and Inequality) is testing this young democracy (Cilliers

2012:500). Millions of unemployed and previously disadvantaged people receiving government grants give the impression that South Africa is a welfare state. In contrast, there are local businesses making their mark internationally, making economic progress. Crime, corruption, bribery and poor service delivery, are serious problems. On this topic Oliver noted, “*According to Nytagodien and Neal (2004:375-376), the sense of malaise and despair and acts of violence can be seen as remnants of collective traumas from the past*” (2011:72).

The recent Marikana¹ massacre is only one example of tension within labour ranks. This shooting was reported abroad in international news. Locally though, one almost got the impression that it was normal taking into account the violent reaction of the police in the past, as well as the way those who were seen as traitors during the freedom struggle were subjected to the ‘necklace method’ (De Klerk 1998:xvi). There is also the ongoing debate concerning the most suitable economic system². Groups like the South African Communist Party and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) are lobbying for nationalisation of national assets and minerals as well as for the government to intervene more in the economy i.e. land reform. On the other hand, you have parties like the Democratic Alliance propagating and urging for the free market system and the free functioning of non-government organisations. A great proportion of printed media regularly reports on this specific topic. It is obviously that there will always be established interest groups that will see to their own needs first, at all cost.

The Afrikaner³ is the group that implemented the apartheid policy (Wilkins & Strydom 1978:191). It is for this reason that he is targeted and blamed for the part he played in it. Apartheid, as will be highlighted later in this study, was an outcome of colonialism. In colonies across the globe the English also implemented segregation to a certain extent. In

¹ After an illegal strike, the police shot and killed more than forty strikers. Some police officers and security personnel were also killed during this massacre.

² Sampie Terblance’s *Lost in Transformation*, 2012, argues that behind the scenes during the negotiations, certain companies ensured favourable terms being negotiated for them.

³ The term *Afrikaner* is no longer widely accepted, one of the reasons for this being the negative connotation it carries. Some prefer the term *Afrikaanssprekende*, meaning someone who speaks Afrikaans, and the researcher is also comfortable with this term. The problem, however, is that there are many non-white South Africans who also speak Afrikaans. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the term Afrikaner will be used even though it is not ideal. The *Afrikaanssprekendes* used to refer to themselves using this term. The term is also used by many other South Africans when referring to a White who is *Afrikaanssprekend*, especially in the previous dispensation.

the late 1980s FW de Klerk⁴ led the country to the realisation that a new fair system was very much needed. Nelson Mandela was set free and sanctions were lifted. After a period of negotiations and the first democratic election, the country experienced a time of reasonable stability. Adjusting to the so-called 'new' South Africa has not been easy for the Afrikaner. Venter, former chairman of the *Afrikanerbond*, summarises it as follow (Van der Merwe 2010):

Translated from Afrikaans:

What mood can one expect from a community of people used to a standard of living equal to the highest in the world, who peacefully gave up political power ten years ago, whose joint political power disappeared through fragmentation, who experiences the tendencies around them as threatening for their cultural, material and physical being and of whom it is expected to make primary sacrifices for the sake of 'transformation'? Should we be surprised when a community like this shows signs of helpless frustration, uncertainty, loss of trust in established cultures, political and church structures and even extremism? I am afraid that all these elements are currently visible in the Afrikaner mind. There is also signs of strife amongst themselves, a selfish call within and turning away from communal ideals, a loss of patriotism and increase in lawless materialism.

Oliver (2011:72) is of the opinion that the Afrikaner is still caught up in his past and that he has not processed it, "*However, incapacitated by their past, Afrikaners were unable to respond positively during the critical stages of transformation and find themselves marginalised, at the edge of the 'rainbow nation'. Evading confrontation with the past or constantly postponing it while waiting for the current crises to subside is no longer an option.*"

It seems like the Afrikaner has a need to establish his own identity. Theatre productions like "*Ons vir jou*" (Deon Opperman and Sean Else), "*Tree aan*" (Deon Opperman) and "*Witmanne se wapens*" (Greig Coetzee)⁵, address the Afrikaner's need to explore his own history and to think it through. Identity has to do with how an individual or group

⁴ It is acknowledged that some political changes were already started by P.W. Botha but that the implications thereof were only later implemented by F.W. de Klerk.

⁵ "*Ons vir jou*" centres on the Anglo-Boer War and describes the atrocities committed against women and children in concentration camps by the British. "*Tree aan*" is about conscription and brings honour to those who died during this time. It was part of the writer's objectives to bring closure to the young men. "*Witmanne se wapens*" is a striking one-man show by the actor Gys de Villiers who himself was a serviceman. The piece is about the army experiences as well as a struggle with the questions about the past and how this generation is adjusting.

positions itself in relation to himself and other in the world. This identity or social construct is usually formed through historical events. The Afrikaners has created a certain identity, whether it was consciously or unconsciously. This will be discussed in chapter 4.

The purpose of the study is to analyse and interpret the crisis the previous conscript soldiers - a grouping within the Afrikaners – is currently experiencing. It is estimated that around one million Afrikaners have already emigrated in the search for a better life (Wikipedia 2015). Reasons given for this is affirmative action, black empowerment and crime. Many of the emigrants are disillusioned and angry: some are angry with the previous White government and/or army generals, others with the current African National Congress (ANC) government. The reality is that the European settlers - from whom the Afrikaners stem – have made a significant impact since their arrival in the country. The Afrikaner also has strong religious roots, passed on by their predecessors that arrived here at the southern tip of Africa. All of this contributed to an unchallengeable and irrevocable legacy. To add to this, these European settlers did missionary work amongst the indigenous groups of people, thus spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ.

This study deals with the generation (1966-1989) who were called to serve in the old South African Defence Force (SADF). They were at the front line having to implement the government's policy and had to take part in the battle at grass root level – young men in the prime of their lives. Judged by the large number of books⁶ available on this subject, it seems that there is a need to talk about the past and in particular, the Bush War. It is as if there is a search for closure; for healing; to make sense of this period in the Afrikaner's history. Many of the recruits were wounded or lost comrades. Many scars were left. The 'Boetman' debate, started by Chris Louw⁷ is evidence of this anger that still exists in some. The majority probably accepts the realities – even if it is under protest. Many emigrated

⁶ The researcher has read many of these books and has also contacted some of the authors, like Louis Bothma author of *Vang 'n Boer*.

⁷ A journalist, Chris Louw, unleashed a storm after he wrote a letter to *Beeld* commenting on the book *Kroes, kras en kordaat* by Wimpie de Klerk. In his letter he accuses the previous government of misleading and using the young men at the time so that they could reap the benefits of apartheid and enrich themselves in the process. The enlisted men had to fight, some died, and many were wounded, also emotionally. Louw went on to write a book, *Boetman en die swanesang van die verligtes*. One can assume the book represents a certain mindset of the SADF conscript generation and/or influenced others. The debate is discussed in Chapter 5.

and a few radicals⁸ was/is part of underground activities, trying to undermine the government as in the case of the *Battle of Mangaung* where three men planned to kill the then president, Jacob Zuma and others at an ANC conference in December 2012. Oliver (2011:83) remarks, "*It is interesting to note that the personal scars and memories of the Bush Wars, which ended only a few decades ago and formed part of the actual experiences of the current middle-aged generation, started to emerge only recently. It seems as if the trauma and impact were so intense that a significant lapse of time was needed before these memories could be faced.*"

It was not just young Afrikaans men who joined the ranks of the enlisted. English, Portuguese, Jews and other groups considered White was also enlisted. Within these other groups there were many who spoke Afrikaans and would have considered themselves Afrikaners. For the purpose of this study however, the focus will be on the White Afrikaans speaking young men who are part of the Afrikaans culture that started developing in 1652 and eventually became established, in contrast to the African culture and even the English culture. Though the Afrikaner's roots and background also lies in Europe, like the English, a unique development took place in South Africa with Afrikaans as language and with a strong, but not exclusive, distinction from the other cultures.

One of the crises the Afrikaner has to deal with is the accusation that he established apartheid. The blame is laid in front of their door (Madikizela-Mandela 2013:196; Oliver 2011:73). It is suspected that a feeling of guilt, a certain measure of anger and also, to an extent, an uncertainty around the new South Africa have resulted in a withdrawal from public life. The guilt, anger and withdrawal have a numbing effect on some and prevent them from contributing creatively to a democratic South Africa.

The core of the problem is the crisis that some previous SADF-soldiers are experiencing in the new South Africa. The crisis is rooted in the fact that this identity was challenged and finally defeated in the democratic election. The crisis also lies in the fact that the SADF conscript generation, even though children of their era, has a specific view of life and

⁸ A few men were caught just as they planned to plant bombs and shoot at representatives at an ANC conference in December 2012. The so-called *Boeremag* trial, where a few men are accused of trying to overthrow the government, is still continuing.

world view of themselves and of others that theologically cannot be justified or defended. It is therefore important to establish what the identity of the SADF conscript generation was. This identity was probably strengthened during armed conflict, a battle against communism. The SADF was also mere children of their era. They did not create apartheid or the Bush War. They only did what was asked of them. The SADF- conscript generation feels threatened because the thing they fought for – that encapsulates a lot of their identity – was perhaps worthless. They are struggling to adapt and orientate themselves; maybe it is a case where they do not want to. Perhaps they find themselves in psychological captivity through denial. They do not really want to be there (in the new South Africa.) This identity will have to be tested Biblically. That which needs to be broken down, should be broken down. That which needs to be established, should be established. The Border war has become a heart, mind and patriotic war. The war has become one of adaptation. This is not always easy since the new regime sees the SADF's actions as unjust and their own as just. Is it possible for the SADF conscript generation to make a patriotic contribution to this country? Healing can only be spiritual.

This study wants to work from a religious and Biblical point and show that this generation Afrikaners were only children of their era, and that a Biblical imperative in order to contribute and integrate into society should be seriously considered. This study wants to promote reconciliation. The Afrikaner has to reconcile with himself, his history and other groups. This is only possible if he looks sincerely at his past, thinks it over, continues humbly through a time of self-reflection and sets right that which needs correcting and through this whole process acquire healing. Ex-conscripts need to be led through this process and supported on a pastoral level, i.e. by ex-conscripts but especially by the Church. After acquiring spiritual healing (it will be a process of conversion as it requires turning around), it might be possible for this generation to function more meaningfully in the new South Africa.

The problem can be summarised as follow:

- Some Afrikaners are experiencing a crisis.
- The crisis is an identity crisis: who do they believe they are and where do they fit in? How do they think about their past, themselves, the present and the future?
- It was these Afrikaners, with this mindset, who implemented apartheid.

- This identity (view of life and world view) needs to be established.
- This identity was probably reinforced during the SADF years.
- This identity has to be tested in a Biblical way.
- This identity must be reoriented towards a Christological identity.
- The Truth and Reconciliation Committee was a step in the right way to bring about forgiveness. As catharsis it had therapeutic worth for the sufferers. This was only a step and Whites did not acknowledge or recognise this step.
- Afrikaners will have to go through their own truth and reconciliation process where they can take an honest, critical look at the past, in humility before God.
- With a new identity reconciliation can be achieved.
- With this identity meaningful contributions can be made in South Africa.

1.2 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is:

- to give a Biblical perspective on reconciliation;
- to give description of the Afrikaner identity as it has developed historically, whether spontaneous or propelled by certain agents;
- to describe the local, regional and international context of the late 1960s that led to the call for White men to enlist;
- to gain insight in the background of the Tempe shooting in Bloemfontein through a qualitative study and to determine whether reconciliation and healing was achieved;
- to gain insight in the perspective, feelings and experiences of the former SADF conscript generation through a quantitative empirical study;
- to contribute to the debate and literature that exist on this generation/era from a theological perspective;
- to show the way forward from a theological perspective.

1.3 Research questions

Seven questions are being asked:

- How can the SADF-member be helped on his journey to reconciliation and healing?

- What does the Bible have to teach about reconciliation, healing, patriotism, fairness and my relationships with groups who are different to my own?
- What is the identity of the Afrikaner SADF soldier and how was it formed?
- What was the context of South Africa in South-West Africa/Namibia and Angola where the Bush War raged; also, the international context in the late sixties to the early nineties?
- What were the factors that brought about the Tempe-shooting incident?
- What were the experiences and beliefs of the SADF-member then and now?
- How can the SADF-member be assisted in dealing with the past in order to gain healing and to become a member of society who can contribute positively to it?

1.4 Value of the study

Though it is assumed that many articles, books and other literature exist that centre around the Biblical imperative of fairness, reconciliation and healing in general, a study that focuses on helping the SADF conscript generation to deal with their past, present and future from a theological perspective is important to enable them to reach a place of healing and reconciliation. How the ex-SADF soldier feels about his past and how he experiences the present have not been examined scientifically yet. If you look at conversations/debates on Facebook groups for SADF-veterans as well as in the Afrikaans media, it is clear that there are serious issues they have to deal with. Firstly, it can bring insight and understanding for the SADF-members, secondly for the broader Afrikaner-group including family members of the ex-SADF-members, and thirdly, for the other countrymen who do not always understand the struggle of this generation. This can help to bring about reconciliation. The study can also contribute to the subject of humanities in general, specifically to theology. The conscript generation was called to service during the political unrests in the seventies, eighties and nineties. It was enriching to collect their experiences. Their participation and input in this study can add to the subject of theology but also related subjects.

The Afrikaans churches realise how important pastoral support is for this generation. In a report to the General Synod, the following has been noted:

Translated from Afrikaans:

Many congregants were upset by the system. Thousands of men didn't get the opportunity to make progress in their careers and this affected their families too. The trauma, exposure, hardship and loss that went hand in hand with the training and operational deployment of these soldiers reached much further than what can be determined. The report acknowledges many positive aspects but also damaging consequences. (NGK: 2014)

It was Adriaan Vlok, who admitted that he, as a believer, gave permission for the South African Council of Churches to be bombed and for Frank Chikane, a fellow-believer, be poisoned. It is no wonder that PG Mangana (2014), an ex-freedom fighter, raised this question concerning the Church in the old South Africa, "*What were the churches doing?*"

What the church can do about this is not clear, as the relationship between the Church and the soldiers has been stormy at times, also because the Church is sometimes blamed for the past. Ex-soldiers remain children and congregants of the Church. The Church, also wounded in the process, can indeed be the healer.

The researcher contacted family of the survivors of the Tempe-shooting in 1999. The Tempe-shooting was a very unfortunate incident where seven White male soldiers and one White civilian was shot dead by an ex-member of a liberation movement. The measure by which the families and members concerned have experienced healing, what their perceptions are and any personal growth taking place after the incident was insightful to determine the amount of progress that has been made towards healing and reconciliation. The shooting incident at Tempe was probably a manifestation of a long, sad history of South Africa where racial tension and prejudice occurred regularly. Two worlds that were at war, maybe still are, collided at that exact point.

This study wants to make a further contribution by theologically determining the Afrikaner's identity, formed to a great extent by their history. It is this specific approach and emphasis that is needed to achieve true healing, reconciliation, peace and righteousness. It is implied that there are certain identity characteristics that are working negatively within the present crisis. Correction can be liberating and will help this generation to reorient themselves to make meaningful contributions in South Africa.

The Bible is rich with information applicable to relationships with our neighbours. At times it leaves the reader uncomfortable, feeling like certain sections address them personally. God's Word is a treasure of help and blessing to those who obey it. Biblical principles need to be highlighted again, of for some for the first time. The truth can indeed set us free. Principles like justice, restitution and loyalty (patriotism) are discussed in the Bible and can help to provide guidance.

The Church, imperfect indeed, has a strong mandate to be the salt of the Earth, which includes prevention and bringing healing. The Church should also fulfil her duty in preaching healing and justice.

Because the researcher is involved in initiatives where contact with ex-soldiers is made, there is the opportunity for therapy, help and ministry. This study can highlight and judge these initiatives. In the United State of America, for example, similar initiatives have already been implemented, because the Vietnam and Iraq wars created a similar need. Literature on this topic can be used, with great success, in the South African context. Other countries and areas also have a sad history rooted in race related issues. Drawing comparisons with these can bring perspective to the SADF conscript generation and South Africa's history, since it is not as unique as many would like to proclaim.

As a large part of the current crisis is a crisis of faith (Louw 2001:119,346), the aim is to put a spiritual model forward that uses Biblical theology, is practical, measurable and focused, in order to contribute to the healing process.

Within missiology - reconciliation, healing and justice - is seen as part of the *Missio Dei* of the church. It is actually emphasised very strongly in the World Council of Churches' report '*Together towards life. Mission and Evangelism in changing landscapes*' (2013:5,7,13,15). According to this writing, initial missionary work historically moved from a centre point to the periphery. Now it is moving from the periphery to the centre. This implies that transformation has to take place. Institutions and systems need to be transformed to become part of the Spirit of liberation so that i.e. justice can prevail.

Skreslet (2012:33) also refers to the relationship between missiology and social healing and justice. At the moment though there is a strong need to reach out to our own as there is a great need within the Afrikaners because of the experience of loss and mourning. Then the Afrikaans Church has to help with Biblical transformation so that rehabilitation can take place and ultimately help bring about true reconciliation. The apartheid history damaged the ecumenical relationships between the family churches as well as with the Church internationally. Ecumenicity will always be a strong part of the missiology task of the Church. Is it too much to hope for a unified Church that will go out and serve those who have not been reached?

1.5 Limitation of the study

This study focuses on the Afrikaans speaking SADF conscript generation. Even though English speaking, Jewish, Portuguese and other White South Africans were also called to conscription, this study will focus on those who are classified as Afrikaners.

Police officers were not included in the study, though the old South African Police Force worked very closely with the SADF during domestic operations.

The study does not aim to discuss or judge any military operations, though a general knowledge of this is essential in understand the dynamics of this period in time.

The study is not historiography. It takes the context of the time into account and aims to show how history influenced decision-making. In the end it is judged theologically.

Since the researcher himself is an ex-conscript as well as an Afrikaner, as defined in this study, the element of subjectivity is a risk. On the other hand, it is an advantage because he forms part of the focus group and can therefore have empathy (Jansen 2009:45). Furthermore, he was deployed domestically but not in former South West Africa as part of the '*Bush war*', and this can place limitations on the study. He was not involved in any operations, whether conventional or counterinsurgency.

1.6 Assumptions

The study focuses mainly on ex-conscripts, focusing on those men who were part of the fighting teams, groups and units. The assumption is that they will be representative of the broader SADF. Current literature as well as interaction with ex-SADF members highlights a crisis that ranges from mild to extreme. The existence of a crisis is admitted. The crisis is not terminal or unsolvable; it is rather a crisis of adapting and orientation.

The assumption is that the majority of Afrikaners were raised as Christians and in the context at the time which was that of the '*Total Onslaught*' – the black and red or communist threat. The majority would have been exposed to a certain process of identity formation, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the midst of a very specific worldview.

It is further assumed that the involvement of the SADF applies to various contexts. Firstly, there was internal conflict within the borders of the country. Secondly, there was an anti-colonial battle in SWA/Namibia. South Africa was given the mandate to govern this area and was therefore directly involved in the conflict. Thirdly, the SADF was also involved in the Cold War where the *Movimento de Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA)* – Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola – was supported by the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics (USSR) and groups like the *Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA)* – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola – were supported by the West (Esterhuysen 2009).

The conceptual framework is Christian-Biblical based – in the long run, history and events, like also by prophets, have to be judged theologically. It is assumed that any battle or conflict revolves around power - getting it, keeping it and expanding it is underlying to the nature of humankind. It is accepted that it deals with the fallen state of human-nature, but the broken man has been saved and has the responsibility to make life and future decisions. Change can happen. True change comes from the heart and attitude. It does not happen by itself. Such a person or group needs to be led to the truth and then choices have to be made. The ontological (essential) orientation towards reconciliation is Biblical-theology, more specific as reconciliation was revealed in Jesus Christ. This truth will then be weighed by the authentic truth of the Bible.

1.7 Methodology

This study made use of the following methodology:

- A literature study on the history of South Africa, the Afrikaner specifically, the conscript generation and the larger international context of the late sixties to the end of the eighties was done (Jansen 2007:35). The purpose is to gain perspective and insight in the history of the Afrikaner and how it helped to shape his identity. The context of the SADF is important, therefore relevant literature that highlights it was studied. The study describes, analyses and interprets events: what happened and why did it happen?

The literature study especially includes sources of those who were and still is, critical towards the Afrikaner's actions, perspectives and identity, whether written by Afrikaners themselves or outside persons.

- It was also decided to use the quantitative research method regarding to the ex-SADF members. Members are not just spread over South Africa but across the globe. Qualitative research would not have supplied sufficient data to make the study authoritative. Therefore, a questionnaire was compiled and spread per pilot pitch. The questionnaire categories were selected from qualitative insights and impressions that were gathered from discourse with and among ex-SADF members as well as from literature concerning SADF issues. The categories include the following:
 - perception of the Afrikaner identity;
 - incidents and experiences of soldiers;
 - perceptions of communism, South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC);
 - opinions of apartheid;
 - views on reconciliation, justice;
 - the Church of then and now;
 - perceptions regarding the current ANC government; and
 - participants' opinion on what their role is in the current (2014) South Africa.

Originally it was decided that the snowball method would be used which would have entailed contacting the leaders of various veteran associations. The leaders would then distribute the questionnaires to their members. It was thought to only distribute the questionnaire to members of ex-fighting formations like the Armor, Infantry, Parachute and Special forces, approximately five to eight groups/units. The hope was to collect at least 10-15 completed questionnaires per group. With the exception of two veteran groups (61 Mechanised Battalion group and to a lesser extent 101 Battalion), the attempt to engage with veteran groups was unsuccessful. Reasons for this were: 1) the physical distance away from members as well as the timeline between 'then' and 'now'; 2) the researcher does not know many leaders of fighting units. As a result, these veteran groups were suspicious and sceptical. This in itself highlights the assumption that the ex-SADF members are experiencing hostility and are wary to contribute to the research. One of the leaders of the 61 Mechanised Battalion the researcher personally knows, reacted. Personal contact still remains the best way to get reaction and participation.

The use of social media was tremendously successful. In this instance it was Facebook – a social media network established in 2004 and the world's largest social media network – including groups of SADF-veterans. These groups provided the biggest percentage of participants to the study. The sample became a comfort sample (Maree & Pietersen 2007a:177) since participants were easily reached via Facebook. Approximately a third were recruited through veteran groups where the snowball method proved successful.

Questions were answered according to the scale method (Maree & Pietersen 2007a:148).

In order to translate the questionnaire scientifically, it was designed with the help of the Department of Sociology at the University of the Free State (UFS). After many draft adjustments, the questionnaire was classified as useful⁹. The Centre for Development Support processed the data that was collected and also provided further insights and commentary¹⁰. They also declared the sample reliable even though the questionnaire was

⁹ Dr Nola Redelinghuys of the Department of Sociology deemed it useful.

¹⁰ Dr Deidre van Rooyen, acting Director of the Centre for Development Support, as well as a research assistant, Amanda de Gouveia, aided the researcher.

regarded being too long. The researcher deemed it necessary as he needed to cover all aspects that he thought was and is important for SADF-members.

Participants received a cover letter that explained the purpose of the study. The researcher's contact details were also listed. The questionnaire was completed anonymously. One request was that participants had to declare that they were indeed conscripts to ensure that the appropriate persons complete it.

A pilot study was done in July 2013 with nine SADF-soldiers to determine the usefulness of the content of the questionnaire. The group declared the questionnaire to be meaningful. The researcher had a qualitative group discussion as well as a private conversation with one individual who is still experiencing trauma. These results were not included as it was only a pilot study.

- Concerning the qualitative research: the interviewers had semi-structured interviews with veteran soldiers as well as key role players from the church and other organisations that are involved in reconciliation. Interviews were held with key role players of the Tempe-shooting incident, including the wives of the men who died, two people who were injured and survived, the chaplain and the commander of the larger Tempe-base. The researcher made use of news articles to reconstruct the incident. The versions of each role player were presented in a combined format under a few logical categories. Eventually the incidents are placed in the larger context and perspective. The lessons we can extract, interactions between people and groups, as well as the interpretation of motives are given as an aid to reconciliation. The worldview of the SADF-members plus that of the Azanians People's Liberation Army (APLA) were touched on. Paradigms are "*a set of assumptions or beliefs about fundamental aspects of reality which gives rise to a particular world view...meaningful and functional but culturally subjective*" (Nieuwenhuis 2007:48,54). This is in step with the principle, "*Nihil est sine ratione – nothing is without reason.*" Religion, value systems and narratives are biased and subjective, especially for those persons who were involved in, for example, traumatic incidents (Nieuwenhuis 2007:56).

- The study is historical in the sense that it looks at the history of the Afrikaner and the Bush War as well as other operations of the SADF. No primary sources were used, only secondary sources like books and recollections (Nieuwenhuis 2007:73). These contributions were interpreted and evaluated.
- The study is also conceptual, where it is philosophical and reflective, in addition to being hermeneutic in nature. Hermeneutic is the method where the meaning and significance of concepts, data and information are looked at in a philosophical way and interpreted within the context.
- The study method is two-part. Firstly, it is viewed as exploratory where certain themes and issues are explored qualitatively and compiling a quantitative questionnaire accordingly. Secondly it is also explanatory since reasons are uncovered for the specific answers participants gave (Ivankova, Creswell & Clark 2007:256).
- Critical theory and discourse analysis assume that the pursuit, acquisition and the continuance of power is underlying on all levels of life (Nieuwenhuis 2007:62). The written and spoken word is looked at against this background or interpreted within context. Dominant powers in society construct versions of reality to forward their interests. The ideological assumptions are hidden and needs to be uncovered (Nieuwenhuis 2007:102). Power, position, status or rank also flowed through the South African history, for that matter it still does. People aim to keep their position. The study aims to expose the discourse and to evaluate it within the historical context. It highlights the conflict, competition and contradictions in the community.
- Post-modernistic – the study is partially post-modernistic in that it challenges certain conventions and accepts the fact that the reality was socially constructed (Nieuwenhuis 2007:63). Knowledge and/or truth are usually distributed by those with power. Therefore, to find the true meaning, the deconstruction of structures is necessary.
- The exegesis component of the study will focus on relevant Bible texts relating to society, justice, reconciliation and restoration. This is not primarily an Old or New Testament exegetical study, rather one with a strong theological starting point. Therefore, certain sections and books will feature strongly, such as the book of Amos.

- Lastly, suggestions are made for the way forward (*Quo vadis*) considering reconciliation, specifically for SADF conscripts, but also for the broader South African context.

1.8 Overview of chapters

Chapter 1 Procedure and scheduling

Chapter 2 Biblical imperative for healing and reconciliation

The study is not an Old or New Testament study. The starting point remains the Bible though and thus the study is conducted from a theological frame of mind. Sections dealing with the new identity in Christ (Phil. 3), justice (Amos and Job 29 and 31), guilt and reconciliation (Heb. 9), post-conflict period (Ps. 85), forgiveness (Matt. 18), captivity (Jer. 29), contrition (2 Chron. 14), patriotism (Neh.) as well as sections from Leviticus that focuses on rectification and the Jubilee come under the spotlight. It is assumed that true reconciliation is only possible for people who have been made new by Christ. They understand the Biblical principles, and this can be enriched by the work of the Holy Spirit in their lives.

Furthermore, the definition and model of healing and sickness was looked at from Louw's (2008) perspective.

Subsequently Van der Walt's (2003) model for reconciliation was used. This includes, *inter alia*, acceptance of accountability; contrition, confession and conversion; guilt, forgiveness and restitution. Further that, the researcher addresses topics like justice, patriotism and the relationship with the 'others'.

Chapter 3 State of research

At this time, there is other research on the same topic that has been completed or that is in the process of completion. This study will give a synopsis, *inter alia* the following: books that were written regarding this period – whether scientific or popular; audio-

visual recordings that were made; television programmes that were produced; interviews that were conducted; conferences that were held; initiatives concerning reconciliation that were launched; institutions that are constantly doing research on topics such as justice and reconciliation; as well as actions of veteran organisations' actions are discussed.

Chapter 4 The identity of the SADF conscript generation

A short overview of the founding of the Defence Force as well as the development towards national service is given. The Afrikaners that were part of the SADF conscript generation had their own identity, either intentionally or unintentionally. This identity was formed through historical events that were carried over from one generation to another and ingrained in their psyche. Naturally, this is generalisation, but it would be accepted by most Afrikaners. The identity is further reinforced through specific religious and theological influences as well as ideological trends. This identity has established a certain life and worldview that led to the creation and justification of apartheid. This identity was further strengthened at home, in school, at church, cultural organisations and political parties.

Chapter 5 The local, regional and global (international) context of the SADF conscript generation.

The SADF conscript generation of 1966-1989 found itself within three overlapping contexts. Firstly, there was the local liberation struggle within South Africa where the struggle was for civil rights. Secondly, the SADF was involved in the regional anti-colonial conflict with liberation groups in SWA/Namibia. Because of the SADF's involvement in the SWA/Namibia regional conflict, it was also drawn into the regional conflict in Angola. The latter conflict was part of the Cold War, a larger, global conflict that was dominated by the large world powers namely the USSR, also the United States of America and Great Britain. Angola became the playground of the big elephants that trampled the grass at the cost of the local population. The description of this part is important to place perspective on the conflict.

Chapter 6 Tempe shooting incident

The incident that occurred in September 1999, four years after the integration of previous opposing factions, made many speculate if reconciliation was possible while the peace was still very fragile. The events strictly fall under the new, integrated South African Defence Force (SADF). What is important though, is the fact that the members who were shot, were mostly members of the SADF conscript generation. The events are described briefly, not as a historical description, but to construct the incident. Next of kin and a few key role players were interviewed to establish if reconciliation was obtained. The incident was an aftershock caused by conflict that had been going on for many years.

Chapter 7 Empirical research

A questionnaire was compiled that addressed various issues relating to the SADF conscript generation. This includes categories like: 'Afrikanership', military experiences, reconciliation, apartheid, justice, liberation movements, the new South Africa and their role in the dispensation. The initial intention was to make use of the snowball method. The easiest and most convenient way though, was Facebook groups of veterans whose response was overwhelming. One hundred and twenty-nine questions were drawn up that was divided into nine categories.

Chapter 8 Analysis of empirical research

The information that was gathered was invaluable and it was analysed and interpreted. The information was used to test the theories and assumptions. In Chapter 9 the information, knowledge and perspectives were used to help indicate the road forward.

Chapter 9 The road forward (Quo Vadis?)

This chapter aims to use the insights of the previous chapters to indicate the road to healing and reconciliation to the ex-SADF soldier. Once again, models for healing from the existential crises the SADF member experience were explored. There is another brief look at the Afrikaner identity and how current Afrikaners experience identity. Further,

other countries and groups that have experienced times of severe conflict and are still dealing with it, is looked at.

Without getting involved in politics, the study tries to show why South Africa could not continue on its chosen 'apartheid' path.

Subsequently Van der Walt's (2003) model of reconciliation is highlighted and made relevant to the SADF and the 'Afrikaner'. This includes, *inter alia*, acceptance of accountability; contrition, confession and conversion; guilt, forgiveness and restitution.

Lastly, the spotlight falls on aspects like justice, patriotism, the role of churches, storytelling and the need to get to know the 'other'. In the end it comes down to the question whether the SADF conscript generation has reconciled with South Africa. The study aims to help theologians to indicate a possible way forward.

CHAPTER 2

BIBLICAL IMPERATIVE FOR HEALING, RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE

2.1 Introduction

This study, as previously indicated, focuses on the SADF conscript generation and the dilemma or crisis many of them find themselves in. Literature supports the assumption that the Afrikaner is experiencing a crisis in terms of his history because he stands accused for the 'apartheid' policy with all its related actions (De Klerk 2000, Giliomee 2003, Slabbert 1999). This is creating a crisis in the present because the Afrikaner must orientate himself and also express himself with regards to his history. This has without a doubt an influence on his future expectations. According to Jansen (2009:38) Afrikaans speaking people react in one of three ways to their past. Firstly, you get those who deny that anything wrong happened. Secondly, there are those who admit to the wrong doings of the past, but they feel that we should forget about it and move forward – a stance with which one can sympathise since the past can indeed hold one ransom. The third group accepts that one cannot just move on considering that the impact of the past was too far reaching to all sides. Therefore, it has to be scrutinised in depth. The Afrikaner and the SADF conscript generation need to go through their own truth – and reconciliation process.

The Bible has a wealth of riches that can motivate, equip, guide, correct and address believers. It always brings freedom and redemption when the believer trusts the Word and lives according to it in obedience.

The ex-SADF soldiers, of whom the majority are professing Christians, stand primarily in front of God and has command, if the clichéd expression could be used. As a result, the Bible would have played an important role not only in their daily lives, but also on the social, political and economic areas of their lives. Therefore, it is important to look at history in the light of the Word. This should be the lasting objective criterion by which actions, policies, beliefs and thoughts should be measured. Giliomee (2003:214) warns that the historical writer cannot use the moral criteria of the present to judge the past. This study is theological and therefore history has to be judged theologically. It happened often in the Old Testament that the writers and prophets judged performances

prophetically. The Bible was not written for the Afrikaner of the 17th century and onwards *per se*. The authority of the Bible is accepted and relevant to all situations and is still relevant for the church throughout the ages. Firstly, certain Scriptures are evaluated within its original context. In chapters to follow, especially Chapter 9, insights from Chapter 2 is applied to the SADF to indicate the road forward. Ecclesiastes 1:9 states, “...*there is nothing new under the sun,*” thus that which the SADF conscript generation and Afrikaner went through and experienced, most probably happened somewhere in history to other nations and groups.

It is indeed necessary but also liberating to measure oneself against the standards of the Bible. God’s will is the only guarantee of His protection and blessing. God chose His nation to live as His representatives here on Earth; herewith He gave commandments and terms. God also requires undivided loyalty and faithfulness. He also expects obedience to His word and punished those who did not obey it. The purpose though was always to bring His people back to true repentance and change. God does this in love since He created people in the first place (John 3:16).

Van der Walt (2003) wrote a significant book, ‘*Understanding and rebuilding South Africa.*’ In this book he offers a scheme that sets out certain steps or requirements¹¹ for true reconciliation. This study links strongly with this scheme; in fact, it will be used as a basis. Further, the work of Louw (2008) ‘*Cura Vitae: Illness and the healing of life*’ was also significant in this study. As the study focuses on the SADF conscript generation within the context of the previous regime, pre-1994, but also on the present regime, post-1994, relevant sections that could shed some light on the topic of reconciliation were consulted. Naturally not all sections relevant in terms of reconciliation could be exegetically treated in detail, but it has been worked in throughout the study. Sections and themes that are relevant, is briefly mentioned here. In this chapter, these are highlighted under specific themes. The themes are:

Guilt (Heb. 10 and Col. 2:14,15); contrition (2 Chr. 7:14 and Ps. 51); people who are in exile (Jer. 29:5); forgiveness (Matt. 18:21); restitution (sections of Leviticus, especially

¹¹ It is not clear which five he refers to since eight points are discussed. The eight points are: reformation (demolition and reconstruction); God’s demands for dealing with the past; acceptance of responsibility; repentance and conversion; confession of guilt; forgiveness; restitution and reconciliation. The researcher followed this framework to a great extent, slightly adjusted though, with a few additions.

chapter 25 that centres around the Jubilee); patriotism (Nehemiah) and the unconditional acceptance of all people (Acts 10,11). Obviously more scriptures were used.

For the purpose of the study two sections that are especially important were selected. The first one is Psalm 85. Most researchers (Coetzee 2009; Grogan 2008) accept this section to be written in a post-exile period. Israel is called to return to God. In a certain sense, South Africa is also in a post-exile period, a period where conflict was rife. A second section is the book of Amos. Amos is the prophet that especially deals with justice. The text intended for the people of the covenant exposes social injustices like an open wound. The Afrikaner people, though not the same as Israel of the past, was and is the 'covenant people' who are accused because of their 'social injustices' of the past. The researcher is of the opinion that this section will be relevant in the process of contemplating the past.

Therefore, the two sections will be discussed in more detail.

2.2 Psalm 85 – Learn from the past

Psalm 85 is a gripping Psalm that is a prayer and an outcry to God. There is a realisation that God has to help, but that people have the responsibility to be obedient to God. The return from exile is also a return to God (Grogan 2008:150). Coetzee (2009:555) notices the following regarding the background of the Psalm, *"In Psalm 85 the returned exiles still experience brokenness, 'un-wholeness' of the body shortly after their arrival in their land. They interpret the dysfunctional land as still part of God's anger; that is why they yearn for complete restoration of the broken relationships between themselves."* Wendland (2011:774) writes the following, *"The faithful community was currently facing a serious threat to their very existence – whether this danger confronted them in the form of a drought, some severe pestilence or pandemic, attack by a foreign army, political, social, and moral disintegration, or some combination of these."* Coetzee (2009:559) highlights this relationship between God, nation and land.

There is no consensus over the translation of שבת in verse 1. It can either be translated as *kethiv* – exile (sherbiet) or *qere* – destiny (sherboet) (Wendland 2011:767). God

therefore either changed the exile or the destiny of Israel. It seems that most translations favour destiny.

What stands out in this Psalm is the use of the word 'sjob' that is used at least six times. The word can be translated as turn, change or return, depending on the context. God changes His attitude towards the people and their sin (v 3, 4) and restores His nation and land. Further, God is asked to change him (land and people) more (v 6). The possibility to fall back to previous heresies, is also mentioned (v 8) (Coetzee 2009:560; Wendland 2011:768). Coetzee's (2009:560) declaration is:

The dynamic in Psalm 85 reflects a struggle towards restoration and maintenance of this three-dimensional relationship. In this regard the term – 'sjob' (return, turn) occurs five times (vv 2b, 4b, 5a, 7a, 9c) in the psalm and plays a primary role in expressing the societal body's yearning for restoration. In one instance (v 4) this word refers to a turn that Yahweh has made in himself in the past by turning away from his fierce anger against his people. In another instance (v 9c [8c]) the term refers to the possibility of Israel returning to wickedness again in future.

What is especially striking is the relationship between justice (*tsedek*) and peace (*shalom*) in verse 10. Peace and justice *kiss* each other. The intension is clear that it is not possible to have peace without justice. It is apparent that this justice has to be Godly justice that comes from above (v 11) but it also implies the justice people should pursue (v 13).

Weiser (1975:574) refers to the justice of God that coheres with the Sinai-tradition:

Heaven and earth meet in the proceedings of the cultic ritual just as the sun shines down from the sky and draws forth new budding life from the earth, so the 'righteousness' of God (this term embraces the saving will of God in all its aspects) evokes the faithfulness and the faith of men. God bows down from heaven, and the earth reaches up towards heaven, towards God, a vision whose grandeur and profundity are equally sublime.

Coetzee describes it as follow:

The aim of the poet with these two verses can then be interpreted as personification of attributes both of God and of his people, with the land

metaphor referring to the people, envisaging a state of wholeness and a relationship of love. The act of kissing (qvn – v. 11b [10b]) depicts deep affection between two persons (bodies), a relationship of unity and wholeness.

With regards to the social ills, Coetzee remarks the following (2009:556):

In Psalm 85 we come across various reasons for the ‘un-wholeness’ experienced by the societal body of Israel: The people’s folly of the past to which they should not return is mentioned twice; the delayed complete salvation in the present is a cause.

Wendland (2011:778) gives special insight when he also observes the following from Psalm 85:

... the failure to achieve this godly concord and orderliness within the community is dealt with in the first half of the psalm. Quite simply, all expressions of conflict and hostility are the inevitable result of human iniquity and sinfulness (v. 2) — chronic sins that are left unrepented and unforgiven, hence also punishable by the LORD (v. 3). Such communal discord and wickedness within the fellowship of God’s people may be coupled with widespread evil in the nation as a whole and thus provoke his wrath in the form of adverse political, social, economic, and physical consequences for them all. How can there be any peace if there is no righteousness in the land? And how can there be righteousness in society if there is no real repentance? Finally, how can there be genuine repentance if people habitually return to their former folly—their diverse forms of ungodly behaviour (v. 8c)? Any hope of restoration and revival is quickly extinguished in a prevailing climate of sin and injustice, whether on the national or local level, or indeed, within the church itself. In such a corrupt environment, only the wrath of God may be expected (v. 5).

Within the South African context, the country is also in a post-exilic period, where the country is still adapting after the conflict of the past. Political, social and economic issues play a role in this part. There is a realisation that only God’s leading can ensure lasting shalom. What is important here is that peace is not possible without justice, a theme that will be addressed later on. God’s justice comes from above, while the people also have to reach out to God, as well as to each other in a justified way. Next, the book of Amos will be investigated.

2.3 Amos – social justice

2.3.1 Introduction

The Old Testament contains unique passages dealing with Israel's actions in moral, social and religious fields. Amos specifically does not leave a single stone unturned to place Israel, as well as other nations, under the spotlight. Their actions regarding social issues are investigated and a verdict is made in this regard. The book of Amos is relevant and supplies guidelines in our current situation.

2.3.2 Background, analysis and structure

Rector (1978:161) paint the Amos's background, "*It was during the long and successful reigns of Joash and his son Jeroboam II that Israel reached her peak of power and prosperity. Jeroboam was able to defeat Damascus during this time and restore the northern Davidic border in Syria,*" (see 2 Kings 14:23-15:7 as well as 2 Chron. 26).

The book was written approximately 760 B.C. (Rector 1978:160). Amos was not a professional prophet and therefore not reliant on financial compensation from the government. He was a sheep farmer from Tekoa in the south and he most probably got to the north because of his business. He most probably observed things there and then at a later stage preached against it. Amos was active during the reign of Jeroboam II (786-746 B.C.) king of Israel and Uzziah, king of Judea. Uzziah lived until 774 B.C. but involved his son in his rule in 750 B.C. (Stuart 1987:283). Egypt, Assyria and Babylon's power waned, and Israel was therefore relatively safe, especially since its last powerful enemy, the Arameans, was defeated (2 Kings 14:25-28). Assyria, under the rule of Adad-Nirari II, invaded Syria in 801 B.C. and took control of Damascus. Their attention was therefore with Syria and as a result Israel could continue without hindrance. This, and the fact that there was no war raging between Israel and Judea, brought repose.

The structure of Amos can be described as follows:

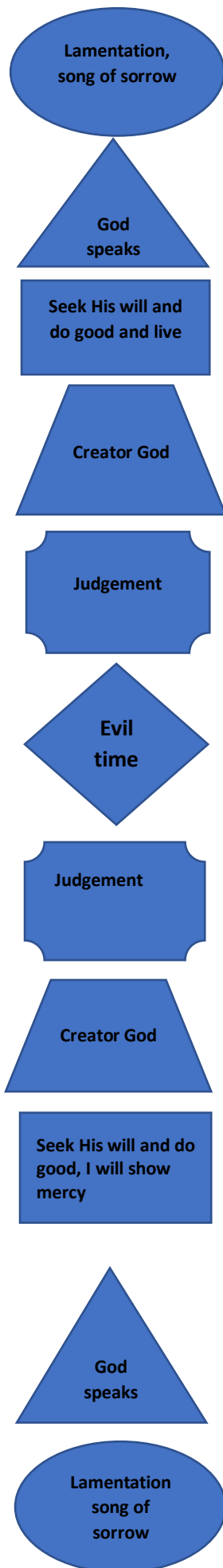
- First declarations 1:2 – 6:14
- Four visions 7:1 – 8:3
- Final declarations 8:4 – 9:15

Amos often used the expression יהוה אמר כה *"This is what the Lord said, the declaration of God."* Amos also used the following phrase יהוה אדני נשבע *"God made an oath,"* three times in 4:2, 6:8 and 8:7. He also used the call to action הדבר את שמעו *"listen to this,"* in 3:1, 4:1, 5:1 and 8:4.

What is further noteworthy is his use of quotations (summary quotations, Stuart 1987). Using this method, he refers to the self-indulgent women in 4:1, *"Bring us more to drink!"* (NET), self-righteous soldiers in 6:13, *"Did we not conquer Karnaim by our own power?"* (NET), greedy businessmen in 8:5, *"When will the new moon festival be over, so we can sell grain? When will the Sabbath end, so we can open up the grain bins? We're eager to sell less for a higher price, and to cheat the buyer with rigged scales!"* (NET) and an overconfident nation in 9:10, *"Disaster will not come near, it will not confront us"* (NET).

Van der Woude (1997:15-16) is of the opinion that Amos's judgement cannot be diluted by the few passages that focus on salvation. The full message of judgement is important.

Amos is in step with the famous approach of the day – using poetry and prose in his writing. One of the methods was chiasm (Rector 1978:165). A striking example of this is in Amos 5:1-17. This section is known as the mourning song because the first word this section starts with and the word it ends with, is mourn. Paul (1991:159) writes that the community is together to share in their joy, but Amos comes along with a sharp confronting message. When they pay attention and listen carefully, the tone changes to that of a lament. Paul (1991:159) puts it very strongly when he says, *"Amos is the first to utter a dirge for the entire nation. His funeral lament is ever so more the shocking when it is realised that he is actually mourning the death of his listeners themselves."* Schematically the section is portrayed in the following way in order to show how the writer wants to emphasis certain themes.



5:1,2 Lamentation, funeral song, fallen, abandoned,

5:3,4 The Sovereign Lord says

5:4,6 Come to me, and you will live. Go to the LORD

5:8,9 He made stars, water, sea...

5:6,7,9 Sweep down like fire, doomed, destruction on mighty and their strongholds

5:13 Evil times

5:7 Twist justice

5:11 Oppressed poor, extravagant lifestyle

5:12 Crimes, persecute good people, bribes, no justice in courts, keeping quiet

5:12 I know how terrible your sins are

5:14 Lord God Almighty

5:14,15 Aim to do what is right...so that you may live, 5:15 hate what is evil, love what is right, see justice prevails in courts, merciful to His people, I will be with you

5:16 Sovereign Lord says

5:16,17 Wailing, cries of sorrow, mourn the dead

The section is enveloped by **mourning** (verse 1, 17), an expression that was typically used at funerals. Amos uses the term 'virgin' or 'young woman' of Israel. The only other prophet who used that term, was Jeremia (Jer. 18:31; 31:4). The word 'virgin' is most probably used to show the contrast between Israel's virtuous past and the future (Rector 1978:164).

The reason for the mourning seems to be the **evil time** (verse 14) in which the nation finds itself. It also includes the judicial system that is distorted (verse 7), hatred (verse 10) as well as the poor that is being oppressed (verse 11). This is the centre of the wretched situation the people find themselves in.

Midst the situation, **God is speaking** earnestly (verse 3, 4, 16). The mourning song can change if the people listen to God. From the use of phrases like 'this is what the Lord says,' one can only assume that the lament would not be necessary if the people were obedient.

Therefore, Israel is **called** to seek God and to do what is moral and ethical. This comes to light in verse 4, 6 and 14 (ask for my will and you will live, try to do good, hate what is wrong.)

The attention is once again focused on God, He alone can prevent judgment and help the people to do what is right (verse 8, 9 and 14). Words/phrases like *God, Orion, Creator,* and *I will be with you,* focuses the attention on God.

If Israel is not obedient, God's inevitable judgment will follow (verse 6).

Israel can do much more than mourn its situation. Evil deeds and social injustices are at the core of the problem. God is aware of this. The people are called to listen to God and to follow the morally correct path. The promise of help from God is still there. The only way to salvation, the road to life is found in Him. If it should not happen this way, the only alternative from God's side is judgement. God is very aware of their wrongs. These wrongs include distortion of the law and injustices on economic and social areas. The punishment for disobeying the covenant provision is described in Deuteronomy 28. The writer wants the reader to come to the realisation that God created everything (5:8-9)

and that He will be with them if they change and repent (14). *Jahwe* is therefore supposed to be the core of Israel's life. God is Creator, He created all; and He made His will and laws known to His people. Unfortunately, it was destroyed during the 'evil time' in verse 13. The evil behaviour of Israel is now the main problem. This makes the song transform into a funeral song. The obstruction is the sin and digression of the nation. This is described as evil and brings judgment. Israel is again called to ask for the will of God and to do good.

Israel is called to salvation that is life with God (Van der Woude 1997:62).

Also, the '*Yôm Yahwe*' (the day of the Lord) is used throughout to indicate that God's imminent judgment is on its way (יהוה יום).

In 5:18 the Assyrian gods Sikkuth and Kiyun are mentioned. The humiliation of a nation that did not want to worship God with all their heart, but only trusted in ritualistic religion and failed to live morally sound lives, had to carry the gods of the triumphant nation as a consequence (Rector 1978:175).

Amos also uses numerical parallelisms in 1:3 and 6 (over three but now over four) (Stuart 1987:286). Amos 1:3 is an example of this, "*This is what the LORD says: 'Because Damascus has committed three crimes — make that four! — I will not revoke my decree of judgment...'*" (NET)

Furthermore, the typical wisdom speech is used in chapter 3:2-8, "*...two walk together...Does a lion roar... Does a bird swoop down into a trap...*" (NET)?

Amos also uses striking and well-known hymns to glorify God in order to place God in contrast with the people's sin and their vanity. Three poetic passages that confirm this are: Amos 4:13, "*For here he is! He formed the mountains and created the wind. He reveals his plans to men. He turns the dawn into darkness and marches on the heights of the earth. The LORD, the God who commands armies, is his name!*" Also, Amos 9:5 "*The sovereign LORD who commands armies will do this. He touches the earth and it dissolves; all who live on it mourn. The whole earth rises like the River Nile, and then grows calm like the Nile in Egypt,*" and Amos 9:6 "*He builds the upper rooms of his palace in heaven and sets its*

foundation supports on the earth. He summons the water of the sea and pours it out on the earth's surface. The LORD is his name" (NET).

In Amos 7:1 - 8:3 four visions are drawn. These are not as dramatic as for example Ezekiel's, though they are striking. His other written sections are more striking and make a bigger impact (Stuart 1978:286). The placement is important. After the first visions the high priest reacts strongly to Amos's judgments. Amos reacts severely and does not allow himself to be halted by the opposition, this goes to show that he has been acting for some time before this and that it is not about the number of visions, but the placement thereof. This has a big impact and shows Amos's relentlessness.

Paul (1991:221) shows the radical implications of these visions. The judgment of God is complete and destroying in nature. The nation has to realise how they should come before God.

Amos's main themes are highlighted here.

2.3.3 Main themes

2.3.3.1 Breaking of the covenant

Stuart (1987:288) is correct when he indicates that Amos is not saying anything new. The instruction for the Sabbath, neighbourly love and how to treat the poor, is encompassed in the Pentateuch and the Sinai moment that contains the Ten Commandments and other instructions. He does not deliver anything new to the nation, but he reminds them very strongly of what they ought to know. In the Pentateuch there is already promises of blessing and punishment. Something else that is also of importance is that God also cares for the other nations. In fact, the first sections of Amos relate directly to the nations surrounding Israel (Stuart 1987:290). Places that are well known to the readers are mentioned, like Damascus (5:27), Lemo-Hamath (6:14) and Egypt.

The statement in Amos 3:1-2 emphasises the exodus and the predestination, “...*the entire clan I brought up from the land of Egypt: “I have chosen you alone from all the clans of the earth.”* (NET) (Stuart 1987:320).

2.3.3.2 God’s sovereignty

It is clear in Amos that God is sovereign and therefore He should be noted. He created the world and rules over the universe. This is especially confirmed by the hymns. He controls nature (1:2) and the individual. In this regard, Amos was first chosen by God and he could not refuse (3:8) and therefore he does not owe any person an apology.

2.3.3.3 Social injustices and economic exploitation

Stuart (1987:283) shows how doors were opened for international economic trade because of the political and governmental stability. Urbanisation took place and this meant that shrewd businessmen could sell food at a **huge profit** to the city folk (3:15; 4:1; 6:1-6; 8:5). **Slavery** (2:6; 8:6) was abused by certain people; they used it to their advantage and to get rich, especially those who were greedy enough (8:4-6). The slave trade started flourishing after the border wars (1:3 – 2:16). A **higher social class** started to develop, who lived **indulgent and decadent lives** (Stuart 1987:283). Systematically Israel gained international status.

Amos describes how Israel sold the poor for a pair of sandals or very little money (2:6), how **bribes** were accepted (5:12), how they act **dishonestly** when they do business by cheating the scales (8:5), how the poor is eradicated throughout the land (8:4) and how the **judicial system is perverted** (5:10; 6:12). It is apparent that Israel in the midst of this megalomania focused totally on themselves. They live only for themselves and show no empathy for the **needy**. Samaria, especially, is highlighted as a centre of **discrimination** (3:9-10; 4:1). **Violence and fear** are used to keep the oppressed in place. There is no reverence for the covenant. That which is good and right – נכחה (3:10) - is no longer done.

Stuart (1987:387) rightly defends the insight that the **economic system** of the covenant nation was meant to be **fair** and create **equal opportunities**. That was the intension in

Joshua where each tribe got its own area and piece of land. Land had to stay within tribal conditions (Num. 26). This, together with the resolve that debt was written off every seven years, worked together to create a socially fair system. He then notices that if a small group owns the largest territory, it was inevitable that it would give rise to social injustices and greediness due to the fallen nature of the human race. The harvest laws (Lev. 19:9-10) and the Jubilee (Lev. 25:27) were forgotten. Israel became “*devotedly religious hypocrites*” (Stuart 1987:387).

2.3.3.4 Stance and attitude

A person can only act so inappropriately if you are blinded by your own pride and self-righteousness. They use violence to maintain their position (Amos 3:10); live indulgently (Amos 3:12; 6:4); and submit themselves to alcohol and other decadences (Amos 4:1).

Amos 6:1-8 (NET) gives a unique view on this attitude.

*Woe to those who live in ease in Zion, to those who feel secure on Mount Samaria. They think of themselves as the **elite class** of the **best nation**. The family of Israel looks to them **for leadership**. (Amos 6:1)*

*They say to the people: “Journey over to Calneh and look at it! Then go from there to Hamath-Rabbah! Then go down to Gath of the Philistines! **Are they superior to our two kingdoms? Is their territory larger than yours?**” (Amos 6:2)*

You refuse to believe a day of disaster will come, but you establish a reign of violence. (Amos 6:3)

They lie around on beds decorated with ivory, and sprawl out on their couches. They eat lambs from the flock, and calves from the middle of the pen. (Amos 6:4)

They sing to the tune of stringed instruments; like David they invent musical instruments. (Amos 6:5)

*They **drink wine** from sacrificial bowls, and pour the very best oils on themselves. Yet they are not concerned over the **ruin of Joseph**. (Amos 6:6)*

*Therefore they will now be the first to go into exile, and the **religious banquets** where they **sprawl** on couches will end. (Amos 6:7)*

*The sovereign LORD confirms this oath by his very own life. The LORD, the God who commands armies, is speaking: "I **despise** Jacob's **arrogance**; I hate their fortresses. I will hand over to their enemies the city of Samaria and everything in it."*

Here it is clear that Israel is of the opinion that it is the most important nation (Amos 6:1). Amos makes it clear that Israel is not any better than any other nation (Amos 6:2). Kalne, Hamat and Gat (Aramaic cities under Israel's influence) was taken over by Syria at the time of the Tiglat-Pileser III campaigns. It is not clear from Amos's writing whether it already took place (Stuart 1987:358). Unperturbed, confident, haughty and prideful they do not realise that God's judgement is on its way. Stuart (1987:359) shows that some Israelites only ate meat three times per year, or less, at their feasts, though the elite in Samaria often ate the best food in abundance. Their extravagance knew no end.

2.3.3.5 Religiousness and idolatry

Israel still maintained the facade of religion. They celebrated festivals and kept rituals, but their hearts were not in it (Amos 4:4; 5:4, 21-23). As a matter of fact, they did things that seemed like they were deliberately taunting God. They allow the Nazirites¹² to drink wine and they prevent the prophets to prophesy (Amos 2:12). Stuart (1987:318) is of opinion that the priests were deliberately left out as the priests in the North were already corrupt (according to 1 Kings 12:31-32). Amos challenges the nation sarcastically to go to the places of worship and sin there. Their rituals and offerings do not line up with their daily lives (Amos 4:4). They actually want to get festivals and Sabbath occasions out of the way as quickly as possible in order to commit further economic corruption (Amos 8:5). They make music and sing songs, but the words of the songs are far from the reality of their lives (Amos 5:23). They choose rituals instead of Jahwe, religious institutions instead of morality and justice (Rector 1978:163). The state religion does not see the injustice and apostasy of the nation or they turn a blind eye. As a result, the appointed religious leaders oppose Amos and try to get rid of him (Amos 7:13). Stuart (1987:284) summarises their religious error as follow, "*...their fidelity to the covenant was a sham...orthodox in style and*

¹² The Nazirite – according to the guidelines in Num. 6:3 and Judges 13:14 – made an oath not to drink alcohol for a specific period as well as not to shave their hair. Compare Samson in this regard.

worship but disobedient in personal and social behaviour...” and he continues, *“it was religious people that exploited the poor”* (Stuart 1987:316).

In Amos 4:4 God commands his people not to go to the religious places of Bethel, Gilgal and Beersheba. Bethel was the place where God appeared to Jacob (Gen. 28:19); Gilgal the place where Joshua circumcised the men after they entered the promised land (Jos. 5:2-12); and Beersheba is linked with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Striking, but not strange, is the reaction of the official religious institution. Amaziah, the high priest, reacts strongly against Amos. His prophecies are rejected. Amaziah also informs the king that Amos foretold his death, an accusation that is not true. Amos is also advised sarcastically to return to his own country and to earn his keep there. Amaziah insinuates that Amos would have made money out of his messages, something that Amos denies in the following verses. He is a farmer by occupation and was collected from behind the sheep to prophesy (Stuart 1987:378). Amaziah is the one whose prosperity and salvation depend on each other, depending on what would happen to Jeroboam. He is the one that managed the state temple and who would struggle to act prophetically. Church and state are indeed in a dangerous alliance at this point! Stuart (1987:380) calls it, *“religion’s willingness to condone evil.”*

On the other hand, the Israelites got involved in other religions and joined in with their rituals and worship. In Amos 8:14 we are told about the places of worship at Dan and Bethel that was built by Jeroboam himself, places where the golden calf was worshipped (Stuart 1987:291). In Bethel, Jeroboam erected holy places and appointed priests – this was against the ordinances of God. These events are also described in 1 Kings 12. In 2 Chronicles 13:8 we are told how Jeroboam I started to disregard God’s original instructions relating to the Levites and priests.

2.3.3.6 Relying on the military

Together with stability and economic prosperity, Israel started building its military (Stuart 1987:284) and the nation was proud of this. Amos 6:13 describes an arrogant,

proud people who attribute their success to military power, “...*you who rejoice in the conquest of Lo Debar and say, ‘Did we not take Karnaim by our own strength?’*”

Lo Debar means nothing, in truth, they are rejoicing in nothing. The Karnaim refers to horns which is a symbol of power (Botha 1993:1279). They live under the illusion that it is through their own strength that they have acquired power. Stuart (1987:365) most probably analysed the Lo Debar and Karnaim correctly in stating that the Aramaic cities were conquered by Jeroboam. Here it reflects on the complacent pride of the people – it was our strong soldiers who gained the victory.

God warns the people in Amos 6:14 that He will shake their confidence in their own power to its foundation in that another nation will conquer them. It will come from the northern border (Lebo Hamath) to the southern Jordan valley.

“Look! I am about to bring a nation against you, family of Israel.’ The Lord, the God who commands armies, is speaking. ‘They will oppress you all the way from Lebo Hamath to the Stream of the Arabah.’”

Amos 2:14-16 describes in military detail how the army will be conquered, “*The fast runners will find no place to hide; strong men will have no strength left; warriors will not be able to save their lives. Archers will not hold their ground; fast runners will not save their lives, nor will those who ride horses. Brave hearted warriors will run away naked in that day.’ The Lord is speaking!*” (Also see Amos 5:3).

2.3.3.7 God’s warning and judgement

The Covenant God who chose and brought out His people (Amos 3:1-2), cannot just leave things as it is. What happened was that His people sinned. God is talking and therefore Amos, the prophet, has no choice but to listen and react (Amos 3:8).

God warns His people that because of their persistence in sinning, the following is going to happen: Soldiers who are known for their speed and who are experts with weapons, will lose these abilities (Amos 2:14-16). Altars and houses will be destroyed (Amos 3:14). Famine and pestilence will be used to bring the people to reflection (Amos 4:6; 7:1af).

The people will sing lamentations and wear funeral clothes (Amos 8:10). Amos 7:1-9 refers to three visions – locusts, fire and a plumb line; these indicate that God’s judgement is on its way. These prophesies are too much for the priest Amaziah of Bethel. He threatens Amos and tries to get him to go back south and also tries to discredit him with king Jeroboam. Amos reacts strongly to this and shows that even though he does not belong to the circle of prophets, it is clearly God speaking here. A fourth vision of a basket with ripe fruit indicates that God’s time for judgement is ripe. The last vision is one where God stands by the altar, the place of sacrifice. And it is there the judgement will hit the people (Amos 9:1af). The Yôm Jahwe (the day of the Lord) is going to be dark and consist of judgement (Amos 5:18) while Israel is taken away in exile.

2.3.3.8 Call to conversion and change

God acts purposefully and communicates because Israel is His chosen people (Amos 3:2). God is holy and therefore decay affronts Him (Amos 4:2). God wants His people to realise that He is God because it is as if they have forgotten this. The purpose of a radical intervention from God’s side is to open their eyes (Amos 4:8;13). Eventually all people will appear before God and they will have to be accountable for their actions (4:12). God longs for the people to seek His will, to have a hunger and thirst to be obedient to Him and have Him in their lives (Amos 5:6). Israel is further called to give justice its rightful place (Amos 5:10). Justice should roll like waves, constantly and continuously (Amos 5:24). When the people realise the situation they are in, they will hunger and thirst for the Word of God (8:11). In the end, God himself, promises to change the fate of His people (Amos 9:11 ff). According to Stuart (1987:398), Sukkoth (Amos 5:26 was a prominent city located at a crossroads. David used it as his headquarters on the other side of the river Jordan from where he kept the nations east and south under control. In the time of Amos, this city lies in ruin. God’s name is also proclaimed over all the nations (Amos 9:15). The day will come once again when there will be planted, harvested and built. Derelict ruins will be restored. God Himself will replant His people from where He ripped them out (Amos 9:15). Paul (1991:295) indicates how the longing for God’s restoration is a key point in the end visions.

2.3.4 Conclusion

Amos exposes the people of his era in an almost shocking way without hesitation. Social injustices, economic exploitation, fraud and bribery, religion, violence and oppression as well as arrogance and a false reliance on military power are being denounced. Stuart (1987:291) calls it, "*God offended exploitation and conspicuous consumption.*"

He (Stuart 1987:330) summarises the context of Amos's period like this:

Samaritan society had over the years so thoroughly departed from the standards of the Mosaic covenant, standards of which Amos was a divinely appointed enforcer, that its favoured citizens would not know what those standards were. The standards adopted were instead the amoral Canaanite-Palestinian ones that allowed people to live selfishly and splendidly, to exploit others, to increase your holdings without limits, and to engage in virtually any personal or sensual pleasures. The Canaanites had no covenantal demands effectively on their personal or social morality and were religiously legitimate so long as they merely faithfully worshipped via the sacrificial system and financially supported the cult.

For the covenant nation and chosen people there is only one way: back to God and his commandment. A radical conversion is needed. Refusing to be obedient to this call will lead to God's judgement and possible exile. Giliomee (2003:238), the historian, in reference to the book of Amos says, "*...the prophet Amos, who showed that Israel's special mission gave it no special security in history. For Amos the very idea that Israel enjoyed special divine favour represented the corruption of pride for which Israel must be punished.*"

Israel's lifestyle of grotesque injustices may and should be made applicable to the situation in South Africa. Even more so, it can be applicable to the current government where corruption is rife. Before that, the prophesies must be made applicable to the SADF conscript generation and the Afrikaner. The plumb line will also have to measure injustices that took place knowingly or unknowingly.

A community like this described in Amos is not healthy. The 'ill' community lives in conflict with itself and cannot reconcile. Reconciliation has to do with becoming healthy

and healing. Only a whole person can reconcile. The gospel is not a deliverance from an anxious existence but the threat of a safe world (Van de Beek 2012:110). Furthermore, concepts that highlight these aspects will be looked at.

2.4 WELL-BEING¹³ ¹⁴, HEALING, SHALOM AND PEACE IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

The foundation of healing and peace is God Himself. God moves to the world in Christ through His spirit (Van de Beek 2012:109). Outside of Him there is not really the possibility for wellness or *shalom*. A God experience¹⁵ that is aware of the transcendent in the midst of existential and social problems, works together towards wellness, healing and healthy interrelationships (Louw, 2008:51). This is embodied in His love (Brümmer 2005:49). This love cannot be earned but is given freely. God's love for people is demonstrated in His incarnate Son. God does not want to buy our love with the promise of eternal life. He asks that we rather identify with His Son, Jesus Christ. Brümmer (2005:49) expresses it in the following way, "*I am rich if I love God and identify with him by making his will my own.*" God will then provide the means, capacity and opportunities for this to realise. The person who has become estranged from himself, God and his fellow humans, must return to God the Father like the lost son. This restoration or healing becomes a part of the salvation which God brought about through Christ (Louw, 2008:88). The restoration takes place by bringing the realities to the suffering God. There is an address where it can be delivered. People have basic needs and according to Louw (2008:12) these are: a need for a partner, empowerment, acceptance and acknowledgement as well as comfort (consolation, compassion).

The Old Testament concept of peace is *shalom* that encompasses the physical, psychological, social and other relevant domains. The blessing of God empowers and affirms people and brings about dynamic development (Louw 2008:87). Coetzee's (2009:556) comment on Psalm 85 is in line with this:

¹³ Wellness: the quality or state of being healthy in body and mind, especially as the result of deliberate effort.

¹⁴ Wellbeing: a good or satisfactory condition of existence; state characterised by health, happiness, and prosperity; welfare: to influence the well-being of the nation and its people (Hattingh 2014).

¹⁵ The term 'God experience' is used here instead of spirituality since it is loaded with associations, which are not Biblical according to the author.

On the other hand, God's salvation manifests itself in physical healing, forgiveness of sin, reparation of family and social ties, restoration from exile, restoration of the land as contained space in which the people live, and restoration of the God human relationship. In the Hebrew Bible, God's salvation for his people always includes the restoration of the land as well. The close relation between the restoration of the land and the reviving of the societal body of Israel is conspicuous in this psalm.

Tate (1990:372) referring to Ps. 85, declares well-being to be *shalom* which includes love, prosperity, faithfulness, justice, honour, peace in the midst of fear, survival and temptation. It is a deep, broad and encompassing concept. It is also communal in that *"...security and prosperity granted to a whole community. We are never alone in it."* Wendland's (2011:782) argument is similar, *"...but above all, it must also be lived ethically in community as the text further implies, that is, with conjoined loyal love, faithfulness, righteousness, and personal efforts continuously and vigorously directed towards the promotion of interpersonal and inter-ethnic peace."*

Wendland (2011:779) argues as follow with regard to the New Testament concept of wellness (similar to the Hebrew *shalom*) as brought forth by Jesus:

It is not incidental, I believe, that the 'peace (εἰρήνη) that Christ promises his disciples is intimately associated with the 'teachings' (διδάσκω) of Jesus, as imparted by his Spirit through the Word (John 14:26-27; cf. Matt. 11:28), where 'learning' [μανθάνω] from/about Jesus is linked with rest [ἀνάπαυσις], which is the equivalent of peace.

Augustine (Van de Beek 2012:111) puts it this way, *"...until the restless soul finds rest in God."*

Based on the aforementioned, it is clear that in both the Old and the New Testament, God is the foundation of and for love, as well as the one who orchestrates salvation and *shalom* (Van de Beek 2012:109). Not only is the relationship with God restored but also the relationship with the neighbour. This has great social and corporative implications. The following will be looked at next: brokenness and people's fallen state, as well as people's crises and how restoration can still be obtained, especially within social relationships.

The reality of the broken and fallen state of humans, brings existential crises like anxiety, feelings of guilt, despair, helplessness and anger (Louw, 2008:12). The question is, what can we do in the midst of the above-mentioned crises? In this case, Louw's (2008) spiral model is of assistance. Instead of trying to return to the original state of wholeness or an experience of the past like one would expect with a linear model, this spiral model holds alternative options where one can move to higher levels and dimensions in spite of disruptions, loss or crises in life (Louw, 2008:22). A person can move to a higher level depending on the individual's attitude and maturity. Personal identity, as well as growth and belief potential are important. Where illness brings disintegration and disturbances, the spiral movement brings growth, change, integration and accommodation. Of further importance is that belief systems, norms and values contribute to the third dimension. Cognitive structures need to change before the correct mind-set can be acquired. In order to change, it is important to have constructive, realistic and positive feedback. Critical self-reflection and self-confrontation will bring change and transformation.

Of importance for this study is the concept of reconciliation, which off course includes the relationship with the others. Unfortunately, because of the brokenness, people are not only alienated from God and themselves but also from their fellow man. Brümmer (2005:28) sheds special insights on the interpersonal relationships in this regard. Firstly, the partners in the relationship need to know each other and aim to advance the interests of the other party, not primarily your own. Their interests are your interests, which is more than a contractual or business transaction. It is important to identify with the other. Secondly, partners are unique for each other and also irreplaceable. It is not a case of 'if you do not advance my interests, I will get rid of you and move on.' You are of inherent worth and cannot be replaced by someone else. Thirdly, the assumption is that there is mutual freedom, where neither is the slave or object of the other. Fourthly, because I cannot force or manipulate you, I remain vulnerable. I remain tempted to force you because of my weakness and fallibility. Unfortunately, our human love is seldom totally pure. Lastly, Brümmer (2005:29) notes it is the relationship between persons who are not just objects. People are limited though in their capacity, knowledge and abilities. For example, people can only have a limited number of friends; therefore, their reach is limited. They are weak and defenceless. Consciously or unconsciously people do things

that are not good for them. People walk past each other in the street without knowing each other. People will often use others or abuse them for their own advantage.

Louw (2008:27) indicates the role power relationships play throughout. For him it is important that the human identity is rescued to a new status in Christ where transformation takes place as children of God. The Holy Spirit must be at work so that the serving Christian believer can bring forth fruit (Van de Beek 2008:227,109). Relationships between people take place as a dynamic systematic network and always within the context of a specific space, being the reality of an integrated geographic environment (place) or physically human environment. This space includes worldviews, values, associations, perceptions and the social and cultural structures of life in. He shows that man is extremely sensitive to reactions, responses and attitudes. For healing to take place, the space in which one is living, needs to change. He explains it further by indicating four possible space positions: 1) the position of grace where something positive and new is anticipated and where there is hope; 2) the position that includes, among others help, support and care; 3) the position of confusion because of rejection; and 4) the position of dislocation because of withdrawal or detachment, which is among other things a result of ignorance (Louw, 2008:33). By changing your attitude, it is possible to move from the negative positions 3 or 4 to the positive positions 1 or 2. Constructive, realistic and positive feedback can help to bring this about.

From the aforementioned it is clear that wellbeing can be found in God. Man, in his depravity strays from the Creator and in the process also becomes estranged from his fellow man. This is restored in Christ and the new life is celebrated in the Eucharist (i.e. Communion or the remembrance meal) (Van de Beek 2012:123). The restoration brings *shalom* at all human levels (body, soul and spirit) and also brings healing to the social relationships. Mankind experiences existential crises, which, among other things, can mean i.e. that the 'original' condition cannot ever be experienced again. The spiral method helps a person to make sense of the negative experiences and events and to move to new dimensions. Belief systems, maturity and attitude are all important in this regard. In relationships the atmosphere will determine the quality of the relationship. Relationships at all levels (marriage, family, society) are usually poisoned or toxic because of the fallen nature of people. The issue of power acquisition or keeping the power continuously plays

a role. This obviously makes it more difficult to have healthy relationships and to work towards healing. It is important to change your position here – moving from being the victim, being confused, feeling rejected and being indifferent to one of hope, involvement and expectancy. The attitude change can make an enormous contribution to the healing and prosperity of the person. It is important that the individual and the group deal with their fellow human beings in a Biblical way where neighbourly love is just as strong as self-love.

2.5 'SOCIAL' ILLNESS

One of the goals of this study is to supply a framework that will help the SADF conscript generation gain healing. Before this can come to realisation, one must first describe the illness, the symptoms and the consequences of the illness.

Louw (2008:109) describes the Old Testament concept of healing and illness like this: Old Testament wholeness is wellness, and it involves, among others, the good relationship with Yahweh to be restored. Illness stands opposed to harmony, intactness, and integration. Wholeness, reconciliation and peace become God's goals when He intervenes in times of suffering. God acts in order to educate, teach, discipline and warn, to name a few (cf. 2 Tim. 3:16). His actions bring repentance, faithfulness, liberation and the restoration of *shalom*. Human vulnerability and weakness are assumed. Illness drains life (Louw 2008:111). It is important that the covenant relationship is maintained. Often there is a relationship between illness and sin. Often, illness is also the result of God's wrath. Liberation takes place where there is confession of sin. Begging for mercy is in fact confession of sin. Life according to the Old Testament is, "... a blessing from God. This implies condition of peace. Physical, psychological, social and mundane dimensions of life. Blessing of God empowers man and the world and brings dynamic development" (Louw 2008:87).

In the New Testament illness is often the result of general weakness as well as the influence of demons. There is also a relationship between illness and sin. Personal confession is not always the road to healing because God is sovereign. Miracles were a sign that the Kingdom has come. Sin and illness are subject to God's merciful rule. Illness

is there so people will subject themselves to God's grace. Illness is not a discovery of sin. Jesus carried the weight of sin. Illness is now placed "*within the tension of eschatology: already but not yet*" (Louw 2008:113-115).

According to Louw (2008:118) illness¹⁶ causes conflict and an existential crisis¹⁷ as described below. The conflict involves the following:

- Internal conflict. The question being asked is, "Who am I?" This person has to assess himself based on his identity¹⁸ and his worth. He experiences an identity crisis and his illness has an influence on his future. His self-confidence is affected, and his emotional world is disturbed.
- The familiar world becomes strange and in a sense an animosity develops towards the ill. Stress enters where previously peace and harmony reigned.
- Illness causes a religious crisis. Questions about God's fairness and omnipotence are raised. There may even be negative feelings towards the church and the church administrators.
- Further, the crisis influences basic decisions and the sense of purposefulness and direction.

The existential crisis can encompass one or more of the following (Louw 2008:63):

- Anxiety – fear of rejection and isolation.
- Guilt – the past has the potential to destroy one's identity as well as self-esteem and also has the power to influence and hamper ones present and future orientation.
- Despair – insignificance with no hope in the future.
- Helplessness and defencelessness within the structures and networks of life.
- Disillusionment, frustration, anger and unfulfilled needs because of one's life situation and other things like crime and unemployment.

Various solutions and/or therapies/help for the above mentioned five crisis situations are listed:

- Anxiety – unconditional acceptance as well as the amazing grace of the gospel.

¹⁶ Louw especially describes an ill person in a hospital bed. This can also be made applicable to those who are socially and psychologically ill, but not necessarily hospitalised.

¹⁷ The terminology of certain words can be confusing at times. In English words like sickness and illness are used opposed to health, healing and wellness.

¹⁸ Chapter 4 deals specifically with the Afrikaner's identity.

- Guilt – the realisation that one’s guilt/debt hung on the cross with Christ (Col.2:13,14)
- Despair – the hope that exists in Christ (Rom. 15:13)
- Helplessness – the koinonia that exists in the body of Christ.
- Disillusionment - here healing includes the removal of certain destructive forces that endanger one’s human worth.

Louw (2008:119;121;123;128) makes a few comments concerning the existential crises.

- Humans naturally strive for life and health. This harmony is now under threat.
- This also includes the danger of insignificance and nothingness. This experience of insignificance results in anxiety and fear of rejection, especially within social structures where aloneness, isolation and confusion could emerge.
- Pain is often experienced and can include the following: *‘itching, burning, throbbing, pressure, prickling to a violent shooting of pain, fever or accompanied by shivering, uncontrolled contractions, nausea or vomiting.’* These are all indications that there is disharmony in the body, mind or moral compass. It is important to note that pain is an important component of growth. Pain can teach patience and a renewed focus on love and nurture and can also strengthen character and identity. It helps the person to focus on the ultimate destination.
- Furthermore, the person is confronted with guilt, his own actions in the past and he has to review it. The person in such a crisis shows a search for peace, wholeness and harmony. At times people see illness as a punishment for sin. Louw (2008:121) points out that there is a relationship between illness and sin but that it is not a general principle and that all sin and judgment was conquered and vindicated in Christ.
- The so-called suffering question (theodicy) is also prominent. The *why* questions relating to suffering is asked. Illness causes suffering. The challenge for the believer is to integrate pain in his life. His attitude towards it will determine whether it will ultimately destroy him or lead to a step in the direction of further spiritual growth.

The person that is ill, experiencing a crisis, instinctively wants to use common resources to overcome the illness. The fact that the situation is unfamiliar and unknown to us, taps

us of our strength. This causes stress and leads to the person disintegrating and becoming desperate. In the end the person calls out that everything is unbearable, that leads to anxiety, uncertainty, alienation and depression (Louw 2008:22). Further, danger zones are when pressure, duress and duty are experienced, when the situation stagnates and there is no option for change. This again leads to aversion and repulsion (Louw 2008:33).

