

# **Cruel and Unusual: Aversion Therapy and Apartheid South Africa's Struggles with White 'Deviant' Behaviour and Sexuality**

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## **Abstract**

*This study investigates the role of science, religion, and race in the abusive use of aversion therapy practices in South Africa during the apartheid era to deal with white ‘deviant’ behaviours. Existing literature on aversion therapy in South Africa predominantly focuses on the abusive treatment of homosexuals within the apartheid military. However, this thesis illustrates that aversion therapy treatments were applied to a wider constituency of pathologized individuals, namely drug addicts, alcoholics, and homosexuals. These cohorts were targeted for behaviour ‘rectification’ in order to protect the wider (Afrikaner) society from degeneration.*

*Building on the works of scholars such as Neil Roos, this thesis establishes the pattern of control of white society created by the state through psychosocial and medical engineering. In addition, the thesis explores the roots of the perceived social ills that befell South Africa, namely alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality that threatened to erode apartheid society’s Calvinist morals and customs. Furthermore, the thesis sheds light on the forms of resistance towards the invasive treatment methods used to ‘cure’ perceived ‘social deviances’. Through the study of aversion therapy practises and methods of psychosocial engineering, this thesis will illuminate an awkward moment of an alliance between science, race, and religion. These developments are placed in a comparative international context by looking at how similar practices evolved in places like Britain, Czechoslovakia, and America.*

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## Chapter 1 – Introduction to the Study

### **Introduction**

This study explores the ways in which the apartheid state grappled with the perceived ‘psychosocial pathologies’ of alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality that apparently threatened to degrade and tear the social and moral fabric that white apartheid society so dearly cherished. From its conception, the apartheid regime was founded on Afrikaner nationalist values that were intricately intertwined with Calvinist ideas of nationalism and manifest destiny. This is because during the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Afrikaans-speaking population remained one of the very few modern western peoples whose values and customs were established and expressed through the church.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch Reformed Church, or *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in Afrikaans, was heavily influenced by Calvinistic theory that allowed Afrikaners to believe that they were God’s chosen people who had the divine right to rule over ‘heathens’.<sup>2</sup> This ultimately shaped Afrikaner thinking, beliefs, morals, customs, and practises.<sup>3</sup> In tandem with conservative religious practises closely followed by the Afrikaner population, the apartheid state also ardently espoused practices that were rooted in heterosexual patriarchal norms.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the apartheid state’s ideology was maintained through the dogma of white supremacy, which served as a scaffold for the overall power structure of the regime.<sup>5</sup> Thus, any deviation from the map of social norms that Afrikaner Christian nationalism and white supremacy laid out, were labelled as pathological deviances that needed to be cured.

One of the issues that came to occupy Afrikaner nationalist discourse about normalcy and deviance, is homosexuality. Although homosexuality was largely ignored from the early 1900s when it was first recorded among whites,<sup>6</sup> from the 1960s onwards the state started to fear that sexual orientation, embraced outside of the heterosexual patriarchal norm of apartheid, would

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<sup>1</sup> S. Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 2 no. 4 (1967), 17.

<sup>2</sup> A. Du Toit. “No chosen people: the myth of the Calvinist origins of Afrikaner nationalism and racial Ideology”. *The American historical review* 88 no. 4 (1983), 920

<sup>3</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 17.

<sup>4</sup> T. F. Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality Psychiatric Struggles over Homosexuality in the 1960s–1980s”, in *Psychiatry, Mental institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, ed. T. F. Jones (New York: Routledge, 2012), 117.

<sup>5</sup> F. A. Johnston, “White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today”, *African Affairs* 69 no. 275 (1970), 124.

<sup>6</sup> N. Falkof, “Sex and the Devil: Homosexuality, Satanism, and Moral Panic in Late Apartheid South Africa”, *Men and Masculinities* 22 no. 2 (2019), 277.

threaten white moral superiority and dominance.<sup>7</sup> Often those within the queer community would hide their identity for fear of consequences they would endure from the South African Police Force (SAP) should they openly express their homosexuality.<sup>8</sup> In an article entitled “Under Pricilla’s Eyes: state violence against South Africa’s queer community during and after apartheid”, Brain M. Müller traces queer identity and queer communities during the apartheid era examining the prejudice that homosexuals faced.<sup>9</sup> Just like countries such as Britain, America, and Czechoslovakia did at the same point in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the apartheid state felt that homosexuality was a biosocial misnomer that needed to be ‘cured’. Aversion therapy, a method emerging out of Pavlovian and Freudian studies on behavioural therapy,<sup>10</sup> was mobilised as a panacea to treat such ‘social deviances’.

Aversion therapy evolved predominantly from the use of chemical methods, which were critiqued as being hard to administer and control, to the use of electroshock therapy.<sup>11</sup> Kate Davison traces the emergence of aversion therapy through the investigation of Pavlovian versus Freudian psychological medical paradigms.<sup>12</sup> Davison classifies aversion therapy as a psychiatric treatment method that fell under the term ‘behaviour therapy’<sup>13</sup> and was in common use in Britain during the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. In section three of his book *Counselling and Therapy: An Introductory Survey* Robert B. Burns discusses behaviour therapy’s use in changing client’s symptoms by concentrating on “observable manifestations of behaviour”.<sup>14</sup> Burns further states that “behaviour therapy” is a rather recent term<sup>15</sup> that was not founded by one singular person but emerged out of the work of B. F. Skinner, J. Wolpe, and A. Bandura.<sup>16</sup> Burns notes that behaviour therapy is a method of helping a client overcome psychological issues by teaching them more appropriate, or effective, ways of behaving.<sup>17</sup> Aversion therapy,

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<sup>7</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 274.

<sup>8</sup> B. M. Müller, “Under Pricilla’s Eyes: state violence against South Africa’s queer community during and after apartheid”, *Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International* 33 (2019), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Müller, “Under Pricilla’s Eyes”, 1.

<sup>10</sup> K. Davison, “Cold War Pavlov: Homosexual aversion therapy in the 1960s”, *History of Human Sciences* 1 no. 31 (2020), 5.

<sup>11</sup> M. P. Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations: A Critical Review”, *Psychological Bulletin* 65 no. 2 (1966), 75.

<sup>12</sup> For more Pavlovian psychology, see R.A. Rescorla, R. A. “Pavlovian conditioning and its proper control procedures”. *Psychological Review*, 74 no. 1, (1967), 71–80

For more Freudian psychology, see A. F. Javel. “The Freudian Antecedents of Cognitive–Behavioural Therapy”. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration* 9 (1999), 397–407.

<sup>13</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 4.

<sup>14</sup> R. B. Burns, *Counselling and Therapy: An Introductory Survey* (Lancaster: MTP Press Limited, 1983), .71.

<sup>15</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 72.

<sup>16</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 73.

<sup>17</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 74.

which is derived partly from behaviour therapy, was a method used to reform what was perceived as immoral behaviour.<sup>18</sup>

Burns further states that aversion therapy was a method employed in the “treatment of behaviour disorders in which the client’s behaviour transgresses convention or is immoral”.<sup>19</sup> Like Davison, Burns explains that aversion therapy was based on classical Pavlovian conditioning that attempted to rid “improper” patterns of behaviour by associating them with unpleasant stimuli.<sup>20</sup> Burns explains that the application of aversion therapy is done through linking undesired behaviour with unpleasant experiences created by using numerous noxious stimuli. This is accomplished through the use of chemical and electroshock therapy procedures. These procedures were deployed in treating alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality.<sup>21</sup>

Prior to 1967, homosexuality in Britain was criminalised. It would only be after 1967 that sexual relations occurring between men in private would be legalised. However, aversion treatments peaked during the 1960s through 1970s due to negative societal reactions to homosexuality. The British public were unaccepting of same-sex relations.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to British law, South Africa did not outright criminalise homosexuality, but it was viewed by the state as a pathological condition that required action. Aversion therapy was widely used within the South African Defence Force in an attempt to transform homosexual conscripts and recruits into heterosexual individuals.<sup>23</sup> Unlike aversion therapy practises used in Britain to ‘cure’ homosexuality, South Africa employed harsher methods that included gender reassignment surgery and hormone therapy.<sup>24</sup>

Although homosexuality was of particular focus, other ‘social deviations’ were also on the state’s radar, including alcoholism and drug addiction, which both worried the apartheid state. Like homosexuality, these were thought to also contribute towards the erosion of apartheid society’s morals. From early apartheid, the state and academics like Geoffrey Cronje, who was a sociologist at the University of Pretoria during the 1940s, were concerned that whites were

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<sup>18</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 76.

<sup>19</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>20</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>21</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 114-116.

<sup>22</sup> G. Smith, A. Bartlett, & M. King, “Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s – an oral history: the experience of patients;”, *BMJ* 328 no. 7437 (2004), 1.

<sup>23</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 128.

<sup>24</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 128.

drinking too much and wondered what effect this would have on the white working class.<sup>25</sup> This was because apartheid society was heavily centred around the notion of the *volk* (nation)<sup>26</sup> where the individual could only exist within the nation.<sup>27</sup> To the ruling National Party, this translated into how whites should be managed to avoid any form of degeneration.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, those who overindulged in alcohol, or were addicted to drugs, were to be ‘cured’ through psycho-social engineering. This was in line with the hypermasculine and Christian heteronormative ideals that were supported by white supremacy.

Despite the wider existence of apartheid state action against a number of perceived social pathologies and racial degeneracy, a great deal of the extant literature on this subject tends to focus on the better-publicised use of aversion therapy on homosexuals within the South African Defence Force, where Dr Aubrey Levin achieved notoriety. However, the wider contextual factors that necessitated the usage of aversion therapy within South African society require a further look. Following the lead of scholars such as Robert Kaplan, Tiffany Jones, and Neil Roos,<sup>29</sup> this study seeks to explore how white supremacy and the heteronormative patriarchal ideas of the apartheid era positioned South Africa as one of the few countries in the world to experiment with aversion therapy during this time. The study will discuss the intersections of science, religion, and race in order to show that while the most vicious control mechanisms were reserved for blacks, abusive practices within white society itself could help illuminate the ways in which paradigms of difference were articulated and dealt with in apartheid South Africa.

The study focuses on the use of aversion therapy during late apartheid from the 1960s to the 1980s. It encapsulates the extent to which Afrikaner Christian nationalist ideas, white supremacy, and advances in science acted as catalysts in the use of aversive treatments in attempts to cure white ‘social deviances’.

The thesis first establishes the pattern of control of white society created by the state through psychosocial engineering, as demonstrated by Neil Roos in his article about alcohol abuse in

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<sup>25</sup> N. Roos, “Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and Some Reflections on the Managements of Whites in Early Apartheid Society, 1948 – 1960”, *The Historical Journal* 58 no. 4 (2015), 1167.

<sup>26</sup> Roos, “Alcohol Panic”, 169.

<sup>27</sup> Roos, “Alcohol Panic”, 1173.

<sup>28</sup> Roos, “Alcohol Panic”, 1169.

<sup>29</sup> R. Kaplan, “South African psychiatrists and the aversion project”, *South African Journal of Psychiatry* 9 no. 2 (2013); Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”; Roos, “Alcohol Panic”.

early apartheid South Africa.<sup>30</sup> In addition, this thesis then explores the roots of the perceived social ills that befell South Africa, namely alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality that threatened to erode apartheid society's morals and customs. Furthermore, the thesis unpacks the state's initiation and funding of aversion therapy practises within the South African Defence Force as part of a wider impulse to keep state institutions free from perceived social ills. Through the study of aversion therapy practises and methods of psychosocial engineering, this thesis seeks to illuminate the intertwining roles of science, race, and religion.

For wider context, the thesis situates the South African story within a global context by discussing aversion therapy practises in Britain, Czechoslovakia, and America where debates about the effectiveness of this form of behavioural therapy occurred. Britain, Czechoslovakia, and America are of particular interest in this thesis due to the contrasts in the nature and motivations for aversion therapy practises when juxtaposed to contemporaneous South African practices. By contrasting South Africa to the three examples, the uniqueness of aversion therapy practises within, for example, the South African Defence Force, is highlighted. Whereas in Britain, homosexuals felt pushed towards volunteering for aversion therapy due to societal pressure,<sup>31</sup> the apartheid state compelled the use of aversion therapy on homosexuals in South Africa. This then reinforces this thesis's line of enquiry which is to establish how science, race, and religion intersected in influencing the use of such invasive methods to 'cure' perceived social ills.

## Literature Review

Numerous invaluable works on aversion therapy, particularly its use to 'cure' homosexuality within the South African Defence Force precede this and they lay the foundation which this proposed thesis will build upon.<sup>32</sup> There is also a growing corpus of significant research on the various types of aversion therapy that were used in countries such as Britain, Czechoslovakia, America, and South Africa.<sup>33</sup> Existing research provides rich descriptions detailing the practices of aversion therapy and recounts patients' experiences of having undergone aversive treatments, while also debating the effectiveness of such treatment. Furthermore, there is literature that details the apartheid state's hostile attitude towards behaviour that was

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<sup>30</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1167.

<sup>31</sup> Smith, Bartlett, King, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain", 1.

<sup>32</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic"; Kaplan, "South African psychiatrists and the aversion project"; Jones, "Controlling and Challenging Sexuality Psychiatric Struggles over Homosexuality".

<sup>33</sup> Smith, Bartlett, & King, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s", Davison, "Cold War Pavlov".

considered socially deviant, particularly towards alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality. This literature review will explore the work of Kate Davidson, M. P. Feldman, Neil Roos, Tiffany Jones, Vasu Reddy, Lisa Wiebesiek, and Crystal Munthree, Susan R. Ritner, R. G. MacMillan, and Jurie Van Den Heever.

The use of aversion therapy is not unique to South Africa. As previously mentioned, Britain and Czechoslovakia were early proponents of the practice. In her article entitled “Cold War Pavlov: Homosexual aversion therapy in the 1960s” Kate Davidson details the use of aversion therapy in Czechoslovakia from 1950 to 1962 and in Britain from 1962 to 1975. Davison investigates the different methods of aversion therapy and the experiments that took place, such as the Prague experiment. The experiment, headed by Kurt Freund, would come to be known as the most advanced clinical study completed on homosexuality in post-war Europe.<sup>34</sup> The experiment was performed on 270 individuals with follow-up interviews, and questionnaires were given out for up to five years after the commencement of the experiment. The aim of the study was to determine the effectiveness of treating homosexuality with aversion therapy methods.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Davison explores homosexuality and the clinical definitions of neurosis attached to sexual orientation.

Those who identified as homosexual were believed to have been ill and thus experimented upon. The experiments performed in Prague by Freund yielded no conclusive results. However, Davison shows the contrast between Czechoslovakia and Britain by highlighting that British psychiatrists focused on single success stories and praised aversion therapy for having worked.<sup>36</sup> Several aversion therapy experiments were conducted by British psychiatrists. These experiments are detailed in M. P. Feldman’s “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations: A Critical Review”.<sup>37</sup>

Feldman traces the use of aversion therapy experiments from the 1950s until the mid-1960s.<sup>38</sup> The article analyses the behaviour therapy approaches in the treatment of disorders, like Wolpe’s work on phobias and obsessions, and the impact it had on treating sexual deviations, to discuss the two main arguments in favour of learning-theory techniques being applied to the

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<sup>34</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 6.

<sup>35</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 18.

<sup>37</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 66.

<sup>38</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 66.

treatment of sexual deviations.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Feldman details the methods of aversive treatments that were used to ‘cure’ homosexuality by providing an in-depth analysis of different experiments that took place under various psychiatrists, such as James (1962), Thorpe and Schmidt (1964), McGuire and Vallance (1964), and Oswald (1962) among others.<sup>40</sup> In addition, Feldman provides a discussion of the experimental findings, the choice of learning paradigm, and the aversive stimuli used. Feldman concludes by stating that there is no one single concrete aversion therapy method technique that can treat homosexuality.<sup>41</sup>

In South Africa, aversion therapy was practised from around the 1960s to the 1980s. Its use was mainly directed at treating homosexuals because their ‘deviance’ threatened white dominance. However, while homosexuality was of concern, it was not the state’s first, and only, concern on the list of issues that threatened white dominance. White alcoholism and drug addiction were social ills that also attracted the attention of the state. Neil Roos explains in his article “Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and Some Reflections on the Management of Whites in the Early Apartheid Society, 1948-1960”, that whites were drinking too much, and this resulted in panic among certain Afrikaner groups.<sup>42</sup>

The apartheid state was noted to have been self-conscious, hypermasculine, and hyper-nationalist. This resulted in people who displayed deviant behaviour being labelled as a hindrance to white modernity and needed to be punished, corrected, or be ‘socially engineered’.<sup>43</sup> As with alcoholism, drug addiction was viewed in a very similar way. In chapter 5 of her book *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, Tiffany Jones explains that drug addicts within the South African Defence Force were sent for rehabilitation in a remote location in the present-day Limpopo Province.<sup>44</sup>

The Drug Rehabilitation Programme was headed by Doctor Aubrey Levin at Greefswald from 1971-1974. The camp was known for its brutal punishments and hard labour.<sup>45</sup> Levin also headed the aversion therapy programme at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria. Jones states that, for Levin, there was an obvious link between drug addiction and homosexuality, as both were

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<sup>39</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 66.

<sup>40</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 68-69.

<sup>41</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 78.

<sup>42</sup> Roos, ‘Alcohol Panic’, 1167.

<sup>43</sup> Roos, ‘Alcohol Panic’, 1168.

<sup>44</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 129.

<sup>45</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 129.

‘deviances’ that needed to be cured.<sup>46</sup> Jones’s chapter centres around the States’ focus on preserving white superiority, especially that of the white Afrikaner male. Jones further examines the need for this preservation by discussing the intersections of the hypermasculine and homophobic attitudes in apartheid society. She does this by drawing our attention to the methods the state used such as hormone therapy, gender reassignment surgery, and aversion therapy, to ‘cure’ homosexuality.<sup>47</sup>

Reddy, Wiebesiek, and Munthree confirm this by stating that “gay conscripts and recruits were “treated” for homosexuality using aversion therapy”.<sup>48</sup> In their chapter, “Military Mutilation: The aversion program in the South African Defence Force in the apartheid era”, Reddy, Wiebesiek, and Munthree investigate the treatment that homosexuals were subjected to by the South African Defence Force through the personal accounts of victims and their families.<sup>49</sup> The treatment homosexuals received, which was justified by the perceived need for the ‘deviance’ to be ‘cured’, consisted of chemical castration, hormone therapy, or aversion therapy. The apartheid state, as explained by Reddy, Wiebesiek, and Munthree, viewed the homosexual individual as a ‘sexual deviant’ who needed to be cured. This was partly owing to homosexuality reflecting a pathological status within the medical model. However, the authors further state that Christian nationalist ideology might also explain why the state became so concerned with an individual’s sexual orientation.<sup>50</sup> During apartheid, the Dutch Reformed Church played an influential role in state policies.

In her article “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, Susan R. Ritner traces the links between the Dutch Reformed Church and the apartheid state. She states that religion had a powerful influence over the Afrikaner community, to such an extent that they believed they were God's chosen people.<sup>51</sup> She explains this by highlighting the growing nationalism of the Afrikaner community and how religion intertwined with it. The link between religion and state would ultimately shape not only the political landscape but also the societal one as well during the apartheid era.

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<sup>46</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 129.

<sup>47</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 116.

<sup>48</sup> Reddy, Wiebesiek, and Munthree, “Military Mutilation”, 91.

<sup>49</sup> Reddy, Wiebesiek, and Munthree, “Military Mutilation”, 91.

<sup>50</sup> Reddy, Wiebesiek, and Munthree, “Military Mutilation”, 91.

<sup>51</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 17-18.

In R. G. MacMillan's article entitled "Christian National Education", the links between Afrikaner nationalism and religion are explored. MacMillan explains that Christian nationalism grew with an emphasis being placed on religion. In conjunction with this emphasis, Afrikaners used language and nationality to build pride within themselves and for a belief in their future.<sup>52</sup> This is evident during the early apartheid era when the Christian National Education Policy was instituted in schools from 1948 to 1974. This policy was formulated and introduced by the *Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys van die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (Institute for Christian National Education of the Federation of African Cultural Associations), a small influential group of conservative orthodox Calvinist Afrikaners. Their policy was based on a theory of education that would lead to the uncompromising practice of Afrikanerdom that would "ensure political, social and economic power through the careful indoctrination of its youth".<sup>53</sup> MacMillan explains that through the adoption of the Christian National Education Policy, it was believed that it would mould people in God's image, which would enable them to do good.

Jurie Van Den Heever corroborates this sentiment in his article entitled "Creationism in the Colonies: Science, Religion and the Legacy of Apartheid in South Africa". Van Den Heever points out that the State and the church were fused together to make a single functioning unit. This unit claimed divinity in the rights of "political ethnicity and a mission for Calvinist Afrikanerdom"<sup>54</sup> which ultimately saw a specific strain of Calvinism developing in South Africa that interpreted the bible literally and did not allow for wider interpretations while also being narrow and prescriptive. Therefore, religious practises during apartheid were tailored to be in support of the master political plan.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, these religious practises outrightly rejected science and the theory of evolution. There were anti-evolution pieces published in media, and books as well as anti-evolution speeches. School textbooks were also written to exclude evolution while promoting creationism.<sup>56</sup> However, this then begs the question of why the apartheid state used scientific practises if they outrightly rejected scientific findings and theories.

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<sup>52</sup> R. G. MacMillan, "Christian National Education", *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 28 (1967), 43.

<sup>53</sup> MacMillan, "Christian National Education", 44.

<sup>54</sup> J. Van Den Heever, 'Creationism in the colonies: Science, religion and the legacy of apartheid in South Africa', (2009), 4.

<sup>55</sup> Van Den Heever, "Creationism in the colonies", 6.

<sup>56</sup> Van Den Heever, "Creationism in the colonies", 1.

Saul Dubow's article, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", tackles this question as he inquires into the relationship between "Christian-nationalism, apartheid and the conceptualisation of race".<sup>57</sup> Dubow focuses his study on how the biological concept of race influenced apartheid theory while also exploring how this linked to theological practises and culture.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Dubow notes that Christian-nationalism played an important role in allowing the apartheid state to use a rationale that was unique to forms of segregation existing elsewhere in the world. Christian-nationalism allowed for the flexibility of racist ideas by, among other things, suggesting that there was racial superiority, although such racial theory was only inferred rather than being openly asserted.<sup>59</sup>

In general, science and religion are often in contestation with one another, as evidenced through a look at the apartheid State and its approach to evolutionary science. When considering social ills that the state believed to be 'deviances', however, science, religion, and race seemed to converge. How did the religious Afrikanerdom move from the rejection of aspects of science to embracing it in their campaign to 'cure' social deviances? We also have to note that the supposed phenomena of homosexuality was not unique to the 1960s due to reported cases stretching back to the 1930s. What happened between the 1930s and the 1960s that saw a renewed disgust towards homosexuality? Was this rebirth owing to more developed fields, practises, and medications or was it just the latest chapter in the apartheid State's history of trying to control white society? Therefore, this thesis examines science, religion, and race to establish what necessitated the use of aversion therapy practises within South African society.

## Methodology

The study research predominantly draws its evidence from qualitative data sources. The research for this study was mainly done through an extensive literature review of various secondary sources such as both print and online books as well as online journal articles accessible through various online platforms and databases. The secondary literature assisted with key ideas on aversion therapy, its application in various contexts, its usage and practices, debates surrounding its effectiveness, as well as its controversial use within the South African Defence Force. Furthermore, the study utilised primary sources in the form of digitized

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<sup>57</sup> S. Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", *The Journal of African History* 33 no. 2 (1992), 209.

<sup>58</sup> Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", 209.

<sup>59</sup> Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", 209.

newspaper articles from the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*.<sup>60</sup> Primary source materials, such as letters, conference booklets, and pamphlets, were also collected from the University of Witwatersrand's online digital archive. In addition, documentaries, such as "Property of the State" were also consulted.

Secondary and primary sources alike concentrated on specific sections of white society in relation to religion, science, medicine, and race. This study puts forth the argument that science and religion were intertwined in the policing of both white and black society alike. Religion and science are documented in contrast to one another. This thesis investigates the role that science played alongside religion in influencing ideologies present during the apartheid era.

### **Chapter Outlines**

Chapter 1 of this thesis details the gaps, aims, and objectives of the study; and locates the study within the existing literature. In addition, the research methodology is outlined in the introduction. Chapter 2 addresses aversion therapy as a specialism, paying particular attention to the debates around its use as a cure for certain behaviours classified as deviant. Furthermore, this chapter will also situate the study within a global context through a discussion on aversion therapy practises in Czechoslovakia, Britain, and America.

Chapter 3 will explore the apartheid State's rising concerns with 'social pathologies', such as alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality, and situate those concerns within the long-standing history of concerns with white degeneration dating back to the early twentieth century when there were concerns with poor whites, social hygiene, etcetera. This chapter will further comment on how the South African white society viewed perceived social ills and how such perceptions influenced medical treatments of 'social deviants'. While chapter 4 will further explore the perceived pathologies of alcoholism and drug addiction in relation to the methods that were used to 'cure' them. Furthermore, the chapter will demonstrate the apartheid State's control over the preservation of white society. In addition, chapter 4 will also examine the practice of aversion therapy within the South African Defence Force, as the army authorities sought to deal with homosexuality within the military. The chapter will assess the influence of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism and white supremacist ideology on the practice of aversion therapy within the military.

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<sup>60</sup> This thesis used the works of newspapers published in English and not Afrikaans.

Chapter 5, the last chapter of this thesis, will reflect on the alliance of science, religion, and racial ideology in apartheid South Africa. This chapter hypothesises the State's use of scientific methods to 'cure' perceived social ills. The State's use of science is interesting as during apartheid the Afrikaner community was deeply religious and often at loggerheads with science. This chapter will investigate internal resistance, external pressure, and white society to comment on the relationship between science, religion, and race.

## Chapter 2 – Global Aversion Therapy Practices and Theories during the Mid-Twentieth Century

### Introduction

Aversion therapy practices can be traced back to 1935 in Britain when a psychiatrist named Louis Max produced the first official publication on aversion therapy methods used to treat homosexuality.<sup>61</sup> This report detailed a procedure whereby Max instructed a male homosexual to fantasize about an attractive male while administering an electric shock.<sup>62</sup> Deriving from the method of classical conditioning, aversion therapy practices would become more common over successive decades. Max was the first in his profession to make use of this practice that would become common in the 1960s to 1970s as a 'cure' for perceived social ills, like homosexuality. Albeit this procedure was not limited to homosexuality but was also performed on alcoholics. In this chapter aversion therapy's family tree will be studied by examining its roots, Pavlovian classical conditioning, and behaviour therapy, where these topics of focus are extensively covered in the works of Robert Burns and Rodger K. Bufford.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the chapter examines practices emerging from classical conditioning methods like emetic and shock aversion therapy to treat homosexuality and alcoholism.

The literature by authors such as R. J. McGuire and M. Vallance, Kate Davison, M. P. Feldman, and Hans Eysenck<sup>64</sup> to name a few, who deal with the roots of aversion therapy, provides the main scaffolding for this chapter. The chapter collates these scholars' different insights and maps out the origins and growth of aversion therapy practices in the changing attitudes of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>61</sup> T. Dickinson, M. Cook, J. Playle, & C. Hallet, "Nurses and subordination: a historical study of mental nurses' perceptions on administering aversion therapy for 'sexual deviations'", *Nursing Inquiry* 21 no. 4 (2013), 285.

<sup>62</sup> Dickinson *et al*, "Nurses and subordination", 285.

<sup>63</sup> R. B. Burns, *Counselling and Therapy: An Introductory Survey* (Lancaster: MTP Press Limited, 1983); R. K. Bufford. "Aversion Therapy". *George Fox University Faculty Publications - Doctor of Psychology (PsyD) Program* (1999).

<sup>64</sup> R. G. MacMillan, "Christian National Education", *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 28 (1967); K. Davison, "Cold War Pavlov: Homosexual aversion therapy in the 1960s", *History of Human Sciences* 1 no. 31 (2020); M. P. Feldman, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations: A Critical Review", *Psychological Bulletin* 65 no.2 (1966); H. J. Eysenck, "The Conditioning Model of Neurosis", *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 2 (1979).

The chapter predominantly focuses on the period from the 1960s through to the 1970s. However, relevant information that provides vital context, found in the work of Glenn Smith, Annie Bartlett, and Michael King,<sup>65</sup> predates the 1960s by a decade, or more. The work by Michael King and Annie Bartlett, particularly provides evidence that social and legal systems held prejudice towards social deviants in Britain, especially homosexual individuals.<sup>66</sup> A social deviant was any member of society who challenged the long-standing and widely accepted social norms that were deemed to comprise a moral society. Importantly, a moral society was grounded in heteronormative normalcy that praised the traditional family. Mathieu Deflem, who consults the work of Edward Ross and George Mead, explains how social norms, social order, and social control played a large role in forming and maintaining a cohesive, homogenous society.<sup>67</sup>

Like world events, historical analysis is better understood through interdisciplinary work. This chapter draws information from a sociological, medical, psychological, psychiatric, and, of course, historical perspective. Each of these perspectives intersects with one another to make, provide evidence for, and explain the core argument of this chapter, which is that society's need for social harmonious homogeneity acted as a persuasive earpiece to medical practices that pushed for the 'curing' of social deviants.

Tommy Dickinson's work is instrumental in drawing our attention to and examining the role of the British public opinion's influence on medical and legal systems and how they dealt with moral questions.<sup>68</sup> As in Britain, the American and Czechoslovakian public found that homosexuality, and alcoholism, were problems that needed to be solved. Each deviancy was individually criticized for the role it played in degrading society. As a means of solving this problem, aversion therapy practices were introduced as a solution born of Pavlovian classical conditioning methods and behaviour therapy practices. Here the intersections of various disciplines are evident. This chapter uses a substantial amount of existing literature, interweaving it with various pieces of information to advance the argument that aversion

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<sup>65</sup> G. Smith, A. Bartlett, & M. King, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s – an oral history: the experience of patients", *BMJ* 328 no.7437 (2004)

<sup>66</sup> M. King, & A. Bartlett, "British psychiatry and homosexuality". *British Journal of Psychiatry* 175 (1999).

<sup>67</sup> M. Deflem, "Deviance and Social Control", in *The Handbook of Deviance*, ed. E. Goode (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

<sup>68</sup> T. Dickinson, *'Curing Queers': Mental nurses and their patients, 1935-74* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 47.

therapy practices were necessitated by public opinion which was conditioned by social norms that governed social control.

### **What is Aversion Therapy?**

Aversion therapy is a method of treatment employed with the objective of curing behaviours deemed immoral or such that transgresses convention.<sup>69</sup> Aversion therapy uses unpleasant stimuli to change undesirable behaviour, like sexual perversions, alcoholism, and drug addiction.<sup>70</sup> In theory, punishment is used as a method to deter patients from behaving in a way that was not socially acceptable or frowned upon.<sup>71</sup> Robert Burns states that aversion therapy was deliberate in its attempt to eliminate certain behavioural patterns through associations with unpleasant stimuli.<sup>72</sup>

During the early 1960s, chemical methods of aversion therapy began to be systematically introduced into the field of psychiatry. Drugs administered through injection would induce vomiting while the patient would perform the undesired behaviour. This procedure was formulated to condition the patient to feel nausea whenever they would partake in the perceived 'immoral' behaviour. However, during the late 1970s, chemical aversion methods were replaced by electric aversion therapy. This was owing to chemical aversion methods being described as "cumbersome, unpleasant and difficult to administer with any precision".<sup>73</sup> Other disadvantages included the uncertainty in time from when the stimulus was presented to when nausea occurred, the possibility that the patient may not experience nausea, or that the patient's ability to form conditioned responses may be compromised due to interference by the drugs cerebral depressant effect.<sup>74</sup>

Electric aversion methods were said to be easier to use, safer, and less unpleasant.<sup>75</sup> Patients, within the realm of experimental psychology, were treated with electric shocks. As opposed to chemical aversion, electric shocks can be more accurately controlled with greater certainty for the production of an unpleasant effect. McGuire and Vallance, in their work detailing aversion therapy practise, detail an apparatus designed by McGuire. The apparatus served as a means to

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<sup>69</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>70</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 114.

<sup>71</sup> Bufford, "Aversion Therapy", 1.

<sup>72</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>73</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

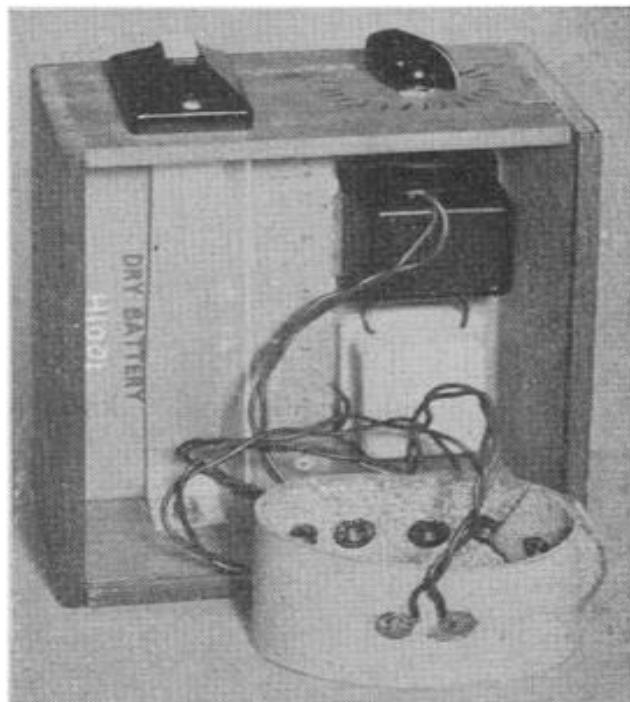
<sup>74</sup> McGuire & Vallance, "Aversion Therapy by Electric Shock", 151.

<sup>75</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

deliver aversive stimuli to patients who were believed to have been sexually deviant, or socially deviant due to participating in activities such as smoking and the consumption of alcohol.<sup>76</sup> Although there is no documentation of this apparatus being widely used within aversion therapy practices, this apparatus was used to conduct treatment procedures on patients in the care of McGuire and Vallance in Britain.

The apparatus was designed in the early 1960s and comprised of components that McGuire and Vallance describe as being cheap. The apparatus easily fitted into approximately six inches by five inches, fifteen centimetres by five centimetres, box. The apparatus was powered by a nine-volt battery which then allowed it to be portable. Electrodes installed on a cuff, which was placed on the patient's forearm, would deliver shocks.<sup>77</sup> The treatment procedure followed a basic plan characteristic of most aversion therapy treatment plans. The apparatus as described is pictured below.<sup>78</sup>

Fig. 1 Photograph of Electric Aversion Therapy Apparatus



Source: McGuire & Vallance, 1964

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<sup>76</sup> McGuire & Vallance, "Aversion Therapy by Electric Shock", 151.

<sup>77</sup> McGuire & Vallance, "Aversion Therapy by Electric Shock", 151.

<sup>78</sup> McGuire & Vallance, "Aversion Therapy by Electric Shock", 151.

In aversion therapy treatment plans the behaviour in which aversion is needed to be created against was presented, either by a patient being shown an image or by being made to imagine the stimulus, while shocks were being administered. The strength of the shock was at a voltage tolerable to the patient and, where necessary, would be adjusted throughout the session. This procedure would then be repeated numerous times throughout a session. A session would typically last around twenty to thirty minutes, and be held anywhere between six times a day to once every fourteen days, in treatment plans carried out by McGuire and Vallance.<sup>79</sup>

Like that of McGuire's electric shock producing apparatus, similar shock methods were used and prior to that, chemical methods, as previously stated. Aversion therapy's objective is to ultimately weaken the link of the controlling conditioned stimulus. An example can be made of a man looking at another man with a romantic interest. The undesired behaviour in this example would be sexual arousal.<sup>80</sup> An explanation for this process has been theorised by Joseph Wolpe as "reciprocal inhibition".<sup>81</sup> Wolpe's theory states "that arousing a strong competing response such as nausea or fear inhibits the undesired response".<sup>82</sup>

In looking more closely at the treatment plans for aversion therapy, the processes for both chemical and electric methods can be described as follows: chemical methods used emetic drugs like that of emetine hydrochloride,<sup>83</sup> which causes vomiting and nausea,<sup>84</sup> and a caffeine and apomorphine mixture.<sup>85</sup> The drugs would be administered by injection while the patient would perform the undesired behaviour. The administered drug would induce vomiting simultaneously to the undesired behaviour being performed which would condition the patient to feel nausea whenever they would, in future, attempt to carry out the undesired behaviour.<sup>86</sup> In the use of electric aversion methods, drugs were replaced by electric shocks. When the patient is presented with the stimulus which aversion needed to be created against, the patient was shocked.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> McGuire & Vallance, 'Aversion Therapy by Electric Shock', 151.

<sup>80</sup> Bufford, "Aversion Therapy", 1.

<sup>81</sup> Bufford, "Aversion Therapy", 1.

<sup>82</sup> Bufford, "Aversion Therapy", 1.

<sup>83</sup> Emetine hydrochloride is a drug that is administered orally. This is a drug that when ingested would cause nausea. Possible consequences of over or heavy usage of the drug could result in proximal myopathy and/or cardiomyopathy. Apomorphine is also an emetine drug that induces nausea. It was used for farmyard animals to treat repeated behaviours. The drug was also used to treat anxiety and cravings in alcoholics.

<sup>84</sup> Bufford, "Aversion Therapy", 1.

<sup>85</sup> Feldman, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations", 66.

<sup>86</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>87</sup> McGuire & Vallance, "Aversion Therapy by Electric Shock", 151.

Burns distinguishes the differences between basic early and later paradigms followed by aversion therapy practices. The early paradigm references the use of chemical methods, while the latter maps out electric methods. The paradigms are as follows:

Early trials<sup>88</sup>

Undesirable behaviour → Emetic → Discomfort

Later trails<sup>89</sup>

Undesirable behaviour → Discomfort

Burns further states that aversion therapy treatments tend to be fairly short as they typically only last between two to three weeks. However, there was also a chance that the patient might relapse as unwanted behaviours could resurface after being suppressed by aversion therapy. To counteract this, booster courses would be administered at suitable intervals.<sup>90</sup> Treatment procedures as described were common to aversion therapy practises as aversion therapy acted as an agent of behaviour modification born from Pavlovian classical conditioning methods. Psycho-social engineering and behaviour modification are neither new nor unique to the practice of aversion therapy but rather, aversion therapy can be labelled as a by-product emerging of classical behaviour modification practices.<sup>91</sup> Below is an image depicting a white male undergoing electric aversion shock therapy.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 114.

<sup>89</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 114.

<sup>90</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 114.

<sup>91</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>92</sup> T. Bell, "Jail in Canada for "Dr Shock"", 30 April 2014., [https://www.groundup.org.za/article/jail-canada-e2809cdr-shocke2809d\\_1740/](https://www.groundup.org.za/article/jail-canada-e2809cdr-shocke2809d_1740/), accessed 02 December 2022.

Fig. 2 White Male undergoing Electric Aversion Therapy



Source: T. Bell, "Jail in Canada for "Dr Shock"", 2014

### **Aversion Therapy's Aetiology**

Aversion therapy is a treatment method that falls under the umbrella term of "behaviour therapy".<sup>93</sup> Behaviour therapy was birthed with the objective of either changing or removing a patient's unwanted symptoms by generally focusing on direct "observable manifestations of behaviour".<sup>94</sup> Behaviour therapists have explained that the treatment methods in use come from theories of learning and conditioning but over time the behavioural approach has been expanded to include strategies like behaviour modification procedures, that were previously doubted.<sup>95</sup> Behaviour modification believes neurotic behaviour to be a behavioural pattern that is learned but inappropriate and maladaptive. Therefore, this behavioural pattern must be unlearned through a process whereby adaptive behaviour is learned as its replacement.<sup>96</sup> The Association of Behaviour Therapy tentatively accepted the following definition for behaviour therapy, although it is not widely accepted:

Behaviour therapy involves primarily the application of principles derived from research in experimental and social psychology for the alleviation of human suffering and the enhancement of human functioning. Behaviour therapy emphasises a systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of these applications. Behaviour therapy involves environmental change and social interaction rather than the direct alteration

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<sup>93</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 4.

<sup>94</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 71.

<sup>95</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 1.

<sup>96</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 71.

of bodily processes by biological procedures. The aim is primarily educational. The techniques facilitates improved self-control. In the conduct of behaviour therapy, a contractual agreement is usually negotiated, in which mutually agreeable goals and procedures are specified. Responsible practitioners using behavioural approaches are guided by generally accepted ethical principles.<sup>97</sup>

Hans Eysenck, a German-born British psychologist, states that even though the origin of the term “behaviour therapy” is recent, the techniques associated with it have a long history. These techniques stretch back to the early twentieth century when learning theory principles were applied to treatment plans attempting to condition maladaptive behaviour.<sup>98</sup> This is because within the mental health field psychosocial treatments were not uncommon practises. These were intervention methods used to assist patients in dealing with psychological issues. Prior to the use of aversion therapy, psychotherapies were widely used.<sup>99</sup>

The term psychotherapy acts as an umbrella term under which a variety of different techniques fall but as a generally accepted definition, psychotherapy is understood as a relationship between the doctor and the patient where a psychological procedure occurs that addresses either an individual or group of persons on their well-being and self-understanding.<sup>100</sup> There are over four hundred identified therapies within psychotherapy practises where there are defined by their setting and a psychopathological model that results in methods leading to distress alleviation.<sup>101</sup> Distress alleviation through therapeutic methods consists of targeting specific problems, freeing a patient from troubling emotions, and sometimes personal fulfilment.<sup>102</sup> Psychotherapies and conditioned learning practices all attempt to condition maladaptive behaviour.