It seems as if the symptoms of guilt, despair, helplessness, frustration, alienation, isolation and removal do occur in a percentage of the SADF conscript generation. It is tested in chapter 7 and 8 where the results of the quantitative study are released. What is of importance in this section is that those who are experiencing these symptoms are indeed not well. Louw's (2008:34) wise words in this regard give valuable direction, "*For many issues, problems and ailments in life there are no solutions. They would be acknowledged, accepted and lived in a constructive and integrated way.*" *Shalom* implicates i.e. wellness and healing in a social context. It is clear that sin and apostasy can also lead to sick communities and societies. Healing can only come through a return to Biblical norms and values.

Next there will be a specific focus on Van der Walt's (2003) model for reconciliation. It includes i.e. acceptance of responsibility for the past, contrition, repentance, confession, forgiveness and restitution.

2.6 FRAMEWORK FOR RECONCILIATION

2.6.1 Stock taking and acceptance of responsibility for the past

Reconciliation starts with God. Humanity has to be rescued of his sin and brokenness; this will be described later in the study. Only God can do this. In his redeemed state humanity is reconciled with God. This implies that people will discuss their past honestly with their fellow man.

In Psalm 51 David describes his deep remorse and also confesses his adultery with Bathsheba. It is clear that David does not try to rationalise his past or tries to shift the blame onto someone else. He and he alone is responsible for what happened.

Most people will admit that what happened in the past in South Africa had a great influence on the country and its people. Also, the involvement of the SADF and other powers like Russia and Cuba in countries like Angola and Namibia also had a negative impact on those countries. This is referred to in Chapter 4. Reconciliation requires firstly, that the past is looked at honestly. Unfortunately, most people do not want to accept responsibility. Others choose to shift blame – they either blame others or circumstances (projection)- while others try to rationalise the impact (talk it down). This reminds us of what happened in Paradise where Adam placed the blame on Eve and Eve again placed the blame on the serpent. For Christians it would be easier to accept responsibility (Van der Walt 2003:354). Some Germans are of the opinion that *'Befehl ist Befehl'* (an order is an order) or *'Wir haben nicht gewusst'* (we did not know what was going on). All white South Africans had, to a lesser or greater extent, part in *apartheid*. The violation was often in not saying or doing anything by simply standing by, the sin of omission. Leaders and the media cleverly manipulated the white people by giving the impression that there was nothing wrong with what was happening, that apartheid was justified (the church itself came to this conclusion) and that the purpose for their actions was to maintain law and order.

The question of individual and collective responsibility also occurs. Firstly, every individual has to accept responsibility and then white people as a collective, something that has not happened yet. Others make a distinction between oppressors and oppressed, categories that are not always meaningful and is often presented too simplistic. According to the Bible it is clear that we have all sinned (Rom. 3:23).

The reason why the past needs to be investigated is because it has an influence on the future (Van der Walt 2003:358). In this regard Le Bruyns (2007:380) writes, *"Without remembrance and acknowledgment or confession there can be no liberation and no reconciliation. No liberation is possible from the past or the future. No reconciliation with God, with those closest to you, with others, or with yourself is possible."* Also, Meiring (2009:59), who was part of the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, remarked the following:

When political change came to South Africa, the issue and the wisdom of truth finding was widely debated. There were those who, with the best

intentions, said, 'Let us close the books, let us forgive and forget!' The response of many, including Archbishop Tutu, was, 'No! We can never do that! We need to open the books, we need to deal with our past – horrible as it may be before we close the books.' Searching for truth can be painful and difficult, even hazardous. It can disrupt the journey towards reconciliation. But in the long run, it is the only way to go. Reconciliation is about uncovering the truth, not about amnesia.

For the believer that means he is standing in front of God. His mere existence is thanks to God. He has to answer to God, even in the present, regarding his life and actions. This principle reminds us of the parable in Matthew 25 of the coins (talents) which the owner entrusted to his workers. In the end they had to give feedback on their management of the money.

In this regard Giliomee (2003:240) remarks:

In the humble situation that the church finds itself today there is no better advice than that given by the Chilean author and human rights activist Ariel Dorfman (1997) in talking about the white-black power struggle when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was in session. 'Shame cannot be the centre of growth and a new life. Both sides need the cleansing process of looking at the past, letting it become a fundamental part of their understanding and then moving onwards with hope.'

Van der Walt (2003:351) warns in this regard, *"This will stay with us until it is dealt with in the right way. And the only way is a Christian way."* There is no other alternative for a Christian but to deal honestly, directly and intensely with the past, even if it is a painful process.

2.6.2 Contrition, remorse, confession and repentance

Before change or reconciliation can be expected, a process of contrition is necessary. This requires amongst other things to be still before God, introspection as well as a time of reflection and meditation. One Biblical text that refers directly to contrition is 2 Chronicles 7:14 *"...if my people, who belong to me, humble themselves, pray, seek to please me, and repudiate their sinful practices, then I will respond from heaven, forgive their sin, and heal their land."*

This section complements 1 Kings 8:54 – 9:9 where Solomon prayed on behalf of the nation. It was the festival of the tabernacle which in fact was a pilgrim's festival. There were many people present because the temple was inaugurated (Dillard 1987:55). The theme of Chronicles includes the 'whole of Israel'. This section in Chronicles is unique and relates to the theology of blessing and punishment, or immediate recompense (Dillard 1987:58). Obedience and misconduct bring blessing or punishment. What is of importance here is that the people, the covenant people, must know that God's name has already been spoken over them. He is their God. When the people transgress, there is a way out. The way out is a time of remorse, prayer and a sincere search for God's will. Another condition is that the people will turn away from what is wrong. The promise for obedience implies God's forgiveness and blessing for the country in that the country will be restored. The restoration most probably includes the yield of farmers as well as the general *shalom* that includes peace and harmony amongst the people. David's striking words of remorse and confession in Psalm 51 – as mentioned before – also serves as an example.

In the New Testament Jesus took part in the Jewish festivals that included times of contrition. Also, the disciples were in prayer, awaiting the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Throughout the history of the church, spiritual awakening, renewal and revival always went hand in hand with contrition. Like, for example the young coal mine worker, Evan Roberts, who prayed for revival. The Welsh revival took place in 1904. Amongst other things, 300 prayer groups were established because of this revival (Burger 1988:62). This went together with the realisation of guilt, intense mourning and confessing to God and fellow citizens. Without exception, it leads to conversions and a complete turn-around in people's lives (Mostert 2000:18). An expectancy of something new that was Godly, was ever present. Prayer played a huge part throughout (Mostert 2000:18).

Furthermore, it is also important to point out that conversion is necessary for the person who is a part of the covenant people. Jesus was very clear about this when he taught, Nicodemus, a Pharisee, that conversion and being born-again are essential. Also, the zealous John the Baptist rightly shows the Pharisees and Sadducees in Matthew 3 that their connection with Abraham being covenant children does not indemnify them from

true conversion. Your church membership is not your ticket to heaven, only conversion that comes from true faith and fruits that sprout from that faith, is (John 3:10).

Obviously, every aspect mentioned here can be expanded and some may even disagree with it. What is of importance though is that there is an attitude of dependence and humbleness present. There must be an acknowledgment of sin and guilt. Humanity's awareness of failure brings with it an attitude of brokenness which helps with the search for Godly intervention, salvation and deliverance.

Wielenga (2013:5) strikingly describes this mourning process:

...perpetrators and victims, or all those hurt by the events of the past, to cry together for their shared loss of humanity. We should be crying together for the way in which we have all been manipulated by politics and power play, crying together for the way in which stereotypes have divided a nation, crying together for those affected by violent crime and crying for the perpetrators of these crimes. Beyond debate in the public sphere, there is a need to share pain and wounds together. Part of the process towards crying together may be being angry at one another and expressing the bitterness and grief in one's story.

Brümmer (2005:52) makes use of St Bernard's scheme of purification that includes repentance, self-denial and humility. He refers to it as the land of unlikeness since people do not get to a place of admission of guilt and purification naturally. He further describes this wrong way of life as "*...false ways of feeling and thinking, established complexes which have acquired for us an almost sacred character, and governed...these must be broken up. We must come to know ourselves for what we really are.*" He refers to the Heidelberg's Catechism that requests humanity to "*...know the greatness of my sin and misery*" and "*...we should come to know that we lack Socratic self-knowledge.*" Brümmer further quotes the parable of the Lost Son in Luke 15:17-19, "*Father, I have sinned against God and against you; I am no longer fit to be called your son.*" In our alienation from God we became ignorant of God and of ourselves. Self-denial is very difficult because we feel very satisfied with ourselves. We have lost the desire to seek God. We want to satisfy material and sensory needs (corruptible things) which is logical and conceded. "*They cannot repent because they do not know whom they have offended,*" argues Brümmer (2005:54). We created prisons through sin and cannot see the light. The second step is 'mind

development' or enlightenment of my life and life in general. The Word helps to know the will of God; I need to conquer the devil, the world and myself. I am not able to do this in my own power and therefore need empowerment so that a union of wills can take place. This union is the love of God.

Van der Walt (2003:353, 362) gives a few reasons why people do not want to admit to the 'apartheid' sins of the past: a lack of humility and moral courage, feigned ignorance and blame shifting as well as the inability to realise how degrading and wrong apartheid was. He indicates that conversion is both vertical and horizontal, that a new relationship with God and people forms part of one's conversion. Conversion can also not be selective and takes place daily. Van der Walt (2003:360) states, "*It starts with the individual but continues with the life round you,*" therefore he deals with structural sin and indicates the dangers to make sin individualistic and to see it as isolated.

Social evils affect more people. Furthermore, confession implies that one has to ask forgiveness – this is risky. He also indicates that someone can confess on behalf of a group or nation. As an example, he uses Nehemiah 1:6,7 and Daniel 9:4-11. He urges though that it has to be done willingly and not opportunistic, as an example in the South African context, to gain the approval of the new ANC government. Confession has to sprout from the heart. And, according to James 5:16 it brings healing and "*confession is the only way to breathe freely again,*" states Van der Walt (2003:364). Verster (2008:364) agrees with this and mentions, "*...through remorse one comes in the presence of the God who forgives.*"

2.6.3 Laying down blame

It is critical to realise that all people are guilty before God (Rom. 3:23; 6:23). Volf (1996:83) declares that everyone is in a state of '*non-innocence*'.

In the Old Testament people brought sacrifices to the priests that served as atonement for their transgressions. The different offerings needed for different occasions or trespasses are discussed, especially in Leviticus.

Biblically speaking it is important to understand that God removed our sins through Jesus. Colossians 2:13,14 use the image of a jurisdictional charge sheet nailed to the cross.

Furthermore, a military example is used to indicate that the enemy was indeed defeated – he that caused the sin but is also the prosecutor (Rev. 12:10). Hebrews 10 tells with great effectiveness of Christ, the High Priest who not only brought the offer but was also the offer himself (12). The consequence of this was that a path to the Father was resurfaced, restored indeed (19). It is now up to the believer to approach the Father's throne with faith (22). This can only be done when he is certain his sin has been removed. Someone who still wants to carry his own sin and shame does not understand what has been done for him in Christ. On the contrary, he does not qualify to enter the presence of the Father. Jesus prepared the way with His body; with His blood he gave the believer permission to use it. The toll fee has been paid.

The question that follows is: what do we do with transgressions towards our neighbour? Restitution or correction will be discussed later in this chapter. The New Testament is clear that the relationships between people should be correct and pure. Matthew 18 states that if a person has wronged another in any way, that person should be confronted in love. If the person does not listen to the advice or take the rebuke to heart, someone else should go with to talk to the guilty party. Eventually, if he or she does not take any of this to heart, they can be banished from the community of believers. The believer is also warned not to bring an offer to the temple if he knows there is a transgression between him and someone else. Jesus strongly emphasises the call to make peace. Lastly, Paul warns the believer in 1 Corinthians 11:28 to not even share in communion before he has done self-reflection (self-investigation). It is clear that the believer should first be cleansed of intentional sin or a guilty conscious.

Biblically speaking, it is actually a sin to go about with guilt or to make someone else feel guilty. When guilt is confessed, it has passed. Fellow believers have no right to accuse one another. Actually, the call to not judge anyone according to human standards, is particularly strong (2 Cor. 5:16). Jesus forgave sin and took away guilt and taught the people that they should not judge because all people are guilty (Matt. 7:1). A feeling of guilt can be destructive for the believer as well as his self-esteem. The Biblical stand in Christ is a redeemed and freed person who shares in the promises. A person's debt has been paid by Him who did it on behalf of all broken and fallen people.

2.6.4 Forgiveness

One aspect that is emphasised especially in the New Testament is the aspect of forgiveness. God has forgiven humanity and therefore we are called to forgive each other (Matt. 6). The basis for our forgiveness of others is Christ (Van der Walt 2003:364; Verster 2008:66). God's forgiveness is related to remorse and repentance. In Luke 3:3 John calls on the people to repent once again so that God can forgive their sin. An attitude of remorse and admission of guilt is set as prerequisite for forgiveness according to John (Hager 1995:365). Verster (2008:68) refers to the forgiveness that comes from God in Psalm 25:19 after admission of guilt. Psalm 51 is a classic example of repentance and receiving forgiveness. Furthermore Verster (2008:68) quotes Human (2005:131) who shows that remorse, repentance, recovery and reconciliation follow one another. Contradictory to this, Van der Walt (2003:365) is of the opinion that remorse and repentance are not a prerequisite for forgiveness, but that the forgiveness must be visible. He adds that forgiveness is not possible as long as iniquities exist. Forgiveness causes the Kingdom of God to break open in the life of a believer.

In Jesus' prayer in Matthew 6 he already calls on the believer to forgive like He has forgiven us (also see Mark 11:25). Verster (2008:72) indicated that the Greek implies that the guilty party is already forgiven by the time he asks God for forgiveness.

It is important for the believer to understand that the individual person also stands guilty before God, but God also forgives him or her. The one who suffers the injustice also stands guilty before God (Rom.3:23; 6:23) and is forgiven by God. Jesus points out that if a person does not forgive a wrongdoing committed against him/her, He will not forgive his/her wrongdoings (John 20:23). With great effect, Jesus uses the parable in Matthew 18 of the man who found himself deep in debt, he begged with his owner for pardon, was pardoned and then went on to mercilessly demand a very small debt owed him from another person. Such a person will lose his impunity and a great deal of pain will await him/her in the future.

A question asked often is: how far does forgiveness reach? Should everyone and everything be forgiven? Is confession even a prerequisite? Forgiveness is unconditional and is also something the Word instructs us to do. Confession is therefore not essential,

but it will definitely aid forgiveness. On the other hand, confession is necessary for reconciliation. Relationships cannot be restored, and reconciliation cannot take place without confession of guilt followed by asking for forgiveness. Peter asks in Matthew 18:21, the only gospel that contains this section, whether he should forgive his brother even if it is the seventh time his brother sins against him. Seven is the perfect number and also a lot of times to forgive. It is already four times more than the three times the Rabbi's prescribe (Hagner 1995:365). Jesus' answer, which is a hyperbole, indicates that the scope of forgiveness is unlimited. Whatever someone did, however bad it might have been, can and must be forgiven. Seventy times seven also seems to indicate a time period. It can take the victim a long time to forgive but what is of worth is that he/she forgives in the end. The long period may also indicate that it takes an lengthy time for feelings of retaliation and outrage to diminish. The Basileia (Kingdom) of God becomes a reality when there is perfect forgiveness (Hagner 1995:540). Since God's forgiveness is unending, the believer is called to also forgive. Your attention needs to be drawn to the fact that Peter reports this person has already asked for forgiveness seven times. The assumption is that this person has already admitted and confessed his/her sin, in other words he/she has come to a realisation of their transgressions. The seven times indicate that at least there is a measure of confession on the part of the culprit, considering that he/she is struggling to overthrow a sinful habit. Forgiveness is radical and complete, in that nothing may be held against a person (Verster 2008:72). The person who can forgive, who has grace in his/her heart, is called blessed in Matthew 5 (Hagner 1995:540).

Why is Jesus so radical in his call to forgive? *"Why is it put forward so strongly? Because of the workings of the human condition in injustice, because of human existence in sin, because of the fact that everyone has a part in this sin, because of the fact that everyone is responsible for it, because of our collective blame for the evil in the world"* (Verster 2008:73).

Van der Walt (2003:364) further argues what forgiveness means: it removes a burden; it opens up new possibilities; God's forgiveness removes the sin but not necessarily the repercussions of the sin; it is unconditional and does not aim for restitution; it assumes that the person will not do it again; forgiveness is not cheap; it is also not sentimental; it is not false; and it does not mean that it will be forgotten. Punishment and restitution

remain God's prerogative (Heb. 10:30). The call to love your enemy collaborates in finally also forgiving your enemy.

Verster (2008:75) quotes Jones (1995:301) who explains it as follow:

As in the vigil, then, all people ought to be ever mindful of those forces that conspire in the production of sin and evil and death. At the same time, however, we ought – as forgiven and forgiving people – to be searching for, praying for, living for, and celebrating signs of God bringing about new life, signs of Easter, anywhere they can be found. We ought to cultivate communities of the Spirit whose holiness is manifest in practices of forgiveness and reconciliation. In so doing we ought to attend to the politics of memory, a politics that enables us to confront the past without being bound by it or condemned to repeat it.

Meiring (2009:65) says the following:

Reconciliation requires a deep, honest confession and a willingness to forgive. The South African TRC Act did not require perpetrators to make an open confession of their crimes, to publicly ask for forgiveness before amnesty was granted. Yet it has to be stated clearly that lasting reconciliation rests firmly upon the capacity of perpetrators, individuals as well as perpetrator communities, to honestly and deeply recognize and confess their guilt towards God and their fellow human beings, towards individual victims as well as victim communities and to humbly ask for forgiveness. And it equally rests upon the magnanimity and the grace of the victims to reach out to them, to extend forgiveness.

Brummer (2005:41) calls it “...forgiveness is opposite attitude. The breach in the relationship is greater evil than the injury. By your ability to give forgiveness your fellowship can be restored and even deepened.”

Slabbert (2004:779) points out that no one can be forced to forgive, and no one can demand that someone else forgives him or her. The possibility for forgiveness depends on the victim.

Therefore, the important topic of correction or restitution is discussed next.

2.6.5 Restitution as correction

It seems that there are not many theological arguments relating to this topic and that it is assumed that the justice system will deal with things like punishment, justice and law and order. It is obviously not completely wrong, and one could argue that the Kingdom will be clearly visible when Biblical principles manifests itself in the societal context of the law. Since this is a theological study, it is important to see what the Bible says about restitution.

The first example of punishment or restitution is in the Paradise story where Adam and Eve had to leave the Garden because of their disobedience. Not long after this, the first murder is committed where Cain kills Abel. The bloodshed is strongly condemned. Cain is cursed and banished from the land he owned, as well as the land where he would have walked (Gen 4:10). The people in the time of Noah are punished and wiped out. In fact, throughout the Old Testament the Paradise story repeats itself where people have to live with the consequences of their sin and transgressions. Even the covenant people who enjoyed the blessing, care and protection of God, tend to stray from the right path. This also led to punishment so that correction could take place.

In the Old Testament correction or reconciliation usually involved some form of sacrifice to God. This is looked at in detail in the book of Leviticus. Leviticus holds forward a few laws and guidelines that had to be followed if the nation should commit transgressions against each other. Leviticus 6 is about any form of fraud, theft, false witness that was given, or any type of transgression that can be committed against another person. If such transgressions come to light, the guilty person has to repay the debt plus an extra fifth. It is also important to note that any transgression, in fact, is also a transgression against God Himself (Lev. 6:2) therefore a further offer had to be made to God. The priest does appeasement on behalf of the person and his/her sin is forgiven (Lev. 6:7). It is important to note that many offers were corporative, made on behalf of the nation as a whole. Those who performed the offering and cleansing ceremonies also had to perform cleansing rituals for themselves (Lev. 8:6). Confession, sacrifice and reconciliation manifest the presence of God (Lev. 9:23). Sacrifices are brought with the realisation that God is holy (Lev. 10:3) and to take the sin out of the congregation (Lev. 10:17). In addition, there were

guidelines in relation to sexual relationships. The implication of sin was that it defiled the land (Lev. 18:25) and God punished the people for that, the result being that he (the land) spat his residents out.

Leviticus 19: 11-18 revolve around general prescriptions that correlate strongly with the ten commandments, like the sanction on stealing, fraud, false testimony, lies, unfair court cases, hate, revenge, also not to put your neighbour's life in danger. All of these are summarised in verse 18 that states that you have to love your neighbour as you love yourself.

Leviticus 24 covers restitution. Verse 18 calls it the principle of – *'a life for a life'* (NET). This includes injuries that were suffered (an eye for an eye), as well as animals that were killed which have to be replaced. Murder can only be put right by the death of the guilty person. The following words are important, *"...for I am the Lord your God"* (Lev. 24: 22b; NET).

Leviticus 25 explains the Jubilee. Van der Walt (2003:367) places great emphasis on this without going into too much detail applying it to the South African context. He draws some useful conclusions from it though. It was the custom that land that was used for planting crops and harvesting, was left to rest every seventh year – the Sabbath's year. The Jubilee though happened every 50 years. Firstly, the soil was also dedicated to the Lord by not planting or harvesting on it in that year (Lev. 25:11). Further, all debt was written off (Lev. 25:10) and the land had to be returned to its original owner. No one ever owned land permanently (Lev. 25:23) because God was seen as the owner while the people were only trustees. A further principle was that fellow citizens who were struggling with debt were to be helped (Lev. 25:35). The Levites, for example, had an absolute right to certain land and cities. The idea was to bring restoration, and in a way, it can be seen as an equaliser. When land was bought or sold, no one may be exploited (Lev. 25:14). Promises of blessing and good harvests were given to those who obeyed this (Lev. 25:18,19). Small landowners were not to become the slaves of the great landowners who engulfed everything (Van der Walt 2003:367). The purpose of this system was grace and fairness. This implied that no one was extremely rich or permanently poor. Economic

inequality was restored periodically through the Year of the Jubilee (Van der Walt 2003:369).

In Exodus 21 and 22 a person was held responsible to compensate for any injury, prejudice or negligence to a fellow citizen.

In the New Testament in Luke 19, we find the story of Zacchaeus. He was a tax collector who became a very wealthy man as a tax agent. A large portion of this was due to dishonest profits. When his life changed after meeting Jesus, he was willing to give half of his possessions to the poor and to pay back four times the amount that he collected dishonestly. Nolland (1993:906) indicates that it was the Jewish custom to add a fifth (20 percent) of the original amount (Ex. 22:1-4; 2 Sam. 12:6; Lev. 6). According to him fourfold indicates Roman influence.

It is clear that Zacchaeus's changed life has a radical impact on his realisation that restitution is necessary. One would not be able to conclude a 'theology of restitution' based on his actions though. The important principles of restitution, compensation and correction are merely emphasised by this.

Cilliers (2012:505) who writes for example about the inequalities in South Africa refers to Finca (2007:4) who takes a stand regarding restitution and reconciliation, "*Restitution is not a political issue. It is moral and ethical. It lies at the centre of moral theology.*"

Evaldsson (2007:133) quotes the definition of restitution as described by *The Permanent Court of International Justice*, "...as far as possible, wipe out all the consequences of the illegal act and re-establish the situation which would, in all probability, have existed if that act had not been committed." She points out that this action is exceedingly difficult as no deed can ever be made undone and that it cannot be converted into a monetary value.

She refers to restitution that took place after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) where victims were compensated for certain misdeeds. Councils and magistrates were appointed to assist in this process. One of the problems with this system was that those who persevered to the end received the smallest compensation as they only joined the

process at a later stage. Those who gave up early or joined the British forces (joiners) were actually advantaged by this process (Evaldsson 2007:137). Those who lost their homes and means due to the Scorched Earth policy were provided with food and shelter. Seed and farm implements were also provided so that they could farm. The big challenge was to determine who qualifies and to put a cut-off date forward. Evaldsson also highlights the danger of trying to acquire an absolute truth. Confessions and symbolic actions sometimes carry more weight than material compensation. Unfortunately, during this process there was still a lot of bitterness present and the process was criticised for the reasons that the compensation was not enough and that the wrong people received it. Emily Hobhouse, the English lady who reached out to the Boers, accomplished a great deal in this regard. Not only did she focus the British public's attention on the atrocities that took place, but also started projects among the Afrikaners, creating jobs for them so that those who lived in rural areas were not forced to move to the cities for work. She laid the foundation for reconciliation between Boer and Brit (Evaldsson 2007:140).

Evaldsson looked at the Reparation and Rehabilitation committee, which formed part of the TRC, that received the least attention because the focus was on reconciliation and unity (Evaldsson 2007:142). The committee could only make suggestions that were referred to parliament who had to make the final decision. It was also not compulsory for perpetrators to pay compensation. The TRC admitted that no healing or reconciliation is possible without proper reparation. Reparation is divided into the following five components, "*...urgent interim reparation, individual grants, symbolic reparation, community rehabilitation and institutional reform*" (Evaldsson 2007: 143). The frustration was that individual cases were only paid out after 2003 while amnesty was immediately available.

Evaldsson (2007:150) also points out that while healing is very important, restoration of human dignity as well as a sense of justice is also very important. She (Evaldsson 2007:152) further implores,

... they can promote, for example, reconciliation, the healing of trauma, the creation of a sense of justice, as well as the consolidation of democracy and peace. But, if they are carried out in a manner insensitive to the particular context, appear to be unfair or far too inadequate, and if they are delayed

and/or fall far too short of the victims' expectations, there is a risk that they might even worsen a situation. Nevertheless, since a reparation process can probably never be completely perfect, an imperfect process is, in most cases, better than no reparation whatsoever.

Lastly, referring to the physical and material situation of people, she remarks,

It can be argued that in order for lasting reconciliation to take place, the material circumstances must change for the majority of South Africans. This can be viewed as reparation in the form of general socio-economic development, including issues such as job creation, housing, electricity, clean water and improved health care.

Meiring (2009:62), who formed part of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee of the TRC, feels the following is needed,

Justice and reconciliation are two sides of the same coin. For reconciliation there has to be a sense of justice being part and parcel of the process. Lasting reconciliation can only flourish in a society where justice is seen to be done. In South Africa, during and after the TRC process, this brought a number of issues to the fore: not only proper reparation for the victims of gross human rights violations, to balance, the gift of amnesty that was given to perpetrators of these abuses, but also the wider issues involving every citizen in post-apartheid South Africa: unemployment, poverty, affirmative action, equal education, restitution, redistribution of land, HIV/Aids, et cetera.

Meiring (2009:54) also did research on the reconciliation process in Canada where the children of indigenous groups were forced to attend church schools that were subsidised by the government with the purpose to westernise them. Churches gave millions of dollars and services in the process of reparation.

In connection with the government's contribution Meiring (2009:64) states,

The Federal Government has formalised a 1,9 billion Canadian dollar compensation package for all those students who were still alive as of May 30, 2005. The compensation, called Common Experience Payment, amounts to \$10 000 for the first year or part of a year a student attended school, plus \$3 000 for each subsequent year. By the end of March 2008 \$1.19 billion had already been paid out, representing 61 473 cases. The question is: is monetary reparation sufficient? The CMU group also touched on the matter, recommending that the TRC should, where its discretionary

powers permit, model its final recommendations on the South African TRC's reparation proposals, to include not only the above payments to be made, but to also attend to symbolic reparation, as well as community and institutional reparation.

Restitution is inevitable in the reconciliation process. The Bible is specific about this, especially in the book of Leviticus. Furthermore, theologians, politicians, academics and authors are all in agreement that restitution is very important. Restitution can range from financial compensation, services like water and electricity, support in business ventures, sponsorship of education and training, affirmative action in job creation to symbolic actions.

2.6.6 Justice

It has already been mentioned that reconciliation is not possible without justice. This came to light in Psalm 85, "*justice and peace kiss each other*". Peace and reconciliation are not possible where justice is wanting. Justice should not be confused with equality. It requires though that all people's dignity is acknowledged and that everyone deserves an equal chance. Mention has already been made of justice in the book of Amos. According to this, God's people are encouraged to allow justice to reign like waves that continue to roll toward the land (Amos 5:24). The problems in Amos's time were economic exploitation, fraud, the poor who were exploited and the rich who lived extravagantly while the facade of religion was maintained. The Ten Commandments, as well as the other guidelines within the Old Testament, often deal with maintaining an orderly and fair community, which ultimately refers to justice. Israel is called to act ethical and to maintain norms and values that complies with the call for justice and fairness. Louw (2008:53) is further of the opinion that justice, which is a corporate aspect at its deepest level, has to do with morality and holiness.

The book of Job is regarded as the section that especially addresses the theodicy. Further it rejects the viewpoint that God-fearing people will always prosper. The parts of scripture that are applicable for this study are chapter 29:12 and further as well as chapter 31:16 and further. In these segments Job discusses his involvement in the community where one of his roles as a leader was to see to it that justice prevails. For him

justice was like putting clothes on (Clines 2006:988). From this, one cannot build a doctrine, but it gives an insight into how this God-fearing man dealt with social issues. The sections are as follow:

Job 29:12 *for I **rescued the poor** who cried out for help, and **the orphan who had no one to assist him**;*

Job 29:13 ***the blessing** of the **dying man** descended on me, and I made the **widow's heart rejoice**;*

Job 29:14 *I put on **righteousness** and it **clothed** me, my just dealing was like a robe and a turban;*

Job 29:15 *I was **eyes** for the **blind** and **feet** for the **lame**;*

Job 29:16 *I was a **father** to the **needy**, and I investigated the case of **the person I did not know**;*

Job 29:17 *I **broke the fangs of the wicked**, and made him **drop his prey** from his teeth.*

Job 31:16 *If I have refused to give the **poor** what they desired, or caused the eyes of the **widow** to fail,*

Job 31:17 *If I ate my **morsel of bread** myself, and did not share any of it with **orphans***

Job 31:18 *but from my youth I **raised the orphan like a father**, and from my mother's womb I **guided the widow***

Job 31:19 *If I have seen anyone about to perish for lack of clothing, or a poor man without a coat,*

Job 31:20 *whose heart did not bless me as he **warmed himself with the fleece of my sheep**,*

Job 31:21 *if I have raised my hand to vote against the orphan, when I saw my support in the court,*

Job 31:22 *then let my arm fall from the shoulder, let my arm be broken off at the socket.*

Job 31:31 *if the **members of my household** have never said, 'If only there was someone who has not been satisfied from Job's meat!'—*

Job 31:32 *But no stranger had to spend the night outside, for I opened my doors to the traveller* —

He was thus involved in helping the socially disadvantaged; supporting the disabled; breaking the power of the suppressors as well as providing legal advice.

Furthermore, it was no issue for Job to use force to break injustice. Clines (2006:1022) reckons that such a person had his/her jaw broken. A direct translation of Job 29:17 indicates that such an unfair and suppressive person's teeth were knocked out (Job 29:17). Job himself had slaves but draws our attention to the fact that he treated them humanly (Job 31:31) by, for example, not letting them go hungry (Clines 2006:1023).

Within the New Testament the following can be mentioned: Martin (1988:172) is of the opinion that James 5 focuses on members of the congregation who suffered because of the wealthy. He makes use of the typical Old Testament reference '*The day of the Lord – Yôm Jahwe*' as well as '*the day of the slaughter*' (Jer. 12:3) as a prophetic and apocalyptic theme and even has a lament motif. The writer of James joins prophets like Amos, Ezekiel, Isaiah and Jeremiah. First century Rome was known for a group of wealthy farmers, who had power, were successful and owned land, and suppressed the poor. Here wealth *per se* is not wrong; it is the suppression of the poor and murder that was committed against them that is wrong. Successful farmers also manipulated the prices. In times of drought, the small farmers did not have the means to survive and they were forced to either sell their land; take out loans; rent land or to work for one of the feudal masters (Martin 1988:174). In Matthew 20 Jesus discusses the daily wage and how it is difficult for a rich man to get into heaven. Paul adds to this in 1 Timothy 6:9-10 and 17-19. Furthermore, God withstands the haughty (Martin 1988:181). The Sadducees were part of the wealthy hierarchy and also helped to orchestrate Jesus' death. Martin argues that Jesus and Paul's teachings were the same in terms of social justice, but that James was the most outspoken when it came to social implications. In this regard he notes, "*not only hurt others but themselves*" (Martin 1988:183). James also emphasises the sins of hoarding, dishonesty, poor salaries, self-indulgence, excess, gluttony and murder. James's death, the death of a martyr, in 62AD, is possibly an indication that his fearlessness regarding social issues could have contributed to the way he died.

Justice is especially used in judicial and legal terms. For example, there is reference to retributive justice. Tutu himself favours using this term – *'restorative justice'*. According to this, an offender is not just punished and banished out of society but is restored, 'fixed' and reformed so that they can once again take up their place in society (Slabbert 2004:781). Tutu (Brummer 2005:47) makes the following statement regarding restorative justice, *"Restorative justice is the healing of breaches, redressing of balances, restoration of broken relationships. Rehabilitate both victim and perpetrator. Opportunity to reintegrate into community."* This concept is in keeping with the whole Ubuntu-concept in Africa, of whom Tutu is a great supporter. A term that is used more often lately is *'redistributive justice'* (Stellenbosch University, Faculty of Theology 2014). According to this term, resources like finances and minerals need to be redistributed to create greater justice and equality.

Louw (2008:290) argues that people need to be taken care of and that codes of conduct can contribute to justice so that people are not exposed to the cruelty of others and that status, class, gender, race and/or heritage does not determine a person's dignity. *"Fellow human beings become the face of God"* (2008:290) where we are challenged to love God. Through this the Kingdom is built. We do not live exclusively and apart from one another in spite of race, gender and culture. People are unique because of Christ's death (Louw 2008:288). Accordingly, justice is described Biblically and is founded in Christ.

Van der Walt (2003:369) states, *"economic justice and social liberation are part of our liberation in Christ and must be embodied in civic legislation."* He refers to Germany that gave back land or paid financial compensation after the Second World War. He uses the example of Polish workers who were used as forced labourers during the Second World War, were compensated financially as late as the 1990s. In agreement, Evaldsson (2007:148) states, *"It can be argued that in order for lasting reconciliation to take place, the material circumstances must change for the majority of South Africans. This can be viewed as reparation in the form of general social-economic development, including issues such as job creation, housing, electricity, clean water and improved health care."*

Giliomee (2003:214) highlights that historical writing cannot occur with today's moral guidelines. He refers to the relation between the American South and the Cape colony,

according to him both were slave communities. The ethos according to him was slavery. Within this context the church took shape. It is obvious that this would have affected the church and that its options would therefore be limited. If Giliomee's view is accurate, it can shed light on and present explanations for the happenings in South Africa relating to slavery. In the USA, a bitter civil war¹⁹ raged because of this exact reason – slavery. The slave's reverence and service towards his master determined the master's status, honour and masculinity according to Giliomee.

Justice primarily has to do with God. Where justice does not prevail, the honour of God is taken out of that country – it is *ichabod* – like the writer of 1 Samuel 4:21 refers to it.

2.6.7 Demolition and reconstruction

Reconciliation is not possible when things remain the same. In this regard Van der Walt (2003:350) refers to the command Gideon received to destroy the altar of Baal his father erected. Furthermore, he refers to certain things that had to be destroyed, others that had to be restored and others had to be built new.

Wielenga (2013:5) also comments sharply in this regard:

It has been argued that many of the challenges we face in South Africa today are as a result of not having dealt with the structural violence that underpinned the apartheid system (Ntsimane 2000). Inequality which leads to poverty, unemployment and violent crime remains part of the South African reality. The KAIROS document poses a challenge to the church today to condemn the structural violence that continues in society and take action to bring about change and to make reflections on a just society an integral part of worship.

Louw (2008:29) also asks for the transformation of structures. Within the South African context, it is clear that changes in various walks of life will have to take place before reconciliation can truly take place. He (2008:66) notes further:

Awareness of transcendence [Godsbewustheid] leads to charitable deeds of love within society. Focus here is on changing and renewing the structure of the political environment. Sanctification of social practices within

¹⁹ The Civil War took place 1861-1865 (Boshoff 1980:13).

human relationships' or stated differently 'ethical acts of structural and contextual transformation'.

Brummer (2005:52) further describes the wrong lifestyle as, "*false ways of feeling and thinking, established complexes which have acquired for us an almost sacred character, and governed though we knew it not all our reactions to life - these must be broken up. ...we must come to know ourselves for what we really are.*"

It is therefore obvious that certain things have to be broken down before new ones can be built (Jer. 1:10). This includes especially non-biblical structures but also thought patterns that are discriminatory. In this regard Paul mentions strongholds, arguments and haughty attacks against the knowledge of Christ that needs to be broken down as part of a spiritual war (2 Cor. 10:5).

2.6.8 Cross the border to the other

The history of humankind is full of conflict between people, groups, religious groups and civilisations. The Bible addresses some of these: Israel's oppression in Egypt; there was confrontations with groups as they entered Canaan; suppression and war were the order of the day during the Judges period; with the rise of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires, war raged between them and later various battles took place between the Greeks and the Persians as described in Daniel. The Bible also gives insight into the 'other' – him that talks different, looks different and practices a different culture.

Israel's 'uniqueness' was built primarily on the fact that they were God's covenant people. The others are not excluded *per se*; the foreigner is included when arrangements are made in society, and the prophets regularly address the other nations. The Psalmist calls out that God is King of all the nations (Ps. 47:8) and the other nations are called to Jerusalem where salvation can be found (Isaiah 2:3). It is important to note that also the foreigner, the orphan and widow must be taken care of within the lifestyle and frameworks of Israel (Deut. 10:18).

Subsequently a few New Testament sections will be described to highlight certain aspects. In John 4 Jesus rests at a well where he come across a woman from Samaria. Firstly, she is a woman and according to the customs and conventions of the time, she was not supposed to talk to a man. Further, Jesus was in Samaritan territory, an area that was usually avoided by Jews. The Jews preferred to cross the river Jordan in order to avoid these unclean people and area. Jesus is willing though to cross borders. It is also with that purpose that the parable of the Good Samaritan is told - it teaches that the religious Jews were too busy to see the need of a needy man (Luke 10:33). The Samaritan also crossed borders. Further, Jesus also heals the slave of a Roman officer (Matt. 8:8). The Jews who craved independence regarded the Romans suspiciously. In a different case, Jesus' family came looking for him one day (Mark 3:23). His disciples informed him of their visit. He then asks a rhetorical question regarding who his brothers and sisters are. He answers his own question by referring to the people around him at that time: those who follow his commands, in other words those who believe the values of the Kingdom, accept them and act accordingly, they are his brothers. Clearly Jesus refers to a 'spiritual' and eternal family that includes all people and is not limited to own family or blood relatives.

The command in Matthew 28 is to proclaim the good news of the Gospel to all the nations. On the Day of Pentecost, the Jews who are spread out over various areas, starts talking in different languages. This is an indication of the contact these diaspora Jews have made with other languages, cultures and people (Acts 2:5). In Acts 10-11 the early church is confronted with people from other groups and parts of the world who were saved and became Christians. It required someone special like Barnabas who played a big role in convincing 'headquarters', the church in Jerusalem, that the gospel has indeed made an impact on people from other nations too. In addition to this, the church also had to decide on matters such as circumcision (Acts 15; Phil. 2-3), to guide determining what is culture, what had to be preserved, what should not be preserved and what aspects, in their essence, was part of the gospel and had to be preserved and defended.

Peter's experience in Acts 10 is an excellent section about the 'other'. Cornelius, who was an Italian (Roman) commander, saw a vision where he summoned Peter to his house. Then, men were sent to get Peter. Peter on the other hand, had a vision where he saw a

large sheet being lowered from heaven, containing all sorts of holy and unholy creatures. The angel then gave him the command to eat these creatures. It was very difficult for Peter to obey this command considering his background as a Jew, where eating all sorts of invertebrate creatures were not allowed (Lev. 11). So obviously, he refuses. In Acts 10:28 after Peter arrives at Cornelius's home, he mentions that he as a Jew should not even be socialising with someone like Cornelius. In Acts 10:35 Peter realises that all nations are included in God's salvation plan and to spread the gospel to all. The Jewish congregation in Jerusalem (Acts 11) confronts Peter because he visited the homes of uncircumcised people. After Peter's explanation of his vision and related incidents, the believers held their peace and probably open their minds to this idea.

Ephesians 2 addresses the issue of groups effectively when Paul writes that the wall between believer and non-believer is broken down. Believers share a new identity in Christ through His blood. The blood of the 'own people' is now secondary to the blood of Jesus. Even though there are things like borders, cultures, languages and classes present, everyone is equal in God's eyes, if you are a slave, Greek, Jew, man or woman.

To break down boundaries or to contact people from other groups, was even difficult for Peter. He was the head disciple, the one who lived so close to Jesus, the one who rose on the Day of Pentecost, the one who prayed for the lame man at the temple to walk, the one who saw the vision of the cloth with all the creatures in Joppa. In Galatians 2 Paul writes about Peter's visit to the church in Antioch. Peter, without any problem or hesitation, ate with the non-Jews. But, when other Jews visited, he withdrew himself more and more from the non-Jews because, according to Paul, they were uncircumcised. The issue here seems to be a theological one. The Jews did not mix with the uncircumcised. Paul indicates that Peter, even though he is circumcised, does not keep to the old customs. And it seems as if it is easier to mix with one's 'own people'. Even Barnabas, Paul's highly respected co-worker, allowed for himself to be influenced. Whether this theological dilemma also contained a racial element, as well as the dilemma to work and live with people from another culture, is a dilemma that has been ongoing since the Tower of Babel and has become a greater reality with time. It is clear that the Jews took their own identity very seriously and that it had a great influence on their behaviour. Even the new status and identity in Christ does not guarantee that the Christian has totally renewed and changed

to become more like Christ. For Paul it is as clear as glass and as a consequence, he confronts Peter over this matter and mentions this incident in his letter in order to provide specific teaching in this regard.

Cilliers (2012:503) also ponders on this dilemma when he writes the following about the Afrikaner:

An enclave – like for instance formed around ‘Afrikaner Identity’ before and during apartheid – differentiates itself from other groups in order to create internal cohesion. An enclave is directed against the ‘other’, which could, again in the instance of historical Afrikaner identity, be seen as ‘other’ empires (like the British – during the Boer wars), ‘other’ races (as expressed during apartheid), ‘other’ languages (as exemplified during the so-called ‘language movement’: or ‘Taalbeweging’), etc. Enclaves often operate with syndromes of anxiety (the ‘black danger’, or the ‘red, i.e. Communist danger’, etc.) and (often extreme) efforts to maintain the ‘purity’ of the enclave. In typical enclave mentality, you are either ‘in’ or ‘out’. No compromise, no grey areas – things are black and white.

A person who wrote substantially about reconciliation and the ‘other’, is Miroslav Volf (1996). Cilliers also makes use of his insights. As a citizen of the Balkan States, he (Volf) understands the situation in the Balkan States where conflict raged between Muslims, Serbs and Croats in the early nineties. The conflict was essentially ethnic in nature with strong nationalist undertones especially from the Serbian side, but with religious differences as a contributing factor. Regarding the need to reach out to the ‘other’, Volf created a unique concept that consists of four steps. The first step is to **open the arms**. This indicates the readiness to receive the other. An opportunity is created to discover and meet the other. Step two is **wait**. The other person must be given the opportunity to come closer out of his or her own accord. This signifies respect. The third step is to **embrace**. This means that you identify with the other for who he or she is while respecting that he/she is different. You get to know the differences. Step four is to once again **open up the arms**. Step four implicates that it is important to acknowledge your own identity as well as that of the other. No smothering or assimilation may occur. The two parties look at each other over a short distance, with respect. Cilliers also thinks that this schematic concept can help with the process of reconciliation.

Goroncy (2013:4) also quotes Volf (1996:213) to emphasises the value of the meeting where both sides of the case are looked at:

The process by which 'double vision' is able to take place. It happens, he says: by letting the voices and perspectives of others, especially those with whom we may be in conflict, resonate within ourselves, by allowing them to help us see them, as well as ourselves, from their perspective, and if needed, readjust our perspectives as we take into account their perspectives. Nothing can guarantee in advance that the perspectives will ultimately merge and agreement be reached. We may find that we must reject the perspective of the other. Yet we should seek to see things from their perspective in the hope that competing justices may become converging justices and eventually issue in agreement.

Verster (2008:72) quotes Buckley (1991:84) who writes the following:

A new race of men and women should arise unlike the old; unlike the publicans and tax collectors who love only those who love them (Mt 5:46) and unlike the pagans who salute only their brethren (Mt 5:47). The new people of God will show forbearance even to their enemies. Thus will they imitate the generous love of the Father who is in heaven.

It is therefore clear that the Bible calls the believer to cross borders. In fact, it reflects the dawn of the Kingdom of God in a world that has always struggled with this.

2.6.9 Patriotism as a condition of reconciliation

Patriotism²⁰ is the attitude of pride and loyalty one has for one's country, its people and traditions. Nehemiah is a good example of 'patriotism'. God's people defeated and in exile, are faced with many problems. Moreover, the wall of the city is broken, and this threatens the safety of its people (Neh. 1:3). Religious practices fell by the wayside and the morale was low. Nehemiah hears God's voice in this crisis (Neh. 2:12); he sees a vision and gets the citizens to help build the wall (Neh. 2:18). As a result, everybody helps to rebuild the wall – priests, businessmen, as well as women and daughters (chapter 3). Everybody accepts responsibility for the city, their safety, their salvation, their progress and their religious institutions. Everybody accepts that it is their country and their city, and that

²⁰ Patriotism is not seen as a *leitmotif* in the Old Testament or Nehemiah. It is also not regarded as a blind obsession with a culture, geographical area or customs. However, it shows a healthy loyalty, compassion and cooperation towards the benefit of the people in the land. A lack of 'patriotism' in South Africa is seen as one of our challenges, especially for some SADF members.

safety concerns them all. The responsibility to do something about it is not put in *their* court. Blame and accusations is not placed on *them*. The residents do something about their situations. Patriotism is also about pride. No one is proud of a broken wall. Reconciliation therefore also includes the cooperation of all role-players and interested parties and is not possible if there is not a collective pride in the country, the city and its resources.

In Chapter 9 this issue will be discussed further. At this stage, the subject will be placed on hold by saying that the SADF conscript generation was extremely patriotic and loyal as citizens of their country. This same attitude is lacking at the moment, also amongst South African civilians. It is as if people only pursue their own interests. Some indulge in bribery and corruption, others give up by shrugging their shoulders indifferently, saying that nothing can be done in any case. One only has to turn to the newspapers and social media to come to this conclusion. This is contradictory to passages in Philippians 2:4, Jeremiah 29:7 and Proverbs 27:18. The reasons for acting 'unpatriotic' are discussed in Chapter 5.

2.6.10 Listen to the other's story

There is a huge rise in the number of previous SADF members who are writing books; share stories on social media; some being part of workshops where they tell their stories. This helps with healing and is of therapeutic value. What is further necessary and helps with healing, is when former enemies listen to each other's stories. This helps to foster understanding for each other whilst accepting that different stories exist. In this regard, Wielenga (2013:3) notes:

Argue that conflicting views about the past lead to the persistence of blame, mistrust and antagonism. Particularly when groups live together, creating a history that is acceptable to both sides is central to reconciliation. This does not, however, need to be one, contained story. A shared understanding suggests acknowledging and taking into account a diversity of views and perspectives and piecing this together into a version everyone can share. A shared understanding also allows for a dynamic interaction between different groups over time ... Our stories are constantly in flux and being rethought and renegotiated. It is this fluid interaction

with our stories, including our stories of the past, which allows reconciliation the space to become a reality. Similarly, Adam and Adam argue that there needs to be room for various versions of the truth rather than a unified, official version.

Wielenga (2013:6) further notes:

It is necessary for everyone's stories to be heard and told and not for only one set of stories to be heard. As long as our stories are dismissed as being false versions of reality, or perhaps unimportant because they are focused on the past or, alternatively, because we are from a minority group, we feel unacknowledged as human being in relationship to others and become alienated from others.

It is clear that all parties involved have to listen to each other's stories. This is a sign of respect, it has therapeutic value, it contributes to healing and helps with reconciliation. It is also easier to forgive someone if there is a gesture of understanding towards that person and their situation.

2.6.11 True reconciliation only possible in Christ

It looks like reconciliation is only possible in Christ. Outside of Christ only peace, which is not yet reconciliation, is possible (Chikane 2013). People will tolerate each other because the price of war and conflict is too high for both parties. Treaties can be made like that between the Boer and Brit in 1902. In this case hate kept smouldering. Differences between groups, cultures and religion (yes, even within the church) are sometimes so vast that reconciliation is exceedingly difficult. Sometimes the pain people caused each other was so deep that it is too much to forgive or to try and continue in a 'normal' way. The fallen person in his/her fallen state cannot escape the spiral of conflict from his/her past. The capacity of a human being is not enough. Many do not want to reconcile or does not know how. Pride and arrogance are usually a major hindrance.

In Christ he who has a new identity can cross this divide. Paul calls the congregation to action in 2 Corinthians 5:16 the following way, "*So from now on we regard no one from a worldly point of view.*" This means that the new creation as part of the Kingdom has to be approached and dealt with in a different way. Christ came and made new 'rules'. Empowered by the Holy Spirit it is indeed possible to cross the divide to him/her who

also has been created and possesses dignity. This requires though that you die daily to yourself, take up your cross and submit the things that you value to a new identity in Christ. Paul understood this concept when he discussed his old identity in Philippians 2 and included his background, tribe and nationality as well as his qualification and status. In Christ it is totally different for him – all that matters to him as to know Christ more. He also wants to die with Christ, in other words he wants to place those things that still divides him from others at the cross. He already experiences victory by sharing in His resurrection. Reconciled communities already exist, and these are tangible examples of the Kingdom of God. This has to become even more of a reality in his personal life, therefore he mentions that he is not there yet but that he is striving towards it. The reconciled and changed world in Christ must not only materialise in people's personal lives but would also be visible corporately in the world, church, business world, economy, legislation and governance.

2.7 Summary

The Bible definitely gives precious information and guidelines regarding reconciliation. Wellbeing involves experiencing *shalom*. This supposes an obedient relationship with God where peace (*shalom*) is experienced in all walks of life. In the Old Testament, illness is often the consequence of sin and punishment from God. In the New Testament illness is sometimes the consequence of sin. The major problem here is not illness but the fallen, sinful person who has limitations. Salvation comes through Christ. This supposes a process of contrition, remorse, self-reflection, confession and repentance. With regards to sin, it is important to note that God has forgiven the confessed sin and that the believer should not continue carrying it with him/her. Also, people do not have the right to judge this person further, the reason being that all people are guilty. The believer has to forgive since God has forgiven him. The magnitude of the trespass is irrelevant. Forgiveness can sometimes take time. The assumption is that there has to be some kind of admission on the part of the guilty person even though forgiveness is unconditional. Forgiveness is not possible as long as iniquities are committed.

Furthermore, it is clear that healing, wholeness and reconciliation have social consequences. Amos specifically stands out as the prophet who addressed social

injustices. Corruption, bribery, economic exploitation and oppression, false religiousness, as well as an over inflated trust in one's own military means are highlighted. The call to convert is ever present. Job as a man of God was also socially involved. Restitution, compensation and correction are Biblical concepts. Offers were brought, reconciling man with God. Incidents between people, where someone was wronged or injured in whatever way, had to be corrected. The institution of the Jubilee resulted in fairness. Nobody was permanently poor, and no one was so rich that they could manipulate everything and everybody. The Jubilee was the great equaliser. Land belonged firstly to God. Moreover, it is accepted that unbiblical concepts, ideologies, arguments and attacks exist and need to be broken down and be subjected to the rule of Christ (2 Cor. 10:5). Reconciliation cannot happen as long as unrighteousness reigns. The Church has a prophetic responsibility to address this. Reconciliation also entails having the courage to walk over the border to the other person. The *other* can include differences in language, culture, gender, heritage, nationality and religion. Even in Biblical times this was a challenge. Already in the Old Testament other nations were included in the salvation plan and the stranger, orphan and widow is looked after. The New Testament is very clear with Jesus leading the way in crossing borders. Paul declares that the wall between Jew and non-Jew has been broken down through Jesus. Peter is also guided to come to the same conclusion through the vision he saw through which he was challenged to accept those who are seen as unclean, and who now share in the gospel. Reconciliation also requires patriotism towards one's God-given country. Everyone has to accept responsibility for his or her world.

When someone is unsettled in times of change it can lead to frustration, alienation and withdrawal. Such a person could experience feelings of purposelessness since the old is not there anymore. It is important that one has to make a mind-shift – from victim and alienation to engagement and expectation. The space between people is often tarnished and toxic due to the events of the past. Those who are renewed in Christ can help to spread the aroma of Him and help to change the atmosphere. It is important to listen to the story of the other; actually, this is the first step. This is a sign of respect and openness that acknowledges the dignity of the other person; it is critical if one desires reconciliation. Reconciliation also requires that responsibility for the past be accepted. Whether a person committed some of the wrong deeds is irrelevant. Biblical figures

regularly confessed the sins of their people on their behalf and in that way created the opportunity to move forward. The call in James 5:16 that sins committed against each other have to be confessed in order for the people to be healed, is an exceptional wisdom. This includes individuals, communities, groups and countries. This healing is physical but also has to do with spiritual and social 'illnesses'.

People cannot reconcile from within themselves; they need God. God Himself is the base of reconciliation. People who are firstly reconciled with God through Jesus Christ, can reconcile with their fellow man. Such a new person will discover not only the God of forgiveness and love, but also get to know the God of righteousness, the God of *shalom*, the God who requires unconditional faithfulness, the God who hates injustices and has a heart for the orphan and the widow, the God who crossed borders and listened to cries of distress and helped. When you know this God and surrender yourself to Him, allowing him to change you, then the chances are good that you will be able to reconcile with people and live in peace.

CHAPTER 3

STATE OF RESEARCH

The SADF and the operations it was involved in, still captivates people. Compared to, for example the Anglo-Boer War, The Second World War and the Vietnam War, to name a few, which is still inspiring people to write and do research, it is to be expected that there is still a lot to be said about the SADF. This was a war involving White males; men who are now mostly middle-aged and who has the need to make sense of their past.

According to Baines (2003:178) there are four types of publications regarding this period: (1) military history; (2) books written by academics that are/were critical towards the apartheid government; (3) books by Afrikaans soldiers and (4) books by English speaking soldiers.

3.1 Academic books and articles on the SADF and general South African history

A magnitude of books on the Afrikaner history has seen the light. These will not be referred to, as this is not the focus of this study. On the SADF at least one book a month makes its appearance. Most are written by former members, while the rest are written by historians and researchers. These books range from a positive stance (Scholtz 2013) to a dismissive attitude (Asmal & Roberts 1997) towards the old SADF. Further, most of these books are populist, though a few scientific books and articles have seen the light. Academic books that have been used by the researcher are the following:

- Leopold Scholtz (2013). *Die SAW in die Grensoorlog 1966-1989*. This is an Afrikaans scientific historical writing that describes operations in detail. It is objective and balanced.
- Louis Bothma, a former SADF soldier who has written many books. His flagship is '*Vang 'n Boer*' (2012). This book is Bothma's great work, and even though it is not complete scientific it is very well researched. He highlights the Bush war from the whole context of history. That said, he starts at Jan van Riebeeck and the events that followed after that in South Africa. He also describes the history of Namibia in detail and touches on the history of the former Rhodesia and

Mozambique. This book is a must for anyone who would like to understand the war and history in context. Other books by Bothma that gives valuable information are '*Die buffel struikel*' and '*Anderkant Cuito*'; these are more popular books.

- Hermann Giliomee: Another book that is not exclusively about the SADF but discusses various aspects is Giliomee's *Laaste Afrikanerleiers* (2012). In this book reference is made to among other things the night of the Generals when F.W. de Klerk dismissed a substantial number of senior army officers.

Several examples of academic articles are referred to below.

- Esterhuysen (2009). *The strategic contours of the South African military involvement in Namibia and Angola during the 1970/1980s*. This work gives good insight and overview about the context and the nature of the operations of the Bush War.
- Baines wrote a few articles - *South Africa's Forgotten War* (2009) and *South Africa's Vietnam* (2003) being among these.
- Wessels (2012) wrote an article that places this period in historical perspective: *Die bosoorlog: hoe word dit vandag onthou?* Together with Bredenkamp (2009; 2010) he wrote a few articles about chaplains who served in the war. This also gives the views of the chaplains regarding the war.
- Stemmet (2006): *Troops, townships and tribulations: deployment of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the township unrest of the 1980s*. This article focuses on internal operations.
- Ferreira and Liebenberg (2006): *The impact of war on Angola and South Africa: two Southern African case studies*. This article discusses the impact of the war.
- Labuschagne (2012): *Monuments and meaning making: Freedom Park and the bumpy road to reconciliation and nation-building in South Africa*. Here the sensitive subject of fallen SADF-members whose names are not displayed at *Freedom Park* is discussed.

The above articles relating to the SADF do not address the issue of reconciliation.

3.2 Non-academic and popular books about the SADF and the general history of South Africa

In the last 15 years a lot of books have been written about the SADF's involvement in SWA/Namibia and Angola. Even though these documents are not academic it contains valuable historical and other information that is applicable for this study.

- Magnus Malan (2006), former Chief of the Army, Defence Force and Minister of Defence has written an extremely useful book – *My tyd saam met die SAW*. He basically spent his whole life in the army. He played a big role in the development of local weaponry – that was necessitated due to on-going sanctions. According to him, he sold the ideology – The Total Onslaught (Die Totale Aanslag) – to PW Botha. Therefore, he was closely involved in the establishment and management of the State Security Council. Post 1994 he was also dragged to court together with others, for his involvement in internal operations. His book gives important perspective on the way Afrikaner leaders think.
- Jannie Geldenhuys (2011): *We were there: Winning the war for Southern Africa*. As a former general who was exhaustively involved in the Bush War, he makes very valuable contributions. The true worth of this book lies in the numerous contributions by former members who themselves were somehow or the other part of specific operations or activities at the time.

At the moment, stories by former members appear regularly in weekend media. A few books are also mentioned. There are books by former Special Forces Members, commonly known as Recces (reconnaissance); 32 Battalion that included of Portuguese soldiers among others; and 61 Mech – a conventional combat group.

Books with historical perspective - mentioned here as examples - that refer to the SADF here and there, are:

The last trek – FW de Klerk (1998); *No future without forgiveness* – Desmond Tutu (1999); *Reconciliation through truth* – Kader Asmal (1997); *Kroniek van die Waarheid en Versoeningskommissie* – Piet Meiring (1999); *Boetman en die swanesang van die verligtes* – Chris Louw (2001); *Afrikaner, Afrikaan* – Van Zyl Slabbert (1999); *Birth of new Afrikaner*

– Van Wyk (1991); *They're burning the churches* – Noonan (2011); *Afrikaner: Kroes, kras en kordaat* – Wimpie de Klerk (2000).

The book of Chris Louw is especially useful. As a former soldier he strongly criticises leaders like Wimpie de Klerk who created the mental framework of apartheid that had to be sustained by young servicemen like Louw. His book was therefore a direct reaction to De Klerk's book – *Kroes, kras en kordaat* – where Afrikaners are chastised for their apartheid actions and ill-tempered adjustment to the new South Africa.

3.3 Academic books about the Afrikaner and identity

Currently there is a lot of thinking and writing about the Afrikaner and if the term is still relevant. Furthermore, the past identity of the Afrikaner is contemplated; as well as a new identity that is taking shape currently or that is still being searched for.

A few articles that were used in this study, is listed briefly to create context.

Bosch – *Roots and fruits of Afrikaner civil religion* (1983), Oliver – *South Africa: the arduous task of facing our religious past* (2011); Erasmus – *Ethnic humour, identity, and the loss of Afrikaner hegemony* (2004); Giliomee – *Voëlvlug van 'n Afrikanergeskiedenis van 350 jaar* (2001); Goroncy – *Social identity, ethnicity and the gospel of reconciliation* (2013); Laubscher – *Afrikaner identity and the music of Johannes Kerkorrel* (2005); JP van der Merwe – *Die Afrikaner se beleving van transformasie en nasiebou in 'n postapartheid Suid-Afrika* (2008).

3.4 Books and articles about reconciliation

Naturally, there are a lot of books and articles about reconciliation in general. A few that discuss the situation in South Africa are:

Asmal – *No reconciliation without truth* (1997); Cilliers – *Between enclavement and embracement* (2012); Meiring – He wrote quite a few articles on the subject of reconciliation, including on his experiences at the TRC as well as the Canadian reconciliation process. Lapsley – *Redeeming the past: my journey from freedom fighter to healer* (2012), he writes of his experiences as a priest, and his involvement in the armed battle as well as the functioning of the *Healing of memories* organisation in the new South

Africa; Van der Walt – *Reconciling Africa* (2003) where he supplies a framework for reconciliation.

3.5 Initiatives for reconciliation and healing

There are a number of initiatives that specifically focus on the research of reconciliation and justice and also to create the opportunity and to take the steps towards the progression thereof.

- **Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC)** - Though some individuals testified, not many former SADF members took part. The fact that not many SADF members testified was highlighted by the commission at the time.
- **Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR)** – This institute does research, launches projects and tries to measure to what extent social justice and reconciliation has progressed so far.
- **University of the Free State: Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice** – Its aims are similar to that of the IJR.
- **Institute for Healing of Memories** of Father Lapsley – This institution helps traumatised people like former soldiers to gain healing through a specific programme.
- **The Desmond and Leah Tutu Legacy Foundation** – Its aim is to establish a more compassionate world as well as an '*intellectual and practical pursuit of local and global peace, morality and human dignity*' (Tutu 2014).
- **Re-enactment of the TRC's Faith Communities' Hearing** – On the 8-9th of October 2014 a congress was held to investigate the role and progress the church has made in connection with healing and reconciliation since the TRC took place to the present day (2015).
- **Roelf Schoeman** is involved in the institute for contextual Theology at the University of Pretoria. He wrote a book in which former members share their SADF experiences. He is also involved in an initiative where former members tell their stories to work towards healing – the so-called narrative therapy. In addition,

he is also involved in initiatives to bring former SADF members and freedom movements together.

3.6 Former SADF members

Former members have established several initiatives, varying from the anniversaries of battles at parades and social gatherings, to the attempts for healing and closure. Retired generals like generals Roland de Vries and Dippies Dippenaar are but two who the researcher knows of who are active in this regard. Former members also make use of social media to keep in contact with each other and share photos and events. Often the Facebook groups are only used to complain and criticise the current government, which in itself highlights the SADF members' inability to adapt. Former members were also involved in the production of television programmes that portray that period. Additionally, two plays were brought to stage: *Tree aan* (Deon Opperman) and *Wit manne se wapens* (A translation of Greig Coetzee's play *White men with weapons*). The latter ends with the question as to what the SADF conscript generation, who were part of the armed conflict, should do next.

The above mentioned is an indication of what is happening on academic and non-academic platforms concerning the SADF, the war as well as the Afrikaner, his identity and role in the new South Africa.

3.7 Conclusion

It is apparent that a great deal had been written and there have been many discussions regarding the former SADF. Regarding the SADF itself, there are literature available ranging from scientific studies and autobiographies to stories by former members themselves. On the topic of the Afrikaner and his history there are countless articles. Regarding his current identity crisis there are literature from theological, sociological, anthropological and historical perspectives. Former members make contributions to these through initiatives by veteran groups, upholding traditions, attending processions as well as supporting each other. Many soldiers found healing and restoration by getting involved with their old comrades. There are specific initiatives to facilitate storytelling and by making contact with freedom movements. Unfortunately, there are not enough of

these yet and much more can be done. Moreover, there are initiatives and institutions working towards justice and reconciliation.

The major failing though is the contribution to spiritual healing. Chris Louw noted that the biggest crisis is a crisis of faith. Due to a loss of power, the Afrikaner who is traditionally a man of faith and religion, is a bit off balance. He might also be doubting himself because the 'chosen' people do not seem to be the chosen ones or the only chosen ones. Furthermore, accusations of injustices are being made against them, a people that claim to be a Christian nation. Originally apartheid was justified using the Bible but since the Afrikaans churches have changed their viewpoint. This in itself can cause confusion and lead to frustration and anger. Spiritually the SADF generation and the Afrikaner are in need of guidance. Wimpie de Klerk, Oliver, Van der Walt and Cilliers, to name but a view, addresses the spiritual need. The Dutch Reformed Church has made various announcements regarding apartheid and has identified the conscripts as some of the 'victims' of apartheid (DRC 2014). There is not a coordinated attempt or programme to guide this generation spiritually.

Also, the SADF's opinion of itself (identity) is being challenged. Some are of the opinion that it is subdued/conquered. Since he no longer sits in the seat of power, this identity is no longer forced upon others. He might be unsure of this identity - what this identity entailed past and present, and if it is possible to live out this identity in the new South Africa, something that has not yet been looked at from a theological stance. The only author and researcher who address this *identity question* is Cilliers who refers to enclavement (enclave forming, envelopment, "*laertrekking*", separation) in contrast to the other based on differences in race, language, history, etc. As a theologian, he describes the separation or "*laertrek*" of the Afrikaner as an enclave. His prognosis is i.e. the model of Volf that is indeed a useful model. Oliver (2011), in his article *South Africa: the arduous task of facing our religious past*, states that the Afrikaner has to confront his religious orientations. Wimpie de Klerk emphasises in a true Biblical way that there is a need for confession, acceptance of guilt and then also for correction (restitution) to take place. Of all the authors, he is the most outspoken. Van der Walt's *Reconciling Africa* (2003) gives the most practical scheme that may be used in the search for reconciliation.

The researcher is of the opinion, though, that the Afrikaner firstly has to confront his identity, of which there are many positive and constructive elements, in the light of the Word. In essence there is nothing wrong with a balanced nationalism or group pride and healthy patriotism (loyalty) towards one's culture. Unfortunately, for some Afrikaners, this identity became distorted resulting in a detrimental segregation as well as discrimination against others. The development hereof is due to historical factors, as well as certain ideological and theological influences. This identity has to be brought to light and then confronted in order for the Afrikaner to be set free of this view of himself that cannot continue in the new reality. This distorted identity is either going to destroy him or cause more agony within himself or will lead to conflict with fellow citizens.

Secondly, relating to the question regarding identity, a pure Biblical path to contrition has to be followed. Self-investigation will have to take place, guilt will have to be confessed, responsibility will have to be accepted, restitution will have to be made, bridges to others will have to be built and together all will have to work patriotically toward building our country. Only then reconciliation will be possible.

The Afrikaner will have to go through his own truth and reconciliation process, in his own way. The SADF conscript generation together with the Afrikaner with his huge potential, skills and cultural treasures has to make a paradigm shift. Because of apartheid, groups were kept apart and the Afrikaner especially, is experiencing problems with adjusting.

The TRC was not accepted and recognised as a legitimate and necessary body in the process to reconciliation. The Afrikaner did not handle being reprimanded very well. Who has the right to reprimand the chosen people located in the southern point of Africa? Nobody willingly wants to take the blame. FW de Klerk complained that his image was marred after the TRC. But the question that can also be asked is whether the Godly image of fellow South Africans was not disfigured by apartheid? An additional question is whether it is about his and our image or the honour of God? The holiness and honour of God was violated through a system where the SADF members, who were mere children of their time, played a part in. This has to be corrected. It is possible. But the question remains – how? The Afrikaners underlying sincerity regarding religion has to be used in order to find a Biblical pathway. This might prove rather difficult, as the religious leaders

in Jesus' time justified themselves using religion. Jesus Christ was able to distinguish this and confronted it.

In closing:

This study aims to establish the identity of the Afrikaner, and then to measure and confront it according to the Word of God. As a direct consequence, the Afrikaner has to correct his heart; give his heart to God. Firstly, he has to go through a process of introspection before he criticises what is wrong in the current government. He has to deal with his own guilt. Then, as a man set free, he can attempt to reach out to others. At the moment he is struggling to get along with his fellow countrymen. Maybe he cannot or does not want to. Maybe he resides in a psychological banishment and exile and is he living in denial to the fact that things have changed irrevocably, because his identity is actually preventing him from integrating purposefully in the new South Africa. His identity wants to separate him, pull him away, fight, discriminate, isolate, exalt himself. These things are making him sick. He needs an identity in Christ. He can only get an identity in Christ if he changes his heart. His heart is still broken because of the loss of power. He experiences feelings of loss, where he has actually gained in-laws. They are not a threat, but they can actually add value to his life. With his new identity, without having to give up his own culture, he will and has to reach out to others. He has to learn to understand them; he has to work with them because he *is* in Africa. If he still thinks the old way, he will work himself out towards the periphery, not being able to contribute positively to his country and has to prepare himself for yet another Great Trek (*Groot Trek*). Primarily a change of heart needs to take place – real change is change of the heart. The church's work has just begun, including the church that struggles to get its congregation to Belhar²¹. Many of the SADF conscript generation have not made amends with the past – at least those SADF men who have to vote over Belhar. They have not mourned yet. Or maybe they are in the anger, denial or depression phase of the mourning process.

²¹ Belhar Confession is a statement of belief written and later adopted by the Uniting Reformed Church (URC). In order to become one with the URC, the white DRC has to accept this confession. There is a process underway within the DRC to deal with this. Belhar declares that i.e. apartheid is a sin and that it needs to be confessed.

3.8 Proposal

This study proposes the following after the completion of the study:

Forty days of contrition before God, because the SADF conscript generation as Afrikaners stand primarily before God. Forty days to look at the history of the Afrikaner, to evaluate it critically, to measure his identity (self-image) according to the Bible, and a time in which the believer is guided in a process of contrition, remorse, confession, forgiveness and restitution. Justice, patriotism and the 'other' are other aspects that also need to be worked through with guidance. The hope is that the healing, perspective and also new diligence, faith and hope will work in the Afrikaner's heart in order to use his many talents to make a patriotic contribution together with his fellow countrymen. For most of the SADF members the spiritual process, their own truth and reconciliation process, has not happened yet. Churches will have to take initiative as the agents in this process. The outcome might be liberating but it will take faith, courage and obedience.

This process is Biblical, practical, focused, understandable and measurable. This 40-day program might prove and require to be a much longer process ultimately. The final draft can be drawn up in collaboration with the various role-players.

CHAPTER 4

IDENTITY OF THE SADF CONSCRIPT GENERATION

4.1 Definition of identity

Since 1994 there has been an increased interest in identity. The term can be made applicable in a much larger sphere, not just to Afrikaners. Individuals, groups, countries, nations, churches and organisations often claim a specific identity. Various researchers and authors write of the identity crisis the Afrikaner is experiencing post-1994 (Giliomee 2003:238, Slabbert 1999, Van der Merwe 2010). It is therefore important that the topic of identity is researched in order to establish what it implies and to determine to what extent the Afrikaner has a distinctive identity. Wessels (2009: 339) summarises it as follow, "*History translates the past, and so forms the memory of the community through which not only the social value system, but also the identity and culture of a community is captured.*" It also seems like culture and identity is closely related. In this regard Goronchy (2013:1) quotes Eagleton (2000:34-35) who describes it as follow:

Social identity is culture. Culture can be loosely summarized as the complex of values, customs, beliefs and practices which constitute the way of life of a specific group ... Culture is just everything which is not genetically transmissible ... Culture is the implicit knowledge of the world by which people negotiate appropriate ways of acting in specific contexts.

Blaser (2004:180) adds that, "*ethnicity, nation, identity and culture have to be treated in relation to one another.*" He continues to show the different approaches regarding identity. On the one side you get the fundamentalists (*primordialists*) who declare that identity is constant, permanent and static. This is a given and does not allow room for change in this natural, inner core.

On the other side argue constructivism and instrumentalism that identity is open for change (Blaser 2004:180). Quite a few researchers share this view. Snyman (2005:329) quotes Singh (1997:121) saying that identity "*... is made, not ordained.*"

Erasmus (2005:234) is further of the opinion that identity is especially shaped towards others. He puts it as follow:

The assertion of identity happens mainly due to the interaction between different groups, and the significance in the context of variables such as a specific history, common origin and shared interests. The essence, in short, what it is about is that identity is embedded in a distinctive culture and values, and that culture is essential in reproducing identity.

Snyman and other authors are of the opinion that identity is either a fantasy (construction of the imagination) (Snyman 2005:329) or a myth. Here myth does not imply that it is an untruth but a truth with a special meaning. Bornman (2004:166) describes it like this, “*some forms of memory are not at all fading, but indeed being nurtured and intensified with the passage of time.*” Here certain historical events are especially made use of, even abused, to contribute to identity formation.

It is also clear that identity is not just applicable to the individual but that it can also apply to a group - politics, social, government and cultural (Bornman 2004:150). Singh (1997:121), as quoted by Snyman (2005:329) says, “*social constructions tied to a multiplicity of ideological interests and shaped by particular socio-political needs.*” Furthermore, an individual has to identify with a group, and this always do so in a historical context (Bornman 2004:154). When Grobler (2006:203) compares South Africa to the American South he notices the following in this regard, “*Indeed, the interrelationship of war, religion and group identity became a highly significant historical theme in both South Africa and the American South.*”

The danger of excluding one group from the other is obvious and is accurately described by Villa Vicencio as, “*self-criticism-free type of tribal nationalism that can lead to the pursuit of one cultural or ideological vision that relentlessly excludes others*” (Lambrechts & Visagie 2009:77).

But it seems that identity is changeable, not static, but fluid due to changing factors as new events occur and context shifts and fluctuates. Erasmus (2005:234) summarises the changeable nature of identity correctly when he writes that:

...individuals continuously negotiate and construct their identity through conversation, relationships, contact, the development of social history,

language, and interpersonal and intergroup dynamics that relate to power, control, status, gender, religion, belief, affiliation and regional differences... This is why one cannot ask what its true characteristics are, only who believes in it and acts as if it is real.

Also, Goronchy (2013:2) describes this changeability by quoting the World Council of Churches' (WCC) *Faith and Order Paper* (World Council of churches 2006:9):

Ethnic and national groups may believe themselves to be 'natural' – belonging in some way to the order of nature – and fixed in form. But in fact all such groups are (whether consciously or unconsciously) 'constructed', in the sense that they result from the interplay of historical and cultural factors. Such identities are therefore fluid, constantly being 'renegotiated.' Because these changes often result from interaction with other groups, ethnic identities are never pure; they involve multiple borrowings and adaptations, even when the sources of the changes have been lost in the mists of time.

It is thus clear that it is very difficult to determine identity or to link certain characteristics to an individual or group and that identity is recognised as being 'fix' and 'flux' (Blaser 2004:180) or continuously changing. It is true that within specific historical circumstances (Laubscher 2005:309) the Afrikaner accepted and acquired a specific identity; that a specific identity was even forced upon them and that this identity was especially formed in the SADF conscript generation. Who and what were responsible for this, will be discussed later in this chapter. The focus will further be to give specific characteristics and a description to the identity of the SADF conscript generation, considering the danger of generalisation and simplification.

4.2 Dilemma of the term *Afrikaner*

The use of the term Afrikaner is problematic. Many contemporary Afrikaners will choose not to use this term as it is associated with racism and suppression (Snyman 2005:326). Some prefer new terms such as Afrikaanses or Afrikane (where everybody who speaks Afrikaans is included) or White South Africans. Because of transformation and acculturation identity changes and it becomes problematic to determine the Afrikaner identity in the modern-day (Van der Merwe 2010:323). Even though, the respected Van Zyl Slabbert (1999:127) describes himself as '*in some way or the other I am an Afrikaner*'.

The term *Afrikaner*, though problematic and laden, is the name that was given to the group, by Afrikaners and other groups, which developed in South Africa since 1652 out of various European nations, into a distinctive group with a unique identity strongly influenced by historical factors. Afrikaans as a language has been and is a strong distinguishing factor. The issue is not that simple and is complicated since many non-White South Africans are also Afrikaans speaking.

To get more clarity a brief tour through history is needed to determine the origin of this term. Giliomee (2001:7) points out that the first people to arrive in the Cape referred to themselves as citizens or Christians. The term *Afrikaner* was used only in the mid-eighteenth century. The first written evidence of this was recorded in a court document when a Hendrik Biebouw referred to himself as '*Ik bin een Afrikaander*' (I am an Afrikaner) (De Klerk 1998:3). It is ironic that the term was initially used to characterize the slave people or people with partial slave origins in contrast to the settlers or colonialists (Giliomee 2001:8).

The term Afrikaner came more strongly to the forefront with the rise of Afrikaner-nationalism. Asmal (1997:50) quotes Vorster, a former First Minister (1966-1978), who declared very clearly, "*I am not willing to cooperate with the world if it means I must sacrifice my Afrikaner identity.*" He also refers to the words of the first Prime Minister of the National party, Dr DF Malan (1948-1954) who divinely sanctions his history (identity) with these words, "*Our history is the highest work of the architect of the centuries.*" It seems that the term grew steadily over time until the Afrikaans speaking Whites and also the other citizens associated themselves with it.

Not everyone is positive about this name. Engelbrecht (2007:40) gives his criticism of the term Afrikaner sharply. He puts it as follow:

In the first place is 'the Afrikaner' unfortunately a fantasy-construct in whose name many ideological acts of violence were committed (against groups 'outside' the Afrikaner, but also against individuals who fell within the group). In the light of this the political usefulness of the term was already reached from the outset. In the second place the re-erection of the term 'the Afrikaner' as a political base of power within South Africa compromised the platform from which claims could be made. The reason for this is that the South African with similar interests but who doesn't fall in the category 'Afrikaner', is excluded and alienated.

In step with this Jansen (2009:24) writes, *“The nightmare... is not knowing what is true. Imagine if you had suddenly learnt that the people, the places, the moments most important to you are not gone, not dead, but what is, had never been. What kind of hell that would be?”* He describes this as a complete knowledge of life and thoughts. The claim that this identity never existed is most probably outrageous. It did exist, but it cannot continue to exist in the old form within the realities of the current South Africa and Africa.