Eysenck states that there are various theories that are named under neurosis. Neurosis is defined as an unfavourable behaviour persisting over a lengthened period of time, sometimes even a lifetime.<sup>103</sup> It is here that models are employed to change this behaviour to be more socially

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<sup>97</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, (Franks and Wilson, 1975), 75-76.

<sup>98</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 72.

<sup>99</sup> A. Roth and P. Fonagy, *What Works for Whom?: A Critical Review of Psychotherapy* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2005), 5.

<sup>100</sup> R.D Buchanan and N. Haslam, “Psychotherapy”, in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Intellectual History of Psychology*, ed. R.J. Sternberg and W.E. Pickren (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 2.

<sup>101</sup> Roth and Fonagy, *What Works for Whom?*, 5.

<sup>102</sup> Buchanan and Haslam, “Psychotherapy”, 2.

<sup>103</sup> H. J. Eysenck, “The Learning Theory Model of Neurosis – A New Approach”, *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 14 no. 4 (1976), 251.

acceptable. Many psychotherapists did not have much success in treating certain deviations, especially homosexuality. However, with behaviour therapy, there was an allowance to apply principles of learning theory which had been developed in a laboratory.<sup>104</sup> We see evidence of behaviour therapy in the work of John B. Watson's study on common fears associated with young children that were learned through conditioning processes.<sup>105</sup> These learning theory applications are further evidenced by other therapist's use of conditioning techniques to rid fears from patients,<sup>106</sup> like Wolpe who used behaviour therapy approaches to treat phobias and obsessions.<sup>107</sup>

The practice of behaviour therapy's origins lies in classical reflex conditioning that was developed in the early 1900s by Ivan Pavlov, a Russian psychologist.<sup>108</sup> The classical conditioning process involves the interaction of the natural stimulus within the body with that of an external stimulus. Through this process, the body is conditioned to respond in a particular way so that over time the patient will display the same response when the stimulus is activated.<sup>109</sup> Classical conditioning is achieved when the patient's reflex actions begin to be conditioned over a period of time by a particular stimulus to the point where the response becomes predictable.<sup>110</sup> When first conducting experiments relating to classical conditioning, Pavlov used dogs as test subjects. He noted that a repeated stimulus affected the dog's central nervous system which resulted in a new behaviour being displayed.<sup>111</sup>

In Pavlov's experiments, before feeding the dogs, a bell would be rung. As time progressed the dogs began to salivate when the bell was rung as they now associated it with being fed. This was a progression from the dog's initial reaction to only salivating upon the sight of food, and not the bell. Therefore, following the previous example, it is relevant to note that the theory of classical conditioning has also been referred to as "learning by association".<sup>112</sup> While this case

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<sup>104</sup> de V. Mather, and J. Northage, "The treatment of homosexuality by aversion therapy.", *Medicine, Science and the Law* 6, no. 4 (1966), 200.

<sup>105</sup> Eysenck, "The Conditioning Model of Neurosis", 156.

<sup>106</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 72.

<sup>107</sup> Feldman, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations", 65.

<sup>108</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 4.

<sup>109</sup> T. Jaqua & E. Jaqua, "Classical Conditioning: Aversion Therapy". *Global Journal of Addiction and Rehabilitation Medicine* 6 no. 3(2019), 001.

<sup>110</sup> Jaqua & Jaqua, "Classical Conditioning: Aversion Therapy", 001.

<sup>111</sup> Jaqua & Jaqua, "Classical Conditioning", 001.

<sup>112</sup> Jaqua & Jaqua, "Classical Conditioning", 001.

study was performed on dogs, the application of classical conditioning has been used on human participants.

Conditioning behaviour in humans is not uncommon. Conditioned behaviour has cognitive effects that happens with everyday occurrences where the person's body learns to adjust its response without the person being conscious of what is happening.<sup>113</sup> Terry Jaqua and Ecler Jaqua use the example of someone being robbed. In their example, they state that a person who has been robbed at a particular time of the day develops a fear towards that time of day and as a result, will always try to be in an environment where they feel safe during that time.<sup>114</sup> When looking more closely at the formal practice of behaviour therapy, the process involves five stages.<sup>115</sup>

Burns describes the five stages as follows: Firstly, there needs to be an analysis completed of the maladaptive behaviour. Secondly, the choice of technique needs to be considered. Thirdly, preparation needs to be done for the client's treatment. Fourthly, the application for the treatment technique needs to be chosen. Lastly, there needs to be an evaluation of the treatment.<sup>116</sup> In conjunction with the importance of the five stages, the analysis of the client's behaviour plays a significant role in the success of behaviour therapy. The client is not always aware of what is troubling them and thus not always being able to articulate their behaviour. Following this, the behaviour therapist helps the client navigate their troublesome pattern of behaviour so that it can be changed.<sup>117</sup>

Those receiving treatment for maladaptive, or 'deviant', behaviour were those whom society feared were compromising their moral structure.<sup>118</sup> Homosexuals, alcoholics, and drug addicts were among those who threatened the integrity of society. But why exactly did these deviant behaviours disrupt society? Why was same-sex attraction and alcoholism viewed so negatively that offending members of society were persuaded either by public opinion or medical referrals to subject themselves to invasive treatment practices, especially regarding homosexuality in Britain where the alternate option to treatment was jail time?<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Jaqua & Jaqua, "Classical Conditioning", 001.

<sup>114</sup> Jaqua & Jaqua, "Classical Conditioning", 001.

<sup>115</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, p. 76.

<sup>116</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 76.

<sup>117</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 76.

<sup>118</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>119</sup> Smith *et al*, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s", 2.

## Why Was Aversion Therapy Used?

Society, in general, is concerned with moral purity which is upheld through social norms policed by social order. Social norms have been of importance since the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Emile Durkheim, a renowned sociologist, made the argument that social norms were imperative for the maintenance of social cohesion. Any such action which threatened the social norms of the society was classified as deviant and the perpetrators as dangerous.<sup>120</sup> An example of this in British society is the poor people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The British government was struggling to feed, house, and clothe all the poor members of British society. Poverty was considered a sign of a moral breakdown in society. In an attempt to ‘cure’ the social ill of poverty, the British Government instituted the workhouse system.<sup>121</sup> This was an attempt to restore social values that were deemed essential to society which the poor undermined. It was hoped that the workhouses would reinforce personal morality and social order.<sup>122</sup>

Those living in the workhouses had to comply with the rules and schedules dictated by the workhouses while giving up their personal freedom. Occupants were given food, shelter, and medical attention in return for work being completed but any infractions were met with harsh punishments.<sup>123</sup> The workhouses were born from the New Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The workhouses were built to look like prisons on the outskirts of town where within the workhouses, men, women, and children were all separated. This was done to deter the poor from applying for poor relief but if they did, they were met with the workhouses. Those living in the workhouses were referred to as inmates who were subjected to discipline measures worse than actual inmates in prisons.<sup>124</sup>

The workhouses serve as an example that illustrates a continued trend of looking to maintain societal norms out of the fear of deviance. The poor were regarded as an infraction of social norms that needed to be disciplined. Homosexuality and alcoholism were extensions of this fear in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>120</sup> E. K. Harrison, “Family Life: Attitudes to non-traditional family behaviour”, *British Social Attitudes* 37 (2021).

<sup>121</sup> D. Brenda, “The Nineteenth Century British Workhouse: Mission Not Accomplished”, *Senor Theses* (2019), 1.

<sup>122</sup> M.A. Crowther, “The Workhouse”, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 78 (1992), 183.

<sup>123</sup> Brenda, “The Nineteenth Century British Workhouse”, 1.

<sup>124</sup> S. Williams, “Paupers Behaving Badly: Punishment in the Victorian Workhouse” *Journal of British Studies* 59 (2020), 764.

## *Homosexuality*

British, and by extension western society commonly subscribed to a gender-normative societal base that centred around masculinity and the heterosexual nuclear family. The normative family structure dictated that the husband holds a steady job to provide for his family while the wife was to stay at home to tend to the children and carry out household tasks. Traditional models of the family were moulded around the idea of two parents, one male and the other female, and their children. Anything other than this familial structure was seen as the breaking down of the family classified as a social ill. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, British society women who were unmarried and childless were labelled as spinsters and women who had children out of wedlock were called illegitimate.<sup>125</sup> However, a shift in the traditional family unit occurred with the outbreak of the Second World War. The familial ideal structured around the women is a similarity that could be found within the white South African Afrikaner society. The *Volksmoeder* (mother of the nation) was a concept employed which regarded the mother as the guardian of the nation.<sup>126</sup>

Men were conscripted into the military which left women behind to fill in the spaces that men previously occupied.<sup>127</sup> However, with the war ending in 1945, there was a slight panic that the heteronormative society that the public, more specifically men, were accustomed to was degrading.<sup>128</sup> Women were forced out of the workplace and creches were closed as a means to push women back into playing the role of the dutiful housewife.<sup>129</sup> This was done in an attempt to regain a society familiar with the inter-war period.<sup>130</sup> However, a direct threat to this reconstruction of the family was homosexuality and other deviations.

Similarly, to that of the patriarchal heteronormative British society, was the patriarchal heteronormative American society. Sigmund Freud, a widely acclaimed Austrian neurologist, did not believe homosexuality to be a vice. However, this belief was rejected by American psychoanalysis in the 1940s when heterosexuality was adopted as the dominant theoretical

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<sup>125</sup> Harrison, "Family Life".

<sup>126</sup> C. Van der Westhuizen, "Silence, Service, and White Sex: The Lives of the *Volksmoeder*", in *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*, ed. C. Van der Westhuizen (Durban: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press, 2018).

<sup>127</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 47.

<sup>128</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 47.

<sup>129</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

<sup>130</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

framework.<sup>131</sup> Homosexuality was perceived as a sickness that resulted in a dichotomy equating heterosexuality to normalcy and homosexuality to deviancy.<sup>132</sup> American society labelled sexual deviants as being immoral and sinful while likening them to criminals and lawbreakers.<sup>133</sup> In line with the disease model propagated and institutionalised by the American Psychiatric Association's classification of same-sex attraction being a mental illness,<sup>134</sup> the American public believed gay individuals to be sick and in need of 'curing'.<sup>135</sup> The American public, like that of the British, held strong views on what a moral and normal society looked like. Homosexuality did not fall in line with this worldview.

The changes that British society underwent had a destabilising effect that challenged the very notions of masculinity, nationhood, and Britishness.<sup>136</sup> Although the scope of this study predominantly focuses on the 1960s through to the mid-1970s, the context regarding motivations behind treatment lies in public opinion and legal frameworks that date back to the mid-1940s and 1950s. The destabilisation of British society, coupled with the blurred gender roles, invoked a state of crisis which saw the British government emphasize the "importance of domesticity and family life in its traditional form".<sup>137</sup> With the importance of traditional family units being emphasised, homosexuality was painted as a sexual danger accused of being a corrosive perversity that endangered the notion of family.<sup>138</sup> This was an artwork commissioned by the British media in the 1950s which would cement public opinion for the decade to come and set into motion a series of staunch laws and treatment plans to 'cure' the neurosis of homosexuality.

American public views were not all that different from British society. The Second World War allowed for the further discrimination of homosexual persons. Those attracted to the same sex were either prevented from joining the military or found themselves coming under scrutiny from military psychiatrists and psychologists as a way to rid the ranks of sexual deviants.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> G. M. Herek, "Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficits: Science and Stigma in the History of American Psychology", *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 5 no. 6 (2010), 694.

<sup>132</sup> Herek, "Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficit", 694.

<sup>133</sup> B. Gittings, *Preface: Show and Tell*, in *American Psychiatry and Homosexuality: An Oral History*, ed. J. Drescher & J. P. Merlino, p. xv.

<sup>134</sup> S. Baughey-Gill, "When Gay Was Not Okay with the APA: A Historical Overview of Homosexuality and its Status as Mental Disorder", *Occam's Razor* 1 no. 2 (2011), 6.

<sup>135</sup> Gittings, "Preface: Show and Tell", xv.

<sup>136</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 47.

<sup>137</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

<sup>138</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 47.

<sup>139</sup> Herek, "Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficits", 694.

Furthermore, homosexuals were undesirably discharged which resulted in their continued discrimination back home with their ‘medical diagnoses’ being reported back to their families and future employers. This essentially ‘outed’ closeted homosexuals and prevented them from gaining employment due to their sexual orientation.<sup>140</sup> However, homosexuals outside the military were also faced with dire consequences for their same-sex attraction. Civilian homosexuals were arrested in both public and private settings where they were charged with solicitation, vagrancy, and disorderly conduct. In addition, homosexuals faced persecution in certain states under sexual psychopath laws that allowed for legal confinement in psychiatric hospitals until they were deemed ‘cured’.<sup>141</sup>

In British newspapers during the 1950s homosexuality was depicted as a predatory vice to the general public.<sup>142</sup> An example of this is found in a 1951 article published in the *Sunday Pictorial* which inculpated homosexuals as being treacherous following the defection of Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, who were British spies to the Soviet Union.<sup>143</sup> The pair were harshly judged in the article for betraying American secrets where the verdict of their judgement was the label of “sex perverts”.<sup>144</sup> The author further explained that their treacherous behaviour was owing to homosexuals being security risks who easily displayed traitorous characteristics.<sup>145</sup> As evidenced by the article discussed, newspapers had the power to mould the definition of homosexuality to the public and in extension to print media, the scourge of homosexuality was illustrated in both visual media and literature.

The story of two married individuals who risked committing adultery is depicted in the 1945 film *Brief Encounter*.<sup>146</sup> Laura, played by Cecelia Johnson, meets a doctor, Alec Harvey, at a train station one Thursday afternoon. The film follows the married middle-class housewife and the doctor’s growing connection.<sup>147</sup> Ultimately Laura is guilt-ridden over her somewhat adulterous act. Following this, she decides that her best option is to stay with her stable husband.<sup>148</sup> The film demonstrates the importance of the nuclear family unit whereas, in *The*

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<sup>140</sup> Herek, “Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficits”, 694.

<sup>141</sup> Herek, “Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficits”, 694-695.

<sup>142</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 53.

<sup>143</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 53.

<sup>144</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 53.

<sup>145</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 53.

<sup>146</sup> S. Rehman, “Interpreting Infidelity: Reading a British Film, *Brief Encounter* (1945), By Hispanic Men and Women”, *Cross-Cultural Communication* 9 no. 5 (2013), 1.

<sup>147</sup> R. Dyer, *Brief Encounter*, 25.

<sup>148</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

*Invert*, written by Anomaly, republished in 1948, the nuisance of homosexuality is detailed. Anomaly described homosexuals as being “abnormally lustful [people] of more or less insatiable uncontrollable impulses”<sup>149</sup> who were also “moral lepers, corrupt, obscene and monstrous”.<sup>150</sup> The film *Brief Encounter* and Anomaly’s *The Invert* both, in their own way, heterosexualise mainstream British culture as marriage and family are emphasised as being the foundation of society.<sup>151</sup>

Newspapers, films, and fictional literature, as discussed above, heavily influenced the general public opinion. In a 2004 paper written on patients’ experiences of those having undergone aversion therapy, participants in the oral history study spoke of the negative influences the British media had on their sexuality. One male participant in the study conducted by Smith, Bartlett, and King stated that “there were no positive role models, and the newspapers were full of the most vituperative fifth that made me feel suicidal”.<sup>152</sup> The act of suicide was a shared thought among British and American homosexuals. American homosexuals undesirably discharged from the military faced such intense discrimination that they made attempts on their lives.<sup>153</sup> However, further fuelling British distaste towards same-sex attraction was the publishing of the Kinsey Report.

The Kinsey Report was a study conducted over a nine-year period, starting in 1948, that witnessed around 8 000 people, of which 6 000 were male, being interviewed on their sexual activities. One of the sexual subsections that Kinsey reported on was the prevalence of homosexuality.<sup>154</sup> The study used empirical findings to argue that roughly 37% of American men, at least once since adolescence, had participated in a homosexual act to orgasm and that 4% of American men were exclusively homosexual.<sup>155</sup> Although the study was conducted in America and reported findings based on American citizens, the report still nonetheless distressed British society.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 49.

<sup>150</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 49.

<sup>151</sup> Rehman, “Interpreting Infidelity: Reading a British Film”, 1.

<sup>152</sup> Smith *et al*, “Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s”, 1.

<sup>153</sup> Herek, “Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficits”, 694.

<sup>154</sup> K. Carter-Smith, *The Kinsey Report*, in *Sociology Reference Guide: Gender Roles & Equality*, ed. The Editors of Salem Press (California: Salem Press, 2011), p. 9.

<sup>155</sup> Carter-Smith, *The Kinsey Report*, 9.

<sup>156</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

Kinsey, in his study, found that homosexuality was more common than one thought and not a rare sexual phenomenon.<sup>157</sup> This finding directly challenged the belief of homosexual men being in the minority. However, the Kinsey report not only dismantled the thought that homosexuals were a minority group but also confronted the rigidity of sexuality – a person either being heterosexual or homosexual and nothing in between – by theorising that sexuality can be experienced on a spectrum.<sup>158</sup> Tommy Dickinson states that this raised the perturbing idea that homosexuals were not a distinct group but instead, everyone was, to some degree, homosexual.<sup>159</sup> In a state of moral panic, Mass Observation, which was a British opinion organisation, conducted its own large-scale survey surrounding sex in Britain in 1949. The survey was labelled the “Little Kinsey”.<sup>160</sup>

Influenced by the American Kinsey report, the ‘Little Kinsey’ report randomly surveyed the British public on aspects of their social lives.<sup>161</sup> The report, undertaken by Mass Observation, focused more on British attitudes than behaviour.<sup>162</sup> The report found that a significant number of the public showed very hostile views towards homosexuality. One surveyed participant described homosexuality as being “absolutely detestable”<sup>163</sup> while another stated that he “shouldn’t think they’re [homosexuals] human”.<sup>164</sup> Overall, from the study, it can be concluded that there was a general attitude of disgust shown towards same-sex attraction<sup>165</sup> and something had to be done about the problem of homosexuality.<sup>166</sup> In response to finding a solution to this perceived problem, those in authority in Britain enacted what can be described as a ‘witch-hunt’ on gay men,<sup>167</sup> although, it was not uncommon for gay British men to have been discriminated against for their sexuality by those in power.

In 1553 English law had criminalised sodomy under the Act of Henry VIII. Sodomy between man and man, man and woman, and man and beast were now illegal. However, this law was re-enacted in 1563 as a means to convict male homosexuals until 1885 when the Criminal

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<sup>157</sup> Herek, “Sexual Orientation Differences as Deficits”, pp. 695.

<sup>158</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

<sup>159</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

<sup>160</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

<sup>161</sup> L. Stanley, *Sex Surveyed, 1949-1994: From Mass Observation’s ‘Little Kinsey’ to The National Survey and the Hite Reports’*, 4.

<sup>162</sup> A. Bingham, “The “K-Bomb”: Social Surveys, the Popular Press, and British Sexual Culture in the 1940s and 1950s”, *The Journal of British Studies* 50 no. 1 (2011), 156.

<sup>163</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

<sup>164</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

<sup>165</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 50.

<sup>166</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 51.

<sup>167</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 51.

Assessment Act further criminalised any sexual act between two males.<sup>168</sup> The attitude shown towards homosexuality from as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century is reflective of intolerance towards those who deviate from the standard of the majority. This intolerance was incorporated into the moral, legal, and theological domains in the late Middle Ages but would impact European society for centuries to come.<sup>169</sup>

British law in the 1950s was a mirrored image of this intolerance. Scotland Yard, the London Metro Police, wanted to quash homosexuality in London and following this, there was an increase in the persecution of gay men as well as an increase in arrests for homosexuality. This is evidenced by court cases relating to sodomy, gross indecency, and indecent assault having grown from 719 in 1938 in England and Wales to 2 504 cases in 1955.<sup>170</sup> Judge Tudor Rees argued that homosexuality should be dealt with by the law as "such a change in the law begs the whole moral issue, one which must be thought out carefully or there would be a danger that it may have the effect of giving a legal *carte blanche* to all types of offenders".<sup>171</sup> The law, and the idea of homosexuality being pathological with a narcissistic tendency to divert from normality,<sup>172</sup> condemned gay men into seeking out treatment due to pressure from public opinion while, in some instances, being presented with the choice between conversion or prison. Many men opted for treatment.<sup>173</sup>

In the American legal system, laws criminalising sodomy were promulgated from as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These laws broadly described sodomy to be a crime against nature committed with either mankind or animal. However, homosexuality was not the motivating factor that pushed these earlier laws. Rather, the laws were in place to protect morality, decency, women, and men who were considered weak.<sup>174</sup> However, sodomy laws would change drastically with the ushering in of the new century. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century sodomy laws were changed to include oral sex. This sparked witch hunts in the 1950s, similar to that in Britain, being carried out against gay males as oral and anal sex were viewed as being the same as child molestation.<sup>175</sup> During the 1960s to 1970s, 18 states had decriminalized consensual sodomy,

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<sup>168</sup> Smith *et al*, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s", 1.

<sup>169</sup> King, & Bartlett, "British psychiatry and homosexuality", 106.

<sup>170</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 51.

<sup>171</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 55.

<sup>172</sup> King, & Bartlett, "British psychiatry and homosexuality", 108.

<sup>173</sup> Smith, Bartlett, & King, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s", 2.

<sup>174</sup> R. Weinmeyer, "The Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States", *American Medical Association Journal of Ethics* 16 no. 11 (2014), 916.

<sup>175</sup> Weinmeyer, "The Decriminalization of Sodomy", 916.

but faced considerable backlash from religious and right-wing groups, while other states refused such reforms because the change in the law would promote homosexuality.<sup>176</sup> Religious and right-wing conservative groups played a considerable role in moulding public opinion around homosexuality in America.

The Christian Reformed Church of North America, the Roman Catholic Church, and the United Methodist Church, to name a few, view homosexuality as sinful and immoral. These traditional faiths believe that same-sex attraction is a vice that needs to be rectified. This was because religious fundamentalism had been closely associated with negative views on homosexuality.<sup>177</sup> This was owing to the rhetoric of family values. Heterosexuality and the traditional family unit were deemed as acceptable and moral.<sup>178</sup>

The influence of religion found in American law is evident through the employment of Kulturkampf from as early as 1890 through to the 1950s with the anti-gay campaign and further into the 1980s in the court case *Davis v. Beason*.<sup>179</sup> Kulturkampf refers to the forced conformity of communities that push them to accept State ideals and homogeneity. This is a method that follows a programme designed by Otto von Bismarck that asserts State control over various sectors within the State, like education. This is highlighted in a 1950s campaign that sought to suppress homosexuality.<sup>180</sup> Homosexuality challenged religious influenced views on morality and family values.

With the desire to promote and maintain the traditional family unit,<sup>181</sup> gay men were defined as being people who could not form genuine bonds of love but were rather driven by lustfulness.<sup>182</sup> In line with this thought, British magistrate Harold Sturge stated that sexual acts between men were “morally wrong, physically dirty and progressively degrading”.<sup>183</sup> Society, so hell-bent on upholding tradition and general moral normativity by means of control mechanisms, not only condemned those who dared to love another of the same sex, but also

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<sup>176</sup> Weinmeyer, “The Decriminalization of Sodomy”, 916

<sup>177</sup> J. M. Glassgold, L. Beckstead, J. Drescher, B. Greene, R. L. Miller & R. L. Worthington, “Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation”, *American Psychological Association* (2009), 18-19.

<sup>178</sup> W. N. Eskridge, “A Jurisprudence of “Coming Out”: Religion, Homosexuality, and Collisions of Liberty and Equality in American Public Law”, *The Yale Law Journal* 106 no. 8 (1997), 2412.

<sup>179</sup> Eskridge, “A Jurisprudence of “Coming Out””, 2414.

<sup>180</sup> Eskridge, “A Jurisprudence of “Coming Out””, pp. 2413-2414.

<sup>181</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

<sup>182</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 52.

<sup>183</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 52.

those who would go so far as to oppose the order of society, such as members who overindulged in alcohol.

### *Alcoholism*

Prior to binge drinking antics that were prominent during mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Britain, heavy drinking was not something of a new phenomenon having been a common activity that many participated in throughout British history. This is evidenced by the temperance movement that arose during the Victorian era in response to excessive alcohol consumption.<sup>184</sup> The lingering question of drink in Britain raised concerns over its ability to harm not only public health,<sup>185</sup> but also that of the family unit.<sup>186</sup> Behaviour ascribed, or known to be attached, to an alcoholic was seen as a public health concern and therefore of interest to both the State and medical professionals.<sup>187</sup> Similarly, in America, alcoholism can be traced back to the 1870s when habitual drunkenness was referred to as intemperance<sup>188</sup> where later, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the prohibition would be ratified into law.

In Britain, the public health model on drinking originated in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century due to concerns arising over alcohol-related harm. This was a model that pushed for harsher controls to be placed on alcohol<sup>189</sup> while arguably following the same line of thought as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century's social liberalism stance. Social liberalism called on the State to be an active agent in addressing issues relating to social justice. The result of this address would call for a limitation to be placed on alcohol that would firstly, free the individual from the effects of inebriation and secondly, serve as a preventative measure for drunkards that may inflict harm on the innocent.<sup>190</sup> Parallels can be drawn between point number two and late 20<sup>th</sup> century thinking where public anxiety spiked over the threat that alcohol posed to societal morality.<sup>191</sup> The parallel can be found in the wanting of no harm to come to the innocent and the concept of

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<sup>184</sup> R. Yokoe, "Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain", *The Historical Journal* 62 no. 1 (2019), 267.

<sup>185</sup> Yokoe, "Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain", 266.

<sup>186</sup> A. Haggett, "Gender, Street, and Alcohol Abuse in Post-War Britain", in *Stress in Post-War Britain. 1945-85*, ed. M. Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2015), 47.

<sup>187</sup> A. Mold, "Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk'. Alcohol, Health Education and the public in 1970s Britain", *Social History of Medicine* 30 no. 3 (2016), 615.

<sup>188</sup> S. W. Tracy, *Alcoholism in America: From Reconstruction to Prohibition* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 27.

<sup>189</sup> Yokoe, "Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain", 269.

<sup>190</sup> Yokoe, "Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain", 270.

<sup>191</sup> Yokoe, "Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain", 269.

family. This is because those comprising of the family were viewed as innocent and further, the family unit being the epitome of public morality.

The American public shared the same sentiments regarding the degradation of a moral society caused partly by the threat of alcoholism. The Americans showed ambivalent attitudes towards drunkenness as over-intoxication was either laughed at through cartoons depicting “the funny drunk” or berated for negatively influencing others around them.<sup>192</sup> Already from just prior to the turn of the 19th-century alcoholics began to be treated medically and in inebriated homes where their moral character was sought to be rehabilitated through Christian fellowship.<sup>193</sup> The rate of alcohol consumption would only increase over succeeding decades. During the mid-1960s various alcohol practice surveys were conducted. The survey findings reported that at least one drink was had by 68% of the adult population but also that 22% had never had alcohol. The survey additionally found that 12% were heavy drinkers of which men accounted for 21%.<sup>194</sup> Alcoholism was criticised for its role in the individualisation of society.<sup>195</sup>

From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were attempts made by British policymakers to educate the public on health matters. An extension of their efforts was directed towards “promoting morality and good citizenship”.<sup>196</sup> However, in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, health education was finding itself heading down a different path. There was a shift in the concept of morality and for that reason, health education began to take on a new form. Behaviours, like that of alcoholism, were now viewed as a disease, unlike previously where behaviour was seen as a method of spreading disease.<sup>197</sup>

From the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the consumption of alcohol by the British public was of concern owing to the issues it posed to “public order, danger to health and morality”<sup>198</sup> where alcoholism became known as not only a disease by medical standards but also as a disease that compromised morality. This became increasingly evident with the rise of alcohol consumption from the 1950s which invoked a response resulting in dedicated treatment units being

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<sup>192</sup> D. Cahalan & I. Cisin, “Drinking Behavior and Drinking Problems in the United States”, in *Social Aspects of Alcohol*, ed. B. Kissin & H. Begleiter (New York: Plenum Press, 1976), 80.

<sup>193</sup> Tracy, *Alcoholism in America*, 27-28.

<sup>194</sup> Cahalan & Cisin, “Drinking Behavior and Drinking Problems in the United States”, 85.

<sup>195</sup> Cahalan & Cisin, “Drinking Behavior and Drinking Problems in the United States”, 80.

<sup>196</sup> Mold, “Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk’. Alcohol, Health Education and the public in 1970s Britain’, 616-617.

<sup>197</sup> Mold, “Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk”’, 617.

<sup>198</sup> Mold, “Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk”’, 619.

established to tend to those who had succumbed to alcoholism.<sup>199</sup> Alcoholism needed to be treated because of its status as a moral scourge that threatened the integrity of the nuclear family unit.

Alcoholism in 1960s America saw more people drinking although there was no definitive increase in problem drinkers. It is uncertain that this is owing to an increase in moderate drinkers or addictive drinkers consuming larger quantities.<sup>200</sup> However, the alcoholic was still criticised for being individualistic instead of being integrated within society. Alcoholics were found mainly in areas of indifferent social environments where they showcased characteristics of self-centeredness and ignorance towards others' interests.<sup>201</sup> Alcoholism was classified as a disease with the understanding that the individual was deviant but placed responsibly on treatment to rectify the disorder as the individual could not. Treatment was pushed by the morality model to remove alcohol from society because such deviancy was the work of the devil.<sup>202</sup>

As part of a British education campaign highlighting the consequences of the overconsumption of alcohol, two posters are owed significant reference. The first poster read with the catchphrase "if you drink too much there's one part that every beer can reach" with an image depicting two universal symbols for males but the symbol on the right's tail was drooping. This poster was symbolic and expressive of the effects that alcohol has on male sexual performance.<sup>203</sup> An ode to a popular panic centred around the fear of the degradation of family. Another poster that samples this panic depicts a young female child crying with a caption that reads "eight pints of beer and four large whiskies a day aren't doing her any good".<sup>204</sup> This poster aimed to highlight the impact that drinking can have on the "innocent victim".<sup>205</sup> Both posters, overall, were printed to visually show the social impact of alcohol.

Like that of the homosexual problem,<sup>206</sup> the alcohol problem had to be treated as well. Both were viewed as a deviation from the accepted societal norm which posed a risk to the

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<sup>199</sup> Mold, "Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk", 620.

<sup>200</sup> Cahalan & Cisin, "Drinking Behavior and Drinking Problems in the United States", 79.

<sup>201</sup> Cahalan & Cisin, "Drinking Behavior and Drinking Problems in the United States", 79.

<sup>202</sup> T. P. Rouse & N. P. Unnithan, "Comparative Ideologies and Alcoholism: The Protestant and Proletarian Ethics", *Social Problems* 40 no. 2 (1993), 217-219.

<sup>203</sup> Mold, "Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk", 624.

<sup>204</sup> Mold, "Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk", 626.

<sup>205</sup> Mold, "Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk", 625.

<sup>206</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 51.

heteronormative moral structure that the British public was accustomed to. Thus, a solution to the problem was aversive treatment methods as homosexuality and alcoholism were viewed as pathological deviancies. As an extension of western society, the white Afrikaner community in South Africa had similar concerns surrounding homosexuality and alcoholism. This will be discussed later in the thesis.

### **Aversion Therapy Treatments**

Aversion therapy practices were employed with the understanding that their employment would treat behaviour disorders that were perceived as socially deviant through the introduction of aversive stimuli to condition the person's behaviour.<sup>207</sup> Under the category of socially deviant behaviour fell, homosexuality and alcoholism. Aversion therapy treatments focusing on these two pathologies spanned decades where the first recorded treatment for homosexuality stretches back to 1935 until it rose to prominence in the 1960s.<sup>208</sup> Intensive experiments and procedures centring around aversion therapy to 'cure' same-sex attraction were conducted in Czechoslovakia, Britain, and America.

#### *Homosexuality in Czechoslovakia, Britain, and America*

Between the years 1950 and 1962 aversion therapy treatments were performed on gay men in Czechoslovakia.<sup>209</sup> Experimental studies conducted in Czechoslovakia using aversion therapy for homosexuality set a precedent for future studies. With reports being published in English from 1953, these experiments were more significant and scientifically reliable than studies preceding them. The contents of the reports were owed to a significant large-scale clinical study conducted by Kurt Freund in 1950. The clinical study was coined “The Prague Experiment”. Freund’s experiment became known as “the largest, most sustained, and most methodologically advanced clinical study” that took place in post-war Europe.<sup>210</sup>

Freund conducted the study at the Charles University Psychiatric Clinic overseen by Professor Zdeněk Mysliveček and Professor Vladimír Vondráček who worked with the Institute of Sexology under the directorship of Professor Josef Hyníe.<sup>211</sup> Jan Srnec from the psychiatric clinic and Karel Nedoma, Václav Pinkava, and Vera Bezinová from the sexology institute

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<sup>207</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>208</sup> Dickinson *et al*, “Nurses and subordination: a historical study of mental nurses”, 285.

<sup>209</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 1.

<sup>210</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 6.

<sup>211</sup> E. Erbanová, “Six Decades in the Life of the Czech LGBTQ+ Community”, *Electronical Journal of Central European Studies in Japan* 6 (2021), 1.

joined Freund in his study.<sup>212</sup> For seven years between 1950 and 1957 Freund and his team treated 222 homosexual males,<sup>213</sup> of whom all scored either a 5 or a 6 on the Kinsey scale, but only 67 were treated with aversion therapy. Five years of post-treatment follow up interviews and questionnaires were conducted.<sup>214</sup>

Results from the project were first published in 1953 by Freund and Srnec. While conducting the Prague Experiment both Freund and Srnec shared the belief that homosexual tendencies were of therapeutic concern where Pavlov's theory of classical conditioning may prove to be beneficial. Furthermore, they were of the theory that the use of multiple methods would better allow for some patients to experience heterosexual desire or be able to lessen their attraction to the same sex.<sup>215</sup>

At the commencement of the experiment, a 350-question self-examination form was to be filled out by each patient. This was followed by a somatic and neurological examination. Throughout the experiment, each patient was asked to keep a diary, underwent daily group interviews, and had one on one interviews twice a week where the efficacy of the treatment was discussed.<sup>216</sup> Of the 222 patients, only one forth were there of their own free will while 8 joined the experiment to avoid military service.<sup>217</sup>

Sexologists who were involved in the Prague Experiment displayed a positive attitude towards the effectiveness of aversion therapy. They argued that their chosen approach had "therapeutic effects"<sup>218</sup> and claimed that "this deviance",<sup>219</sup> homosexuality, provided a tool for its adaption.<sup>220</sup> The experiment involved a treatment plan that unfolded in two conditioning phases, negative and positive. Negative conditioning made use of nausea-inducing drugs while positive utilised testosterone. During the first phase, emetine infused coffee or tea was given to patients and then ten minutes later they were injected with a mixture of "emetine, apomorphine, pilocarpine, and ephedrine".<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 6.

<sup>213</sup> F. K. Taylor, "Studies in Homosexuality", *British Medical Journal* 1 no. 5493 (1966), 969.

<sup>214</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 6.

<sup>215</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 7.

<sup>216</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 8.

<sup>217</sup> Taylor, "Studies in Homosexuality", 969

<sup>218</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 86.

<sup>219</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 86.

<sup>220</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 86.

<sup>221</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 8.

The concoction's purpose was to induce nausea. While the nausea-inducing concoction was setting in, patients were visually stimulated with images of male athletes, and males, either dressed in swimwear or naked during a 30 to 45 minute session. When moving into the second phase, testosterone was injected twice a day, every day, into patients while watching films that showed women in an effort to invoke a response considered normal of the typical heterosexual male.<sup>222</sup>

This initial programme lasted around 4 weeks, but the duration of treatment plans ranged anywhere from 5 months up to 22 months. After the programme, follow up consultations were done and of the 25 patients who completed the full course, only 10 achieved “predominant heterosexual activity for a period of time” and four relapsed<sup>223</sup> but there was a reported 18% of patients who had “good and enduring outcomes”.<sup>224</sup> Freund concluded that the results were “less than satisfactory” and that homosexuality was incurable.<sup>225</sup> He would later use his findings to advocate for the decriminalisation of homosexuality in Czechoslovakia.<sup>226</sup> However, in Britain, the same conclusions were not drawn from the Prague Experiment as single-case success stories and misinterpreted results were used as a basis for which to employ methods to 'cure' homosexuality.<sup>227</sup>

Homosexuality, in Britain, was considered both a pathology and, for men, a crime. The neurosis of homosexuality had long led to the discrimination of gay men in Britain from as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Such an attitude seeped into its succeeding centuries wherein contemporary British history there is evidence of social attitudes informing medical opinions involving homosexuals.<sup>228</sup> British general practitioners (GP) whose patients confided in them about their same-sex attraction were referred to NHS (National Health Scheme) professionals that specialised in homosexual treatment. One such patient recalled their GP stating that “obviously [he] can't go on living with the stress and the way [he was]”<sup>229</sup> because the GP believed homosexuality to be “wrong”, a “sickness”, and a perversity.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 8.

<sup>223</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 9.

<sup>224</sup> Taylor, “Studies in Homosexuality”, 969

<sup>225</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 87.

<sup>226</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 86.

<sup>227</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 1.

<sup>228</sup> King, & Bartlett, “British psychiatry and homosexuality”, 106.

<sup>229</sup> Smith *et al*, “Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s”, 2.

<sup>230</sup> Smith *et al*, “Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s”, 2.

At the core, aversive treatment practises were a means by which to ‘cure’ deviant behaviour, namely homosexuality. While approaches differed between chemical and electric, the treatments all stemmed from the same concept of punishing homosexual stimuli and relieving pain or nausea when in the presence of heterosexual stimuli.<sup>231</sup> This is because aversion therapists wanted patients to associate anxiety with homosexual stimuli.<sup>232</sup> Basil James, who worked at St James's Hospital in Leeds as the psychiatric unit's senior registrar in the 1960s, performed chemical aversion therapy treatments on patients at the Glenside Hospital in Bristol.<sup>233</sup> James, in 1962, treated a 40 year old homosexual male with a Kinsey score of 6. James's treatment plan consisted of using apomorphine. Feldman describes James's treatment as “more rigorous” than Freund's due to sessions being held every 2 hours.<sup>234</sup>

The homosexual male was placed in a dark single room. There was no food or drink except for the prescribed alcohol. Every two hours the man was injected with his dose of apomorphine and then given 57ml of brandy. With the onset of nausea, a piece of card which had multiple pictures of nude, or semi-nude, men pasted on it, was illuminated. With the pictures illuminated, the man was asked to point out which photographed male he found attractive and was made to recreate homosexual experiences he had with his then partner, with the photographed male. While the man imagined this fantasy, the therapist verbally reinforced it for the first two or three occasions.<sup>235</sup> Following this, with the man still feeling nauseous, a tape was played on a twice repeat every 2 hours that began with providing possible explanations as to why he was homosexual and ended with words referring to same-sex attraction as “sickening” and “nauseating”.<sup>236</sup> This treatment lasted for 30 hours.

Following the end of the treatment plan, the patient was considered to be cured but it was noted that the follow-up period after treatment was short and that the treatment itself was brief. It was further noted that the patient's heterosexual attraction depended heavily on the patient himself. It was possible that the patient may have needed a booster course.<sup>237</sup> However, chemical

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<sup>231</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 116.

<sup>232</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 66.

<sup>233</sup> C. Burn, “Leeds author searches for city men who underwent brutal ‘gay cure’ in the 1960s”, 2020, <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/leeds-author-searches-city-men-who-underwent-brutal-gay-cure-treatments-1960s-1744569>, Accessed 20 February 2022.

<sup>234</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 67.

<sup>235</sup> B. James, “Case of Homosexuality Treated by Aversion Therapy”, *British Medical Journal* 1 no. 5280 (1962), 769.

<sup>236</sup> James, “Case of Homosexuality Treated by Aversion Therapy”, 769.

<sup>237</sup> James, “Case of Homosexuality Treated by Aversion Therapy”, 769.

methods of aversion therapy came under heavy criticism and were replaced with electric shocks.<sup>238</sup>

In their 1964 study, J. G. Thorpe and E. Schmidt used electric aversive treatments on homosexual men. In their treatments, men were placed in a room with a 9-foot squared floor area covered in an electrical grid. The man in the room was made to view an image of a nude male that was illuminated by the psychologist. While viewing the image, shocks were administered about 1 second after the image came on, underfoot.<sup>239</sup> In a later study undertaken by Thorpe, Schmidt and two other colleagues, P. T. Brown, and D. Castell, they conducted individual treatments on homosexual males. One such case involved a 27-year-old male who was not overtly homosexual but had homosexual feelings. His treatment lasted for 16 sessions where the word “homosexual” was used as the aversive stimulus and the word “girlfriends” was used as the relief stimulus. The man was made to masturbate to heterosexual fantasies and by the end of his treatment, he was more responsive to heterosexual relationships.<sup>240</sup>

In America, aversion therapy treatments fell within the broader category of conversion therapy. Conversion therapy is founded on the belief that the queer community is abnormal and, therefore, their sexual orientation needs to be changed.<sup>241</sup> American conversion therapy practices date back to the late 1800s and included aversion therapy as a method of treatment to change homosexual persons into heterosexual persons. Aversive treatments employed by practitioners included nausea-inducing drugs and the subjection of patients to electric shocks.<sup>242</sup> Across America, clinics opened with the purpose of curing homosexuality through psychiatric and psychological methods despite the lack of evidence. Sexual deviancy was believed to be so perverse that onwards from the 1950s and up to the 1960s there was increased pressure placed on provincial, state, and federal governments by the public for the treatment of those partaking in non-conforming sexual practices.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, p.113.

<sup>239</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 70.

<sup>240</sup> J.G. Thorpe, E. Schmidt, P. T. Brown, and D. Castell. "Aversion-relief therapy: A new method for general application." *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 2 no. 1 (1964), 76.

<sup>241</sup> C. Mallory, T. N. T Brown & K. J. Conron, “Conversion Therapy and LGBT Youth”, *The Williams Institute, UCLA Law School* (2018), 1.

<sup>242</sup> Mallory, Brown & Conron, “Conversion Therapy and LGBT Youth”, 1.