A debate that started recently in the media and academic circles that fans out beyond the Afrikaner and the White South Africans, has its roots in the USA. This is the so-called whiteness debate. According to this, translated in context, white people in general enjoy privilege because of their inheritance through history (Haffajee 2013) even if they removed themselves from their oppressive past (Van der Westhuizen 2013). Some of these authors are of the opinion that some Whites still believe they are inherently better than i.e. Blacks. Depending on your stance – White or Black – there will always be arguments to defend or reject one of these viewpoints. One observation that has been made is that young Whites position themselves in favour of global whiteness (Dolby 2001:5). The practical implication is that many of them would rather immigrate to a ‘safe haven’ where whiteness is kept in place. The reach of this debate stretched so far that a conference on the topic of whiteness was held 19-20 March 2013 (Van der Westhuizen 2013). Jansen’s (2007, 2008) contribution to the whiteness debate is rooted in specific events, stereotyping and lies with which the Afrikaner especially was raised, and now needs to be confronted and broken down. Regardless of how relevant the whiteness issue is in the South African context; it retracts focus off this study and therefore it will not be further discussed.

Currently it appears as if the younger generation Afrikaners are reinterpreting this term and is adding new content to it. It seems like they are searching for a new identity (Lambrechts & Visagie 2009:75). The concept of Afrikaner identity will therefore be scrutinized.

4.3 Afrikaner identity

Notwithstanding the different views on identity and Afrikaner and whether it is/was a reality or a fantasy or myth, many writers have, in the light of the current identity crisis of the Afrikaner, analysed the Afrikaner and identity.

Bosch (1983:21) for example, is of the opinion that until the end of the eighteenth-century the Afrikaner identity did not exist. People in the Cape were part of an outpost of which the motherland was Holland.

Laubscher (2005:309) describes certain aspects that could be considered psychological and social characteristics, "*On the one hand, a trait list of sorts is offered in the manner of fundamental, timeless and unique attributes pertaining to the group's psychological and social make-up. As such, the Afrikaner is, for example, 'stubborn', 'religious', 'hospitable', 'authoritarian', 'conforming' and 'white,'*" as quoted by Goodwin and Schiff (1995), Lambley (1981) and Leach (1989) {see footnote 22}.

The above-mentioned characteristics could also be applicable to many other groups and nations. Laubscher's (2005:309) following category is of special importance for this study:

A second move involves the acknowledgment of a culminating history to membership attributes. Identity is read from historical events, the assumption being that the group's values, customs, and psychology have been fundamentally shaped by those moments. Several historical pivots for the shape and form of Afrikaner identity are consequently listed with relative agreement; for example, the Great Trek into the interior, the Battle of Blood River, the South African wars, the depopulation of the platteland (rural area, but literally flat/level land) and the economic hardship faced by white Afrikaans speakers, and the coming to power of the Nationalist Party.

Many researchers are of the opinion that this sort of historical events, where the poor white-question as well as the rise of nationalism and the victory of the National Party in 1948, were determining factors in the identity formation of the Afrikaner (see e.g. Cilliers 2012).

Lastly the Afrikaner-identity is also explored from various disciplines. For example, Kotze and Griessel's (2012) analysis of the Afrikaner from a post-Jungian approach using the statistical and dynamic femininity and masculinity model. Engelbrecht (2007) on the other hand used a Freudian theory to describe the groups and identity. Some of these insights, sometimes forced into models, are described later where individual identity characteristics are raised.

For the purpose of this study it was especially important to try and establish what the aspects (factors, incidents) are around identity²² that played a decisive role in the formation of the collective Afrikaner-memory and - identity. This sheds light on perceptions and/or deliberations in circulation as well as possible responses of the group, considering that the listed characteristics might be a generalisation.

A number of identity characteristics that were pivotal in the identity formation of the Afrikaner are scrutinised.

4.3.1 The Great Trek and the search for self-determination

A great number of manuscripts on the history of the Afrikaner have seen the light. In this study, the history will not be discussed, rewritten or even questioned. This section shows how specific historical events helped to form the SADF conscript generation's identity.

In 1836 various trek parties left the Eastern Cape looking for greener pastures. The major driving force was an anti-British feeling as well as the wars with the Xhosas because of livestock theft and land disputes. The deciding factor – the proverbial last straw – was the

²² De Klerk (2000:80) names certain stereotypes regarding Afrikaners. Stereotypes can contain elements of identity. According to him it is the following: *"mystically told ghost stories, church people, religious, flexible, can accept the inevitable, adaptable, opportunistic, worry about things that might happen, melancholic, withdrawn, shy, clumsy in communication until they thaw, boastful, can be aggressive, nurtures suspicion and outrage, easily hurt and to take offense, doesn't forgive easily, gossips easily and can cause strife, talented on all areas, hospitable, big eaters, couldn't care less for aesthetic finishes, paternalistic, jealous of each other, doesn't want to see others prosper, doesn't work together easily, credulous but doesn't believe everything"*.

Oliver (2001:76) also offer such a descriptive scheme, *"Afrikaners are generally classified as being religious, conservative, strong-minded individuals who cling to a patriarchal system and who are cunning, aggressive and have an ever-lurking sense of humour. However, these characteristics are often also seen in a negative way. Words like sectarian, narrow-minded, stubborn, male dominant, dishonest, aggressive, arrogant and hempen humoured are used to show the darker side of the nation. The positive and negative aspects of these characteristics (with the exception of the Afrikaner sense of humour, which, although often frowned upon, is not essential to this investigation) will be explained briefly next ... religious and sectarian; conservative and narrow minded; dishonest and cunning; aggressive and arrogant; patriarchal and male dominant; strong minded individualism and stubborn."*

'Slagtersnek' revolt. The English sentenced a number of Afrikaners to death. Keuris (2009:4) mentioned that this incident gained a very prominent place in the history book (see e.g. Oliver 2011:83; Leibbrandt 1961:134).

The group who established themselves in Natal – other trek parties included Louis Trichardt (1836) and Dorsland (1874) – proclaimed the area the Republic of Natalia but moved away with the occupation of Natal by the British. They then established themselves close to Winburg and fought both the English and indigenous groups for independence (Bothma 2012:468).

The pursuit for independence was realised to a great extent with the formation of the Boer-republics of Transvaal and the Free State in 1852 and 1854 respectively (Bothma 2013:468). At this time President Burgers of the Transvaal Republic ('*Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek*') wanted to banish religion²³ in schools. This enraged many citizens and was the driving force behind the 1874-Dorsland trek (Bothma 2013:46; Giliomee 2003:187). Later, two freedom wars (1880-1881 and 1899-1902) were waged to maintain and strive for independence and self-determination. These two republics' flags were incorporated in the flag of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

The hundred-year anniversary of the 'Great Trek' in 1936 rekindled a significant revival of nationalism amongst the Afrikaners. At that stage there was serious division within the Afrikaner camp. The 'poor white-question'²⁴, together with the urbanisation of many uneducated people because of the freedom wars, resulted in a major crisis in Afrikaner community. It is as if this anniversary of the Great Trek made the Afrikaners realise that this 'trek' was the start of a new search for self-preservation.

The highlight or final acquisition of self-determination for the Afrikaners was probably the National Party's triumph in 1948 together with becoming a republic in 1961 when the yoke of the English was finally shed. South Africa was now Afrikaner country!

The history of the Voortrekkers was passed down to the next generations in all sorts of ways. Van Wyk (1991:58) recalls how, as a child, he was told stories. At the time of the Great Trek the Voortrekkers moved towards their promised land just like the Israelites of old to finally be free of oppression. The Brit and the Black man were now the Egyptians.

²³ Giliomee (2003:187) shows that Burgers studied in the Netherlands and was influenced by certain liberal ideas.

²⁴ The Carnegie report of 1932 as well as the National Congress of 1934 discussed this question (Giliomee 2011:7).

The manner in which the Great Trek in the search for self-determination as a historical event was imprinted in the identity of children, is evident in this letter from a little girl to the 'men on the border', "*Dear uncles, We are very glad that you are protecting our country and also us in our town and that you will take the 'teries' [sic!] out of our town and shoot them dead and the people take the uncles to be nursed and the 'teries' [sic!] has to lose and we have to win and we are Voortrekkers,*" (Oosthuizen 2006:193). It is therefore understandable that the Voortrekkers became a cultural movement within Afrikaans schools.

The Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria, considered one of the most impressive monuments in the world, was erected to commemorate the above-mentioned history. This, together with the commemoration of the Battle of Blood River on the 16th of December 1938 (see 4.3.3) and the commemoration of the Vow (Geloofte) are important beacons for the self-identity of the Afrikaner. On the 16th of December, the sun shines on the cenotaph in the bottom hall of the monument. The cenotaph is in the shape of an altar, which shows without a doubt towards the strong religious undertones of the Afrikaner. Etched on top are the words, "Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika (We for you South Africa)". This is also a phrase in the previous anthem – of which a verse was included in the new anthem after 1994 – and is noteworthy that they are willing to bring sacrifices just like the Voortrekkers were willing to bring sacrifices. The shape of the cenotaph implies that both an offering to the nation as well as offering on behalf of the nation, are religious actions.

FW de Klerk (1998:12) confirmed the assumption that the Great Trek had become a part of the identity of the Afrikaner. The choice of the title for his book is insightful: *The last trek*. For him, with the dawn of democracy the Afrikaner has trekked his last trek, an assumption that will not be accepted offhandedly by all.

Also, Snyman (2005:341) saw the comparison and similarity the Afrikaner made between the *Exodus* (Genesis) and the Great Trek. He points out that Israel also based its identity on historical events like the exodus from Egypt. Therefore, it was easy for the Voortrekkers to find religious meaning in their history. *Israel's* identity became *their* identity.

Not all the authors are positive about the position the Great Trek and the Voortrekkers gained within the Afrikaner sentiments. Marschall (2005:18) refers to the Great Trek as an *'origin myth'*, while Snyman (2005:326) refers to an *'imagined one'*.

Eugene de Kock²⁵, in retrospect on his own history, recalls that as a member of the Voortrekkers he was taught that the war on the border was a continuation of his identity as an Afrikaner (Louw 2001:105).

Van Jaarsveld (1988:11-26) as quoted by Marschall (2005:23) is correct to a great extent when he observes the following:

... the move of the Afrikaners as 'God's chosen people' to the 'promised land'. The Great Trek became a key symbol and its significance was reinforced and publicly called to mind through the annual ritual observance of the 'Day of the Vow'. It legitimized Afrikaner existence, culture and policy; it supported their identity as a people and provided them with orientation in South Africa and in the world".

The Great Trek was therefore the origin myth for the self-esteem of the Afrikaner.

These historical events and the Afrikaner interpretation lead to a unique group awareness that was penned in the writings of SJ du Toit (as quoted by Keuris 2009:14), *"The history of our country in the language of our nation."* He continues, *"... not only of this nation awareness but also of the Afrikaners concept of self – a self that was discovered for the first time with the help of constructing an 'own' history."* It has been proven that history and identity are closely related. Du Toit's use of terms such as *'nation awareness'*, *'concept of self'*, *'construing of an own history'*, are all but alternatives for the word *identity*.

4.3.2 Laager forming in the midst of threat, opposition and criticism

A mighty symbol of the Afrikaner identity is that of wagons positioned in a circle. This symbol has its origins at the Battle of Blood river. Before the battle, the Voortrekkers positioned their wagons against each other's and filled the spaces in between with branches from thorn trees. This Battle of Blood river was a glorious victory for the relatively small group of Trekkers who were totally overwhelmed in number by the Zulu

²⁵ Eugene de Kock, the infamous commander of Vlakplaas, part of the then SAP, was sentenced for deeds committed against former 'revolutionary elements' during the apartheid years. He appeared before the TRC but was not given amnesty. He was serving a lifelong prison sentence even though there were attempts for him to be granted parole. At time of this publication, parole was granted.

warriors. Practically the laager formed by the wagons symbolised unity, brotherhood and protection from the onslaughts of the enemy. It is therefore understandable that a circular laager wall in the shape of ox wagons was erected at the entrance of the Voortrekker monument. De Klerk (1998:390) refers to it as “*half-church, half-fortress.*”

John Vorster, former premier of the NP government, expressed himself as such regarding the worth of the laager, “*At its worst and when South Africa is standing alone, the Boers will form an encampment*” (Bothma 2013:385). This symbol would then be used directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally every time the Afrikaners experienced resistance or a threat. As part of economic and socio-cultural sanctions against South Africa, an arms ban was also introduced. In reaction to this, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha (1977-1994), made the following statement, “*Now we can unify people, now we can work harder, because now we can see we are alone*” (Bothma 2012:421).

This ‘laager mentality’ or ‘siege culture’ (Bosch 1983:21) was particularly evident in the SADF. According to Esterhuyse (2009:26) a sense of isolation developed during the time of the Bush war (c. 1966-1989). Wessels (2010:49) describes it as such, “*With time the South African government put more emphasis on this ‘total onslaught’. Citizens were called to resist this onslaught, which lead to a crusade mentality in Afrikaners.*” De Klerk (1998:390) highlights that the symbol of the Castle of Good Hope (built between 1666 and 1679) in Cape Town was incorporated in the insignia of the SADF. Once again, the symbol of enclosure reflects protection from enemy powers. It is therefore obvious how this laager-theme influenced the SADF conscript generation. The country had to be protected. Not only was a laager formed, but also, they went over to action in order to protect this laager. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela (2012:37) commented negatively on this attitude of forming a laager in, “*We have the world on our side, you are an isolated minority.*”

4.3.3 Blood River and the Vow: called – chosen

The victory over the great number of Zulu-warriors had extraordinary religious value within the identity of the Afrikaner. These Voortrekkers who chose to leave the Eastern boarder of the Cape because of the British influence as well as the on-going conflict with the Xhosas because of land, were literally fighting for survival. Andries Pretorius, who

joined the group as trek leader after internal strife, had the unenviable task of leading this group. In sight of the threat, the group - under the leadership of Sarel Cilliers a week before the Battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838 - made a vow before the Lord declaring that they would give Him the honour and would also commemorate this day and spend it as a Sabbath day in the future, if He protected them. Thereafter the victory was used to remind the next generation of God's protection, and the power in unity (unity makes strength), as well as the calling the nation has because of God's protection. The victory was also strongly interpreted in that God has a specific task and Godly plan for the Afrikaner. At first the day was celebrated as Dingaan's Day but since 1982 as Day of the Vow. From 1994 this public holiday is celebrated as Day of Reconciliation²⁶.

Wilkins and Strydom (2012:145) quotes from a speech of Piet Meyer, a very prominent Broederbond (Broederbond) leader, where he explains Afrikaner survival, "*God did not call us to commit suicide, but to maintain and protect ourselves.*" As an Afrikaner leader who probably had a good knowledge of the country's history, he had the Battle of Blood River in mind, and was motivating the Afrikaner to continue fighting.

Van Jaarsveld (1988:11) as quoted by Marschall (2005:23) indicates this specific Battle as part of the Great Trek in forming the Afrikaner identity when he makes the following remark, "*...the significance was reinforced and publicly called to mind through the annual ritual observance of the 'Day of the Vow'. It legitimised Afrikaner existence, culture and policy; it supported their identity as a people and provided them with orientation in South Africa and in the world.*"

The Vow, together with what happened at Blood River, was used according to Müller (2004:209) during the Anglo-Boer War as a "*ritual of consecration in Afrikaner religious thought.*" The power and symbolic meaning were used throughout history and would later have a huge influence on the SADF conscript generation's identity.²⁷

²⁶ For a comprehensive discussion of the history as well as current initiatives, see the book by Piet Strauss '*Geloftedag in die Nuwe Suid-Afrika*' (1994).

²⁷ Jaap Steyn, a former commanding officer of the 61 Mechanised Battalion group, at a service during which the ashes of a fallen SADF soldier was placed at Grey College, referred to four Malan brothers who were part of the Battle of Blood River. He noted, amongst other things, that they were disciplined. His remark highlights the importance of the Battle in the identity of the Afrikaner. He further noted that the Border War was worth it otherwise we (the whole of South Africa) would not have enjoyed a democracy. This remark acknowledges implicitly that the SADF generation struggles with the question whether the war was worth it or not.

Godly protection during the battle is interpreted that there is a calling on the Afrikaner group. The Vow therefore does not only commemorate but also calls the future generation to action and service as well as to worship God. The Vow, building The Church of the Vow and observing the day as if it were a Sabbath, have all religious meaning. For the Afrikaner, who is seen as a religious person, the 16th of December becomes the most meaningful of historical days. The day become a public holiday and it would continue as Day of Reconciliation in the new South Africa. Many Afrikaners still commemorate the day as The Day of the Vow²⁸. Strauss (1994:51) is of the opinion that the day should also be commemorated in the new South Africa as a day of thanksgiving like a Sabbath and that is also highlights Christian values. The Afrikaner has to take the responsibility on himself/herself to maintain this. With this no one can find fault. It is a pity that Strauss (1994:46) wants to keep the commemoration especially on a Reformed foundation while many Afrikaners are not anti-Reformed but also not exclusively Reformed. Further, there are also elements of danger when, like the Israel of yore, the church and state is seen as one, as highlighted by him (Strauss 1994:31).

The cenotaph or altar on which it is written '*Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika*' (We for you South Africa)' at the Voortrekker Monument is an indication of the impact The Vow and the Battle of Blood River have had on the psyche of the Afrikaner²⁹.

4.3.4 Anti-English sentiment and the Anglo-Boer War

According to Wilkins and Strydom (2012:377) as well as Serfontein (1978:132) the British Union Jack, that formed part of the previous South African national flag, was covered during Broederbond meetings. For many years, the flags of the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Free State were used during gatherings (Pelzer 1979:42). This ritual, as well as the establishment of the Broederbond, is proof of the strong anti-English feeling amongst Afrikaners³⁰. This feeling can be taken right back to the first occupation

²⁸ The author attended the 175th commemoration of the Battle of Blood River (1838) as well as the 100-year celebration of the inauguration of The National Women's Monument (1913) on the 16th of December 2013 at The National Women's Monument in Bloemfontein.

²⁹ There are some criticisms against the Voortrekker Monument in that the design was influenced by Freemasonry, the prominence of the women that matches the Roman-Catholic Church's honouring of Mary, as well as the words – '*ons vir jou*' (we for you) – that at its core would have been a covenant with death. '*Reaping the whirlwind*' is an example of this.

³⁰ It is noteworthy that the feeling is not for instance against the Scots. Scottish pastors related to the Afrikaners and were often called to various congregations. For example, the famous Andrew Murray was of Scottish descent. His father helped to get the financial support to establish schools such as Grey College in Bloemfontein with the aim to educate Afrikaners. Therefore, some of the teachers and headmasters at the school were from Scotland. Angus Buchan, a layperson of Scottish descent also delivered many talks at the school (author in conversation with the headmaster in 2010).

of the Cape (1795-1803) by the British when they conquered the Dutch forces. Later, in 1803 (Wikipedia 2014a) the Cape once again came under Dutch rule and from there the saying '*Die Kaap is weer Hollands*' (The Cape is once again Dutch).

The Slagtersnek rebellion of 1815 awoke strong emotions against all that were English within the Afrikaner community (Wikipedia 2014b). Six rebels were found guilty and sentenced to death. Five of the condemned were hanged, and as they were hanged four of the nooses broke and the condemned were hanged again. This was probably the last straw that broke the camel's back and motivated the leaving of the Eastern Cape in search of, literally and figuratively speaking, greener pastures.

History is also littered with conflict between the two groups, which later also included the then German West Africa, later South West Africa (SWA). When the British became aware of the diamonds along the coast of SWA, they wanted to prevent the Dorsland Trekkers³¹ at all cost, to gain access to the coast. The danger of an independent republic forming had to be prevented (Bothma 2012:45). With the discovery of diamonds³² in Kimberley the border of the Cape was moved to include the area of Kimberley, that was previously part of the Free State, into the Cape Colony. The failed Jameson invasion of 1895-1896 to the ZAR (Transvaal) via Botswana is another example of the struggle between Boer and Brit (Wikipedia 2014c). With the discovery of gold³³ in the Witwatersrand (1886), the mighty British companies wanted to employ migrant workers to work in the mines. The old Boer Republics stood in the way of the labourers that had to move from i.e. Mozambique. The Foreigner Issue³⁴ (Uitlanderkwessie) was used, abused and put to the forefront, and gave rise to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War or the Second South African War (literally translated as Freedom War) (1899-1902).

³¹ Part of the original trek party that left the Eastern Cape dared to take on the Dorsland. The trekkers moved through the Northern Cape to SWA. Some moved as far as Angola. Later, groups also moved out of the then ZAR. (See Giliomee 2003:187)

³² With the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley came a rush of fortune-seekers. The English, under the leadership of Cecil John Rhodes, also wanted to gain control over these mineral riches.

³³ Various British mining companies were founded after the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand (1896). Their business interests and that of the Afrikaners, who had the political power as leaders of the Boer Republic, caused regular disagreements.

³⁴ The discovery of gold led to a mass of foreigners streaming to the Rand. Later these people became known as *The Foreigners*. It seems like the British used the Foreigner issue to declare war. The English demanded that these people were given the right to vote.

In a document dated 1899, that was given out shortly before the start of the Anglo-Boer War, General Jan Smuts wrote about the, "*British deceit, violation of treaties, contempt for the Boers*" (Bosch 1983:22).

This war, together with the English's offenses and misdeeds, is therefore imprinted to this day in the psyche of the Afrikaner. The concentration camps where thousands of women and children died, the Scorched Earth policy where houses and farmland were burnt as well as the banishment of imprisoned Boers to places like Ceylon (currently Sri Lanka) is still today a vivid memory for the Afrikaner. De Klerk (1998:6; 24) refers to it as follow, "*Anglo Boer War burnt itself into collective consciousness...anti-British, everything that was English.*" According to Bosch (1983:22) these events, more than anything else, formed the Afrikaner identity. The common grief united the nation. Aggravating this feeling, the English Director of Education in the Transvaal and the Free State, with the help of British educators, brought about the implementation of an Anglicisation policy. This was done even before the end of the war. This made the Afrikaners bitter.

The establishment of the South African Union in 1910 aimed to heal the wounds of the past. Louis Botha, the Prime Minister (1910-1919), was requested by the British to act against the Germans in SWA, resulting in the 1914-Rebellion. For the Boer generals who were part of the Union's government, it was just too much to ask to attack SWA at the insistence of the British. Some of them did not want to do it and became part of the Rebellion. Virtually all the former fighters' lives came to a bitterly sad end during this rebellion. General C.F. Beyers drowned in the Vaal River; General Koos de la Rey was shot accidentally on his way to Potchefstroom; General Manie Maritz ended up in prison in Portugal after hoping in vain that the Germans in SWA could help him. Botha and Smuts, former generals themselves, were insulted at De la Rey's funeral, an indication of the feelings of betrayal and anti-British sentiment. Jopie Fourie, a member of the Union Forces, advanced the aims of the Rebellion. He was found guilty of treason and died as a martyr (Bothma 2012:110). Also, South Africa's decision to enter the First World War (1914-1918) caused bitterness amongst the Afrikaners.

Even during the Union government school children were forced to speak English. Wilkins and Strydom (2012:37) describe the ritual where a child who spoke in Afrikaans had to wear a poster around their neck that read, "*I am a donkey. I speak Dutch*" and that the children were only allowed to speak Afrikaans during certain hours. Furthermore, there

was a strong feeling that Smuts was trying to appease the wealthy English mining companies when he reacted very strongly against his 'own' people during the labour unrests in 1922 (Bothma 2012:149).

As already indicated, the anniversary of the Great Trek in 1938 brought about a great revival in nationalism as well as an anti-British feeling. The revival waned with the entry to the Second World War (1939-1945), which led to anti-English movements just like with the First World War (1914-1918). The Ossewa Brandwag³⁵ movement openly opposed the war effort and had empathy with the Germans. John Vorster, later a National Party Prime Minister, was even interned during the war.

When the National Party took over in 1948, Afrikaners were openly advantaged and often appointed at the expense of qualified English-speaking people (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:132). It is also apparent from the minutes of Broederbond meetings that Afrikaners had to be placed in prominent positions through affirmative action. Meyer, Broederbond Chairman, points out that the Broederbond was formed because of servitude to the English and their exploitation. The Afrikaners had to get equal rights in the economy and in the cities where the Jew and English reigned (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:342).

Names and stereotyping were part and parcel of daily life, verbalising the anti-British feeling. For example, any Afrikaner that supplied information regarding Boer forces, was called *verraaiers* (traitors); an Afrikaner that fought on the English side after initially fighting on the Boer side was called a *joiner*; a person that was used by the English was called a *hans-khaki* (renegade, literally *pet of the English*) and soldiers who fought in the Second World War, *rooi lussies*³⁶. Jansen (2009:90) tells the story of when he went to visit a White school principal who ranted about the struggle against the English. The principal was also still bitter about the *hans-khakis* and the *verraaiers*. Blake (2010:176) tells of how the joiners were hated and describes how some of them, after appearing in front of a Court Martial, were executed in front of a firing squad.

Within the Afrikaner group there was often division regarding the English. Smuts probably made peace with the past and viewed the English as a partner. His pro-British position was eventually used against him and contributed to South African Party's (of

³⁵ Ossewa Brandwag literally means 'Oxwagon Sentinel/Fire-watch'.

³⁶ According to the researcher's mother-in-law, Ria Hattingh, the South African soldiers in the Second World War wore a red epaulet loop on their shoulder, from there the name '*rooi lussie*' (red loop).

which he was the leader) defeat against the National Party in the 1948 elections. Vorster himself saw the Afrikaner and the English as one White group who had to stand together against threats. In this regard he clashed with men like Hertzog for whom it was all about the Afrikaners. Hertzog and his followers eventually broke away from the NP in 1969 and formed the Reconstituted National Party (Herstigte Nasionale Party, HNP) (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:7).

The National Women's Monument in Bloemfontein is the strongest memorial of this dismal episode in the Afrikaner history. It is striking that in the new South Africa there is a strong renewal and commemoration of this history. The reason for this probably lies in the search for identity as well as trying to hold on to an earlier '*era of innocence*'. The implication of this is that the Afrikaner is guilty or feels guilty and as a consequence tries to grab hold of an impressive past as portrayed in plays like '*Ons vir jou*'³⁷.

Many SADF soldiers will be able to recall the remarks that were made to English speaking people. It was often said in jest, but at times derogatory. Discrimination was commonplace. This behaviour was only possible in an environment where the Afrikaner child's mind was nourished by a self-centred history of the battle between Brit and Boer and in some way had to get back at them.

4.3.5 Religious nature

Most of the earliest groups that landed in the Cape were religious to a large extent. They mainly adhered to the Protestant and Reformed dogma (Snyman 2005:127; De Klerk 2000:14; Oliver 2006:1469). The French Huguenots moved from France to the Cape via the Netherlands between 1688 and 1689. Their initial move to the Netherlands was because of the Catholic persecution in France. The Dutch State Bible was part of the Voortrekker's possessions when they moved inland. As the Voortrekkers started to get more established, ministers were called from the Netherlands. When it seemed like the Netherlands did not have enough ministers, Scottish ministers such as the famous Murrays, were eagerly received by the Voortrekkers.

³⁷ This musical written by Deon Opperman in 2008 is based on the Anglo-Boer War and the researcher attended this musical in the State Theatre in Pretoria. The play was very popular, leading to extra performances. The piece did receive some criticism from Zelda de Grange, former assistant of Nelson Mandela, as well as Koos Kombuis, singer and songwriter (Basson 2008: online).

Oliver (2011:77) quotes Giliomee (2009:41) regarding the early colonists' religion, *"These colonists used their faith as a form of identity, calling themselves Christians to distinguish them from the indigenous population and the slaves."*

During the celebration of the Broederbond's fiftieth anniversary in 1968 Henning Klopper, one of the founding members, mentioned that without God's grace the Afrikaner would have been nothing (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:344). Referring to the National Congress that was held in 1934 to discuss the way forward for 300 000 to 400 000 poor white people, he makes the following remark, *"That is because we accepted God the Father as our Saviour in every crisis. In those dark days when it was difficult, we went on our knees with all our problems and God gave a solution."*

Almost all researchers on this theme agrees that the Afrikaner and his religion had a major influence on the developing of his identity. The Afrikaner regarded himself in this light and lived accordingly.

It has already been mentioned that the Afrikaners regarded themselves as Christian and then also mostly as Reformed. In this regard, the following is implied: 1) all authority comes from God (Snyman 2005:127); 2) the Word is authoritative in supplying principles to order society; 3) the Predestination doctrine stating that certain people are selected (De Klerk 2000:14); 4) people are sinful and have fallen; 5) forgiveness and grace will renew a person; 6) structures of authority and discipline are important; and lastly 7) the calling on each believer to establish the Kingdom of God in all areas of life (De Klerk 2000:14). Evidence thereof is that Christianity was promoted within the broad society of the country, through e.g. Christian National Education (C.N.E.) at school as well as on tertiary level (Scholtz 2013:8).

Not everyone agreed with the statement that the Afrikaners were mainly Reformed. Oliver (2006:1470) argues that the Voortrekkers initially had no Reformed ministers and that South Africa is like a dam into which religious streams like Methodist and Charismatic have flowed over time. She is further of the opinion that the Afrikaner is religious, but not Christian because of his strong emphasis on the Old Testament! Such a view is actually ludicrous if one considers that the Afrikaans churches, especially the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), have always had a strong New Testament missionary zeal. Through these missionary actions many of the indigenous churches were

established, not only in South Africa, but also in Africa, as indicated in writings of Crafford (1982), Smit (1980) and Boshoff (1987).

Despite differences in opinion, it can be declared here that the Afrikaner is/was very religious and has received exceptional inspiration from it; that it is/was part of his identity – whatever the views may be – and that Biblical doctrine and spirituality has been paramount to his existence. Later on, in this chapter (4.4.2), there will be a more in-depth discussion about the theological trends that specifically had an influence on the Afrikaner in his history and formation of his identity.

4.3.6 Ongoing struggle for survival and the total onslaught

De Klerk (1998:276) mentions “*a sense of confrontation*” that has continuously been part of the Afrikaners history. Earlier in his book (p.1) he mentions the Slagtersnek Rebellion, as well as the murder of Piet Retief and his men (p.4) to highlight this point. These descriptions confirm the experience of danger and the battle to survive within a hostile and foreign continent with which the Afrikaner is constantly confronted.

Within the Afrikaner’s history there has always been a special hero’s honouring for the Boer who could shoot from his saddle whilst riding his horse, also for his knowledge of the veld and his ability to adjust to the very tough continent of Africa. Victories at Blood River against the Zulus(1838); successful battles at Majuba (1881) and Magersfontein (1899) against the British; military victories over the Russian backed forces of Swapo (South West African People’s Organisation), Angola and Cuba during the Border wars in SWA/Namibia and Angola (1966-1988), all point to a pride in the military abilities that are cherished within the Afrikaner ranks. The Afrikaner probably experienced the reality of the adventure of life in Africa with its diverse people and/or to fight for survival. The struggle of a minority White group in Black Africa has often in the past called for political action and resistance as well as taking up arms. The mighty professional army of the British (c. 400 000 soldiers) was confronted by a minority group (c. 50 000) of determined fighters, something that to this day is remembered with pride by the Afrikaner descendants (Bothma 2012:73).

The highlight of military victory with which the SADF-conscript generation could identify, was the Bush War in SWA/Namibia and Angola, as opposed to the two World Wars where there was division amongst the Afrikaners. A generation of people at home were constantly thinking of the men on the border, helping them, praying and baking for them. The battle against the black danger and communism (red danger) was intense, especially in the early seventies to the late eighties. It played a distinct role in uniting the Afrikaner with a clear goal – to fight the dark forces. The feeling of isolation and survival also led to the weapons industry developing dramatically because of sanctions (Esterhuysen 2009:24). This study is mainly about studying this generation and their experience of the current situation in South Africa. The SADF never lost the armed war internally or externally. The army probably would have been able to control and manipulate the then situation in SWA/Namibia and Angola for a while longer and would also have been able to work with the South African Police to control the internal unrests. In the end, however other non-military forces, pressures and powers were too strong, and the Security forces were also forced to face and accept the new realities.

The stated mindset to fight is also confirmed by the leaders within the Afrikaner ranks. General Jannie Geldenhuys (2011:423) writes in his book *We were there* that is about the Bush War and how, during negotiations with the Cubans, he warned one of the Cuban generals about the determination of the Afrikaner. He explains as follows, “*I am a descendant of the Boer fighters who kept the British busy for three years. If the Cubans should put a foot over the border, it would be the darkest day in Cuban history.*”

To a certain extent the Afrikaner has always experienced a total onslaught, whether it was warranted or not. Initially it was, “*...the inter-ethnic pressure from the other tribes and nations living in South Africa*” (Oliver 2006:1480); followed by the British who wanted access to the diamonds and gold; eventually leading to the Anglo-Boer War; then the danger of the communism from within and outside the boundaries of the country. It was described by PW Botha as a Total Onslaught, that can currently be experienced by shifting environment and ‘hostile’ enemies that include issues like affirmative action, crime, land claims, changing established place and street names, as well as the Afrikaans language struggle (Engelbrecht 2007:30).

Also, Jansen (2009:86) experiences the current generation of Afrikaners' pessimism and cynicism as follow, *"Blacks are taking everything and are killing Whites... corrupt, take jobs from them, undermining their culture and language and changing the street names."*

That the Afrikaner see himself in a lesser or greater extent as being 'in a state of war' cannot be argued away. Marschall (2005:18) summarises it accurately as, *"The desire for freedom from suppression, the experience of adversity and hardship,"* is now woven into the history of the Afrikaner. The one main difference today is that many Afrikaners nowadays are quite apathetic concerning events in the country and have lost the desire to fight, even on a political level.

This combativeness was imprinted in the Whites during their conscript period and is confirmed by Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:47):

Studies by Booysen (1990:35f) and Gagiano (1990:10ff) confirmed that, by 1990, white students entering tertiary education displayed political intolerance and a militaristic mindset. White youths became more militarised because of their compulsory military training and were intolerant towards other races and ideological viewpoints that differed from their own.

It cannot be denied that fear, to a certain extent, played a role in this attitude (Labuschagne 2014; Erasmus 2005:237).

4.3.7 Honouring of heroes

Afrikaners, as the case in any nation, shows reverence for those who sacrificed, fought and died on behalf of their people. There is probably not one Afrikaans speaking child who were not taught about child heroes such as Rageltjie de Beer and Dirkie Uys, Trek leaders such as Piet Retief and Andries Pretorius, Boer generals such as De la Rey and De Wet, Boer Republic leaders such as Paul Kruger, martyrs such as Jopie Fourie as well as political leaders such as Malan, Strydom and Verwoerd. Leaders like Smuts, who, even though he was probably the greatest statesmen before 1994 because of his involvement in the formation of the United Nations and South Africa's participation in the Second World War, did not enjoy the same hero status because the perception existed that he was submissive to the English and did not understand or support the nationalistic Afrikaner effort.

Heroes are mostly portrayed as role models to awaken national pride. Bosch (1983:17) reckons that “*only giants occupy history.*” Afrikaner heroes especially fuelled nationalism.

Louw (2001:223) is of the opinion that Afrikaner heroes were created one dimensionally. Any person who showed resistance or opposition was regarded as a traitor. Snyman (2005:329) is very critical about the creation of heroes when he makes the following piercing statement and quotes the following:

A nation is created in the historical and sociological imagination through identifications with communal heroes set in dramatised locations and times (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:126). It is an ideological enterprise that fails to conform to the canons of historiography and scientific method. It simply wants to retain the past and explain the lot of the community and prescribe remedies for its ills.

Surprising, and in a sense astonishing, was the popularity of the song ‘*De la Rey*’³⁸. The song succeeded in releasing emotions within a group of Afrikaners. To what extent the song epitomises the search for a hero, a fearless fighter of justice and righteousness (Lambrechts & Visagie 2009:80) within Afrikaner ranks, only time will tell. Often heroes are romanticised, and myths are built around them. Whatever the case may be, the concept of the hero was used very effectively within the Afrikaner ranks against unwelcome enemies, to build national pride, to stir up patriotism and nationalism.

4.3.8 The Afrikaans language

The group of settlers who arrived in the Cape under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, spoke Dutch, or ‘Hollands’, as it was popularly known. Language is dynamic and progressive, therefore with the passing of time together with the contact with the indigenous languages, a unique dialect and language developed.

Giliomee (2001:10) refers to the new language by quoting from a letter from 1830 (this was almost 200 years after the Dutch established themselves in the Cape). The letter was written by a Dutch person who worked as the translator for the court in Cape Town and reads as follow:

³⁸ Bok van Blerk wrote this song in 2005. It is about the Boers’ (Afrikaners) battle against the English and the almost mythological Boer General who has to liberate them. Even though the song is about the Boer War and a nation that will rise again, it awakens strong emotions and can easily be made applicable to the current situation in the country by some.

This is a totally new language for me, a hybrid version of Dutch that is spoken in this country by the farmers, slaves and also by the Hottentotte as well as all sorts of free, heathen tribes. It is not foreign to the more refined Christians as well as the leading classes, with the exception of those persons who were born in the Netherlands and received their training there.

The Afrikaners has a long history of struggling against and resisting the British anglicisation policy. The forced and often degrading policy did indeed contribute to a feeling of cohesion under the Afrikaners. In 1875 Arnoldus Pannevis wrote a letter requesting that the Dutch Bible should be translated in Afrikaans.

There exists no doubt that the Afrikaner feels strongly and is emotional about his language and that he regards this as part of his identity. The Afrikaans Language Monument in the Paarl is unique as is the only monument in the world that celebrates and commemorates a language (Jansen 2009:33). With time, Afrikaans, as a non-European language, acquired university status.

Blaser (2004:195) refers to other communities where language was/is also important. He brilliantly describes the dynamics between a group and its language. It gives precious insight in the Afrikaner and how he feels about his language:

As in many other divided societies, the status of one's language is an issue of pride and political concern for ethnic groups. It is an emotional issue since one's worldview is filtered through language. The history of the nation-state shows how language turned into a political means to advance, politically and socially, ethnic groups and how it was instrumental in consolidating the nation-state. As political power has shifted, the position of Afrikaans in public life and education and affirmative action have become dominant issues for Afrikaners. Language as a cultural issue, and affirmative action, as a socio-economic issue, touch upon fears about the survival of Afrikaners as a group as it took shape in the course of the twentieth century.

It was through the medium of Afrikaans that Totius, the famous poet and translator of the Bible, wrote poems and penned his thoughts on nationalism and in so doing spread it (Bosch 1983:23). Various Afrikaans authors and poets wrote in their language, the one they could identify with, and penned the Afrikaner history, sacrifices, victories and ideals.

4.3.9 Authoritarian, patriarchal and paternalistic

Jansen (2009:7) and Du Preez (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:xxii) is of the opinion that the whole concept of authority and power surface very strongly in the identity of the Afrikaner. Authority is accepted without bias, criticism and hassle and submits to it voluntarily. Authority is seldom questioned. It was Jansen's experience within the academic world that White lecturers acted with authority and that the Afrikaans students accepted it like that and to an extent might have preferred it like that, where the Black lecturers preferred interaction and disagreements. The Afrikaner male especially is the one with the authority and often acts in a paternalistic fashion; so much so that the spouse and daughter is seen as the 'other'. The man makes the decisions that have to be obeyed (Keuris 2009:11). They are also regarded as chauvinistic. Oliver (2011:80) indicates the paternalistic, conservative nature and role of the family. Within this system the man tends to be aggressive (Oliver 2011:76).

To a certain extent, the author agrees with this statement. Contrasting and on the other hand the Black African and the English family systems are seen as relatively 'loose' and undisciplined. Aforementioned also have a communal mindset where decisions are made by a group. Within the Afrikaner culture where productivity and effectiveness are highly valued and time is an important factor, people are comfortable with individual leadership. In fact, strong leaders are usually highly regarded. Obviously, we assume that the current family systems are affected by the modern culture and therefore modern Afrikaner families will be more participatory. That earlier generations were more authoritarian is accepted but in no way limited to the Afrikaner, as many other groups and religions also display these characteristics.

4.3.10 Group exclusivity and racial prejudice

Without a doubt the Afrikaner dissociated and separated itself from the other groups in the country. One cannot assume that this has always been the case. Initially European women were in short supply and this made it 'easy' for men to move over the colour boundary to enter into relationships. As the European women's numbers increased and started to match that of the European men (since 1725), the women started putting up a strong periphery between herself and the 'illegitimate' children to keep them away from

her family (Giliomee 2001:6). This idea of our 'own' was also not a foreign concept in Europe. Afrikaner thoughts regarding independence was likewise influenced by the European nationalism's model of social exclusivity (Bredenkamp & Wessels 2010:45).

The separation, especially after the Great Trek, gave rise to the institutionalised policy of apartheid in 1948 which included i.e. the Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950); The Group Areas Act (Act no. 41 of 1950) as well as The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (Act no. 55 of 1949) to name but a few.

Separation and prejudice were also practiced by the other colonial powers (Asmal 1997:209; De Klerk 2000:66). In South Africa separation, seclusion and prejudice were also applied by the English. De Klerk (2000:59) indicates that the British settlers did not mix with the Dutch, French or German groups. The following quotation from the speech Jan Smuts made in London in 1917 (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:192) gives insight into the reasoning of Whites, taking the realities of their present day into account, "*Intermixture of blood between the two colours...dishonourable to mix white and black blood.*" Smuts further refers to Cecil John Rhodes who put Native Reserves in place, like the Transkei and argued which form of government would be best suited:

...native self-government...apart from parliamentary institutions. Useless to try and govern in same system. They are different...not only in colour but in minds and political capacity...principles of self-government. Lifting up the Black degraded the White. Areas governed by themselves in all their forms of living and development ...white communities separately according to accepted European principles.

From this it is clear that the Whites have seen themselves for many years as European and therefore different to the Black man from Africa.

This sentiment of a different culture and lifestyle than what they were used to, as well as the threat posed by other groups, together with the struggle for survival, the yearning for their own land and country, all contributed to their separation. Later in this chapter reference is made to the influence of the Germans, especially that of Nazism which amongst other things advocated the Aryan race as the ideal. On the contrary the Afrikaners were a minority group, driven by fear and a feeling of superiority, convinced that they had to separate themselves like Israel, the chosen people in the Bible.

The separation under the guise of self-determination unfortunately led to blatant racism. De Klerk (2000:14) goes further to call this pride and arrogance as well as extreme nationalism. Jansen (2009:242) tells a story of a parent who, in tears, mentioned to him that he has always been a racist and that it was the way he was brought up. This story, of which the truth cannot be argued, is one piece of evidence that the Afrikaner in himself concluded that racial prejudice existed and that it still does.

It is probable that growing nationalism made the Afrikaner blind for what he did to 'other' countrymen and regarded as obvious and ordinary. Jansen (2009:82) calls this '*ideological lenses*.' The ideology of apartheid was actually racism that was practice in everyday life, often in the form of violence, discrimination, humiliation and exploitation. In discussions people were encouraged to keep themselves pure and to avoid mixing and inter-racial marriages. The '*other*' were stereotyped based on the colour of their skin (Snyman 2005:331). Bredenkamp and Wessels (2010:45) summarises this tendency as follows, "*Afrikaner exclusivity went together with colour awareness, which was historically rooted in the European colonial mentality, and was reinforced by the fact that black population groups in Southern Africa outnumbered them by far.*"

This 'negative' identity (mindset and characteristics) of the Afrikaner is the greatest accusation and burden and awakens deep emotions of bitterness in those who stood at the receiving end of the discriminating policies that were enforced upon them.

4.3.11 Tendency to division

A strong perception exists amongst Afrikaners that they cannot work together. If this is really the case or if it is only a myth, is unsure. In literature there are indications that it is true. According to Bothma (2013:172) the division is the Afrikaner's *Achillesheel*. De Klerk (1998:6) writes in his book, *The last trek*, how his great-grandfather and his brother disagreed about church songs. The one preferred more 'free' Scottish evangelical hymns while the other one preferred Scriptural hymns which are directly linked to Biblical passages like the Psalms. They were brothers and owned neighbouring farms, but they were willing to put up a fence between them because of this difference. They did not talk to each other until the day they died!

One of the worst examples of division comes out of the Anglo-Boer War. Thousands of Afrikaners betrayed the Boer forces or fought on the side of the English. They were called 'traitors' or 'joiners'. They were treated with little mercy and was executed by Boer War Councils (Blake 2010:176). The intervention of the Union forces in 1914 in SWA brought about a rebellion where former Boer generals opposed each other. Further that, the Second World War also divided Afrikaners, and most were very much against Smuts' participation on the side of the British. As an Afrikaner leader, Smuts detained many fellow Afrikaners.

Also, Andries Treurnicht³⁹ refers to this tendency to divide in a speech where he quotes Klopper from minutes of a meeting from 5 June 1918, "*Our main aim is a Broederbond of Afrikaners, now scattered over SA, and mainly opposed to each other without the slightest cohesion. The salvation for our nation lies in our striving together in love for its wellbeing. We must bring our nation to consciousness*" (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:349). Wichmann (1941:2), as quoted by Oliver (2006:1479) shares a similar point of view:

Their strong-minded individuality, unwillingness to follow where others led, and pride, always managed to bring division and discord among Afrikaners. It was only after the success of the First Anglo Boer War that the flame of nationalism began to spark, but it soon died out again. During and after the Second Anglo Boer War, the disunity became clear again.

Also, the younger generation of Afrikaners is aware of this division. In a survey of Van der Merwe (2010:319) that was conducted among young people, they point out the following, '*...the ANC has such a large majority, together with the fact that the Afrikaner is inept to stand united, is the primary reasons why Afrikaners are becoming increasingly politically apathetic.*'

The Afrikaner has experienced his fair share of division on political, church and cultural levels. Whether it is worse in other parts of Africa or the world, is unclear. A decision is still to be made to whether this characteristic is false or only a perception; or that the division is exaggerated and put forward unfairly. If it is true, it can be a stumbling block

³⁹ Andries Treurnicht was a pastor / clergyman, journalist, and later Minister in the National Party. Later he disagreed with the reform initiatives of PW Botha and broke away in 1982 to form the Conservative Party.

for the Afrikaner and make him negative even before any collaborative actions have been launched.

4.3.12 European roots

It is logical that the first settlers in the 1650s and 1700s regarded themselves as Europeans instead of Africans. That said, the identification with Europe continues for centuries. Public facilities as late as the 1980s were often designated and segregated as European and non-European.⁴⁰

De Klerk (2000:14) mentions that it was important for Afrikaners to identify with one or the other mother country. Strauss (1994:33) refers to the Voortrekkers' mind-set to have a "*Vrije Provincie van Nieuw Holland in Zuid Oost Africa*" (a free province/state of New Holland in South East Africa) in the promised land, like Israel. Jan Smuts, like previously mentioned, referred to his government in 1917 as "...*white communities separately according to accepted European principles.*" Asmal, K, Asmal L and Roberts (1997:209) call it "*Recreating Europe in a faraway land.*" Verwoerd's stance, the father of apartheid, was that there was no place for the Black man in this European community apart from certain forms of manual labour. He could rather rule over himself in his own regions (Lapsley 2012:50).

Keuris (2009:6) quotes Gerald L'Ange (2005:173) who describes a typical colonialist mindset with which the Afrikaner would have associated.

...for much of the 19th century European attitudes had been shaped largely by the 'three Cs' concept – the exporting to Africa of Christianity, commerce and civilisation in the interest of uplifting the indigenous population from barbarity. But when Europeans began to settle in Africa, upliftment became awkwardly entangled with exploitation, separatism and supremacy.

For the Afrikaner – originally European – it was important to live like a European, maintaining the same values and standards. Giliomee (2001:13) quotes DF Malan's

⁴⁰ In conversation with the researcher a White soldier(senior officer) in 2006 shared that he regarded himself as European and not African.

words, as told to him by his son, that can possibly explain this White and European mindset:

The white uneducated or partially educated worker who has to compete with the non-whites is at a disadvantage. 'The white' because he is white, is expected to maintain white standards of living. He has to see to it that the education of his children, the food he eats, the clothes he wears, and his housing are all in line with the white standard of living and strive to maintain this. You can comprehend that in these circumstances the competition is deadly for the white person, while the non-white can progress in these prevailing circumstances, but the white will go down and will lower even below the standard of impoverished white.

It is ironic that the other population groups had to use this distinction when in 1943 they united against the apartheid policy and white supremacy in the founding of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) (Bredenkamp & Wessels 2010:46).

This European mindset did have its advantages in the sense of culture and civilisation that brought with it advances, technology and development. It also brought on stress and pressure for the Afrikaner because he had to ensure that he remained ahead of the African at all times. In this process he also created a divide between European and non-European and lost track of the fact that *"Brown and Black people also had similar aspirations"* (Giliomee 2001:13).

4.3.13 Rural – Farming – Independence

The Afrikaner has always had a deep desire and craving for land. He loved his land, his animals and nature (Oliver 2006:1477). Booysen (1970:33), as quoted by Oliver (2006:1478) reveals that in 1870, 80% of all Afrikaners lived on farms and in rural areas. This means that four of every five Afrikaners lived in the countryside. This must, without a doubt, have had a huge impact on the formation of the Afrikaner identity. It is not surprising then that the Afrikaner referred to himself as a Boer (literally 'farmer') – a description that has remained until today – at times, but not always, with a negative connotation (Madikizela-Mandela 2012:232).

Oliver (2006:1479) goes further and makes the following observation when she quotes Stuart (1854:208), "*The father and his married children stayed together on gigantic farms, each with his own house and garden and cattle. 'I never saw so much unity, childlike obedience and respect woven together'*".

Keuris (2009:7) is accurate when he claims that the farm is the place where every Afrikaner feels at home. It is as if he rediscovers himself and the truth every time he returns to the place where his roots and traditions lie.

The reality today is that most Afrikaners became urbanised. That said, many Afrikaners still have one or so family members with a farm, and that for example, many hunts eagerly during the hunting season. The land reform issue that has recently once again become a political point, is very hard for the Afrikaners to digest as they are such down-to-earth people who identify with the land.

The nostalgia and the craving for land, an own place, was captured very deeply in the DVD version of the popular song '*De la Rey*', "*Van Blerk ploughs and lets soil run through his fingers during the second verse - 'the heart of the farmer (Boer)'. In this the powerful nostalgic yearning for 'being a farmer (boer)' is depicted*" (Lambrechts & Visagie 2009:89).

The Voortrekkers were originally nomadic but quickly started farming as they became more established. Even the Dorsland Trekkers in Angola were exceptional farmers. It was mandatory for them to be independent and to be able to function on their own. The isolation indeed led to a '*Boer making a plan*' (Boer maak 'n plan) (Oliver 2011:77). This innovative characteristic and the ability to survive may have brought about a generation that was diligent. This might explain the fact that Afrikaners are in demand to work in many overseas countries.

Erasmus (2005:235) is of the opinion that the Afrikaners will lose his independence and eventually his identity if he is to lose his land.

4.3.14 Family orientated

The Afrikaner is not the only group or nation who maintains strong family ties. It has always formed the basis of all nations. But family played a crucial role for a minority group in the interest of survival, support and also for upholding a unique lifestyle and culture. Jansen (2009:70) confirms the important role the family plays and played in establishing identity in children. Of all the parents at school activities, the Afrikaner parents are probably the most involved, referring back to Jansen. Stuart (1854:208) as quoted by Oliver (2006:1479) refers to the strong family ties, keeping in mind that during 1870, 80% of the Afrikaners lived on farms.

Dates and names of marriages, births and deaths of family members were recorded in the family Bible, which was regarded as absolutely valid and directional. Babies were given the names of grandparents. Family devotions was practiced in the close-knit family unit and remains a practice today among many Afrikaners, all of this is an indication of strong and healthy family ties.

4.4 WHO BUILT THE IDENTITY AND CARRIED IT OVER?

Identity is moulded by various factors. This does not happen consciously. Jansen (2009:82) points out the important role the Broederbond, Church, education, cultural organisations and media (especially the SABC) played to gain and keep control of the Afrikaner, to build his identity and to protect and promote his interests. He makes an important remark that sheds further light on this, “...reserves of social knowledge on which memories and identity are built: great poets, writers, scientists, rugby players, intellectuals, theologians, political leaders.”

Next, attention will be given to the most important agents in identity formation.

4.4.1 Family

As discussed in the previous section, the Afrikaner is bound in a close family unit. In any community, the family – to use a military expression – is the first line of defence. One of the social characteristics of the Afrikaner is hospitality, a characteristic that surely would not be present in the absence of close family ties (De Klerk 2000:80; Louw 2001:69). Jansen (2009:70), as quoted in the previous section, mentions that the Afrikaner group is

the most involved in their children's education in comparison to other groups. Within the family, on the mother's lap and in the mother tongue, is where identity forming started. The '*knowledge in the blood*' (Jansen 2009) started here. Tutu (1999:252) describes it as, "*Forces that were so potent in forming the attitude, mindset and worldview.*"

4.4.2 Church

The three sister churches⁴¹, especially the Dutch Reformed Church as the biggest of the three, undeniably played an integral role in the formation of the Afrikaner identity. Important principles like predestination was used by some to justify or explain that the Afrikaner was chosen above other groups (De Klerk 2000:15). The correlation between Biblical Israel was emphasised and compared to the Afrikaner exodus out of oppression. The principle of guardianship was preached; other population groups had to serve like Ham, the cursed one. A further argument was that the Afrikaner was placed at the southern tip of Africa to spread the gospel. Lastly, Biblical sanction was used to support separation that ultimately contributed to the apartheid policy.

Wilkins & Strydom (2012:290) and Smit (1983:181) indicated that about 70% of the Dutch Reformed Church ministers belonged to the Broederbond at some point. The important role the Broederbond played will be discussed later.

What is also of importance is that the Church was and is part of the ups and downs of the Afrikaner. For example, in the depression years of the 1930s the Church got hold of land in order to provide homes and jobs to a crushed nation. Van Wyk (1991:41) tells of how as a child his family were tenant farmers⁴² on a farm and later, because of the initiative of the Dutch Reformed Church, they moved to Bethulie where his dad received a piece of land and they could start farming on a small scale.

The Church preached, educated and led the nation in religion but also had a major influence on all areas of life in line with the Reformed principles. Therefore, it can rightly be said that the Afrikaner would not have experienced their current wellbeing if it was not for the extraordinary initiatives of the Church. The Church helped to build self-

⁴¹ Sister churches refer to the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk), Reformed Church in South Africa (Hervormde Kerk), and Reformed Churches in South Africa (Gereformeerde Kerk).

⁴² A tenant farmer was those who did not have their own land but for the right of staying did some work for the owner while also farming a portion for themselves.

confidence as well as establishing a sense of value and a calling. This helped the Afrikaner to not lose heart when he experienced difficult times. At times, the church identified too much with the Afrikaner as a nation (volk) and consequently sometimes forsook its prophetic and critical role in society, and therefore stumbled. The Church has already admitted to this and confessed (NGK 2014).

4.4.3 Educational institutions

The Broederbond realised early on that forming a unique Afrikaner identity would be paramount for survival. Schools and education would play a pivotal role in this regard. As a result, many teachers were recruited for the Broederbond⁴³. Wilkins & Strydom (2012:253) reveals compellingly that schools were used in the formation and reinforcement of identity. Here the stories of a rich and glorious past was told; concerts and musicals were performed that strengthened the Afrikaner story within a cultural context; leadership camps were held where potential leaders were already schooled in a certain frame of mind; and children took part in cadets in preparation to ward off a possible physical and psychological onslaught. The Voortrekkers, a cultural organisation, were also strongly propagated within Afrikaans' schools. Wilkins & Strydom's (2012:448) comment that education and religion were used, "*to mould the minds of the people,*" is very true. Likewise, Saayman (2007:73) argues that Verwoerd viewed schools as important ideological blocks and that only Christian-national education would be accepted, as defined by the National Party which had its roots in the German Romantic Nationalism.

4.4.4 Media

The Broederbond realised that controlling the media could make a huge contribution to the manipulation of people and their thoughts. Meyer, as Broederbond leader and head of the SABC at the time, worked towards this goal continuously (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:132, 201, 253, 258, 342).

Jansen (2009:82) and Madikizela-Mandela (2012:79, 140) are of the opinion that propaganda was the reason that apartheid could continue for as long as it did despite all the opposition. A systematic continuous process of indoctrination was followed to make

⁴³ The author established that one of the best teachers in his primary school, who was indeed an exceptional teacher, was also a member of the Broederbond.

the Afrikaner believe that his own illusionary world is real. The media was used and abused intentionally, in such a way that the naïve Afrikaner could accept the apartheid policies and practices and believed that all authority came from God.

Also, the Afrikaner movies that were made during the border war years, aimed to gain the support and loyalty of the Afrikaner for the cause, to name a view *'Kaptein Caprivi'*, *'Aanslag op Kariba'*, *'Boetie gaan border toe'*, *'Ses soldate'*, *'Mirage eskader'*, *'Die wonder van 14 Julie'* and *'Grensbasis 13'* (Craig 2004).

4.4.5 Cultural organisations

Afrikaner leaders realised that culture would play a decisive role in leading the Afrikaner to an Afrikaner identity. Organisations like the *'Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging'* (ATKV), *'Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur'* (FAK), *'Rapportryers'*, *'Voortrekkers'* and many more were used to awaken patriotism and to pursue Afrikaner ideals. *'Volkspele'* (folk dancing), productions, musicals, leadership camps and monuments were some of the ways in which the culture organisation got involved (Pelzer 1979:117; Wilkins & Strydom 2012:267).

4.4.6 Broederbond (Brotherhood)

The Broederbond that was founded in 1918 in Johannesburg, was instrumental and decisive to the particular heights achieved by the Afrikaner. Its initial aim was to support the, *"...urgent needs of a nation standing on the verge of permanent ruin,"* (Pelzer 1979:7). They achieved this as a secret organisation through networking, influence and hard work, eventually placing Afrikaners in all fields in positions of power. Financial institutions were established to help the Afrikaner; government and semi-government institutions were formed to create jobs; workers were organised into unions and political parties were supported and used. Here, the Afrikaner churches were also deeply involved. Every National Party leader and the Prime Minister were members of the Broederbond, as well as church, cultural, economic and sport leaders. With regards to education, special effort was made to advance the Afrikaner agenda, by recruiting large number of teachers as members (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:14).

One of the founding members, Klopper, made the following accurate, but disturbing comment at the 50-year celebration of the Broederbond in 1968:

Do you realise what a powerful force is gathered here tonight between these four walls? Show me a greater power on the whole continent of Africa. Show me a greater power anywhere, even in your so-called civilised countries. We are part of the State, we are part of the Church, we are part of every big movement that has been born of this nation. And we make our contributions unseen; we carried them through to the point that our nation has reached today.

These words were not just words, they were indeed the truth. But Giliomee (2003:224) suspects that the influence of the Broederbond in forming apartheid was exaggerated.

There is definitely great divergence between writers on the Broederbond. Some within and from outside the Afrikaner ranks judged the Broederbond in a positive light while others were very disapproving. Positive views were held by Pelzer who published a book in 1979, *Die Afrikaner-Broederbond – die eerste 50 jaar*, in which he discusses its origins, aims and history as well as some of their activities. In his book he mentions the Broederbond's initiatives, upliftment work, expansion, conservation and contributions in many fields for the Afrikaner. This book was published because the time was ripe to do so, according to Gerrit Viljoen, a former chairman who wrote the foreword. However, the book was probably published in reaction to the book written by Wilkins and Strydom, *Super Afrikaner: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond*, that was published a year earlier. According to Cloete (1981:23) the organisation was set to serve and not to be served.

The leader of the opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, requested an investigation into the Broederbond in 1964. Verwoerd, who at the time was the Prime Minister, insisted that the Free Masons and the Sons of England should also be investigated. The investigation found the accusations that Broederbond members and Afrikaners benefitted considerably, were inaccurate. Unusual and sporadic cases of benefit could have occurred because of human weakness. Broederbond members would have risen through the ranks in any case due to their natural characteristics and abilities. The Broederbond, so the verdict explained, was there to strengthen and support the Afrikaner as a cultural group against i.e. communism, liberalism, evolutionism and humanism. Broederbond members have fundamental value and it is God-given, therefore it would not be justified to destroy the Broederbond (Wilkins& Strydom 2012:334). The emphasis was placed on service and not on personal advantage, an aspect that was also emphasised during the inaugural ceremony.

There are those people who are negative towards the Broederbond. Smit (2009:138), a former member, makes mention of the fact that he got the appointment as a lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch because of this membership of the Broederbond, at the expense of the highly regarded David Bosch, who was also shortlisted. He also mentions an incident where the postmaster did not process an application for a telephone line quickly enough for one of the Brothers, and he was transferred after Brothers brought it under the minister's attention. This happened after the incident was discussed at his first Broederbond meeting (Smit 2009:94). Wilkins & Strydom's book *The Super Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond* caused quite a stir in some spheres. The thoroughly researched book exposed this secret organisation's inner working, networks and influences on every level. It is important to mention that the Dutch Reformed Church Commission was at a certain stage also strongly dismissive about this secret organisation. Among other things, the argument was that the Bible reveals, it does not conceal (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:309). Also Hertzog, Prime Minister, expressed strong negativity towards the Broederbond during his Smithfield speech on 6 November 1935 and went on to say the following, "*When will that foolish, fatal idea cease with some people that they are the chosen of the gods to govern over all others.*" Smuts again passed a law that prohibited all government officials to be members of the Broederbond. Because of this law, someone like Magnus Malan's father lost his job as a biochemist at the Veterinary Science department at Onderstepoort (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:65). Malan (2006:25) also refers to these incidents in his book *My lewe saam met die SAW*. As a consequence, he had to join the Army at a young age because of a scarcity of money after the dismissal of his father. Smuts' first words after he lost the election in 1948 was, "*...to think that I have been beaten by the Broederbond.*"

Also, Hentie Serfontein, who initially was a member, resigned and was critical as a journalist. He wrote a book *Broederbond of power*. According to Max du Preez a minister refused to christen Serfontein's daughter because he made certain documents public (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:xvii). Serfontein is of the opinion that the Afrikaans churches were completely in the hands of the Broederbond. Beyers Naude, whose father was a founding member, also resigned and spoke out against the Broederbond. Professor Albertus Geyser, who launched an examination on behalf of the Reformed Church (Hervormde Kerk) to find Biblical evidence to justify apartheid, and was not able to find it, was eventually placed under censure by his church. Naude handed over Broederbond

documents to prof. Geysler who in turn gave it to the *Sunday Times* and published it. This caused a stir and even resulted in a security investigation (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:xviii; Serfontein 1978:17).

Pelzer (1978:158) quotes from a recommendation of a commission of the Executive Committee in 1933 where mass segregation, as they referred to it, was already recommended. The native population of the country would be forced to move to specific areas in the country as determined by the government. Urban Black people would not be allowed to bring their families with them, to own a house or to have political rights. They were in the White areas out of choice and to their own advantage. The unemployed would be forced to leave the area and return to their own areas. Later on, this suggestion did indeed become government policy. It is thus clear that the Broederbond, contrary to FW de Klerk's (1998:42) argument, was far more than just a cultural organisation promoting language, traditions and way of life. De Klerk admitted that the Broederbond was pivotal in influencing the decision-makers to drive reform initiatives.

There is no doubt that the original ideals of the Broederbond were noble. The Afrikaner was downtrodden after the devastating depression that led to the 'poor whites' problem. Many Afrikaners found themselves flocking to cities after the Anglo-Boer war left them without farms or homes, lacking any occupational training. The version of De Lange, former chairman of the Broederbond, can be accepted – that the Broederbond's purpose was to create a middle-class Afrikaner.

Unfortunately, the Broederbond changed into a hub for the power-hungry that eventually destroyed it. In a secretive and undemocratic way, it became the elite of the elected who assigned all the power to themselves and determined the destiny of all the other people in the country. Even though it is strongly denied, the members benefitted and pushed the Broederbond's agenda. This can in no way be justified in a Biblical sense, where transparency and accountability to the constituency should be required ethically and accepted as the norm.

De Klerk's (1998:42) remark that the Broederbond was purely a cultural organisation that did not benefit members on a personal level, can thus not be accepted. Someone who was part of the system and that benefitted from the system, can easily be made blind for the prejudice of its systems and can easily take this arrogance for granted. Furthermore,

the Broederbond promoted division within the Afrikaner community contrary to Cloete's (1981:97) claims that its purpose was to promote Afrikaner unity. Only some individuals who were members of specific churches served as the elect in the Broederbond. Other Afrikaans churches were mostly left out. The unhappiness simmered under the surface most of the time and the Afrikaans churches investigated this sporadically, evidence that church leaders were actually uncomfortable with this. According to Allister Sparks the Broederbond was the organisation responsible for designing apartheid but then also had to find a way to get rid of it (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:xxvii). It is insightful that Du Plessis, one of the founding members, later on opposed repressive employers (baasskap) and colour discrimination and requested stronger bonds with Africa. He clashed with Verwoerd and in 1959 he was thrown out of the National Party (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:50). Hertzog (quoted in Wilkins & Strydom 2012:71) expressed himself against the organisation with the following, "*The resort to inevitable secret associations and activities that cannot stand the test of honest and open criticism. The Purified National Party stand in nakedness covered only by one fig leaf – that is secrecy.*"

There were moments of clarity when Klopper declared that success is only possible through the grace of God, when men went on their knees to bring their problems before God. It was not necessarily own wisdom and perseverance. When he mentions though that the nation is dependent on the Broederbond and that it is in the interest of the Kingdom of God that the Broederbond exists, warning lights go on – warning signs of combining state, people and religion (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:344).

The Broederbond cannot be justified on Biblical grounds. The golden thread throughout the Bible talks of exposure of bringing dark things into the light. Jesus was the Light and the Truth and came to reveal. Everything that happens in the dark will be exposed and the intention of the heart will be revealed (1 Cor. 4:5), something that indeed also happened to the Broederbond. Lastly, the believer cannot be comfortable with rituals and promises of allegiance except to the Godhead. This sort of rituals can place bonding on and create strongholds in the believer. It limits the capacity of critical thinking of participants and members that influenced their actions. Though the farce of religion was maintained, the pure gospel was probably compromised by the obsession with Afrikanerness.

4.5 THEOLOGIES, INFLUENCES AND FRAMEWORKS THAT HELPED SHAPE THE AFRIKANER IDENTITY

It is important to note that the Afrikaner identity took on a specific shape because of various factors, events and influences. Some of the development happened spontaneously while specific intellectual frameworks were intentionally used or created to establish and form identity. A few will be discussed here.

4.5.1 Theological forces

4.5.1.1 Calvinism

The stereotype, etiquette and the millstone around the Afrikaner's neck is apartheid. The church endorsed apartheid by founding and justifying this ideology biblically. The strong ties with Europe and Holland specifically, resulted in Calvinism being brought over to South Africa. The Calvinistic doctrine states that Christian principles have to be followed and exercised in all spheres of life – church; ethics; judiciary system; art; politics; economy; education; marriage and family; individual and societal behaviour; nature conservation; sexuality; everything and more. Not that Calvinism wants to make everything religious or churchly (De Klerk 2000:45). Calvinism clashed with Roman Catholicism in that they did not want to accept that the Church had the highest authority over all spheres of life, but that every sphere of life is sovereign, and that Christian principles must be practiced there. Calvinism was also opposed to the narrow task of the believer and the church only to win souls and where the church withdraws itself from the tainted society (Bosch 1983). De Klerk (2000:48) denies the assumption that Calvinism ultimately contributed to the breakdown of the Afrikaner. He refers to the core aspect of guilt and punishment, as well as the maintenance of law and order that is strongly believed in Calvinism. This emphasis on order contributed to the creation of an orderly society. Duty, hard work and responsibility were also strongly emphasised. Coercion and discipline, however, could evolve in unhealthy harassment and/or bossiness.

Some researchers are of the opinion that Calvinism must bear the blame for apartheid. A reason for this is the law of *predestination* proclaimed by Calvinism. A further aspect is Calvinism's focus on *guardianship*. According to this the Afrikaner would have taken the

position of guardian over the rest of the people in the country. Opposed to this there were liberal researchers who made Calvinism the driving force behind the Afrikaners seeing themselves as the chosen people – a central theme in Calvin’s writings. Accordingly, Calvinism would be blamed for gross injustices that were committed and was labelled as the scapegoat. Afrikaners on the other hand, according to Bosch (1983:14), were responsible for building this idea themselves after the victory at the Battle of Blood River, seeing themselves as the chosen people who had to spread the gospel; to rule over other tribes; and that there was a special calling on them and a purpose here at the southern tip of Africa. A few researchers are of the opinion that Afrikaner nationalism was a prerequisite for Calvinism (Bosch 1983:15).

Already in 1983, after the referendum over the tricameral parliament, Bosch (1983:15) wrote an insightful article with the title *The roots and fruits of Afrikaner civil religion*. In this article he criticises the assumption that Calvinism was the reason for the view of life and world view of the Afrikaner. That both Afrikaner and non-Afrikaner researchers shared this view, as already mentioned, is insightful. Bosch arguments in response to the research by Du Toit (1981:1) that there was not enough historical evidence for this. Verster (1994:650) also indicates that Calvinism does not teach superiority and that it is thus inaccurate to blame Calvinism for the offenses.

4.5.1.2 Kuyperianism

According to Bosch (1983:26) this influence should rather be searched for at Abraham Kuyper, with roots in the Dutch Calvinist Revival. Groen van Prinsterer and Abraham Kuyper was of the opinion that the successes of the 17th century, regarded as the Golden Century of the Netherlands, owed its success to Calvinism. As a result, the proverb or motto “*in isolation is our strength*” was used. In this regard it deals with the Dutch who are called back to Calvinism. The uniqueness of the Calvinism that led to the bloom has to be recognised again, must be acknowledged again, needs to be isolated as the reason for the Netherland’s success. The motto “*in isolation is our strength*” has therefore to do with missionary work. The power of Calvinism gave the Netherlands a thrust which was later to be used in the mission task. The mantle of Groen fell upon Kuyper. Kuyper had a great missionary zeal to spread Calvinism. Racial differences did not play any role. In fact,

during lectures he gave in 1898 at Princeton University, the so-called Stone lectures, he encouraged the co-mingling of human blood, which according to him would contribute to higher development. Especially those groups that were not isolated, but allowed for the co-mingling of many different tribes, developed further (Bosch 1983:27). The progress of the human race is more important than that of an individual tribe. These assumptions of Kuyper are rather contentious and even in contrast with the assumptions by some that the '*separation school of thought*' was due to his thinking.

Yet, Each (1989:43) as quoted by Oliver (2011:78), points out that Kuyper referred to the sovereignty in one's own sphere and declares that, "...*each nation's separateness was ordained by divine will.*" This thought would be strongly used, expanded and developed (abused?) by prominent Afrikaners. It is discussed next.

In South Africa, this Kuyperian influence, as Bosch rightly remarks, underwent far-reaching mutations and adaptations. It was adapted to the Afrikaner nationalism and instead it changed from *isolation for mission* to *isolation for survival*. S.J. du Toit (Totius) developed this school of thought. He was involved in the Afrikaanse Taalbeweging (Afrikaans Language Movement) and also one of the founding members of the Broederbond. He declares that his ideas came from Kuyper. In 1882 he published a document entitled *The program of principles* (Die program van beginsels). Two years later his book would appear in which he argues that the Dutch and the Huguenots were the authentic citizens of the country and begs that equalisation should not take place. The Coloured people, for example, should not go further than the Cape and their right to vote should preferably be taken away. Further, he published a book on Nehemiah where he indicates the similarities between the Afrikaner and Israel on a religious-political level. Co-mingling with others, specifically foreigners, is discouraged and walls of racial divide was put in place by God (Bosch 1983:28). The Afrikaner's salvation lies in racial pureness. As justification the Tower of Babel was used, that was perceived as a Godly separation. Bosch (1983:28) is of the opinion that these ideas were foreign in Totius's time but not so much in the 1940s and 1950s.

One could assume that the original Kuyperian Calvinism was in fact totally distorted and that very few of Kuyper's original intentions remained. In fact, the opposite actually

happened with the emphasis on racial purity as well as a shift in focus from mission towards the group.

Different nationalisms for du Toit would logically mean separate schools, churches, universities as well as parliament and territory. He developed and expanded these ideas. Strauss (2007:13) is also of the opinion that Kuyper held forth romantic ideas regarding race and nation as well as a civilisation theory, which rejected the immediate integration between white and black in Africa. Apartheid's theologians would have been able to associate with this. According to him Kuyper did supply the building blocks. Correspondingly, Smit (1983:146) claims that Kuyper's ideas regarding creation being pluriform as opposed to uniform, left fertile soil for Dutch Reformed Church theologians to use this to justify apartheid. This variety and differentiation had to be expressed in theological form. Giliomee (2003:224) also refers to the relationship between creation decrees and the diversity of people that Kuyper taught. God's Word and His principles had to be placed in the centre of the world. Smit (1983:312) mentions that the mission policy of the DRC was not only theological-ethnic justification for separation but was also made applicable to the whole of South Africa. Traditional differentiation views of the Afrikaner, in relation to public relationships in the church, indeed found its expression in societal regulation models. No wonder that Smit (1980:312) spoke of separate development as a church policy. Boshoff (1987:30) also, in his commentary on *Church and society*, argues that the DRC was the church of the Afrikaner people.

4.5.1.3 Christian nationalism

These ideas gave rise to Christian nationalism. Within the South African context, it was actually indeed the Afrikaner nationalism – the nationalism of an exclusive group! This door though was later opened to plurality of nationalisms that eventually would lead to separate nationalisms in own geographic areas (Bosch 1983:29). Ds WJ Postma who studied under Kuyper, was the first person to raise the idea of separate geographic areas for nationalities. Kuyperians were the intellectual force behind drafting the National Party constitution. Kuyper also supported *Christian National Education* which was later implemented by the NP government. This is an example of mixing South African Kuyperian Calvinism and Afrikaner Nationalism (Bosch 1983:28).

4.5.1.4 Mission policy

Mission policy, as implemented in church policy because of experiences on the mission field, is yet another influence that led to the policy of separate development, which in turn led to the policy of apartheid. From early on, the DRC were enthusiastically doing mission work. The work was done under the indigenous groups, who maintained a different civilisation level. Smit (1980:309) refers here to the “*otherness of the local inhabitants*”. In addition to this he also mentions the physical aversion that Whites have towards natives and that it is instinct that all races experience against each other; the aversion of biological mixing; as well as hygiene conditions. Though, initially converts were part of the White communities (Smit 1980:311). According to him (1980:310) there was a spontaneous separation between the groups. Already as early as 1824 the DRC decided on how specific, and according to Smith, separate ministry to natives would be supported. Crafford (1982:38) though pointed out that the Synod of 1826 made provision that converts out of heathinism could join the congregation, that also included the communion table. Provision was made for the separate ministry of sacraments, and this caused confusion. The Synod of 1837 also maintained joint ministry. Crafford (1982:43) also noted that freed slaves were included in Stellenbosch’s congregation. In fact, the concept of separate congregations was opposed by the British authorities in 1842 (Crafford 1982:40). As numbers increased, it became a growing problem especially with regards to communion.

The Synod of 1857 agreed to the principle of separate assemblies. Especially the farmers from the Eastern Cape delegation placed a stronger emphasis on the White identity than the Cape colony itself (Crafford 1982:40). This feeling can possibly be relayed back to the Slagtersnek Rebellion of 1815-1816. Before the rebellion as early as 1812 there were charges made against the Afrikaner farmers by the English missionaries that they were mistreating their workers. Inquiries by the court found that a few were guilty, but that the majority of the accusations were unfounded. This caused a deep-rooted bitterness towards English missionaries (Crafford 1982:30). That the bitterness started with the Slagtersnek Rebellion and played a major role in the resistance to joint assemblies, seems to be true (Wikipedia c). What was true though, was that in various congregations the natives were already congregating apart from the Whites and that missionaries also held

separate assemblies for catechism classes. This was of course a practical arrangement as there was a backlog of converts in terms of their catechism. This decision that still to this day resonates, was the suggestion of Ds. Andrew Murray (Sr.) as quoted in Crafford 1982:42):

The Synod sees it as essential and scriptural that our members from the heathens be taken up in our congregations wherever it can; but whenever this ruling stands in the way of the advancement of the Gospel of Christ amongst the heathen due to the weakness of some, then assemblies from the heathens already established or to be established can enjoy their Christian privileges in own buildings or places.

(De Synode beschouwdt het wenschelijk en Schrifmatig dat onze ledematen uit de heidenen in onze bestaanden gemeenten opgenomen en ingelyfd worden, overal waar zulks geschieden kan; maar waar deze maatregel ten gevolge van de zwakheid van sommigen de bevordering van de zaak van Christus onder de heidenen in de weg zouden staan, de gemeenten uit de heidenen opgerigt of nog op te rigten, haar Christelijke voorrechten in een afzonderlijke gebouw of gesticht genieten zal.)

In short this means that discrimination and attitude of certain members of the congregation could become a stumbling block in trying to meaningful processing new converts. This was confirmed by some speakers at the meeting, who admitted that discrimination against people of other race was so ingrained that it could no longer be ignored (Crafford 1982:41). Crafford (1982:42) points out that also the Coloured people chose to rather have separate assemblies. Was this because of the cold shoulder they were experiencing from some White people? Crafford draws the attention to the deep cultural divide and language differences that in effect did play a role. It might be true. The danger exists though that the justification for this decision was probably some combination of real discrimination practiced by some who have not fully grasped or fully matured to the concept of the new person/mankind in Christ principle, or rationalising sin, or compromising for the sake of the weakness of some.

The result was that already in 1863, the decision was made for the formation of separate congregations (Boshoff 1987:10). The founding of the first Black Synod took place in 1881. Planting separate churches became a fixed pattern. In 1907 the Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa was established. During 1923 a conference addressing the racial issue was held. Eleven churches attended this conference. A further

outcome from this conference was that a standing commission for '*naturelle zaken*' (native issues) was established in 1925. The commission invested in a follow-up conference for DRC and English churches where it was decided: All nations were born out of one blood and that everybody who accepted that Christ died for them, were equal in the face of God (Boshoff 1978:5). Further, independent indigenous churches had to be established that were self-governing, self-sustaining and self-expanding. The ideal was also set that the gospel had to penetrate the indigenous language and culture and Christianise it. Also, education must not be denationalised, and the Church expressed itself against racial mixing (Crafford 1982:464).

In 1939 the Federal Mission Council of the DRC replaced the Native Affairs Commission. The first chairman was Dr GBA Gerdener (Crafford 1982:466). It is important to note that he was a founding member and first chairman of the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA)⁴⁴. According to Crafford his views regarding separate development was controversial (Crafford 1982:466). In fact, the Federal Missionary Council insisted on separate development (1982:468). On 4-6 April 1950 'n church conference was held in Bloemfontein that was in favour of complete racial division. Insightful is that the Prime Minister, Dr DF Malan, labelled this view as completely impractical. The church though stood by its point of view (Crafford 1982:469). A national congress, organised by the DRC, SABRA and the Federation of Afrikaans Culture Associations (the Afrikaans abbreviation is FAK) was held in 1956 where the Tomlinson report was discussed. Prof. Tomlinson was appointed by the government to make suggestions as to how apartheid could practically be implemented. The report of 1955 concluded that there were only 2 options: assimilation or segregation. Tomlinson came to the conclusion that, "*White people of South Africa would never be ready to accept the consequences of assimilation, because of their 'unbreakable will to maintain their identity in the national and biological sense,'*" (Contact 1956:1). Absolute separation would be the answer to South Africa's racial question. Eighteen months after the Tomlinson report was released Hans Strydom, the Prime Minister said, "*While segregation would be the ideal solution, the Government, in present circumstances, was unable to promulgate it as a policy or to apply it,*" (Contact 1956:2).

⁴⁴ SABRA was established in 1948 as an initiative of the Broederbond to be an alternative to the more liberal South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

In the present time, the report is judged as follow:

In 1955, Professor Tomlinson, who was appointed to advise the government on how apartheid should be put into practice, advised the government that separation of races would work but would be very costly. He advised that the reserves be divided into areas with a homeland for the different ethnic groups. He also suggested that 104 million pounds be spent to improve farming in the homelands and to set up factories on their borders. This would eventually provide enough employment for Blacks, thus removing them from the "White towns". What Tomlinson failed to consider was that 13% of the whole of South Africa was far too little for 70% of the population. He also failed to project the rate at which factories in the White areas would grow and pull more Blacks into the towns. The government at this stage refused to spend so much money on farming improvements or on business in the reserves. As a result of these shortcomings, many Blacks lived in absolute poverty in the homelands while those who sought to live in the cities were continually harassed by apartheid laws which aimed to keep them out (SA HISTORY a).

It seems that the main reason for Strydom's statement was that Prof. Tomlinson made it clear in his report that a lot of money would have to be spent to implement this policy, something the political leaders at the time did not consider doing, since the expense would have had to be covered by the White people's tax money.

Lastly, in 1974 the policy document by the DRC entitled *Race, people and nation* (Ras, volk en nasie) was accepted. According to this separation was theologically justified. Boshoff (1987:15), referring to the policy document, quoted Prof. Gerdener who argued that evangelism does not denationalise – it does not rob the person of language or culture but purifies it.

To summarise the mission policy as a church decision, it can be mentioned that in one way it made sense to reach diverse groups in different languages with different cultures. According to Boshoff (1987:2) these decisions were implemented in society because of the experience in the missionary field as well as the input by missionary scientists. Yet it does seem like the church was comfortable with the situation where all groups got together during an assembly. In fact, Murray mentioned in his motion in 1957 that they

prefer the pagans to be added and incorporated to the established congregations. Was it not because of the weakness of some that the churches did not 'unite'? The weakness became a policy, that later became a habit and in the end was accepted as normative, an issue that is still being struggled with today. In the 1800s cultural differences would have been even greater, yet the Church maintained the unique unity in Christ. That certain groups, especially those from the Eastern Cape who because of their sad past – a consequence of the Slagtersnek Rebellion - judged differently, is also evident in the description. Finally, the missionary policy might have been applied too fundamentalistic, where all the different groups were alienated from each other as an everlasting Divine principle. This principle was maybe rather for convenience sake used and abused in the service of Afrikaner nationalism. Crafford (1982:469) refers to the Biblical evidence for separate development, as "*faulty hermeneutics*" that today is not anymore theologically justified by DRC theologians.

4.5.1.5 Ham tradition

The last theological influence is the Ham tradition. According to this tradition the White was regarded as the ruler in line with God's will, like Shem, Noah's son, as opposed to the Black man who as the cursed Ham, the other son of Noah, was doomed to service, slavery, water carrier and woodcutter (Smit 1980:310; Smit 1983:145; Stoop 1984:153). Stoop (1984:153) points out that it was probably not theologians who developed this theory but that it was more likely to be some Biblical and etymological traditions that were the carriers thereof. He describes his own personal experience as follows:

Noah's story with the title Hammie in the ark that I read in my childhood years, ends with Noah's words to Ham: "Hammie my son, in the ark you were a gentleman but now you are a kaffir⁴⁵." These aren't just stories by authors but realities that were lived in our nation and as a child I overheard many such conversations, also views I had to deal with later when I was in ministry: the blacks are just not people, but descendants of the cursed Ham,

⁴⁵ This unmentionable word probably did not have the same meaning earlier on. Negative, degrading connotations as well as additional meaning followed later. In this context, refer to Louw 'Greek-English Lexicon' (1988:vi ff - Volume 1) who points out that words can have multiple meanings and gain different meanings with the passing of time in new contexts. Further he points out that words by itself does not have meaning but that the meaning in a specific context creates words to communicate the intention.

who is destined to remain woodcutters and water carriers in life; they carry the 'mark of Cain' and is therefore different.

At times they were also referred to as a lower race, the 'kaffir, Hottentot and Bushman' who carried the mark of Cain. Being doomed to servitude was used by the colonists in their native policy. Biblical information was thus used in service of the imperial colonialism (Stoop 1984:162).

The theological driving forces were especially developed by the three sister churches who did indeed supply a Biblical justification for apartheid. Taking further into consideration that a large amount of Dutch Reformed ministers belonged to the Broederbond, according to Smit (2009:181), one can understand how this church was considered the *state church*. Church, Party and Broederbond formed an alliance that eventually developed and executed apartheid.

Oliver (2011:75) is especially outspoken about the influence of the state church:

The Afrikaans-speaking Christian churches' abuse of Afrikaner religion to become a political and economical power cannot be underestimated or ignored. All South Africans were affected. These churches contributed significantly to the current trauma and the high levels of cognitive dissonance experienced by Afrikaners ... Afrikaners reached their own conclusions on doctrine, morals and interpretation of the Biblical message. He further quotes Volf : 'Fatal flaws like the exclusion of other population groups by assigning them the status of inferior beings clearly show how easily religion can develop into heresy (Volf 2006b:24 as quoted by Oliver 2011:78).

Therefore, it goes without saying that the forces or streams of Calvinism, Kuiperism, Christian nationalism and the Ham tradition, even if it was adjusted and at times distorted, all played a role in the establishment of apartheid.

4.5.2 Other influences that contributed to forming the Afrikaner identity

4.5.2.1 Clashing of civilisations

This aspect will not be discussed in great detail. What is completely clear is that the early Europeans who arrived, found themselves in a completely different civilisation than Europe. Smit (1983:143) describes it as follows:

Right from the start when Western man settled at the southernmost tip of Africa, he became acutely aware of the social and cultural differences between the people of Africa and himself. The physical aversion which can be considered an almost instinctive reaction between different races, can be pointed out as the most important dividing factor amongst Westerners and Africans.

Smit (1980:310) argues that the unique Western culture that developed over 350 years whilst in contact with a unique indigenous culture of the natives led to spontaneous separation. He refers to a spontaneous physical aversion, an instinctive attitude to people of a different race, the aversion to biological mixing as well as the fear for socialising that might lead to this.

Boshoff (1980:146) referring to patterns that were maintained throughout all the colonial powers, mentions the following, *“Because of civilisations, developments and technological differences they were deprived of self-determination and submitted to western domination.”*

Within the church in South Africa these differences gave rise to tension at times, especially regarding the communion, as the church numbers grew especially during the nineteenth century during the conversion and Christianising process (Smit 1983:146). To accommodate these civilisation differences, the policy of apartheid was implemented.

The Whites, especially the Afrikaner, in his drive to self-determination and establishing himself on all areas of life, clashed with other cultures. The Afrikaner, descendant of a European background which was the dominant (not better and/or superior) culture and

civilisation at the time, would have wanted to assert himself and enforce his level of civilisation and culture. Therefore, the Afrikaner was not weak, in fact the influence of civilisations was part of his identity. He was part of colonialism that wanted to conquer the world. As dominant force that was more advanced in technology, among other things, skirmishes were inevitable.

4.5.2.2 English colonial influence

Researchers are almost unanimous in that the breeding ground for apartheid was prepared by the British colonialism. Therefore, at times, apartheid is referred to as “*colonialism of a special kind*” (Asmal & Roberts 1997:212). These colonial powers often practiced segregation, as for example Portugal in Angola. Asmal et al. (1997:209) characterises it as “*recreating Europe in a faraway land.*” The SADF conscript generation will be able to recall the memory of public toilets being labelled as European and Non-European.

Giliomee (2003:215) is of the opinion that the **class structure** in society was imperative to the forming of social patterns in the Cape. He points out that by mid eighteenth-century half of the Whites owned slaves. The slave owners obviously defended the system as part of their freedom, honour and dignity. As a result, he compares the situation in South Africa with similar situations in other colonies, especially the USA where slavery also occurred.

Boshoff (1980:146) gives a shocking insight into the practices of colonialism at that time:

The experience of black tribes over the centuries are shocking. It ranges from human trafficking to slavery on the one end and exploitation and abuse on the other end. Those who as slaves were taken out of communities experienced a loss of identity. Despite the fact that they landed in a Christian country, this situation was confirmed through racism. Because of a difference in civilisations, developments and technologies, they were robbed of self-determination and submitted to western domination... merely labour force, manual labourers and migrant workers in a system where the White man was the boss and the Black man the servant.

He also points out that the Black man would not always be happy with this situation:

... But the Black man has awoken, ...first and most important need is to be accepted as a person. Reflecting on Christian values he discovered in the Word, he found support and affirmation for this need. Recognition and acceptance as experienced by other communities. Each other's structures and institutions Especially when it comes to political freedoms ... freedom and self-determination which people are entitled to cannot be negotiated.

Regarding colonialism Volf (1996:59) writes about the *shameful history* that Europe has with non-Europe. Weapons were brought to Africa by the Europeans and traded for slaves. The slaves were taken to the colonies and there they were exchanged for gold, silver and tropical products. He quotes Marx who called the profit *coagulated human blood*. The money was especially invested in banks in London. Volf (1996:60) calls it “...barbaric conquest, colonisation and enslavement on a civilising, modernising, humanising Christianising course.” In the colonists’ search for more land, the indigenous people were described as barbaric, and the result was justified evictions and slaughter (Volf 1996:68).

Slaves were also brought to South Africa. People from India worked as contract workers for the British in the sugar plantations in Natal and Malaysian slaves were brought to the Cape for the Dutch (SA History online 2014b).

Various researchers (Boshoff 1980; Giliomee 2003; Van der Borgh 2011; Müller 2004) refers to the similarities between the American South and South Africa. In the aforementioned slavery gave rise to a bloody civil war in 1861-1865. Also, their civil rights movement in the 1960s showed a strong correlation with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. The slavery policy here differed to elsewhere (e.g. in the USA). What happened in South Africa was that the apartheid policy was established, carried elements of slavery. It is therefore not strange that Verwoerd referred to other groups who came here as *units of labour* (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:210).

4.5.2.3 Afrikaner nationalism

In his endeavour for self-determination that included culture, land (locality), language and politics, the Afrikaner searched for a think-and-do-framework or paradigm to justify his reality. Put differently, this is a life and world view through which the totality of his world and relationships were interpreted and understood, but that also had to act as justification and impetus for future decisions, actions and pursuits (Erasmus 2005:235). One of these elements for the Afrikaner was **nationalism**, which is in no way unique to the Afrikaner history. In fact, all countries or geographical areas have an occurrence in history where one or the other form of nationalism manifested itself.

Nationalism is not created overnight. It is dynamic and grows or unfolds over time, both evolutionary and revolutionary. This aspect was already discussed in chapter 2. Slagtersnek was a turning point considering that the execution of a number of settlers by English authorities, was primarily because of a racial issue (Xhosas). These were important reasons for the Trekkers to move away in their aim for self-determination and governance, where they would firstly be free of the English influence and secondly, liberated from the harassment of the indigenous groups. The elements of nationalism were present, the Voortrekkers just did not articulate it that explicitly. Later they would continuously clash with other groups, the Battle of Blood River probably being the most famous of them all. This nationalistic aspiration eventually culminated in the establishment of the two Boer Republics and eventually the independence of the Transvaal (ZAR) in 1852 and the Orange Free State in 1854. This was temporary though considering that the freedom was finally taken away after the Anglo-Boer War in 1902. The yearning for freedom kept on smouldering after the establishment of the Union in 1910, as evidenced in the 1914-Rebellion.

The highly appraised General Jan Smuts as Afrikaner leader was already a supporter of an 'apartheids policy' in 1917. By 1943 DF Malan, leader of the National Party, started using the word *apartheid* in speeches (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:198).

Danie Malan, son of DF Malan, quoted by Giliomee (2001:13), has the following to say about this father:

He didn't have any strong racial feelings in his youth. He enjoyed drinking tea at the house of an elderly Coloured couple's house on their farm, who previously were slaves. The one thing that could reduce him to tears, was the plight of the poor whites in the city. This is the background against which DF Malan made a remark in 1939, which probably best describes the apartheid way of thinking. The white uneducated or partially educated worker who has to compete with the non-whites is at a disadvantage. 'The white' because he is white, is expected to maintain white standards of living. He has to see to it that the education of his children, the food he eats, the clothes he wears, and his housing are all in line with the white standard of living and strive to maintain this. You can comprehend that in these circumstances the competition is deadly for the white person, while the non-white can progress in these prevailing circumstances, but the white will go down and will lower even below the standard of impoverished white.

About this statement Giliomee (2001:13) says the following, "*Malan's statement on the one hand shows his blindness for the fact that brown and black people's aspirations were the same as that of whites; on the other hand is the compelling desire to give the lower income whites a feeling of security.*"

He further points out that the majority of Afrikaners by 1946 were thrown together in the workers or lower middle class. Few were extravagantly rich, and few were extremely poor. Only by 1980 a more substantial rich group emerged under the Afrikaners (Giliomee 2001:15).

Of importance to this study is the contribution of Dr Nico Diederichs had in this regard. Wilkins and Strydom (1978:195) indicate that Diederichs, an influential Afrikaner and also a Broederbond leader, published literature that propagated nationalism as a life and world view. It is important to note that the Broederbond sent a few students to Germany to gain knowledge on what role education plays in shaping the youth (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:76), Diederichs being one of them. There he also came into contact with the concept of nationalism. Further, one should also take into consideration that this was within the German context where national socialism was making strong headway under the Nazis. Influencing would indeed take place. The Afrikaner with his strong Christian and

religious roots and convictions, would obviously bring the Christian aspect into account, from there Christian nationalism. Such a policy was thus implemented within schools and tertiary spheres. De Klerk (1998:56) points out that nationalism as such is not wrong. The danger lies in what he calls '*ethnic nationalism*' where each group wants to claim his own state. According to him ethnic purity is a fantasy.

In his first speech in the senate, Verwoerd (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:199) voices his opinion, "*I want to state unequivocally, South Africa is a White man's land and that he must remain the master here. In the reserves we are prepared to let them be the masters. But within European areas... we do not arouse suspicion that there is oppression... but policy which seeks justice.*" A result was indeed oppression, or at the least discrimination, as a number of Apartheids laws (1949 to 1961) after the NP's take-over indicates (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:200):

- Act no 55 of 1949: Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act
- Act no 30 of 1950: Population Registration Act
- Act no 31 of 1950: Immorality Amendment Act
- Act no 41 of 1950: Group Areas Act
- Act no 46 of 1951: Separate Representation of Voters Act
- Act no 52 of 1951: Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act
- Act no 68 of 1951: Bantu Authorities Act
- Act no 67 of 1952: Natives Act, commonly known as the Pass Laws Act requiring Black people to carry their passes with them at all times.
- Act no 47 of 1953: Bantu Education Act
- Act no 49 of 1953: Reservation of Separate Amenities Act
- Act no 19 of 1954: Natives Resettlement Act
- Act no 69 of 1955: Group Areas Development Act
- Act no 34 of 1959: Bantu Investment Corporation Act
- Act no 3 of 1961: Coloured Persons Communal Reserves Act
- Act no 31 of 1961: Preservation of Coloured Areas Act
- Act no 79 of 1961: Urban Bantu Councils Act

This was indeed social engineering on a grandiose scale.

Verwoerd's successor, Vorster (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:201) tried to justify the policy, *"Not denying right to be human being, but the maintenance of identity of everyone. It is a practical arrangement to remove friction between races."*

Meyer (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:202) who was the leader of the Broederbond and the head of the SABC at the time, is even more steadfast in 1970, *"All forms of integration must be fought in churches, culturally, socially, politically. Our policy of separate development and anti-communism."* In the same breath he launches an attack on the United Nations (UN), Chinese, Russian and Western World. He quotes the words of Paul Kruger, *"They do not want to vote, they do not want a share, they want our country."*

As a result, apartheid became the day to day policy and its intellectual framework, as endorsed by nationalism and a certain theological interpretation. Self-determination, as an aim to maintain what is one's own, could maybe still be justified. The draconian enforcement of a policy to the detriment of the majority of South Africa's diverse nation did indeed create a false sense of security, more specifically for the Afrikaner. Out of this privileged fantasy world he would have to wake up to live and survive in a democratic country with a white minority in an overwhelming black majority reality.

4.5.2.4 German influence

An area that is often denied or that does not get sufficient attention, is the German influence.

In the early years of the European settlement in the Cape, there were many of German descent.⁴⁶ This does not imply that the Afrikaner and Germans' histories are parallel or synonymous. The German contacts and influences are presented chronological as

⁴⁶ The researcher's mother's maiden name is Teichert, a German surname. His great-grandfather (her grandfather) came to South Africa from Hamburg at the age of 12, accompanied by his father and his uncle. She tells stories of her grandfather teaching her German songs and also visiting a German club in Pretoria. During the Second World War he was interned as he never gave up his German citizenship. The researcher's wife's maiden name is Hattingh, also of German origin.

observed by the researcher in literature. Pro-German sentiment with the Afrikaner might be the result of a strong anti-British feeling with many, as mentioned earlier.

With the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 most of the mine captains were foreigners (Bothma 2012:54). This brought the Boer republic in conflict with the English. Paul Kruger, the president of the ZAR, therefore strengthened his ties with Germany and in this regard notes, “*If one nation should kick us, another will stop it.*” Also, the Boer republic made treaties to acquire weapons from Germany and France (Bothma 2012:66). In 1895 a treaty of friendship with Germany was concluded. During the Rebellion of 1914, Maritz wanted to occupy Upington with the help of the German commander of, what was then known as, Deutsch-Südwestafrika (DSWA). Unfortunately, the commander was called to the north out of the fear because the Portuguese were threatening northern SWA from Angola’s side (Bothma 2012:107).

The biggest influence on the Afrikaner was exercised before, during and after the Second World War. Bosch (1983) is here an important source. After Reformed evangelicalism and Kuyperism, Bosch (1983:29) recognises the German influence as the third determining factor that contributed to Afrikaner nationalism or *civic religion* like he refers to it. What is striking is that Asmal also referred to the German influences and was heavily criticised for this, subsequently deeming it necessary to comment on this in an afterword in one of his later publications (Asmal & Roberts 1997:vii). Asmal’s opinions come up later again.

Bosch (1983:29) shows how Neo-Fichtean Romantic nationalism paved the way for Nazism. Fichte used transcendental idealism to emphasise the brilliance of the Germans. He was not being racist but was emphasising the purity of the Germans. The emphasis was on the unity of language, culture and self-determination. Erasmus (2005:233) also stresses the point:

According to Kuper (1994:539), Thornton (1988:20) and Wolf (1994:5) the German Romantic tradition gained a stronghold in the American Anthropology during the twentieth century – to such an extent that the dominant view on culture developed in terms of it. According to this culture is seen as an organic product of a group people with language as the unique

representation of its character. This viewpoint is/was strong relativistically orientated, it defined culture as a clear, unique, separate, historical power and it was accepted that cultural features within a specific geographical area anchors and multiplies. Culture was a complete way of life and possessed its own distinctive configuration of values, including an own language.

This prepared the way for national socialism and Nazi-Germany during the 1930s.

Bosch (1983:29), with Davies as source (1979:85), points out that prominent Afrikaners completed their studies there. Also, some renowned theologians like Koot (JD) Vorster, brother of Prime Minister BJ Vorster, as well as FJM Potgieter, who occasionally declared apartheid as God's will, all studied there (Liebenberg 2010:451). Further initiatives by the Broederbond arranged for individual students to research study methods in the education of youth (Wilkins & Strydom 1012:76). Amongst them were Hendrik Verwoerd, Piet Meyer, Nico Diederichs and Geoff Cronje. Aforementioned wrote '*Tuiste vir die nageslag*' (A home for the descendants). This book was dedicated to his wife and other Afrikaner women, who, according to him, are the keepers of the pure Afrikaner bloodline. Piet Meyer in an article, '*Vooraand van ons vrywording*' (On the eve of our liberation) (1941), refers to the national idea that has started to take root as opposed to the previous century of liberal individualism. In his writing he emphasises the organic community with a specific language, culture, land, traditions, state and destination (This agrees with the thoughts of Fichte above). Regarding his school of thought he makes the following shocking statement, "*Purest manifestation in Italian Fascism and German National Socialism (1941:30). Victory is imminent.*" In turn, Diederichs sheds light on nationalism as a life philosophy and argues that only within the nation is true fulfilment; love for the nation is the most important; love for the nation is love for God; and the government should reflect the spirit of the people.

From the aforementioned it is clear that the intellectual framework for apartheid was already observed by prominent and influential Afrikaner leaders whilst they were in Germany.

During the Second World War up to 300 000 Afrikaners identified with the German side (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:112). It was not Nazism *per se* in its extreme form but started from an initial anti-English position⁴⁷. Parliament went against the general expectation and voted for South Africa to join the Allied Forces (who was mostly led by the British, at least initially) in fighting the Germans. One must keep in mind that the Rebellion was also still fresh in everyone's memories. The Rebellion of 1914 resisted the involvement and pressure of the English on the South African government to drive the Germans out of SWA. Thousands of Afrikaners were members of the Ossewa-Brandwag, a pro-German and anti-Semitic organisation. Another movement was the so called Gryshemde van Weichardt (Grey shirts of Weichardt) which was anti-Semitic (Van Wyk 1991:61). Van Wyk (1991:56) tells of his uncle, a DRC minister, who was impressed with the German efficiency and military capability after a visit there. This uncle would draw swastikas on the ground and give the *Heil Hitler* salute. Afrikaners who decided to support the war efforts by joining the Union Force, were often regarded with animosity (Van Wyk 1991:57). Furthermore, Radio Zeesen, a German radio station, broadcasted anti-British and anti-Jewish propaganda in Afrikaans from Germany to South Africa. This contributed to a pro-German feeling⁴⁸.

The participation in the war was a great divider for the Afrikaners. Smuts, who headed the war effort, was very unpopular in certain circles. The sentiment was that it was the English's war and people openly sympathised with the Nazis (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:76). There was subtle propaganda from the Broederbond and as mentioned earlier, they encouraged students to go study in Germany. Some people were openly pro-Nazi, amongst these were many teachers as well as a few ministers (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:77). John Vorster was the assistant Head Commander of the Ossewa-Brandwag, an organisation with strong German sentiments. During the war he was interned at Koffiefontein. Asmal and Roberts (1997:32) quotes Bunting (1969:96) who recalls John Vorster's remark in 1942, "*We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is*

⁴⁷ The researcher's mother-in-law's father had a big portrait of Hitler in his house and was a member of the 'Ossewa-Brandwag'. As a child, he ended up in the orphanage in Ladybrand as a result of the Depression.

⁴⁸ The researcher's father who was a child during the war, has confirmed this.

called Fascism. In Germany it is called German National Socialism and in South Africa, Christian Nationalism.”

Verwoerd also held strong Nazi outlooks. As editor of the newspaper *Die Transvaler*, he was ecstatic when the Allied Forces suffered initial loss. He writes as following, “*German victory will free Boers from the yoke of the British and Jews.*” He was found guilty by a court of law for this Nazi sentiment he held in his newspaper (Asmal & Roberts 1997:32).

A person who identified completely with Nazism was the boxer Robey Leibbrandt⁴⁹. He competed in the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany. He was impressed by the German’s national pride and discipline. There he was recruited by the Nazis to sabotage the war effort in South Africa. Leibbrandt himself mentions that he had to kill Smuts. He mentions his contact in the Ossewa-Brandwag who wanted to know if the Nazis could send weapons (Leibbrandt 1961:115). This is a clear indication that the Ossewa-Brandwag was considering an armed reaction. But Leibbrandt and the Ossewa-Brandwag could not get along as he did not trust Hans van Rensburg. Leibbrandt (1961:122) writes about his passion and his undertaking to promote independence for the Afrikaner in a national socialist state within the framework of Adolf Hitler. In anti-Semitic circles, the Jews are seen as the fathers of democracy and communism, both of which are detested. Leibbrandt felt as if he achieved his goal since thousands of Afrikaners shared his ideal for a national socialist state as their new world view (Leibbrandt 1961:191). His obsession with the Afrikaner, fed by his direct contact with Nazism where he was trained in the German army as a paratrooper, is worded as follows, “*I am nothing, my nation is everything. (223); God with the Afrikaner nation. Live White South Africa, keep the Four Colour raised (231); Nation from which, into which and for which he was born (Leibbrandt 1961:232).*

[*Ek is niks, my volk is alles (223); God met die Afrikanervolk. Lewe Blank Suid-Afrika, die vierkleur hoog’ (231); Volk waaruit, waarin en vir wie hy gebore is (Leibbrandt 1961:232).*]

He probably exaggerated in saying that he achieved his goal. His plot to kill Smuts was not successful. Furthermore, he was captured and sentenced to death, but he was

⁴⁹ Max du Preez (Wilkens & Strydom 2012:xxxix) points out that Strydom who was the co-author of ‘*Super Afrikaners*’ also wrote a book on Robey Leibbrandt – *For Folk and Führer*. A film about his life, *The Fourth Reich*, was also made.

pardoned by Smuts, probably because Smuts knew his father. Ironically, Leibbrandt claimed that he had a special respect for Smuts, who he described as someone with a dynamic personality who instilled respect and fear (Leibbrandt 1961:232). Leibbrandt was released in 1948 after the NP came into power. Labuschagne (2014)⁵⁰ also confirms that his nation meant everything to him (Leibbrandt) – an indication of a fanatic nationalist who was fed first-hand by Nazism and grew accordingly.

Wilkins and Strydom's (2012:78) comment in this regard is apt, "*Racial separation received new impetus from Nazism ... Nationalists sympathetic towards ideas of pure Nordic race which would rule after getting rid of Jews and capitalists.*" Malan though fought behind the scenes against the Ossewa-Brandwag (Bosch 1983:32).

It is noteworthy that especially English veteran soldiers who returned after the war saw a resemblance between the NP policy and that of the Nazis. In 1951 the *Torch Commando* was established by former soldiers; this was an anti-apartheid movement who, amongst other things, attempted to disrupt NP gatherings (Van Wyk 1991:72).

Meyer, as the leader of the Broederbond, encourages the Afrikaner to shed the feelings of inferiority, inability, bondage, exploitation and service towards the English. His thoughts were in line with Fichte who also placed a lot of emphasis on own honour, history, forefathers, religion, sacrifices, language and ideals. Equality for the Afrikaners compared to the Jews and English is advocated (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:342).

The influence of national-socialism and Nazism in South Africa would continue long after the end of the Second World War. Though tempered by the world's protests and objections, especially Europe, against such ideologies, the sentiments remained in different forms (Asmal & Roberts 1997:172). Ethnic purity gained a metaphysical base in Nazism and the thought continued to live in South Africa (Bosch 1983:32; Smit 1983:147). The *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) (The Afrikaner Resistance Movement) with its salute and badge that reminds of the Nazi swastika, is but one example. Jews were not allowed to be part of the Transvaalse Nasionale Party

⁵⁰ The researcher interviewed Leibbrandt's daughter.

(Transvaal's National Party), a ban that was lifted in 1951 (Asmal & Roberts 1997:afterword vii).

How does one judge the German influence?

It is important to emphasise that we cannot compare National Socialism, as practiced in all of its horrific and brutal forms by Nazism, to Afrikaner Nationalism, or apartheid. Aforementioned under Hitler, aspired to world domination, invaded and conquered many countries, and in the process killed millions of people, including 6 million Jews. Afrikaner nationalism cannot nearly be compared to this. The link is nevertheless recognisable. It would be good to listen to what Germans, who were against Nazism and the war, has to say about this. In the midst of the church's reaction to, or support of Hitler, the viewpoint of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the brilliant theologian, is illuminating. In the end, he was part of the plot to kill Hitler, but was caught and executed. He talks of the Germans who, in my opinion, demonstrate striking similarities to the Afrikaners:

Working upon confused emotions, National Socialists inside the Protestant denominations were beginning to distort the faith in order to accommodate within its framework the semi-religious mystique of National Socialism. Out of these politically oriented distortions, the so-called 'Faith Movement' was beginning to arise, whose members, later to be called the 'German Christians', were to play a disruptive part in Church politics after Hitler came to power. The upholders of the Faith Movement declared that every nation should develop its individual form of the Christian Faith, for religion is rooted in the "soil" of the country and the "blood" of its people. The national faith of Germany was strong and heroic, God intended the Germans to unite under a powerful leader, to pour out their energy for the national good, and to keep the 'Aryan' race to which they belong untainted of alien blood. Those who were later to become the 'German Christians' found a considerable attraction in these doctrines, which accorded so well with contemporary political emotions ... Bonhoeffer gave a sketch of the particular kind of religious militancy which attracted the people... (Bosanquet 1969:95).

This quote speaks volumes. The attraction and seduction of this ideology even misled the church. The Church, also in Germany, made compromises and at times even supported the system. A theology founded on the soil and blood of its people is no longer pure. "German

blood alone runs through German veins free from non-Aryan contamination ... in extreme cases we kill and drive out. Exclusion by elimination” (Volf 1996:74).

It is indisputable that as soon as the Christological orientation is given up and the focus moves to a nationalistic one, the essence of the gospel message is compromised.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter indicates how the Afrikaner identity was formed. The focus was on the term ‘identity’. Conclusion – identity is not static, permanent or fixed, but can change and adjust according to historical events as well as through choices. The topic of the term *Afrikaner*, because of its association with the pre-1994 system, was discussed. It seems that many Afrikaners prefer other terms, like *Afrikaanssprekendes* (Afrikaans speaking), which is more inclusive, though it is not widely accepted.

It is difficult to view all Afrikaners using the same criteria, but there are certain features according to which their identity can be constructed. From a historical point of view, this will include the strive for self-determination (freedom), with the Great Trek as an important narrative; forming a laager in the face of opposition; the Battle of Blood River with the preceding Vow that serves as evidence of Godly intervention in the destiny of the Voortrekkers, as well as linking these events with the future generations; anti-English sentiments that reached its pinnacle with the Anglo Boer War and afterwards; a strong religious commitment, with the church playing a prominent role; the ongoing struggle to survive in a dark continent where they were the minority; the creation of heroes to ignite patriotism and nationalism; an obsession with preserving the Afrikaans language; a tendency towards authoritarian behaviour from the males and an acceptance of authority, without criticism, as if from God; a retraction from other groups similar to the Biblical Israel; a tendency to division, whether it is in church, politics or culture; a strong love for nature that was awakened by generations who farmed, from there the name *Boer*; the identification with the European mother countries; and lastly, the Afrikaners are characterised as family people.

The agents that helped to shape the Afrikaner were, the family unit, church, schools, political parties, cultural organisations and organisations like the Broederbond, that actually acted as the chosen, self-elected invisible group who steered and directed all aspects of being an Afrikaner. The Broederbond especially, supplied the intellectual framework of Christianity and nationalism that would provide the justification for the policy that eventually came into practice in South Africa as apartheid. The framework was a combination of historical events as well as a mixture of theological and ideological forces or currents. Armed with this Afrikaner identity internally, and with a weapon in his hand, the SADF conscript generation confronted the Total Onslaught from within and outside our country's borders.

CHAPTER 5

THE LOCAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (SOUTH AFRICA), REGIONAL ANTI-COLONIAL CONFLICT (SWA) AND GLOBAL COLD WAR (ANGOLA) FROM 1966-1994 WHERE THE SADF WAS INVOLVED

5.1 Introduction

In order to understand the dynamics of the SADF it is important to understand the time frame in which the SADF had to function. Obviously, the Afrikaner's identity, with other words that with which he could identify and regard as characteristic of himself, played a major role. This identity was discussed in Chapter 4. The way the Afrikaner perceived himself, and was perceived by others, as well as his view of the world, would be a determining factor in light of his viewpoints, thoughts and perceptions and consequently the SADF's planning and actions. That the SADF had a unique and challenging situation that they had to face, will be explained briefly in this chapter. Baines (2003:178) is of the opinion that the Border War created a specific identity. He says the following:

Koornhof holds that 'the writing explores not so much the war, but the breaking up of the previously monolithic Afrikaner ethnic identity in the face of the current political, military and moral crises in the country'. This identity, largely constructed around the symbolism generated by the South African War, was deconstructed and, to a lesser degree, reconstructed around another war – the Border War.

This chapter will not describe the history of the operations, though certain portions of it will be highlighted. The aim of this chapter is to provide perspective for this time period. To use the words of Magnus Malan, "Because of its geographical location, South Africa has been drawn into a conflict" (Malan 2006:112).

Esterhuyse (2009:16) is also of the opinion that the local, regional and global contexts were determining factors in the dynamics of the time period. He describes it as follow:

Stated differently, geopolitical and geostrategic realities made South African involvement in these conflicts not a matter of choice for the South African government. The apartheid government and its white Afrikaner constituency believed that it was a matter of survival. This reality can only be grasped if the global, regional and national geopolitical and geostrategic realities of the time are considered in relation to each other.

He also adds that some romanticised the war, while others only focussed on the operational and tactical areas. He draws attention to the fact that there was a 'higher' order and that the regional and global conflicts became intertwined.

His next remark regarding the local, regional and global conflicts is insightful (Esterhuysen 2009:14; 19):

Everything influences everything else simultaneously. The strategic history of the Cold War – irrespective of how minor or insignificant the wars in SWA/Namibia and Angola might have been the higher-order context of the Cold War infused South African involvement in the SWA/Namibian and Angolan conflicts with an ideological dimension. Apartheid South Africa saw itself as the defender of free market western Christian-Judean democratic values in a region that was increasingly dominated by Pan-African values and views interwoven with that of the Kremlin. The decolonisation of Africa presented the former Soviet Union with many opportunities for expanding its influence. Moorcraft noted that “the Soviet Union was in the business of franchising revolutions” and sought “influence rather than real estate.” This influence was informed by socio economic perceptions and communism as a form of government. In the aftermath of western colonisation, nobody could blame the Soviet Union of imperialism in Africa and socialism presented an alternative model to new independent African states. Unlike the western democracies, though, the Soviet government did not have to concern itself with ethical international behaviour and being accountable to a liberal public opinion at home.

In the end, the chapter will also evaluate the events and actions of all warring forces theologically as far as possible.

5.2 DEVELOPMENT AND COMPOSITION OF THE DEFENCE FORCE

In 1957 the old Union Defence Force was replaced by the SADF. It comprised of a Permanent Force, Citizen Force and a Commando Force (Bothma 2012:228). In 1962, volunteers were replaced with a lottery system (Scholtz 2012:8). With an expected increase in onslaughts, general military service was set in 1968, it was also extended from nine months to a year based on recommendations from a one-man commission led by

Malan (Malan 2006:84). One of the issues the commission had to investigate was if the SADF would be able to withstand a conventional as well as a revolutionary threat.

Some of the recommendations were, to name a few, that all men over the age of 18 and up to the age of 65 had to perform military service; women could join on a voluntary basis and would be utilised in a non-fighting capacity; training would include conventional as well as revolutionary warfare; the SADF would consist out of four arms namely Army, Air Force, Navy and the South African Medical Service. Provision was made for 60 subject areas that could be used in the SADF or in other government departments or institutions; sport was seen as military service; service men were given the option to complete their studies or a trade before their training. Scholtz goes so far as to claim that the SADF was a service force (Scholtz 2012:461). Approximately 600 000 young men did military service between 1967 and 1994 (Connell, Omole, Subramaney and Olorunju 2013:430; Baines 2009:22).

With South Africa becoming more militaristic, schools were used as a close ally. A youth resilience programme, cadettes and cadet bands were presented at schools from the age of 12. This included amongst other things the issuing of uniforms and holiday camps. The year in which a young man turned 17, he was registered for military service and was assigned a force number (Bothma 2012:238).

5.3 LOCAL (SOUTH AFRICAN) CONTEXT OF THE SADF 1948-1989

There is literally thousands of books and articles written with this time period as the subject. For the sake of completeness, it will be discussed shortly, especially from the angle of the SADF's involvement. It was obviously a generation who took part in operations to stabilise the border and other areas.

In 1948 the National Party came into power; a dream that came to realisation for those South Africans who were dreaming of independence. Slowly but surely the National Party earmarked important government positions for Afrikaners (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:132). It was especially during the time of Verwoerd's leadership that the apartheid policy was practically executed to its logical consequence. Homelands were the

designated places where the different ethnic nationalities could express themselves and govern themselves based on a Christian National ideology. The rest of the country would be ruled by the Whites. This was clearly laid out in speeches and policies. Under Christian Nationalism the intention was that every 'national' group would have the right to self-determination but within their own territory. As Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd passed many Acts, i.e. the Population Registration Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and many others.

A 100 years after the Great Trek the Afrikaner eventually came into power and was largely benefitted. Unfortunately, in his pursuit of his own salvation, he did not listen to sensible voices for participation and change. The Freedom Charter for example is a very valuable document, and include amongst other things the following, "*South Africa belongs to all. No government can claim authority unless based on will of people ... robbed birth right to land, liberty and peace ... injustice and inequality*" (Bothma 2012:182).

That the Black man could not be content in this situation would become more obvious over time. By 1949, the ANC was still showing passive resistance (Bothma 2012:174). Malan prohibited communism and the Russian consulate was closed, a clear indication of the seriousness with which the government regarded and feared communism, convinced that any resistance was inspired and supported by it. The ANC, that was already founded in 1912, increasingly realised that passive resistance would not be enough. In 1952 Mandela was already involved in a defiance campaign (Bothma2013:174). In 1960, 69 people were shot dead during a demonstration against the pass laws. The police were nervous as two police officers were shot dead two months prior to this in a demonstration in Natal (De Klerk 1998:37). Verwoerd declared a state of emergency and the SADF called on the Citizen Force to help stabilise the situation (Bothma 2012:191). This was a turning point in the Black consciousness and freedom movements. There was an increasing sentiment that an armed struggle should also take place. The Church had reflected on the massacre at Sharpeville during the Cottesloe summit, but Verwoerd abolished the decisions that were made. He used his influence to reverse the decisions made by the church on the recommendations of the delegates at the Cottesloe summit. Verwoerd was indeed an intellectual and strong leader. He had, amongst others, a doctorate degree in Psychology and Social work and also lectured in Sociology. One of his students at

Stellenbosch was Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, later the leader of the opposition party (Bothma 2012:182).

It was in vain that the British Prime Minister, McMillan, tried to warn the NP in his speech on the 3rd of March 1960 in parliament, that the winds of change were moving over Africa with many of the countries being decolonised (De Klerk 1998:37). For this the Afrikaners were definitely not ready; they have just come to power after decades of battling with the English. Because the advice came from a Brit, it would probably have made the Boers more determined to not heed his advice. One could assume that the Afrikaner must have seen the victory in 1948 as a 'decolonisation' of South Africa. The English were labelled as the great colonial, imperialistic exploiters. The Afrikaner, who saw himself as a group from Africa, was at last free of the colonial and foreign yoke.

In the meantime, the ANC decided to send Oliver Tambo to London from where he had to drive the freedom fight by mobilising the world in the anti-apartheid battle. At home, South Africa became a Republic after the referendum in 1961. While the Battle of Blood River was commemorated on the 16th of December 1961, the first time as a republic, the first bombs were detonated as part of the armed struggle of the liberation movements (Bothma 2012:193). The ANC did not rest on its laurels. Operation Mayibuye was launched. The plan was to mobilise the masses and to bring weapons into the country. Joe Slovo, who was now the leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe⁵¹ (MK), went to London to inform the leader, Oliver Tambo, of the operation. This plan was foiled when the ANC leaders were captured at Rivonia. On 12 June 1964 they were found guilty of high treason on the grounds of the following four charges: *(a) 200 acts of sabotage; (b) facilitating violent revolution; (c) overthrow of the state; (d) armed invasion of the country.* They were all sentenced to lifelong imprisonment, one of them being Nelson Mandela (Bothma 2012:208).

It was evident that the domestic unrests started to increase. The government was aware of this and had to put precautionary measurements into place. Magnus Malan refers to this as a revolutionary tactic and that the ANC was indeed trained by seasoned leaders of

⁵¹ Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) became the armed wing of the ANC

the revolution (Malan 2006:35; 159). He himself did a staff duty course in the USA where he was trained in conventional and revolutionary warfare (Malan 2006:41). The aspects, levels and areas that were targeted by the revolutionary warfare, are described by Scholtz (2012:215) in the following way, “(1) Mobilise the masses, (2) work underground, (3) isolate the ruling class internationally (politically and economically) and (4) wage an armed struggle.” The revolution is further waged in two phases, namely a National Democratic Revolution where an allegiance is forged with non-communists, and a socialist phase where the communists take over all the power (Scholtz 2012:235).

Soweto explodes on 16 June 1976 when thousands of school children protested against the compulsory use of Afrikaans in schools. The unrest spreads quickly to other parts of the country.

The growing unrest grew especially in the East Rand, where Black against Black violence also took place. The more traditional Zulu-migrant workers from Natal clashed with the other, more urbanised groups. Patrick Noonan (2011), a Catholic priest who experienced this time of unrest, describes this period strikingly:

It was a time of terror, burning tyres, mass arrests, arson, political funerals, the destruction of state property. Emergency and urgency meetings between the state, people and churches (p. 71).

The slogans being chanted develop strong anti-Police, anti-Afrikaner flavour (88).

For whites 10 minutes away, in the tranquil areas of Vanderbijl Park and Vereeniging these two funerals had hardly happened at all. They were beyond the periphery of white consciousness. At a church in Vereeniging there was a lecture ‘the personal appearance of the Christian lady’ (92).

... Donder die kaffir, slaan die kaffir (96).

The experience of people during church services in these tempestuous times, was important:

... liturgy found outlet in worship and fellowship. Mixed with confusion, anger and anxiety. People searched for hope ... shared their heart publicly

at prayers to express pent-up feelings. It was their therapy ... revived weary spirits ... found new solidarity in being together (77).

Their emotions in the struggle and attitude towards the White, is described as such:

... pent-up explode liturgy of song, dance and fierce protest oratory 'We don't hate them, but we hate what they are doing to us' (86).

In 1977, the same year that Steve Biko died in police custody on 12 September, in light of the growing domestic threat, the decision was made to extend military service from one to two years (Bothma 2012:400). As a result, the SADF became increasingly more involved in domestic deployments, often men who had been part of the Bush War were now called during camps to help stabilise things on the home front.

Stemmet (2006:179) describes one such an operation where the SADF worked together with the SAP. He describes it as such:

At 02:00 on 23 October Operation Palmiet commenced. To execute this 'seal and search' operation, a mixed batch of no less than 7 000 soldiers and policemen moved through Vereeniging to Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Boipatong. The thousands of soldiers formed a cordon around the townships – in the streets of Sebokeng there was an armed soldier every 10 meters. This left the police free to conduct an intense door-to-door search of every one of the 19 500 houses and shacks.

Forty thousand soldiers took part in domestic operations between April 1983 and March 1984. According to Stemmet (2006:182) this had a negative influence on the SADF's image, which until that point was neutral in order to win the "hearts and minds" of the people. The result was that the SADF and the SAP were seen as, "...a single oppressive force, the army and police became derogatively known among township dwellers as 'die boere'." He also points out that Van Zyl Slabbert was of the opinion that Operation Palmiet was a watershed for the SADF. The political unrest became militarised and the SADF lost its impartiality. People were forced to choose or face the danger of being labelled 'impimpi' (sell-out; spy; police informant) (Stemmet 2006:184). It goes without saying that the SADF generals were not necessarily pleased with the situation. The SADF was primarily trained for warfare and was therefore more aggressive. They were not trained to maintain domestic law and order.

General Jannie Geldenhuys, head of the SADF, who realised this tension and contradiction, gave out a brochure dated 10 June 1986 to each soldier who was used during the domestic deployments. It read as follows:

Dear Fellow Soldier,

Your presence in the unrest areas, in these times, is vital for our country and all its peoples. You must do your share to return your country to normality. This we do amongst others, by protecting the majority of people from a small element of murderers, arsonists and those seeking violence. So that those who want to go to school can go, those who want to go to work can go, and those who want to travel on buses can travel. Be firm and decisive but courteous and just. Carry out our superiors' orders and respect people and property. Stay calm. Set the example. It is not easy, but I know you can – I trust you. Lekker wees. Jan Geldenhuys Chief, SADF. Pretoria 10 Jun 86 (Stemmet 2006:189).

According to Stemmet (2006:192) Magnus Malan admitted that those soldiers who at times misbehaved during domestic activities, were those who fought in the Bush War. His explanation was that they saw the Black man as the enemy. It must therefore have been very difficult for them to make the mind shift to 'peace soldier'.

But Malan was of the opinion that within the context it was inevitable for the SADF to become involved (Malan 2006:330). He continues to quote statistics to give an insight in the domestic situation at the time: 7 000 private homes and 1 700 schools were destroyed with 400 deaths due to the necklacing. Furthermore, he refers to the threat made by Winnie Mandela to free the people using matchboxes. Chris Hani again threatens that those who are seen as conspirators, would be removed using necklacing. According to Malan (2006:337), MK and the Security Forces tackled each other with bare fists during this period. He admits that certain actions were unconventional. In defence he refers to the two British *Security Services* (MI5 and MI6), the Russian *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* (KGB) and the United States of America's (USA) *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) also acting unconventionally. The establishment of the National Security Management System (NSMS) as well as the State Security Council (SSC) were institutions that were created to cope with attacks through coordination (Malan 2006:191).

For Lapsley (2012:52) domestic operations were '*structural and systemic violence*'. He is sharp in his criticism when he says that the Whites justified the use of violence by claiming that they were maintaining law and order. When Black people used violence, though, they were referred to as terrorists.

Noonan (2011:104) is mostly accurate when he makes the following observation regarding the domestic deployment, "... *for more than 2 hours these young, confused teenagers stood on patrol, trying to deal with culture shock ... discovering urban Africa for the first time in their privileged lives.*" He is also further of the opinion that the former SAP experienced enormous strain in this situation (Noonan 2011:151). During the TRC the stories of these young men who suffered emotional and psychological trauma at that time, were told⁵².

5.4 REGIONAL CONTEXT (SWA/NAMIBIA) FROM 1966-1989 WHERE THE SADF WAS INVOLVED

5.4.1 Introduction

In order to place the actions of the SADF in perspective it is important to look at the context of the era. The SADF was intensely involved in a regional conflict in the then SWA/Namibia and Angola but was also involved in operations in Rhodesia (later named Zimbabwe), Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique. The conflict in SWA/Namibia and Angola were the most important considering that the SADF conscript generation were involved here from 1966-1989 in what was called the Bush War. Hence follows the background concerning the context in SWA/Namibia and Angola⁵³.

Bredenkamp and Wessels (2010:46) describes the context of that period in time as such:

African nationalism took shape in the form of decolonisation and the Pan-Africa movement. It was not simple such as nationalism in Europe, designed around an own language, culture and territory. It was a complex

⁵² An ex-soldier spoke to the researcher and mentioned that the domestic deployment 'pinched' him. He still, to this day, shows symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

⁵³ See Ferreira and Liebenberg's (2006) article that briefly addresses the political events.

movement and inextricably linked to the American and European Black consciousness movements. The base was strongly emotional and the undertone anti-imperialistic and anti-Western, with a colour and race awareness. Whites in Africa were seen as settlers.

SWA/Namibia specifically was important for South Africa. The context and importance to South Africa are summarised very well by Esterhuysen (2009:24):

For South Africa, the counter-insurgency war in SWA/Namibia had its political and legal roots in the continuation of the former League of Nations' mandate over the former South-West Africa that was given to South Africa in the aftermath of World War I. From a geostrategic perspective SWA/Namibia, though, was an important buffer state for the apartheid government to keep both the swart gevaar (black threat) and the rooi gevaar (red threat i.e., communist threat) as far away from South Africa's borders as possible. In addition, SWA/Namibia had longstanding cultural, economic and political ties with the traditional white Afrikaans constituency of the apartheid government. Losing SWA/Namibia would have been a political and psychological setback for the apartheid government and its white constituency, who often referred to SWA/Namibia as South Africa's fifth province.

5.4.2 Political events until the emergence of Toivo and Sam Nujoma

In an exceptional book by Bothma (2012), *Vang 'n Boer (Catch a Boer)*, he describes the history and conflicts in the former SWA from the earliest times. The value of the book lies in the fact that Bothma himself was part of the Bush War as a conscript, where he served in an elite unit – 32 Battalion. The book is also 'academic' in that it refers to sources throughout the book.

Some of the earliest conflicts between 'foreigners' and indigenous groups in South Africa can be taken back to Jonker Afrikaner. Jonker Afrikaner, leader of the Oorlam, originated from the Cape, from where he had to flee from the authorities. He moved north into SWA. There he helped the Nama in skirmishes with the Herero and as a consequence the aforementioned fled to the north (Bothma 2012:36). The Dorslandtrekkers, who were earlier alluded to, also clashed with the indigenous groups. In 1883, during the century of colonisation, the Germans claimed the area from the Cunene to the Orange rivers as a protectorate. They did not want to colonise this area, but they were interested in trade. Conflict between the Germans and the indigenous groups broke out systematically. In addition, they came to an agreement with the Portuguese, who colonised Angola,

regarding where the border between the two countries would be. The result was that the border was drawn straight through the Ovambo tribe's land (Bothma 2012:66). Some of the Dorslandtrek groups moved into Angola. At first the Portuguese were very optimistic about Dorslandtrekkers in Angola, since they practiced agriculture and helped with security. As a matter of fact, some of them took part in operations because of their knowledge of the veld and skills in tracking. The leader of the Dorsland group's daughter got married to the Portuguese commander (Bothma 2012:82).

The Germans clashed more and more with groups like the Rooinasie, Ovambo, Herero, Bondelswarts and Nama, and later did end up colonising the country. In the meantime, diamonds were discovered, and an agreement was made between the South African government, De Beers and the German government. Now the Germans needed the labour of the Ovambo. With the First World War threatening, the British were reaching a point where they had to ask South Africa to drive the Germans out of SWA. This was a cause for huge division, especially under the Afrikaners. In fact, it led to a rebellion. Some of the former Boer generals who served in the Union government, saw this as an opportunity to recover the old Republic. Manie Maritz was openly striving for this when he tried to get the support of the German commander in SWA. Eventually it led to Boer acting against Boer with Louis Botha who went to Upington to stop the Rebellion. Eventually South Africa invaded SWA with 50 000 men with Generals Botha and Smuts spearheading the operation (Bothma 2012:116). It was relatively easy for this great force to gain the victory. Significantly, SWA now became South Africa's responsibility to protect. After World War I it was classed as a Class C mandate area (Bredenkamp & Wessels 2012:45). This was a expensive responsibility in terms of cost, time, manpower and lives if the military involvement of the SADF is taken into account.

In the meantime, the battle between the Ovambo and the government continued. In August 1915, the Portuguese attacked Madume, the Ovambo king, with a force of 9 000 strong. It is estimated that between 4 000 and 5 000 Ovambo died during this battle. Hence, Madume fled to the south (SWA). As a result, the Portuguese and South Africans came to an agreement, determining where the king could live (Bothma 2012:116). Understandably Madume, who was the king of a tribe who lived in both SWA and Angola, crossed the river and moved northwards to visit the rest of his people. His influence

impacted the migrant worker system, therefore it was decided that he had to be eliminated. A Union force under the command of De Jager, formerly exiled at St. Helena during the Boer war, pushed on to complete the task. According to tradition, King Madume was killed in battle on the 6th of February 1917 and beheaded. His head was buried at the *Ovambo Campaign Memorial* in Windhoek. The first of thousands of gunshots between Boer and Ovambo, were fired (Bothma 2012:133).

After the Second World War Smuts wanted to incorporate SWA into the Union. Churchill recommended that SWA should be incorporated as a fifth province. When Smuts brought this case to the newly found United Nations (UN), it was rejected (Bredenkamp & Wessels 2012:44). In the meantime, most of the Dorslandtrekkers moved back to SWA because their relationship with the Portuguese deteriorated (Bothma 2012:125). South Africa tried to establish homelands for the indigenous people in SWA at the recommendation of the Odendaal commission, as they were doing locally (Bredenkamp & Wessels 2010:45). Many court rulings and resolutions, though, condemned South Africa's involvement and demanded that SWA/Namibia became independent.

5.4.3 The emergence of Toivo, Sam Nujoma and SWAPO

The anti-colonialism battle was gaining more and more ground. Interestingly, Toivo who was part of the Native Corps of the Union government during the First World War, worked on the mines. He resigned because of the migrant worker system and established the *Ovamboland People's Congress* (OPC). Sam Nujoma, who was born at a Finnish missionary station, saw how people were transported in cattle trucks to the mines. In 1957 Sam Nujoma, while in Cape Town, learnt that Ghana amongst other countries was freed from colonialism (Bothma 2012:178). In Cape Town he also comes into contact with other freedom movements. He establishes the *Ovamboland People's Organisation* (OPO).

In the meantime, the first guerrillas entered SWA via the Caprivi. Most of them were captured. In 1960, the OPC changed their name to the *South West Africa People's Organisation* (SWAPO). Financial support and arms came from the USSR, though most of the financial support came from Scandinavian countries and European sources. Military training in the form of guerrilla warfare, was undertaken by instructors from the USSR.

The armed wing of SWAPO became known as the *People's Liberation Army of Namibia* (PLAN) with its headquarters in Luanda (Ferreira & Liebenberg 2006:44). Liberia and Ethiopia opened a lawsuit against South Africa because of its involvement in this region. South Africa won the case with a decisive vote with Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as advocate. The UN recalled the previous mandate with a new resolution (2145). Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the UN, kept in touch with South Africa. In 1973 contact was broken with the acceptance of a new resolution 435. At this point, SWAPO was recognised as the true legal representation of the people of SWA (Bothma 2012:262). SWAPO's youth league released the following statement, "*Under Boer rule, a Namibian does not matter, did not matter and will not matter as long as the Boers remain in power*" (Bothma 2012:237). Toivo was captured and sent to Robben Island. Bothma (2012:224) quotes his words as follow, "*wish of SA Government to discredit us in the Western world by calling our struggle a communist plot ... the world knows we are not interested in ideologies, only when our dignity is restored, as equals of the Whites, there will be peace between us.*" Following an incident where an Ovambo shot an arrow at a helicopter using his bow and was laughed at by South African soldiers, he remarked the following, "*so we laughed when SA said it would oppose the world ... we and the world may be right ... and they (Whites) might be wrong*" (Bothma 2012:224).

An incident that totally changed the game, was the *coup d'état* that took place in Portugal in 1974. This had dramatic consequences for Angola as a Portuguese colony and it immediately caused a chain of events. Up until that point SWAPO's attacks on SWA were launched from Zambia via the Caprivi with the Portuguese acting not only against the freedom movements but also against SWAPO. For this reason, South African forces were stationed in the Caprivi to prevent fighters from entering SWA from Zambia. SWAPO's only base in SWA, in Ongulumbashe, was destroyed in operation *Blue Wildebeest* in 1966, resulting in the fighters having to flee over the border (Bredenkamp & Wessels 2012:49). With the communist-orientated *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) taking over in Angola, SWAPO was allowed here, and the area that had to be guarded increased dramatically in size. The dense Ovamboland in the central area where the Ovambo lived, provided SWAPO with the greatest number of fighters. This would result in SWAPO having to be driven back deeper into Angola to protect SWA so that the war can remain by the Cunene and not move towards the Orange river, according to Minister Pik

Botha (Scholtz 2012:56). The conflict with SWAPO in Angola would bring the SADF in contact and conflict with *Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola* (FAPLA) that was supported by the USSR and Cubans. They again were in war with *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) that was supported by South Africa. A counter insurgency war, that mainly involved the actions of foot patrols in the SWA area, made way for a more conventional war against an enemy that was supported by the Russians.

It is illuminating that Malan acknowledges that the colonial and freedom war for self-determination that was fought in SWA, was the same as that which the Afrikaner claimed for himself in South Africa (Malan 2006:59).

5.4.4 SADF operations in SWA/Namibia

The first skirmish between SWAPO and the South African security forces was in 1966 and described as follow by Craig (2004:28):

On 26 August 1966, a mixed force of policemen and South African Defence Force (SADF) troops attacked a group of South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) infiltrators who had crossed into South West Africa from Angola. 'Operation Blue Wildebeest' was to be the first skirmish between the South African security forces and SWAPO in the area. It was far from the last, however, for the hostilities initiated during Blue Wildebeest were to be the opening salvos of a conflict that would last more than two decades: South Africa's 'Border War'.

In 1974 the SADF took the responsibility for securing SWA/Namibia from the SAP after it became clear that the threat was too big for the SAP to handle. The type of operations undertaken by SWAPO are described as follow by Bredenkamp and Wessels (2012: 48), "SWAPO members were trained outside SWA and in March 1966 they launch an insurgence campaign over the northern border of SWA to try and disrupt the SWA administration through sabotage, landmines and intimidating the local people."

The type of operation performed by the SADF, is described excellently by Esterhuysen (2009:30). He says the following:

From a geographical perspective, SWA/Namibia is a huge arid land, which made it very difficult for guerrillas to operate effectively outside the more thickly wooded Ovamboland. The South African military approach was based on the domination of the area through patrolling and pre-emption. Many South African soldiers were trained as normal infantry for the aggressive patrolling of the northern SWA/Namibia and southern Angola border areas. The Namibian War was often described as a corporal's war, reflecting the need of section to platoon size forces to dominate a huge area through active patrolling. SWAPO operators who succeeded in infiltrating SWA/Namibia were hunted in seek-and-destroy type of operations that very often developed into hot pursuit operations into Angola. The South Africans tried to establish a corridor just north of the Namibia/Angola border in which special operations forces conducted pseudo-type of operations against SWAPO. These operations were conducted, for the bigger part, by the former Angolan and Portuguese-speaking soldiers of 32 Battalion serving in the South African Army using foreign (Soviet) equipment and uniforms.

SADF therefore focussed mainly on foot patrols that was intended to be precautionary to prevent SWAPO from infiltrating. Large areas had to be dominated by patrols of sections and platoons. SWAPO members who did succeed in infiltrating, were pursued in what was known as 'hakkejag' (chasing heels) operations. Especially 32 Battalion, that consisted mostly of former Portuguese soldiers, performed operations in Angola to counter all possible threats. The domination of the area by foot patrols were alternated with semi-conventional operations. The aim was to destroy SWAPO's headquarters deeper into Angola and to keep the threat as far away as possible from SWA/Namibia's border. Esterhuyse (2009:44) describes it as follow:

Mobile, semi-conventional, pre-emption operations into Angola during the late 1970s and early 1980s by South African forces aimed at disrupting the logistical and other capabilities of SWAPO to operate inside SWA/Namibia. These operations were an important instrument to keep SWAPO psychologically off balance. It was at the same time an illustration to the people in South Africa that the threat was real and that the military was making progress in the war.

South Africa accepted the idea of a democratic government for SWA/Namibia or at least gave the impression that it did (Esterhuyse 2009:32). This was linked to a condition though – that the Cuban and USSR forces in Angola had to be withdrawn. Esterhuyse

claims that the overall idea or vision of all military and non-military actions of South Africa and the SADF was for the political independence of SWA/Namibia. It appears though that South Africa was protracting the war considering that South Africa was also in a 'fight for survival' domestically and did not want a pro-communist neighbour. Also, South Africa and the SADF's pride were at stake. That the SADF contributed to the prosperity of SWA/Namibia through services such as education, health services and water, is true. Whether the SADF was relatively successful in winning the '*hearts and minds*' of the local people, as claimed by Esterhuysen (2009:32), is doubtful especially in light of the fact that SWAPO achieved a major victory in the first election in 1990. Scholtz (2012:449) is also of the opinion that the SADF's actions prevented SWAPO in achieving most of its goals, i.e. that it was forced into a democratic election and that a non-communist government was eventually elected. This remark does not really hold up. What is probably true is that the SADF's involvement only postponed the establishment of a democratic order. That the 'playing for time' idea might have made it easier for South Africa and its partners, can partially be accepted.

As previously mentioned, one cannot isolate the anti-colonial freedom struggle in the region from the events within the international or global context, as will be clarified in the next section.

5.5 GLOBAL CONTEXT: COLD WAR

By the end of the Second World War the last bullets had barely come to rest, when the next war broke out because of two ideologies. Germany and Europe were divided between pro-Western influences that supported the free market, and pro-communism influences, with Russia the dominant role player within the USSR.

It has already been stated that the initial involvement of the SADF in SWA/Namibia was that of anti-colonial regional conflict. SWAPO mainly operated from Angola; a country ruled by a government that was backed by communism since 1975. Consequently, the SADF was drawn into a global conflict. Two separate conflicts (anti-colonial and Cold War) did in fact flow into each other and became one (Scholtz 2012:27).

Bredenkamp and Wessels (2010:47) further makes the following meaningful observation in connection with school of thought of the time:

African nationalism formed part of the new power grouping of Afro-Asian states that regarded themselves unconnected to the Cold War between the two superpowers – the USA and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) – and the associated ideologies of democracy/free market as opposed to communism/Marxism. In practice though, many African countries were drawn into the sphere of influence of either the Western school of thought or the ideology of communism/Marxism in exchange for economic and military assistance. In Southern Africa it was especially the USSR that, through allies like Cuba, could exercise an influence on the liberation movements. SWAPO soldiers were initially trained in Africa and the USSR, but later were also trained in China and North Korea.

For a better insight into the global context, as well as its influence on the region, it is helpful to discuss the history of Angola briefly.

5.5.1 Angola

Mozambique and Angola were Portuguese colonies in the south of Africa. By 1975 Angola had already been a Portuguese colony for 400 years. One of the implications of this was that it placed a huge economic burden on Portugal, who considered its colonies as provinces. Even though slavery was abolished in 1836, it remained in the psyche of the people (Bothma 2012:116). In the anti-colonial spirit, liberation movements also formed here, and it tried to get rid of the Portuguese yoke. Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:45) describes it as follow:

Since 1961, the Portuguese in Angola had been fighting an insurgency war against three nationalist guerrilla armies. In the north, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) under Holden Roberto was fighting with backing from Zaire (Mobutu Sese Seko), Communist China and some Arab states. In the south, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, a proclaimed anti-communist, were launching attacks with some support from Zambia based on tribal loyalties. These loyalties changed after the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) of Dr Agostinho Neto took power in Angola.

The first uprising took place in the Malange province at the Kimbundu cotton farms. Property was damaged and the livestock of the Portuguese people were killed. The Portuguese government's response was fierce and brutal - 7 000 people were killed in land and air attacks (Ferreira & Liebenberg 2006:56)

Savimbi, who was initially part of the FNLA, broke away in 1964 and founded UNITA. The MPLA especially made great progress from 1970 when Zambia gained independence; the MPLA could now also operate from Zambia in the east. To counter this, South Africa established an air force component in Rundu from where they, in collaboration with the Portuguese and the SAP, could act against the liberation movements (Bothma 2012:231).

The whole political landscape changed though in 1975 when a coup d'état was carried out in Portugal. Portugal then announced that it would withdraw from its colonies. This resulted the fighting factions push to Luanda in a struggle for power (Bothma 2012:286). The initial agreement was that the Portuguese would make 24 000 soldiers available, and the liberation movements 8 000 soldiers each (24 000 in total), a grand total of 48 000 soldiers, to help maintain law and order (Malan 2006:112). But the Portuguese governor favoured the MPLA from the onset (Malan 2006:112; Scholtz 2012:16).

Of immediate importance to South Africa was to ensure that the Calueque water project in the south-west of Angola was maintained, since it supplied Ovamboland with water and was also used to generate hydroelectricity. South Africa was not interested in being permanently present in Angola, but would continue to protect UNITA in its traditional area as well as the SWA/Angola border as a counter measure to the SWAPO insurgency (Malan 2006:117).

As a result of the power vacuum, the MPLA moved into the south and conquered great areas of UNITA and FNLA, thereby controlling all the harbours and airspace. This and the fact that the MPLA was communist oriented was seen as a threat to South Africa. When South Africa was contacted by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) of the USA (an indication of how the Global Cold War influenced other regions) and requested to prevent a communist government to take over control in Angola, it finally paved the road for *Operation Savannah* in 1975 (Malan 2006:123). Within a short timeframe, the SADF with

30 000 men and 600 vehicles used a '*blitzkrieg*' (lightning war) manoeuvre to infiltrated deep into Angola. The momentum that was gained was quickly halted by the USA who decided that the CIA could not choose sides or get involved with certain groups; the so-called Clark amendment (Papenfus 2012:471). This decision was made in the context of the Watergate scandal, that led to the resignation of President Nixon and the attempts of the Democrats to stop all of Nixon's previous actions (Scholtz 2012:21). This dealt a heavy blow to the SADF who eventually withdrew on the 27th of March 1976. The FNLA, led by Roberto, was hoping to gain power by launching an attack from the north on the MPLA, who was in complete control of Luanda. Their attack though was uncoordinated and what was supposed to be a surprise attack was not a surprise at all, given the MPLA time to prepare. Within a short time, the FNLA was defeated in a dramatic way.

In the meantime, the *Organisation of African Unity* (OAU) had to decide whether they were going to acknowledge the MPLA as the legitimate government, or a government of National Unity consisting of the three warring parties. During a meeting in December 1975, there was a 50/50 split in the vote with 22 votes for each. President Idi Amin of Uganda, who was the chairperson at the time, used his decisive vote to vote in favour of the MPLA. With that the last alternative for a non-communist government gaining power, was gone.

Agostino Nato, the MPLA leader, declared in February 1976 that their freedom would not be complete until South Africa was also free. He also pledged to help his brothers in SWA/Namibia (Scholtz 2012:58). SWAPO is granted freedom of movement in Angola. In the light of this, it is clear to see how the local, regional and global conflicts became entangled. The SADF acts on the command of Magnus Malan to destabilise the south of Angola, to support UNITA and to attack SWAPO (Scholtz 2012:58). Consequently, there were many cross-border military operations in Angola by the SADF between 1978 and 1988.

In 1984 there was a chance to establish peace when Minister Pik Botha met with Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, in order to accept a peace offer (Scholtz 2012:190). This led to the Lusaka-agreement. The SADF would not move north of the Cuvelai; in turn, SWAPO, FAPLA and the Cubans in turn would not move south

of it. Furthermore, the SADF and FAPLA would do combined patrols. Also, a joint monitoring committee was appointed. This agreement was not honoured though because Angola wanted South Africa out of Angola in order to attack UNITA, something South Africa would not risk. South Africa, on the other hand, wanted the Cubans to move out of Angola. Angola was probably afraid that the SADF would launch further offensives in Angola and would need the Cubans to ward off such offensives (Scholtz 2012:194). The commander of *Operation Askari in 1983*, E.P. van Lill (2013), was also of the opinion that the opportunity to find a lasting solution passed when Fidel Castro, as will be indicated later on, was also not in favour of the agreement and later reproached the MPLA leader regarding this matter.

In 1987 'n strong FAPLA (Angolan) force that consisted of six Brigades, with the support of Russian weapons and Cuban advisors, advanced towards the south to obliterate UNITA at Jamba, UNITA's headquarters. This led to the SADF sending a strong force to prevent the offensive, named *Operation Modular*. FAPLA was stopped during the operation and heavy losses were experienced, especially on the 3rd of October 1987 at the Lomba river, where almost a whole brigade was obliterated. The resulting withdrawal of FAPLA led to a second operation, *Hooper*, to take place. FAPLA was driven back to the Cuito river, but the SADF did not achieve a decisive victory. During a third offensive and operation, *Packer*, the forces of FAPLA dug in under the direct orders of Fidel Castro to hold Cuito Carnaval at all cost. Three unsuccessful attacks were launched by the SADF to drive FAPLA west of the Cuito. This resulted in a checkmate situation where neither could gain control. FAPLA could not conquer UNITA's area and therefore its offensive was ended.

In the meantime, Castro decided to move the fight to northern border of SWA/Namibia. He deployed his best soldiers, warriors and pilots from Cuba. The soldiers and equipment were moved from the most southern Angolese harbour to a position north of the SWA/Namibia border and deployed in an eastern direction. It is uncertain whether he tried to wedge in between the SADF forces at Cuito (in Angola) and the forces at Sector 10 (one zero) in SWA. The danger of a Cuban invasion into SWA was great. Scholtz is probably correct when he assumes that it was probably not the intention considering that peace talks were already underway. That Castro strategically caught South Africa off guard, is apparent though it will not be admitted openly by South African soldiers. The

financial and human cost of the war for South Africa was significant. Russia too indicated that it would not be supporting the Angolan battle indefinitely. This all contributed to the fact that a large-scale conflict did not break out in 1988/1989. Castro was also aware that South Africa probably had nuclear weapons and was consequently cautious of an attack. That the SADF prepared for such an invasion and had a few encounters with the Cubans in Angola was an indication that it was a serious situation. At the time Cuban airplanes dominated the airspace and some South African soldiers were killed when the Ruacana waterworks were bombed. Castro was truly a master strategist and did exceptionally well to force the very determined SADF into a checkmate at Cuito. His clever manoeuvre to move the battle to another front was brilliant in military terms.

5.5.2 UNITA

UNITA, that splintered off from the FNLA, fought within Angola in an anti-colonial battle against the Portuguese. Soon after the Portuguese coup, a struggle between the three factions – MPLA, FNLA and UNITA – broke out. The Portuguese governor supported the MPLA. South Africa on the other hand decided to support UNITA, under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi (Ferreira & Liebenberg 2006:45). During *Operation Scarlota* of the MPLA in 1975, when the MPLA moved south and conquered vast areas of UNITA, South Africa got involved with a counter operation named *Savannah*, indirectly helping UNITA to drive the MPLA back. The SADF also took part in many cross-border operations with UNITA. The SADF had a permanent military attaché at UNITA and also helped with weapons and training. Weapons were covertly delivered to UNITA by the USA (Papenfus 2012:462). The USA though did not provide the SADF with any weapons because of South Africa's skunk status due to apartheid.

South Africa's involvement in Angola was firstly to destroy SWAPO, and secondly to help UNITA to retain its territory. UNITA itself would have been able to prevent SWAPO from entering SWA via the Caprivi.

Angola only had their first democratic election after Namibia's elections. Savimbi, though, refused to accept the outcome. He returned to the bush and during the next two years more people died in the 'second war' than in the previous 20 years (Ferreira & Liebenberg

2006:47). In 1994, Jonas Savimbi was forced by the Lusaka treaty, signed between UNITA and MPLA, to demobilise. By 1996, 80% of his forces were demobilised. By mid-1997 the UN imposed financial punitive measures to force UNITA to demobilise completely. UNITA responded by occupying larger territories. Renewed conflict broke out between the MPLA and UNITA in 1999. The government withdrew all its support from the rural areas that unfortunately also had a negative impact on the local people. Eventually, in 2002 Savimbi was cornered by FAPLA forces and shot. Rumour had it that former SADF special force soldiers who fought with UNITA in the past, helped FAPLA, the former enemy, as mercenaries in order to eliminate Savimbi.

5.5.3 The Russians and USSR

According to Malan (2006:112) the first Russians were already in Angola by February 1975. South Africa was therefore involved because of the USSR, not the other way around. The Russians though would justify their involvement on the grounds that the South Africans were involved and also because of the CIA's covert support of the FNLA and UNITA. Whatever the case might be, Russians were involved though they preferred to use surrogate forces such as the Cubans in Angola (Scholtz 2012:23).

According to Scholtz (2012:23) the USSR had the national strategy, already formulated in 1980, that included, amongst other things, foreign aggression and domestic revolution. Furthermore, Scholtz describes the presence of Russian advisors during operations, where some were captured and eliminated. This can be explained within the context of the Cold War as well as the premonition that the USSR aspired to expand its power and exert influence. To what extent they wanted to and whether they succeeded is not really relevant for this study. FAPLA and SWAPO were equipped with weapons of Russian origin, and even more, they were trained by the USSR. The Russian involvement is a given. To what extent they planned a '*total onslaught*', will be discussed later in the chapter.

5.5.4 Cubans

Scholtz (2012:238) reports that military inspectors from Cuba were already present in Angola in May 1975. According to Ferreira and Liebenberg (2006:45) this was the direct

result of South Africa's 'invasion' during Savannah. They argue as follow, "*Around April 1975, following SA incursions into Angola, Cuban support for and advisers to the MPLA arrived. In the aftermath of Operation Carlota, the Cubans entered the war in Angola on the side of the MPLA, while the USA secretly and temporarily supported UNITA of Jonas Savimbi.*"⁵⁴

According to a Cuban general who crossed over to the USA, there were three reasons why the Cubans were involved in Angola: firstly, the USSR regarded Angola as strategic; secondly, to combat unemployment in Cuba; and thirdly, Angola was used as a place to punish troublesome officers. By the end of the 1980s there were 50 000 Cubans in Angola.

The Cuban involvement had a lot to do with the charismatic and experienced soldier Fidel Castro. According to Scholtz (2012:237) Castro was noble, an idealist, charismatic but also arrogant. He wanted to lend prestige to Cuba by exhibiting the international role that they could now play. Castro, though, was careful that their involvement would not be experienced as a new form of colonialism. Cuba's security strategy in Angola was defensive, not offensive. In other words, they did not really want to fight against South Africa, but definitely wanted to support FAPLA, defending them against UNITA and the SADF.

Also, Castro was also an exceptional propagandist. Propaganda can be described as a lie by repetition, that is ultimately believed as the truth. Lapsley (2012:182) tells in his book *Redeeming the past* how Castro told him of the resounding victory of the Cubans over the SADF at Cuito, as if it is was a fact. It appears that even a respected person like Lapsley believed the 'propaganda' version. What did happen was that a checkmate position developed because of the SADF prevention of the FAPLA invasion. It is estimated that 400 000 Cuban soldiers served in Angola during the 15-year period, a large number. These soldiers mainly guarded the strategic railway line to the Minogue harbour.

⁵⁴ In a personal conversation with the researcher, an ex-Recce (Special Forces soldier) indicated that they fought against Cubans during Savannah, this confirms the version that the Cubans were already present in Angola before Savannah.

As mentioned previously, there was a chance for peace after *Askari* in 1983. The agreement that was reached initially had positive consequences. Castro, though, was not content with the agreement the Angolan leader, Dos Santos, made with the Americans and South Africans and he was summoned to Havana (Scholtz 2012:195).

The biggest military conflict between the SADF and Cubans would take place from 1987. The Angolan forces (FAPLA) wanted to drive UNITA out of its stronghold in Jamba. FAPLA's 6th Brigade moved south. In reaction to this, South Africa mobilised a campaign to halt this force. The FAPLA force was heavily supported by Cuban advisers as well as airplanes flown by Cuban pilots. As stated in 5.5.1, this offensive was thwarted. The resulting retreat caused the SADF to try and drive the forces west of the Cuito river in order to strengthen UNITA's situation. The Minister of Defence of Angola wanted to withdraw his FAPLA forces to Menonque, after suffering great losses during operations *Modular* and *Hooper*. The importance of these operations for South Africa was made clear by the fact that the President, PW Botha, the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, Generals Kat Liebenberg and Jannie Geldenhuys as well as the Commander of the operation, Deon Ferreira, all met in Angola after the battle at Lomba which was part of *Operation Modular* (Scholtz 2012:270)⁵⁵.