<sup>243</sup> E. Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst: Sexual Deviancy in Postwar Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 117-118.

The pressure for homosexual treatment was further fuelled by the American Psychiatric Association's publication in the first Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders which deemed same-sex attraction as being a "sociopathic personality disturbance"<sup>244</sup> and in the second, a sexual deviation. This set forth providing a moral hierarchy of sexual activities while acting as supposed scientific evidence to support the disease model of homosexuality.<sup>245</sup>

E. J. Callahan and H. Leitenberg detail an aversion therapy procedure by use of electric shock. They state that over a 2-year period, where there were 23 referrals, 6 participants were chosen. Their participation was based on their willingness to undergo aversion therapy and there being evidence of a measurable erection on the presentation of images depicting homosexual stimuli.<sup>246</sup> Prior to the commencement of the treatment, shock levels were determined through a psychophysical scaling method. Throughout the treatment, various levels of shocks were given ranging from "pain" to "tolerance".<sup>247</sup> The participants were made to view 5 slides depicting images of homosexual acts and 2 slides depicting heterosexual acts for 2 minutes and 5 seconds per session. While viewing the slides, they were asked to imagine what it was they found sexually arousing about the person on the slide. A shock, delivered through electrodes on the participant's index and ring finger on their right hand, was administered if the participant's penile circumference exceeded 15% of full erection.<sup>248</sup>

One of the patients who underwent the treatment procedure was a 38-year-old man. He was married and depressed and had been partaking in homosexual activities for 13 years. Throughout the duration of his treatment, it was noted that homosexual fantasies had lessened while his penile circumference increased when viewing heterosexual images. 18 months after the treatment there was no report of homosexual relapse but a brief reoccurrence of depression at the threat of job loss.<sup>249</sup>

### *Alcoholism in Britain and America*

Aversion therapy treatments were not limited to treating homosexuality but were also used to treat alcoholism. J. H. Glover and P. A. McCue explain a treatment procedure that saw 48 in-

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<sup>244</sup> Baughey-Gill, "When Gay Was Not Okay with the APA", 7.

<sup>245</sup> Baughey-Gill, "When Gay Was Not Okay with the APA", 7.

<sup>246</sup> E. Callahan, & H. Leitenberg, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviation: Contingent Shock and Covert Sensitization:", *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 81 no. 1 (1973), 61.

<sup>247</sup> Callahan, & Leitenberg, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviation", 61.

<sup>248</sup> Callahan, & Leitenberg, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviation", 61-62.

<sup>249</sup> Callahan, & Leitenberg, "Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviation", 65.

patients being accepted into a programme to treat alcoholism by aversion therapy. This programme formed part of a clinical psychological service at an adult psychiatric hospital. The acceptance requirement for the programme was the need for “clear evidence of primary alcoholism in the absence of functional psychosis”.<sup>250</sup> Further criteria for acceptance required the patient to have acknowledged that they had a problem with alcohol and needed to have been treated for alcoholism in a hospital for longer than 10 days with few relapses from abstinence. Lastly, the patient needed to express their desire to stop drinking.<sup>251</sup>

Only after the patient had been hospitalised for at least 10 days, as this is when the patient would have overcome the worst of their withdrawal symptoms, did the treatment start. The treatment started with patients having a session where they received verbal motivation to complete the treatment. The motivation involved emphasizing the negative effects their drinking brought upon themselves and those around them. The negative effects mentioned highlighted the deterioration of relationships, both social and familial, difficulty with employment, and coming into trouble with the law.<sup>252</sup> When moving on to sessions that involved aversion therapy, patients were instructed to sit facing towards a coloured light while being seated midway along with a desk. At the other end of the desk, behind the patient and on the other side of the light, sat the therapist. Electrodes, through which the shock was administered, were attached to the inside of the patient’s wrist on the arm he frequently used to drink with. The shocks were administered above the patient’s pain threshold which resulted in flexion of the wrist.<sup>253</sup>

The patient was given the alcoholic beverage of their preference and instructed to take a sip and hold it in their mouth until either the light came on or they felt a shock. When the patient spat out the alcohol, into a bowl positioned on their lap, the shock would stop, or the light would be switched off. These sessions would last for 45 minutes and over the course of treatment, there was an average range of between 7 to 24 sessions. In general, sessions were given daily. Following the end of the treatment, 39 patients were reachable for follow-ups. 2

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<sup>250</sup> J. H. Glover & P. A. McCue, “Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics: A Comparative Follow-up Study”, *Brit. J. Psychiat* 130 (1977), 280.

<sup>251</sup> Glover & McCue, “Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics”, 280.

<sup>252</sup> Glover & McCue, “Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics”, 281.

<sup>253</sup> Glover & McCue, “Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics”, 281.

patients required a booster course, another was abstinent, and another was a controlled drinker. Overall, it was noted that those who were older had better post-treatment results.<sup>254</sup>

Culturally, alcoholism was met with negative attitudes as over-intoxicated individuals lost control over their inhibitions and behaviour which came into conflict with the dominant Protestant ethic. It was estimated that in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century around 8 million Americans were alcoholics, this was around 4% of the general population. Alcoholism, described by Louis W. Sullivan, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, was the “most perverse of public health problems”.<sup>255</sup> America had long sought to control the public consumption of alcohol evidenced by the prohibition introduced in 1920<sup>256</sup> and this trend of control followed into successive decades where psychiatry, psychology, and the disease model intersected to introduce aversive treatment plans.

Dale Cannon, Timothy Baker, Antonio Gino, and Peter Nathan provided 60 recruited patients with emetic aversion therapy. The patients were already at a private hospital that treated alcoholism and volunteered for this experiment. They were accepted into the treatment experiment provided they met the required criteria, such as being between the ages of 16 and 60, having no medical contradictions that would interfere with the administered emetic drugs, and never having undergone aversion therapy prior to this experiment.<sup>257</sup>

The experiment commenced at the Dallas Veterans Administration Medical Center with psychophysiological tests. These tests were done the day before patients were started with aversion therapy and the fourth day after treatment. The tests required the patients to sit in a reclining chair placed in a soundproofed room while they were made to listen to white noise through a pair of headphones. Electrodes were placed on the patients but purely to measure heart rate responses. While still wearing the headphones, patients were given 2mm samples of vodka and their preferred alcohol accompanied by a soft drink. A syringe was used to insert the liquids into the patient’s mouth and instructed to swallow.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Glover & McCue, “Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics”, 281.

<sup>255</sup> Rouse & Unnithan, “Comparative Ideologies and Alcoholism”, 213-216.

<sup>256</sup> Cahalan & Cisin, “Drinking Behavior and Drinking Problems in the United States”, 78.

<sup>257</sup> D. S. Cannon, T. B. Baker, A. Gino & P. E. Nathan, “Alcohol Aversion Therapy: Relation Between Strength of Aversion and Abstinence”, *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 54 no. 6 (1986), 826.

<sup>258</sup> Cannon, Baker, Gino & Nathan, “Alcohol Aversion Therapy”, 826.

Following on from the psychophysiological tests, were taste tests. Patients were asked to taste a variety of beverages and rate them. After these two tests, patients moved on to treatment where they were divided into two groups of emetic therapy, Regular Therapy and Smell, Swish, Spit. Both groups underwent 5 treatments each 48 hours apart with the objective of conditioning aversion to alcohol through pairing alcoholic beverages with toxicosis. At the start of each of the 20 sessions, emetine hydrochloride was given orally and intramuscularly, pilocarpine by the pyloric sphincter, and ephedrine to induce diaphoresis and mild tachycardia. Patients began drinking alcohol 5 minutes after the drugs were administered.<sup>259</sup>

Dale Cannon, Timothy Baker, and Chris Wehl, prior to the above-mentioned experiment, had conducted an experiment at the Salt Lake Veterans Administration Medical Center Alcohol Dependence Treatment Program involving 21 male alcoholics. The 21 males were assigned randomly to one of 3 groups, emetic aversion therapy, shock aversion therapy, and a non-aversive control group. The emetic group were given alcohol paired with nausea and vomiting inducing drugs for 5 sessions, the shock group were given alcohol accompanied by shocks for 10 sessions, and the control group received aversion assessment that consisted of psychophysiological and taste tests.<sup>260</sup> Treatments such as these were performed numerous times on both alcoholics and homosexuals but why were select groups of people made to change their behaviour to be in accordance with the social regulations made by other members of society?

This then begs the question, with public opinion acting as a definitive swaying mechanism in what is considered normal and acceptable, how then can we understand why the opinion of the general public influences the law and accounts for the moral foundations of society while marginalising select groups? Here, a sociological perspective is insightful in understanding social norms and the importance of a cohesive functioning society. Social norms are governed by the society which dictates the acceptability of social behaviour that leads to medical opinions and treatments being informed by public opinion, but does this then make aversion therapy practises moral and ethical?

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<sup>259</sup> Cannon, Baker, Gino & Nathan, "Alcohol Aversion Therapy", 827.

<sup>260</sup> D. S. Cannon, T. B. Baker & C. K. Wehl, "Emetic and Electric Shock Alcohol Aversion Therapy: Six -and Twelve Month Follow-Up", *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 49 no. 3 (1981), 361.

## Morality, Ethics, Society, and the Efficacy of Aversion Therapy

Society acted as a push factor that advocated for the ‘curing’ of the perceived socially deviant. This point is highlighted by the British and American States using aversion therapy methods to rectify the behaviour of homosexuals and alcoholics. It is evident here that the social norms that form a harmonious and cohesive society are dictating that there be social control.<sup>261</sup> Social control served the purpose of integrating society to ensure security and stability despite growing cultural diversity and individualism.<sup>262</sup> The foundation of social order rested on the concept of social control within a paradigm that called for “consensual understanding and social harmony”.<sup>263</sup>

Edward Ross stated that social control involved “the ascendancy over individuals on behalf of the group”<sup>264</sup> that was purposefully posited towards “harmonizing clashing interests and activities”.<sup>265</sup> Concerning Czechoslovakian, British, and American society, these clashing interests would be activities that challenged their patriarchal, heteronormative society which placed the concept of the nuclear family on a pedestal. Homosexuality and alcoholism were in direct conflict with the general interest of society due to the belief that they diverged from normality.<sup>266</sup> From as early post World War Two, the British government highlighted the importance of family, and more specifically the traditional role of family.<sup>267</sup> Both homosexuality<sup>268</sup> and alcoholism<sup>269</sup> threatened this.

Gay men were viewed as individuals who were unable to engage in long-term relationships and suffered from “phallic preoccupation”.<sup>270</sup> Alcoholics were accused of putting social and familial relationships in jeopardy<sup>271</sup> while harming the innocent.<sup>272</sup> The question of morality surrounding homosexuality and alcoholism, along with public distaste directed at these two believed pathologies, pushed the ‘socially deviant’ into seeking treatment.<sup>273</sup> Here, Ross’s

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<sup>261</sup> Deflem, “Deviance and Social Control”, 31.

<sup>262</sup> Deflem, “Deviance and Social Control”, 31.

<sup>263</sup> Deflem, “Deviance and Social Control”, 31.

<sup>264</sup> Deflem, “Deviance and Social Control”, 32.

<sup>265</sup> Deflem, “Deviance and Social Control”, 32.

<sup>266</sup> King, & Bartlett, “British psychiatry and homosexuality”, 108.

<sup>267</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

<sup>268</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 47.

<sup>269</sup> Mold, “Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk”, 619.

<sup>270</sup> King, & Bartlett, “British psychiatry and homosexuality”, 106.

<sup>271</sup> Glover & McCue, “Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics”, 281.

<sup>272</sup> Mold, “Everybody likes a drink, nobody likes a drunk”, 625.

<sup>273</sup> Smith, Bartlett, & King, “Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s”, 2.

statement of social control methods taking on the form of "public opinion, law, [and] belief" are relevant. There is a further correlation between Ross's statement, gay men opting for treatment due to public opinion, and the law with George Mead's theory that states, "self-criticism is essentially social criticism".<sup>274</sup> Does the need for social cohesion, governed by social order, necessitate practises like aversion therapy?

Aversion therapy treatments have been described as "ethically dubious"<sup>275</sup> and criticised for not being an effective treatment plan. Nathaniel McConaghy, in a discussion based on a study completed in 1975, found that homosexual patients rarely, after having undergone aversion therapy, reported having negative feelings towards homosexual stimuli. McConaghy further stated that the questions asked on patient's self-reports could lead one to conclude that treatment was successful but when carefully questioned, there was evidence of patients still experiencing attraction to homosexual stimuli.<sup>276</sup> Reporting's such as this which detail the unsuccessful nature of the treatment, are analogous to Freund's Prague Experiment findings where he reported the results to be unsatisfactory.<sup>277</sup> This result was common to many treatment studies conducted on homosexual participants by aversion therapy. Results for aversive treatments conducted on alcoholics were not overly successful either.

Peter Miller *et al* state that it's difficult to determine the efficiency of aversive methods to treat alcoholism as there are not very many experiments that have been well designed that employ the use of an adequate control group.<sup>278</sup> An experiment described in their paper compared alcoholics being treated through aversion therapy, control conditioning, and group therapy conditioning. In their discussion, Miller *et al* explain that there was no significant change in the consumption of alcohol or attitude between the three groups. They summarised that the data did not support the "conditioning explanation for the clinical success of electrical aversion therapy with alcoholics".<sup>279</sup> From this study's findings, and results from treatments performed on gay men, there is evidence supporting the narrative that such methods of behaviour modification are not always entirely successful. Despite aversion therapy's bumpy track record,

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<sup>274</sup> Deflem, "Deviance and Social Control", 32.

<sup>275</sup> King, & Bartlett, "British psychiatry and homosexuality", 107.

<sup>276</sup> M. Sangu. "Electrical Aversion Therapy", *Reference Module on Neuroscience and Psychology* (2016), 9.

<sup>277</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 86.

<sup>278</sup> P. Miller, M. Hersen, R. M. Eisler, & D. P. Hemphill, "Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics: An Analogue Study", *Behavior, Research & Therapy* 11 (1973), 491.

<sup>279</sup> Miller *et al*, "Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics: An Analogue Study", 496.

it was still used throughout various decades. Does this then mean that society's need for social control trumps ethics?

Grant Wardlaw contemplates the deeming of electric shock as being dehumanising. He notes that this is more of a philosophical moral question than a scientific one. Ultimately, Wardlaw concludes that if society defines what undesirable behaviour is and society in conjunction with the individual participating in the undesirable behaviour both reach the understanding that modification is needed, then Wardlaw states that aversion therapy is not dehumanising but instead it can be argued that it is humanising.<sup>280</sup> Kurt Baier, however, challenges this by asking the question of does aversion therapy "not interfere too much with a person's nature?"<sup>281</sup> while further bringing our attention to the motivations behind behaviour modification when he asks if these methods are employed "only to cure a patient? Or rid him of a behaviour he finds problematic? Or rid society of unwanted deviance?"<sup>282</sup>

As previously discussed, the public's opinion informed not only medical opinions<sup>283</sup> but also pushed individuals to seek treatment for their 'deviant' behaviour<sup>284</sup> owing to the belief that homosexuality, and alcoholism, were pathologies that could be 'cured'.<sup>285</sup> However, the validity of homosexuality being labelled as a mental illness has been challenged. If homosexuality was pathological, then one would be able to observe and measure it directly, but homosexual individuals do not differ from heterosexual individuals physiologically, socially, or in their ability to make decisions.<sup>286</sup> In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. Based on this, ethical objections are noted which raise the point that behaviour modification, like aversion therapy, allows for the reinforcement of prejudice and unjustifiable views on homosexuality.<sup>287</sup>

Charles Silverstein looks at social factors such as families rejecting the individual and hostilities from peers along with society's disapproval, as factors pushing people into seeking

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<sup>280</sup> G. Wardlaw, "Aversion Therapy: Technical, Ethical, and Safety Issues", 48.

<sup>281</sup> K. Baier. "The Ethics of Behaviour Modification", *Ethics* 91 no. 3 (1981), 499

<sup>282</sup> Baier. "The Ethics of Behavior Modification", 499-500.

<sup>283</sup> King, & Bartlett, "British psychiatry and homosexuality", 106.

<sup>284</sup> Smith, Bartlett, & King, "Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s", 2.

<sup>285</sup> Baier. "The Ethics of Behavior Modification", 505.

<sup>286</sup> D. C. Haldeman, "The Practice and Ethics of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy", *The Journal Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 62 no. 2 (1994), 255.

<sup>287</sup> Haldeman, "The Practice and Ethics of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy", 255.

out changing their sexual orientation.<sup>288</sup> However, Gerald Davison argues that whether or not sexuality can be changed, comes second to the question of if it should be changed.<sup>289</sup> Through methods like that of aversion therapy, it grounds the belief of homosexuality as being bad and of being a perversion.<sup>290</sup> Robert Burns argues that behaviour modification is deterministic which comes into conflict with the freedom of choice and in extension, the legal position of freedom and dignity.<sup>291</sup> Burns further states that behaviour modification has been accused of being manipulative which is “inherently wrong and inhumane”.<sup>292</sup> Although he does say that not all manipulation is bad but if manipulation is used for the interest of the manipulator and not the manipulated, then it is bad.<sup>293</sup> It can then be argued in the case of homosexuality that homosexual individuals' manipulation into seeking treatment through public opinion and medical referrals, is unethical as their treatment seeks to benefit the manipulating society and not them as the individual. The benefit to society is the ‘deviant’ individual’s conformity.

## Conclusion

Aversion therapy is a behaviour modification process that was born of classical conditioning methods theorised by the Russian psychologist Ivan Pavlov.<sup>294</sup> Aversion therapy initially used chemical methods in an attempt to rid a patient of their undesirable behaviour. Later, chemical methods would be replaced by electric shocks.<sup>295</sup> It was theorised that the patient would be conditioned, by either chemical or electric shock, to abstain from their ‘immoral’<sup>296</sup> behaviour by associating the undesired behaviour with anxiety or fear.<sup>297</sup> Homosexual men, and alcoholics, were on the receiving end of aversion therapy from as early as 1935.<sup>298</sup> Homosexuality and alcoholism were perceived to threaten the moral order of society.<sup>299</sup> With society governing the social norms, social control was enacted in order to ‘cure’ behaviours regarded as pathologies.

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<sup>288</sup> Haldeman, “The Practice and Ethics of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy”, 255.

<sup>289</sup> Haldeman, “The Practice and Ethics of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy”, 255.

<sup>290</sup> Haldeman, “The Practice and Ethics of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy”, 255.

<sup>291</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 119.

<sup>292</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 120.

<sup>293</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 121.

<sup>294</sup> Davison, “Cold War Pavlov”, 4.

<sup>295</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>296</sup> Burns, *Counselling and Therapy*, 113.

<sup>297</sup> Feldman, “Aversion Therapy for Sexual Deviations”, 66.

<sup>298</sup> Dickinson *et al*, “Nurses and subordination: a historical study of mental nurses”, 285.

<sup>299</sup> Yokoe, “Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain”, 269.

Treatment for homosexuality took place in Czechoslovakia, Britain, and America. Freund's study, called the Prague Experiment, set the precedent for future studies<sup>300</sup> as it was the largest clinical study conducted in post-war Europe.<sup>301</sup> However, the outcome of the results was not as successful as hoped for with Freund reporting that the results were unsatisfactory.<sup>302</sup> Despite the unsuccessful outcome of the overall experiment, British psychologists celebrated single case success stories and misinterpreted results.<sup>303</sup> In an attempt to maintain their social normativity, gay men were pushed into seeking out treatment either by public opinion or by law.<sup>304</sup> Public opinion held a great deal of weight in that it also influenced medical opinions.<sup>305</sup> However, gay men were not the only members of society that felt the weight of public opinion.

Alcoholics received aversive treatment as their overindulgence in alcohol put their family and social relationships in jeopardy.<sup>306</sup> The overconsumption of alcohol also caused a moral panic where the order of society was threatened.<sup>307</sup> Alcoholics were labelled as having the ability to harm the innocent and break down the family structure. As noted in the case of homosexuality, the traditional family unit was of great importance to the British public. The British public was determined to maintain a moral standard that was held for centuries which centred around the nuclear family.<sup>308</sup> Similarly, America held the same attitudes towards both homosexuality and alcoholism. Both deviancies threatened the normative moral structure of society. It went so far as to label alcoholism being the work of the devil. This determination can be argued to have gone against ethical considerations where the modification of 'deviant' behaviour was not done for the best interests of the individual, but instead for society. This was a tactic of manipulation that hindered the freedom and dignity of the 'socially deviant'.

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<sup>300</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 6.

<sup>301</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 6.

<sup>302</sup> Havelková & Oates-Indruchová, *The Politics of Gender Culture Under State Socialism*, 86.

<sup>303</sup> Davison, "Cold War Pavlov", 1.

<sup>304</sup> Smith, Bartlett, & King, 'Treatments of homosexuality in Britain since the 1950s', pp. 2.

<sup>305</sup> King, & Bartlett, "British psychiatry and homosexuality", 106.

<sup>306</sup> Glover & McCue, "Electrical Aversion Therapy with Alcoholics", 281.