Castro was in Moscow to celebrate the 70th celebration of the Russian revolution of 1917 when he received the news of the slaughter of the FAPLA forces at Lomba. Castro interfered directly and refused to allow the FAPLA forces to retreat to Menonque (Scholtz 2012:321). He realised it was important to take a stand and protect Cuito. According to Chester Crocker the Cubans were not willing to be humiliated or to be driven back forcefully. Consequently, more Russian weapons, ships and soldiers were sent (Scholtz 2012:245). Here Castro showcased his political and military instincts (Scholtz 2012:320). He reinforced the FAPLA forces at Cuito, while drawing the USA and South Africa into diplomatic talks, moving the war theatre from Cuito to the south-west of Angola, north of the Cunene and SWA border (Scholtz 2012:372). With this he created a new front and did indeed catch the SADF off guard, in the words of Crocker "*a classic flanking manoeuvre*" (Scholtz 2012:379). South Africa was now forced to analyse and interpret these

⁵⁵ Papenfus (2010:512) '*Pik en sy tyd*' (Pik and his time) included a photo of those involved.

movements. Was the purpose of this offensive to invade SWA/Namibia? Was it defensive and at the same time strengthening SWAPO? Or was it a projection of power, a deterrent? Whatever was the case, the SADF prepared to protect SWA/Namibia. The largest mobilisation of South African forces since the second World War took place when 10 000 troops as part of 10 Division, were brought to the ready (Scholtz 2012:388). Castro was of the opinion that South Africa should not have gone further after their victory at Lomba. It created a crisis for them (FAPLA and the Cubans), compelling them to act (Scholtz 2012:371). He was afraid that if the SADF took Cuito, they would move further north and that a change in government was possible (Scholtz 2012:371). For South Africa, an invasion by the Cubans in SWA/Namibia would have threatened the Ruacana (Calueque) water works. Because of the Cubans superior aircraft at that stage, they could destroy SADF stations and airfields. Their (Angolans and Cubans) airfields, suitable for fighter jets⁵⁶, was located in the south of Angola, much closer to the battle front in the south of Angola and the north of SWA/Namibia, as opposed to the SADF who had to fly from Grootfontein (SWA) or even as far as Waterkloof (SA), giving the Cubans a reasonable time advantage.

In the meantime, talks were going ahead on the diplomatic front⁵⁷. The Cubans contacted Chester Crocker, who in turn contacted Neil van Heerden, Director of Foreign Affairs. All of this created the opportunity for negotiations. This resulted in the next New York agreement that is described by Ferreira and Liebenberg (2006:47) as follow:

The New York agreement was signed on 22 December 1988. This agreement proposed 14 principles as a basis for peace between Cuba, South Africa and Angola. The agreement With the Cubans to Withdraw from Angola in exchange for the simultaneous Withdrawal of the SADF, as well as the independence of SWA, was, according to Bridgland (1990:375), the most important consequence of the 'war for Africa'.

On the 3rd and 4th of May 1989 Chester Crocker met with Angolan, Cuban and South African delegations as part of further negotiations (Scholtz 2012:422). During the negotiations, the Cuban general claimed that apartheid was the cause of all the problems

⁵⁶ Fighter jets require longer airstrips.

⁵⁷ Scholtz describes the negotiations, diplomacy and talks in Chapter 16 entitled *Die eindronde* (The final round).

and that the myth of the invincible SADF was destroyed at Cuito. Pik Botha retaliated that the standard of living of the black man in South Africa was higher than that of the people in Cuba (Scholtz 2012:425).

Eventually a final agreement was signed, including the following, *“After 23 years of border warfare in SWA/Namibia and Angola (1966-1989), South African representatives and a Cuban-Angolan delegation signed the Mount Etjo agreement on 9 April 1989. On 18 May 1989, after extensive negotiations, all parties decided to implement UN resolution 435 supporting the New York agreement.”* (Ferreira & Liebenberg 2006:45).

Neither of the two sides really wanted to get involved in a battle in 1988. The price would have been too high. A negotiated agreement was achieved. Ironically though, the agreement was between Angola, Cuba and South Africa where only Angola had permanent interest. SWAPO was not even present.

In closing, it can be said that the Cubans had disciplined, well trained, politically indoctrinated, loyal, as well as educated officers (Scholtz 2012:402).

5.5.5 Total onslaught: Communism

Currently, the whole concept of the Total Onslaught and threat that would have come especially from the communist/Marxist countries, are being deliberated and whether it even existed. Esterhuysen (2009:25) talks of a *“threat perspective or, rather, threat paranoia.”* This study highlights a few perspectives in order to gain greater insight of the context of the SADF.

Esterhuysen (2009:24) makes a useful analysis by pointing to the following:

South Africa’s geostrategic outlook was shaped by what was perceived as a multileveled, multidimensional and well-coordinated threat orchestrated by the former Soviet Union. The 1977 White Paper on Defence noted inter alia, ‘African states do not possess the ability to successfully initiate aggression against the RSA, but some African countries are supported by a super power [sic] with the ability to simultaneously wage integrated revolutionary and conventional warfare.’ Was South Africa that important to the grand design of the Soviet Union in general and for Africa in particular? Nobody can deny

that the ANC had a socialist agenda during the 1970s/80s and that they received their primary military support for the armed struggle against the apartheid regime from the former Soviet Union. Of course, financial support for the ANC and SWAPO came mostly from European sources and western churches. However, whether a Soviet-inspired threat was real or not is not important. What is important, though, is that the white society in South Africa in general and the apartheid government in particular perceived the threat of communism in southern Africa as real.

The SADF conscript generation was made aware of the danger of communism from an early age. Malan (2006:208) was trained in the USA in the total strategy that served as a model within political-military circles. It needs to be considered that Magnus Malan did his staff course in the USA where the Americans, who were in the Cold War with the USSR, obviously had a model or strategy to face this threat. Malan (2006:208) assumes in his book that it was him who 'sold' the Total Strategy, Total Offensive and Revolutionary Theories to the then Minister of Defence, PW Botha. Esterhuyse (2009:28) confirms this assumption in the following quotation:

South Africa's strategic philosophy was clearly outlined in the 1977 White Paper on Defence. The White Paper defined a total strategy as "the comprehensive plan to utilize all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies." Consequently, the White Paper claimed that the "resolution of conflict in the times in which we live demands interdependent and co-ordinated action in all fields – military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, technological, diplomatic, ideological, cultural, etc." This kind of strategy, it was argued, is the combined responsibility of all government departments, the entire population, the nation, and every population group. As a result, defence was not seen as a matter for the Defence Force alone. Instead, the Department of Defence was regarded merely 'as an executive body responsible for the achievement of certain national security goals'. As the South African Minister of Defence, PW Botha, was the chief architect of the total strategy doctrine that was developed to counter the 'total onslaught' together with Gen. Magnus Malan whom he appointed the Minister of Defence in his Cabinet – the so-called 'securocrats' – also became primarily responsible for the implementation of the total strategy doctrine.

Therefore, the Total Onslaught had to be averted by a Total Strategy.

FW de Klerk (1998:114) also holds a strong opinion that the downgrading of the threat was unfounded and that a threat was indeed real. He lists the following points to

strengthen his argument. South Africa had to be made ungovernable as a precursor to a revolution. The masses had to be mobilised; using strikes, as well as unions, churches and civil societies to achieve this goal. Terrorism and guerrilla warfare were also employed for this purpose. Furthermore, there were the external threats, sanctions and an anti-apartheid alliance. Lastly, he refers to the Soviet and Cuban presence in Angola.

Louw (2001:296) quotes Pik Botha where he gives a warning concerning the Russian danger, "*Total onslaught, total confrontation... Russian bear striving for world domination wants to hijack this planet like someone hijacks an airplane.*" For PW Botha, it was a struggle for survival (Scholtz 2012:55).

It is thus clear that the political leaders were convinced of the threat, but what was the opinion of the military leaders, historians and researchers?

The General Staff drew a parallel between Black consciousness and communism as early as the 1960s. For Malan, this was evident. The USSR was strategically interested in South Africa's minerals. Scholtz (2012:54) writes that Military Information states that the Russian's plan was to tie South Africa to a domestic struggle and for SWAPO to keep the SADF busy. Geldenhuys (2011:672) also argues for this by quoting a Brazilian historian, "*Russians had RSA in sights, Angola was steppingstone to country of Mandela.*" According to him a political solution would have been possible much earlier if it was not for the foreign interference. Esterhuysen (2009:25) refers to a Russian historian who states the following:

Shubin quoted figures that were provided by the Moscow Institute of Military History indicating that 'up to 1 January 1991, 10 985 Soviet military advisors and specialists visited Angola, including 107 generals and admirals, 7 211 officers, 1 083 warrant-officers and midshipmen, 2 116 sergeants, petty officers and privates and 468 civilian employees of the Soviet Army and Navy.' He also noted that until 1 January 1995, 6 985 Angolans were trained in the Soviet/Russian military educational institutions and that between 1976 and 1989 military supplies of 3,7 billion roubles were supplied to Angola. See V Shubin, pp. 5-6.

Scholtz (2012:246) also quotes a CIA report that details Russian involvement, "*1 200 Soviet, 500 East-German soldiers as advisors to train SWAPO, MK, FAPLA,*" but that Angola

and SWA were not a big priority for the USSR. Western Europe and NATO were a much bigger priority.

Geldenhuys (2011:669) is of the opinion that the Russians were in Angola for strategic, political and economic reasons. Economic reasons included oil and diamonds.

It is clear then that the Generals and certain researchers were of the opinion that a strong threat existed.

Malan⁵⁸, especially, played a big role in warning the government regarding the communist threat. He therefore also played a leading role in schooling the citizens regarding this threat. He saw it as his responsibility to inform the citizens of SWA/Namibia, who according to him was uninformed. He contributed significantly to the creation of structures in the SADF and in South Africa to avert the threat.

Malan pointed out that some of the freedom movements in South Africa were trained by and supplied with weapons by the USSR. The perception that there was indeed a revolutionary purpose behind the liberation battle, that was supported by a communist-Marxist USSR, was emphasised. Marxism and terrorism are linked with other anti-forces. The PAC and ANC's actions were revolutionary and therefore labelled communist. Also, the image was created that communist countries were ruled by one party dictatorships where famine, poverty, misery and internal conflict reigns.

It can be pointed out that the SADF captured a lot of USSR weaponry during operations. With *Operation Askari*, for example, a lot of Russian weaponry was taken, confirming that the USSR was indeed involved in the war in Angola.

All of the above indicate that the Soviet/Marxist/Russian threat was without a doubt a problem and that the South African government did fear the Russians. It therefore makes sense that the SADF tried to keep the threat as far as possible from the South African borders. Thus, the State Security Council (SSC), that was even set 'above' the cabinet, was

⁵⁸ Malan, who completed a staff course in the USA, began to explain the communist threat within army, government and civilian context as the appointed Commander of the Western Cape Command in Cape Town.

created to avert such threats. The Ministerial Security Clusters were heavily represented in the SSC. Together with this, the National Security Management System (NSMS) was created. Its function was to work with relevant government institutions at regional and ground levels to avert the threat.

A growing suspicion among some individuals who are part of the SADF conscript generation, as well as a number of researchers, is that the threat was exaggerated and/or even fabricated. Was the threat not just a smokescreen to justify some of the government actions, especially those of the Security Forces?

Van Wyk (1991:95) writes the following about this, *“Meanwhile, we had all been told that the future of the country was at stake in the face of a total Marxist onslaught from without and within. Alarmist Number One was the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, with the full backing of President P. W. Botha and their influential military securocrats.”*

The end of the USSR and surrogate powers, like the Cubans, was helped along by the fall of the Berlin wall, according to De Klerk (1998:160), Geldenhuys (2011:669) and Scholtz (2012:455). After that the communist threat, for all practical reasons, disappeared and the playing field changed. Accordingly, the Total Onslaught would also disappear, but everyone was not convinced that the revolutionary aims of organisations like the ANC and SACP would disappear.

Considering the Total Onslaught, it is important to realise that actions can only be explained and understood within a specific context. Esterhuyse (2009:24) summarises this viewpoint like this:

This threat perspective was driven home by the decolonisation process and in particular the failure of the counter-insurgency wars in the white corridor states of Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique. The coming to power of regimes in these states with a strong orientation towards the Soviet Union and Communist China isolated apartheid South Africa from a geostrategic perspective.

To what extent the Total Onslaught approach was used or abused, is not of importance for this study. It seems like some of it was true and some of it was propaganda. That the

South African government had genuine fears, is true, but that the fears were exaggerated in order to use any form of active resistance or oppose other ways of thinking, is also true.

What is of importance was the confusion or inability at the time of the average white citizen to distinguish between a justified effort for justice and a communist threat. That the freedom movements were supported by, amongst other communist countries, is a fact. This did not make them wrong or intrinsically communist. The average Afrikaner could not see anything wrong with the apartheid system. It was much easier to live in 'cloud cuckoo land' (Lapsley 2012:144) than to be awoken out of your dream world. The justified aspiration for freedom and basic human rights, whether it was domestically or in SWA/Namibia, was very effectively labelled or branded by government propaganda as revolutionary and communist. Few Afrikaners ever saw the reality or heard the voice of the majority of residents. These groups were ideologically demonised in advance. This made any worthwhile interaction very difficult. From a self-righteous point of view, one could say that it was impossible to listen meaningfully.

FW de Klerk (1998:260) mentions for example that General Kat Liebenberg was displeased at the time of the Steyn Commission's⁵⁹ investigation, referring to the fact that he dedicated his life to fighting communism. His loyal members were incriminated because of legal actions against such organisations. For an SADF member it had to be very difficult to accept the unbanning of the SACP. They were enemy number one! Even today, 20 years into our democracy, this sentiment is probably still seething in the hearts of some ex-soldiers.

Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:49) gives a good insight into the thoughts at the time:

As part of the internal oppression programme, the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) was established to act against ANC/PAC/SACP activists. Driven by an extreme sense of insecurity resulting from the communist 'total onslaught' paradigm, the Nationalist government felt compelled to secure its superiority by defending its interests, in both SA and Namibia.

⁵⁹ General Pierre Steyn was appointed by FW de Klerk to investigate alleged third-party involvement in the SADF and SAP. During his investigation, on the grounds of a preliminary oral report, a number of senior military and police officers were discharged. A more comprehensive discussion on this will follow in section 5.8.

At times, these views unfortunately also led to the justification of actions by security forces that left huge scars on the South African, Namibian and Angolan societies. Just as obvious is the fact that the USSR's ideologies, ambitions and involvement without a doubt, contributed to the conflict. The question arises: Why in the first place did they (Russia and Cuba) get involved in regional conflict, except as an extension of the Cold War with their sights on own interests, expansion, power projection, and so on?

The sentiment against communism was already broadcast in the early twentieth century. Robey Leibbrandt (1961:173), the boxer who became a Nazi in the 1940s, declared, "*Let us convert SA into a fortress impervious to Communism.*"

5.5.6 SADF operations in Angola

Some of the most important operations have already been described in detail. In summary, the following can be noted.

The two reasons for South Africa's involvement in Angola was to keep SWAPO as far away from the SWA/Namibia border as possible, as well as to support UNITA. In the late 80s the Angolan forces (FAPLA) launched an offensive to deal UNITA a decisive blow at their headquarters. Esterhuysen (2009:32) describes it as follow:

The Angolan armed forces, supported by their Cuban and East Bloc allies, by the mid-1980s started with a range of conventional operations to uproot UNITA from Jamba, its military stronghold in southeast Angola. Unlike the offensive military posture of the South African forces in the counter-insurgency campaign in SWA/Namibia, South African military support to UNITA in the Angolan Civil War was rooted in a defensive intention and design. In particular, the military aimed at ensuring the survival of UNITA by preventing the Angolan and Cuban forces from overrunning the UNITA heartland in southeast Angola – its headquarters at Jamba in particular.

South Africa reacted with operations *Modular*, *Protea* and *Packer*, and averted the offensive. Though *Packer* ended in a checkmate situation, FAPLA abandoned its offensive. What is of importance is that various Russian advisories were part of this and earlier offensives. It cannot be denied that the USSR and Russia had interest in the conflict because of their own ambitions and motives.

Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:47) summarises the operations and the eventual termination of the conflict as such:

In an escalating semi-conventional war, South Africa embarked on deep-penetrating operations and had a semi-permanent presence in the southern part of Angola, until the New York agreement was signed on 22 December 1988. This agreement proposed 14 principles as a basis for peace between Cuba, South Africa and Angola. The agreement with the Cubans to withdraw from Angola in exchange for the simultaneous withdrawal of the SADF, as well as the independence of SWA, was, according to Bridgland (1990:375), the most important consequence of the 'war for Africa.'

Following on from here, the focus will be on the Boetman debate. It is considered important because the content not only intersects a part of this study, but the sentiments expressed in it also echoes in a part of the SADF conscript generation.

5.6 BOETMAN DEBATE

In 2000, Wimpie (WA) de Klerk wrote a book about the Afrikaner and his history, *Kroes, kras en kordaat*. Here he especially criticises the actions, policies and attitude of the Afrikaners during apartheid, but also delivers strong criticism for their maladjustment and attitude in the new South Africa.

Chris Louw⁶⁰, a journalist, wrote a letter to the *Beeld* on 5 May 2000, in reaction to De Klerk's book. In this letter he in turns criticises a lot of the things De Klerk wrote in his book. The editor of the newspaper came up with the title for the letter – *Boetman is die bliksem in* (The boy/young man is really angry). Louw's objection to the book was the fact that people like De Klerk were initially strong propagators of apartheid and Christian Nationalism and that the younger generation, the '*Boetmanne*' (young men) of Louw's generation, slavishly followed the orders of the '*ooms*' (older, supposedly wiser men) of De Klerk's generation. The letter unleashed a storm. Lots of correspondence followed the

⁶⁰ Chris Louw served in the old SADF. In 1987 he was part of a delegation who went to Dakar to meet with the ANC. Later on, he became the executive director of *Radio Sonder Grense* (RSG). He committed suicide on 30 November 2009. There were suicide notes that were not made public. In some of his last articles he expressed his disillusionment around his expectations for the New South Africa that did not come to realisation. Also, he was extremely concerned about crime especially in the area where he lived. The *Vryheidsfront Plus* leader, Pieter Mulder, had the following to say about Louw, "*the outspoken way in which Chris Louw had struggled with the problems of South Africa, resulted in nobody being indifferent to him,*" (IOL news 2009:online). Following the debate, was the play written by Pieter Fourie that was staged in many places in 2001.

newspaper article and it resulted in a fiery debate in the media. Consequently, Louw became widely involved with this generation as many people wrote to him personally. He also visited individuals and groups of people who bore scars of some kind, originating in the Old or the New South Africa. This gave rise to a book in 2001 *Boetman en die swanesang van die verligtes* (The young boy and the swansong of the enlightened), where he stated his view in more detail. The whole debate and its repercussions, that amongst others included a visit to Eugene de Kock, are discussed later on.

Louw argues in the book that the '*boetmanne*' are in a crisis because of the actions of the '*ooms*' (2001:35). The older generation are not burdened with the problems and issues of the new South Africa, because they have their pension and they live peaceful lives (p.14). Currently the Boetman-generation has to sort out the sins of their fathers, while they did not create it. Also, it was the Boetman-generation who bled literally at the time of the Bush War and domestic unrest. People like Wimpie de Klerk never took up a weapon and, according to Louw, only sat in offices where intellectual concepts were devised (2001:11). Louw's attack on De Klerk seems very personal. He refers to an incident where De Klerk, years previously, referred to him (Louw), who was then a young journalist, as *Boetman*. Louw apparently interpreted this term as humiliating and paternalistic.

Lastly, it has to be stated that De Klerk sharply criticised the Afrikaner in his book. Though largely justified, his remarks at times seemed almost insulting. As a recognised intellectual, opinion former and spiritual leader he was probably not sensitive enough towards the Afrikaner. Together with that, he probably does not really understand the frustrations of the Boetman-generation. De Klerk refers to attitudes of arrogance and superiority that the Afrikaners had, and maybe still have. Through these statements, Louw feels De Klerk is actually referring to himself. He was, as Louw points out, not only part of the system, but De Klerk was one of the intellectual leaders who justified apartheid (163). He was a newspaper editor for many years, after all.

How does one judge this debate? The writings of both Louw and De Klerk, and the following debate, indicate an internal conflict and struggle with the past. The irony is that both accept the new South Africa as inevitable while criticising the old. De Klerk reacted

to the debate by, amongst other things, dismissing the criticism as '*self-pitying victim complexes*' (Louw 2001:26). One involuntarily contemplates whether the two authors are not projecting their own battles, frustrations and feelings of guilt on each other. What is true though, is that deep, intense and extensive emotions and sensitivities about the past (and present) exist. Louw, in his own words, offered his life, love and work for the *army*. In his book he struggles with the past but especially with the present. He experiences the new South Africa intensely.

This study does not evaluate the merit or truthfulness of Louw's argument. Its aim is to analyse the feelings, emotions and experiences of the conscript generation. In this, Chris Louw's book is very valuable. The book is primarily about his experience, though he does express the experiences of many '*boetmanne*'. The book elicited enormous response. Many agreed with it. Wimpie de Klerk tried to discount the reaction and warned that the reaction to his book was "*blame shifting*". This might be the case. Yet Louw's book was an important catalyst to an important catharsis that at least brought healing for some, though this was not the intention. The reaction shows how sensitive people are and that it is important to go about the past in a very delicate manner.

Consequently, the emotions, feelings, experiences and thoughts of the SADF generation will be categorised in 'themes' or 'dilemmas' as far as possible, following Louw's book. The analysis and categories can contribute to a better understanding of the dilemmas of the Boetman-generation.

1	Emotions of frustration, anger and humiliation.
2	Disillusionment with the former political, church and cultural leaders (<i>ooms</i>).
3	Anxiety and fear at the time of the war and violent incidents. Manifests also later, amongst others as <i>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</i> (PTSD).
4	Feelings of guilt about certain actions performed by members themselves. Accusations being thrown at the <i>Boetman</i> -generation, especially by the new leaders. Some struggle with a guilty conscience.
5	The perception that former SADF and SAP members were left in the lurch by politicians.
6	The sense that the former SADF and SAP had to sort out 'the mess' but were later made to be the scapegoats.
7	A disillusionment with the current government with its inconsistencies. This causes a conflict in one's mind as well as distress about the future.
8	There is a struggle with the past and a need to talk. People are seeking healing.
9	Many struggle to adjust to civilian life, for example communication with spouses, as well as interaction with normal people remain a challenge.
10	The struggle with the past and the present has caused a religious and faith crisis.
11	Some feel alienated from and aloof to the current dispensation and withdraws from it.
12	There is a search for identify and truth, as well as an alternative.
13	An experience of a generation gap between the <i>Boetmanne</i> and the <i>ooms</i> , and the need for the two generations to talk to each other, working towards healing in order to move into the future together.

To summarise the debate:

Louw succeeded in describing all the raw emotions, sensitivities, confusion, searching and cries for help in an excellent manner. The challenge is to plan to help this generation heal otherwise the danger exists that their hurt will be transferred to the next generation.

Malan (2006:366) expresses the emotions he detected in previous subordinates, especially after the TRC where the SADF came under fire. It involves amongst other things: *“despair, despondency, disappointment and guilt. Robbed of self-confidence and faith... A spirit of despair and powerless. Battered in honour and pride.”* The former warrior and fighter who never gave up, tells proudly that Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo admitted that their alliance did not win the battle against the SADF (Malan 2006:370). But one could argue that only the military battle was won by the SADF. In view of the Boetman debate it appears that a new struggle is raging, a struggle that has not been won yet in the new South Africa: to get closure, to understand, to make a living, to make a contribution, to build bridges, to break down bridges, to heal. That struggle continues, especially in the men of the SADF.

Maybe Wimpie de Klerk should rather have consulted his ‘children’ who in the meantime have grown up and can think for themselves and saw what happened. Maybe the two generations should have worked together in finding a solution. Perhaps guilt should have been confessed to one another. This should have started with the fathers. The children today indeed suffer for the sins of their fathers. In fact, the generations should be helping each other. A spiritual process would be able to help in this regard as the biggest crisis for the Boetman-generation is a spiritual crisis, according to Louw.

5.7 SADF AND TRC

The Truth and Reconciliation Committee’s (TRC) purpose was to give both victims and offenders of apartheid the opportunity to tell and listen to the stories in order to contribute to a severely wounded and traumatised South Africa that was still reeling because of the consequences of the conflict that prevailed. The TRC also had the power to give amnesty to offenders on all sides of the struggle. Additionally, the TRC had to grant compensation to those who suffered losses (Meiring 1999:11). This study is not going into detail, arguing what the commission should have done⁶¹; but only discussing those aspects that were relevant to the SADF.

⁶¹ For detail the TRC reports (TRC report 1998), Archbishop Emeritus Tutu’s (1999) book, *No future without forgiveness*, Piet Meiring’s (1999) *Kronieke van die Waarheidskommissie* (Chronicles of the Truth Commission) as well as the book by Antjie Krog, *The people of my skull*, can be read; all deal with the work of the TRC.

For many victims or family of, the TRC did have great value. It is a fact that very few Whites took part in the TRC proceedings, the reasons being that the TRC was seen as biased, a witch-hunt and not being objective (Meiring 1999:7 foreword by Archbishop Tutu).

Concerning the Security forces, almost no one of the SADF took part. The official opinion of the generals was that amnesty for foreign actions could not be given by the TRC, though some of the generals did give presentations (De Klerk 1998:372). Further arguments, such as that of De Klerk (1998:369), were that security actions need to be understood in the revolutionary climate of the time (Papenfus 2012:753).

In this regard, Baines (2009:22) writes:

Most SADF veterans remained silent, either out of a sense of loyalty to the old regime, or for fear of being held accountable by the new regime for gross human rights violations ... Few veterans deigned to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), set up to examine the crimes perpetrated under apartheid, because most believed it to be biased against the SADF. The South African journalist Karen Whitty explains their reluctance: 'Bound by a sense of honour to their fellow troops and the patriarchy still espoused by white South Africa, few men have come forward and spoken about their experiences, however barbaric and mundane, in South Africa's border wars.'

He supports his reasons with the following statistics, *"Of the 256 members of the apartheid-era security forces who applied for amnesty ... only 31 had served in the SADF. In contrast there were close to 1 000 applications for amnesty from members of the various armed structures aligned to the ANC."*

At first the politicians of the previous government suggested that the SADF do a presentation together with the NP. The generals were of the opinion that it would bring the 'independence' and 'neutrality' into question (De Klerk 1998:372). As a result, they did personal presentations. It is obvious that there were many incidents and cases during the TRC process that implicated the SADF and its members. For example, the

SADF were accused that they attacked a transit camp for refugees at Cassinga in Angola. The SADF version differs from that of Sam Nujoma, in that Cassinga was a logistical base of SWAPO (Scholtz 2012:150, 195).

Secondly, Magnus Malan and other commanders were charged by the ANC in 1995 because during *Ops Marion*, 13 civilians were shot and killed. Within KwaZulu there was as struggle for power between the IFP and the ANC, especially in the late 1980s, early 1990s. Buthelezi, leader of the IFP and KwaZulu, a self-governed area with its own legislature, requested that soldiers were trained to protect Very Important Persons (VIPs). For this reason, the SADF trained 200 soldiers to take over the VIP tasks. Unfortunately, thirteen civilians were erroneously killed during this operation. As defence minister Malan argued, without justifying the murders, that KwaZulu had a legal government and that the SADF supplied this training legally. They won the court case (Malan 2006:382). These types of incidents left the former SADF members bitter, especially as this case was again brought up at the TRC. From their perspective, the court case was an attempt to discredit and humiliate the SADF, and for the new government to flex their muscles.

Even though former SADF members understood the motivation for the TRC, they were of the opinion that the TRC brought about more division because it was biased, it did not understand military concepts, the revolutionary climate was not taken into account to the extent that it should have been, the *bona fides* of the SADF was not accepted, and in any case could not give amnesty as the SADF were mainly involved outside the borders of the country and this fell outside the jurisdiction of the TRC (Malan 2006:420 ff.) Malan indicates though that a symposium was held by former SADF members where their commitment to reconciliation was confirmed as well as the creation of a *peaceful state* (Malan 2006:423).

Next, the role of FW de Klerk and his relationship with the Security forces (SADF/SAP) will be discussed briefly. It will obviously not be comprehensive. It can contribute to better understand the predicaments of the SADF during the freedom struggle and the negotiation phase, while it also giving perspective on the decisions FW de Klerk had to make in challenging times.

5.8 FW AND THE SECURITY FORCES/STEYN COMMISSION

PW Botha was the Minister of Defence until 1978. He was also the Prime Minister and later on State President until 1989. Many researchers and former soldiers agree that he developed the SADF into a formidable force (Esterhuysen 2009; Malan 2006). He did this, especially with the help of people like Magnus Malan. Also, he was deeply involved in the weapons industry that supplied brilliant weapons during the years of sanctions. PW Botha – a soldiers' leader – was visible at SADF activities and did more than expected for this institution.

There existed a perception among former security forces that FW de Klerk and his lieutenants were sell outs. De Klerk mentions in his book that PW Botha accused him of letting the security forces down during the time of the TRC (De Klerk 1998:373). The opinion also exists that he never understood or supported the Defence Force. A few remarks support this statement. De Klerk (De Klerk 1998:117), who as Minister was part of the State Security Council (SSC) admits in his book *The last trek*, that he never really felt part of the State Security Council. In fact, he was of the opinion that the Ops room (Operations room) with all its maps were slightly 'over the top'. His assumption is confirmed by Malan (2006:215) who described FW de Klerk as a 'passenger' during the meetings of this body. This implies that FW de Klerk did not make valuable contributions during these meetings, partly because he did not understand the 'security environment' and partly because he was not really interested. As a result, he could not provide meaningful input regarding operations which later was strongly criticised by the TRC, amongst others. De Klerk himself thinks he should have been more vigilant in this body during PW Botha's time, in retrospect (1998:386). In his book De Klerk (1998:114) is of the opinion that the climate was revolutionary. The question arises whether it should not have been of the utmost importance that political leaders, especially in such a revolutionary climate, should have had a thorough understanding of the functioning of the Security forces and their operations. Chris Louw (2001:13) delivers sound criticism against decisions of political leaders, who themselves had no military training. These decisions involved the Security forces, who had to execute them practically. Bothma (2012:101-113) points out that the Boer generals in the past were not only political

leaders but they were indeed those who also led the combat forces. For example, Louis Botha as Prime Minister and Smuts, his deputy, led the forces in 1914 against the Germans in SWA themselves. Louis Botha also finally curbed the 1914 rebellion by going to Upington himself.

In modern democracies across the world it is true that no national leader heads the forces. On the other contrary it is also true that Fidel Castro, the leader of Cuba, was a brilliant military strategist. The Americans value political leaders who did some form of military service. Soon after his appointment as president, FW de Klerk suspended the National Security Management System (NSMS) and also gave up the country's nuclear capability, actions which he was criticised for and made him appear to be 'soft'. The one aspect that affected especially the SADF negatively, was the *Night of the Generals* (Nag van die Generaals).

Giliomee (2012:397) stated that the Head of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, was pleased at the purging of the SADF's function with the takeover of FW de Klerk. The SADF is a-political, serving the government of the day. On the contrary, General Kat Liebenberg who took over as the head in 1990, was very cynical about the unbanning of communism – he did devote his whole life to fighting communism, after all. FW de Klerk was of the opinion that the security forces had too much power. According to Pik Botha, his relationship with them was icy (Papenfus 2010:654). De Klerk perceived the security forces as two dogs that were given too much freedom by its owner and causing trouble in the neighbourhood (De Klerk 1998:264). As the new 'owner' he wanted to change things and in such a way assert his authority (Papenfus2012:654). Mandela also put pressure on FW de Klerk to control the security forces. National Intelligence (NI) already informed De Klerk in January 1990 of illegal military and police actions (De Klerk 1998:204). Consequently, De Klerk (1998:204) appointed Judge Louis Harms in 1990 to launch an investigation into the accusations. The commission could not find any evidence. After the *Inkathagate* scandal⁶², that was exposed in July 1991, Malan was replaced by Roelf Meyer as the Minister of Defence.

⁶² According to this, the government would give clandestine support to the IFP (De Klerk 1998:206). Malan also mentions this (Malan 2006:382).

In the meantime, a rumour of a so-called *third power* was doing the rounds. Nelson Mandela pressurised FW de Klerk, by claiming that FW de Klerk himself initiated it. On 16 November 1992, Judge Goldstone directed a raid on the Directorate of Covert Operation, a sub-division of MI (Military Intelligence) (De Klerk 1998:262). The raid brought to light that among other things, Ferdi Barnard, who was involved at the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), was reappointed against FW de Klerk's instructions. Propaganda activities against *uMkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) was also brought to light. As a result, FW de Klerk appointed General Pierre Steyn of National Intelligence to investigate these allegations. Military Intelligence and National Intelligence did not see eye to eye. De Klerk wanted to take a strong stand against elements who acted unlawfully and who was a threat to the negotiation process. Steyn found that unauthorised and illegal activities had been taking place (De Klerk 1998:262). These findings were provisional and provided orally, although a preliminary document was drafted (Papenfus 2010:655). Persons who would have been involved in programmes that went against FW de Klerk's orders, were identified. On 19 December 1992, De Klerk held an emergency meeting with his cabinet. There was the possibility that General Liebenberg would be fired because he went against FW de Klerk's order not to employ former CCB members by appointing Ferdi Barnard. Minister Hernus Kriel opposed this and mentioned that the SADF made it possible for the government to rule and not the other way around (De Klerk 1998:265). Another consideration was the possibility of a military coup, but the verdict was that it would not take place. De Klerk therefore asked generals Liebenberg, Meiring and Van der Merwe to personally supply names of personnel that should be discharged. They provided 23 names, some of which did not even appear on Pierre Steyn's initial list. During the *Night of the Generals*, 23 senior officers were discharged. Obviously, many of them were displeased about this. They were of the opinion that the correct military procedure would have been to for them to be tried by a court martial. There was even an exchange of letters in the media between General Thirion and FW de Klerk where General Thirion demanded a written apology and indeed received it from FW de Klerk (Papenfus 2012:654; Giliomee 2012:403). It was probably a case of De Klerk taking a stand and proving to all that he was in charge and would not tolerate it if people acted against his orders. De Klerk (1998:265) nevertheless admitted that the SADF was the government's "*ultimate power base*" for the handling of potential

incidents such as *Operation Vula*⁶³ of the ANC, mass action that get out of hand, or if KwaZulu wanted to secede.

Pierre Steyn was in a difficult position as his investigation was not finalised. He admitted that the allegations were not yet proven (De Klerk 1998:265). He was regarded as a traitor by his colleagues, and with no options as to the future he was forced to retire early (Giliomee 2012:404).

Ironically enough, during a debate before the first democratic election, Nelson Mandela himself accused FW de Klerk of not having enough evidence to dismiss the officers (Papenfus 2012:655), though it was Mandela himself who pressured FW de Klerk to investigate the so-called third party activities (De Klerk 1998:242; Giliomee 2012:404). The TRC also reprimanded FW de Klerk with a similar accusation (De Klerk 1998:375). It is thus clear that Nelson Mandela exploited the issue for his own political benefit.

Another aspect that needs to be addressed is the political threat from the right. Constand Viljoen retired in 1985 as the head of the SADF. He was a highly respected and professional soldier (Giliomee 2012:406) but enters politics when he joined the *Afrikaner Freedom Movement* (Afrikaner Vryheidsbeweging). He was of the opinion that the ANC still had a revolutionary agenda and that FW de Klerk was naïve to give in to the demands of the ANC. It was assumed that he would be able to mobilise up to 50 000 former soldiers. His plan was to get rid of De Klerk and start the negotiations from scratch. George Meiring, who succeeded Viljoen, warned the NP and the ANC of such a possibility. According to Meyer, Viljoen mentioned to him that ‘they’ could take the country in an afternoon. Meiring’s answer was that it was possible but what would they do the next morning? The international pressure, domestic unrest and stagnant economy would still have remained unchanged (Giliomee 2012:407).

Meanwhile, Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana (president of an autonomous *homeland*), became anxious that the ANC would try to take over his leadership, asked Viljoen for assistance. In consequence, Viljoen mobilised 4 000 former soldiers and moved into

⁶³ Already initiated in 1986, the aim was to overthrow the government in a revolution should negotiations fail. On 25 July 1990 the Security Forces detained 40 members of the ANC and SACP (sa-history online)

Bophuthatswana in March 1994, with the idea that they would get weapons from the Army of Bophuthatswana. In the meantime, the undisciplined *Ystergarde* (Iron Brigade) of the AWB also moved into Bophuthatswana and some of their people were shot by soldiers from Bophuthatswana. In this confusion, Viljoen who was a disciplined soldier, cancelled the plan and withdrew his men. The substantial likelihood of the SADF acting against former soldiers was thwarted. White would have fought against White. One does not even want to consider the outcome of this. Viljoen eventually chose the political route. A new alliance, the Freedom Front was established; registered for the 1994 elections and had the provisional constitution amended, allowing for a possible *volkstaat* (separate state for the Afrikaners). De Klerk (1998:310) writes that Mandela realised the right-wing danger and negotiated with Viljoen in person. According to De Klerk, Mandela made Viljoen think that he, not FW de Klerk, represented the right-wing Afrikaners. If this was true, and it seems to be the case, Mandela's strategy was successful, not only to by-pass the threat but to also make the right-wingers part of the upcoming election.

Malan (2006:218) also reckons that FW de Klerk could have used the SADF to his advantage during negotiations. He is further of the opinion that the termination of the nuclear ability should have been used as leverage as, for example, the acquisition of weapons internationally.

Though this short synopsis of the political course of South Africa is history, it can contribute by adding perspective to and understanding of the SADF conscript generation.

5.9 TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO DIED

Former Surgeon General of the SADF, Niel Knobel (2012), who is involved in an international organisation for veterans, advises that veterans have two needs. Firstly, recognition must be given for sacrifices that were made for his country. Then, secondly, there should be a practical honouring, such as handing out medals (remembrance and honour).

The dilemma for the SADF conscript generation is that this period, 1966-1989, is often perceived in a negative light, especially by the current ANC government. Former President Zuma, in his speech at the Armed Forces Day in 2014 said the following about the SADF:

We have built a new defence force out of the ashes of an apartheid force that was known for its aggression against neighbours in the Southern African region, where it sought members of the liberation movement and to intimidate governments of the Frontline States. It was a Defence Force that enforced every apartheid law, terrorising our people in the townships, in the hope of stopping the march to freedom.

With the establishment of Freedom Park in Pretoria, the managers did not want to add the names of the SADF soldiers who died to the honour rolls because they were not part of the liberation struggle but were seen to be part of the oppressors (Labuschagne 2012:159). This sentiment is understandable – it is, for example, a bit too much to ask to add the names of English soldiers to be honoured at the National Women’s Monument. Therefore, a memorial wall was erected at the Voortrekker Monument to honour fallen SADF soldiers (Labuschagne 2012:162).

Various veteran groups, consisting of former SADF members, formed spontaneously. They come together occasionally for reunions and also to honour fallen soldiers. For example, the 61 Mechanised Battalion Group attends an annual memorial service at the War Museum, as well as other initiatives during the year. There are also several social media groups where former members actively share their experiences of the army era with each other. Trends and emotions, such as those described in the Boetman section, also transpires. There are also initiatives that aims to bring former members together in order to share stories and experiences and in so doing to bring about healing⁶⁴. It will probably still take a long time for the historical political dust to settle and for the SADF to also be acknowledged for their contribution to the country – a contribution that unfortunately is not recognised at this stage, as people are still looking at each other through the ideological lenses of the past.

⁶⁴ Roelf Schoeman, of the Centre for Contextual Theology at UP, runs such groups in collaboration with veteran groups.

Baines (2009:23) summarises the situation accurately, *“All those who fell heeding the call of their country... including those whose names are not on the freedom park wall, so we may never forget the dearly fought freedom of all ideologies, credo’s, and cultures and their respective contributions to our rich South African heritage.”*

5.10 EVALUATION AND SUMMARY OF SADF OPERATIONS

It is not the intention of this study to deliver criticism from a distance and to damningly judge the events that took place in a different dispensation. On the contrary, it is assumed that the context or time frame determined actions to a great extent. Yet, this is a theological study and therefore society, its past, present and future needs to be placed in the searchlight of the Word and judged accordingly.

The SADF’s domestic actions mostly took place during the late 1980s. According to Magnus Malan (Stemmet 2006:192) it was especially the men who had to fight on the borders who struggled to adjust in South Africa where the domestic situation required stabilisation and maintaining law and order. This is primarily the SAP’s responsibility. Soldiers are trained to kill – an attitude that does not suit domestic deployment. In truth, the situation was very violent and the SADF had to help bring stability. The SADF’s involvement in the country definitely contributed to the formation of a so-called *police state* (Ferreira & Henk 2005).

In the neighbouring SWA the SADF actions were a result of a mandate to administrate SWA that was given to South Africa in 1919 by the League of Nations. Earlier in 1914 the Union forces drove the Germans from SWA, a German colony at that time, on request of Britain. This intervention, according to Bothma (2012:333), should never have taken place. He quotes the words of General Beyers at the 1914 Rebellion who then warned of South African involvement in SWA with the following words, *“...the fire that is ignited will burn for a long time.”* Prophetic words that came to fruition!

The SADF and South Africa did get involved in an anti-colonial liberation struggle in the former SWA. Obviously, South Africa would have wanted a non-communist government in SWA/Namibia. The Afrikaner, though, was still in an upward curve to establish itself

as a nation (Giliomee 2011:6). He did not want to relinquish his power over SWA/Namibia without good reason, considering that it could result in problems at its northern border. Bothma (2012:125, 256,261-2) indicates that the inhabitants of SWA/Namibia, especially the Ovambo, would never have supported an occupying power. Their country was occupied by colonial powers who murdered their king. The tale of their king's murder would be retold from one generation to another (Bothma 2012:140). In this regard attempts to win the *hearts and minds* of the people would be futile. They would never accept the South African soldiers.

As in South Africa, the legitimate needs of the people had to be met. Unfortunately, the Biblical command to *love your neighbour as yourself*, was not heeded. It is striking that Magnus Malan admitted that their (SWAPO) demand for self-determination was the same as that fought for by the Afrikaner. Shalli, former SWAPO commander, told Louis Bothma that the SADF did not treat their people correctly (Bothma 2012:29). Also, the SADF did not receive any education during their training on the history, traditions and culture of the people in the operational area (Bothma 2012:239).

De Klerk (1998:58) states, interestingly, that his first cabinet meeting was indeed about South Africa's involvement in SWA and Angola. According to him, the USA and moderate African countries requested South Africa to get involved. This involvement had mixed results. On the positive side: Soviet expansion was halted; the weapons industry boomed; the SADF could grow into a formidable military machine; and PW Botha became the strong man in the NP. On the negative side: many young men lost their lives; billions of Rands were spent on the war; and international relationships were impeded (De Klerk 1998:58, 59).

He is further of the opinion that South African involvement helped in building infrastructure such as roads and railway lines (De Klerk 1998:197). Scholtz (2012:465) is of the opinion that the struggle contributed to the establishment of a democracy. According to Van der Westhuizen (2009:165) the Bush War was an insurgence or counter-insurgence war of a very low intensity. Few people died in comparison to Vietnam, many more people died in Mozambique and Angola's civil wars. According to Smith and Nöthling (as quoted in Bredenkamp & Wessels 2012:60), from a legal point of

view South Africa had certain rights in regard to the SWA question, but the era of anti-colonialism made the SWA issue an inclusive international affair.

Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:57) is very critical about the SADF's involvement there. They argue:

Figures indicating the number of people maimed by landmines during the war, range between 70 000 and 100 000. Angola has the dubious honour of being the country most infected by landmines in the world – between seven and nine million landmines are scattered over Angolan soil, and an estimated US\$9 billion is needed to eradicate this scourge from the country (Salim 1977:7).

Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:62) further argue:

The SADF as well as the three rebel armies exploited and damaged the Angolan environment. Using the rural communities as go-betweens, they traded in natural commodities, like ivory and hardwood, to subsidise the war, including UNITA's exploits in Angola (Ellis 1998:443). An official enquiry in 1996 calculated that the SADF exported at least 30 to 40 tons of ivory per year between 1978 and 1987 (Ellis 1998:444). Presumably, a lot of ivory came from Angola where the elephant populations declined drastically. These actions dealt a devastating blow to the wild-life and natural resources of Angola and even Zaire.

Without a doubt, not everybody in the SADF were corrupt. Ferreira & Liebenberg (2006:63) describe the actions of one of the veterans of the Bush War:

The ivory smuggling of the SADF and UNITA disillusioned Colonel Jan Breytenbach. In scarcely camouflaged terms, he describes the extensive ivory smuggling networks in his fictional work, The plunderers. He estimates that between 20 000 and 100 000 elephants were culled. This issue led to Breytenbach's resignation from the SADF (Ellis 1998:445).

Tutu (News24 2014:online) makes the following critical comment regarding the SADF, when he criticises Israel's treatment of Palestinians, "*Their humiliation is familiar to all black South Africans who were corralled and harassed and insulted and assaulted by the security forces of the apartheid government.*"

Asmal and Roberts (1997:169) are also very judgemental towards the SADF. According to them landmines killed thousands and caused the loss of limbs. Neighbouring countries were destabilised because their health care, education, roads and other infrastructure were destroyed. According to them, South Africa wanted to get its hands on the oil reserves and in the process the lives of young conscripts were wasted (Asmal & Roberts 1997:172). A SWAPO refugee camp at Cassinga was bombed, war crimes and terrorism were committed, and the International Law was broken. This South African ambition was worse than that of Cecil John Rhodes (Asmal & Roberts 1997:207). The mistake Botha (PW) made was to think that the Black man could be wiped off the earth politically and militarily ... as the English considered the Afrikaner (Asmal & Roberts 1997:211).

On the other hand, the Christian Afrikaner SADF member would have justified this involvement as a warranted battle against communism. Bredenkamp and Wessels (2012:55) summarised the views of a chaplain during this time:

Prof. Boshoff is convinced that the Namibian Liberation War was a full-scale war where two forces opposed each other, both convinced ideologically that what they are doing is right. He justifies the war in the light of the historical developments in Africa during the decolonising process, and South Africa's responsibility to SWA as a mandate area of the League of Nations, as reconfirmed by the World Court in Den Haag.

Boshoff makes an illuminating comment regarding a SWAPO fighter who was captured and brought to their base, "...realised how little the SWAPO fighter differed from the South African troops. This ruins the ideological distance that you formulate for yourself and maintain" (Wessels & Bredenkamp 2009:350).

In closing, Scholtz (2012:38) is convinced that there would have been much less bloodshed if the Russians and Cubans did not get involved. During war times, regular people are the grass that gets trampled by the fighting elephants (Scholtz 2012:215) and the battlefield has the nasty ability to convert the apparent abnormal into something that seems quite logical and normal in that environment (218).

CHAPTER 6

THE TEMPE SHOOTING INCIDENT: COLLISION OF TWO WORLDS

6.1 BACKGROUND

6.1.1 Introduction

On the 16th of September 1999, lieutenant Sibusiso Madubela⁶⁵ shot and killed 8 Whites - seven White fellow soldiers and one female civil employee - at *1 South African Infantry Battalion* (1 SAI), Tempe, Bloemfontein. It shook the country as well as the *South African National Defence Force* (SANDF), that integrated only five years previously. What could not be concealed, was the fact that all the deceased and injured were white. Though the incident and the related events will be described shortly, the purpose of this chapter is not historical writing. It mainly focusses on interviews with the following people: (1) interviews with the next of kin whose spouses passed away; (2) interviews with the injured who survived the tragedy; and (3) conversation with certain individuals who were intensely involved in these events as part of the SANDF and based at Tempe.

6.1.2 Events on the day

On this fatal day, Lt Sibusisu Madubela went on a killing spree, shooting and killing eight people. He was a former member of the *Azanians Peoples Liberation Army* (APLA), one of the former liberation movements that was integrated into the new SANDF. On this particular day, he drew a weapon as he had to attend shooting practice (Potgieter 2014). Smith (1999) reports that he was on duty the previous evening and that Madubela stole the keys to the safe in order to get hold of a weapon. (It later turned out that this report was not correct.) He got magazines with bullets in the duty room. Ms Annatjie Naude, working in headquarters, reported that an hour before the shooting, Lt. Madubela was looking for various 1 SAI members regarding his salary. When he was not able to get hold of them, he wanted to meet with Colonel Jan Wessels, the commander. However, he was in Pretoria (Smith 2000).

⁶⁵ Lieutenant Madubela was an integrated member of the *Africa Peoples Liberation Army* (APLA), the armed wing of the *Pan Africanist Congress* (PAC).

Lt. Madubela began his killing spree in the unit just after 08:00 at the headquarters and moved onto other parts of the unit. He shot and killed Ms Marita Hamilton⁶⁶, Sergeant-Major Reg Sieberhagen, Sergeant-Major Johan Lombaard, Sergeants Dougie Douglas, Willie Nell⁶⁷, Tertius Lombard and Major Jacques Coetzer. Major Zirk Coetzer was gravely wounded and died six days later. Major Wiehahn van Noordwyk, Captain Jan-Harm Steenkamp and Captain H. de Jager were also wounded during the shooting but survived (Smith 1999). Captain Johannes de Jager, a quadriplegic due to a rugby accident, were using a wheelchair at the time of the incident. The assistive mouth device that enabled him to do administrative work, was also damaged in the shooting (Smith 1999). Lt. Madubela was shot and killed by members of the unit.

6.1.3 Reasons for the incident

It seems as if a wage dispute was the reason for the killing spree. Lt. Madubela's father died and he took leave⁶⁸ to attend the funeral. According to policy, the SANDF grants five days' compassionate leave in such cases. As Lt. Madubela had not returned to work after a week, his salary was frozen three days later. His section leader, Major Christo Lourens, was on leave the day of the incident⁶⁹. According to Major Van Noordwyk (2013), Major Majola, one of the other black majors, tried to convince Major Lourens not to freeze the salary payments. According to Brigadier General Heinze, though, Major Dieter Reinecke was his (Madubela's) section leader⁷⁰.

Some members are of the opinion that the massacre could have been prevented. (See the opinions noted under 6.2.) Apparently the sentiment among some of the black members were, that "*...the bloodbath could have been prevented if the senior officer of 1 SAI, with*

⁶⁶ She was a civil employee who was working at headquarters.

⁶⁷ Sgt Nell was killed on his way to his vehicle to go to the hospital, where his wife was in labour. His father was a minister and conducted his funeral service. Chaplain Potgieter reports that this father, as a minister, supported him in the midst of this crisis.

⁶⁸ *Family responsibility leave* is normally available for things like births, illness and funerals.

⁶⁹ In a conversation with the researcher, he mentioned the following: Major Lourens, who was on leave, by chance went to the unit that day. On arrival, when he heard of the incident, he went back home. The following Sunday, he attended a church service. He mentioned that this event meant much for him spiritually. Later on, he left the SANDF to do security work in Iraq. Not long after his arrival in Iraq, he died of a heart-attack.

⁷⁰ In conversation with the researcher, it was mentioned that the company to which Madubela belonged, was in the process of handing and taking over from one Company commander to another major, a process that could have contributed to the communication gap relating to his leave.

whom Madubela had a very good relationship and with whom he made the leave arrangements when his father died, was at the office when he phoned from Umtata to extend his leave” (Smith & Coetzee 1991:1).

The PAC’s spokesperson, Mr Sineke, reported as follow, *“Madubela’s father, Monde, passed away on the 21st of August. The funeral would have taken place on the 28th of August but was postponed to the 4th of September. He phoned in order to arrange further leave, but the relevant officer wasn’t there. His salary was frozen because he was believed to be away without leave” (Smith & Coetzee 1999:1).* The opinion is held that the leave application could have been handled with more sensitivity⁷¹.

In contrast, the following was reported, *“...some of the army members at the base confirmed to the Volksblad that the prevailing racial tension at the time played a roll” (Volksblad 28 Jan 2009).* If true, this claim would couple with the following statement, *“British army consultants had warned in confidential reports to the SANDF, two years ago, of simmering tensions at Tempe and hardening attitude between old-guard officers and new members from the former liberation armies” (Brand 1999:online).*

It was also reported that in 1998 Lt. Madubela, as South African soldier, was involved in *Operation Boleas* in Lesotho. In Maseru, one night, under the influence of alcohol, he stole a Ratel (mechanised vehicle) and damaged several other vehicles. He was sent back to Bloemfontein because of poor discipline, after the former Minister of Defence, Mr Joe Modise, reprimanded the soldiers (Smith 17 Sept. 1999).

The suspension of his salary might have been the final straw for someone who was experiencing personal emotional tension. His father had recently passed away and he was without a doubt still mourning. This, as well as the fact that he used to belong to a freedom

⁷¹ The researcher’s father passed away on the 30th of October 1999, only a month and a half after the Tempe tragedy. He was also in a mechanised unit like 1 SAI. After the passing of his dad, he phoned his commander, who informed him that he should not worry about the leave arrangements, that could be sorted out later. This was Saturday night, 30 October 1999. On Wednesday, 3 November 1999, the morning before the funeral, his commander phoned him to wish him all the best with the funeral. The researcher can recall how difficult it was to take part in a military exercise at Lohatlha in November 1999, in light of this loss. The point that he is trying to make, is that regardless of who the person is that is experiencing the loss, it is difficult to deal with and a measure of emotional instability will be experienced. Section leaders should handle this sensitively. This said, such emotional times can never be used as an excuse for atrocities.

movement and therefore was understandably negatively inclined towards whites in general, could also have played a role in this tragedy. To what extent one of the slogans of the PAC – *one settler, one bullet* – found rapport in his thoughts and contributed to the massacre of whites, remains speculative.

A judicial inquest in 2000, chaired by Judge Malherbe, later found Madubela killed the victims unlawfully and intentionally (Coetzee 16 Sept. 2009).

6.1.4 Funerals

Some of the victims had civilian funerals, others had semi-military funerals and one of the deceased had a full military funeral. Undeniably, this was an emotional time where emotions and political viewpoints and perceptions played a major role.

The funeral of Lt. Madubela was controversial. Initially the PAC wanted an APLA military funeral with former members wearing their APLA uniforms (Volksblad 23 Sept. 1999). Also, the leader and president, Dr Stanley Magoba, or the vice-leader, would have been the speaker. Min. Lekota, the Minister of Defence, indicated that Madubela would not be buried with military honours (Smith and Coetzee 23 Sept. 1999). The PAC though, requested a military funeral, "*Lekota said he would consider a request for a full military funeral for Tempe killer Madubela after the PAC publicly called for such a burial. PAC secretary-general Ngila Muendane said, 'His guilt has not been established yet. It would be premature to take away any of his rights'*" (Brand 1999:online). A compromise was reached, and Lt. Madubela had a semi-military funeral (Potgieter 2014).

During the funeral remarks were made, the *Volksblad* reported accordingly:

The Tempe shooting and the new low point in hate speech around the funeral of Lt. Sibusisu Madubela emphasise the urgency for reconciliation and that clear-headed white, brown and black South Africans cannot allow for extremists on either wide of the political spectrum, dictates the course of things. Statements such as, Madubela should not have only killed eight whites, rather 200, by one of his family members and encouragements at the funeral that the Tempe massacre should be repeated, illustrates the rousing, destructive potential of hate speech regarding colour. Just as with

the so-called White Wolf's massacre years before in the streets of Pretoria when Barend Strydom shot and killed Black people at point blank range, Madubela and his sympathisers fortunately represents only a relatively small minority.

Despite what happened, Sgt. Nell's mother attended Madubela's funeral. According to the *Volksblad* (Smith 17 Sept. 2009) she made the following comment, "At the lieutenant's funeral I said that I was just as sad for his heart, even though the people said they were 'happy that a Boer died'."

There was also questions about the first two funerals where no people of colour were present (Smith and Coetzee 23 Sept. 1999). "Black members of the 1 SAI did, however, form a guard of honour at the funeral of AO1 Johan Lombard (49) at the DR Church, Universitas-Wes." The Commander, genl. Heinze, mentioned that no buses were available to supply transport. The PAC commented on this by saying, "Black soldiers of the 1 SA Infantry battalion did not attend the first two funerals of victims of the Tempe massacre because they felt as they weren't being accepted by the whites, said a PAC official yesterday, who is in close contact with the soldiers" (Smith and Coetzee 23 Sept. 1999).

6.1.5 Reaction of the military community

The Commander of the *Orange Free State Command* was Brigadier General Heinze. During the first news conference after the tragedy, he had the following to say:

...the army's policy regarding the handling of ammunition is clear. The enquiry will determine what happened here. Heinze said that immediately after the shooting a concerted effort was made to bring the situation in the base under control. The soldiers were gathered and they were addressed. Care was taken not to blow the situation out of proportion. All units under his command were thoroughly informed. I am satisfied that we have control over this situation (Volksblad 17 Sept. 1999).

Later he made the following remarks (Gifford 1999:online):

Brigadier General Hans Heinze, officer commanding of the Free State Command, said that 1 SAI had made very good progress regarding transformation. However, the command structure was characterised by a

majority of whites at the senior level – although the most senior black officer was one rank below the commander, while the junior level was ‘overwhelmingly black and coloured’. He said change still needed to take place and was under way.

Clearly, the death of so many Tempe members had serious repercussions for the next of kin. In this regard Col. Ras Venter, commander of *3 Military Hospital* said the following, “*The ripple effect of the killings was expected to be a serious problem, as traumatised survivors and family members started understanding and accepting what had happened.*” It was also further reported that psychologists, social workers and chaplains worked very hard to calm all persons down. In reaction to a reader’s letter, Col. Van den Bergh answered that the Tempe incident was not in the least due to poor management, or that there was a war in the country. On the contrary, Lt. Madubela was an officer, who occasionally would have had access to weapons and ammunition (Van den Bergh 10 Oct. 2006). On 12 November 1999, three of the widows received medals on behalf of their husbands. After normal procedures were followed, a committee recommended that four persons receive medals for bravery (Van Noordwyk 2013).

One of the outcomes of this incident was a stern warning that any threats would be seen in a very serious light and those who are guilty will be charged. The Army also produced a code of conduct which is read often at parades and gatherings. In this code, amongst other things, it says that no one may be discriminated against based on their race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation.

6.1.6 Reaction of politicians

High ranking leaders from the government immediately visited the wounded and families of the deceased in Bloemfontein (Nieman 17 Sept. 1999). The Minister of Defence, Min. Patrick Lekota, the Minister of Public Works, Min. Jeff Radebe, and the Chief of the SANDF, Sipiwe Nyanda, was also present in Bloemfontein.

A news conference was held on 17 Sept. 1999 at the Orange Free State Command’s headquarters in Bloemfontein, where the Minister of Defence, as well as the Premier of

the Free State, Ms Winkie Direko, and the MEC for Safety and Security, Mr Casca Mokitlane, were present (Nieman 17 Sept. 1999).

Volksblad, a local Free State newspaper with mostly Afrikaans speaking readers, indicated in its reporting that there were racial undertones in the shooting. The Minister of Defence reacted strongly to this and, accompanied by a few Army officers, visited the newspaper's offices and confronted the editor (Coetzee 16 Sept. 2009; Heinze 2014). He went so far as to single out the *Volksblad* during a Parliament session for criticism (*Volksblad* 23 Sept. 1999). Min. Lekota, who understandably wanted to prevent this shooting from becoming a racial issue, was of the opinion that the member's personal circumstances caused the emotional strain that led to the tragedy. Min. Lekota's frustrations were rooted in the fact that the newspaper refused to take the Army's investigation and version of the event into account (*Volksblad* 28 Jan. 2009). The *Volksblad's* argument was that the Army neglected to react in time with their press release. Min. Lekota admitted that investigations are lengthy because the correct procedures need to be followed. Investigations and reports at institutions such as the SANDF must be done according to specific procedures. At least it was apparent that the Minister was extremely sensitive about the 'race' element and did everything in his power to calm everyone down. Potgieter (2014) is also of the opinion that min. Lekota, as a political leader, was willing to take the flak on behalf of his organisation.

In 1994, the SANDF, formed from former militaries such as the SADF, TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) as well as the freedom movements' armed wings such as MK and APLA, was still experiencing growth pains. Heinze (2014) describes the process as still being in its pre-school phase. The fact that the freedom movements and the SADF were former enemies, obviously posed certain challenges for the SANDF. *Volksblad* (Nieman 17 Sept. 1999) reports on this the day after the shooting:

Lekota said that everyone is aware that the process is still underway to bind the different armed units in one solid, united defence force. He reminded the members of 1 SAI that the Constitution expects of them, regardless of origin, colour or qualification, to form a national defence force. If they have to protect the country, it is their responsibility to protect both white and black South Africans.

Min. Lekota admitted that the pressure to transform was huge but that the soldiers had been left in the hands of competent officers and at that stage (1999, in other words) they were predominantly white. He admitted that the transformation process will be difficult and at times even slow. According to him, freedom fighters from APLA and MK would first have to gain experience before they could be appointed in senior leadership positions (Volksblad 18 Dec. 1999).

Referring to the investigation into the shooting, he made the following remark (Volksblad 8 April 2000), *“For now, from the investigation into the Tempe shooting, it seems that there are a few ‘elements’ from the old SADF and the freedom movements who are busy with activities that are undermining the unity and moral of the defence force...our organisation’s culture will be investigated to ensure that there is no place for them.”*

In contrast, the leaders of the PAC, as mentioned previously, and of which Lt. Madubela was a member, were critical about certain aspects. For example, Mr. Gilbert Sineke, Secretary of Local Government and Development of the PAC in the Eastern Cape, had the following to say, *“Black soldiers of 1 SAI are definitely not happy, and the army knows that.”* In reaction to the statement of Orange Free State Command, he remarks, *“...buses weren’t organised and that is the reason why black soldiers of the 1 SAI didn’t attend Coetzer’s funeral,”* but if the Black soldiers wanted to attend the funeral, *“they would even have walked there”* (Smith and Coetzee 23 Sept. 1999).

General Constand Viljoen, former head of the Defence Force and leader of the FF (Freedom Front), made the following statement in reaction to min. Lekota’s statements and it was reported as follows:

... this is the most responsible response that he has heard up to now from any member of the ANC. Unlike businessmen or political leaders, Army officers cannot afford to make mistakes. Lekota’s statements not only shows responsibility towards the country, but also towards the families of South African soldiers. Viljoen said it was as if Lekota had taken the recent lessons of i.e. the Tempe shooting to heart. It was clear to me that things were going a bit wild regarding transformation especially after the departure of (genl.) George Meiring (former head of the Defence Force).

Lekota is now realising that embarrassment of the ill-considered conduct was large. Viljoen warned the white officers not to read into Lekota's remarks as if he is saying they are better than their black colleagues. Such actions will just further fuel racism (Volksblad 18 Dec. 1999).

6.1.7 Reaction from the PAC

The PAC was one of the freedom movements whose members were integrated into the SANDF. The impression was, and not unfounded, that the PAC was even more radical than the ANC. The PAC initiated the 1960 Sharpeville boycott. Also, they were also responsible for the shooting in the St. James Church in 1993, after the negotiations for a new constitution and democratic order between the most interested parties were already well under way⁷².

Unfortunately the racial undertones did not go away and the following report appeared, *"Black soldiers of the 1 SA Infantry Battalion did not attend the first two funerals of the victims of the Tempe massacre, because they feel as they are not being accepted by the whites, said a PAC official yesterday, who is in close contact with these soldiers"* (Smith and Coetzee 23 Sept. 1999).

The PAC also held a memorial service. On the pamphlet that announced the gathering, the slogan *One settler, one bullet* appeared. The PAC spokesperson, Mr Mtutuzeli Mama, said, *"The slogan 'One settler, one bullet' isn't official party policy. The PAC though is committed to fight against any form of oppression."* In reaction to the question whether the slogan was not fuelling racial tension and violence, Mama answered, *"I understand that the slogan reflects the bitterness of the people at ground level towards the merciless oppression they were subjected to daily. An oppressor has no colour. I cannot see how race has anything to do with this"* (Volksblad 23 Sept. 1999).

⁷² The researcher was involved at an event in 2014 to invite conversation between representatives of different former forces. The purpose was to create understanding as well as to promote reconciliation. The APLA delegation showed up, but was not satisfied with the standard of accommodation, and as a result withdrew. All the others (SADF, Azanian's Liberation Army [AZANLA], MK and Bophuthatswana Defence Force [BDF]) chose to stay and took part in the weekend's activities.

The reaction of the PAC is logical in view of their freedom struggle. Old wounds were once again exposed, and the inheritance of the past was clearly visible. Yet these remarks were inappropriate at the funeral⁷³.

6.1.8 Judicial investigations and reports

In light of the events, it is apparent that some investigations had to be done. Six are mentioned.

- 1) **Parliamentary emergency debate** - After the events, parliament held an emergency debate (Brand 1999:online).
- 2) **Judicial investigation** - Judge JP (Koos) Malherbe of the High Court in Bloemfontein led the investigation. Colin Steyn, from the Director of Public Prosecutions (Smith 29 April 2000), represented the state; Adv. James Gilliland represented the wounded and the families of the eight victims; and adv. Bertie Fourie represented the Military. The investigation was held in Bloemfontein from 2 to 19 May 2000.

During the investigation, AO1 John Nel, Regiment sergeant major described Madubela as, “...a problem child of 1 SAI with a demanding personality. In his eyes, he was bigger than the system” (Smith 5 May 2000). In the investigation it was argued that Madubela’s attack was racially motivated, because he avenged himself on his white colleagues only, based on a misplaced and incorrect feeling that he was wronged (Gibson 28 Nov. 2003).

The judicial inquiry found that Madubela shot the victims unlawfully and intentionally (Volksblad 16 Sept. 2009).

- 3) **Ministerial internal investigation** - A ministerial investigation was launched by a four-man *Setai Committee*, to investigate racism. It found that racial tension was indeed the reason for the shooting (Volksblad 12 Dec. 2006). According to Setai, the committee received thousands of presentations from mostly Black soldiers. This report stated that racism was only, “...limited to a very small clique of white commanding officers.” A comprehensive plan to

⁷³ Patricia de Lille, former leader of the PAC, is currently (2014) in a coalition with the DA, a party supported by most Afrikaners, and also the mayor of Cape Town. She is considered relatively powerful. It is interesting to see how politics, coalitions and views can change.

address prejudice had to be developed. Racial incidents would be addressed on a continuous basis. According to the investigation, it was definitely not all whites who were racist, mostly one or two. Most of the white commanders did great work under difficult circumstances. In response to the report, *the Centre for Conflict Resolution* (Lamb:2004) wrote, “According to the final report, the skewed racial representation at the SANDF’s management at operational levels fuelled racial tension and contributed to overt racist incidents between white and black members of the SANDF.”

- 4) **Parliamentary Defence Committee** – The standing committee on defence in Parliament, presented the report *Integration progress report and preparedness of SANDF* on 3 April 2001 (SA 2001). The *Parliamentary Oversight Committee Regarding Integration* was specifically appointed to guard over integration. It gave the following feedback:

Mr Ndlovu then spoke about General Masondo's comments on the Tempe shooting. According to General Masondo, the Tempe incident was blown out of proportion. Before the Tempe shooting, a similar incident had occurred in the Northern Province where six people were killed. Since these six people and the person who shot them were all black, the incident was not given attention. However, as the Tempe shooting had involved a black officer shooting white officers, it was given wide media coverage. Mr Ndlovu said that if a white soldier fights with a white soldier or a black soldier fights with another black soldier, it is believed that they can sit down and resolve the matter. But when a white soldier fights with a black soldier, it is perceived as a serious problem ...

Mr Ndlovu said it should be expected that young women and men from different cultural backgrounds and histories will experience problems living together.... Without responding directly to the question of training courses, Mr Ndlovu said General Masondo indicated there were structures put up after the investigation of the Tempe shootings. These structures are to focus on training people in understanding the different cultures in the defence force.

- 5) **Police investigation** – Commissioner Denn Alberts, acting Commissioner of Police in the Free State, announced a special investigation team under the leadership of Paul de Kock, provincial chief detective, only hours after the shooting (Smith 17 Sept. 1999).

- 6) **Psychological report** – A psychological report by lieutenant colonel Riaan Oliver, head of the psychology department of the Medical Command of the Free State, and two other psychologists, was presented after the shooting in September 1999. This report was compiled on the request of the military council of investigation into the events and was presented to the judicial investigation before judge JP Malherbe in the high court in Bloemfontein (Smith, 8 May 2000). The comprehensive report was published in the *Volksblad*.

6.1.9 Conclusion

It seems like the Tempe shooting incident at 1 SAI was symptomatic of a Defence Force consisting of members who were still struggling to co-exist. Former enemies were placed in the same units, this after the process of integration only started five years prior. A political decision to integrate itself could obviously not make it succeed. Though in 1996/7 programmes like the *Psychological Integration Program* (PIP) were offered to members of the new SANDF to help facilitate integration. This programme only succeeded in part. The legacy of apartheid with the associated ideological differences, views, emotions and feelings came to the fore front every now and then. Eight families were left in misery; a unit was severely traumatised, and with reason, many asked the question whether reconciliation would ever be possible. In the old South Africa groups were segregated so successfully that it was and still is very difficult to find each other, trust each other and understand each other in the new South Africa. Obvious cultural and language differences does not make it any easier. It seems as if Lt. Madubela also did not find it easy to adjust in the unit and that he was prone to poor discipline but on the other hand, his father died. This in itself causes pain, sadness and a mourning process. When experiencing animosity at work, it is very easy for a member to project his pain on the 'enemy'. The freezing of his salary was probably the last straw. Unfortunately, the leadership group was not sensitive enough to find another way forward. Policy is easy to maintain, but people are not made of stone. The passing of a loved one remains a tremendous loss and impacts one's life. According to the reports and investigations, there were unfortunately elements that were not promoting the integration process, even undermining it in a certain sense. The funerals were obviously emotional and

unfortunately it was used by some, including the media, to create even further division between groups. The Minister did go out of his way to calm emotions. They realised that the new South Africa was and is a step taken in faith, and that setbacks like this was, in a certain sense, unavoidable. Most South Africans realised that living together is the only option. A road of confrontation and violence would destroy everyone. More than one report and investigation found that continuous efforts should be put in place to bring about reconciliation. The following words from the *Volksblad* (4 October 1999) should act as motivation, *“Out of the hate speech from the Tempe shooting, something good can be born provided that clear-headed South Africans of all racial groups show how valuable healthy racial relationships are. And that it should be guarded jealously, because relationships that is built by hard work can be destroyed by extremists in the blink of an eye, if they are given the chance.”*

6.2 INTERVIEWS

Several interviews were held with those affected by the incident in one way or the other. It is discussed under the following headings.

6.2.1 General comments regarding the events

It is obvious that the events at Tempe was extremely traumatic for everyone. For Heinze⁷⁴ (2014), who was the General Officer Commanding, it was the worst shock of his 35-year military career. It was outside his frame of reference, where discipline and respect were the norm. For him it was a challenge to deal with the people, families and media. Potgieter⁷⁵ (2014) was negative about the media.

Most of the respondents accepted the fact that a racial element was present. Bothma⁷⁶ (2013) was of the opinion that her partner was slightly racist and that there was talk of *us* and *them*. According to her, the Social Work Officer was aware that Madubela was threatening to use violence. Potgieter (2014) reported that Madubela made threats of

⁷⁴ Brigadier General Heinze was the Commander of the Free State Command.

⁷⁵ Chaplain (Ds) Potgieter was the chaplain of the Command.

⁷⁶ Annette Bothma was the partner of Warrant Officer Sieberhagen. She was also the social worker at Tempe at the time of the incident.

shooting people towards warrant officer Lombard. Van Noordwyk⁷⁷ (2013) pointed out that the investigation indeed indicated that racial issues were present. Both Heinze (2014) and Steenkamp⁷⁸ (2014) categorised Madubela as a 'stone thrower'. This expression was used to typify a generation who rebelled against the apartheid system. Their conclusion was that he was not inherently a disciplined soldier. Potgieter (2014) and Heinze (2014), though, remain of the opinion that the incident was not racist but rather an isolated incident. After the shooting, black soldiers immediately withdrew from whites as they did not know how the whites would react. Potgieter (2014) again points out that another chaplain⁷⁹ that attended a course with Madubela, warned that he was hostile towards whites as well as MK members. Potgieter (2014) shared this information with the commander, Col. Jan Wessels⁸⁰. According to Potgieter (2014) the member was already 32 days AWOL when his salary was frozen. Van Noordwyk (2013) mentioned that Maj. Majola⁸¹ tried to convince Maj. Lourens⁸² not to freeze his salary, as the funeral was postponed after the member was already on leave. Heinze (2014) and Bothma (2013) judged that the incident was the result of a poor induction and integration process. After the incident, Potgieter (2014) had a good conversation with Madubela's⁸³ sister. According to him, Madubela's family did not portray any feelings of hatred.

6.2.2 Processing of events and healing process

Respondents went through different healing processes. Lianda Coetzer's⁸⁴ wrote a letter which appeared in a book *Hoe God ons heelmaak, hoe God ons dra*⁸⁵ (How God makes us whole, how God carries us) compiled by Maretha Maartens, who was also the co-author. Laetitia Kruger⁸⁶ (2013), Lianda Coetzer (2014) and Annette Bothma (2013) experienced serious anger and aggression. Three persons, Kruger, Bothma and Coetzer did not

⁷⁷ Maj. Wiehahn van Noordwyk, though seriously wounded, survived the shooting. One of the bullets penetrated his lungs. He is still with the SANDF.

⁷⁸ Capt. Steenkamp survived the shooting. He was wounded in his shoulder. He is still with the SANDF.

⁷⁹ This chaplain was Freek Terreblance, who at the time was chaplain at School of Engineers in Kroonstad.

⁸⁰ Colonel Jan Wessels was the commander of 1 SAI, a unit that formed part of the Free State Command.

⁸¹ It is not clear whether Maj. Majola or Maj. Zirk Coetzee was second in command.

⁸² Maj. Lourens was the officer who froze Madubela's salary.

⁸³ Madubela was the lieutenant who committed the murders.

⁸⁴ Lianda's husband was Maj. Jacques Coetzer who died.

⁸⁵ *Hoe God ons heelmaak, hoe God ons dra*, (Struik publishers 2005) is a collection of stories of ordinary people who overcame crises and challenges.

⁸⁶ Laetitia Kruger (Coetzee) was the wife of Maj. Zirk Coetzee. They had three children at the time of the incident – Zirk, Clarissa and Marco. Later on, she remarried.

derived value from psychological sessions. Van Noordwyk (2013) only saw the psychologist once. Both he and Steenkamp⁸⁷ (2014), who was also wounded, are of the opinion that repeatedly telling the story in hospital was their therapy.

Kruger and Bothma eventually found healing, breakthrough and peace after attending religious/spiritual programmes. Among other things, emotions were shared with God during these sessions. At some of the sessions Bothma attended, there was intense prayer and deliverance was declared in the Name of Jesus. She suffered from serious depression and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and had to use medication. Nine years after the shooting incident she succeeded in overcoming the trauma because of this course and have not used medication since.

Laetitia Kruger experienced mourning as a painful physical process. Her biggest challenge was not to forgive Madubela, but to make peace with male figures in her life. She did not have a good relationship with her father, and she felt like her husband, Zirk, 'let her down' with his untimely death. She successfully worked through these issues. It also helped that her father came to live with her. She had to learn again to trust the Lord. It was not easy, because as a medical sister she wanted to exercise control. Conversations with a doctor who also had a strong faith, the help of friends, a book about heaven she read shortly before his death, as well as a spiritual course, finally brought her healing.

According to Brig-Genl Heinze a lecture called '*A pride of lions*', which is about the behaviour of a pride of lions and how they survive together, was presented to a group of senior officers and warrant officers by a motivational speaker. According to Heinze this contributed largely to creating a sense of connectedness. A sport day was also organised to build *esprit de corps*.

Steenkamp is of the opinion that he would not have been able to get closure if Madubela was still alive. Madubela's death brought him peace of mind.

⁸⁷ Capt. Steenkamp was the technical commander at the workshop.

6.2.3 Spiritual and Godly experience

Most of the respondents (5) eventually experienced a deepening in their faith – Coetzer experienced God carrying her and still does; Potgieter mentions that the Lord never ‘drops’ you; Bothma entered a deeper faith dimension; and two survivors, Steenkamp and Van Noordwyk, experienced and accepted that God had a plan with their lives, that is why they survived the attack.

Initially Kruger, Bothma and Coetzer’s relationship with the Lord was stormy. They were all at certain stages furious with the Lord. Coetzer wanted to know where He was and wanted to pummel Him physically with her fists as she experienced Him as unfair. Yet, she discovered that one cannot cope without prayer. Also, she was also convinced that the devil devours hope, love and goodness amongst people. Kruger felt betrayed and estranged from Him.

6.2.4 Perspective on the incident

Coetzer and Bothma indicated that Madubela had an extended family whom he had to take care of. The stopping of his salary took away his self-respect and dignity. Bothma feels strongly about this as she herself was the victim of her salary being frozen unjustly a few years after the shooting. She could identify with Madubela’s experience. She is further of the opinion that those who froze the salary, had an attitude of superiority and also had to be forgiven.

Van Noordwyk reckons there were wrongs in the old South Africa that warranted levelling out the playing field. Steenkamp points out that the whites were indoctrinated and that some of the *older* soldiers, who were good men, just could not adapt. They were caught up in their ‘*old way*’s. It is easier for the younger generation.

6.2.5 Experience of marriage relationships and challenges around children

Coetzer describes the loss of her husband as that a part of her were also buried. They were inseparable, they even went together to buy bread and milk. Both her and Kruger

mentioned that they planned on growing old with their partners. Strikingly, both read books about death and heaven before the death of their partner, in a way preparing them for the tragedy. Kruger was afraid to get into a relationship again. Later though, she felt the need for a partner, especially after her son, Zirk, prayed for a new father. Some of the respondents remarried or got involved in relationships, of which not all were successful.

All the women found it challenging to raise children as a single parent. The children could also not understand the loss. Coetzer is of the opinion that it was a mistake to try and manage both parental roles. She went to live in a flat on her parent's property, one reason being for her daughter to be closer to her grandmother and grandfather.

Coetzer mentioned among other things that her daughter hated Jesus because someone told her Jesus took her dad.

Zirk Coetzee, son of Kruger, blamed the chaplain for taking his dad away. When Potgieter, the chaplain, visit them at home, Zirk literally punched him. For Potgieter this was a troubling experience. Her eldest child, a boy, experienced aggression where her second child, a girl, experienced anxiety. The daughter's eyes, that always sparkled, became dull. She, for example, developed a fear for syringes, because of the association with her father's death. As family they made use of a 'walk-in-closet'. This space was to help them deal with the loss, a place where everyone could cry about the loss of their father and spouse. Coetzer experienced that the loss of a spouse left a woman without an identity. In her case, she went back to live with her parents in their henhouse as a 'chick', where they spread their wings over her. At the time of Jacques Coetzer's death, they had an 18-month-old daughter.

Later on, Chaplain Potgieter went through a painful divorce – not related to the Tempe incident – that made him cynical. He had to struggle through the issues with the Lord before he could find healing, years after the divorce.

6.2.6 Future of the country

In Kruger's view, the Lord is still in control in spite of bad things happening, such as this shooting, the '*vileness*' of apartheid, affirmative action and some of the things that have deteriorated in the new South Africa. Bothma reckons everyone experiences trauma because of apartheid.

For Van Noordwyk, who personally had no problem with Madubela, it was difficult that people branded him afterwards as a racist. Steenkamp argues that there are 'bad' whites and blacks and that in his specific, technical environment, it is skill and not skin colour that is important. Steenkamp is further of the opinion that at the moment there is too much emphasis on human rights and that a lack of discipline undermines the organisation. Van Noordwyk and Steenkamp argue that the racial card is played too easily.

Heinze, in step with his new life philosophy⁸⁸ of right and wrong thinking, argues that he left the SANDF too early because of an unfounded fear that the pension funds would run dry. Furthermore, he mentions the conversations of typical Afrikaners around their '*braaivleis*' (barbeque) fires, whose conversations include their view that people of colour cannot govern the country. His judgement of himself is that his thoughts were weak. Too many people get carried away. The new SANDF gives him hope. He noticed that there are officers who work hard and are competent. He reckons it is of the utmost importance to build relationships with fellow countrymen. He goes further and indicates that his best adjutant in his military career was a former non-statutory member. His loyalty and diligence were of a very high standard. Leadership is extremely important – to offer the appropriate guidance at all levels. He points out that the war budget during the previous dispensation was significantly higher than the current budget in peaceful times at his disposal when he was commander.

⁸⁸ Heinze later on, after his military career, undergone a change of heart by not focussing on the feelings, events and opinions of people. As a person you can determine your own reaction. Everyone has the potential to make wise decisions. The Holy Spirit helped him to be patient and helped him to make better decisions.

Potgieter is somewhat negative, he is of the opinion that today we are further away from reconciliation because of other issues such as the unhealthy quest for position and a sense of entitlement, as well as incompetence.

6.2.7 Conclusion

The interviews brought to light that the loss caused great trauma and disruption in the lives of the survivors. Most of the survivors and those involved eventually went on with their lives. Religious beliefs and practices, such as prayer or meditation and engagement with **religious** community members helped immensely in the whole process of recovery, though the majority went through a stage of anger with God and struggled to make sense of the Tempe events. It is noticeable that most did not benefit from psychological help. For Annette Nel and Laetitia Kruger spiritual courses were fundamental in their healing process. This observation does not detract from the valuable input and assistance that was given by psychologists, social workers, doctors, nurses and others to many people who were affected, directly or indirectly. Most people made their peace with the lieutenant and forgave him. They accept that the history of a divided and discriminating South Africa played a role and provided the spark for this tragedy. Those wounded experienced some level of guilt because they survived. Some indicated that the situation with the salary could have been dealt with differently. The majority is of the opinion that they are willing to contribute to the prosperity of the country. They long for the racial issues to be solved, that we should move on, and that healthy interpersonal relationships should be maintained.

CHAPTER 7

QUANTITATIVE STUDY – DESIGN

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The study has the following underlying assumptions: The Afrikaner in general and the SADF conscript generation specifically, are experiencing a crisis in terms of the past, namely being accused of creating the apartheid policy and its related iniquities. They are also experiencing a crisis in terms of the present and the future. It seems as if many in the group struggles to adjust to and settle in the so-called new South Africa. Some talk of an identity crisis, others are of the opinion that they are 'disjointed' and feel alienated in their own country. It seems, as described in Chapter 4, that the SADF conscript generation had a specific identity that was strengthened during the conflict. It is important to determine what their views are on their army days, the Total Onslaught and the new South Africa, as well as to test their views on reconciliation. It seems as if their understanding of reconciliation and what it entails, are lacking. These assumptions were tested. If true, the study would aim to supply certain theological guidelines and principles towards healing, reconciliation and justice. The study focuses on the SADF generation between 1966 and 1994. During the study, many interviews were conducted that strengthened the qualitative component of the study. It was very difficult to have meaningful conversations with enough individuals in order to make the study authoritative. Therefore, the decision was made to add a quantitative component as well as a literature study to determine the experiences of the SADF generation. As a result, a quantitative questionnaire was drawn up.

7.2 DESIGN

It was decided to design a number of questions that would cover various fields concerning the SADF generation. The questionnaire starts with non-threatening information such as military unit and age (Maree & Pietersen 2007:160). It was decided to make use of the following categories and the purpose of each:

Afrikaner experiences: One of the hypotheses of this study is that the SADF conscript generation has a particular identity, that was formed especially by the Afrikaner's history. Chapter 4 addresses this question in detail. It is tested in this section, but not exclusively. The identity and the views of the respondents in this regard, is underlying in many of the questions in the questionnaire.

Military experiences: Chapter 5 deals in detail with the local, regional and global conflict in which the SADF conscript generation were involved. It was therefore important to determine to what extent the generation understands this context and what their views were on aspects such as the Total Onslaught, Communism, etc.

Apartheid: The SADF is accused, directly and indirectly, of contributing to maintain the apartheid government. The SADF is further accused of crimes that were committed by soldiers, whether it was locally, in the former SWA, or Angola. It was important to determine their view of the system. Their view would determine their attitude towards the new government, as well as their insight into what reconciliation entails.

Freedom movements: The freedom movements were the enemy during the 1966-1989 period. Today, these organisations are the governments in Namibia and South Africa. Their soldiers are part of the new integrated armed forces. Respondents' views of these movements, their willingness to take hands, show understanding for their history and (armed) struggle, will greatly determine whether reconciliation would be a possibility and if it is just an illusion.

South Africa after 1994: The SADF generation that took part in the border war, struggles greatly to adjust in the new South Africa, as the whole '*Boetman debate*' indicates (Chapter 5). It is important to test their opinions as it can either contribute greatly to or impede reconciliation.

Reconciliation and justice: The purpose of this section was to determine the Biblical insights and imperatives regarding reconciliation and justice. The study is theological and aims to provide Biblical guidelines on justice and reconciliation. Chapter 2 addressed these aspects in detail.

Religious experiences: As the study is theological and assumes that the current crisis is also a crisis of faith and a spiritual crisis, it aims to determine respondents' opinions regarding the church, religion, faith and aspects such as confession. Chapter 9 specifically discusses the Church in the midst of these challenges.

The future of the SADF generation in South Africa: The study deals with the past, but also with the present, which in turn determines the future. The current predisposition and attitude will determine future expectations. It was important to determine what respondents' expectations are as it will indicate the value of their involvement and contribution in future. Chapter 9 discusses the future of this generation.

A total of 129 questions were drawn up. It was just over the recommended 100-120 questions (Maree & Pieterse 2007:159). Also, the scale model was used. These questions were tested in the Department of Sociology, University of the Free State (UV)⁸⁹, in order to seek advice regarding the questions, the layout thereof and categories of the list. Initially the Department of Sociology was concerned about the number of questions; regarding it as being too many. The researcher though was of the opinion that the questionnaire had to cover all areas in detail and thoroughly, and in his opinion, these include all issues concerning the SADF generation involved in the border war, that could provide information and understanding. After drafting a few concept questionnaires, the Department declared that it was a workable questionnaire.

It was suggested that a pilot study should be done. Approximately 10 members of the researcher's congregation, who were in the SADF, completed the questionnaire on 17 August 2013. Thereafter, the researcher had a conversation with them, enquiring whether the questions are meaningful and if anything should be added. They were comfortable with the questionnaire. Lastly, a group discussion was held with them. The conversation confirmed certain assumptions.

⁸⁹ Dr Nola Redelinghuys of the Department of Sociology gave meaningful commentary.

In order to save time, the decision was made to make use of *SurveyMonkey*, a programme that enables a researcher to draw up a questionnaire that can be accessed electronically via the internet by a link. No paperwork is needed. After completing the questionnaire, the respondent clicks on the 'submit' button and the programme stores all the information. The information is analysed, and the data converted and categorised to columns/graphs by the programme. The cost of this service is roughly R200 per month.

Subsequently the questionnaire was distributed to focus groups. It was decided to make use of approximately five groups/units who were on the 'sharp'⁹⁰ side of the war. The plan was to make use of roughly 10 questionnaires in each of the five groups – a total of 50. The initial idea was to follow the snowball method (Maree & Pietersen 2007:177). According to this the original contact person can put the researcher in contact with more persons, with the idea that they will again distribute the questionnaire within their interconnected group. Initially only one group was contacted in this way, the 101 Battalion that was an Ovambo battalion in SWA. They made use of the Ovambo as trackers, while the leader group was white. An interview was also conducted with members of this group.

The researcher belongs to the 61 Mechanised Battalion Group Veteran Association (61 Meg Bn Gp), a conventional unit consisting of infantry, armour, artillery and air defence elements. During an annual gathering on the 24th of August 2013, the study was explained to them and they made themselves available to take part in the study. A few questionnaires were handed out. Most of them received an email from the veteran association that introduced the study. Most of the members though completed the questionnaire via the group's Facebook page (12-15 September 2013) after the page administrator placed the questionnaire on the landing page of the Facebook group. Approximately a hundred former 61 Mech Bn Gp members completed the questionnaire. Only three completed hard copies and sent it to the researcher by post.

A second veteran group in Bloemfontein, Club *Omuthiya*, also took part (12-13 September 2013). Roughly 15 respondents completed the questionnaire via their Facebook page.

⁹⁰ Sharp side implies the fighting elements (infantry, armour, artillery, etc.) in contrast to the supporting elements such as the chaplains, signallers, technicians and logistical personnel.

The largest group respondents came from the *SWA/Angola Bush War* Facebook group (14-16 September 2013). The questionnaire was also posted on their landing page for a few days where it immediately drew attention. Many comments were also made on the questionnaire. The study took place in Aug./Sept. 2013 and after the designated time, no more questionnaires were completed. The questionnaire was also removed from the Facebook groups after 5-10 days.

As the response via Facebook pages were beyond expectation, as well as the fact that the veteran groups (apart from two) did not actually react according to the snowball method, this method via social media was deemed sufficient. Both the former Reconnaissance Commandos (Recces) and some of the other veteran groups did not react to telephone calls. Social media seemed to be the most efficient as veterans are active on social media. Hundreds of veterans are members of Facebook pages created for SADF veterans, some of these have thousands of members⁹¹.

By the end of September 2014, after consulting with the Support Services of the University of the Free State, the information was processed and stored.

7.3 RESULTS

300 questionnaires were received, some of which were not fully completed. The final number of 303 was substantially more than what was initially hoped for or planned.

About 100 persons completed the questionnaire via the *61 Mech Bn Gp* Facebook page, 15 via the *Omuthiya* Facebook group; 180 via the *SWA/Angola Border War* Facebook group; while 15 hard copies were received. The hard copies' information was captured by the Support Services of the University of the Free State⁹².

⁹¹ 'SWA/Angolan Border war 1966-1989' Facebook group is a closed group, but not exclusively for veterans. On 28 December 2014 it had more than 18 000 members. On 28 December 2014 the '61 Mech Bn Gp-'gone but never forgotten' group had 2 600 members.

⁹² Amanda de Gouveia, an assistant, completed this task.

7.4 CATEGORISING OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO ARMS OF SERVICES AND CORPS.

The intention was to get respondents from fighting units. This can unfortunately not be controlled on Facebook, though it is possible for a statistician to remove the questionnaires of incorrect or unwanted respondents. In the end, the responses came primarily from those who were involved in fighting units.

Here follows the classification of the 303 completed questionnaires:

Nr.	Military units	Amount (n)
1	Army	284
2	Medical service (SAMS)	5
3	Air force	9
4	Navy	1
5	Undetermined	4
Total		303

The Army's corps consists out of **fighting** and **support corps**, each with their own groupings and units, as laid out below, with the number of questionnaires that were completed.

Regarding the fighting corps, we must take note that many respondents selected more than one unit. For example, taking their border service into account, many moved between units and therefore selected both 1 SAI and 61 Mech. In these cases, the first unit that was selected was noted for analysis. This is also the case for the Armour respondents who also selected 61 Mech or vice versa. 61 Mech was a combined group existing out of infantry, armour, artillery and air defence. Of the total of 303 respondents, 80% (n = 243) are from units of fighting corps, and the majority from infantry units (n = 183). More than

13% (n = 41) represents support units. In total 13 corps and 19 corps units are represented by the 303 respondents.

Fighting corps in the Army			(n= 243)
a	Infantry		183
		1 SAI (1 SA Infantry Battalion)	25
		2 SAI	3
		3 SAI	3
		4 SAI	7
		5 SAI	6
		6 SAI	5
		7 SAI	2
		8 SAI	8
		32 Battalion	5
		201 Battalion	1
		61 Mech (Mechanised Battalion group)	78
		Parachute	8
		Cavalry (Horses)	2
		SWA Special forces (South West area forces)	2
		Part-time citizen forces and commandos	12
		Unspecified infantry	38
b	Artillery		10
c	Armour		27
		1 SSB (1 Special Service Battalion)	6
		2 SSB	4
		School of Armour	17
d	Air defence		2
e	Reconnaissance (Recces)		1

Support units in the Army			41
a	Engineers		6
b	Intelligence		7
c	Personnel		3
d	Logistics		6
e	Technical		9
f	Signallers		6
g	Chaplains		1
h	Military Police		2
i	Ammunition		1

7.5 QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire, drawn up with the research problem and the conscript period (1966-1989) in mind (Chapter 1), was introduced with the underneath cover letter so that the respondents could clearly understand what the study is about and why their assistance was important. The questionnaire was added as an appendix.

Questionnaire: Conscript period, 1966-1989

Thank you for your willingness to complete this questionnaire. The questionnaire should take you about 20-30 minutes to complete. Try to complete all the questions. It can be provided in electronic format. The researcher is also willing to have conversations/interviews with participants, whether in person or via email/SKYPE/telephonically. The information is confidential, and the questionnaire is done anonymously. The questionnaire would like to collect honest answers/experiences. **THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG, or POLITICALLY CORRECT ANSWERS.** Mark your answers with an **X**.

The format has been approved according to strict academic requirements. My promotor is prof. P. Verster of the Missional Department, Faculty Theology, University of the Free State. He can be contacted at (051) 401 2972.

Please return this to -----,-----,-----; or you can scan and email it back to me.

Pieter Hendrik Schalk Bezuidenhout

7.6 SUMMARY

The questionnaire was drawn up in cooperation with the Department of Sociology, University of the Free State. A pilot study was done in July 2013 to test the scientific nature, clearness and meaningfulness of the questions. The intention to use the snowball method was replaced by using contacts via social media, whereby far the most data could be collected. The study was representative of all SADF Arms of Services and corps, including fighting corps of the Army such as infantry, artillery, armour, air defence and reconnaissance. Members who were in supporting roles, were also involved (e.g. signallers, chaplains, logistics, engineering, personnel). More ex-SADF members participated than what was expected. The researcher was supported by the Support Services of the University of the Free State in processing the data.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the data and information pertaining to the 303 questionnaires completed by respondents, as set out in the previous chapter, is discussed question by question (129 questions) in this chapter. Analyses (analysis; interpretations; and commentary) is provided. After each of the nine categories into which the 129 questions are divided, a summary and associated conclusion is given.

8.2 GENERAL (QUESTIONS 1-11)

Question 1 I heard about the questionnaire through the following:

Most of the respondents completed the questionnaire via Facebook groups of SADF veterans where a link to *SurveyMonkey* could be found.

Question 2 Corps/unit

In Chapter 7 a table format is given of which units are represented by the respondents.

Question 3 Age

40-49 years	:	126 persons – 44%
50-59 years	:	136 persons – 48%
60-69 years	:	20 persons – 7%
70-79 years	:	3 persons – 1%

Question 4 Which years?

1960s	:	10 persons – 5%
1970s	:	89 persons – 30%

1980s : 177 persons – 59%
1990s : 21 persons – 7%

Most of the respondents, especially those from the late seventies and early eighties, did camps for a number of years throughout their service.

Question 5 Were you involved in SWA?

Result: 87% of respondents did serve in SWA, which is quite high.

Question 6 Were you involved in Angola?

Result: 65% took part in military operations in Angola. This is also notably high.

Question 7 Were you deployed internally?

Result: 66% took part in domestic operations. This also indicates that much of the experiences were gained domestically.

Question 8 Do you belong to a Veteran Association?

Result: At the time of the survey, 57% belonged to veteran associations.

Question 9 Have you emigrated?

Result: Almost 10% have emigrated, in other words left South Africa and is living elsewhere.

Question 10 I have only completed this questionnaire once.

Result: 98% of the respondents responded positive to this statement. Accepting or rejecting this statement as true, was compulsory otherwise the respondent could not complete the rest of the questionnaire. The researcher wanted to prevent

individuals from completing the questionnaire more than once. The other 2% of the questionnaires were discarded.

Question 11 I did military service between 1966 and 1994.

Result: 99% of the respondents did complete military service within this period. Answering this question was compulsory otherwise the rest of the questionnaire could not be completed. The researcher wanted to prevent those who did not do service from completing the questionnaire.

Summary

Contrary to what was planned, most of the respondents learnt about the questionnaire via Facebook pages. This attracted the majority of respondents. On dividing the respondents into military units, the majority belonged to fighting units of the Army, as expected (Chapter 7) and a few were in supporting roles. About 90% of the respondents served in SWA and 65% took part in operations in Angola. Of those who were involved in SWA/Angola, two-thirds were also deployed internally. The numbers are high and indicates that the respondents will be able to deliver authoritative comments. Approximately 10% of the respondents emigrated. Roughly 60% of respondents do belong to veteran associations. This is an indication of the important role these associations play in the lives of the middle-aged conscript generation (just less than 80% older than 45 years; just less than 3% younger than 40) who were involved in the Bush war. Overall, considering the frequencies of the 11 questions above, the respondent population of the convenience sample can be used to represent all those who were involved in the Bush war (1966-1994). The researcher therefore has confidence in the answers the respondents gave for the remaining questions. The confidence is strengthened because all the respondents 'reported for duty', willingly completing the questionnaire – either out of interest or the need to do so, and not because they could benefit from it. Furthermore, there was also no mutual influencing.

8.3 AFRIKANERSHIP⁹³ (AFRIKANERSKAP) (QUESTIONS 12-19)

Question 12 Afrikanership is part of my identity

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
93,5	1,4	5,1

Results: 93,5% agree. This probably indicates that respondents are proud of their identity and identify with their Afrikanership. (The cover letter explaining the study, requested only Afrikaans speaking persons to complete the questionnaire.)

Question 13 My Afrikanership motivated me to do service

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
78,3	4,0	17,7

Results: 78% agree, 17% disagree. Thus, the majority reacted positively to this question.

Question 14 The Afrikaner continuously battles for survival in Africa

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
86,3	7,6	6,1

Results: 86% answered in the affirmative, indicating that the perception exists that the Afrikaner, to a great extent, has his work cut out for him and has to fight for what he regards as important. It could probably also indicate that the group regards the Africa-environment in which they live, as hostile.

Question 15 The Afrikaner brought Christian values to Africa

⁹³ It is difficult to give an English equivalent for the Afrikaans concept *Afrikanerskap*. Options include *Afrikanerness*, *Afrikanerhood*, *Afrikanerism*. As earlier discussed, many would prefer not to use the term *Afrikaner* anymore.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
78,3	10,8	10,8

Results: 78% agree while 22% are neutral to negative. It is strongly accepted that their ancestors' arrival played a role to Christianise this part of Africa.

Question 16 The only alternative is to emigrate.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
21,8	15,6	62,5

Results: 62,5% disagree. 21,8% agree though while 15% remain neutral, which indicates uncertainty. For two-thirds it seems not to be an alternative.

Question 17 The Afrikaner still has a role to play in the new South Africa post 1994.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
88,4	4,0	7,6

Results: 88% of the respondents agree. This might mean that they are willing to use their gifts, talents, money and resources to the advantage of themselves and others. The extent to which they do play a role, was not asked. However, the high percentage indicates that there is potential for meaningful research and to get Afrikaners involved based on their willingness, experience and skills.

Question 18 The Afrikaner has to maintain his own language and culture.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
95,7	3,6	0,7

Results: 95% answer in the affirmative. This could be an indication that Afrikaners feel they themselves have to take responsibility for their language – for it to thrive

and to protect it. The conclusion, that the Afrikaner see the 'other' as a threat, is not made.

Question 19 The Afrikaner is experiencing a crisis regarding his history, present and future.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
84,8	4,7	10,5

Results: 85% agree, a strong indication that the SADF generation agrees that there is a crisis. How it is handled, is an open question.

Summary

Being an Afrikaner, played a major role in the formation of the identities of the respondents. Furthermore, the response indicates that the Afrikaner, to a great extent, is experiencing a 'battle for survival' as Africa is perceived as 'hostile' and the Afrikaner belongs to a minority group. Emigration is, for at least a fifth, an option. This is supported by statistics indicating that 1 million South Africans have already emigrated. Yet, a high percentage is willing to play a role in the country if they are given the opportunity. The largest number realise that they themselves are responsible to maintain their own group culture and that there is not a government or political party that will be doing it for them. Maybe the increase in cultural festivals is a strong indication in this area. There is indeed a great degree of uncertainty. A strong majority though is willing to play a constructive role in the new South Africa. A majority is of the opinion that ancestors of the Afrikaner brought Christianity to Africa and is still involved in missionary work.

8.4 MILITARY EXPERIENCES (QUESTIONS 20-43)

Question 20 The training was of a high quality.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
99,2		0,8

Results: 99% agree and this is self-explanatory.

Question 21 The training prepared me both mentally and physically to protect the RSA.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
97,7	1,5	0,8

Results: 97% agree which speaks for itself.

Question 22 The training made me a better/more mature person.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
96,2	1,9	1,9

Results: 96% of respondents experienced the military experience as positively constructive.

Question 23 I knew why we were doing national service (philosophy, policy, etc.)

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
87,8	3,4	8,7

Results: 88% agree, almost 10% do not agree. Therefore, members were well informed.

Question 24 I knew why we were involved in the then SWA and Angola.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
88,2	4,2	7,6

Results: 88% is sure, 12% doubt or are unsure. Ideologically the SADF generation knew why they were involved.

Question 25 South Africa was threatened internally and externally and had to defend itself.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
90,2	3,4	6,4

Results: 90% answer in the affirmative, that indicates that the service members were indeed of the opinion that there was an overwhelming threat.

Question 26 The purpose of the SADF was to protect the RSA and SWA against Communism.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
90,9	4,2	4,9

Results: 90% answer positively that indicates that Communism was regarded as a great threat. (Also see question 33.)

Question 27 The RSA's involvement in SWA was worth the cost/effort.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
65,2	8,3	26,5

Results: 65%, or two-thirds agree, while 26% do not agree and 8% remain neutral. Roughly one-third is unsure. A question that could be addressed in further research is – is the reason for this because the ‘communist party’ (SWAPO) against whom was fought at the time, is now seen as the ruling party in Namibia?

Question 28 Conscription was instituted to support and maintain the apartheid government.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
42,8	12,1	45,1

Results: Those agreeing (42%) are slightly lower than those who disagree (45%); 12% are neutral. Clearly, here is disagreement as 90% of the respondents were very sure in Question 26 that the battle was against communism but do not necessarily regard their service as protecting the SA apartheid government. An explanation might be hidden in the word ‘apartheid’ which has a very strong negative connotation; one they probably want to distance themselves from.

Question 29 The Politicians did what was expected of them within the context at the time.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
59,2	12,8	27,9

Results: Almost 60% agree, while 28% disagree and 12% of the respondents remain neutral.

Question 30 The Generals did what was expected of them within the context at the time.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
88,2	5,3	6,5

Results: 88% of respondents agree; only 6% disagree; and 5% remain neutral. The difference is striking – a noticeable higher positive vote for ‘generals’ than for ‘politicians’. A negative assessment on the political events might be the reason for this difference.

Question 31 The Politicians used the conscripts for their own objectives.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
63,6	13,3	23,1

Results: Two-thirds (63%) feel that they were used; 23% do not feel that way, while 13,3% remain neutral. This response supports the *Boetman* sentiments that were discussed earlier (5.6) and underlines the difference in Question 30 above. Is this a case of them really feeling that they were ‘abused/misused’ by the politicians?

Question 32 The Generals used the conscripts for their own objectives.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
28,5	17,5	54,0

Results: 54% do not agree, while 28% do agree and 17% of the respondents remain neutral. Compared to Question 31, if politicians used the conscripts for their objectives, their view of generals is significantly more positive, but much lower than the initial pro-general perspective in Question 30.

Question 33 There was a Total Onslaught against the RSA.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
79,4	9,2	11,5

Results: 79% agree that there was a Total Onslaught. The perception of the Total Onslaught is established strongly with the conscript generation.

Question 34 The former Cold War had an influence on the decisions of the previous government.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
84,2	11,3	4,5

Results: 84% agree. This means that it is believed that the role of the USSR and its allies, as well as the USA and their allies played, had a significant influence on decisions made.

Question 35 The West supported the RSA while the USSR and associates, supported Communist-orientated movements and governments in SWA, Angola and Mozambique.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
75,4	4,9	19,7

Results: 75% or three-quarters agree while 20% believe the opposite.

Question 36 The Cold War was a battle between a Western/free/ capitalistic world and a revolutionary/communist ideology.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
86,6	9,9	3,4

Results: 86% agree, while 10% remain neutral. Ex-soldiers understand the dynamics of the Cold War.

Question 37 The conscript generation has the need to: (a) make sense of what they experienced and to evaluate the purpose and fairness of actions (to get closure).

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
84,8	8,4	6,8

Results: 84% indicate that there is a need to make sense of their experience and to get closure. This is a clear indication of the search for, or desire to, get closure on their personal experiences from decades ago, but that continues to 'haunt' them.

Question 38 The conscript generation has the need to: (b) make peace with former enemies.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
50,4	24	25,6

Results: Only 50% agree, and 25% do not see it that way or maybe do not want to; 24% is neutral which is relatively high and indicates deep-set doubts. Maybe the SADF generation does not know how or with whom to make peace.

Question 39 The conscript generation has the need to: (c) receive counselling because of specific experiences/trauma.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
65,0	19,8	15,2

Results: The fact that two-thirds (65%) agree shows a significant need. The fact that 15% do not agree, while 20% remain neutral, is probably because they do not know if there is a need or not.

Question 40 The conscript generation has the need to: (d) make peace with the new South Africa.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
55,0	19,5	25,6

Result: Only 55% agree. A quarter do not agree and probably do not want to make peace or adapt, while 19% remain neutral, indicating doubt. The response

indicates to a great extent a measure of unease and/or unhappiness, even opposition, towards the new administration in South Africa.

Question 41 The conscript generation has the need to: (e) Be part of a group who shared the same experiences.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
87,4	9,2	3,4

Results: 87% answer positively, indicating the viability of veteran groups which shows a need to belong to a group bound by shared historical events.

Question 42 There are members who suffered physical and/or emotional/psychological injuries and wounds and was not sufficiently supported.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
94,6	3,1	2,3

Results: 94% agree with this statement. SADF members are aware of these persons and may even be such a person themselves. This distressingly high percentage indicates the depth of the traumatic experiences of the conscript generation – a charge laid by, but also a cry for help, by respondents. At the same time, a wake-up call for the veteran groups, the current SANDF, politicians and the broader community of the country.

Question 43 There are members who's physical and/or emotional/psychological injuries and wounds remain and still need to be supported.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
98,5	0,4	1,2

Results: 98% agree, an even higher percentage as the previous question. This testifies of government failure, or is it denial or rejection of the needs of an 'abused' generation?

Summary

The respondents are of the opinion that the training they received was very good and that it made men out of boys, in most cases. The majority was aware of the reasons why the SADF was involved in SWA, Angola and internally. Communism was regarded as a big threat. Only 42% saw it as their role to protect the apartheid government, this reaction is striking and unexpected. It was a logical and obvious assumption of service. Since then, the word 'apartheid' has gained a very negative meaning; and possibly the respondents wanted to distance themselves from it. They are a lot more positive about 'generals' than 'politicians'. It also seems that some of them wonder if they were not possibly used (abused?) by politicians and even military heads. A large number is also of the opinion that there was a Total Onslaught against the country. The impact of the Cold War and the knowledge that South Africa was involved in this global conflict was realised. The SADF generation wants to make sense of past events. Therefore, there is a strong need to support those who sustained psychological or physical injuries. The SADF generation is not so sure though if they want to make peace with former enemies or the new South Africa. Here only 50% agreed, with a notable percentage (25%) answering neutral, indicating uncertainty. Members see the involvement in veteran associations as useful and even essential. That there is a need, and a void exists to make serious work of the 'trauma' experienced by the SADF generation, now middle-aged men, is very clear.

8.5 APARTHEID (QUESTIONS 44-57)

The former NP government (1948-1994) is accused of the policy of apartheid. The SADF generation would then by assumption and association be the arm that had to protect and maintain this system.

Question 44 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (a) It was only the course of history.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
55,8	13,3	30,9

Results: 55% agree that apartheid was just a natural course of things, while 31% disagree. Apartheid was indeed the result of intentional decisions, interventions and social engineering. Hence, there was a purposeful, political-spatial plan. The majority, even if not by a huge margin, believe though that it was a spontaneous development.

Question 45 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (b) The Afrikaners inherited/learnt this from the English.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
54,2	12,9	32,9

Results: 54% agree, but 33% disagree. The answer indicates a large difference in opinion if it was the influence of the English or not.

Question 46 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (c) The American policy of segregation was also enforced here.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
61,6	25,2	13,2

Results: 61% agree. It is rather interesting that the American (61%) influence is regarded stronger than the English (54%) influence. Only 13% do not agree, while a noteworthy percentage (25%) remain neutral, which shows a degree of doubt or uncertainty.

Question 47 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (d) The Afrikaners learnt it from the Germans.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
24,9	36,5	38,6

Results: 38% disagree and 36% are neutral, which is a very high percentage compared to the previous two questions. It represents more than a third which indicates uncertainty. The assumption that can be made, is that the influences, history and context of the late thirties in Germany and the influence that it (national socialism; and anti-Semitism) had on South Africa, is not well known.

Question 48 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (e) The Afrikaner's pursuit towards self-determination and self-governance.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
92,8	4,8	2,4

Results: Almost 93% answered positively, a strong indication that the pursuit to self-determination played a large role.

Question 49 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (f) The Bible supports the separation of racial/ethnic groups.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
42,3	20,2	37,5

Results: 42% agree while a slightly smaller group, 37%, disagree and 20% remain neutral, is significant. The disagreement can be explained by the fact that Biblical justification of apartheid was at first positively assessed and later negatively by the Afrikaans Church.

Question 50 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (g)
Apartheid had to protect Christian civilisation and values
against communism.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
51,8	15,7	32,5

Results: almost 52% of the respondents agree while 32% disagree. Only 15% answered neutral. Communism is seen as anti-Christian. The difference between a 'cultural Christian' perspective and a Biblical perspective (Question 49) is notable.

Question 51 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (h)
Apartheid was the buffer against the black threat (swart
gevaar).**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
50,4	14,5	35,1

Results: 50% agree and 34% deny it, representing a substantial number of the group. Only 14% answered neutrally. The fact that the question makes a white/black distinction, possibly makes it unacceptable for a part of the group. Yet, this was the practical intention of apartheid.

Question 52 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (i) The
Afrikaner only did what the English did to the Afrikaner.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
33,5	18,5	48,0

Results: 48% disagree, 33% agree and a significant 18% remain neutral. Respondents are once again very much divided. Also see Question 45.

Question 53 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (j) Apartheid as an ideology was not wrong/sinful.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
46,8	14,8	38,4

Results: Almost 47% agree, while 38% of the respondents disagree. Only 14% answered neutrally. Once again, this recording indicated two strong diverse opinions. The larger group is of the opinion that apartheid was not wrong. The response could indicate an internal conflict regarding the past as well as the inability to admit guilt.

Question 54 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (k) Apartheid wanted to give each race/ethnic group their own territory.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
79,2	10,4	10,4

Results: Almost 80% agree. This means that they understood the intention and/or the goal of apartheid. The group wants to point out the good intentions of apartheid – i.e. that every group would be in charge of their own, separate area.

Question 55 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (l) The intention of the apartheid policy was correct; it was executed incorrectly.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
67,1	8,0	24,9

Results: 67% agree while 25% disagree. The interpretation is that the intention was good and correct, but that ‘mistakes’ were made. The answer might just be a yearning or nostalgia for the ‘correct’ execution of apartheid. The ultimate question is whether the intention and attitude of Verwoerd’s and others’ policy

can be justified? This assumption is strongly questioned and confronted by those who experienced the negative side of apartheid.

Question 56 **Apartheid can be justified based on the following: (m) Separation is normal and is practiced all around the world; what made apartheid different, is that it was legalised as policy.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
77,5	9,6	12,9

Results: 77% agree and 13% disagree. The response indicates to a great extent a 'justification' of apartheid. It indicates the rationalisation of the policy – everybody is doing it; it was not that bad.

Question 57 **Apartheid was unfair because of the following: (a) Discrimination on the grounds of race/ethnicity.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
57,9	15,4	26,7

Results: Virtually 58% agree that apartheid was unfair; 26% is of the opinion that it was not.

Question 58 **Apartheid was unfair because of the following: (b) It excluded the largest portion of the population from decision making, the economy and land ownership.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
72,7	11,0	16,3

Results: 72% agree, a relatively high percentage, and 16% disagree. It is noteworthy that the percentage that agree is 14% higher than that of the previous question. This question deals with the practical implications of apartheid, which are strongly disapproved of by the respondents.

Question 59 **Apartheid was unfair because of the following: (c) It regulated the free movements and relationships (i.e. marriages) of individuals and groups.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
84,1	10,2	5,7

Results: 84% agree. Only 5% disagree. This practical implication of apartheid is disapproved of even more by the respondents.

Question 60 **Apartheid was unfair because of the following: (d) It was against Biblical principles and therefore sinful.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
38,1	27,9	34,0

Results: 38% agree and 34% disagree. Compared to Question 59, the neutral response is almost 28%. The spread of the response indicated disagreement and the extra-ordinary confusion that was caused by opposing views of the Church. The neutral response indicates uncertainty and doubt. It appears that respondents realise that the policy was probably unfair (also see Questions 49,58 and 59). To accept that the policy was probably unbiblical, is difficult to admit or to accept.

Question 61 **The previous government brainwashed the Afrikaners and amongst other things, used the media to justify and ensure support for their policy.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
65,3	11,0	23,7

Results: 65% agree and 23% disagree. A large percentage accept that the media was used by the government. It is possible that this realisation brings disillusionment and cynicism.

Summary

The one aspect that is clear, is that the SADF conscript generation battles with and experiences conflict because of the accusation of apartheid. On the one side, one wants to believe that it was a natural flow of things, that the intention was good, and that racial division is practiced all over the world. On the other hand, when the practical implications are pointed out (economic discrimination), it is judged as unfair. It is recognised, to a certain extent, that apartheid developed out of colonialism (English). The influence of the Americans though was larger, according to the response. Respondents place the influence of the Germans less than that of the English and American influences. The largest percentage respondents do not consider, or do not know, that the German influence such as national-socialism and anti-Semitism did indeed play a role. It is significant that at the question regarding German influence, the neutral response (36%) was very high. One possibility is that respondents might not have thought of this or were not informed in this regard. It seems to be difficult for respondents to accept that apartheid is not Biblically justifiable. It is probably too much to ask for a group that is generally religious to make a paradigm shift and admit that the religious institutions and leaders might have strayed. There is a lot of division over this issue. It seems as if the Church is the big loser here. The SADF generation is seriously confused about this issue probably because of, amongst other things, the contradictory statements in the past. They are of the opinion that the media contributed to perceptions.

8.6 LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (QUESTIONS 62-75)

Question 62 **SWAPO was a communist inspired movement that had to be stopped.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
88,7	3,3	7,9

Results: 88% agree. Only 8% disagree. This indicates a strongly negative picture of SWAPO.

Question 63 The battle in SWA was the same as the battle in RSA.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
74,7	5,5	19,8

Results: 74% agree, while almost 20% disagree.

Question 64 I know the history of SWAPO.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
69,1	18,6	12,3

Results: Almost 70% replies positively. Whether the SADF conscript generation really knows the history, is doubtful.

Question 65 The SADF and SWAPO should understand each other's histories and show reconciliation gesture towards each other.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
62,4	20,7	16,9

Results: 62% agree, 17% disagree and 20% stand neutral. It is clear that a large number of respondents do agree. How many people would actually make the effort, is doubtful.

Question 66 The ANC was a revolutionary and communist movement that had to be stopped.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
84,3	5,5	10,2

Results: 84% agree. Only 10% disagree. This indicates a convincing negative picture of the ANC.

Question 67 **At the time, I was aware of the fact that the ANC's biggest support was among the non-whites in South Africa.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
91,1	3,8	5,1

Results: A shocking 91% agree! The necessitous question that needs to be asked, is how could the ANC have been ignored or denied for so long?

Question 68 **I know the history of the ANC.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
83,5	8,5	8,1

Results: 83% answer in the affirmative. The question is whether the SADF members would have been aware, for example, of the Freedom Charter? This history was concealed during the apartheid years.

Question 69 **The fact that the ANC received help from Communist countries, made it unacceptable.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
88,0	3,0	9,0

Results: An exceptionally high 88% agree with this statement. This confirms the motivation of the SADF to fight against communism. Only 9% disagree.

Question 70 **I was aware of the fact that the ANC received support from other countries, groups and Churches apart from the USSR/Communist countries.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
95,0	3,4	1,7

Results: A resounding 95% confirm that they were aware of this.

Question 71 The fact that the liberation movements used violence, amongst other things, was unacceptable.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
87,3	5,9	6,8

Results: 87% agree with the statement. (The question the freedom fighters ask is: what about the violence of the SADF?) Only 6% disagree.

Question 72 Their violence was understandable but not justifiable.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
62,7	8,9	28,4

Results: 62% agree, which indicates a relative degree of understanding for the liberation struggle, while 28% do not agree though.

Question 73 Their violence was justifiable.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
14,8	9,3	75,9

Results: Practically 76% argues that it is not justifiable and 14% argues that it is justifiable. Therefore, violence was understandable but not justifiable.

Question 74 The South African media placed the liberation movements in a very negative light.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
60,8	18,1	21,1

Results: 60% agree and 21% disagree, while 19% answered neutral. The response does indicate a measure of doubt.

Question 75 SWAPO, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were terrorists and cannot be deemed as military.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
78,4	5,5	16,1

Results: The answer indicates that the freedom movements were not regarded highly as soldiers by the former SADF. Only 16% thought that they could be deemed one way or the other.

Summary

The SADF conscript generation predominantly views both SWAPO and the ANC in a negative light. The battle in SWA and South Africa was very similar – revolutionary powers who wanted to overthrow the existing order using violence and communist support. Yet, there is a measure of understanding for the liberation movements. Respondents are of the opinion that the various histories should be acknowledged and known. The SADF conscript generation does not regard the freedom movements as well-trained militaries.

8.7 SOUTH AFRICA AFTER 1994 (QUESTIONS 76-85)

Question 76 Communism fell, and the USSR disintegrated, therefore the struggle against communism is over.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
47,2	4,3	48,5

Results: Here is a big disagreement as 48% are of the opinion that the ‘danger’ is not over, probably because the ANC was/is communistic/socialistic orientated; and partly because the SACP is still a political party and in an alliance with the

ANC. Almost half is of the opinion that the danger was over with the disintegration of the USSR and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Question 77 Communistic oriented movements won elections in both SWA and the RSA and therefore the battle the SADF was fighting, was lost.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
68,8	6,0	25,2

Results: 68% are of the opinion that the war did not achieve the intended results, while only 25% disagree. This high percentage might result in cynicism and negativity.

Question 78 The current ANC government rules well.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
3,0	1,3	95,7

Results: An extremely high response of 95% are of the opinion that the ANC are not ruling well. This is disturbing. The response could indicate that poor governance is indeed a reality; or exaggerated negative perceptions because of issues such as crime, service delivery and corruption; or that there is a total distancing and alienation from what the government is doing.

Question 79 The current ANC government aims to give everyone a fair chance.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
5,2	2,1	92,7

Results: 92% disagree. This is also unsettling as it probably is part of the ANC's policy and intentions to be fair. The perception is very negative and even pessimistic.

Question 80 **Reversed discrimination is taking place with i.e. the affirmative action policy.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
93,6	1,7	4,7

Results: 93% agree with this statement and indicates a strong experience that reversed discrimination is indeed taking place.

Question 81 **Leaders and politicians of the current government is just as corrupt as the previous government.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
72,3	9,8	17,9

Results: 72% agree while 18% disagree. A general cynicism regarding government/politicians exist.

Question 82 **Affirmative action needs to be applied to correct the inequalities of the past.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
23,1	8,1	68,8

Results: 69% feel affirmative action is not needed, while 23% think it is. It is uncertain what the group's opinion is regarding what would be needed to correct the inequalities, unless they are of the opinion that there are not any inequalities.

Question 83 **Politics is about power, position, privilege, money and to have the right 'connections'.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
90,1	2,6	7,3

Results: 90% agree with this statement; a significant majority.

Question 84 The military legacy of the old SADF is followed to a large extent by the new SANDF.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
10,6	8,5	80,9

Results: 81% do not agree at all. This means that the SADF conscript generation cannot identify with the SANDF. The reasons for this are not clear but could have to do with standards, negative media reporting or because the SANDF is composed of, amongst others, former enemies.

Question 85 I have reconciled with the new South Africa.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
38,3	17,0	44,7

Results: A large group of 45% disagree. Only 38% reconciled or made their peace. A significant number, 17% remain neutral which indicates uncertainty and doubt. This response indicates a psychological exile – we are here now, but we do not actually want to be here.

Summary

There is a large measure of conflict over the new government. Some are of the opinion that communism is still a threat. There is a totally negative picture regarding the way the ANC is ruling the country. Reversed discrimination is taking place. There is a cynicism regarding the government in general, probably, to a certain extent fed by information about the previous government. The new SANDF is regarded as not comparable at all to the SADF. The SADF conscript generation is experiencing a psychological banishment – we are here now, but we do not actually want to be here. At its worst, the SADF conscript

generation does not want to be here and at its best, it wants to reconcile, but they are struggling and do not know how.

8.8 RECONCILIATION, JUSTICE (IMPARTIALITY) AND PEACE (QUESTIONS 86-113)

Question 86 There is reconciliation amongst the different groups in South Africa.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
33,8	9,0	57,2

Results: 57% disagree. Only a third (33%) agree. This means that much still needs to be done to break down walls and build bridges.

Question 87 Reconciliation requires the following: (a) Forgiveness (to forgive unconditionally without the other having to apologise).

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
63,5	12,3	24,2

Results: 63% agree and 24% disagree. The purpose of the questions was to determine what the respondents understanding is of forgiveness. Forgiveness is the forgive unconditionally and forms the foundation of reconciliation.

Question 88 Reconciliation requires the following: (b) Confessing the wrongdoings of the past.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
50,2	17,8	32,0

Results: 50% agree, 32% disagree and 18% are uncertain. This response indicates an uncertainty of the necessity that wrongdoings must be confessed. Respondents

might feel threatened by the question. Yet, half was of the opinion that confessions are needed, which is positive if reconciliation wants to be reached.

Question 89 Reconciliation requires the following: (c) Unconditional acceptance and respect for all groups and people.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
69,4	11,7	18,9

Results: 69% agree and 19% disagree. It is positive that two-thirds are of the opinion that acceptance and respect are important. Yet, 19% indicated that it is not part of the components needed for reconciliation.

Question 90 Reconciliation requires the following: (d) Realising that all people are created in God's image.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
74,1	12,7	13,2

Results: 74% agree, which is slightly higher than that in Question 89. Only 13%, 6% less than question 89, disagree. The response is positive in the sense that the human dignity of all people is acknowledged to a great extent.

Question 91 Reconciliation requires the following: (e) Contentment with your own personal circumstances and past.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
83,1	10,0	6,8

Results: 83% agree, while 7% disagree. Here reconciliation has to do more with personal satisfaction.

Question 92 Reconciliation requires the following: (f) Willingness to take hands with former enemies and to work together towards a future.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
67,9	12,7	19,5

Results: 68% answered in the affirmative and 20% are not willing. The majority of respondents (two-thirds) declare themselves willing which indicates the insight and possibility to take hands.

Question 93 Reconciliation requires the following: (g) Compensation and/or rectification of injustices.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
42,1	24,0	33,9

Results: 42% agree but 34% do not agree. A noteworthy percentage of 24% are not sure, which indicates that they have not thought it through or have not received clarity on this, or that respondents do not know how rectification should take place. The answers show that there is a large difference of opinion and ignorance about how injustices of the past should be dealt with.

Question 94 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission succeeded in making a contribution towards reconciliation.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
26,6	9,5	64,0

Results: Almost two-thirds (64%) disagree, while only a quarter (26%) agree. The conclusion is that the majority did not experience the TRC positively, probably because the SADF came under fire. These respondents did not recognise and acknowledge the TRC as part of reconciliation. They were therefore also not

willing to tell their 'stories' there and thus lost the opportunity to gain anything positive from it.

Question 95 **Afrikaners did not really take part in the TRC because they saw it as one-sided, in other words it was aimed against the old regime.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
81,1	12,2	6,8

Results: 81% agree. There is no understanding of the positive healing the process brought to the 'others' (victims).

Question 96 **The SADF or individual soldiers should also have prepared presentation to be delivered to the TRC.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
50,2	16,1	33,6

Results: 50% agree. This means that some are of the opinion that it should have been done – to state 'my' side of the story. But 33% feel do not feel this way, which could mean that the process is judged as one-sided in advance, while 16% remain unsure.

Question 97 **I have read reports and books about the TRC.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
41,3	27,8	30,9

Results: 41% have read reports and 31% have not. A significant percentage of 28% remain neutral. The majority (59%) do not really know what the process entails or what it contributed. It was probably easier to hide behind ideological barriers and/or biases of one-sidedness.

Question 98 The conscript generation has a need for reconciliation/healing with the events of the past.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
60,5	17,0	22,4

Results: 60% agree, 22% disagree while 17% are in doubt. The positive conclusion from the response is that the majority feel that it is needed. The need is acknowledged. The *modus operandi* for dealing with the unresolved issues should perhaps be determined.

(Questions 99-113 Justice)

Question 99 Justice involves the following: (a) Everyone is the same and should enjoy the same prosperity.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
61,9	8,5	29,6

Results: 62% agree and 30% disagree. A significantly high percentage are of the opinion that the same prosperity should be enjoyed.

Question 100 Justice involves the following: (b) Everyone should be granted the same opportunity.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
94,1	3,2	2,7

Results: A very high percentage (94%) agree. It is encouraging that the majority argue that everyone should get an equal chance. There can be no discrimination.

Question 101 Justice involves the following: (c) Injustices should be rectified.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
59,9	19,8	20,3

Results: 60% agree, 20% disagree, while 20% are unsure. Compared to Question 100 the percentage who agree falls dramatically. If everyone in the old SA did not get the same opportunities, the question is whether this should not be rectified? Equal opportunities are 'positive' and do not affect the SADF *per se* negatively. Affirmative action, however, is taken against the Afrikaner and is perceived as negative. Yet 60%, a majority, indicated that justice involved correction, even if it is painful.

Question 102 Justice involves the following: (d) Reasonable dispensation where individuals and groups are respected.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
91,9	5,9	2,3

Results: 92% agree, indicating a positive attitude in that basic respect and human dignity are indispensable.

Question 103 Justice involves the following: (e) Everyone is entitled to a share in the prosperity of the country.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
82,4	9,0	8,6

Results: 82% agree, which indicates a strong awareness that everyone must share in the prosperity of the country.

Question 104 **Justice involves the following: (f) Everyone has to contribute to building the country.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
97,3	1,8	0,9

Results: Less than 1% disagree. Only 2% remain neutral (unsure) and 97% think that everyone should make a contribution, an extremely positive reaction.

Question 105 **Justice involves the following: (g) Compensation and/or rectification of the past.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
43,1	19,3	37,6

Results: Less than half (43%) agree, 38% disagree and 19% remain neutral. The SADF and Afrikaners experience rectification negatively and as if this action is aimed against them. See Question 101 which is basically the same question. Answers to question 101 and 105 contradict each other.

Question 106 **Justice involves the following: (h) Reconciliation and justice are possible in SA.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
56,8	11,8	31,4

Results: 57% agree while 31% do not think it is possible. It is possible that the longing for reconciliation and justice is there especially if the answers to questions 102-104 is taken into consideration.

Question 107 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (a) The legacy of apartheid.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
35,6	19,2	45,2

Results: 35% argue that apartheid's legacy prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation from taking place and 45% deny it. A significant 19% remain neutral. Once again, there is clear disagreement, or ignorance regarding the consequences of apartheid.

Question 108 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (b) Injustices that have not been rectified yet.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
34,8	21,7	43,4

Results: 35% agree while the biggest group respondents (43%) argue that it is not the case. A relatively high 22% remain neutral, indicating uncertainty. There is a great deal of disagreement to this question.

Question 109 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (c) Affirmative action.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
57	9	33

Results: 57% are of the opinion that affirmative action prevents reconciliation and 33% disagree. A great difference of opinion is clear. Because the whites feel that they are disadvantaged by affirmative action, they see affirmative action as unfair and unacceptable. Compare to questions 82, 93, 99, 100, 101, 105, 108.

**Question 110 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (d)
Distrust towards each other.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
85,5	6,4	8,2

Results: 85% reacts in the affirmative. It is an important acknowledgement that distrust exist. The question that can be asked is what individuals, groups, churches, business and leaders in general are doing to build trust.

**Question 111 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (e) Pride
and self-justification.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
75,6	14,9	9,5

Results: 76% is an encouraging response as it points to insight and a realisation that people are proud and self-justifying towards themselves or their group. Only 10% disagree, while 15% may be wondering or struggling with the merit of the statement.

**Question 112 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (f)
Corruption.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
90,5	1,8	7,7

Results: 91% agree that corruption has the capacity to destroy good order. Only 2% remain neutral and 7% disagree. The viewpoint that corruption is a large problem, is clear.

**Question 113 What prevents a fair dispensation and reconciliation? (g)
Crime.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
91,9	0,9	7,2

Results: 92% agree. Only 7% disagree with this statement. Here too the opinion amongst the respondents is that crime is just as important as corruption and a factor that hinders reconciliation.

Summary

This category especially tested the understanding of the respondents regarding Biblical concepts of reconciliation, guilt, confession, forgiveness, restitution and justice. On the positive side, there is the insight that all people are created in God's image and that everyone should be allowed equal opportunities, not that everyone is the same and will experience the same prosperity. On the negative side, there is doubt regarding the necessity of taking hands with former enemies. Not all SADF men see it as essential to confess before God. Even fewer feel it is necessary to confess to the other groups. Furthermore, there is the understanding that apartheid created inequalities. The full impact of this legacy, on the other hand, is not fully comprehended. Affirmative action as the method to establish equality and fairness, is seen as wrong and unreasonable. Play according to my rules, or I do not want to play along! It is admitted that mistrust hinders reconciliation. The SADF conscript generation admits that the 'other' groups were/are not really known. This leads to considerable mistrust. People who do not know each other, cannot trust each other. People who do not trust each other cannot work together to help build our country. Yet, an overwhelming majority of the SADF conscript generation declared that they are willing to help build the future, which is a positive indication. It is acknowledged that pride and self-justification prevents reconciliation. Crime and corruption are powerful factors that hinders it. It is important to mention that everyone in the country are victims of crime, not just white people – a observation that exists erroneous in some whites, as if it is only aimed at 'us'. Lastly, the TRC is judged very negatively, though some are of the opinion that more SADF members should have made

presentations. The TRC, an initiative that should have been part of the process of reconciliation, is not recognised or acknowledged.

Unfortunately, only a slight majority (57%) are of the opinion that reconciliation is possible, as opposed to 31% of the negative response. Tangible, visible and concrete initiatives can work against negativity. The SADF conscript generation needs to break free from the 'victim' mentality and launch initiatives to speed up the process of reconciliation.

Other reconciliation initiatives can also be supported and does not necessarily have to take place on own terms. The question of how serious this generation is about reconciliation, with its associated Biblical demands which in the end is liberating, needs to be considered. The Church has a prophetic role, firstly to convince people of the value of reconciliation, but also to accompany them on the unfamiliar and challenging way to reconciliation. Nevertheless, pride and self-justification stands in the way thereof and it needs to be confronted in a decisive yet loving manner.

Though the three sectors of society i.e. (1) government (2) business and (3) civil society – institutions such as non-government organisations (NGOs); community based organisations (CBOs); and faith based organisations (FBOs) - can collectively create the context for reconciliation if the will exists to do this, reconciliation is initiated, experienced and received by individuals. This is what lays the foundation for justice and peace, not the absence of violence and abuse, but the wellbeing of the concurrent inclusive concepts of wellness and peace.

8.9 SPIRITUAL/RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES (QUESTIONS 114-119)

Question 114 It is important to humble ourselves before God and to seek Godly guidance regarding the past, present and future.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
85,6	7,9	6,5

Results: 86% agree which gives a strong indication that the SADF conscript generation realise that salvation and guidance can be obtained from God. Only 6% disagree with this. This is a strong indication that chaplains, ministers, spiritual counsellors and the Church in general can and should play a critical role.

Question 115 The Afrikaner has guilt that he needs to confess before God.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
40,7	14,4	44,9

Results: Only 40% agree while 45% disagree. This indicates a great lack of insight in the past. Maybe they are of the opinion that it is the politicians and/or the Church that needs to confess, because they were/are victims of deception. The SADF conscript generation only followed orders. Maybe the SADF conscript generation are not aware of gross human rights violations; or they are truly ignorant regarding the effect and consequences of apartheid; or they do not take the desolate tales of the other groups seriously; and/or they deny it or justify it in the context of the past. Only 14% remain neutral.

Question 116 The Afrikaner has guilt that he needs to confess before people.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
26,0	14,4	59,5

Results: 60% is strongly against this and does not see the need for confession of guilt. Only 26% agree to the necessity thereof and 14% remain neutral. A relatively low percentage felt that transgressions should be confessed before God (40%). Confession before people is even less (26%). The Biblical principle that confession can be made on behalf of someone else, as indicated in Daniel 9:4, Nehemiah 1:6 and by Jesus in Matt. 23:34 is not understood or obeyed. The Biblical necessity is not grasped. It might be pride, or the discomfort of standing as the accused. It might be that once the issue of guilt is acknowledged, the resulting consequence is too big to accept. Also see the commentary at question 115.

Question 117 The Church gave the correct guidance to the Afrikaner during apartheid.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
25,9	15,3	58,8

Results: 59% do not agree that the Church gave the correct guidance. It was a positive question. One wonders what would have happened if a negative question was asked first? Only 26% or a quarter agree and 15% are neutral. This indicates to a great extent that the SADF conscript generation is disappointed and even angry with religious leaders. It might be because at first apartheid was justified on Biblical grounds, while later on it was condemned as sin. People were disillusioned by the fallibility (deception) of the Church that confused them in this way. This sentiment is also clear in the answers to the question whether apartheid was Biblical or not; or sinful or not. Without a doubt, there is confusion in the thoughts of the respondents regarding this issue. The Church will have to humbly confess its guilt to the people it ‘confused’ or ‘mislead’. It is also not perfect. To which extent the Church has lost its grip, only time will tell. The Church is the big loser because members feel that they have been abandoned. How deep and great the rational and emotional damage; the loss of trust in the Church and church leaders; and the undermining of individuals spiritual lives, remain unanswered. To what extent the SADF conscript generation project their frustrations, uncertainties and anger on the Church also remains a question.

Question 118 Currently the Church gives useful guidance to the Afrikaner.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
24,5	22,7	52,8

Results: Only 24% agree that the Church is currently offering useful guidance to the Afrikaner (as oppose to 26% during apartheid). Just over half (53%) are of the opinion that the Church does not provide useful guidance in current tumultuous

and changing times. The question can be asked whether this indicates disillusionment and frustration with the church members? Does the Church appear ambiguous or uncertain? Has the Church lost its credibility in the opinion of disappointed soldiers? It is clear that the Church will have to do introspection. It will have to give clear guidance and probably have to plan a strategy of how the SADF generation may be reached. The Church has answers, but it will have to be expressed in practice after collaboration with people such as the respondents. Obviously, it will have to be communicated very caringly, without being bossy, to a middle-age generation who are post-modernistic and becoming more critical about structures and institutions such as the Church.

Question 119 If the Afrikaner humble himself again before God, God will show him what role he can play in South Africa in the future.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
70,4	17,6	12,0

Results: 70% agree, though one would want to see a higher number that react positively, but it is understandable in the context of the many responses that has been stated and/or discussed in this chapter. Only 12% disagree, while 17% remain neutral, a quite high percentage. It seems as if the SADF conscript generation who are mostly 'religious', realise that to humble themselves before God can help immensely to move in the right direction.

Summary

The Church has been strongly criticised. The percentages indicate that the Church has lost credibility and currently is not valued very highly. This does not mean that the case is lost. There is a strong indication that the Afrikaner who is religiously inclined, highly values Godly guidance. The Church will probably have to take initiative and at least confess to its own members that it acted unbiblically in the apartheid years and that it has not and is not doing enough to minister to the SADF conscript generation. The negative attitudes can also be interpreted as disappointment in the Church that is now absent in the midst of the crisis, but also as a call to the Church for direction and guidance.

The Church can regain ground by addressing the need, it has the capacity to do so and has done so in the past, for example when the DRC acted during and after the Boer War and Depression years. Church leaders will have to be involved at ground level and get off their thrones! They will have to get their hands dirty there where the battles are raging in and around people.

8.10 THE FUTURE OF THE SADF CONSCRIPT GENERATION (QUESTIONS 120-129)

Question 120 The Afrikaner has a role to play in the prosperity, growth and development of South Africa.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
98,6	0,5	0,9

Results: 99% agree – a exceptional positive indication that the SADF conscript generation is willing.

Question 121 I see myself as someone who can make a contribution.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
90,6	5,2	4,2

Results: An overwhelming percentage (91%) are willing and make themselves available to contribute. A miniscule 4% disagree. Maybe the currently turbulence that is being experienced is temporary and symptomatic of a transition period. Changes are taking place. The SADF and Afrikaner might need to test their attitude.

Question 122 It is meaningful for Afrikaners to get involved in any form of governance, whether local, provincial or national.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
92,5	3,3	4,2

Results: 93% agree which indicates that the Afrikaner realise he has to be part of decision-making and management, an area where the Afrikaner has traditionally been very involved in.

Question 123 The Afrikaner ought to be part of organisations that include all groups working together to the prosperity of all.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
89,2	5,7	5,2

Results: 89% are positive. The conclusion that can be made is that the Afrikaner realise he will have to and can work towards mutual advantage. Apartheid separated groups. The new dispensation, whether right or wrong, expects the former SADF members to make a joint contribution.

Question 124 The Afrikaner should establish his own organisations to look after his own interests first.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
73,6	10,8	15,6

Results: 74% agree. The purpose of this question was to compare it to Question 123. It is noteworthy that the response to question 123, is 15% higher (89%) than question 124 (74%). This means that even though 'own interests' are important, 'communal interests' are more important. Yet, the answer could also be interpreted that the Afrikaner realise he will have to take care of his own culture and that there is no longer the luxury of a government who will do it on behalf of the Afrikaner. This assumption is confirmed by the rise of cultural festivals since 1994.

Question 125 The conscript generation was part of the old dispensation but could, because of their military and other experiences, contribute meaningfully to the new SA.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
93,9	2,3	3,8

Results: A very high percentage of 94% are willing to make a contribution. This indicates a realisation that the SADF men were prepared and equipped by their military experiences and knowledge. Experiences that were gained can be used to the benefit of the whole of SA.

Question 126 There is a future for the conscript generation in this country.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
70,4	17,6	12,0

Results: 70% agree which is a relatively high positive response. A quarter (25%) though do not see a future. The positive response is dampened by the doubt over the future. In contrast, on question 125, 94% were of the opinion that they could make a contribution. It might be that external circumstances are so bad that the future seems darker. Maybe faith and hope are absent.

Question 127 It is good that books and studies are published that reflects research on this period.

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
93,4	5,6	0,9

Results: 93% indicate the need. Possibly it has to do with the need for recognition for service, a universal need under soldiers, or it might be because the current government has negative views on the old SADF. Books and studies also help to bring closure.

Question 128 **I will fight for my country again.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
67,1	8,9	23,9

Results: 67% is willing to fight for SA again. Though it is not an overwhelming percentage, it does represent two-thirds; 24%, almost a quarter, are not willing.

Question 129 **I think it is good to join a reserve force unit to make available that which I learnt in the military.**

Agree	Neutral	Disagree
70,4	13,1	16,4

Results: 70% are positive about being a member of a reserve force unit. Taking everything into account, this is high; 16% are not willing. In a certain sense, question 129 is the same as question 128. The 'attitude' though, is more positive.

Summary

The SADF soldiers feel strongly about making a positive contribution. Experiences in the SADF can be productively employed to this end. They realise they have a role to play in maintaining their own culture. There is a willingness to work with other groups and organisation to help build this country. Though the majority are of the opinion that there is a future (70%), everyone is not sure. A significant number (67%) is still willing to fight for the country, which does reflect patriotism to a certain extent.

“There is no way to peace along the way of safety. For peace must be dared. It is the great venture. It can never be made safe. Peace is the opposite of security. To demand guarantees is to distrust, and this distrust in turn brings further war. To look for guarantees is to want to protect oneself. Peace means giving oneself altogether to the law of God, wanting no security, but in faith and obedience laying the destiny of the nations in the hand of the Almighty God, not trying to direct it for selfish purposes. Battles are won not with weapons, but with God. They are won when the way leads to the cross. Which of us can claim to know what it might not mean for the world if one nation should meet the aggressor, not with weapons in hand, but praying, defenceless, and for that very reason protected by a 'bulwark never failing'” (Dietrich Bonhoeffer as quoted by Bosanquet 1969:145)

CHAPTER 9

THE ROAD AHEAD

9.1 INTRODUCTION

A portion of the SADF conscript generation and Afrikaner is not, to use the words of an old Afrikaans folk song, jolly (*plesierig*) anymore – at least a large segment of the Afrikaners, Afrikaans speaking peoples, Afrikaanses, Afrikaans speaking South Africans or whichever way they prefer to be called. *Quo Vadis?* Where to in the 21st century? “Who are we?” many are still asking, 21 years after the first democratic election in 1994, with them are no longer the group in charge of South Africa. This question is also asked at an impressive statue that was erected at the Voortrekker Monument. The creator of the statue asks the question on behalf of the Afrikaners. The theme of the statue indicates that currently there is no answer, rather a search, wandering, incompleteness and probably confusion. Theologically the Afrikaner should, as the Psalmist (Ps. 127), cry out, *“Unless the Lord builds the house, its builders labour in vain.”* A Biblical foundation is the only certainty and warranty for Christian believers that they are moving within the will of God. The house must be built on a rock. If parts were and are built on sand, the foundation has to be redone (Luke 6:48-49; 1Cor. 3:10). If any unbiblical thought, argument or attack stands against the lordship of Christ, it must be destroyed (2 Cor. 10:5).

9.2 WHAT IS THE CRISIS OF THE SADF CONSCRIPT GENERATION?

Giliomee (2001:21) describes the crisis as such:

...the Afrikaners suffer from what one can call post-totalitarian exhaustion. In this regards we can compare apartheid with communism where one principle organised and maintained a whole society. When that principle becomes discredited, not only does the system collapse, but also what we called in the apartheid's time, a certain life and world view.

The crisis of the Afrikaner can be described as a loss, similar to someone who lost a loved one. De Klerk (2000:52) expands on the theme by calling it “...loss of power, loss of prestige, loss of influence... loss of language, loss of occupation, loss of security.” Also, Meiring (1999) uses this image of loss. Keuris (2009:2) talks of a diaspora or dispersal of the Afrikaner.

The emotional or psychological phases of loss that such a person usually experience, can be identified. The phases do not always follow the same order or time frame and are experienced with a variety of levels of intensity. Generally, it consists out of eight phases⁹⁴: shock and disbelief; denial; confusion; anger; mourning; guilt; depression; and acceptance (Louw 2008:552).

Burger⁹⁵ (2013) and Boshoff (2011)⁹⁶, in their interaction with Afrikaners, found a typical mourning reaction because of loss. If the assumption is true, it can be accepted that the Afrikaners are in one of the phases of loss. Some deny that there is a problem, whether in the past or present. Some people live as if nothing has changed. Things go on as normal and should continue as normal. Many people also experience anger that is either directed at the previous leaders and commanders or is aimed at the present government. This is attributed to a feeling of powerlessness, amongst other things. They feel they were cheated or betrayed, almost as someone who was swindled in a financial transaction. Usually the doctor or the hospital will be blamed when a loved one passes away. Why did they not stop this? They could have done more! To which extent this anger is projected towards own families, can only be determined through further research. There are also those individuals who feel intensely guilty about the past. This might be partly a genuine realisation of the injustices that were committed by their ‘own’ group, or because of the blame that is often still placed on the Afrikaners by the people currently in power. This

⁹⁴ The author adjusted Louw’s (2008:550) phases and changed the order.

⁹⁵ Barrie Burger travelled through the country on horseback as an evangelist, in November and December 2013. On the 16th of December he was at Blood River to commemorate the 175th anniversary of the battle. In a telephonic conversation (October 2014) with Barry’s wife, she shared her husband’s observations with the researcher.

⁹⁶ In an illuminating study amongst congregation members, WS Boshoff found the same loss and mourning reaction.

feeling of guilt is numbing and reminds strongly of the guilt experienced by later generation Germans⁹⁷. Some people also suffer from despair and despondency, and even depression. Many Afrikaners are demotivated, withdrawing themselves from the active community and struggling to make a constructive contribution in their sphere of life. They do not have the ability to adjust in a South Africa where the majority of people are of 'colour'. It is very possible that some do not *want* to adjust, while others just do not know *how* to adjust. This probably is because apartheid effectively separated groups and there was very little interaction, which contributed to poor understanding between and trust in one another. The results of the questionnaire indicated that there is a lack of trust (85% Question 110) and that this is one of the main reasons why reconciliation has not taken place yet. It is encouraging that there are those who have adjusted and accepted the new realities and are making excellent contributions.

Many researchers, as mentioned before, describe the crisis as an identity crisis (4.1-4.3). It has to do with the question of who the Afrikaner is and where is he going to. The loss of political power contributed to the identity crisis. The crisis is about the Afrikaner's view that he implemented policies according to his identity and that many of the institutions of this identity is now been 'broken down'. His identity includes the following: (1) a chosen nation that needs to be separated from others (apartheid and e.g. the creation of homelands, a ban on mixed marriages, population registration); (2) his language being enforced on others (certain subjects were only taught in Afrikaans in black schools as one of the official languages); (3) a strong anti-English sentiment which meant that Afrikaners held the most important positions in economy, politics and cultural areas, at the expense of competent English speaking people (affirmative action after the NP came to power in 1948) and (4) discrimination and prejudices against people of other colour.

The essence of identity has to do with who you are, but also determines where you are heading, what you are going to do and why. The apparent loss of identity caused confusion as to the exact nature and future of the Afrikaner. Their identity, that which was an integral part of them, was robbed and the stability under their feet crumbled. This

⁹⁷ In Austria in 1992, the researcher experienced the sentiments of a young German: how he was still apologetic about the Nazi past, 47 years after the end of the war!

led to a lack of direction and motivation. The only thing left is to pursue material prosperity, something that happened after 1994, according to the former Afrikanerbond chairman (Van der Merwe 2010:318). The crisis is actually a crisis of positioning oneself in society. Where does the Afrikaner position himself in the new South Africa? What can he bring to the table? Does he have something to bring as he still carries the image of the oppressor? He experiences being marginalised. Sometimes he wonders if he still has the legitimacy to make a contribution, and despite his self-image, he struggles to carry the psychological burden. This again causes a despondency or counter-reaction against those who opportunely use and abuse the apartheid past to penalise the Afrikaner.

Current realities also contribute to the crisis – affirmative action, uncurbed crime, farm murders, poor service delivery by government, and black economic empowerment. This feeling of frustration is described and slightly hidden in a footnote by the respected Leopold Scholtz when he writes about the soldier Robbie Hartslief who was overlooked for a promotional position in the SADF, “...nevertheless he was overlooked for commander of RDF (Rapid Deployment Force) because of the pale colour of his skin, in favour of a MK officer with the correct pigment and political connections” (Scholtz 2012:496). A world-wide recession, together with affirmative action, had an influence especially on Afrikaner men. Oliver (2011:81) quotes Giliomee (2009:688) who describes this dilemma:

These traditional roles were shattered after 1994. Large numbers of Afrikaner men lost their jobs, and many were unable to find other means of income. This resulted in extreme emotional stress as countless households were forced to adjust to mothers working long hours, providing the family income and fathers who judged themselves as failures, to take the household tasks upon their shoulders. The long-term effects of these changes on the identity of Afrikaners will become clear only with the passing of time. About 117 000 white civil servants left their jobs between 1998 and 2002 after receiving compensation for leaving early. Most of these were Afrikaner men.

Therefore, some of the SADF conscript generation suffers from a form of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Some are very negative about the label and others deny it vehemently. It is regarded as a type of weakness. Others who do suffer from it are too shy to admit it. Connell et al. (2013:434) researched this, and remarks, “Although the prevalence of PTSD is high among former South African servicemen who were exposed to

combat during the border war, the majority showed a high level of resilience." According to him, the percentage of PTSD among former SADF members is 33%, the same as for Vietnam veterans. What enhances the crisis is that this generation is now entering their midlife years. Baines (2003:172) describes the Lebanon veterans' similar experience as such:

A 20-year longitudinal study of Lebanon War veterans noted an increase in post-traumatic symptoms twenty years after the war which was related to aging and mid-life changes: Midlife generally entails some reduction in activity and a shift from planning to reminisce and from occupation with current events to the review and rethinking of one's life. In the course of this transition, the altered perspective may force the forgotten or suppressed traumatic memories up to the foreground again.

Compared to Vietnam and an overview of literature on the border war, the SADF veterans also experience the following emotions and sensations (Baines 2003:178):

- *Rite of passage* – from a position of childlike innocence to bad experiences in war and reflection thereon;
- *Love-hate relationship* - the contradiction between enjoyment, pleasure and excitement and the sadness, fear and repulsion of killing and battle;
- *Dehumanisation of the enemy* - the enemy is despised as not really human, or half-human, labelled as 'terrs';
- *Terror and gratuitous violence* - during 'search and destroy' missions to eliminate the enemy there was indiscriminate violence and brutality against civilians;
- *Fatalism* - if your name is on the rocket then it's your time;
- *Combat madness* - soldiers cracking under the strain of combat;
- *PTSD* - symptoms include rage, anxiety, alcohol and drug abuse, guilt and paranoia;
- *Sense of betrayal* - victims of political machinations, stabbed in the back;
- *Emasculation* - worries about girlfriends' or wives' faithfulness or infidelity;
- *Futility of war* - die for nothing.

A further dilemma for the SADF conscript generation is that some of them are of the opinion that what they fought for was in vain, as SWAPO's and the ANC's demands were met in any case. Almost half of the respondents (48%) (Question 76) are of the opinion that the battle is not over yet, even though communism came to an end. Two-thirds of them (68%) (Question 77) are of the opinion that the battle was futile as the communist-orientated movements in the RSA and Namibia won and are currently the ruling powers. A vast majority (95%) think the ANC are ruling poorly (Question 78).

The political changes were not facilitated or made easier and the SADF men were mostly unprepared for it and largely against it (Jansen 2009:138).

Lastly, the old SADF receives a cold shoulder from the current government. Their battle (the current government), was a *just war*⁹⁸, whereas the SADF's was an *unjust war*. Also the respected Archbishop Tutu (News24 2014:online), in a remark about Israel and their actions towards Palestinians, says the following of the old SADF, "*Their humiliation is familiar to all black South Africans who were corralled and harassed and insulted and assaulted by the security forces of the apartheid government.*" Of the security forces, however, he says, "*... dehumanised perpetrator might be helped to recover his lost humanity*" (Tutu 1999:158). Surely the SADF soldiers are more than mere perpetrators.

Prof. Francois Venter, former chairman of the Afrikanerbond, states that the result of these transformation and nation building initiatives is that among the Afrikaners today, especially those who think things through, there is a wide reaching cultural *malaise*, manifesting in withdrawal, political uninvolvedness, negativity and cynicism (Van der Merwe 2010:315).

Erasmus (2005:241) gives perspective when he points out that there is between 3000 and 5000 ethnic groups in the world and that they are all situated in approximately 200 countries in the world. This means that most ethnic groups are minority groups; polyethnic; and multicultural. They uphold themselves mostly with ease. The Afrikaner,

⁹⁸ A remark by a former MK soldier about the attack on Cassinga in Angola, where, according to the liberation movements, innocent civilians died. SADF sources claims that it was a base but that civilians fled there during the attack and that the death of civilians was used as propaganda. See 5.7.

who once had the power, is now forced to take up a minority position – a position he has not made peace with yet.

Jansen (2014) rightly points out that it is not just the Afrikaner who is in a crisis. In fact, all South Africans are, to some extent, experiencing a crisis because of the past. The trauma continued for too long, therefore there is no such thing as private pain.

Next, the focus will be on the issue of the term Afrikaner, as far as his identity is concerned, and if the name is still relevant and appropriate.

9.3 WHO IS THE AFRIKANER?

In Chapter 4, it was explained in detail that the SADF conscript generation (at least the Afrikaans speaking members)⁹⁹ is a product of his past. Though the Afrikaner as a group and nation developed from various groupings since 1652, a specific identity did develop. This includes, for example: (1) the endeavour for self-determination and independence, which was realised through the Great Trek, the establishment of the Boer republics as well as the victory of the NP in 1948; (2) the experience of being threatened by other groups and tribes of which the struggle in the Eastern Cape against the Xhosas and the Slagtersnek Rebellion, as well as the continued struggle for survival were some of the reasons for the Great Trek; (3) an exceptional anti-British position which was established during and after the Anglo-Boer War; (4) the inclination to form a *laager* in the vicinity of threats and opposition - of which the Battle of Blood River serves as model, as depicted in the *laager* (circle of wagons) at the Voortrekker Monument – and which can also indicate closure, exclusion and isolation; (5) a belief that they are a 'chosen', 'elected' and 'predestined' nation, as the Old Testament Israel (Smit 1980:310), a sentiment which was enhanced through the Godly protection during the Battle of Blood River; (6) the endeavour to maintain the unique language, of which the *Taal Monument* is evidence; and (7) a strong Protestant and especially Calvinistic religious orientation which gained prominent shape through history (See 4.3.1 ff).

⁹⁹ The researcher was severely criticized by some English-speaking former SADF members because the research focused on the Afrikaans speaking members. They were of the opinion that they too made sacrifices and was just as much part of the SADF as the Afrikaner; a valid point. Though, it was the Afrikaner and Afrikaner institutions that came strongly under fire during and after apartheid.

Unfortunately, there is a strong predisposition to discord. Schisms in all areas (church, political and cultural), throughout history, proves this.

This unique identity, compared to other identities that are acknowledged in our country, was developed, expanded, maintained and ingrained especially at home, in school, church and cultural organisations, with the Broederbond who secretly led and facilitated this process. Frameworks and intellectual thinking, containing theological elements, gave body to this identity and helped to justify it. Kuyperian influences emphasised the *own nation in its own area*. Using Calvinist teachings such as the predestination as well as identifying with Israel from the Old Testament - separating from other nations and occupying the promised land - contributed to this. There was also the influence of the Ham-tradition whereby the indigenous groups would remain the '*water carriers and the woodcutters*'. Add to this the nationalistic German thoughts that originated with Fichte, and which was a contributing factor in the creation of National Socialism with the emphasis on a pure Arian race, it did indeed have an influence on Afrikaner thinking. (This was discussed in Chapter 4.)