<sup>307</sup> Yokoe, "Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain", 269.

<sup>308</sup> Dickinson, *Curing Queers*, 48.

## **Chapter 3 – Tracing the Construction of Social Pathologies in Twentieth-Century South Africa**

### **Introduction**

This chapter traces the construction of social pathologies throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century in South Africa. After World War Two white rule was built upon the foundations of a particular ethnic white superiority, Afrikaner Christian nationalism. Although not all of white society's views were informed by this form of superiority, a significant portion of the white minority was, particularly members of the National Party. The Afrikaners, the ethnic group of which the National Party mainly comprised of, were descendants of the Dutch colonists. The Dutch and British practised slavery in the Cape which would lead to successive years of black subjugation by a white minority.

The Dutch brought with them their strain of Christianity known as Calvinism. Calvinism would be the form of Christianity adopted by the Afrikaners. The Afrikaners became a distinct ethnic group which evolved from the Dutch. The Afrikaners comprised of members of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) who had been released from their contracts and given land to cultivate independently in the Cape. With the creation of their new ethnic identity, and the adoption of Calvinistic Christianity, the Afrikaners, also known as the Boers, wanted self-determination. This resulted in the Great Trek which saw the Boers moving away from the Cape and into interior territories that would become known as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The ethnic identity of the Afrikaners was moulded around the ideas of being distinct – racially and socially. This was to ensure white Afrikaner survival. Until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the Afrikaners felt oppressed, a sentiment instilled from their treatment by the British during the Anglo-Boer war. therefore, it was paramount for the Afrikaners to protect their identity and their control.

Racially, there was to be no interracial mixing between whites and non-whites, which coincided with the notions of moral purity. For white society to be morally pure, one not only needed to be biologically white but also needed to uphold the standards of white society which included the traditional family unit, hard work, and intelligence. Any behaviours that threatened the morality of white society were viewed as a problem. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, poor whites, white alcoholism, and white drug abuse were viewed as markers of a degrading society which brought embarrassment to the white Afrikaner community. Although notably present from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was from the 1960s that white homosexuality was viewed with a renewed

degree of disgust that accused homosexuals of deteriorating white society. Those classified as socially deviant made the state anxious because of the risk they posed to the structures that upheld white political and economic power in South Africa where they were a minority. To demonstrate these views this chapter draws on various primary and secondary sources to trace the apartheid regime's continued concerns surrounding white moral purity throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leonard Guelke, Saul Dubow, and Irving Hexman are three scholars whose work this chapter uses to trace the pre-apartheid origins of white supremacy, the maintenance of superiority throughout the apartheid regime and the role that Calvinism and the Dutch Reformed Church played in supporting Afrikaner Christian Nationalist ideologies.<sup>309</sup> Guelke posits that while it is understood that white supremacy was a fundamental principle of white social, political, and economic life during apartheid, white supremacy was a pre-existing ideology that originated from the Dutch colonial occupation of South Africa. This was an understanding of racial superiority premised on European dominance.<sup>310</sup> The ideas of racial superiority persisted throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Dubow notes that from the 1960s to the 1970s, apartheid became synonymous with a white superiority racial rule. Dubow further states that the National Party Government had anxieties over the purity of white society, especially regarding race-mixing. The State needed to protect white political, economic, and social aspects to preserve white civilisation.<sup>311</sup> Here we see the Afrikaner community employing Calvinism within their religious understandings where the Dutch Reformed Church served a highly influential role in shaping Afrikaner society.

The Afrikaner's version of Christianity displayed strains of Calvinism which migrated from the Netherlands with the Dutch settlers who arrived in the Cape in the 1600s. Calvinism was used as a distinguishing feature to differentiate between the Afrikaners and the black indigenous people. Calvinism was a social phenomenon present within Afrikaner society mythologising their settlement in South Africa. Their mythologisation stems from the parallels they drew

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<sup>309</sup> L. Guelke, "The origin of white supremacy in South Africa: An interpretation", *Social Dynamics* 15 no. 2 (1989); S. Dubow, "racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High-Apartheid South Africa", *Kronos* 41 no. 1 (2015); I. Hexham, "Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism", *African Affairs* 70 no. 315 (1980).

<sup>310</sup> Guelke, "The origin of white supremacy in South Africa", 40.

<sup>311</sup> Dubow, "racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy", 254.

between the Israelites and themselves, and other Biblical texts relating to scriptural justifications for apartheid like the Tower of Babel.<sup>312</sup>

Irving Hexman explains that about 90% of the Afrikaner community were congregational members of the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>313</sup> The Old Testament in the Bible was a mirror of their lives and they used these Biblical scriptures to support their political and economic rule over South Africa. Afrikaner Christian Nationalism played a significant role in grounding the foundations of justification for apartheid. Susan Ritner and Saul Dubow further corroborate Hexman.<sup>314</sup> Ritner states that the Dutch Reformed Church refined the ideology of apartheid and called for more distinctive definitions of separateness between races, and Dubow states that Christian Nationalism provided apartheid with a rationale that justified segregation.

The poor white problem in the early 1900s established a trend throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century of the white minority making every effort to rectify any deviations from the social norms dictated by white superiority. Robert Vosloo and Thandiwe Ntshinga explore the poor white problem in the 1930s.<sup>315</sup> Vosloo examines how the poor white problem became a social issue for Afrikaners because poor whiteism was “unnatural” as they were of European descent. The poor whites hindered societal advancement and put a strain on their family. For these reasons, something needed to be done about this problem.<sup>316</sup> Ntshinga explains that further motivation for something to be done about poor whiteism was that they served as an embarrassment to the Afrikaner community. They threatened the ideology of white supremacy by exposing its vulnerability.<sup>317</sup> And just like the poor white problem, white homosexuality, alcoholism, and drug addiction threatened to expose the weakness of white supremacy and degrade a moral white society.

In their separate works, Nicky Falkof, Thomas Brown, and Kobus du Pisani each examine the laws regarding homosexuality during the apartheid era and public opinions of white

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<sup>312</sup> J. Dobošová, “Calvinism in the Context of the Afrikaner Nationalist Ideology”, *Asian and African Studies* 18 no. 2 (2009), 306.

<sup>313</sup> Hexham, “Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism”, 195-196.

<sup>314</sup> S. Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 2 no.4 (1967); S. Dubow, “Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of ‘Race’”, *The Journal of African History* 33 no.2 (1992).

<sup>315</sup> R. Vosloo, “The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem in the wake of the first Carnegie Report (1932): Some church-historical and theological observations.” (2011); T. Ntshinga, “Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment to South African Formations of White Identity.” In *Shades of Whiteness*, ed. E. Kirkland (Boston: Brill 2016).

<sup>316</sup> Vosloo, “The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem”, 5.

<sup>317</sup> , Ntshinga, “Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment”, 66.

homosexuality.<sup>318</sup> Falkof explains that the system of apartheid maintained itself through the compliance of white society which meant that there was a set of prescribed behavioural codes and coded gender norms. White male homosexuals deviated from this, which created a moral panic.<sup>319</sup> Du Pisani states that in the 1960s the taboo of homosexuality that silenced talk of it was now broken and the public expressed their disgust towards white male same-sex relationships.<sup>320</sup>

Homosexuality was viewed as posing such a threat to the moral fibre of white society that legislation was passed to police and prohibit homosexual relationships. Brown reports on the 1969 amendments that were added to the Immorality Act where one of the laws added was the ‘men at a party clause’.<sup>321</sup> The Nationalist State needed to police social norms so that there would be “social order”. As such, in addition to their policing of white homosexuality, they also policed white alcoholism and drug abuse.

Neil Roos, in 2015, published an article on alcohol panic. Roos explores the moral panic that emerged during the early apartheid era as fears around excessive white drinking gripped both the Nationalist State and the public.<sup>322</sup> Public expression of concerns about white alcoholism are also documented in the *Rand Daily Mail* where articles were published stating that white alcoholism was an evil.<sup>323</sup> The State also expressed its concern for white alcoholism in a nationally printed pamphlet that pointed out the markers of an alcoholic while also explaining that an alcoholic can cost the company and the government money.<sup>324</sup> As with alcoholics, drug addicts were viewed in a very similar light.

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<sup>318</sup> N. Falkof, “Sex and the Devil: Homosexuality, Satanism, and Moral Panic in Late Apartheid South Africa”, *Men and Masculinities* 22 no. 2 (2019); T. Brown, “South Africa’s Gay Revolution: The Development of Gay and Lesbian Rights in South Africa’s Constitution and the Lingering Social Stigma Towards the Country’s Homosexuals”, *Elon Law Review* 6 (2014); K. du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality? Changing views on homosexuality in Afrikaner society during the 1960s”, *Historia* 57 no.2 (2012).

<sup>319</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 274.

<sup>320</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 210.

<sup>321</sup> Brown, “South Africa’s Gay Revolution”, 460; This clause will be discussed in greater detail further in the chapter.

<sup>322</sup> N. Roos, “Alcohol panic, social engineering, and some reflections on the management of whites in early apartheid society, 1948-1960”, *The Historical Journal* 58 no. 4 (2015), 1167.

<sup>323</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, “Conference on Alcoholism: Magistrate wants special courts to deal with family problems”, *Rand Daily Mail*, November 21, 1951, pg. 11 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, “Conference on Alcoholism”).

<sup>324</sup> Pamphlet by the South African National Council on Alcoholism, 1949-1987, A1132, Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Pamphlet by the South African National Council on Alcoholism).

Phumla Nkosi, Richard Devey, and Thembisa Waetjen's article explores cannabis policing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>325</sup> They state how cannabis became a criminalised substance in the early 1900s and report statistics on the weight of seized cannabis throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Drug addiction was linked to criminal activity and psychopaths.<sup>326</sup> Drug addicts were further deemed as having come from a childhood of hardship which led them into a life of moral decay which in turn started to debase white society. Drug addiction was described as a social ill with cannabis being one of the most feared of all drug substances.<sup>327</sup>

With the above mentioned, this chapter will therefore examine the construction of moral panics and deviances during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The chapter will discuss the perceived social ills of white homosexuality, alcoholism, and drug abuse and the challenges they posed to white minority rule. This will be done by examining the discourses of white superiority and Afrikaner Christian nationalism to demonstrate how the Afrikaner community attempted to maintain a superior and moral white society from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **White Superiority, Afrikaner Christian Nationalism, and the Poor White Problem**

### *White Superiority*

The notions of white superiority that existed during the rise of apartheid were not young ideas. Rather, these notions found their legacy in Dutch colonial ideology which persisted as a dominant held notion by the white minority throughout South African history from the colonial period into the apartheid era.<sup>328</sup> South Africa's history finds itself intertwined with white supremacy as a fundamental principle in the social, political, and economic spheres. With an origin located in alignment with the Dutch colonial vision, white supremacy was premised on European dominance and racial superiority.<sup>329</sup>

Within a colonial setting that was riddled with institutional racism and slavery, Dutch ideas of superiority were prevalent in their cultural and religious aspects of life which were manifested through racism and slavery. This was a result of Europeans having viewed themselves as being superior based on ideas of race. In the Cape of Good Hope, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries,

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<sup>325</sup> P. Nkosi, R. Devey, & T. Waetjen, "Cannabis policing in mid-twentieth century South Africa", *Historia* 65 no. 1 (2020).

<sup>326</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs", *Rand Daily Mail*, July 16, 1968, pg. 11 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs").

<sup>327</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs".

<sup>328</sup> Guelke, "The origin of white supremacy in South Africa", 40.

<sup>329</sup> Guelke, "The origin of white supremacy in South Africa", 40.

Dutch settlers kept slaves. Slaves were used for various tasks within the colony and even sold internally at auctions.<sup>330</sup> A slave was considered property and not a person. Therefore, this left the slave to be completely subordinate to the master.<sup>331</sup> This shows that notions of superiority started to emerge from the 1600s and grew over time.

In furthering this idea of superiority, the Dutch incorporated their religion, the Calvinistic faith, into the supremacy paradigm which aided them in achieving their social and commercial objectives.<sup>332</sup> However, it is important to note that while the Afrikaner population adopted Dutch ideas, the Dutch were not the only dominant force at play in South Africa. The British were also present as a colonial force during the same period. These notions of superiority, mixed with religion, would filter down the generations where white supremacy would be the overall power structure in South Africa, which would be entrenched and maintained through apartheid policies.<sup>333</sup>

During the apartheid regime, there was an obsession with maintaining a form of minority white rule that would ensure their political survival. The rise of apartheid was characterised by anxieties surrounding miscegenation, the contamination and degeneration of the white populace,<sup>334</sup> and these ideas would continue to hang like smog over the apartheid era. Hendrik Verwoerd, a former South African prime minister credited with being the architect of apartheid, fought for a collective white survival as European civilisation needed to be preserved, especially in terms of race. Verwoerd urged for white unity.<sup>335</sup> Partly contributing to the urge for white unity was the fact that whites in South Africa were outnumbered by non-whites by almost four to one. There was therefore, a need to keep whites pure while ensuring the survival of European heritage and culture.<sup>336</sup>

P.J. Schoeman and P.J. Coertze of the Pretoria branch of the *volkekunde*<sup>337</sup> concluded that race was inherent and linked to levels of civilisation.<sup>338</sup> White superiority was justified through

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<sup>330</sup> N. Worden and J. Armstrong, "The Slaves, 1652 – 1834", in *The Shaping of South African Society*, ed. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (Cape Town, 1990), 150.

<sup>331</sup> L. J. Greenstein, "Slave and Citizen: The South African Case", *Race* 16 no. 1, 1973, 26.

<sup>332</sup> Guelke, "The origin of white supremacy in South Africa", 40-44.

<sup>333</sup> Johnstone, "White prosperity and white supremacy in South Africa today", 124.

<sup>334</sup> Dubow, "racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy", 238.

<sup>335</sup> Dubow, "racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy", 254.

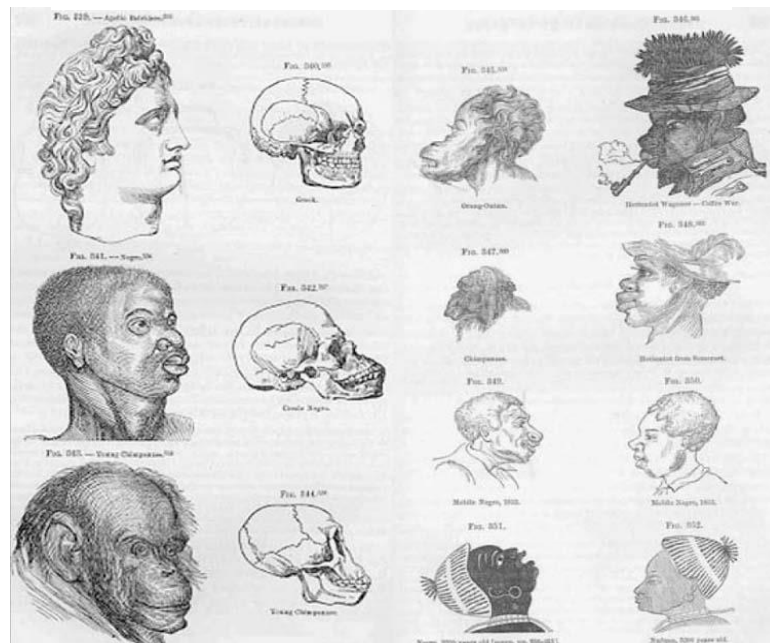
<sup>336</sup> P.T. Piotrow, "White Supremacy in South Africa", *Editorial Research Reports* 1 no. 261 (1958), 80.

<sup>337</sup> This was a form of anthropology established in the 1920s focusing on ethnography in Afrikaans medium universities. It focused on race and ideas of racial difference relating to superiority and inferiority.

<sup>338</sup> Dubow, "racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy", 257.

scientific means by emphasising innate biological characteristics. These ideas seem to echo some of the early ideas formulated by Dutch thinkers such as Petrus Camper. Camper was a Dutch physician who is often described as the grandfather of scientific racism. This was because Camper devised a facial angle chart, using crania, which classified different racial groups into those who were closest to ancient Greek statues and those who were closest to apes. Greek statues were the ideal and apes were primitive. Europeans, white people, had a facial angle that was closest to Greek statues while black people had a facial angle comparable to an orangutang.<sup>339</sup> This perpetuated binary racial ideas of superior and inferior. Depicting Campers theory, the image below acts as a visual demonstrating of his ideas.<sup>340</sup>

Fig. 3 Image Depicting Perceived Skull Differences



Source: Real Archaeology, 2017

The superiority of whiteness was entangled in racial myths that had conditioned generations for centuries. The myth of racial superiority was criticised for having no scientific basis with the idea put forth that instead race was used as a prejudice scapegoat when a group’s social cohesion felt threatened.<sup>341</sup> Dr W. Z. Conco, a University of the Witwatersrand medical

<sup>339</sup> E. M. Taniyohwo, “Photogrammetric analysis of Petrus Camper’s facial angle among adult Urhobo people”, *Anatomy Journal of Africa* 7 no. 2 (2018), 1322.

<sup>340</sup> Ktitowsky, “Phrenology and “Scientific Racism” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century”, 5 March 2017., <https://pages.vassar.edu/realarchaeology/2017/03/05/phrenology-and-scientific-racism-in-the-19th-century/>, accessed 01 December 2022.

<sup>341</sup> Typescript of racial attitudes in South Africa by Dr W.Z. Conco, 1956-1961, AD1812, RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), Historical

graduate who later joined the African National Congress's Youth League in 1950, analysed the historical background of the issues surrounding racial attitudes in South Africa. Conco deduced that reasons contributing to negative race attitudes fell within the arenas of psychology, economics, religion, and society.<sup>342</sup> Religion was a highly influential factor that permeated social concepts regarding race. This resulted in the Afrikaners adopting a Christian National form of nationalism that was interwoven into everyday life, politics, policies, and law.

### *Afrikaner Christian Nationalism*

South Africa believed itself to be a Christian country where Christian values would inform the civilisation of the society, a society that was ruled by an ostensibly more culturally mature and advanced white minority. This civilisation was informed by a moral and political order.<sup>343</sup> For the Afrikaners, explanations of human differences related to theology and culture were explained through a Christian national means.<sup>344</sup> Writing the *Student Perspectives on South Africa*, Johan Fick, echoed the National Party's sentiments when he stated that to Afrikaners, Christianity is not just applicable to religion but instead to every sphere of Afrikaner life. Christianity played a large role in shaping and promoting Afrikaner nationalism.<sup>345</sup>

To the National Party, and the general Afrikaner population, Christian meant Calvinist. Calvinistic teachings were prevalent and reoccurring features in National Party writings. The Calvinistic past of the Afrikaner people influenced Afrikaner nationalism where Afrikaner politicians used Calvinism as a source to justify apartheid policies.<sup>346</sup> However, it is important to note that not everyone was Christian and the ruling class mobilised and enforced the ideals associated with Afrikaner Christian Nationalism.

Alan Paton, who was a South African writer and anti-apartheid activist, received a letter from Mr Eerdmans, who ran an American-based Christian publishing company, in 1959 stating that the Dutch Reformed Church's theory and teachings, supported by scriptures, were a foundation

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Papers, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Typescript, Dr W.Z. Conco. REGINA VS F. ADAMS Treason trial collection, AD1812.).

<sup>342</sup> Typescript, Dr W.Z. Conco. REGINA VS F. ADAMS Treason trial collection, AD1812.

<sup>343</sup> Comments on draft evidence to vote commission, 1892-1974, AD1715, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Comments on draft evidence to vote commission, AD1715.).

<sup>344</sup> Dubow, "Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", 209.

<sup>345</sup> Hexham, "Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism", 196.

<sup>346</sup> Hexham, "Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism", 196.

upon which apartheid rested.<sup>347</sup> Mr Eerdmans statement is corroborated by a Dutch Reformed Churches conference that was held in November 1953. This conference took place at the Voortrekker Memorial Hall in Pretoria. The conference was convened by the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches. The front cover of the conference booklet read: “the application of Christian principles in our multi-racial land, with special reference to the extension of the Kingdom of God amongst the Non-European people of South Africa”.<sup>348</sup>

R. P. Y. Rouse, the archdeacon of Johannesburg at the time of the conference, wrote on some of the fundamentals of Christian principles. Rouse stated that the church was the conveyer of the word of God whose duty it was to provide a theological answer to the difficulties endured by communities. In alignment with this, Rouse further stated that Christian principles should be applied to “the conditions of our land”.<sup>349</sup> Susan Ritner explains that religion, to the Afrikaners, was a powerful influencer in shaping their values, norms, and institutions. With religion being such an influential factor in everyday life, intertwined with Calvinistic teachings, the Afrikaners viewed themselves as being God’s chosen people who were tasked with leading in matters both secular and spiritual.<sup>350</sup>

In a 1941 *Koers in die Krisis* volume, a collection of essays was compiled from Calvinist students across South Africa. One such essay titled “Calvinism and the Native Problem” outlines an argument put forth by Professor du Plessis who stated that differences in race and culture were God-willed, and that policy should reflect that. Du Plessis further stated that more advanced and superior groups should lord it over less civilised groups. Du Plessis chastised liberalism as being un-Christian and believed in the transition from “heathenism to Christianity as a cultural revolution”.<sup>351</sup> Non-whites were classified as being heathens and savages who were at different levels of civilisation as they remained stationary and primitive.

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<sup>347</sup> Letter to Alan Paton from WM. B. Eerdmans, 1959, AD1169, Alan Paton Papers, 1952-1988, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>348</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, 1953, A1132, Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132.).

<sup>349</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>350</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 17-18.

<sup>351</sup> *Koers in Krisis* essay collection, 1941, AD843, XUMA, A.B., Papers, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as *Koers in Krisis* essay collection, AD843.).

Ideas of the hierarchy of race existed long before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As previously mentioned, the Dutch played a crucial role in developing racialised ideas but the British also influenced ideas of race in South Africa. William Smellie, a Scottish physician and philosopher, wrote his book *The Philosophy of Natural History* in 1791. The book spoke of distinguishing between plants, animals, and minerals. The book classified animals and plants into hierarchal categories by assessing mental and corporeal differences between female and male animals.<sup>352</sup> With racial prejudice being prevalent during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it's not surprising that Smellie made comments on the racial hierarchy of humans.

William Smellie made the statement that mother nature herself, who formed the different species, had categorised all of them into castes and ranks without the influence of political institutions. He elaborated further on this by asking how great the “gradation ... [was] between a stupid Huron, or a Hottentot, and a profound philosopher!”.<sup>353</sup> Smellie answered this question by explaining that the distance was great. European, white, was presumed to be superior morally, mentally, and physically while black people's inferiority was likened to apes.<sup>354</sup> Here, similarities in thought can be noted between the Dutch Petrus Camper and the Scottish William Smellie. However, it was believed that growth from savagery was stimulated when in contact with more advanced races where it was possible that non-whites may reach a level of higher civilisation.<sup>355</sup>

Saul Dubow notes that notions surrounding superiority, exclusivity, and hierarchy have always been present and that the idea of human difference appears to have been accepted as a natural order of things. Dubow further explains that Europeans, motivated by white supremacy, believed that they should look at natives as a sacred trust owing to the laws of evolution promulgating that those who were non-white would not be immediately able to acquire the moral standards of Christians who had been perfecting their moral stature for generations.<sup>356</sup> As Ritner explained that the Afrikaners expressed their values through the church,<sup>357</sup> it is not surprising that Rouse would praise Christianity for being able to enrich and inspire civilisation

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<sup>352</sup> W. Smellie, *The Philosophy of Natural History* (Philadelphia: 1791), vii.

<sup>353</sup> N. Stephan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800 -1960* (London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1982), 8.

<sup>354</sup> Stephan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, 8.

<sup>355</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>356</sup> Dubow, “Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of ‘Race’”, 213.

<sup>357</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 17.

as Christianity should reflect the lives of the community that speaks on the values of the Kingdom of God.<sup>358</sup>

Writing about responsible citizenship, Dr R. E. van der Ross draws our attention to the Calvinist interpretation of theology in South Africa where he explains that the state, society, and the church were all God-instituted and God-ordained. According to Calvinism, there was no higher authority than God and the multi-racialism present in South African society was not a result of God, but instead a result of sin.<sup>359</sup> This is why it was the Christian duty of the Afrikaners to act as guardians of, and have custodianship, over non-white groups until such time that they would be able to make decisions for themselves. As non-white groups did not possess the necessary level of intelligence, it was argued that whites in South Africa should have full control of the government.<sup>360</sup>

The church started to align itself more closely with the National Party<sup>361</sup> and in a country where the generally held belief that black South Africans were 2 000 years behind in civilised development than their white counterparts,<sup>362</sup> white society, especially the Afrikaners, thought they needed to uphold their status of superiority and moral purity. White people in South Africa believed that God had given them the responsibility to rule and the responsibility to rule in a Christian manner guided by the Spirit of God.<sup>363</sup> J. D. Du Toit, a member of the *volkskongres* who gave a keynote address titled “The Religious Basis of our Race Policy”, made an argument that named God *Hammabdil* – the Great Divider. By naming God as the Great Divider, Du Toit’s argument meant that not only did God separate night and day, man and woman, and so on, but he also separated nations from one another. The Afrikaners, whose Boer ancestors trekked away from the Cape, built for themselves a nation that “exemplified God’s will”.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>359</sup> Dr R.E. van der Ross Responsible Citizenship, 1892-1974, AD1715, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Dr R.E. van der Ross Responsible Citizenship, AD1715.).

<sup>360</sup> Dubow, “Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of ‘Race’”, 216.

<sup>361</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 20.

<sup>362</sup> Speakers notes on race and intelligence, 1956-1961, AD1812, RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>363</sup> Dr R.E. van der Ross Responsible Citizenship, AD1715.

<sup>364</sup> Dubow, “Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of ‘Race’”, 217.

The Afrikaners believed themselves to be God's chosen people and as his chosen people they, as a nation group, viewed themselves as an organic collective which the Afrikaners termed the *volk*. The *volk* was a natural and pure collective that had nationalist underpinnings which found ideological justifications for white racial superiority.<sup>365</sup> However, the poor white problem in the early 1900s challenged not only the notion of white superiority but also served as an embarrassment to the Afrikaner community. It was commonly known that white inhabitants of South Africa enjoyed a higher standard of living compared to the indigenous population. Out of a total of 2 million white people, 300 000 in the early 1900s were considered to be poor which resulted in the demoralisation of the white population.<sup>366</sup> This threatened social cohesion, and social order, which had a destabilising effect that led Afrikaners to believe that their moral purity, and superiority, were no longer being held to a high standard.

### *The Poor White Problem*

The poor white problem was a pressing political matter for the Afrikaners around the 1930s that became a part of the national agenda.<sup>367</sup> In South Africa, whiteness was always perceived as being synonymous with enlightenment, which spurred the belief in white dominance. Poor whites jeopardised white supremacy discourses as they exposed the vulnerability of whiteness. The poor whites challenged and embarrassed the cultural formations of white South African identity.<sup>368</sup> In Volume 2 of the Poor White Problem equated poor whites to "church mice".<sup>369</sup> Traditionally, the idiom "as poor as a church mouse" was used to describe people who were of extreme poverty.<sup>370</sup> The label "Poor White" was given to white people who were poor in both material possession and personal development, with the implication that poor whiteism was unnatural due to them being of European descent.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> Dubow, "Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", 220.

<sup>366</sup> Pretoria Correspondent, "The "Poor White Problem" in South Africa", *The British Medical Journal* (1933), 296.

<sup>367</sup> Vosloo, "The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem", 3.

<sup>368</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 66.

<sup>369</sup> Report on the poor white problem vol. 2 in *Social Problem*, 1933, AD2533, South African Institute of Race Relations, Collection of publications, 1932-1979, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>370</sup> Anon, "Be as poor as a church mouse", n.d., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/be-as-poor-as-a-church-mouse>, Accessed 03 May 2022.

<sup>371</sup> R. Vosloo, "The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem", 4.

Poor whiteism seemed to undermine Afrikaner Christian nationalism which was premised on the belief that as the first European settlers in the “Southern corner of the Darkest Africa”<sup>372</sup> God had ordained them to bring the word of God to the “heathens”<sup>373</sup> of the continent. Whites viewed themselves as having been bestowed with responsibility and privilege.<sup>374</sup> Anxieties surrounding Afrikaner identity already existed through the potential possibility of race mixture<sup>375</sup> as the church was opposed to interracial relations between white and black people because social equality between races was not permitted.<sup>376</sup> Furthering these anxieties was the impact of the poor whites on the Afrikanerdom, therefore, igniting the Afrikaner drive for self-preservation.<sup>377</sup>

Reverend P. van Heerden, the chairperson and moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State, stated that the poor whites hindered the prosperity of other whites and that they needed to be saved for both their families and the people.<sup>378</sup> Poor whiteism had been a problem since the mid-1800s but persisted into the first half of the 1900s. Traveller and writer's accounts from the 1850s labelled poor whites as being dirty, ignorant, and not aiding in white progress. From the 1890s, the poor whites were accused of being a threat to social order as poor white children were viewed as simple and worthless due to an inadequate upbringing and education.<sup>379</sup>

Moreover, the mental attitude of the poor white was undesirable, which stagnated the opportunity for improvements in conditions. The plight of the poor whites was pressing but ultimately they were viewed as being the weaker segment of the white population.<sup>380</sup> A moral panic emerged as a result of poor whiteism. Afrikaner nationalism, intertwined with white supremacy, deemed poor whites as a threat to the racial hierarchy established by the State and the Dutch Reformed Church. The presence of poor whites engendered the social order of the white community, it was viewed as the degradation of whiteness.<sup>381</sup> D. F. Malan, the first

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<sup>372</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>373</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>374</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>375</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 23.

<sup>376</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leader's programme, A1132

<sup>377</sup> Ritner, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 23-24.

<sup>378</sup> Vosloo, “The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem”, 5.

<sup>379</sup> Ntshinga, “Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment”, 67.

<sup>380</sup> Report on the poor white problem vol. 3 in *Social Problems*, 1934, AD2533, South African Institute of Race Relations, Collection of publications, 1932-1979, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>381</sup> Ntshinga, “Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment”, 68.

apartheid prime minister, condemned poor whites as being “beyond the gospel for months and years”.<sup>382</sup> In line with such views, this was a social ill that needed to be cured.

One hundred and nine solutions were accepted by the *volkskongres* with resolutions being introduced. There was also a plea put forth that asked for financial contributions from South Africans. Furthermore, the church was named as being an influential factor in moral upliftment that became more involved with caring for the poor.<sup>383</sup> This is because the church had a responsibility to care for its congregational members.<sup>384</sup> Such measures were put in place following the findings of the Carnegie Commission Report. This was a report that conducted research into white South African poverty between 1927 and 1932 and sought to establish the causes of this social ill and how it could be remedied. The report used scientific and sociological methods to examine the economic, health, psychological, and sociological aspects of poor whiteism.<sup>385</sup>

To further combat poor whiteism, there was a call for the upliftment of the poor whites so that they were not of the same levels of depravity as the natives. This was to be done by providing employment opportunities and segregated living areas, which would help to transform poor whites into a socially acceptable population group.<sup>386</sup> Following the Carnegie Commissions Report, the Dutch Reformed Church held a series of conferences across the country where they deliberated on the poor white problem and explained solutions to the moral dilemma it posed.<sup>387</sup>

The Afrikaner population drew their superiority from their own perceptions of white exceptionalism which made them to believe they more culturally mature<sup>388</sup> agents of God working through the church.<sup>389</sup> For the poor whites to be accepted socially, they needed to be rehabilitated in social, racial, moral, and sexual aspects. These measures were necessary as the poor whites needed to be purified morally because they endangered white society through the polluting of their morals. The poor white threatened the social order by risking the degeneration of social cohesion and the family.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>382</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 69.

<sup>383</sup> Vosloo, "The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem", 13.

<sup>384</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leader's programme, A1132.

<sup>385</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 69.

<sup>386</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 70.

<sup>387</sup> Vosloo, "The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem", 13.

<sup>388</sup> Comments on draft evidence to vote commission, AD1715.

<sup>389</sup> Dutch Reformed Church conference of church leaders programme, A1132

<sup>390</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 70.

With the church playing such a significant role in the everyday lives of Afrikaners, it was evident that the morals of the Afrikaner population were reflective of the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>391</sup> To the Dutch Reformed Church, the family was accepted as the basic social unit on sociological, biological, and theological grounds.<sup>392</sup> High quality family life was viewed as being essential for the community. Christians were implored to improve and safeguard family life.<sup>393</sup> The poor whites were viewed as being in opposition to these sentiments because of the Dutch Reformed Churches' eugenic rhetoric. The church maintained that structural factors influencing white poverty were hereditary along with subpar intellectual standards that threatened the greater white society as the poor whites had high fertility rates.<sup>394</sup>

The heteronormative and highly patriarchal nature of the Afrikaner community, fuelled by religious scriptures, placed social cohesion, morality, and the family on a pedestal. Any threat to this was to be dealt with and remedied. The poor whites of the early 1900s served as an example of attempts by the white Afrikaner community to protect and safeguard the fragility of white supremacy. The poor whites threatened family, community morality, and undermined the assumption of white excellence, hence the measures that were put in place to cure this social ill of white poverty. However, dealing with white poverty was not an isolated preoccupation in South African history, homosexuality posed the same challenges as white poverty did.

## **The Social Structure of Apartheid and Views on Homosexuality during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

### *The Social Structure of Apartheid and Laws on Homosexuality*

Calvinism was intertwined with Afrikaner nationalism which helped solidify the Afrikaner identity of the *volk* and their identity in relation to the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>395</sup> With nationalism set within a Christian context, a human being ceased to be an individual and was deemed to be part of a collective, organic, social unit. Nico Diederich, who wrote a pamphlet on nationalism, argued that a nation is comprised of social beings united by God while refuting the notion of human individuality.<sup>396</sup> This is because to the Afrikaner the church was used as a vessel through which their values and customs were established and expressed. Religion was

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<sup>391</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 70.

<sup>392</sup> Dr R.E. van der Ross Responsible Citizenship, AD1715.

<sup>393</sup> Christian council of South Africa, findings of the Fort Hare conference, 1942, AD1715, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Christian council of South Africa, AD1715).

<sup>394</sup> Ntshinga, "Poor Whites: A Threat, Challenge and Embarrassment", 70

<sup>395</sup> Vosloo, "The Dutch Reformed Church and the poor white problem", 14.

<sup>396</sup> Dubow, "Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of 'Race'", 214-221.

a powerful influencer that shaped Afrikaner's values, norms, and institutions.<sup>397</sup> Homosexuality was a deviation from these norms.

Apartheid was structured around rigid ideas of traditionalism and conservatism. This was a structural system maintained through military force, racial, and religious ideologies which prescribed a set of behavioural codes for its white society members for whom this structure served. The white South African populace was expected to behave in a gender-appropriate way that was in alignment with the church.<sup>398</sup> Monogamy, heterosexuality, and the nuclear family, were commonly praised as being the cornerstones upon which a prosperous South Africa should be built. These building blocks meant security for white society.<sup>399</sup>

One of the National Party's main objectives was to keep the white population pure and they attempted to do this by imposing strong values on heterosexuality, heterosexual relationships, marriage, reproduction, and family life. There was also the imposition of strict racial laws and social deterrents around procreation to maintain purity.<sup>400</sup> As Glen Elder states, the architecture of apartheid was moulded around the body, the body that was coded in heteronormative ideals that the State laid its racial policies upon. One could argue that the State moulded its racial policies more specifically around the white male body. This argument rests on the views of feminist scholars who argue that racial hierarchies were dependent on patriarchal divisions of society; and we can see that all bodies under the apartheid regime were subject to some form of sexual anxiety and scrutiny.<sup>401</sup>

Apartheid rested on hegemonic masculinity whereby the practice of socially appropriate gender roles, especially regarding white males, legitimised on patriarchal norms. This was owing to the idealisation of the white Calvinist male who was expected to be financially secure, in peak physical condition, and be historically aligned with "violence, racism, domination and control".<sup>402</sup> The ideology of Afrikaner Calvinism and Christian Nationalism placed great emphasis on masculinity, particularly heteronormative masculinity, morality, and sexual

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<sup>397</sup> Ritner, "The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid", 17.

<sup>398</sup> Falkof, "Sex and the Devil", 274.

<sup>399</sup> S.E. Duff, "' Facts about Ourselves': Negotiating Sexual Knowledge in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa", *Kronos* 41 no.1 (2015), 216.

<sup>400</sup> Brown, "South Africa's Gay Revolution", 456.

<sup>401</sup> G.S. Elder, "The South African Body Politic: Space, Race, and Heterosexuality", in *Places Through the Body*, ed. H.J. Nast & S. Pile (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 115-116.

<sup>402</sup> Falkof, "Sex and the Devil", 274.

purity.<sup>403</sup> Maintaining these ideals meant maintaining white power. The superiority of whiteness rested on the purity of the white populace in conjunction with white masculinity as an imperative factor legitimising the apartheid regime and the white hold on power.<sup>404</sup> Homosexuals, in particular white homosexuals, were perceived as weakening white morals and therefore weakening white political power.

Heteronormativity and white purity were heavily policed by the National Party. From the establishment of the apartheid regime, white social structures were dictated by the National Party. In 1949 the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act No. 55 was gazetted. This Act forbade marriage between a white person and a black person. If a white person and a black person were married by a marriage officer, the marriage was considered invalid.<sup>405</sup> Great emphasis was placed on the heterosexual white family unit.

White homosexuals, a threat to the ideals of white patriarchy, were accused of being a threat to the apartheid political ideology.<sup>406</sup> However, homosexuality was long discriminated against before the apartheid regime officially came into power in 1948. Legislation criminalising sodomy, and unnatural sexual acts, was enacted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Boers trekked away from the Cape Colony in the 1830s clutching Roman-Dutch common law. According to Roman-Dutch common law punishment for sodomy and unnatural sexual acts included execution by hanging, followed by the immediate burning of the body.<sup>407</sup> Attitudes like these towards homosexuality persisted into later centuries wherein the 20th-century white male homosexual activity was regulated,<sup>408</sup> with sodomy being believed to be the most “outrageous crime against flesh”.<sup>409</sup> Although there existed a distaste towards homosexuality prior to and during the early decades of apartheid, as evidenced through unchanged sodomy laws that date from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, laws fixated on homosexuality came into effect more prominently after

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<sup>403</sup> B.M. Müller, “Under Priscilla’s Eyes: state violence against South Africa’s queer community during and after apartheid”, *Image and Text* 33 (2019), 5-10.

<sup>404</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 274.

<sup>405</sup> Union of South Africa, *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act No. 55 of 1949*, South Africa: Government printer, 1949.

<sup>406</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 274.

<sup>407</sup> K. Botha & E. Cameron, “Chapter 1: South Africa”, in *Sociolegal Control of Homosexuality: A Multi Nation Comparison*, ed. D.J. West & R. Green (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), p. 5.

<sup>408</sup> Elder, “The South African Body Politic”, 116.

<sup>409</sup> K. Botha & E. Cameron, “Chapter 1: South Africa”, 6.

a gay party was raided in the 1960s.<sup>410</sup> The Forest Town Raid will be discussed later in this chapter.

In March 1967 P. C. Pelsler, the Minister of Justice, proposed new legislation to the House of Assembly urging them to introduce new anti-homosexual laws. This was because he feared that if homosexuality was left to its own devices, it could be the fall of South African civilisation.<sup>411</sup> Pelsler viewed homosexuality as a sign of moral decay which was telling of a conservative Afrikaner perspective. Draft legislation was drawn up to form part of the Immorality Amendment Bill in 1968. A clause in the draft legislation effectively criminalising homosexual acts for both men and women by outlawing “unlawful, indecent, and unnatural deeds by persons of the same sex”.<sup>412</sup> However, the Department of Justice did not pass the draft amendment but instead commissioned a select committee to investigate homosexuality.<sup>413</sup>

The select committee consisted of nine all white, all male members but not all were Afrikaner and the committee asked the public to submit evidence as well. Between February and June 1968, the select committee met fifteen times to determine whether homosexuality was a true threat to South African society and its youth. Following evidence gathered from psychiatrists, medical experts, government departments, and eight homosexual persons, the committee arrived at the conclusion that the view that homosexuality was a threat to society’s morality was unfactual.<sup>414</sup> However, in March 1969, three new amendments were added to the Immorality Act.

The amendments changed the laws so that a) the age of consent for males was no longer 16 but now 19, b) any object or article with intentions to be used for unnatural sexual acts was criminalised for both use and manufacture, and c) the “men at the party” clause which criminalised two males, at parties, participating in any activity that would result in sexual gratification. A party was defined as two or more people being in attendance.<sup>415</sup> There was discussion around the option of treating homosexuality as a medical issue rather than a criminal

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<sup>410</sup> Brown, “South Africa’s Gay Revolution”, 458.

<sup>411</sup> Brown, “South Africa’s Gay Revolution”, 459.

<sup>412</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 194.

<sup>413</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 277.

<sup>414</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 196-198.

<sup>415</sup> Brown, “South Africa’s Gay Revolution”, 460.

one as homosexuality was widely perceived as a mental illness. Homosexuality was determined to be more of a moral issue than a criminal one.<sup>416</sup>

### *Public Views on Homosexuality*

Concerns around sexual purity and family were subjects of priority from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1934 the Johannesburg Public Health Department in association with the Red Cross led published “Facts about Ourselves for Growing Boys and Girls”. The slimly illustrated pamphlet was written by a school teacher, R. P. H. West, so that young white readers could become knowledgeable about sex and sexual reproduction.<sup>417</sup> The nuclear family unit was emphasised as being of particular importance to white society. The family was the cornerstone of white patriarchal society.<sup>418</sup> West’s pamphlet detailed to white readers from an early age that in order to secure the future prosperity of South Africa, there needed to be strong, stable, monogamous, married nuclear family units.<sup>419</sup>

From the 1920s, there developed a white middle-class gay urban subculture within South African cities that was still evident in the 1930s when homophobic attitudes became apparent by the general public. Shortly after this, moral panic ensued due to news of a Johannesburg based organised male prostitute ring. This shook members of the white community as they believed homosexuality would infect and corrupt the youth.<sup>420</sup>

White male homosexuals were misconstrued as being predatory as they were often spoken of as being involved in child molestation and acts of paedophilia.<sup>421</sup> In addition, white gay men were also likened to communists. Communism was viewed as a major threat to white society.<sup>422</sup> By associating white gay men with child molesters and communists, there was a perceived persona created around white homosexual men that infiltrated the psyche of white society. There was a general belief that white gay men threatened the social hygiene of the white population.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>416</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 199.