In practice this specific identity and the aim to maintain this identity gave rise to the establishment of ethnic-based homelands and the forced removal of black residents in some areas; many laws, such as the ban on mixed marriages and the Population Registration Act; the enforcement of Afrikaans as medium of teaching in black schools; Christian national education as ethos in education institutions; the establishment of the Republic in 1961 which was interpreted as the final 'victory' with the shedding of the English yoke; and lastly, the fight against the communist Total Onslaught in both the RSA as well as SWA and Angola.

This identity was challenged and defeated in a democratic order that came into being in 1994. Some researchers were critical over this identity and refers to it as a social construct and a farce. Currently, the identity crisis creates at best a new search for identity and an associated contribution to the new dispensation. At worst, Afrikaners feel alienated and excluded from the country, they withdraw themselves from meaningful contributions and a minority of them even considers an armed response. Mostly, there

are murmurings and frustrations over aspects such as affirmative action, crime, poor service delivery and corruption. This was proved by the respondents' answers that were discussed in Chapter 8.

How the Afrikaner is going to and wants to express himself, and what identity he wants to claim for himself, depends greatly on himself. This will be discussed in the next section.

9.4 HOW IS IDENTITY CURRENTLY EXPRESSED?

After 20 years of democratic rule, most Afrikaners have adapted to the new South Africa to a greater or lesser extent. It does seem as if the group is trying to maintain its own identity and culture by among other things his 'own' Afrikaans schools, churches and cultural festivals. The attitude towards the term Afrikaner, varies from identifying with it very strongly to having an aversion to it, some preferring other terms such as Afrikaanses, Afrikaan, Afrikaans speaking and Afrikaans speaking South African (Giliomee 2011:33-34). He accepts being a minority group. Here and there remains the tendency to hold onto the past. Especially rehashing the memories of the Anglo-Boer War and the era of innocence, is experiencing a boom. The play of Deon Opperman, *Ons vir jou* (Packedhouse 2014) testifies of this, as well as songs such as *De la Rey* (Lambrechts & Visagie 2009:75). An emerging generation of young people are aiming to establish themselves. For the SADF conscript generation, this is the most difficult. They might have experienced the best of the old administration but also the worst of both administrations. As the privileged ones in the old South Africa, they had to maintain law and order domestically and also on the country's borders. Their history and actions are currently portrayed negatively by leaders and historians. This in itself creates an identity crisis. Some might attempt to shed the old identity or might attempt to make it dominant again.

Lambrechts and Visagie (2009:95) researched Afrikaans music and found that protest songs (i.e. by Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel) from the 1980s to today, with a song such as *Dalk 'n Boerseun* by Klopjag in 2005, struggle with identity. They make the following observation:

...doubts whether he is a boerseun (farmer boy) in the traditional sense of the word, someone who determines his identity by bringing it in-line with history, or a 'new' Afrikaner, someone who looks critically at the past. The writer tries to shed the past but remains trapped in it. It is therefore futile to try and 'escape' from historical continuity and signifies a deep internal conflict.

At the same time, the song *De la Rey* was very popular. The song succeeded in evoking strong emotions with the depiction of a *boer* soldier who is humiliated by the English but who will indeed rise again with the leadership of an almost mythological De la Rey. Lambrechts and Visagie (2009:95) are of the opinion that this song indicates a regression in the search for a new identity. Whatever the case may be, people long for times gone past. This was also the case with the East-Germans who, in the 'confusion' after the fall of the Berlin Wall and communism, searched for pre-communist symbols, heroes, places and happenings. It was done to restore their self-esteem (Asmal & Roberts 1997:52).

Afrikaner thinkers such as Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the political opposition; Francois Venter, a former Afrikanerbond leader; as well as Erasmus, an academic who understands how culture and identity indeed transforms continually, can maybe shed some light:

According to Van Zyl Slabbert (1991:49-51) (quoted in Van der Merwe 2012:316)

...up until 1990 an official Afrikaner identity existed, which was mostly determined by a master narrative constructed around church membership, connection to political power and party membership, and membership of cultural organisations such as the Broederbond. The loss of this official identity after 1994, according to writers like Vosloo (Die Burger, 28 January 2005:12) and Roodt (<http://www.praag.org/mening/2005:4> of 13), marginalised the Afrikaner and dumped them in an existential crisis. In this regard it is pointed out that the Afrikaners' emotional and intellectual ties with the Afrikaans culture, churches, politics and the Afrikaans language is changing, even diminishing, and that they are striving more for a new, cosmopolitan identity and lifestyle.

Francois Venter (Van der Merwe 2012:318), at a council meeting of the Afrikanerbond on 24 September 2004 in Durban, said the following regarding the Afrikaner's experience of transformation in a post-apartheid South Africa:

1994 came and went and for the Afrikaner it was also a welcome end to an era of inclusiveness and cultural isolation. Soon though, it would become clear that the euphoria with which the Afrikaners met the new era, was seriously stressed. Whether deliberately or not, the new elite of the country would start chipping away the basic profits of Afrikaans, like universities or the position of the language in public service. The Truth and Reconciliation Committee would rightly or wrongly confront the Afrikaner with their darkest moments in history. The systematic disappearance of the Afrikaner from the public sector would lead to an ambiguous embrace of private enterprise: on the one hand it would awaken an unprecedented economic enterprise spirit in Afrikaners, and on the other hand it would turn Afrikaners into determined materialists, maybe for the first time in their history, whether by tasteless displays of their wealth, or by striving relentlessly for said wealth in order to make up for the loss of political power. But maybe the most dramatic development after 1994, with the end of cultural isolation, was that the Afrikaners found themselves immersed in the current wave of globalisation and wouldn't follow the route of creative resistance as the minority group, but rather the route of uncritical surrender.

As the final example, Erasmus (2005:241) notes the following:

The fluidity of culture and identity boundaries mean that culture and identity are constantly moving and are subject to change with regards to form, function and content. It is important to acknowledge the following point of view in this regard. It is the person themselves that is actively providing content to his destination – he/she is the actor that adjusts and reacts and who has their own opinion regarding matters and need to make decisions and act accordingly. Applied to the situation in which the Afrikaner finds himself regarding his language, culture and identity, it means the following: assimilation and the consequent abandonment of language, culture and identity isn't a necessity in multi-ethnic/-cultural situations. Individuals choose consciously between alternative cultural and identity options. The meaning that is linked to language, culture and identity, represents a personal choice and the Afrikaner must not regard himself as the passive victim of assimilation. Anthropologically it is acknowledged that when people are confronted with social-cultural transformation and changes over which they have no control, there is often

a clinging to past customs, beliefs and views because this offers an imagined feeling of security. The fact that the Afrikaner is in such a situation, where he had to give up his position of power and feels that his language, identity and culture is being threatened, forms part of the rationale that the Afrikaner pursuit, for some, find expression in extremism. The deliberate choices of some of the important role players in South African politics during the 1990s, prevented the 'inevitable' blood bath and racial war that prominent academics like Van den Berghe (1965a; 1965b) predicted for South Africa. This contribution argues in favour of the intentional decisions of the Afrikaner to accept the revelation of the 'other' to his own identity.

It seems that the Afrikaner is finding his way, slowly but surely, this time totally on his own, without the luxury of a political party, and with varying influences from current cultural organisations and groups. The study though, calls for a radical Christological identity. The study accepts the legitimacy of culture and identity. It has already been mentioned (2.6.11) that the one-sided identity of the Afrikaner also lured the Afrikaner away and seduced him from a pure Biblical identity in Christ. This has to be recovered.

9.5 WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH APARTHEID?

The study argues that apartheid was the practical result of certain historical events as well as theological and ideological schools of thought in Afrikaner ranks. This was specifically addressed in Chapter 4. For the purpose of this study, it was important to determine the opinion of the SADF conscript generation regarding apartheid, as it emerged in the questionnaire. Also, a few opinions of academics and authors are mentioned, and for the sake of perspective, other places that have experienced similar histories and dilemmas are briefly discussed.

The views of the statesman Jan Smuts(as earlier quoted), at the time of a visit to London in 1917, provide some insight (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:192), "*...Intermixture of blood between the two colours...it is dishonourable to mix white and black blood.*" Here he refers to Cecil John Rhodes who established 'Native Reserves' that included amongst others the Transkei. Then he makes the following statement, "*...native self-government...apart from parliamentary institutions. Useless to try and govern in same system. They are different...not*

only in colour but in minds and political capacity ... principles of self-government. Lifting up the Black degraded the White. Areas governed by themselves in all their forms of living and development ... white communities separately according to accepted European principles."

This is a clear indication that the views and grounds for apartheid or separate development was already prepared early in the twentieth century.

9.5.1 How does the SADF conscript generation judge apartheid?

More than half of the respondents (54%) are of the opinion that apartheid was just a natural process. They accept that the policy was, to a great extent, the consequence of (English) colonialism (54%), but also reckon that South Africa developed apartheid in the way the Americans enforced their policy of segregation (61%). Only 25% are of the opinion that German influence played a role; 34% do not agree. What is of importance, is that 36% are neutral, an indication that the SADF conscript generation was not aware of German roots and was caught off guard by the question. (Chapter 4.5.2.4 describes the influence of Germany.) A conclusive opinion is that of the 93% who think that apartheid was the result of the pursuit for self-assertion and self-determination. There is without a doubt a strong correlation between apartheid and the 'survival' of the Afrikaner.

There is a strong disagreement and even confusion, one might argue, over the question whether apartheid was Biblical; 42% are of the opinion that it was, while 37% disagree and 52% argue that the Christian civilisation had to protect the country from communism. The confusion can be attributed to the justification of apartheid in the past and the current rejection thereof by the majority Afrikaans churches. Half (50%) of the respondents argue that apartheid was a buffer against the 'Black Threat'; 47% think that apartheid as an ideology was not wrong (Question 54) and 80% think that apartheid wanted to separate races (also see question 48). Furthermore, that the intention of apartheid was good (67%) but was executed incorrectly (77%). Views regarding the unfairness of apartheid are the following: apartheid discriminate on the grounds of race (58%), the largest portion of the population was excluded from decision-making (72%), freedom of movement and association were regulated and restricted (84%), Biblically unfair, where only 38% agree and 34% disagree (in other words it was justified

Biblically) while 28% remain neutral, which is quite high. The questions can be understood as such:

SADF members are still of the opinion that apartheid could have worked as one of the goals was to give self-determination to groups in their own areas. It can also be interpreted as a nostalgia that the 'dream' or ideal should have been real. Apartheid should have been executed better. White people did not experience the traumatic impact of policies such as influx control and forced relocations. The SADF conscript generation displays limited knowledge of these events. This is in line with the literature (Jansen 2009) which also makes the conclusion that whites knew very little of what was going on in black areas and is probably still ignorant. There are signs though that the unfairness is realised for instance that free association was restricted and that there was discrimination on the grounds of race. It is clear that the SADF conscript generation does not understand fully the Biblical principles of justice and fairness or is not able or indifferent to grasp what happened during apartheid.

Ignorance or denial probably lies at the root of this riddle. This ignorance or denial can be attributed to the fact that apartheid was justified Biblically. Respondents provides strong resistance and are very defensive when it is implied in any way that apartheid was Biblically unfair. It cannot be! Afrikaners are Christians, the church justified the policy theologically and all resistance against it had communist roots. Communism is ungodly. Jansen (2009:81) is probably correct when he supposes that propaganda caused a whole generation to live uncritically, blissfully unaware of what was really going on, ideologically hidden in a self-righteous dream world from which the SADF men also had to wake up.

9.5.2 What do other say about apartheid?

Regarding apartheid, disguised as the preservation of the own culture, De Klerk (2000:29) has the following to say, "*... immoral foundational philosophy that minorities dominate majorities with a plot of power and discrimination... arrogant piety that a system ensures civil values... unmasked as selfishness, self-promotion ... unloving and unjust. It wasn't about culture; it was about skin colour.*"

Andries Treurnicht, a dynamic speaker, influential church leader that later turned politician, was an NP minister who later broke away and founded the *Conservative Party* (CP) partly in protest against the three-chamber parliament, stated it as follow, “*God nationalised human race.*” For him (Treurnicht), being an Afrikaner is a religious issue. God separated nations. Christianity does not change the national being and character of people – it purifies it. For Jaap Marais, leader of the *Herstigste Nasionale Party* (a ‘reconstituted’ national party), persons such as Smuts, Breyten Breytenbach and Beyers Naudé have no part in it (being an Afrikaner). It is everything or nothing (Bosch 1983:33).

On his experience and the dangers of nationalism elsewhere in the world, specifically in the Balkans, Volf writes the following (1996:76), “*If they are outsiders then they can be dominated. They are lazy, dirty, morally unreliable.*” Especially if there is a dispute over life resources (78).

Volf (1996:78) further points out the abuses of nationalistic groups:

We exclude because we want to be at the centre and be there alone. Single-handedly controlling the land. To achieve ... we add conquest to conquest and possession by possession; we colonize the life space of others and drive them out; we penetrate in order to exclude, and we exclude in order to control. Instead of sharing our possessions and power and making space for others in a common household. Why strike them as dirt rather than an ornament?

Volf (1996:88) continue arguing that there is almost a predictable pattern. He uses the image of a politician as a musical conductor, bringing all the different parts together and directs it. Historians interpret the former glory and victimising of a group or nation; economists talk of exploitation; political scientists write about the uneven power; cultural anthropologists express themselves on the loss of identity. Politicians pick up all four themes, weave them together and focus on the outside threat of the ‘other’ who are the incarnation of evil. Lastly, the priests (religious leaders) lead the procession in case someone doubt if God is on our side. Our enemy is God’s enemy. Why these thoughts often become violent, is explained as the fear of survival. He points out that assertiveness in

itself is not wrong. The search for identity can easily go off the rails when the 'I' becomes the reference point instead of God (Volf 1996:90).

About French nationalism says Jean Lassère – a French pacifist and involved in the ecumenical movement, “*Do we believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, or do we believe in the eternal mission of France? One can't be a Christian and nationalist at the same time*” (quoted in Volf 1996:89).

9.5.3 International places that also experience(d) conflict

Most countries experienced one or the other form of discrimination and internal struggle. This is discussed shortly – not as justification or rationalisation for what happened in South Africa – but to provide perspective. In the end, Biblical norms remain the only ones by which a believer must direct his way.

9.5.3.1 United States of America (USA)

The USA did not so much influence the situation in South Africa but there are strong parallels between the two countries. What they experienced can serve as a warning but also as an example of what can be done to establish reconciliation¹⁰⁰. Any person who watched *Mississippi burning* or *Twelve years a slave*, will realise that more than once racial tension not only reached breaking point but boiled over. Giliomee (2003:214) is of the opinion, not without merit, that both the USA and South Africa had slavery as an economic basis:

The fact that in both the Cape Colony and the American South the church took root in a slave society severely restricted the church's options. Slavery pervaded the entire ethos of society. From the time of Antiquity the slave's deference and servility determined the master's honour, dignity and manhood ... Opposition to 'gelykstelling' (equality) manifested itself in

¹⁰⁰ John Dawson (1994) in his gripping book *Healing America's wounds*, he describes the USA's own story of bloodshed, injustices, slavery, White guilt and Black anger, the Puritan missionary zeal(38), how they identified with the Old Testament Israel, with the Atlantic Ocean as the Red Sea which the settlers had to cross, as well as the wilderness that, those arriving, had to tame. Aspects like confession and reconciliation are discussed thoroughly in this book.

response to any action that violated the social conventions that underpinned the status and class hierarchy.

During their own colonial period, America imported slaves from Africa. In South Africa contract or indentured workers were imported from India from 1860 to work in the sugarcane plantations in Natal. Also, slaves were imported as early as 1653 from Dutch colonies to the Cape for labour (Wikipedia 2014d). This created a class difference, characterised by a boss/owner and workers/slaves. Boshoff (1980:12) gives an indication of how the USA practiced slavery, how movement was restricted and that the carrying of pass papers were compulsory. Pres. Lincoln wanted to abolish slavery. As a direct result, seven states broke away. This breaking away led to a civil war in 1861 which was the bloodiest and most expensive war in the history of the country. Lincoln paid with his life when an actor, Booth, assassinated him. Booth justified his action with these words, *"This country is created for White men, not Black men"* (National Geographic, channel 180: 14 April 2013). The war between the North and South ended in 1865, which means that slavery officially came to an end after 250 years. (Boshoff 1980:13).

After the civil war, the *Reconstruction Acts* were implemented (Boshoff 1980:15). In 1883 the High Court declared that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional and segregation acts were once again legalised (Boshoff 1980:17). Pres. Roosevelt, who was especially interested in the lives of the poor and Negroes, put the *New Deal policy* in place (Boshoff 1980:20). There were still separate facilities. In 1954 the High Court declares segregated schools unlawful. The *Civil Rights Movement* was established because the process of change was drawn out and, in the South, there was still segregation and therefore discrimination. Passive resistance included: sit-ins at public places, kneel-ins in churches and wade-ins at places where they were not allowed to swim. Initially the actions were peaceful. It became violent after the house of Martin Luther King's mother were burnt down, among others, certain leaders were killed, and Afro-American churches were burnt down (Boshoff 1980:26). The Blacks masses in America preferred *"their bread on Earth rather than their cake in Heaven"* by rebelling against these actions (Boshoff 1980:103). Politically this movement was known as the Civil Rights Movement, psychologically as the *Black Rage* and economically as the *Black Manifesto*. It was also during this period that Martin Luther King made his famous speech, *"I have a dream that*

one day they (his children) will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character” (American rhetoric 2014).

Everist (1992:346) makes the slightly controversial remark regarding the USA, *“Be angry, be frightened, be anything you like, but once and for all get it straight: this is not going away. Sooner or later, America will have to face the truth that haunts its soul. Race is the fundamental issue of this country.”*

About the South, writes the poet and writer Maya Angelou, *“Black people comprehend the South. We understand its weight. It has rested on our backs ... I knew that my heart would break if I ever put my foot down on that soil, moist, still, with old hurts. I had to face the fear/loathing at its source or it would consume me whole” (Brainy quote 2014).*

As recent as November 2014, the former Senator of South Carolina, Strom Thurmond, who for decades fought against equality and was a supporter of segregation, was replaced by a black senator, Tim Scott (AFP 5 Nov. 2014).

America also had to look at its history critically, where the indigenous ‘Indian’ groups were presented as criminals as opposed to the White heroes. Here too the search for land, resources and self-determination during the colonial period, led to bloodshed. Uprisings because of the discrimination against the Afro-Americans, whose ancestors were slaves, is still a sensitive issue in the USA. That there is still discrimination today, is unfortunately true, even though the USA made a quantum leap by electing an Afro-American president in 2008. It is still tragic that Obama is referred to as an Afro-American, as if the others were ‘originally’ from there. South Africa does not stand alone in as a country of ethnic tension and conflict.

9.5.3.2 Canada

Piet Meiring, the missiologist who was involved in the TRC, visited Canada. This country has a terrible history where the church was also involved. Meiring writes that world-wide, in the last few years, there were at least 21 truth commissions. This included countries such as Argentina, Chile, Germany, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Korea and Fiji. Canada,

an unexpected inclusion, went through a truth- and reconciliation commission. Meiring reports as the Canadian situation as follow:

In the 19th century the Canadian government, accepting its responsibility for the caring and education of the country's aboriginal people, decided that their best chance of success was to teach the First Nation (Indian), Inuit (Eskimo) and Métis (mixed blood) children the English language, to have them adopt Christianity as well as European customs. The aim was, as it was said quite bluntly at the time, "to take the Indian out of the Indian." The Canadian government developed a policy called "aggressive assimilation" to be taught at church-run, government-funded industrial schools, later called residential schools. Children, it was felt, were easier to mould than adults. Removing them from their communities and taking them to boarding schools, was the best way to prepare them for life in the mainstream of Canadian society. The schools were under the supervision of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. Attendance was mandatory and government agents were employed to ensure that all Aboriginal children attended" (Meiring 2009:52).

Eventually there were more than 80 schools that functioned over 150 years. A total of 150 000 children went through this system, of whom 80 000 were still alive in 2005. These were church schools, managed by Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians. Children were taken out of their communities for 10 months of the year. They were not allowed to speak their home language. Education was substandard, with the result that they struggled to adjust in urban areas. There were incidents of abuse and sexual offences against the children. When they did return to their traditional areas during the holidays, they felt like strangers with very few skills. The last of these schools was closed in 1966. In 1990 leaders confronted the church on the part they played in these schools. Eventually a 'TRC' was called to life, resulting in more than 60 000 persons receiving compensation from the government and the church, and the Prime Minister offering an apology in 2008 for gross misconduct against them (Meiring 2009:64).

9.5.3.3 Australia

Lapsley (2012:42), the activist who lost both hands and sight in one eye from a letter bomb sent to him by the apartheid government, joined an order of the Anglican church in Australia at the start of his ministry. Here, as a New Zealander, he received theological

training before his order sent him to South Africa. In Australia he came in contact with the so-called *Stolen Generation*. History indicates that the Aborigines, an indigenous group, were seriously unsettled. According to Lapsley (2012:200) the abuse already started in 1788 with the arrival of British groups. The indigenous groups regard this day as *Invasion Day*. Later on, descendants were categorised as *mixed race* because of the intermixing between Aborigines and Europeans. These children were forcefully removed from their homes. As adults, they had no ethnic or family ties, giving rise to social evils such as alcoholism, drugs and violence. The government did offer their apologies for these actions (2012:201).

Lapsley (2012:202) describes the Australian situation, that has strong similarities to South Africa, as follow:

Indigenous and nonindigenous cultures are dramatically different and in some respects Australia is apartheid society. There are two worlds that do not often meet ... We are a marginalized society much of it due to government legislation. There is abuse amongst them ... alcohol becomes a comfort. There is a sense of hatred towards own people which effects violence at hands of own people. Colonization affected us ... Must take own responsibility" (Lapsley 2012:205).

9.5.3.4 Rwanda

While the first democratic election was taking place in South Africa, a genocide was taking place in Rwanda. In about 100 days, roughly 850 000 Tutsis were annihilated by the Hutus. Many were killed inside churches, some even on altars of churches (Lapsley 2012:169). Many Christians, even ministers, took part in this. Regarding the need for healing, Lapsley mentions that healing can only take place if we process the poison inside us today, otherwise it will happen again. Archbishop Tutu also visited this country in an attempt to establish reconciliation. Lapsley is of the opinion that evil powers of darkness were working here. Hatred between these two ethnic groups was sowed during British colonialism, when the Tutsis were favoured by the British. This injustice was never addressed and eventually it boiled over (Tutu 1999:258). Archbishop Tutu mentions the trend of *top-dog* and *under-dog* which plays off continuously in history. After a sermon during which Archbishop Tutu asked that they should forgive, the president says that

they are ready to forgive but that Jesus too would not forgive the devil. Archbishop Tutu is of the opinion that retributive justice should be replaced with restorative justice (Tutu 1999:260).

9.5.3.5 Belgium

Belgium is a country that is socially very much divided. The northern region is Flemish speaking and culturally close to the Netherlands to its north. The southern region, known as Wallonia, is French speaking and culturally more bound to neighbouring France. Harrell and Cendrowicz (Time 2 August 2010:16) reports the following on the situation:

Prekarious construct since its foundation in 1830. It's a country of two halves, Flanders and Wallonia whose people speak different languages and are perpetually squabbling. There are no national political parties which means a French-speaking Walloon can only vote for politicians in Wallonia. With the Flemish it is the same. A National government is comprised of a coalition of these regional parties. There is Flemish resentment that French speakers don't bother to learn Dutch. Walloons grumble that Flemish assertiveness is akin to segregation. Children are forbidden to speak French on playgrounds in Flemish municipalities and prospective house buyers can't buy houses if they don't speak Dutch. In 2007 it took nine months before a coalition was formed.

On the church situation in Belgium, Van der Borcht (2011:326) writes the following, "In my own denomination, the United Protestant Church in Belgium, an issue is how to help the French speaking members and the Dutch speaking members relate to one another in one united church."

How do the Belgians handle such a weird situation? The answer, according to the article in Time, lies in the strong public service sector. The article further reads:

Some say impossible to achieve ever closer union due to ethnicities and nationalities. Belgium is supposed to be model of what Europe is about, which is reconciling diversity and holding people together within a common framework. It is difficult to maintain solidarity across different cultures, languages and ethnicities. Such talking points are far removed from lives of most Belgians who seem peacefully at home within the contradictions of identity. That so baffles outsiders (Harrell and Cendrowicz 2 Aug 2010).

Regarding this contradiction, Mark Eyskens, a former Prime Minister remarks, *“Our quarrels are exaggerated by politicians.”*

Despite many years of fighting and reluctant to work together, they still manage to govern properly. This could be expected from the country where the Head Office of the European Union is situated, a Union whose goal is for greater cooperation between the European countries.

Pragmatism and adaptability seem to help them to deal with their complex diversity issues. They are able to do this through, *“...fighting spirit... We will argue, but blood is never shed”* (Harrell and Cendrowicz 2 August 2012:17).

9.5.3.6 General

It seems as if ethnic and cultural tension generally occurs around the world. About this Van der Borght (2011:326) writes:

Apartheid is gone, and the ecumenical movement has contributed to the defeat of this unjust political system and its theological justification. But socio-cultural identities still threaten the expression of the unity of the church. In South Africa, as in so many places all over the world, Sunday morning is still the most segregated hour of the week. It is an issue in Amsterdam as it is in all European cities where new migrant congregations are established daily. Most Ghanaian Presbyterians in Amsterdam, for example, do not join Dutch Reformed congregations but start their own Ghanaian Presbyterian church. In Central and Eastern Europe, where mostly Orthodox churches consider themselves as guardians of the national identity of their nations, it is also an issue. It is an issue in American churches where the national American identity – symbolized by the American flag next to the cross at the front of the church – has become as important as their Christian identity. It is an issue all over Africa where churches tend to be ethnically or tribally structured. All these examples reveal a similar ecclesial and ecclesiological problem. How to live together with differences.

Ricky Ponting, former cricket captain of Australia, makes the following remark following a racial incident during a match, “... *at the same time I know how powerful racism is in society as well*” (News 24 13 Feb. 2014).

9.6 WHY COULD SOUTH AFRICA NOT PROCEED IN THIS WAY?

This section does not aim to give a political or historical overview or to take a political stand. It only places a few realities on the table. Concerning South Africa’s involvement in Namibia: (1) The war and military involvement in SWA/Namibia became too expensive. (2) SWAPO did have the most support, though South Africa would prefer it otherwise. (3) Anti-colonial winds of change were also blowing there. (4) The king of the Ovambo was obliterated earlier (1917) by South African forces, and therefore they would never accept a South African power – attempts to win the hearts and minds were futile. (5) The international view on South Africa regarding the SWA/Namibia issue was negative.

In South Africa, the *mission policy* (Saayman 2008:149) did not keep track of the economic realities of spontaneous world-wide urban migration. The Fagan-commission (Wikipedia 2014e) of 1946 already realised in Genl. Smut’s time that the total segregation of population groups was impossible. The Tomlinson-report (SA History 2014a) of 1955 did recommend separate development, but it would have required vast amounts of money to make the homeland economies viable. The money was never made available because it was mostly Afrikaner tax money (Saayman 2008:249). Back then, the Liberal Party already criticised the report (Contact 1956), “... *Tomlinson Commission is dangerous because it provides White South Africans with an escapist dream and enables them to avoid facing the realities.*” Though significant numbers of people were moved to the homelands, with houses built and businesses decentralised (Smit & Booysen 1981:26), the biggest challenge remained the urbanised Black man - he could not be wished away because his labour was needed in the economy. The Calvinist principle of sovereignty in own sphere¹⁰¹ should have been practised by mission scientists, and the experiences on the

¹⁰¹ This Calvinist principle entails that all institutions like family, education, economy, justice, faith, government are part of an all-encompassing order with different institutions having its own distinct authority, competence and responsibilities. They should however differentiate and have boundaries. No one could therefore seek totalitarian control over the other. This principle was in reaction to historical tendencies in the Roman Catholic Church. The Missiologists therefore should not have dictated a political system for South Africa it is argued (Wikipedia 2015h)

mission field should not have been used dogmatically as universal political principles. Oosthuizen¹⁰², at least, was suspicious of whether the mission policy served the nation or the Great Commission (Saayman 2008:251).

Domestically the freedom struggle gained momentum. This struggle, fought on three levels, was eventually successfully carried through. Firstly, it entailed the internal mobilisation of the masses, such as mass action and boycotts where trade unions were involved. Secondly, the armed struggle was led by the MK and APLA. The armed struggle was never won. It is not really possible for guerrillas to win against well organised security forces, though sporadic bomb attacks and sabotage did have a psychological impact on the people. Thirdly, on diplomatic much work was done. The government was isolated with connected and crippling sanctions and boycotts in the areas of trade, sport and culture.

Buthelezi¹⁰³ and Matanzima¹⁰⁴ had to help bring about change from inside the system (Madikizela-Mandela 2013:238). Pressure from religious groups, domestically and abroad, as well as local businesses, all brought about the realisation that a solution had to be found.

Afrikaner leaders increasingly realised that unresolved political issues had to be addressed. Pieter de Lange, Broederbond leader, mentioned to Max du Preez that after talks with the Security Forces in the 1980s, they realised that action was needed otherwise South Africa would be heading for a civil war. Three million whites could not control the other 30 million countrymen. By 1985 PW Botha gave the order that they should enter talks with Nelson Mandela. De Lange was the first leader who met Thabo Mbeki (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:xxvii).

In the same way the Afrikaner attained independence and created organisations such as the Broederbond for help and upliftment, the Luthuli's political children also grew up. Whereas the first demonstrations were peaceful, a growing generation under leadership of the Mandelas and Black Consciousness leaders such as Steve Biko, did not accept that

¹⁰² Oosthuizen was a missiologist and a specialist on African independent or indigenous churches. He was opposed to separate churches.

¹⁰³ He was the leader of Kwa-Zulu, a Zulu ethnic area. He did not accept an 'independent state' though.

¹⁰⁴ He was the leader of the Transkei, who accepted 'independence' from South Africa.

they were foreigners in the country they were born, especially as government policy were used to consolidate White areas by forcefully removing blacks (Smit & Booysen 1981:26). Black nationalism, like Afrikaner nationalism, became a significant factor. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela states as follow “... *absurd mind which argues that separate development is the Magna Carta of the African people but what on earth does he achieve by lying to himself*” (Madikizela-Mandela 2012:196). On the government’s decision to change their stance, even if forced, Van Wyk (1991:102) writes:

It was a complete turnabout by a government which had at last arrived at a point reached by myself and others years earlier. In the interim of more than a decade, pent-up black frustrations had exploded into violence on an unprecedented scale, twice forced by the declaration of a state of emergency; our economy was shaken to its roots by international sanctions; and thousands of black children – the so-called lost generation of youths who have been boycotting or burning their apartheid schools in protest against a government they despise – had nothing to live for but their hatred of all whites.

The feasibility of apartheid, after years of political manoeuvring, did not pass the test of the principles of ethics and justice. Gerrit Viljoen, later Broederbond leader, warned that a policy without the input of the black man is dangerous (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:xxii). For this reason, by 1986 the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) indicated a significant change in direction with the document *Kerk en Samelewing* (Church and Society) (DRC 1986). The international Church expressed its disapproval of apartheid while offering its help, as with the Cottesloe-initiative in 1960. During the long struggle for justice, church leaders such as Frank Chikane was incarcerated and poisoned and the South African Council of Churches’ office was destroyed by a bomb; documents such as *Kairos* was branded as revolutionary and dismissed as unbiblical. Since then, some of the documents were proven to be prophetic and probably correct.

The Tomlinson-report, with all its reasoned exposition, was wrong in the sense that it only proposed two possible political options, that of assimilation or segregation. Today people know that differentiation, pluralism and free association is possible in a multi-cultural and diverse country. On this topic, Kritzinger (2007:2) writes the following:

The more deeply rooted we are in our Christian faith, the more confident and humble we become, so that we are able to interact more respectfully and freely with others. It is tempting to use assimilation, meaning they must conform to us, and then we will include. Even elimination or domination might be implicit in some strategies. That will prove arrogant and cannot be tolerated. The challenge is to differentiate and integrate.

Considering everything, it was an Afrikaner illusion to think that a minority group's racial ideology would get any sympathy from the rest of the world after the atrocities of the Second World War. No country today can just ignore the international opinion. In fact, the apartheid system and the NP were regarded with censure and South Africa was treated as a global monster and pariah.

The question remains whether the SADF conscript generation can become 'whole' after decades of battles and armed conflict.

9.7 HOW DOES THE SADF CONSCRIPT GENERATION BECOME WHOLE?

In chapter 2 Biblical imperatives concerning reconciliation were discussed. In this the Biblical *shalom* has to do with peace on a personal, psychological, emotional and social level. The prosperity of the country is incorporated here. Psalm 85 was probably written specifically during a post-exilic period. The nation rethinks their past in anticipation of their future. They realised that it is imperative not to fall back to their previous errors. Additionally, the psalmist calls the nation to live justly. This, together with God's blessing, alone can guarantee peace. Amos is a book that specifically deals with the social injustices of the time. This period was characterised by oppression and tribulation, exploitation and deceit, self-indulgence and religiousness, with a haughty pride in military victories. As discussed, South Africa experienced all-encompassing injustices. It can simply not be argued away, rationalised or projected. In fact, any attempts out of Afrikaner ranks to try and justify or minimize what happened, will be a slap in the face of those who suffered. A minority of whites created a comfortable and favoured position for themselves at the cost of the majority of the nation. This has to be admitted.

It is of importance to the SADF conscript generation to effectively understand the existential crisis they are finding themselves in. This includes i.e. anxiety, feelings of guilt, hopelessness, vulnerability, disillusionment, frustration and alienation (Louw 2008:63). Many would argue that the SADF conscript generation only did what was expected of them. The changing state of affairs though caused many to experience the symptoms of an existential crisis. Firstly, these feelings and experiences must be acknowledged by them and by others. In fact, people such as Chikane (2013) indicated that it is necessary that the process of change should also be facilitated with the SADF conscript generation, something that have not happened. Here, the Church specifically has an enormous uncompleted task. A further contribution to the healing from their alienation and disillusionment, is to move away from position, view and attitude. Chapter 2 discussed this issue. In short, this entails moving from a position of alienation, disillusionment and withdrawal – where the person experiences reality as a victim – and to develop a position of hope and expectancy. In essence, it is a paradigm (thought and action framework) or thought shift, which simply is a change in perspective and attitude. The changing of perceptions and beliefs can be liberating in order to make a meaningful contribution to the country. The ‘old’ South Africa, though including many good things, as agreed on by some previously disadvantaged individuals, has passed. It will never again realise. About the past, Herskovits (1970:11), as quoted by Hattingh (1974:44), says, *“No people can either itself recapture its past, or be made to live that past, because the past is no longer there to be recaptured. There is only the present and the future.”* This change of mindset is crucial.

Jansen (2008:260) advocates for a post conflict pedagogy. According to this, one must keep track of indirect knowledge which is often emotional and powerful. He refers specifically to the indirect knowledge which was passed on to the Afrikaner. This knowledge comes mostly from reconstructing historical events and is indirect because the person did not experience it themselves. It was only passed on to him. This particular transmission of history is described by Krige and Krige (1943:4;5) as quoted by Hattingh (1974:44), in the following way, *“... he uncritically accepts tradition that has been handed down to him. There is no direct falsifications ... but strange distortions. The tribal historian pictures man and events not in the shape of their setting in the past but in the colours of the*

values of the present. This involves inevitable selection and rearrangement." History is in truth, for some reason or the other, thoughtfully 'cleansed' and made 'wholesome'.

Additionally, Jansen (2008:260) feels it is important to listen to each other. Whites, according to him, has an inability to communicate cross-culturally. They were withheld from intercultural communication because apartheid kept groups apart. *Received knowledge* need to be challenged, though with respect. Apartheid caused immeasurable damage to white people's racial psyches. They are fearful and isolated (Jansen 2008:264). This skewed knowledge of whites must be handled sensitively in a trustful relationship. *Victor's knowledge* that is forced onto whites will not have the desired effect. All parties have to engage. The white teacher and learner were all wounded. It does not help to just wait for change to happen. When swords are drawn, meaningful conversation cannot take place; then it is only war and destruction. Everybody has to admit their woundedness and brokenness. People are prone to failure and imperfection. He has to stand before a loving and forgiving God. The inner battle must be acknowledged and at the same time, community with the other must be encouraged. This area of internal exposure is for many strange and upsetting. Everybody must become part of the process. Brokenness is not weakness, contrary to male thoughts. Hope is important. The downward spiral of defeat and despondency must be broken. Hope must become visible in others and in yourself. There should be a shift away from, *"...evil white racists and disempowered black victims. Stories not to be despair and distress"* (Jansen 2008:259). Leadership based on principles are of critical importance. This requires risks to be taken and safe environments to be created. Whites do not confess easily in public. The mutual *sharing of memories* with someone who you have not shared with previously, can help. Accept and take ownership of your twisted and distorted knowledge.

For Lapsley (2012:2) this is an inward journey, *"There are two pillars. One deals with the economic and social issues. Housing, electricity, health care. Other dealing with the psychological and spiritual effects of the journey the nation travelled on. Interconnected and intertwined. So even if basic needs were met people would still be angry, frustrated and bitter unless we dealt with what we had inside."*

Even at the trauma centre Lapsley founded, staff fought amongst each other. His conclusion is that “...traumatized people pass on their trauma to each other” (Lapsley 2012:115). Louw (2001:346), standing at the centre of the *Boetman* debate, realises this dilemma and calls it an existential stress syndrome. An honest, stripped torment and lament from the whole community is needed. Healing, therapy and identity recovery cannot be prescribed. Someone has to take the initiative, be the catalyst and help facilitate the process. Without this the Afrikaner in general and especially the SADF conscript generation will remain ‘ill’.

Biblical reconciliation, discussed in Chapter 2, will now be scrutinised.

9.8 RECONCILIATION

Van der Walt (2003) suggests a model for reconciliation (Chapter 2). With a few additions, this model is being used here to indicate that Biblical reconciliation is possible. Reconciliation is more than sporadic contact, as is practised at times during communal gatherings, study groups or movements. It is not, to put it bluntly, “*find me a Black man, I want to know how he feels*” (Boshoff 1980:108). It is not a pat on the shoulder or a *bless you and me* with a few *holy hugs* or, as Mbeki puts it, to drink tea together (Ndlangisa 2013). It is also not liberalism which is actually a class loyalty (Boshoff 1980:109), “*You become like me and therefore I accept you.*” In turn, Steve Biko (2004:21) stood critical toward liberalism, which he regarded as paternalism, “*You can’t live without us, we will teach you.*” Reconciliation is a lot more complicated, challenging and exhausting!

9.8.1 Stock taking and acceptance of responsibility for the past

No one can undo the past; no one dares to deny the past. Archbishop Tutu, as chairman of the TRC, urged that books about the past first had to be opened before they could be closed. Meiring (2009:62), with his observation of the Canadian TRC, comes to the same conclusion, “*From their own chequered past, with humility and understanding, they can reach out to all Canadians, helping them to open the books in order to one day close them again.*”

Obviously not everybody agrees that someone should be taking responsibility for other's trespasses. One example of someone who did, is the Biblical Nehemiah (Neh. 1:6), who accepted responsibility on behalf of his people, confessed and worked together to the restoration of the country. Daniel (Dan. 9:5) also confessed the sins of his people on their behalf. Ownership has to be accepted for both the good and the bad things that happened. Bonhoeffer's striking words to Bell, a British bishop, when he visited him in May 1942 in Sweden, about Germany's moral dilemma during the Second World War, sounds like a wake-up call:

Bonhoeffer's deep grief for the sins of Germany was evident to the Bishop. It was plain that he felt them as a stain on his own soul, and was deeply moved by his country's need for the forgiveness of God and men. When Bonhoeffer heard Schönfeld's attempts to negotiate comfortable terms for Germany, his Christian conscience was not easy. 'There must be punishment by God,' so runs the Bishop's report of his conversation, 'we should not be worthy of such a solution. Our actions must be such as the world will understand as an act of repentance ... or chaos, if it is God's will to bring it upon us. We must take this judgement as Christians' (Bosanquet 1969:236).

For Bonhoeffer, as a German that had no part in any atrocities, there is just one moral pathway and that is to take responsibility. As Christian he is willing to accept the judgement as well as the consequences. Only in this, there is liberation. De Klerk (2000:64) expresses himself correspondingly as follow:

...we are accomplices even if it is because we didn't react against evil... must get criticised as a nation which becomes part of the nation's power to grow... thinkers who does not think themselves innocent above the nation but who feels all its faults as his own sins and wants to destroy it because they see something more pure can be born in the future... critics amongst us who are filled with hatred for our half-heartedness, self-indulgence and pettiness.

Jansen (2008:63) adds, "... threat to long-term prospects for democracy and stability. Interpersonal trust among conflict lines if one sides ignore the fate of the other. How can reconciliation take place if past discrimination is not accepted as principally wrong and evil?" Also, Oliver (2011:87) argues that, "... although national characteristics have a sense

of permanence, their harmful impact can be reduced once the negative aspects are identified and confronted.”

The first step is an important one. It is the courage not to steer away from the responsibility, but to look the bleak past square in the eye.

9.8.2 Contrition, acknowledgement, repentance, confession and conversion

The attitude of contrition, of humbly bowing before the throne of God; the acknowledgement of guilt with deep regret; the courage to confess before God but also before people; and the faith to be converted and be born again through the working of the Holy Spirit. This is the only true starting point on this road – the *via dolorosa* – to reconciliation. It is difficult, the most difficult thing, because people want to justify themselves. He does not want to get off his self-exalting throne, bow before God and accepting guilt. His pride that is part of his fallen nature that squarely blocks this way. Confession is seen as weakness.

The results of the questionnaire indicate that relatively few respondents think there are sin that need to be confessed before God. Almost half (47%) of the respondents were of the opinion that apartheid as ideology was not sin (Question 53). A limited number (26%) were of the opinion that sins had to be confessed in front of other people. Very few realised that apartheid caused intense hurt and deprivation to a large portion of our population. The respondents' stance can be explained as ignorance or denial; maybe a tiredness or dejectedness to accept the reality; or even a pride, an arrogance and racial prejudice that needs to be confessed.

The Afrikaner, per implication, will first have to bow before God. He will have to weigh his history, identity and actions before God. The Bible describes many examples of this. In Psalms 26, 51 and 139, to name but three, the authors call the people to be tested and searched, to be cleansed and washed, to be restored, and to come to comprehension and to repent. The Afrikaner will have to get off the throne that he fashioned himself. He will have to come to a realisation of sin. He will have to admit that racial prejudice is imprinted

in his identity. This was done unconsciously, but also consciously by those who deliberately helped to establish a life and world view, an Afrikaner paradigm, that is not Biblically justifiable. At times it was propagated as theology, but it was essentially an ideology and nationalism that treated and viewed the others as inferior. The façade was good; it seemed to be patriotic. Unfortunately, it was also shaped and built out of fear, a fear originating from the fact that they were a minority group in dark Africa. Sin will firstly have to be confessed before God. The heart will have to change. This will lead to repentance and change. Repentance, however, as Van der Walt (2003:360) rightly notices, is a daily occurrence. The lie is so deeply rooted and established that one has to make the decision again, daily, to follow Him. A radical re-orientation, away from a syncretism where ideologies and religion were mixed, to a Christ-identity. An identity where people no longer judge according to human standards, even if cultures differ, even if different languages are spoken. We are indeed new creations. The old is gone, everything is made new. It will be costly. The price of true discipleship is to leave everything behind and follow Jesus; including that which was regarded as precious but cannot withstand the test of the gospel. This is what Paul has to learn and that is what he refers to in Philippians 3, when he confesses that he regards the previous things (identity) as worthless. What matters to him now is to know Christ (accept His identity), to die and to be victorious (the signs of the Kingdom already established and becoming visible). This may and will bring a stormy battle in the inward being of the Afrikaner. Who want to admit that they have sinned, especially in front of other people? The fallen and rebellious flesh fights against it; he does not want to bow; he wants to justify himself; and he wants to remain on his throne but there will have to be a bowing down and humbling before he can look up.

Brummer (2005:44) emphasises the inner conflict when he indicates the struggle that goes with admission of guilt, *"Change of heart affects my identity and makes me vulnerable."* The guilty party usually does one of the following things: (1) I will try to prove that my actions were not so bad. (2) I do not want to apologise, and I am secretly hoping that you will condone my behaviour. (3) I do not think it hurt you so much. (4) It was accidental and not on purpose. (5) Circumstances lead to me to it. (6) Everyone, including you, would have done the same under the circumstances. (7) To make mistakes

is human, and I am human. (8) You need to take some of the blame because saving face (my reputation and image) is more important than reconciliation.

Contrition requires becoming quiet before God. Bonhoeffer describes it as, “*And here is the reason why being silent in God’s presence requires work and practise: it takes daily courage to expose oneself to God’s word and to allow oneself to be judged by it, it takes daily energy to delight in God’s love.*” Bonhoeffer (Bonsanquet 1969:70-71) and Louw (2008:34) calls this critical self-examination and self-reflection. Such a realisation of God leads to prayer (Louw 2008:51).

Bonhoeffer (Bonanquet 1969:217) who realised the atrociousness of the German actions, admits that it will be a torment:

I must live through this difficult period of our national history with the Christian people of Germany. I shall have no right to participate in the reconstruction of Christian life in Germany after the war if I do not share the trials of this time with my people ... Such a decision each man must make for himself. Christians in Germany will face a terrible alternative of either willing the defeat of their nation in order that Christian civilisation may survive, or willing the victory of their nation and thereby destroying our civilisation. I know which of these alternatives I must choose, but I cannot make that choice in security ...

Everist (1992:342; 346) describe the similar American situation – certain churches did confess and ask for forgiveness – and the need for confession:

Repentance has always been significantly absent from American civil religion. In American Civil Religion (ACR), slavery was justified, and white privilege was expected as part of ‘chosenness’ ... And even though Lincoln’s Second Inaugural address speaks directly of slavery as an offense against God’s righteous judgments, emancipation in retrospect was more self-congratulation than repentance. Absent was the role slaves played in their own emancipation. American civil religion has difficulty naming racism as an original sin because America has not felt it needed a Redeemer as much as it needed to be a redeemer nation to the world.

In the case of the Afrikaners, De Klerk (2000:28-29) does not beat around the bush:

There won't be an inch of progress without a truly sincere realisation of guilt and confession of guilt. Also shame that the Afrikaner regime undermined our integrity and honour... vast majority of Afrikaners cursed and joked about the TRC which is proof that we do not believe in our own guilt... proud and cowardly to look own sins in the eye. With this attitude, Afrikaners actively contributed to the prolonging of reconciliation.

He expands further:

Arguments that apartheid had good intentions or that we didn't know, are denial... Children conceived from slaves or other indigenous tribes were rejected. Afrikaners need to accept that they committed gross injustice. It has to be a sincere, experienced, visible, audible, heartfelt and believable confession and remorse. Any new positive attitudes and actions must be just as visible. Such confessions did take place but from the Afrikaner church, Afrikaner media-institutions and from other prominent Afrikaans organisations very little came (40). We cannot enter the future with pity towards the past. In sincerity we have to confess our guilt before God and people, clearly spoken in words, new attitudes and deeds. We need to gain credibility. Patriotism is again needed in partnership with others. The needs of the country must also be recognised and served (101).

Erasmus (2005:236) asks the following question, “Does the Afrikaner possess a critical insight in his culture?” Theologically speaking the question is whether the Afrikaner can bow in humility before God and allow the Word and Spirit to examine his culture and his heart.

9.8.3 Accept guilt, leave it by the cross and live guiltless

Everyone is guilty before God. The Biblical perspective on this is clear in Romans 3:23 and 6:23. He that claims not to be guilty, is a liar. For the believer it is important to realise that his guilt has been nailed to the cross (Col. 2:14).

People are prone to not wanting to accept guilt. When guilty parties talk about themselves ugliness changes into beauty (Volf 1996:79). Guilt is either rationalised or projected onto someone or something else. The closer we get, the more the line blurs between offender and victim. Hatred, dishonesty, manipulation and cruelty are recognised everywhere. The victim of today become the offender of tomorrow, while the offender of today

becomes the victim of tomorrow. We choose evil and evil chooses us. It seems that people have an unquenchable desire for cruelty (Volf 1996:82). Every heart is contaminated. Every balloon of self-justification has to explode. Redemption is not possible where innocence and blame are believed. Everyone exists in a state of *noninnocence* (Volf 1996:83). Therefore, everyone needs grace. Most of us are children from hell (Matt. 23:15 (Volf 1996:84).

Sin is not simply wrong decisions, but also of being overcome by evil. Cain was overcome by evil because he did not overcome evil. You are either the master or the prey and victim. Cain's crime does not only rob him of his country but also of his relationships with others as he becomes a wanderer (Volf 1996:93). Cain refused to look to God and now God is hiding His face from him.

Everyone is equally guilty and sinful, but they are not equal sin. The rapist and the victim are both guilty. He because of what he did and she because she does not want to forgive. Their guilt though is not equal. The third-party who was a witness, is also guilty (Volf 1996:82) (Also see Tutu who argues similarly).

From the above it is clear that everyone carries guilt. Not only the Afrikaner carries guilt. Gross injustices also took place on the other side. The TRC clearly indicated this. For example, MK was also identified as guilty of offenses in their camps. Therefore, Mbeki, on behalf of the ANC, wanted to have some of the findings of the TRC adjusted, a fact few Afrikaners probably are aware of. Everyone is simultaneously in a state of *noninnocence* or guilt. Yet, the guilt of the Afrikaner is not equal to that of the others. He carries more guilt in connection with the apartheid past. This has to be admitted and confessed and forgiveness needs to be obtained.

De Klerk (2000:33) describes the guilt of the Afrikaner as follows:

- Criminal guilt – many people were killed. Also, spiritual guilt because of discrimination.
- Political guilt –the philosophy, policy and practising of the policy that clashes with human rights.
- Moral guilt – not enough protest from the whites against the system.

- Solidarity guilt – the whole nation is guilty.
- Metaphysical guilt before God – God’s law was disregarded, and a system was sanctioned in His name.

Biblically speaking guilt may not be carried any further. The blame for it was carried by Christ. In fact, when the believer prays, when he approaches the throne of grace, he does it with a cleansed conscience (Heb. 10:17, 18).

After the Second World War, the Germans were carrying a great volume of guilt on their shoulders. This was understandable. The generation who had a part in Nazism lived in denial after the war. This too is understandable. Obviously, the world also laid guilt on them. The Afrikaner’s history cannot be compared to this, but important principles can be deduced from this. Unpaid debt gets passed on to the next generation. Later generations of Germans, who in no way had any part in the history, also inherited the guilt. Carrying guilt though is not a Biblical principle. Guilt must be admitted but also unloaded and left at the cross. In fact, according to Hebrews 10 a believer cannot enter into the presence of the Father with guilt. Why not? Because the Son carried that guilt. Salvation from guilt is through Him and Him alone. Colossians 2:14 teach us that the charge sheet was nailed to the cross – a powerful image of the Roman law. This implies that the Afrikaner may not enter a future carrying numbing and paralysing guilt, it is unbiblical. This will cost him his enthusiasm, faith, vision and motivation. When one confesses before God and people, one must accept God’s forgiveness and move on. The remorse and admission of guilt is left at the cross. It is now under the blood. From there, neither the devil, people nor oneself may take it away to accuse you.

The Afrikaner also has debt to each other. Division in the churches and destructive backstabbing against each other must also be confessed.

Lastly, it is important to live from a guilt free position. People revel in reminding former guilty parties of their past offences. The Afrikaner also stands the chance to be overpowered by this. He must not allow being accused of deeds that have already been confessed and for which restitution has been done. Otherwise he will go on suffering from feelings of guilt into eternity. This in itself can have a numbing effect on him and rob him of his confidence. Snyman (2005:335) struggles with this:

Am I a racist because Western hermeneutics are deeply racist? Am I what I am because of the past? How do I construct a new identity if the past is continuously brought up and rubbed in? Is the only solution here to disappear from the public scene altogether? Or is it a consciousness that needs to be cultivated in those interactions where race inevitably raises its head?

One will have to guard against this. Even if the victim suffered unbearable pain, no one has the right to keep on dumping guilt on the offender. Everyone has indeed been exonerated of their guilt by Him.

The Bible also refers to the devil or Satan as the one who accuses the believer. Without discussing it in detail, the following quote of Bonhoeffer (as quoted by Bosanquet 1969:155) can be given:

Satan robs the believer of all joy in the Word of God, all experience of the good of God; in place of which he fills the heart with terrors of the past, of the present and the future. Old long-forgotten guilt suddenly rears up its head before me, as if it happened today. Opposition to the Word of God and unwillingness to obey assume huge proportions, and complete despair of my future before God overwhelms my heart. God was never with me, God is not with me, God will never forgive me; for my sin is so great that it cannot be forgiven.

9.8.4 Forgive and live again

Forgiveness does not come naturally for most people. It is actually against our nature to want to forgive someone who wronged us or harmed us. Tutu (1999), on the contrary, realise that there is no future for one who cannot or does not want to forgive, whether it is forgiveness on an interpersonal and/or intergroup level. Some members of the SADF conscript generation are experiencing certain frustrations, anger, feelings of injustice and deception, sometimes even hate. Their feelings are directed towards the old SADF, but especially towards the previous political leaders. There are also strong feelings against the new government and its leaders. An attitude of unforgiveness creates a prison for everyone who cannot forgive. He becomes the victim of previous actions and cannot escape. In fact, the past becomes the justification to hold other people accountable for

one's own unacceptable situation. An attitude of unforgiveness declares the others as the guilty parties.

No one can deny that the wrong deeds, actions, and decisions has a radical impact on people's lives. Forgiveness helps to free oneself from it and of the counteraction of retaliation. God, in turn, provides the necessary grace without which forgiveness would be impossible. He does not just ask for forgiveness from our side, but also gives it. Because it is a gift, the gospel calls us on many occasions to also forgive. In fact, God's forgiveness expires when we do not forgive (Matt. 6:14). Forgiveness is only possible when one realises the enormity of one's own sin, understanding the width of His grace and love in which I am acquitted. As an acquitted person, I must also be able to acquit others. It may take a long time (seventy times seven!), the reach of that which need to be forgiven could be very large, humanly speaking it will clash with our nature. Louw (5.6) described this raw emotions and internal battle in himself and in others excellently. The SADF conscript generation who feels exploited and cheated by both the old and the new governments, gets frustrated over the guilt they have to carry.

The Christian believer in the end, has to take his emotions to the cross. The weapon of revenge and hate must be left in the hands of the Saviour, otherwise self-destruction will follow. Who will know what role his internal battle, guilt and anger played in Chris Louw's suicide? Eventually the believer is acquitted of guilt and forgiven, and he can also forgive those who sinned against him. The *shalom* peace is also part of the realised Kingdom in the present, also for the SADF conscript generation and the Afrikaner. They have already been forgiven by God as well as by most of the people they were in conflict with. Pride should not prevent them from forgiving their enemy. Without forgiveness reconciliation will remain an illusion and a far-off dream. For this they need God's grace.

Tutu (1999:156), in his deep cutting and guiding book, writes the following about forgiveness, *"Embittered, tormented, enslaved by the past, their quality of life is diminished. However justified, our unforgiveness undoes us. Anger, hatred, resentment, bitterness, revenge – they are death dealing spirits and they will take our lives ... the only way we can be whole, healthy, happy persons is to learn to forgive."* And (172), *"Abandoning the right*

to pay back the perpetrator in his own coin, but it is a loss that liberates the victim ... Forgiveness declaring hope in future ... act of faith."

Bishop Comiskey of Ireland submitted the following to the TRC (quoted by Tutu 1999:185):

To seek forgiveness is to attempt to effect a healing, to bring a closure. So long as this remains undone there will continue to be fertile breeding grounds for resentment. Resentment literally means to feel again in the sense of revisiting old wounds, going back over old injuries, rekindling old rages, constantly reinventing oneself as victim. There are those who will say of attempts to seek forgiveness and bring closure and bring closure to wounds: 'Why rake up the past, why stir up old hatreds and resentments. To these I will say resentments never die, they just fester away. They simmer beneath the surface of life, ready ammunition for the fearful and embittered. Forgiveness and seeking forgiveness, like charity, begins at home.

Confession and asking for forgiveness are closely related. To ask for forgiveness is a logical next step after confessing. Van Zyl Slabbert (1999:108) created a fictional scenario where FW de Klerk asked the Security Forces for forgiveness:

I ask also the forgiveness of the young people who died unnecessarily for an indefensible case, and especially of their parents ... I especially ask the forgiveness of the security people in the police and military who had to stand in the frontline of the oppression. We deceived them completely. Also, to De Kock. We enabled him to become what he became.

Who knows what extent of healing such a confession could have nurtured? Van Zyl Slabbert's (1999:112) remark stresses the need for confession, "... *the security services are furious over the betrayal and deceit that were committed against them. Especially politicians who confessed they didn't know.*"

Scripture is clear: confess your sins against each other so that you can be healed (James 5:16). It has unusual and unexplored restorative and healing value. The time has come for the SADF conscript generation to confess their guilt as well as forgive and as a result they will be acquitted of that guilt. Without this, reconciliation is not possible.

9.8.5 Restitution: Rectify which needs to be repaired!

Restitution, or synonyms such as rectification and restoration, is an emotionally painful issue and process. Researchers note that if this is handled incorrectly, it can cause greater divide in a polarised country (Blaser 2004: Evaldsson 2007). Reconciliation without restoration will only remain a smokescreen of peace. Feelings of injustice will continue to smoulder. Without restoration unresolved issues will certainly burst forth again, the only question being when that will happen.

To what extent individuals or groups realised or accept that restitution is needed, has to do with their interpretation and evaluation of the past. When someone is of the opinion that he or she does not carry any guilt, or that another person is directly responsible, it is very difficult to understand restitution. In fact, it is often regarded as hostile and unfair. This is understandable, especially if someone in the present democratic system is of the opinion that he/she was not guilty of wrongful conduct or were not in a privileged position unlawfully. This person can argue that the current affirmative action policy and actions unfairly puts him/her at a disadvantage. He/she had no part in the creation or the maintenance of the apartheid policy by the previous generations!

Restitution should not be taken too personally though. If it is approached from a Biblical requirement for justice and fairness it can be accepted, even if the 'innocent' believer is the one who is on the receiving end of affirmative action. Humanly speaking, such 'unfair' discrimination opposes human nature. From the perspective that peace is only possible if there is justice (Ps. 85) and that restoration is Biblical, restitution can be rewarding! Leviticus especially handles restoration within the daily lives of the chosen people. It describes personal cases of loss, sexual offences, as well as greater issues such as debt and land. The year of the Jubilee, as practiced every 50 years during Old Testament times, was the great equaliser where no one were too rich, and no one was permanently poor. This was discussed earlier in Chapter 2 (2.6.5).

Restitution must also be looked at from a patriotic perspective. Patriotism is about nation or national pride. Pride of self, the land, the identity. Patriotism includes the other (alien)

and has to do with a group that is proud of that which is regarded as theirs and ours. This may include culture, traditions as well as an own place or country. Currently it seems as if everyone in the country (white and black) are only pursuing their own interests – what is my advantage? As long as I am prosperous and have enough (perhaps more than enough and too much), then everything is fine! Patriotism though asks for sacrifice because the matter is greater than the individual. This attitude and outlook were maintained by Nehemiah and his people. Everyone worked together to the prosperity and well-being of the city. Nehemiah was willing to offer up some of his allowances as some of his fellow Israelites were suffering. Everyone helped to rebuild the broken walls of the city. Paul accentuates this attitude when he calls the congregation not to only promote their own interests, but also that of fellow citizens (Phil. 2:4).

The SADF conscript generation will have to accept that gross injustices were committed on the basis of skin colour and/or race and that this caused much group impoverishment. These actions included disowning land, forced removal of people, job reservation, restriction on movement, political alienation, ban on relationships, and discrimination in the awarding of educational funds. Without restitution, peace is not possible.

Firstly, it can only happen where a change of heart takes place and there is a realisation that lasting reconciliation is only possible if restoration takes place. Restoration means that those who were previously disadvantaged get the chance to also be successful in the country, but it is not a blank cheque for nepotism, benefitting only a selected group, corruption, bribery, poor service delivery and the lowering of standards.

How can the SADF conscript generation contribute to restoration, especially in an atmosphere where there is reversed discrimination, as many argue?

The TRC's reparation committee made suggestions that businesses must pay a certain percentage as compensation. There was even a suggestion that all whites should pay a portion of their assets. (TRC 1998:727). These recommendations were not accepted by the new government. What now, for the Afrikaner Christian who wants to contribute in

some way?¹⁰⁵ Should someone pay for the education of a child, for example for the tertiary education of a young person? One could argue that the government has already enforced 'correction' by relinquishing school fees for most of the previously disadvantaged communities. Furthermore, feeding schemes and grants are all forms of correction. In this regard, whites can indeed help with education by the sponsoring of studies and by helping to train for the skills that contributes to a dignified life. The breakdown of structures of oppression and systems is also part of restitution.

Anything that is enforced or that evokes feelings of guilt, is mostly counterproductive. For example, the changing of street names is a form of restitution, but the Afrikaners do not see it as such (Evaldsson 2007:151). On the contrary, it causes conflict. Unfortunately, whites and people of colour do not think the same about this. Blaser (2004:197) has the following to say about affirmative action:

Affirmative action is a crucial issue in the construction of the new nation. For the ANC government, it is designed to fulfil the promise of non-racialism. But for the opposition, it is reverse discrimination. With the end of job reservation, white blue-collar workers most felt the competition from black workers. For the white Solidarity Union, therefore, the former Mynwerkers Unie (Mineworkers Union), a racist and conservative union serving the interests of white workers under the threat of affirmative action and retrenchments, resulted in major mobilisation. Since the 1990s, participation has skyrocketed. Solidarity successfully challenged the failure to promote white police officers in the courts, since candidates from a designated group were sought to fill the vacancies.

Most Whites will probably see the need for restitution until it affects the individual personally. Louw (2008:66) talks of, "Focus here is on changing and renewing the structure of the political environment. Sanctification of social practices within human relationships," and continues, "...ethical acts of structural and contextual transformation." It is certainly not unrealistic to relate these insights practically to restitution.

¹⁰⁵ Deon Snyman created the *Restitution Foundation*. One of the affirmative actions that they manage is to help people to purchase a house. An agreement is made between three parties: a previously advantaged, a previously disadvantaged and a bank. A loan is taken from a bank by a previously disadvantaged person who e.g. would like to build a house. A white person as a previously advantaged person, pays the interest, while the disadvantaged person pays off the capital. For more information you could visit his website at www.restitution.org.za or on Facebook at 'Restitution Foundation'.

De Klerk (2000:40) is once again very clear on this point, *“Give back what we owe. With hand, heart, wallet, uplifting, development, affirmative action, solidarity with the need of Black people, cooperation with development priorities.”* Van der Walt (2003:369) also argues that, *“...economical justice and social liberation are part of our liberation in Christ and must be embodied in civic legislation.”* Most people will accept the need for correction on a basic level of education, work, housing, health, water and lights. If this is not addressed, it is as good as *“to kiss reconciliation goodbye”* (Tutu 1999:273). For Chikane (2013) restitution is skills, help and parts of farms.

Land reform is a sensitive issue. Evaldsson (2007:152) writes about this as follow:

The only issue in South Africa related to restitution is the land reform project, of which complete or partial restitution is the main aim, but since this is often not possible, monetary compensation is frequently given instead, in particular in the urban areas. Claims had to be submitted before 31 December 1998, and could be made regarding the period after 19 June 1913, the day on which the Native Land Act was promulgated. The land reform issue is very problematic in contemporary South Africa and needs to be handled with great care.

About land issues, the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 5:8) expressed himself as follow, *“Beware, those who accumulate houses, who also accumulate field after field until there is no land left, and you are the only landowners remaining within the land”* (New English Translation) (Volf 1996:78). In 2015 land claims were reopened for the next 5 years. It seems as if the different parties are working constructively to resolve this issue without putting food security in danger or to head in the same direction as Zimbabwe where land was occupied and disowned.

Restitution is also about the correction, change and transformation of incorrect thoughts. Brummer (2005:52) describes the incorrect life-style further as *“... false ways of feeling and thinking, established complexes which have acquired for us an almost sacred character, and governed - these must be broken up. We must come to know ourselves for what we really are.”* Restitution implies that especially unbiblical thoughts must be confronted, corrected and renewed in line with the Word of God. Thoughts, arguments and lies erected against the authority of Jesus that became strongholds in Afrikaner lives, that enslaved them, need to be broken down.

Regarding the respondents' feedback, there is some contradiction. Question 93 and 101 are in essence the same and ask if compensation and/or restitution is needed for reconciliation. Only 42% of the respondents for question 93 argue that restitution is necessary for reconciliation. Question 101 asks whether injustices must be rectified and 60% agree with this, implying a positive outlook to restitution. The average opinion is thus not very positive in favour of restitution. The reason is probably because the SADF members experience it as being aimed against them, instead of regarding restitution and restoration rather as nation building and patriotism.

What other countries did in terms of rectification, has already been discussed in Section 9.6.3.6 of this chapter. The USA, because of their history of slaves and discrimination, launched a programme of reconstruction to bring about amendment. Symbolic actions and confessions usually carry more weight than compensation of whatever nature. Money does not always add value. A humble attitude is often of immeasurable value in this regard.¹⁰⁶

Lapsley (2012:151), summarises the situation as follow, "*Taking responsibility is the first step in reconciliation. Then too material restitution to individuals and societies. This is justice of restoration. I forgive you but I still have no hands. Forgiveness is unconditional. Restitution is necessary to heal fully the relationship between the two of us.*"

9.8.6 Embrace Biblical social justice

Skreslet (2012:33) is of the opinion that social justice is a *leitmotif* in the Old Testament. Through justice reconciliation takes place. Even Jesus was a victim of violence and betrayal.

For Lapsley (2012:95) the Biblical requirements for social justice was decisive in his involvement and activism. The Anglican order he belongs to, laid a complaint against him about his social involvement with the following statements:

¹⁰⁶ The researcher experienced this in 2013 when a British diplomat laid a wreath on behalf of the British on the 16th of December 2013 in commemoration of the 100-year anniversary of the National Women's Monument.

... there will never be in this life be the sort of utopia that people like Michael want to see. The poor we shall always have with us. Society has been oppressive and exploitive since time began. Change now should not be the keystone of our Christian discipleship; it must come by education, not revolution ... justice will be seen as relative and not an absolute or universal blessing. Some will always be more equal than others and I don't think Jesus thought much of it as a way of bringing into being the just society. Jesus had higher values in his heart, and they are forgiveness, compassion and love (Lapsley 2012:50).

It is mindboggling to think that the church could think in this way. Yet it is true, and many believers lack the courage to address real injustices. Lapsley is also of the opinion that it played a major role for people such as Beyers Naude, Frank Chikane and Charles Villa-Vicencio who were all fighters for justice during the apartheid years. He indicates accurately that justice is not in the first place a human right or a political issue, but it is a faith issue. The Bible, as discussed in Chapter 2, contains prominent scripture regarding this that does not have to be discussed again. What is of interest to the SADF conscript generation and the Afrikaner is the fact that there undeniably was injustice, exploitation, oppression, self-indulgence, self-exaltation and an exaggerated reliance on military abilities during apartheid, and even now. Such actions are unacceptable to God. In fact, His chosen people went into exile because of this disposition, according to the prophets.

The following perceptions became obvious when the respondents were asked about justice. Equal opportunities for all (Question 100 – 94%), reasonable government for all (Question 102 – 92%), everyone to share in the prosperity (Question 99 – 82%) is confirmed to be regarded as a part of justice. Restoration (Question 101 – 43%), however, is not judged positively. From Question 107 a few options (factors) were provided that could prevent justice. Only 35% are of the opinion that the legacy of apartheid prevents justice; 57% are of the opinion that affirmative action prevents reconciliation. On the other hand, corruption (91%) and crime (92%) are seen as major factors preventing justice. A positive finding is that 76% argue that pride and arrogance prevent justice. The conclusion that can be made is that the guilt of the past as well as the need for restoration, is not truly accepted. It is much easier to blame the new government instead. The blame is shifted to corruption and crime. One has to wonder to what extent the Afrikaans newspapers contribute to this. Churches, leaders and those who shape

opinions have not really 'sold' the necessity for restoration and restitution to the Afrikaner. Perhaps he does not want to hear it, because the reality is too difficult to accept.

The Biblical requirement for justice is as clear as daylight. This truth can obediently be followed in faith. It will be made more difficult if a proud, self-righteous stance is taken. Afrikaners can constructively contribute to a just country where everyone is treated with human dignity. Selfishness and greed lay the foundation for crime and corruption and will only contribute to further conflict. This attitude is foreign to the gospel where one is asked to value your brother as high as oneself (Matt. 19:19). God demands justice. The Afrikaner can also do his share to relieve poverty, create jobs and to bring about equality.

In conclusion it can be mentioned that restitution in physical form is also necessary (land and houses, water and electricity), a fair labour market, governance and management, relationships that need restoring as well as the breakdown of and establishing new thinking patterns. The greatest restoration is in a sincere spiritual search and return to God by all South Africans.

9.8.7 How does the believer interact with the 'other'?

Throughout history people – within families, schools, political parties and countries – have lived in conflict with others. Some of the greatest differences and wars were because of language, race and religion.

The Bible, as was highlighted in chapter 2 of this study, asks that the orphan, widow and foreigner should be treated with respect and should be supported. Jesus came to show us how this should be done practically. He crossed borders. At the well in Samaria, against conventions of the day, He talks to the Samaritan woman in a geographical area where Jews did not go to (Saayman 2012:34); He tells a story of a good Samaritan; He forgives a prostitute who would have been stoned by Jews; He heals a Roman officer's servant; He visits dishonest tax agents in their homes; those who were lame, blind, deaf, cripple, possessed are freed and He makes time for children, saying they are the most important in the Kingdom.

Peter had to learn that all sorts of 'unclean beasts', referring to heathens from other population groups, are also included in God's salvation plan (Acts 10:13). Paul teaches that the wall between Jew and Greek has been broken down (Eph. 2:14). Social boundaries no longer hold within the congregation - women and men, slaves and masters, rich and poor are all part of the church (Rom. 10:12).

In South Africa apartheid kept people apart. The reason therefore was partly because of a belief in nationalism whereby different groups of people would have their own area where they could practice their culture, but also partly because it was believed that 'we' were a pure race carrying a piece of 'divinity' and therefore had to be separated. Fear was a driving force where a white minority group had to protect itself from hostile elements, who were different and thought differently.

This study is not about how the differences should be structured politically and socially. The Christian believer can cross boundaries because from every tribe, language, group and nation people will gather before His throne, He who shed his blood for all (Rev. 7:9). They are there because believers took to heart the command to go to every nation.

It is accepted, as previously stated, that all people enter life within a culture context. This is important for identity formation. More important though, is the new identity in Christ that expects that boundaries to be crossed.

The SADF conscript generation's identity was formed with separation as one of the basic building blocks. According to Jansen (2008:264) it caused enormous damage, also within the context of the present dispensation. It seems as if everyone is struggling to live together because to a great extent the different population groups lived separately. They are strangers to each other. Perhaps many would like to cross the border, but they do not know how to. The whites especially struggle because they were taught that it was not really appropriate. The SADF did go to war against the other - hiding behind his justifying ideologies to 'teach the communist a lesson'. Within this world of separation, misunderstanding was nurtured because walls were built within a dream world. These

walls had to fall. Within such a government a minister¹⁰⁷ created legislation that affected migrant workers' lodging, while he himself had never been there to see where and how they live (Louw 2001:206). One would assume that a minister who wields such power would have been knowledgeable. How do we cross the border?

It is evident from the questionnaire that the 'other' was mainly identified as communists who had to be opposed. Ideologically justification was provided to not only avoid contact, but to even eliminate the enemy. The ANC and SWAPO were firstly regarded as communists, not people. They were not legal inhabitants of the country, but ideological bloodhounds who wanted to establish communism. The system that had to barricade the Afrikaner from the other does not exist anymore. This in itself explains the crisis the Afrikaner is experiencing. No wonder 48% (Question 76) are of the opinion that the struggle is not over. The ANC rules poorly – the opinion of 95% in Question 78. Is it then not 'us' who are ruling poorly? Or can they not identify with the government because 'they are not people from our congregation'? The other also does not give the Afrikaner an opportunity, as is incorrectly believed, and anyhow humiliated him during the TRC – an opinion the majority formed without reading about the TRC. On the positive side, the respondents indicate that everyone should be respected, that everyone was created in His image, we should take hands, the same opportunities should be given to all in a reasonable government where everyone has access to prosperity. Respondents admit that distrust exists. This is because the 'other' did not interact with the 'I'. Now it is easy to hold the other accountable for corruption and crime. 'We' and 'they' are still alive and kicking.

According to Louw (2008:20), "*Human beings live within the dynamics of relational systems.*" This is the actual problem. The relationship with the other countrymen was very toxic for too long. Ideologically they are divided into two camps, lying in their trenches eyeing each other with distrust. They only 'know' each other through the lens of ideologies and misperceptions created by propaganda. There is not much personal knowledge. How great it would be if we did not judge according to human standards (2 Cor. 5:16).

¹⁰⁷ Louw refers to Leon Wessels, Minister of Housing, who gave approval for plans for hostels and only thereafter did he visit the hostels for the first time.

How can boundaries be crossed? In Chapter 2 Volf's model (1996) was discussed. According to this there must **firstly** be a willingness towards contact and understanding. **Opening up one's arms** is the first gesture, but then one must first get off one's throne to be at the same level with the other. The **second** step is **wait**. No contact can be forced. Give the other person the opportunity to react to your invitation. Allow him to come to you. When he comes, **embrace him** as **step three. Enter his world**, understand him, show comprehension and respect. **Opening one's arms** again is the **last step**. It is important that the two **do not suffocate and assimilate** each other in step 3. **Keep your identity** and perspective. Step back and look respectfully at each other.

The SADF who as brave soldiers were taught not to stand back for the enemy, will now also have to meet the 'enemy' fearlessly. Maybe he was not even the enemy in the first place?

Volf (1996) provides a number of useful observations into how people and groups exclude each other and what the believer's response should be to this. Many of his principles comes from his experience in the conflict-ridden former Yugoslavia.

In reaction to groups that place an exaggerated emphasis on blood and pure culture, he makes the following remark (Volf 1996:57):

People of pure blood and pure culture will live in a land that has been cleansed of the others ... political, military, academic will use mops, hoses and scrapers to re-sanitize the ethnic self and rearrange its proper space. The result, a world without the other. The price: rivers of blood and tears. The gain: except for the bulging pocketbooks of warlords and war profiteers, only losses, on all sides.

All this took place within the context of a self-righteous "civilising, modernising, humanising Christianising course" (Volf 1996:60 as quoted from Duffel 1995:122). Exclusion is what he refers to as "barbarity within civilisation" as well as "impenetrable barriers that prevent creative encounter with the other." This exclusion is based on the search for retention and expansion of power, a theme that has been addressed many times in this study.

Does this mean that there are now no boundaries and that everyone must be assimilated in the same pot? Volf asks for differentiation. Without boundaries there is no identity, only chaos and that will mean the end of life. Differentiation is distinction not exclusion. He pleads for a “*separating and binding interdependence*” (Volf 1996:65). The others help me in forming my own identity. I see the distinctions but also the similarities with the other.

Exclusion at its best is benign assimilation and dominance and at its worst elimination (Volf 1996:75). In practice exclusion was expressed as segregation, apartheid, ethnic purity and the Holocaust.

He uses an insightful explanation in reaction to the Cain and Abel story. Cain found himself in a dilemma because: Starting point 1 – If Abel was someone that God declared him to be, I (Cain) cannot be who I think I am. Starting point 2 – I am who I am. Starting point 3 – I cannot accept God’s declaration over Abel and my conclusion is that he should not exist. The problem with Cain was that he constructed his identity in terms of Abel. Abel’s success does not have to make Cain a failure.

Applied to the Afrikaner this means that also the other inhabitants have worth and can and may achieve success. My identity does not rely *per se* on their success or failures. Unfortunately, the identity of the Afrikaner is strongly based on separation, moving away from others and fear (Labuschagne 2014) and even discrimination against those who also have worth. To truly be a brother for each other you have to also be his shepherd (Volf 1996:97). The Afrikaner with his skills can indeed fulfil that role. A meeting with the risen Christ and the acquisition of a redeemed identity make it possible to cross boundaries, as well as the walls that predecessors built (Labuschagne 2014). Afrikaners must be weary of stereotyping and the reproach that the ‘other’ did not build the country or contributed nothing noteworthy in development and science. The argument from the other side is that the country would not have been where it is if the others did not help and contribute.

It would have been impossible. Every group indeed has a redemptive gift¹⁰⁸ that can contribute enormously to building the country.

Further, it is of importance to tell each other's stories. Many stories are painful. Of importance are stories that give the listener access to each other's world; but then we need to listen. The Afrikaner with his tendency to arrogance and authoritarian behaviour should learn how to improve his listening. After all it is respectful and good manners.

Meiring (2009:60) mentions that the TRC's report also encourages people to tell stories, especially those who did not get the opportunity or did not have the courage to do so. Churches can facilitate this. He states further about Ellen Kuzwayo, as quoted by Vugt (2000:196), "*... a celebrated South African author: Africa is a place of storytelling. We need more stories, never mind how painful the exercise may be. This is how we will learn to love one another. Stories help us to understand, to forgive and to see things through someone else's eyes.*"

Various researchers warn though that space should be provided for various versions and interpretations. There is not one truth (Asmal 1996:214; Bredenkamp&Wessels 2010:42; Jansen 2008:215).

The 'other' is in reality 'open' towards the Afrikaner. Mandela, who paid a price during his years of imprisonment, led by his example of forgiveness, crossing boundaries as well as how respect ought to be shown by going out of his way to include whites. The view of inclusion and inclusiveness have already been honoured by the ANC for some time and is described by Thabo Mbeki (Ndlangisa 2013) who quotes a letter of Luthuli in 1958, writing to the then Prime Minister, JG Strijdom, in which he asks for a negotiated agreement:

...Never has my congress preached hatred of any racial group in the country. On the contrary, it has stretched out its hand of friendship to South Africans of all races, emphasising that there is sufficient room for all of us

¹⁰⁸ The term *redemptive gift* is presently used often to indicate that every group, tribe and nation has something special and uniquely to contribute to the Church and Kingdom.

in this beautiful country in which we can and must live in peace and friendship.

I would, for emphasis, reiterate that it is our ardent desire in congress to see human conduct and relations motivated by an overriding passion for peace and friendship in South Africa and the world in general. And so we would be as strongly opposed to black domination or any other kind of domination from whatever source as we are uncompromisingly opposed to white domination. We regard domination, exploitation and racialism as arch-enemies of mankind...

Reconciliation means not to make a caricature of the other or to attempt to justify your position. Everyone carries and has at least some guilt according to Volf:

It will always be tempting when explaining your own position to ridicule the other side. If we let these same enemies talk about themselves, however, the ugliness mutates into beauty and the wickedness into beauty. (Volf 1996:79) Everybody is right in it's own eyes. The question is how to live with integrity and bring healing to a world of inescapable noninnocence (Volf 1996:84).

9.8.8 Patriotism – this land is my land, this land is your land¹⁰⁹

Patriotism is not seen as a *leitmotif* in the Old Testament. The term patriotism was chosen on purpose as the current context asks for loyal believers who shows loyalty to each other and to the country, something that seems to be absent currently. The researcher does not ask for a blind patriotism, which can be very dangerous indeed if one keeps the German history under the Nazis as well as the Afrikaner himself in mind. It rather demonstrates a loyalty towards the country that is regarded as one's own and with which one can identify. In light of the responses to the questionnaire, it seems as if the SADF generation is not very 'loyal' towards the country at the moment. A patriotic person is willing to sacrifice and to contribute even at the cost of himself. Firstly, we will consider one Biblical example of patriotism. Secondly, patriotism is tested according to the respondents' answers in the questionnaire. Thirdly, we will explore how the former combatants of the liberation struggle thought about patriotism. Lastly, we will attend to the current government's objective to create a South African identity, which in fact is a search for a

¹⁰⁹ The researcher has the song in mind "*Die land is my land, die land is jou land*" (This land is my land, this land is your land), that was sung patriotically during his youth.

concept or image which all South Africans can relate to in order to create a communal patriotism.

The aspect of patriotism has been covered in Chapter 2. The definition of *patriotism* is a loyalty to or love for the country where one lives. It involves i.e. to contribute to the prosperity and wellbeing of your country; to make sacrifices and to help.

Nehemiah is a Biblical example of a patriot. He was in exile and is granted permission to return to Jerusalem where a miserable situation prevails. People are negative and the morale is low; dejectedness prevails; and on top of that, the wall that is important for security, is demolished. He is driven by a vision in his heart and he convinces the leaders to help rebuild the wall. Everyone took shared responsibility for it. Most were also willing to 'get their hands dirty' and help with the rebuilding of the wall. Everyone helped to secure the city by at times working armed or by being watchmen. The wall is rebuilt in 52 days and religion once again provides its legitimate foundation (Nehemiah 8). The wall and the Word are restored.

Unfortunately, one gets the impression that many South Africans, from all backgrounds, are at the moment focused on their own interests. What can I gain, how can I be enriched, what is in it for me personally? Nehemiah (Neh. 5:14) refused some of his allowances as some of his fellow Israelites struggled financially and were even exploited. He led by example, an attitude that unfortunately is currently lacking in many. There may be Afrikaners who argue that the new South Africa is a form of 'exile'. This assumption cannot be supported. But, if this is the attitude, the words of Jeremiah in chapter 29¹¹⁰, who himself as an exile in Babylon, can serve as a guideline:

*4: The LORD of Heaven's Armies, the God of Israel, says to all those he sent into exile to Babylon from Jerusalem,
5: Build houses and settle down. Plant gardens and eat what they produce.*

¹¹⁰ It is somewhat ironic that Jer 29:11 is a frequently quoted verse. *'I alone know the plans I have for you, plans to bring you prosperity and not disaster, plans to bring about the future you hope for'*.

Although the promise and blessing are much sought after, the context, however, as indicated, suggests that a 'patriotic' contribution towards the communities should first and foremost be pursued in order for the blessing to be fulfilled.

6: Marry and have sons and daughters. Find wives for your sons and allow your daughters to get married so that they too can have sons and daughters. Grow in number; do not dwindle away.
7: Work to see that the city where I sent you as exiles enjoys peace and prosperity. Pray to the LORD for it. For as it prospers you will prosper.’ (New English Translation)

This quote speaks for itself. Maybe a mind or paradigm shift and an attitude change is needed first. Then it is possible to help in the development, building and prosperity (the wellbeing) of the country as thousands already do. In the hearts and minds of the old combatants who fought against apartheid one experienced a patriotism then that unfortunately is somewhat absent at present. In a letter Mr. Mandela wrote to his wife Winnie, he says the following, *“Beni, Zinzi, Maki and Kgatho might grow up and live peacefully in a free country where all its people, Black and White, would be bound by a common loyalty to a new South Africa”* (Madikizela-Mandela 2013:170).

Patriotism also means not to only criticise and find fault. Nelson Mandela underlines this point, *“... duty not only to comment but to inspire...to leave fellow countrymen with hope and something to live for’* (Madikizela-Mandela 2013:189). Winnie Mandela makes the following striking remark, *“Walter Sisulu never wanted position. He turned it down. He was humble and unassuming. Today – never about self-sacrifice. That is why they cannot understand I’m living in Soweto. When we see things sliding and becoming more and more like our oppressive masters. And that is what scares me”* (238).

What is the SADF’s view on patriotism?

A few conclusions are made here based on the respondents’ answers. There is a great degree of ambivalence regarding the current regime. There is a totally negative picture about the way the ANC is ruling. According to them reversed discrimination is taking place. There is a cynicism about the government/politicians in general, probably nursed by the knowledge gained of the actions of the previous ruling party. The new SANDF is not seen as a continuation of the old SADF. They distance themselves from it.

Yet, a great majority are of the opinion that they do want to contribute to the country. They also display a great degree of sensitivity regarding what is reasonable and fairness.

Experiences in the SADF can be applied productively for this purpose. The SADF conscript generation also realise that they have a role to play in maintaining their own culture. There is a willingness to work with other groups and organisations to help build the country. Though the majority reckons there is a future (70%), everyone is not sure. A significant number (67%) are willing to fight again for their country, which displays a reasonable degree of patriotism.

Certain Afrikaner elements distance themselves from nation building. Attempts to include the Voortrekker Monument, a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, in reconciliation activities as well as opening it up for service in a broader sense, were met with protest by certain groups (Kruger & Van Heerden 2005:258). De Klerk (2000:52) also points out the lack of solidarity to attempt to find solutions. In fact, he is of the opinion that the Afrikaners joke together with the English about Africa's incompetence. He calls this a colonialist mentality of disloyalty.

In spite of this, there are still thousands of Afrikaners who are still actively busy in many areas to build our country. It is their country. They feel loyal as South Africans and Africans. Van Zyl Slabbert (1999:128) is also of the opinion that Afrikaners need to ask where they can help and become involved. Though, this is an aspect which only they themselves can answer. Meiring (2013) notices that in the new South Africa, Afrikaners will have to accept that they are at the back of the bicycle helping to peddle. Their energy and experience are very much needed, it will just be less noticeable.

Regarding a collective patriotism and South African identity, there is definitely no clarity. The current government is anxious to help develop a collective identity (Van der Merwe 2010:316). Phrases such as rainbow nation are used, while others view it as awkward and unclear. How do you build an identity in a non-racial multi-cultural country, especially if some of the elements have group loyalties that threaten security? Afrikaners at times are accused of unpatriotic, racist behaviour and a do not care attitude towards the new South Africa, by, amongst others, Julius Malema, leader of the EFF. *Heritage Day* is celebrated by most Afrikaners as *National Braai Day*¹¹¹ (Wikipedia 2014g). It is

¹¹¹ Ironic and interesting is that Desmond Tutu is the patron of *Braaidag*, which is celebrated on Heritage Day.

probably difficult for Afrikaners to position themselves in the new realities. Sport has the remarkable ability to bring South Africans together, such as winning the Rugby World Cup in 1995 proved. The question can be raised whether a victory by a national sport's team every few years are enough to establish unity. This cannot be the foundation of patriotism. Patriotism is rather the realisation that broken walls must be rebuilt together. Broken walls such as distrust, prejudice, AIDS, deficient education, violence, crime, to name but a few. All South Africans are concerned about this if, they want to create a country where their children can achieve their full potential.

It also seems as if the country is still in the proses of acculturation (De Klerk 2000:95; Van der Merwe 2010:325). The assumption is that in this process of a changing world, something different and new will be the outcome. What exactly it is going to be, is not clear.

Better loyalty and patriotism one will not find than in the words of the South African bowler, Abbott, who despite the fact that he does not always get selected to play for the Proteas, displays the following attitude:

We all have one goal in mind and that is to win for SA. We are a family. Every guy in the 15 is pulling in the same direction. Nobody takes frustrations or personal grief anywhere else. The responsibility to readiness lies within myself when it comes to match readiness and preparation despite the time on the side lines. Certain things I don't have control over. I have control of what I do in the team, how I practice, how I prepare. When I play that is what I can control (Abbott 2014).

9.8.9 Put away the sword. The problem of violence in South Africa.

South Africa has a dubious reputation as a violent country, past and present. The reason why *Put away the sword* is included in the reconciliation section, is because the SADF conscript generation, as soldiers, were often present in violent, conflict and combat situations. On the other hand, the liberation movements used revolutionary methods and also committed violence. Which war was 'just' is not so much the point here as the fact that violence was and is part of South African society, limiting reconciliation – whether it is physical or emotional violence or just harsh words.

Soldiers are trained to use force, though limited and under command. Freedom fighters who were regarded as terrorists and communists were killed. Within South African borders, the old SADF and SAP had to maintain order against a mass of protests and actions on many levels. Former soldiers have been telling their stories, often boasting an incident where the 'enemy' was manhandled and at times treated brutally. It is true that violence is used in war situations, despite the rules of engagement. Research indicates that the consequences thereof only comes to the surface years later.

Simultaneously, the liberation movements and the psyched masses used extreme violence – whether it included using landmines, bomb explosions, necklace murders, destroying schools or homes or murder. A generation of scholars grew up in a culture of violence. They are referred to as the lost generation. It was the normal way of life at that time. Everyone was affected by it.

Currently crime is a huge problem. Gang related violence is a daily occurrence in many parts of the country. South Africa has one of the highest numbers of rape cases in the world. Domestic violence, especially against women and children, is an enormous problem. Unemployment contributes to crime as a possible way to survive. Ex-freedom fighters, who did not integrate into the SANDF, and were not taught skills while in exile, must compete in a job market where the supply of unskilled workers is overwhelming. That many of those with military training would lend themselves to crime, goes without saying (Mashike 2004:100). Farm murders are a recurring problem and though the government does not want to admit it, there might be a racial element present. Violence and crime though, is everywhere. It is not primarily a racial issue, as the tragic death of the Bafana Bafana goalkeeper testifies¹¹². Black people in black areas are the first victims of crime where dogs, fences and alarms are not so readily available. Much of this has nothing to do with reconciliation *per se*, as mentioned before, though it does contaminate society.

Many are of the opinion that the violence psychosis has to do with a violence ravaged past. Poverty, alcohol and drug abuse, frustrations, anger, expectations that were not met,

¹¹² Senzo Meyiwa, the goalkeeper of the national soccer team, Bafana Bafana, was shot dead by a burglar who wanted to steal his cell phone while he was at his girlfriend's house on the 25th of October 2014.

absent fathers bringing about dysfunctional families, HIV/AIDS, a feeling of loss, and so the list can continue, all contribute to violence. Graça Machel (News 24 8 March 2013) who is originally from Mozambique, asks that more research should be done to determine the reasons for this violent psychosis in South Africa. For South Africans this might seem normal. She is of the opinion that South Africa is an angry nation. In the same news article, prof. Adam Habib, Rector of the University of the Witwatersrand, argues that people are of the opinion that violence is the only way to ensure that people listen. The police react to the violence with even greater violence as was seen during the Marikana strike action. Graça Machel probably notices something about the country that most South Africans have accepted as normal and became indifferent to.

Lapsley (2012:28) affirms this and points out the culture of torture South Africans experienced. SADF members experienced it and many probably had to apply it. Lambrechts (2009:91) indicates that especially middle-aged men long for the militaristic past and the popularity of songs such as *De la Rey* is the proof. The liberation movements killed traitors in their midst by means of the necklacing method. The following remark is indeed true, "*We were a damaged nation, damaged by what we have done to one another, damaged by what was done to us, and damaged by what we failed to do, and everyone had a story to tell about our experience about the apartheid years,*" and, "*we were victims of violence and torture*" (Lapsley 2012:113). Also, Verster (1994:655) warns that structural violence was committed by many parties in the old South Africa, either to stay in power or to gain power, often with religious justification.

All South Africans, but especially the SADF conscript generation, will have to confront the 'normality' of violence. It is not normal. It does not reflect a Kingdom that has arrived. The culture of violence has to be eradicated. People hurt themselves, others and each other and in so doing prepare a future for their children where violence is seen as the only option. Chikane (2013) prophetically states that the sword that is not put away will destroy you. May swords be used to make ploughshares and spears to make pruning shears.

9.9 THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES IN RECONCILIATION

Louw (2001:346) is of the opinion that the biggest crisis that the Afrikaner is experiencing, is a crisis of faith. If this is true, it is important to determine what the crisis consists of. Firstly, many SADF members experience a type of exile. “*God has forsaken us,*” some might believe or, “*I do not want to make music in this foreign country,*” as the Israelites in exile. This is not our country; we cannot identify with it. Our harps hang in the trees (Ps. 137). Secondly, some might experience the current situation as punishment. Israel did indeed sin and the exile was the result of that sin. Thirdly, we experience guilt. Guilt causes one to hide away like Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Guilt is paralysing. Lastly, many SADF men are disappointed in the Church, even disillusioned. The Church lost esteem and credibility because conflicting decisions, especially around apartheid, was made over the years.

When it comes to the respondents’ views regarding the Church, only a few comments and conclusions: They indicated that the Church did not do enough or neglected its duty in the old South Africa. In Question 117 only 26% are of the opinion that enough was done. The same accusation is now laid in front of their door (Question 118) where only 24% are of the opinion that enough is being done presently. Is the Church in the barrage? These percentages indicate that the Church lost credibility and currently not seen as relevant. This does not mean that the case is lost. There are strong indications that the Afrikaner who is ‘religious’, highly regards Godly guidance. The Church will probably have to take the initiative to confess to its members that the actions of the past were wrong and that in the current circumstances not enough is being done. The ‘negativity’ can also be interpreted as disappointment as well as a cry for direction and guidance. The Church is perhaps seen as being absent in this existential crisis. Yet, the position can be corrected by addressing the need, the Church does have the ability to do that as have been the case in the past, for example during the ‘poor whites’ question (Giliomee 2011:7). Church leaders will have to get involved at ground level and get off their thrones. To use the expression – *they will have to get their hands dirty* – there where the need occurs.

It also seems as if the SADF generation has little realisation of guilt. Only 40% of respondents are of the opinion that guilt needs to be confessed before God (Question

115). The Afrikaner is of the opinion that he is not guilty; or that guilt has already been confessed; and even less that guilt has to be confessed to people (Question 116 – only 26% consider it necessary). This in itself is a large stumbling block in the way of reconciliation. Confession is usually seen as weakness, even by church goers. The issue must obviously be handled sensitively. Church leaders can help believers with the appropriate guidance to launch programmes where guilt can be confessed, where applicable. Confession must happen from a position of acquittal. The believer who has already confessed in front of God, can now, from his position as a forgiven and justified person, go to the other with an attitude of humility, and confess their guilt. Guilt, including that for which he was not personally responsible, can be confessed so that the country can heal. This is indeed a step in faith and obedience. The effect of this can be surprising, wholesome and restorative and ensure the road to new relationships. This means that pride should be put away and that the Christ-like identity should be taken; one of washing each other's feet.

The TRC realised that the religious communities had a huge role to play in reconciliation. Therefore, they made the following recommendations in their final report, as quoted by Meiring (2009:66):

... urging them to continue with the process of truth, justice and reconciliation: to organize healing ceremonies, creating special liturgies, making available the skills of its members and identifying the land in their possession that can be made available to landless people or to return it to its rightful owners. Trauma centres need to be erected. In terms of reconciliation there were as many requests: that marginalized groups be welcomed, that interfaith dialogue be promoted and that theologies to promote reconciliation and a true sense of community be designed. Above all, that the faith communities promote a culture of tolerance and peaceful co-existence in the country (TRC 1998: Volume 5:316 ff).

There are many organisations and institutions that are doing research regarding reconciliation and also projects and programmes that have been launched on this topic. The *Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR)* for example, developed a barometer with certain criteria to determine the extent to which reconciliation and justice had progressed, if at all. Unfortunately, the latest statistics are not encouraging (Cilliers 2012). The *University of the Free State* manages the *Institute for Reconciliation and Social*

*Justice*¹¹³. The former Archbishop Tutu established the Desmond and Leah Tutu Legacy Foundation that strives for reconciliation and justice, amongst other things. In a document about mission and evangelism, the *World Council of Churches* (WCC 2013) argues that the Church has to strive for transformation and social justice (WCC 2013:5). The document describes the role that the Church can play as follow:

“As a community of imperfect people, and as part of a creation groaning in pain and longing for its liberation, the Christian community can be a sign of hope and an expression of the kingdom of God here on earth (Rom. 8:22-24). The Holy Spirit works for justice and healing in many ways and is pleased to indwell the particular community which is called to embody Christ’s mission” (WCC 2013:21).

Organisations such as these, though, are not mainstream and one gets the idea that it is mostly a few passionate individuals who drive projects and initiatives like these. Reconciliation will have to become mainstream. The Church, cultural organisations and schools are important agents in this context within Afrikaner ranks.

9.10 RETURN TO A BIBLICAL CHRISTOLOGICAL IDENTITY

Goroncy (2013:1) provides two quotes to indicate the tension and opinions between culture and the gospel, *“My ethnic Blood is stronger than the Blood of Jesus Christ. The Water of Baptism is too thin to clean my thickly stained ethnic blood,”* (Basumatary 2010) as well as *“While you may belong to Christ, you first and foremost belong to your people, your iwi ... Your iwi is your church ... The marae is your church!”* (Te Kaawa 2013).

Remarks such as these show the struggle that the believer had throughout church history with culture, group tradition and race. In Christ something new happened, though. A re-orientation in terms of myself and others takes place because of my meeting with Christ. Smit (1980:314) writes about the development and struggle the DRC had with its daughter churches, remarks that the Church must grow in its fullness of adulthood in

¹¹³ It was formerly known as the *International Institute for Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice* but the term *race* is so loaded with associations that it was taken out of the name.

Christ. Goroncy (2013:8) refers to Justin, an early martyr, who confessed the following in order to reinforce this way of thinking:

We who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not live with men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ, to the end that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God the ruler of all.

Goroncy (2013:10) argues further:

The tradition has always insisted that God is the source of all things, the one from whose sway nothing escapes and in whom 'all things hold together' (Col. 1:17). In other words, God is a faithful Creator, responsible for all God has made. Moreover, because creation was not only made by God but also 'for' God (Col. 1:16). And to these we might add the concern that has given rise to this essay, to the tense space that characterises the authentic expression of ethnic diversity in Christological unity, of community life made unstable by the radical interruption (otherwise named 'the incarnation') of creaturely boundary markers, and actualised ever anew by God's Word and Spirit.

In this regard, Smit (1983:148) notes, *"The same act that reconciles a person to God simultaneously incorporates him into a community in which people find their identity in Jesus Christ and not in their race, culture, social class or sex."*

It is accepted that any person is born within a specific social context. According to this a person belongs to a certain group, talks a specific language and observes certain practices that is also known as culture.

This is also accepted by the Church. The Church acknowledges this when Pope Paul VI makes the following remark during the *Second Vatican Council*, which is contained in the *Gaudium et Spes* document, *"Human persons come to a true and full humanity only through culture, that is through the cultivation of the goods and values of nature. Wherever human life is involved, therefore, nature and culture are quite intimately connected one with the other."*

Gorony (2013:2) quotes Donovan (1982:30), who worked among Masai, to describe the train of thought further:

God enables a people, any people, to reach salvation through their culture and tribal, racial customs and traditions ... I had no right to disrupt this body of customs, of traditions. It was the way of salvation for these people, their way to God ... An evangelist, a missionary must respect the culture of a people, not destroy it. The incarnation of the gospel, the flesh and blood which must grow on the gospel is up to the people of a culture.

Theologically speaking culture can never be the dominant factor or viewpoint. Yet, differences can be accommodated within different structures. The problem with culture, tradition and habits are that some of these can stand in the way of the gospel. This must be laid down remorsefully in obedience to the demands of the gospel. Unbiblical views must either be changed, omitted or opposed.

Paul describes his own experience of repentance and transformation in this regard in Philippians 3. He addresses the congregations in Chapter 1:10 with the following words, "...so that you can decide what is best, and thus be sincere and blameless for the day of Christ". The assumption is that believers can be carried away by things and traditions that is not centrally a part of the gospel. In Chapter 3 he discusses the question of the circumcision. He talks of his previous 'identity' that was very important to him at a certain stage, "I was circumcised on the eighth day, from the people of Israel and the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews. I lived according to the law as a Pharisee" (Phil. 3:5). Furthermore, he persecuted Christians who threatened his way of life and identity. Until the day on the road to Damascus, that we read of in Acts 9:3. Here he receives a different and new 'identity'. This causes radical and irreversible interventions and new orientations in his life as well as his understanding of identity. He longs increasingly for a new identity in Christ (Phil. 3:10; 12; 13). Identifying with Christ now becomes his identity. This involves getting to know Him better (his teachings and life), to die with Him (to lay down the old things that threatens his new identity in Christ) as well as sharing in his resurrection (to experience the signs and victories and breakthroughs of the Kingdom that has already arrived). Being a Hebrew, his background and culture fades in the light of these. In fact, he feels so strongly about this that he reprimanded Peter when it seemed as if this church leader fell back in his old identity, separating himself from uncircumcised

believers (Gal. 2:11 ff). Paul calls this behaviour of Peter and other Jews hypocrisy. On grounds of your new identity in Christ you cannot practice things that are essentially a negation of your new identity in Christ.

The Afrikaner, no matter how strongly he feels about his identity, must make his Afrikaner identity secondary to his identity in Christ. In fact, if this does not happen the question can be raised whether this person did indeed, in Biblical terms, die to himself and was born again. Jesus teaches that God and Mammon cannot be worshipped at the same time, a true follower of Jesus combined with an unhealthy pursuit of the own group or national identity is unbiblical! The one will suffer and be subordinate to the other. A syncretism takes place and a schizophrenia or split personality is created where the true gospel and pureness of identity in Christ and its meaning are lost. The question can be asked whether this did not happen anyway in a Christian national or a national Christian world view? Was it Christian or was it national? For Paul, it was clear – the things that matter, the most important and central and primary part of the gospel is Jesus. Life has become Christ and to die, is gain. People, and he himself, are not measured according to personal, human and natural standards (2 Cor. 5:16). The only lasting criteria is Christ. Karel Barth (Van de Beek 2012:118) especially after the atrocities of the Second World War, emphasised that truths should be interpreted through Christ, who is a specific revelation and not from the natural created order which is a general revelation. For this Paul stretches himself, in order to grow in this direction and also to accompany other on this road. He is not there yet, but he is on his way (Phil. 3:13).

The Afrikaner will have to think seriously about his 'obsession' of being an Afrikaner. One can live with it being a healthy pride in and maintenance of the 'own'. Unfortunately, it has developed into a gospel alienated construction with a strong nationalistic flavour. Verster (1994:149) indicates rightly so that the *providence* in the Afrikaner mind was interpreted as *separation and isolation*, concepts which are alien to the Word. He further indicated that Calvinism especially does not teach nation superiority (*volksmeerderwaardigheid*). This was a false foundation Paul warns us about in 1 Cor. 3, that everyone who builds must be careful how he builds. The foundation cannot be anything else but Christ. Unfortunately, the Afrikaner was lured to idolatry by a '*idol-logy*' (an idol); or at best he created a '*theo-logy*' ideology – born out of fear on one hand and

self-exaltation on the other hand, to justify his thoughts and deeds. This must be confessed and demolished. The wall between Jew and non-Jew, man and woman, slave and free man has been broken down. Jesus built bridges, not walls. Any enforced system is not Biblically accountable. The bombardment of a specific outlook on life in the formation of identity in the minds of generations of Afrikaners, did not withstand the test of time. The lie has been exposed. A true New Testament conversion, renewal and attitude need to be proclaimed opposed to the 'one sided' Old Testament's predestination and chosen people stance, and an excessive identification with the Israel of ancient times. The gospel should indeed be proclaimed to all nations (Matt. 28:19) in preparation for when believers from every tribe, language, people and nation (Rev. 5:9) will gather before the throne. The one-sided expression and maintenance of the identity of the Afrikaner did not contribute to this. On the contrary, the 'other' believers almost rejected the Christian faith because they could not see the fruit of salvation in the lives of the Afrikaner. If it were not for grace and the price paid by people such as Beyers Naude, the people of colour would have either been heathens, unconverted or followers of alternative religions.

Van de Beek (2008:225) confirms this assumption that the believer's identity should firstly be in Christ. As foreigner and tenant in this world he does not have to maintain his own, in fact he can relinquish it for the sake of others; but then the heart must first change. Van de Beek (2012:112) observes that a person cannot be the subject of his own history as he does not know who he is, what his deepest longing is or what is good for him. Your true and real identity is discovered in Christ.

For Lapsley (2012:5) it means the following: Christ unites people and breaks down walls. He frees and I rise with Him into a new life, but not before I died with Him. The believer sees the need in the broken world. Jesus was not ideologically oriented. He includes Matthew, a pro-Roman tax agent, as well as Simon, an anti-Roman zealot, as his disciples.

Volf (1996:69) explains further according to Gal. 2:19 what dying with Christ entails. I – and one could add my group, culture and blood – am no longer the immovable objective criteria. The core moves. We go through a Good Friday experience where we die to self-centredness (*de-centring*) to an Easter Monday of *re-centring*. My core must be crucified. This *centre of essence* is not just something deep within that has to be rediscovered. The

centre is Jesus' story. Jesus' story has to become my story. This does not mean that the self is destroyed. The new core transforms and strengthens the old one (Volf 1996:71). This *de-centred centre, not a self-centred core*, is the suffering body of God's *self-giving love*. To exclude any person lies within the sinful heart; the heart from which sin flows according to Jesus' words in Mark 7. Exclusion aims to exclude himself hypocritically from a dirty world as if he himself is without sin. I attempt to remove other from my heart and world. This attitude is sinful, sin in and from the heart and came to fruition during the Second World War in national socialism that held forth the following, "*...politics must be pure, German blood runs through veins of Germans*" (Volf 1996:74).

Such an attitude is in direct contrast with Jesus' remark (Mark 3:33 ff) after his disciples informed him that his mother, brothers and sisters were looking for Him. He asks, "*Who are my mother and my brothers?*" Then, referring to the people sitting with Him in a circle, He said, "*Here are my mother and my brothers!*" He then adds that those who do the will of his Father, are his mother, brothers and sisters. Jesus does not nullify culture or family but indicate that those with the 'blood' of the gospel in their veins, are now His new family. That is a stronger bond that lies on a new level and dimension. These are the characteristics of the Kingdom of God. Redemption is not found *per se* in the family or nation, but in Christ, in His blood and in obedient submission to the will of the Father. About this passage Goroncy (2013:6) has the following to say, "*On the other hand, when informed that his biological mother and brothers were waiting for him, Jesus' response indicates a re-evaluation of family relationships based not on the logic of the old creation but of the radical newness of the new eschatological family defined around himself* (Mark. 3:33-35)."

Such a changed and new identity is only possible if the person changed in the love of God Himself (1 John 4:7 ff). It is as Bonhoeffer (Bonsanquet 1969:136-137) expresses it:

You have made a beginning in me. You have lain in wait for me and not let me escape, have suddenly stood before me in this place or that, have spoken to me of your longing and your eternal love, of your faithfulness and power; when I sought strength, you strengthened me, when I needed support you upheld me, when I sought forgiveness you forgave my sin. I did not want it, but you overcame my will, my resistance and my heart, you seduced me irresistibly so that I gave myself up to you. Lord, you have persuaded me

against my will, and I have been persuaded. You took hold of me all unsuspecting, and now I cannot get away from you.

Because of this 'seduction' to which Bonhoeffer refers, the believer is as a matter of fact 'in love' with God. Is this not what John means in Revelation 2:4 when he urges us not to desert our first love? Is this not what John talks about in 1 John 4:18 when he writes that perfect love drives away fear? Is this fear not perhaps the fear of the other? Is this not the love Peter is called to in John 21 when Jesus asks him three times if he truly loves Him? The person who loses himself and commits himself to the love of his Father changes in identity, in fact he is transformed to a new Christ orientation that does not just transform the old identity but can even replace it.

Indeed, the true love of Christ drives away all fear. A fear that unfortunately is ingrained in the history of the Afrikaner and gave rise to a *laager* mentality of withdrawal and segregation¹¹⁴. This is conflicting to Jesus' way of working which is to cross boundaries.

No wonder then that Asmal (1997:66) frowns upon Christians. The Christian faith was under suspicion and suspect. They, including the security forces, who shouted "Lord, Lord," perhaps did not know or understand Him and did not live in His identity completely. It is not surprising then that a MK soldier could wonder and ask, "*What were they doing and saying in the churches? Were they pretending? The Whites were so harsh. I could see this hate was in their blood. They lived as if the Whites were the only people in the world. They would provoke you so that you would become angry so that they have reason to do something to you*" (Mangana 2014).

¹¹⁴ Leibbrandt (1961:187), the boxer, who became a pro-Nazi, prayed that 'God' would give him strength during one of his difficult experiences. His 'god' though was not the God of the Bible as revealed in Christ. He rejected Jesus because He was a Jew. This was confirmed by his daughter (Labuschagne 2014). In such a family, where the father was carried away by Afrikaner nationalism and Nazi-national socialism, with her being indoctrinated at school through the school curriculum, where fear was instilled when the Great Trek was discussed in terms of acts that were committed against the Afrikaner, the true Christ was not known. It was years later at a women's camp where she met Christ and her fear was broken. After this she did missionary work in townships and eventually, she reconciled with the Jews during a visit to Israel where she embraced the Israeli tour leader in a gesture of reconciliation and acknowledging the humanity in both of them. Before her conversion she was convinced that God did not speak to us. The crucified, risen and ascended Jesus came and stood by her side. Today, thanks to the grace of God, she has a new identity in Christ and has been purified from all prejudice that was and is so characteristic of Afrikaners (Labuschagne 2014). This does not want to claim that Afrikaners are 'unconverted', but that many were and are badly contaminated and infected by racial prejudice.

Thankfully, this veteran warrior found Swedish missionaries who came to plant a church and treated him humanely with the love of Christ.

Karel Barth (as quoted by Bosanquet 1969:125) in his day also recognised the danger of being seduced by all sorts of issues instead of focussing on the Word of God. He urges as follows:

For this is the powerful temptation of the present time which appears in innumerable guises: that because of the strength of other demands we cease to understand the intensity and exclusiveness of the demand of the divine Word, and so we at once cease to understand this Word at all. That in our anxiety about all kinds of dangers we no longer quite trust the power of God's Word, so that we believe that we must come to its assistance with all kinds of devices, and so we cast away our faith in its victory ... That our hearts are divided between the Word of God and all sorts of other things, which we expressly or tacitly clothe with the majesty of the divine, and by this we show that our heart is not centred on the Word of God.

About the Afrikaner specifically and the need of a Christological orientation, Oliver says (2011:76):

Afrikaners need to identify for themselves where and why some of their views and those of the churches regarding history, theology and traditions are not in line with basic Christian principles. Only when this process is completed, there could be progression. The next step would be to recover our identity and integrity through the imperative lens of meta-memories from salvation history (Volf 2006a). All Christians share the same identity (a new identity given by Christ), regardless of their nationality, language or history. The Calvinist-born Afrikaner nation, displaying its true Christian (New Testament) identity, would repent for past sins by thinking and acting differently and becoming an influential, changing force to a better future for all living in South Africa.

An alternative Christological identity, as opposed to the identity characteristics of the Afrikaner as shaped through history and as discussed in Chapter 4, is represented as follows:

- *The Great Trek and the search for self-determination:* The Afrikaner has to accept that he has indeed been placed here, has a unique calling in regard to the country

in unison with other groups and that he has a missionary task. He does not have to and cannot move away to a place of 'peace'. Jesus is his peace. In a globalised world it becomes increasingly difficult to try and live in isolation. The Great Trek probably has to be back to the cross.

- *Forming a laager*: He can lift his head in faith. The world out there is not a threat or an enemy. He does not have to remove himself. It is no longer *us* and *them*. In fact, he can contribute to the progress and building the country as stated in Jeremiah 29. The believer cannot live in fear perpetually. The perfect love in God drives the fear away. In fact, there is a strong indication that the fellow citizens have much respect for the Afrikaner and what he has been able to achieve in this country. Interaction and opportunities to influence must rather be created. The Afrikaner has much to offer.
- *Predestined/chosen*: God protected a group of Trekkers during the Battle of Blood River. The Afrikaner can uphold this vow by thanking God. He is, though, chosen as all the other nationalities to proclaim the acts of salvation (1 Pet. 2:9). In fact, in this section it is assumed that a group only become a nation once they become a part of Christ's nation. Before that you were not a nation (1 Pet. 2:10).
- *The anti-English sentiment* must be replaced with forgiveness. The Afrikaner, like the English, is guilty. Though there is a place for monuments, altars of forgiveness and reconciliation should rather be erected. The *struggle* side also built monuments, which again are a charge against the Afrikaner. The continuous falling back to the Anglo-Boer War, to an era of innocence, does not contribute to reconciliation. Everyone is in a state of *non-innocence*.
- *Religion*: In humility the Afrikaner can be 'proud' of his religion. This should not become a tradition and religiousness as in the days of Amos. True repentance as proclaimed by Jesus, John the Baptist and the apostles need to take place. In fact, both Jesus and John do not beat about the bush on this matter. "*For I tell you that God can raise up children for Abraham from these stones!*" answers John to the self-righteous assumption of election of the proud Jews (Matt. 3:9). This harsh but true answer was given to 'church people', the religious Pharisees and Sadducees.
- *Combativeness*: This is the time to make ploughshares from swords (Micah 4:3). The SADF was trained to fight as expected of any other military force. It is still incorrectly believed that the 'war' against the Afrikaner has never stopped since

the earliest times. The feeling of being under threat, the 'lie' has to be buried. Weapons should, perhaps literally, be handed in, as Jesus pointed out to Peter that violence is not within the will of God. For too long violence and torture were seen as normal and practiced on both sides.

- *Heroes:* A hero's honouring is not wrong in itself. The danger though, lies in idolising historic figures¹¹⁵ or to give them a cult status which cannot be Biblically justified. Theologically speaking he must rather acquaint himself with the heroes of faith as described in Hebrews 11. He can force a gap as a man of faith.
- *Aggression:* He must step away from his aggressive and authoritarian attitude. A Jesus attitude of humility and servitude is now critically needed in our country. It is now the time to wash the feet of the others, to respect them and to serve them. Is this aggression not present because of an underlying fear?
- *Racial prejudice:* The Afrikaner picked up the legacy of racial prejudice from colonialism and other ideologies and implemented it in policies. It did not pass the test of justice. The Africans also helped to build the country. Without their input it would not have been possible. The belief that the African cannot really govern, should be buried. We must take hands. The human dignity of the others must be acknowledged and respected.
- *Division:* Division must be confessed as a sin. In this regard, Afrikaans churches slandered, fought and harmed each other and in so doing the Kingdom of God suffered damage. The world could not see that Jesus was the Son of God (John 17) because the same division and discord in the world, also happened in the church. Walls were built. Churches and church leadership should come down from their exalted state and embrace and help each other as co-workers.
- *Afrikaners are Africans:* Afrikaners are not European or exclusive Western anymore. They are Africans. This must be considered; adjustments must be made, and relevant inputs be offered. There is no longer time or place for a haughty attitude. The sons and daughters of the other citizens have grown up and they deserve equal respect.
- *Language:* The new language of the new person in Christ is the language of love. To be proud of the Afrikaans language has its place, but it cannot be promoted or

¹¹⁵ Jopie Fourie is such a figure, who gained hero and martyr status within Afrikaner ranks because of his opposition to the English and support for the Rebellion (Roux 2014).

imposed, something that is complained about every now and then. It is simply too expensive and impractical as well as conceited to constantly make demands. According to the law, Afrikaans is just one of the official languages and cannot demand special status. Afrikaners will do well by learning to speak an African language. Africans were expected to learn and write in Afrikaans and we still reap the consequences of this. This was arrogance, self-exaltation and bossiness at its worst.

Does Christological identity entail that diversity or true differences are uplifted or ignored? Volf (1996:64) sheds some light in his argument:

... has it right when he argues for differentiation. The danger in inclusion without boundaries is that one can lose your identity. Exclusion is not an option "because the prophets, evangelists, and apostles tell me that this is a wrong way to treat human beings, any human being, anywhere and I am persuaded to have good reason to believe them" (Volf 1996:68). And further, "Instead we need more adequate judgments based on a distinction between legitimate differentiation and illegitimate exclusion and made with humility that counts with our proclivity to misperceive and misjudge because we desire to exclude" (Volf 1996:68) "...as Jesus said no food was unclean (Mark 7:14-23) (Volf 1996:73).

Jesus is indeed the way, the truth and the life (John 14:6). From Him, through Him and for Him are all things (Rom. 11:36). He is the Alpha and the Omega, and no one comes to the Father except through Him. This also implies that believers cannot go to each other or to the 'other' if not through Christ. While one can be proud of and feel patriotic about one's history and culture, which helped to form identity, that which has become a stumbling block for himself and others have to be removed and made submissive to Christ.

9.11 HAS SOUTH AFRICA'S PEOPLE RECONCILED?

In 2014, when Zola Budd took part in her second Comrades marathon, her arms were held high up by two black athletes at the end of this murderous race. Also, when a black athlete fell in front of the finish line with minutes to spare before the cut off time, a black and a white athlete helped him up. All of this serves as evidence of the far-reaching goodwill that exists in this country towards each other.

But is South Africa truly reconciled? The answer is no, but it has to be qualified.

Firstly, the conclusion will be discussed according to section 9.9. Thereafter follows an analysis of the responses from the questionnaire. Thirdly, the opinion of other South Africans, including church leaders, researchers and other influential people are provided.

In the first place, prerequisites and 'ingredients' for reconciliation as discussed under section 9.8 indicated that reconciliation has not yet been achieved. The model of Van der Walt (2003), that lays out the requirements for reconciliation (accountability, remorse, confession and contrition, guilt, forgiveness, restitution together with additions such as justice, crossing boundaries and the need for patriotism), delivers enough evidence that reconciliation has not yet been reached. The Afrikaner lacks greatly when it comes to a spiritual self-examination which is a requirement for true reconciliation. In fact, there are a some who are of the opinion that this process has not even started. Others again are of the opinion that at best groups have made peace with each other, at its worst only tolerate each other, but have not really reconciled with each other (Chikane 2013).

Secondly, the respondents who completed the questionnaire for this study, also indicated this.

Their response is summarised. On the positive side, respondents see the need to go before God in an attitude of humility and receive His guidance. They are of the opinion that no guilt or sin has to be confessed before God (only 40% do think this is necessary), with confession before other people even less (only 26% think it should be done). Also, they are of the opinion that the legacy of apartheid does not impede reconciliation, with only 35% thinking that it does. Rectification is regarded as negative and also as a threat. The TRC is perceived very negatively by 81% of respondents. Maybe the TRC made truth public and this brought some closure for those who suffered under apartheid. For the SADF generation and the Afrikaners it was seen as a witch-hunt. For them it was definitely not reconciliation, though it was a step in the painful process; a step that is not recognised or acknowledged by the Afrikaners. They doubt whether there should be reconciliation with former enemies. Restitution is assessed negatively and even given as a reason for hindering reconciliation. It is disquieting that there is denial or a lack of knowledge that

the apartheid past and its legacy contribute to the fact that reconciliation has not been achieved yet. This is either denial or ignorance; both are equally disturbing. Crime and corruption are rather seen as hindrances on the road to reconciliation. It seems to be easy to displace the blame onto the 'other'. This goes against the spirit of patriotism, where everyone is held accountable for a situation or condition, regardless of whether there was direct involvement or not. The 'other' is rather the problem – the ANC are governing poorly; the problems we are experiencing now are their fault. Reversed discrimination is the result of affirmative action and that is not fair. The Afrikaner has become the victim and therefore reconciliation is not achievable.

On the positive side, the SADF conscript generation is willing to contribute to the country if the opportunity arise. It is agreed that respect should be shown to all people and that everyone should be given the opportunity to share in the prosperity of the country. Hands should be taken with the co-image bearers of God. There is also a willingness to work with organisations that include all groups.

It is thus clear that the SADF is of the opinion that reconciliation has not yet been achieved.

Thirdly, other Afrikaners had to following to say:

*Reconciliation is the humility of realising that we need each other.
Reconciliation is the calmness that we do not threaten each other anymore.
Reconciliation is the trust that we will not cause each other harm anymore.
Reconciliation is the forgiveness of each other's history that is completed.
It is pardoning and liberation from guilt (De Klerk 2000:41).*

For Meiring (2013) who was part of the TRC, reconciliation covers five aspects: Firstly, one must have a good definition of reconciliation. Different people may have different ideas. Secondly, the truth must be revealed. Books must be opened and closed again. People have the need to talk. Thirdly, justice must prevail by establishing structures of justice. Fourthly, there must be processes to direct this process e.g. the *healing of memories* of Lapsley. These actions must also be led. Lastly, leadership is essential in this process.

Lambrechts (2009:86) quotes the words on the inside of the cover of Koos Kombuis's 1994 album, where the singer speculates on reconciliation:

It is the 'new' South Africa and the old things have passed. We, who as Afrikaners do not even get along with each other, now we have to learn to get along with everyone as fellow South Africans. That is why this is an album of reconciliation. We say, 'There was never a we-them-situation in Afrikaans music; it was all our imagination.' 'Elke boemelaar se droom' grew from a simple idea to an experiment that would bring us, not only to our roots in Africa, but also to our roots as Afrikaners and Africans.

Other South Africans have the following to say:

Archbishop Tutu is of the opinion that reconciliation is, "*...to deal with the past to make future possible*" (Tutu 1999:279).

For Asmal (1996:48), reconciliation is the restoration of a friendship, to accept facts that make you uncomfortable. Though, he points out the difference between statements and facts. Reconciliation is not easy or cheap. The evil cycle of accusation, denial, and counter accusation needs to be broken. He is also of the opinion that the nation has to learn to live together again. Also, there must be an acknowledgement that the past was not just a 'little accident' that happened inadvertently. In this regard he accuses both FW de Klerk and Magnus Malan of cheap and painless reconciliation (Asmal & Roberts 1996:48). He quotes the wise words of Villa-Vicencio that shows that there is a relationship between "*memory, history, interpretation and political point scoring.*" This can be solved though if there is an "*... orderly conversation with itself, about itself and about competing parts*" (Asmal & Roberts 1996:47). And further, "*Privileged South Africans have much to learn. Primary task for them is to reconcile themselves to the anti-apartheid foundations of new order, the truth that human dignity was absent... from its hate machinery through which they profited, materially anyway*" (Asmal & Roberts 1996:50).

For Jansen (2008:227) it is important that the artificial boundaries that were created are broken down to discover each other. The *other knowledge* has to be discovered. This might mean that we will deviate from my storyline. A space and context for forgiveness and engagement need to be created. People must not expose or humiliate each other.

Dialogue, disclosure and embracing is critical. He points out the difference between mandated change and the change of the heart, which is true and deep change (Jansen 2009:189).

In connection with truth and reconciliation Meiring (2007:724) notes, “*We will never be able to present a perfect picture to establish the final truth, the very least we should be able to do was to curtail the number of lies that up to now had free reign in society.*”

Finally, the following remarks: the TRC is unfortunately seen by the majority of Afrikaners as one-sided, and it was not acknowledged or recognised as part of the reconciliation process. Actually, the Afrikaner has withdrawn from the process that is still on-going. Do people really want to make peace? Would they maybe rather choose to be at war? Is the price of war just too much for both the victors and the losers? Is South Africa sitting with a ceasefire that can erupt any moment should the right circumstances prevail? Do they feel as Genl. Hertzog on reconciliation between Boer and Brit? “*I have always said I don’t know what this conciliation means?*” He said these words about the relationship between the Afrikaner and English, two years prior to founding the NP in 1912 (Wilkins & Strydom 2012:46).

At the moment there are things that are worrying, things such as corruption, crime and abuse of power that is even acknowledged by veterans of the struggle as Desmond Tutu¹¹⁶ and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela (2013:238), to name two.

Asmal (1996:216) notes that reconciliation takes place when *hope and history rhyme*. But then South Africans should not communicate with each other through the media, out of the past or through their ideological lenses.

¹¹⁶ Before the 2014 elections, Tutu indicated that he would not be voting for the ANC.

9.12 QUO VADIS?

9.12.1 The crisis summarised

The SADF conscript generation were wounded, whether physically, emotionally, psychologically or spiritually. They were merely children of their time in a specific time period because the local, regional and global conflict dragged them in. Currently they are being marginalised, or they are inaccurately assuming so, because of the negative view of the SADF. Also, they and their children are the victims of affirmative action. They are also seen as the generation who maintained apartheid and benefitted from it – a stigma that clings to them. Apartheid was discredited world-wide and the question is – how do they get rid of the guilt and stigma? Their struggle is essentially an identity crisis. Their identity was shaped by Afrikaner institutions over years, building this identity especially on historical events. This identity was strengthened by the Bush War years. This identity, or position that the Afrikaner took, was confronted and defeated in the new dispensation. Without being aware of it, this generation wants to grasp this identity again, or this is his natural default position. He wants to separate himself and actually move away from the others that are threatening his living space. Consciously and unconsciously he looks down on the other and are of the opinion that the new government are not really capable of governing well. The struggle continues and maybe they dream of freedom one day, whatever that freedom might entail. He fights for his language. The SADF conscript generation, as many other South Africans, experience loss. He lost political power. This, together with the economic realities, resulted in a poor white class developing, which according to research includes 10-15% of Afrikaners (Giliomee 2011:29). On the other side we have those Afrikaners who surrendered themselves to materialism and who are indeed extremely prosperous. Some of them are part of the elite who do not want to associate much with the term Afrikaner (Giliomee 2011:33).

The questionnaire revealed that the SADF conscript generation either did not understand the impact of apartheid or underestimate (rationalised) it. For many the system was a 'natural' process. They deny that apartheid was planned and systematically implemented. Further, it seems that there is a *cannot be bothered* attitude towards reconciliation with the former enemy. They were communists and that disqualifies them from meaningful

interaction. The new SANDF is not in the least a continuation of the old SADF. This generation does not see the need to confess anything before God or before other people. Restitution is unacceptable and impedes reconciliation, according to the respondents. Crime and corruption are presented as the elements that impede reconciliation, not the legacy of apartheid. The new South Africa is experienced with great discomfort. In fact, 98% are of the opinion that the ANC government are governing poorly. This generation though yearns for healing and closure of the past. They are of the opinion that soldiers can even support each other in this process. They want to make a positive contribution but experience alienation and hostility from the current government. Conflict between the past and the present, a past behind them that they cannot return to, and a present that does not please him, brings huge tension. It is well described by Chris Louw in the *Boetman* debate.

9.12.2 Biblical imperative to which the Afrikaner past is tested

As highlighted in Chapter 2, the Biblical route is the only route to healing and victory. Especially the Biblical call to social justice, as taken up in Amos. Amos cuttngly exposed the religiousness, oppression, materialism, pride, corruption, as well as the reliance on military ability. The Afrikaner, as many fellow inhabitants at present, have failed and sinned in this process. Yet, the Afrikaner, like all people, are rescued in Christ. The debt has been paid. He needs to live from the position of being redeemed. The SADF conscript generation will have to put on a Christ-like jacket. His new identity in Christ asks that his Afrikaner identity must be subordinate to Him (Phil. 2). Also, his thoughts and current victim-mentality must be renewed (Rom. 12) and strongholds, arguments and opinions that were built needs to be broken down (2 Cor. 10:5). Unbiblical foundations that are not built on Christ will have to be laid over. He will have to move from a position of alienation, disillusionment and withdrawal and must be willing to cross boundaries as Jesus and the early church taught and did.

9.12.3 Road to restoration and healing for the SADF conscript generation

The road to restoration can only come through a spiritual purification process. Pretty words and good-sounding philosophy or theology will not achieve this. The process will have to be facilitated by the Church and can involve the following:

- Churches will have to help its people to accept **responsibility for the past**. It will have to be preached. It will have to be done in a very sensitive way, as someone such as Chris Louw is proof that people carry enormous hurt and pain but also anger and frustration concerning the past. The sadness of the relentless *Boetman* debate is the fact that both Chris Louw and Wimpie de Klerk, as well as everyone else who took part in the debate, actually desire to get away from and shed the past. Unfortunately, the debate became into a mudslinging episode where Afrikaners, old and young, accused each other from both sides. It would be much better if they put their heads together concerning the road ahead as a *“confrontation of the religious past”* (Oliver 2011:88).
- Congregations will have to organise periods of true **humiliation**. The absolute inability to do the will of God must be acknowledged. Sin will have to be confessed. Ministers and church councils could organise meetings with people of different skin colour and people who think differently than them. But first an internal journey is necessary. The Spirit of God must be allowed to judge the motives of the people (1 Cor. 2:10). They will have to confess their complete dependence on God (Ps. 121). The SADF generation and Afrikaner need an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. People in their fallen state did so much damage. The triune God has to help the people. The other groups and tribes in our country must also cry out to God and seek His face. The revival the DRC experienced in the 1860s was precisely because of members of the congregation and ministers who came to realise the needs of the people and their need for Godly intervention. In this case though, it will have to go together with an intense remorse, confession of guilt, a hunger for God and an expectancy. The Afrikaner also has to be washed clean in the blood of the Lamb. They will have to turn around and repent – including those who confess that they are believers. Like David, they will have to reveal the willingness to be

searched (Ps. 26:2; Ps 51 and Ps.139:23-24) and to be renewed and transformed (Rom. 12:1). Rightly, Nelson Mandela noticed the following:

Difficult to understand why all this human suffering should occur in the Christian world of the 20th century... Man's history on earth from backward and superstitious to the cultural individual he is supposed to be. Yet the cruel experiences you and other members of the family have had and their suffering and misery make me wonder whether it is correct to talk of any human being as being Christian or cultured... been jailed by human beings, our own countrymen who, like true Christians and civilized beings should treat us with love and kindness.. ...in prison not because we have stolen, killed...but because we stand for truth, justice, honour and principle and because we will never agree any human being is superior to us ... never allow the same rights in your own country and opportunities (Madikizela-Mandela 2013:127).

- **Admittance of guilt:** Guilt needs to be taken to the cross. Guilt that is not acknowledged cannot be addressed because of pride and self-justification. Pride is accurately deemed one of the *seven deadly sins* (Wikipedia 2014f). The guilt was carried, and the debt paid as ransom by Him that is called the Lamb. It was nailed to the cross. The Church has a huge task in making its members guilt free. As financial debt brings burdens so much more does spiritual debt. Nail it to the cross. Afrikaners should not walk around with this guilt for generations like the Germans. To carry the guilt is to disregard the price that has already been paid. A guilty conscience incorrectly thinks that he is able to pay his debt through feelings of guilt. Unfortunately, this is a form of false piety that does not understand the implication of the price that has already been paid and the status of the believer before God. He may indeed appear before God (Heb. 10:19 ff.). Churches must start to guide members.
- **Ask forgiveness:** Afrikaans churches will have to begin with themselves. They will have to confess to and forgive each other. They will have to leave their positions of theological exaltation and thrones in order to look each other humbly in the eye. Forgive until forgiveness is achieved. Also, the previous rulers and leaders who 'deceived' the nation must also be forgiven. This is what was lacking in the *Boetman* debate. Chris Louw was looking to an older generation, for a father

or an uncle (oom) who could admit his guilt towards *Boetman*. Then it would have been easier to forgive and eventually achieve healing. Unfortunately, it resulted in flying accusations between two generations. God will help the SADF conscript generation and the Afrikaner to firstly lament before God, to acknowledge their guilt toward each other and confess it and then to forgive each other, and thereafter to go to them, the other, who are also still struggling to forgive. Currently the Afrikaner feels that he is being 'violated' because of affirmative action, violence, crime, etc. He will also have to forgive the new rulers. Maybe their admittance of guilt will also be necessary. Lastly, the time has come to finally forgive the English. Monuments must make way for altars where bitterness and hate can finally be placed by the cross.

- **Restitution:** Churches will have to help to explain the necessity of restitution. Firstly, restoration is not understood at all. On the contrary, there is a great aversion towards it. The Biblical imperative of restoration needs to be preached, even if it is painful. In fact, as the principles are understood and practical deeds are practiced, it can bring about an enormous breakthrough in a congregation's spiritual growth. Also, it will prepare the way and make it easier for the Afrikaner's children in this country. The toll that is paid today, ensure a better road for everyone tomorrow. This, though, will require the brave actions of prophets (Micah 3:8; 6:8). Restitution is not weakness, it is the practical result of the preceding steps. It is an acknowledgement, as the Jubilee, that the country and its resources does not belong to one person or group but that it should be shared peacefully and justly.
- Churches will have to launch initiatives to **cross boundaries**. It will have to be more than 'drinking tea together' sporadically. Possibly groups could start praying together. When you hear another person pray, you realise what the issues and needs are in his life. Projects can be undertaken together¹¹⁷. During and after the Anglo-Boer war the following happened: spiritual revivals took place amongst prisoners of war in St Helena, Ceylon, India and Bermuda. Approximately 180 men felt they were called to take the gospel to the heathen nations. *The Boeren Zendinginstituut* (The Boer Missionary Institute) came into existence in

¹¹⁷ The researcher can recall how the Dutch Reformed congregation in the early 1990s in Skukuza in the Kruger National Park, worked together with Mozambican refugees to build a congregation and how they ministered together.

Wellington in 1903 because of the war. From this institute many went out to mission fields. Even during the war, some of General Christiaan Beyers' men did missionary work in the Soutpansberg. Some of the Boer soldiers sponsored missionaries after the war (Van der Watt 1980:211). Unfortunately, in South Africa, as for many other places in the world, "*Eleven o'clock Sunday morning is still the most segregated hour of the week.*" Everist (1992:347), in response to the American situation, easily applicable to South Africa, asks the following:

Perhaps most important, we must come together locally in churches and in the network of faith communities and talk, and listen, and dialog, no matter how difficult. People of colour know a great deal about white America—they must in order to function in this country. Whites remain remarkably unaware of the lives, feelings and hardships of people of colour. Oppressors, the white privileged in an exclusive civil ecclesiology, are usually the most ignorant, because it has been to their advantage to ignore and remain ignorant of the excluded and oppressed. So whites need to listen, not to judge, debate, defend, solve or critique, but simply to listen. And they need to believe what they are hearing.

- Afrikaans churches will have to bring its people to **patriotism**, though it will have to be a different than Afrikaner nationalism. It will start with honouring God, His honour, His holiness. It will then flow into a love and loyalty to each other, and the other, and the country which He entrusted also to the Afrikaner and for which ownership must be accepted. The broken walls have also marred the honour and holiness of God.
- **Missionary work** and outreach need to become a priority again. This time firstly to the 'white' roommate who is experiencing a faith crisis. Secondly, to the sons and daughters who were christened because of the Afrikaner's missionary work. They are experiencing pain, though; pain because they suffered rejection and discrimination. Thirdly, outreach actions to a multi-cultured pluralistic society who are also in need of the gospel (Everist 1992:337).
- **The unity of the church** will have to be taken seriously. No one should be able to hide behind a group identity or cultural differences. Practical, contextual and historical factors may be considered, though. The unity should be embraced, not

rejected on the grounds of that which is actually fear. The Lutheran church in Namibia, during their liberation struggle, remarked as follow:

... true peace does not allow people to hate each other. But we observe that our people is caught up with fear...in our opinion this fateful development is caused and upheld by the policy of apartheid. We believe that a false impression arises when it is stated that peace reigns in our country. The peace is maintained by forceful measures. The church as conscience of the nation must now speak out with clarity and without fear (Bothma 2012:236).

Even less should an unbiblical class system cause division, because in the body of Christ there is a place for worker and owner, the slave and the master, man and woman. In this regard Smit (1983:148) warns, *“The veil of which Paul writes in 1 Cor 3: 14-16 that it obscures the truth about Christ to his fellow-Jews, is also preventing White Afrikaner Christians from really hearing what the gospel of Christ teaches about the unity of the church”* (Giliomee 2003:214). The church may not compromise (again) because of the *“weakness of some”*.

Unity does not mean uniformity and is far more than confessional unity or spiritual unity, which is in effect just a smoke screen and unwillingness to truly be the body of Christ. It was precisely the concern of foreign member churches in the aftermath of Sharpeville, that resulted in the Cottesloe summit. The concern made good progress if it was not for the personal interference of Verwoerd (Van der Borgh 2011:316).

- The church must guard against becoming so **spiritual** that it is a form of escape. In this regard, Giliomee (2003:238) points out the following:

As a lay member of a DRC parish in Stellenbosch it seems to me as if there is a strong tendency in the church to solve its crisis of relevance in a post-apartheid order by simply reverting to the apolitical evangelicalism of the Cape church in the late nineteenth century. Apart from religious orthodoxy, Evangelicalism stressed a “vital religion of the heart”, of which the central elements were conversion, the Atonement, and the winning of souls for the Kingdom of God. Evangelicals tended largely to shy away from political or social activism or from a close alliance with a social movement or party. They spelled out broad Christian principles as

they saw them, but rarely made their meaning concrete for political life.

Bosch (1983:26) also indicates the influence of *Pietism* and *Reformed evangelicalism* which greatly contributed to renewal and revivals in the country but unfortunately maintained a dualistic¹¹⁸ view, which only focussed on the vertical. The Christian life definitely begins as a personal experience of repentance, confession, salvation and baptism. Members should not view the 'social' dimension as political or 'lower' as the pure spiritual. Social justice is all about faith.

On the other hand, the creation of heaven on earth will not be achieved. We remain strangers and tenants (Van de Beek 2008:248). The kingdoms of this world will always do things its way, aimed mostly towards power and wealth. This was also used in an attempt to seduce Jesus. On the other hand, theologians such as Barth tried to restore the rule of God in society (Van de Beek 2012:100). Barth himself was shocked because some churches supported Hitler. In his own congregation he also struggled because his members were poor people who were the victims of rich industrial barons. The Church has to be the conscience of society (Van de Beek 2012:104). It was after all a Christianised society (Germany) that went off the rails during the Second World War. In South Africa the Afrikaans churches also when off the 'rails' to an extent, or took part with vigour, or closed their eyes because of the *status quo* benefitted them. Obviously, one must be aware of the other extreme where the church becomes so much socially active, as if heaven on earth can be created. On the other hand, building hospitals and schools and agricultural assistance is not necessarily enough if there are structures of economical oppression present. More important is realising that the missionary work is God's missionary work. The Church should only live out his identity and allow God to do His work. The gospel is not just a liberation from my anxious existence, but actually a threat to my secure world (Van de Beek 2012:110).

Giliomee (2011:280) quotes the encouraging words and invitation of Thabo Mbeki, former President, who addressed the Afrikanerbond in 1999:

¹¹⁸ Especially the 'white' sections of some of the A.F.M. and other Pentecostal Churches teaches and practices such a view. The world out there is evil. Redemption is within the church. Church members withdraw themselves to a great extent from meaningful, constructive and productive social contributions with such an outlook. They do not truly realise what it means to be salt and light.

One of the biggest problems facing our people today is that of poverty. Our duty is not only poverty alleviation, but also how to end this poverty, how to create an enabling environment for all our people to work, eat, learn and live their lives to the full ... The Afrikaners have vast experience in these areas; and we challenge everyone today to come into partnership with government in making this programme a success.

9.12.4 A practical proposal

This study concludes that there are many existing initiatives for reconciliation and healing, all contributing to one form or the other. These contributions are acknowledged and supported. Also, much literature exists or is being written about what should be done in the search for reconciliation.

However, there is a void in the sense that there is no spiritual process to work through. Bonhoeffer, though he died before the end of the war, partly went through such a process as a German. He calls upon his **nation** to do this (Bosanquet 1969:217, 236). This needs to be a process of self-examination, remorse, confession and forgiveness. He refers to this period as, *“difficult period of our national history with the Christian people of Germany.”* The Church in his time was weak, ineffective, divided and bent the true religion to adjust to the ideologies of the day (95). He pleads for a meeting with Christ, a Christological orientation (123). His people were also confused by all the rhetoric of the day (125). Peace and war are not conquered with human weapons, but with God, by subjecting yourself to His law (145).

A truly Biblical way of changing and reconciliation should include a spiritual *‘purification process’*. In fact, it seems to be the only way. Repentance in the Word has always included a Godly intervention, whether this was once off or over a period of time. The SADF conscript generation specifically and the Afrikaner in the broader sense (this includes all South Africans), cannot help themselves. Will power, own attempts, good decisions and pious intentions cannot bring this about. The Triune God will have to take the initiative. People will have to confess their dependence on Him who is the only One who can show the way. The SADF conscript generation and Afrikaner can create a space, an opportunity for God to heal him and to reorient him Biblically.

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (3.8), this study suggests a 40 Days of humility. “Why 40 days?” can be asked.

- A. Biblical: This number was decided on as it is a time period that one comes across many times in the Bible and in history. Jesus, for one, isolated Himself for 40 days before his ministry started. Moses stayed on Sinai mountain for 40 days when he received the law. Furthermore, Israel wandered in the desert for 40 years before they could enter the promised land.
- B. Practical: One can work through guidelines and indicators regarding humility, contemplation, confession and so on in a manner that is practical, understandable and manageable in this time frame.
- C. Focussed: The process will specifically be focussed on the SADF conscript generation and the Afrikaner’s need for spiritual healing. There is much dialogue and writing taking place. The 40 days will ‘limit’ the process and has a particular aim; considering that the process can and may take a lot longer. The process and content can be measured though, to a certain extent.

During this process, the following themes can be addressed:

- a. The history of the Afrikaner. This nation indeed has a unique and gripping history, one he can be proud of. God can be thanked for that. Inspiration for the future can be taken from it.
- b. The ‘incorrect’ identity that was built from his history and intellectual frameworks (theological and ideological), need to be recognised, confronted and confessed. This includes, to name a few: unhealthy separation and withdrawal from fellow countrymen; discrimination on grounds of skin colour; unforgiveness against the English specifically; obsession over a beautiful language at the cost of others; confrontational attitudes that caused much violence, although not only from the Afrikaner.
- c. A period where abuses of power, arrogance, going astray and sin transpired, must be confessed. Especially apartheid must be placed in front of His throne.
- d. Positive aspects of the Afrikaner history can once again be placed under the magnifying glass and can serve as encouragement for future initiatives, some of which have already been launched. These include: God’s protection at Blood River

must serve as motivation for believers, as well as Afrikaners, to live for Him (Strauss 1994); missionary work; initiatives in the 1860s that led to revival, especially in the DRC; efforts to work with the youth (ACSV)¹¹⁹; addressing the 'poor whites' problem (also presently), which led to the upliftment of the nation (Giliomee 2011) and so on.

It will be meaningful to distribute a few themes over the 40-day period. After completing each theme, it will be useful to discuss it in small groups of no less than three people, and to pray about it together.

The researcher is of the opinion that the process will firstly focus on themselves and will bring about personal healing and reconciliation in a general sense, but later on will also include resulting actions that will involve other countrymen. It will require courage and a step in faith.

¹¹⁹ The *Afrikaanse Christen Studente Vereniging* (ACSV) has become the *United Christian Student Association* (UCSA)

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

General information

1. Corps (unit): _____
2. Current age: _____
3. Which years were you involved: _____

	Yes	No
4. Were you involved in the SADF?		
5. Were you involved in Angola?		
6. Do you belong to a veterans' association?		
7. Have you emigrated?		

8. Where did you emigrate to? _____

		Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain extent	Disagree
	A. AFRIKANER EXPERIENCES					
1	Afrikanership is part of my identity					
2	My Afrikanership motivated me to do service					
3	The Afrikaner continuously battles for survival in Africa					
4	The Afrikaner brought Christian values to Africa					
5	The Afrikaner does not really feel at home in Africa.					
6	The only alternative is to emigrate.					
7	The Afrikaner still has a role to play in the new South Africa post 1994.					
8	The Afrikaner has to maintain his own language and culture.					
9	The Afrikaner is experiencing a crisis regarding his history, present and future.					

	B. MILITARY EXPERIENCES (1966-1994)	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain	Disagree
10	The training was of a high quality.					
11	The training prepared me both mentally and physically to protect the RSA.					
12	The training made me a better/more mature person.					
13	I knew why we were doing national service (philosophy, policy, etc.)					
14	I knew why we were involved in the then SWA and Angola.					
15	South Africa was threatened internally and externally and had to defend itself.					
16	The purpose of the SADF was to protect the RSA and SWA against Communism.					
17	The RSA's involvement in SWA was worth the cost/effort.					
18	Conscription was instituted to support and maintain the apartheid government.					
19	The Politicians did what was expected of them within the context at the time.					
20	The Generals did what was expected of them within the context at the time.					
21	The Politicians used the conscripts for their own objectives.					
22	The Generals used the conscripts for their own objectives.					
23	There was a Total Onslaught against the RSA.					
24	There are members who suffered physical and/or emotional/psychological injuries and wounds and was not sufficiently supported.					
25	There are members who's physical and/or emotional/psychological injuries and wounds remain and still need to be supported.					
26	The conscript generation has the need to: a) make sense of what they experienced and to evaluate the					

	purpose and fairness of actions (to get closure).					
	b) make peace with former enemies.					
	c) receive counselling because of specific experiences/trauma.					
	d) make peace with the new South Africa.					
	e) Be part of a group who shared the same experiences.					
	f) Not any of the above.					
30	The former Cold War had an influence on the decisions of the previous government.					
31	The West supported the RSA while the USSR and associates, supported Communist-orientated movements and governments in SWA, Angola and Mozambique.					
32	The Cold War was a battle between a Western/free/ capitalistic world and a revolutionary/communist ideology.					
	C. APARTHEID	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain	Disagree
33	Apartheid can be justified based on the following:					
	a) It was only the course of history.					
	b) The Afrikaners inherited/learnt this from the English.					
	c) The American policy of segregation was also enforced here.					
	d) The Afrikaners learnt it from the Germans.					
	e) The Afrikaner's pursuit towards self-maintenance and self-governance.					
	f) The Bible supports the separation of racial/ethnic groups.					

	g) Apartheid had to protect Christian civilisation and values against communism.					
	h) Apartheid was the buffer against the black threat (swart gevaar).					
	i) The Afrikaner only did what the English did to the Afrikaner.					
	j) Apartheid as an ideology was not wrong/sinful.					
	k) Apartheid wanted to give each race/ethnic group their own territory.					
	l) The intention of the apartheid policy was correct; it was executed incorrectly.					
	m) Separation is normal and is practiced all around the world; what made apartheid different, is that it was legalised as policy.					
34	Apartheid was unfair because of the following:					
	a) Discrimination on the grounds of race/ethnicity.					
	b) It excluded the largest portion of the population from decision making, the economy and land ownership.					
	c) It regulated the free movements and relationships (i.e. marriages) of individuals and groups.					
	d) It was against Biblical principles and therefore sinful.					
35	The previous government brainwashed the Afrikaners and amongst other things, used the media to justify and ensure support for their policy.					
	D. LIBERATION MOVEMENTS	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain	Disagree
36	SWAPO was a communist inspired movement that had to be stopped.					

37	At the time, I was aware of the fact that SWAPO had the largest support in SWA.					
38	I know the history of SWAPO.					
39	The SADF and SWAPO should understand each other's histories and show reconciliation gesture towards each other.					
40	The ANC was a revolutionary and communist movement that had to be stopped.					
41	At the time, I was aware of the fact that the ANC's biggest support was among the non-whites in South Africa.					
42	I know the history of the ANC.					
43	The fact that the ANC received help from Communist countries, made him unacceptable.					
44	I was aware of the fact that the ANC received support from other countries, groups and Churches apart from the USSR/Communist countries.					
45	The fact that the freedom movements used violence, amongst other things, was unacceptable.					
46	Their violence was understandable but not justifiable.					
47	Their violence was justifiable.					
48	It was wrong that the SADF used i.e. armed power to impede any form of opposition.					
49	The South African media placed the liberation movements in a very negative light.					
50	SWAPO, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were terrorists and cannot be deemed as military.					
	E. SOUTH AFRICA AFTER 1994	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain	Disagree

51	Communism fell, and the USSR disintegrated, therefore the struggle against communism is over.					
52	Communistic orientated movements won elections in both SWA and the RSA and therefore the battle the SADF was fighting, was lost.					
53	The current ANC government rules well.					
54	The current ANC government aims to give everyone a fair chance.					
55	Reversed discrimination is taking place with i.e. the affirmative action policy.					
56	Leaders and politicians of the current government is just as corrupt as the previous government.					
57	Affirmative action needs to be applied to correct the inequalities of the past.					
58	Politics is about power, position, privilege, money and to have the right 'connections'.					
59	The military legacy of the old SADF is followed to a large extent by the new SANDF.					
60	I have reconciled with the new South Africa.					
	F. RECONCILIATION, JUSTICE (IMPARTIALITY) AND PEACE	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain extent	Disagree
61	There is reconciliation amongst the different groups in South Africa.					
62	Reconciliation requires the following:					
	a) Forgiveness (to forgive unconditionally without the other having to apologise).					
	b) Confessing the wrongdoings of the past.					
	c) Unconditional acceptance and respect for all groups and people.					
	d) Realising that all people are created in God's image.					

	e) Contented with your own personal circumstances and past.					
	f) Willingness to take hands with former enemies and to work together towards a future.					
	g) Compensation and/or correction of injustices.					
63	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission succeeded in making a contribution towards reconciliation.					
64	Afrikaners did not really take part in the TRC because they saw it as one-sided, in other words it was aimed against the old regime.					
65	The SADF or individual soldiers should also prepare presentation to be delivered to the TRC.					
66	I have read reports and books about the TRC.					
67	The conscript generation has a need for reconciliation/healing with the events of the past.					
68	Justice involves the following:					
	a) Everyone is the same and should enjoy the same prosperity.					
	b) Everyone should be granted the same opportunity.					
	c) Injustices should be corrected.					
	d) Reasonable rule where individuals and groups are respected.					
	e) Everyone is entitled to a part of the prosperity of the country.					
	f) Everyone has to contribute to building the country.					
	g) Compensation and/or correction of the past.					
	h) Reconciliation and justice are possible in SA.					
69	What prevents a fair rule/government and reconciliation?					
	a) The legacy of apartheid.					

	b) Injustices that have not been corrected yet.					
	c) Affirmative action.					
	d) Distrust towards each other.					
	e) Pride and self-justification.					
	f) Corruption.					
	g) Crime.					
	G. SPIRITUAL/RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain	Disagree
70	It is important to humble ourselves before God and to seek Godly guidance regarding the past, present and future.					
71	The Afrikaner has guilt that he needs to confess before God.					
72	The Afrikaner has guilt that he needs to confess before people					
73	The Church gave the correct guidance to the Afrikaner during apartheid.					
74	Currently the Church gives useful guidance to the Afrikaner.					
75	If the Afrikaner humble himself again before God, God will show him what role he can play in South Africa in the future.					
	H. THE FUTURE OF THE SADF CONSCRIPT GENERATION	Definitely agree	Agree to a certain extent	Uncertain	Disagree to a certain	Disagree
76	The Afrikaner has a role to play in the prosperity, growth and progression of South Africa.					
77	I see myself as someone who can make a contribution.					
78	It is meaningful for Afrikaners to get involved in any form of governance, whether local, provincial or national.					
79	The Afrikaner ought to be part of organisations that include all groups working together to the prosperity of all.					

80	The Afrikaner should establish his own organisations to look after his own interests first .					
81	The conscript generation was part of the old rule but could, because of his military and other experiences, contribute meaningfully to the new SA.					
82	There is a future for the conscript generation in this country.					
83	It is good that books and studies are brought out that reflects research regarding this period.					
84	I will fight for my country again.					
85	I think it is good to make that which I learnt in the military available, by joining a Reserve force unit.					

DECLARATION REGARDING INTERVIEWS

I hereby declare that the persons with whom interviews were done gave permission to use the information

PHS Bezuidenhout

Working upon confused emotions, **National Socialists** inside the Protestant denominations were beginning to **distort the faith** in order to accommodate within its framework the **semi-religious mystique of National Socialism**. Out of these politically oriented distortions, the so-called 'Faith Movement' was beginning to arise, whose members, later to be called the '**German Christians**', were to play a disruptive part in **Church politics after Hitler came to power**. The upholders of the Faith Movement declared that every nation should develop its individual form of the Christian Faith, for **religion is rooted in the "soil" of the country and the "blood" of its people**. The national faith of Germany was strong and heroic, God intended the Germans to unite under a powerful leader, to pour out their energy for the national good, and to **keep the 'Aryan' race to which they belong untainted of alien blood**. Those who were later to become the 'German Christians' found a **considerable attraction in these doctrines, which accorded so well with contemporary political emotions ... Bonhoeffer gave a sketch of the particular kind of religious militancy which attracted the people...** (Bonhoeffer as quoted by Bosanquet 1969:95)

I must live through this difficult period of our **national history** with the Christian people of Germany. I shall have no right to participate in the reconstruction of Christian life in Germany after the war if I do not **share the trials of this time with my people ...** Such a decision **each man must make for himself**. Christians in Germany will face a terrible alternative of either **willing the defeat of their nation in order that Christian civilisation may survive**, or willing the **victory of their nation and thereby destroying our civilisation**. I know which of these alternatives I must choose, but I **cannot make that choice in security ...** (Bonhoeffer as quoted by Bosanquet 1969:217.)

Afrikaners did have a tough time...struggle...remarkable comeback...indisputably on top. **Stop being arrogant and brutal** at worst times. In their best moments **no nicer people**. But they have **got to relax**. It will have to come **from within**. Show a little **maturity**. That is one of the **few genuine ways to create national unity**. They can't get it with the **basic attitude** too many of them **still cling too'** (Allen Drury in 'A very strange society' as quoted by Wilkins en Strydom (2012:449

Ethnic and national groups may **believe themselves to be 'natural'** – belonging in some way to the order of nature – and fixed in form. But in fact all such groups are (whether consciously or unconsciously) '**constructed**', in the sense that they result from the **interplay of historical and cultural factors**. Such identities are therefore fluid, constantly being 'renegotiated.' Because these changes often result **from interaction with other groups**, ethnic identities are never pure; they involve **multiple borrowings and adaptations**, even when the **sources of the changes have been lost in the mists of time** (Goroncy (2013:2) quoting from Faith and Order Paper (World Council of Churches 2006:9)

“According to the sense of malaise and despair and **acts of violence** can be seen as **remnants of collective traumas** from the **past**” (Nytagodien and Neal (2004:375-376) as quoted by Oliver 2011:72).

What mood can one expect from a community of people used to a **standard of living equal to the highest in the world**, who **peacefully gave up political power** ten years ago, whose joint political power disappeared through fragmentation, who experiences the tendencies around them as **threatening for their cultural, material and physical being** and of whom it is **expected to make primary sacrifices for the sake of ‘transformation’**? Should we be surprised when a community like this shows signs of **helpless frustration, uncertainty, loss of trust in established cultures, political and church structures and even extremism**? I am afraid that all these elements are currently **visible in the Afrikaner mind**. There is also signs of **strife amongst themselves**, a selfish call within and **turning away from communal ideals, a loss of patriotism and increase in lawless materialism** (Van der Merwe 2010)

“There is **no way to peace** along the **way of safety**. For **peace must be dared**. It is the **great venture**. It can **never** be made **safe**. **Peace** is the **opposite of security**. To **demand guarantees** is to **distrust**, and this **distrust** in turn **brings further war**. To **look for guarantees** is to want to **protect oneself**. **Peace** means giving **oneself altogether to the law of God**, wanting no security, but in **faith and obedience** laying the **destiny of the nations** in the **hand of the Almighty God**, not trying to direct it for **selfish purposes**. Battles are won **not with weapons, but with God**. They are won when the way **leads to the cross**. Which of us can claim to know what it might not mean for the world if one nation should **meet the aggressor, not with weapons** in hand, but **praying, defenceless**, and for that very reason **protected** by a **'bulwark never failing'**” (Dietrich Bonhoeffer as quoted by Bosanquet 1969:145)