<sup>417</sup> Duff, ““ Facts about Ourselves””, 215.

<sup>418</sup> Elder, “The South African Body Politic”, 114.

<sup>419</sup> Duff, ““ Facts about Ourselves””, 216.

<sup>420</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 183.

<sup>421</sup> Brown, “South Africa’s Gay Revolution”, 459.

<sup>422</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 274.

<sup>423</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 275.

Within white society, there was a focus placed on the physical and moral well-being of the nation which translated into policing sexual norms and directing South African youth towards heterosexual monogamous marriages.<sup>424</sup> While the latter occurred, homosexuality within Afrikaner communities was considered taboo to the point where there was a denial of its existence.<sup>425</sup> The apartheid State regularly censored literature mentioning or describing homosexuality. This was done by the Publications Control Board under the justification that such media was not only offensive but also harmful to public morality.<sup>426</sup> The apartheid State was putting measures in place that would safeguard culture, morality, and Afrikaner economic interests.<sup>427</sup>

Until the 1960s, white homosexual males were seldom acknowledged in public discourses.<sup>428</sup> This was largely owing to homosexual practices being unspoken of as it was a social taboo. However, when homosexuality was mentioned it was often in negative circumstances where it was stereotyped as sinful and unnatural.<sup>429</sup> However, following a police raid in Forest Town, Johannesburg, in 1966, the topic of homosexuality started to occupy more public discourse. This was because after the raid white male homosexuality could no longer be ignored as the State was becoming increasingly concerned about behaviours risking racial and national purity.<sup>430</sup>

This infamous raid has come to be commonly known as the Forest Town Raid.<sup>431</sup> Police reported that this was an unprecedented party with over 300 homosexuals in attendance. For the duration of the party, males were dancing with other males, kissing and cuddling males in a manner described as being vulgar, and engaging in indecent acts, according to witness accounts. The police stated that what they saw “filled even the hardened members of the Criminal Investigation Department with disgust and revulsion”.<sup>432</sup> The National Party attempted with great earnestness to code, name, describe, and explain homosexuality within a

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<sup>424</sup> Duff, “‘ Facts about Ourselves’”, 217.

<sup>425</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 184.

<sup>426</sup> Botha & Cameron, “Chapter 1: South Africa”, 20.

<sup>427</sup> Elder, “The South African Body Politic”, 118.

<sup>428</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 277.

<sup>429</sup> du Pisani, “Shifting sexual morality?”, 184.

<sup>430</sup> Falkof, “Sex and the Devil”, 277.

<sup>431</sup> Müller, “Under Priscilla’s Eyes”, 5.

<sup>432</sup> K. Botha & E. Cameron, “Chapter 1: South Africa”, 21.

city setting because they perceived it as being a threat to South Africa. Why was it that homosexuality posed such a threat to the political build of apartheid?<sup>433</sup>

The police believed that homosexuality posed a threat to public morality. Police Major van Zyl described homosexuality as being a "deviation from the norm" and that it posed a "threat to the maintenance of law and order".<sup>434</sup> Kobus Du Pisani explains that white gay men were labelled as sick and sinners whose relationships were deemed as deviant.<sup>435</sup> Labelling homosexuals as sinners illustrated the influence of religion in white society. Within colonial society, it was common for religion and race to impact attitudes surrounding sexuality. The Afrikaner population exhibited a narrow-minded conservative religious outlook that took a literal understanding of Bible verses.<sup>436</sup>

Homosexuality was chastised as impeding good citizenship and causing social decay<sup>437</sup> as it was believed that same-sex relationships among white males undermined and corrupted society's moral values, and was classified as a sexual deviance unfit for Christian society.<sup>438</sup> As a precautionary measure to protect white society, the Nationalist State sought to regulate activities that took place in private by launching a witch hunt on white homosexual males.<sup>439</sup>

Not only did white homosexuality challenge heterosexuality, but it also jeopardised hegemonic masculinity and white supremacy as it ostensibly weakened the fabric of white society.<sup>440</sup> This resulted in a panic that threatened heterosexual males and heterosexual structures of masculinity.<sup>441</sup> This is evidenced by the select parliamentary committee's report where the following was stated:

Every homosexual makes it his business to recruit as many homosexuals as possible.

In other words, their task is to increase the number of homosexuals. We know that most

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<sup>433</sup> Elder, "The South African Body Politic", 118.

<sup>434</sup> K. Botha & E. Cameron, "Chapter 1: South Africa", 21.

<sup>435</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 186.

<sup>436</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 186.

<sup>437</sup> Falkof, "Sex and the Devil", 278.

<sup>438</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 186.

<sup>439</sup> Elder, "The South African Body Politic", 118.

<sup>440</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 188.

<sup>441</sup> K. Botha & E. Cameron, "Chapter 1: South Africa", 23.

homosexuals are born that way, but it is also known that many of them become that way through indoctrination by other homosexuals.<sup>442</sup>

Heterosexual masculinity was the societal norm, especially in white Afrikaner communities. Homosexuality was berated for endangering the nation (*volksgevaar*) as well as threatening society's gender norms.<sup>443</sup> Falkof suggests that "homosexuality was treated as an aberration within white popular culture".<sup>444</sup> The public classification of homosexuality as an aberration is evident in the letters from the public that were published in *Die Burger*. *Die Burger* was an Afrikaner newspaper that, in 1968, labelled a column so that public views on homosexuality could be debated following the select committee's investigation into homosexuality.<sup>445</sup>

It is important to preface that homosexuality was believed to have been deep-rooted in South African society, particularly in the larger cities where it was increasingly becoming a sore point for the ruling elite.<sup>446</sup> Therefore, public letters expressing disdain towards homosexuality were not surprising. One letter argued that homosexuality should not be discussed in decent company and that it was sinful.<sup>447</sup> Another letter likened homosexuality to heathenism and that it should be seen as a sin belonging to the Middle Ages and not in modern-day society.<sup>448</sup> Furthering their point, they compared homosexuality to Bantu tribes and people of the Near and Far East.<sup>449</sup> Interestingly, this comparison coincides with the ideology of white supremacy. Where an act, race, practice etcetera that does not align with the values of white superiority and challenges its power, it is othered.<sup>450</sup>

People tend to fear what they do not understand. The public did not comprehend same-sex relationships and therefore loathed them. During the 1960s, homosexuality ceased to be a taboo and emerged as a target of public scrutiny and police harassment. Beginning with the Forest Town Raid, police in the 1960s started raiding private residences, queer bars and nightclubs, as well as queer-friendly spaces.<sup>451</sup> The Forest Town Raid signified a turn in South African

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<sup>442</sup> Elder, "The South African Body Politic", 119.

<sup>443</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 192.

<sup>444</sup> Falkof, "Sex and the Devil", 278.

<sup>445</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 209.

<sup>446</sup> Elder, "The South African Body Politic", 119.

<sup>447</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 210.

<sup>448</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 210.

<sup>449</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 210.

<sup>450</sup> du Pisani, "Shifting sexual morality?", 210.

<sup>451</sup> Müller, "Under Priscilla's Eyes", 5.

homosexual history in that homosexuality could no longer be ignored, which resulted in public pressure for something to be done about the supposed homosexual problem.<sup>452</sup>

Following police raids of queer-friendly spaces, homosexual males were made to line up against a wall where police would take photos of their faces. An instance of this occurring took place at The New Mandy's nightclub. Here, patrons were manhandled by police and locked in the building until morning in addition to being verbally abused and photographed.<sup>453</sup> Fear was instilled within the gay community by their photographs being taken as there was a possibility that they may be 'outed' in the newspapers in the coming days and their sexual purviews would be accessible information to both family members and employers.<sup>454</sup>

The Nationalist Party government created a social climate in which homosexual men lived in fear. In addition to police photographing gay men, police also invited the press to document their raids. Possible fallout from this type of treatment could have resulted in white homosexual men losing their jobs, being evicted, and being subjected to alienation and social stigmatisation.<sup>455</sup> Such social alienation and stigmatisation were born from a conservative Calvinist religious worldview intertwined with upholding, and maintaining, the myth of white superiority.

As far as white society was concerned, gay white men were criminals. Gay men were thought to be excessive drinkers who strayed from religion and the church, while also forming drug habits. This meant that homosexual men were physically and spiritually weak, resulting in them being unproductive members of society. The harsh attitudes surrounding homosexuality went as far as describing it as an infection that was spreading, not only within white urban centres, but spreading across racial lines.<sup>456</sup> Homosexuality seemed to challenge these state-defined racial constructions.<sup>457</sup> The Nationalist State did not condone the mixing between social classes, urban culture, and especially race. This meant that the apartheid State placed a strong emphasis on keeping white society pure which therefore meant no mixing with black people and no endorsing of homosexuals. Interracial mixing and homosexuality degraded a pure white

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<sup>452</sup> Falkof, "Sex and the Devil", 277.

<sup>453</sup> Müller, "Under Priscilla's Eyes", 5.

<sup>454</sup> Müller, "Under Priscilla's Eyes", 5.

<sup>455</sup> Müller, "Under Priscilla's Eyes", 5.

<sup>456</sup> K. Botha & E. Cameron, "Chapter 1: South Africa", 24.

<sup>457</sup> Elder, "The South African Body Politic", 120.

heteronormative patriarchal society,<sup>458</sup> while also threatening Afrikaner males' access to power.<sup>459</sup>

Power is a powerful motivator in pushing those in ruling positions to maintain their positions. For the Afrikaner people, this meant maintaining their supposedly morally pure society structured around the values of reproduction and family life. Homosexuality challenged the status quo and risked shredding apartheid's moral fabric. This attitude was the latest in a genealogy of similar concerns about racial degeneration as highlighted by the poor white problem of the 1930s. In addition to the threat caused by homosexuality, white alcoholism, and drug addiction were other concerns within apartheid society.

## **Concerns about Alcoholism and Drug addiction Among Whites**

### *White Alcoholism*

From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century alcohol and drug abuse, like homosexuality, were perceived as degrading moral values held by the public and the State. Geoffrey Cronje, a sociologist at the University of Pretoria in the 1950s, drove the alcohol panic in mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century South African society.<sup>460</sup> Cronje was a part of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. His writings widely influenced the apartheid doctrine.<sup>461</sup>

White society was terrified by the prospect of whites abusing alcohol.<sup>462</sup> A conference on alcoholism convened in late November 1951. At the conference, it was suggested by the Commissioner of Child Welfare, Mr F. Harvey, that in the larger cities there should be separate magistrate courts set up to deal specifically with matters of the family and matters of the family relating to alcoholism.<sup>463</sup> This was because white alcoholism was a sign of moral distress in white society that posed a risk to the cultural bonds that held apartheid society while also proving to be useless to the State.<sup>464</sup>

In an undated pamphlet released by the South African National Council on Alcoholism in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is a section titled "ALCOHOLISM – Man and Profit Destroyer"

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<sup>458</sup> Brown, "South Africa's Gay Revolution", 456.

<sup>459</sup> Elder, "The South African Body Politic", 120.

<sup>460</sup> Roos, "Alcohol panic", 1167.

<sup>461</sup> J. M. Coetzee, "The mind of apartheid: Geoffrey Cronje (1907-)", *Social Dynamics* 17 no. 1 (1991), 3.

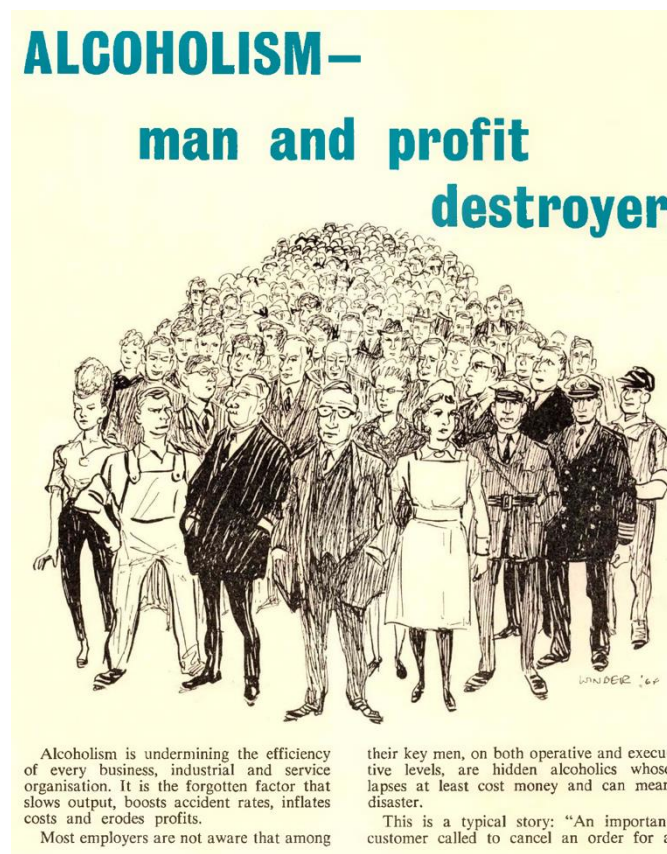
<sup>462</sup> Roos, "Alcohol panic", 1167.

<sup>463</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Conference on Alcoholism".

<sup>464</sup> Roos, "Alcohol panic", 1168-1175.

(pictured below – Fig. 4). This section detailed how “hidden alcoholics” within companies were costing the company profit and increasing costs due to mistakes being made. The section further stated that alcoholics were undermining the efficacy of business, the public services sector, and industry.<sup>465</sup> In 1964, the *Journal of South African Road Safety Council* published an issue detailing facts about alcohol.<sup>466</sup> The issue dealt with certain myths about alcohol such as the belief that taking a shot of whiskey when cold has the potential to warm someone up. The issue also compared the drinking and driving habits of the Swedish to South Africans. The Swedish were said to be very strict with their alcohol laws, and if one was caught drinking and driving they would either be fined or imprisoned.

Fig. 4 Excerpt from an Alcoholics Anonymous Booklet



Source: Alcoholics Anonymous Booklet, no date

In 1951 Dr Gordon Key, the superintendent of the Cape’s Valkenberg Hospital, made the recommendation of restricting the sale of spirits and only making light beers and natural wines available for sale. He felt that this would help to ease the problem of alcoholism which would

<sup>465</sup> Pamphlet by the South African National Council on Alcoholism, A1132.

<sup>466</sup> *Journal of South African Road Safety Council* on facts about alcohol, 1964, A1132, Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

then eventually fade away.<sup>467</sup> The National Committee on Alcoholism's 1951 conference established a permanent representative Committee on Alcoholism in the hope that the nation's alcohol problems would improve. Following the conference, the committee decided that alcoholics should be rehabilitated through community-based programmes, in addition to regulations that still need to be formulated.<sup>468</sup>

In 1961, an amendment to the Liquor Act made it clear that the control and restriction of alcohol were inevitable due to the complex nature of modern societal structures and the economic system.<sup>469</sup> Alcoholism was seen as a grave evil that threatened social structures.<sup>470</sup> In an effort to curb the sale of alcohol in order to limit overindulgence by some, establishments selling liquor had to obtain a permit. In an urban area, for every one thousand male voters, only one liquor licence was granted, and not more than 3 gallons of liquor were to be sold to any person at once.<sup>471</sup> Alcohol was not only an individual health problem but also a societal one.<sup>472</sup>

In August 1973, the *Rand Daily Mail*, a popular South African newspaper, ran an article with a bold headline in bold reading **"Are you an alcoholic?"**. The article asked several additional questions such as "do you lose time from work due to drinking?" and "do you drink alone?", of which if a person answered "yes" to three or more questions than the article diagnosed them as "definitely an alcoholic".<sup>473</sup> Between the years 1938 and 1956, the consumption of spirits by whites nearly tripled, while from 1930 the consumption of wine had steadily increased.<sup>474</sup> With an increase in drinking by the white community, Cronje a sociology academic, was concerned that this would result in anti-social behaviour that would degrade the *volk*. The individual could not exist outside the nation but could only exist within the nation.<sup>475</sup>

Alcoholics were said to be everywhere, even in the corporate world with executives being at a higher risk of increased drinking. An alcoholic person was deemed to be sick as thier drinking

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<sup>467</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Conference on Alcoholism".

<sup>468</sup> Roos, "Alcohol panic", 1186.

<sup>469</sup> Address delivered on aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor by J.A.H. Van Niekerk, 1962, A1132, Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Address delivered on aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor, A1132.).

<sup>470</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Conference on Alcoholism".

<sup>471</sup> Address delivered on aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor, A1132

<sup>472</sup> Roos, "Alcohol panic", 1186.

<sup>473</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Are you an Alcoholic?", *Rand Daily Mail*, August 23, 1973, pg. 7 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "Are you an Alcoholic?").

<sup>474</sup> Address delivered on aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor, A1132

<sup>475</sup> Roos, "Alcohol panic", 1173.

severely impacted their everyday life.<sup>476</sup> The Secretary for Social Welfare, Mr G. A. C. Kuschke, lamented that everyone should be fighting “against this evil which is eating like a cancer into the heart of our social structure. Perhaps the worst manifestation is the blow it deals to family life”.<sup>477</sup> Excessive consumption of alcohol by white males was regarded as a social evil responsible for physical, mental, and moral decline.<sup>478</sup> There was concern that the anti-social behaviour that was apparent with white alcoholism would result in contributing to race-mixing.<sup>479</sup> This was based on the view alcoholics were social misfits with no social control. Furthermore, alcoholics were said to have no ambitions or regard for others, while being lumped in with other social obscurities such as hippies, the homeless, and drug addicts.<sup>480</sup>

Liquor trade and white drinking caused distress for white society because of its moral implications. Alcohol caused white men to avoid work, which meant that they were not contributing to white economic success and society.<sup>481</sup> Police Commissioner, Major J. H. Brink, who served his position from 1951 to 1954, classified alcoholism as the root cause of the majority of crime in South Africa, and the reduction of alcoholism would lead to the elimination of major crimes.<sup>482</sup> Overindulgence in alcohol was threatening the stability of the foundations upon which white rule was built. The alcoholic was not a productive member of society and apparently contributed to a growing crime rate. In a letter to D. F. Malan, Gael Fraser wrote that if white civilisation was to survive in South Africa, then alcoholism needed to be cured. Alcoholism risked degrading family life while straying from good Christian behaviour.<sup>483</sup> However, in addition to homosexuality and alcoholism the other enemy was drug addiction.

### *Drug Addiction in South Africa*

The international criminalisation of cannabis in 1925 was influenced by applications sent by J. C. Smuts, South Africa’s Prime Minister at the time, to the League of Nations. Following this, in 1928, South Africa then criminalised cannabis under the Medical, Dental, and Pharmacy Act. Those convicted under this Act were to be fined either £100 or be imprisoned for six

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<sup>476</sup> Pamphlet by the South African National Council on Alcoholism, A1132.

<sup>477</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Conference on Alcoholism”.

<sup>478</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Are you an Alcoholic?”.

<sup>479</sup> Roos, “Alcohol panic”, 1173.

<sup>480</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Are you an Alcoholic?”.

<sup>481</sup> Roos, “Alcohol panic”, 1173-1178.

<sup>482</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Are you an Alcoholic?”.

<sup>483</sup> Roos, “Alcohol panic”, 1178-1185.

months, or in some cases, both. In 1955 the Act was then amended, which increased fines to £500, and the imprisonment term to 12 months.<sup>484</sup> The need to control white society to maintain a moral society that protected the racial hierarchy with whites at the top was a common trope throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Drug addicts did not conform socially and following consistent drug use a person's character was destroyed, with criminal tendencies beginning to creep in. In early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century South Africa, the most commonly consumed drug was cannabis (dagga). Dr J. C. Van Heerden, a criminologist at the University of South Africa in 1968, stated that drug addiction was a vicious cycle which made drug addicts dangerous because cannabis reacted differently in each individual user.<sup>485</sup> Drug addiction was linked to criminals and psychopaths.<sup>486</sup> A staff reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1969 headlined a column, "Thousands are drug addicts" according to an expert. An increased number of South Africans were becoming addicted to drugs, some without knowing it.<sup>487</sup>

In 1955, 23 289 arrests were made on cannabis charges. The rise in number of cannabis-related arrests continued to increase into the 1960s.<sup>488</sup> Between 1960 and 1963, it was reported that nearly 2 million pounds in weight worth of cannabis were seized and destroyed.<sup>489</sup> Cannabis was the easiest drug to obtain in comparison with other illegal substances and cannabis was the drug that concerned the Nationalist State the most, as compared to heroin which made a person passive and therefore incapable of committing a crime. It was believed that cannabis could induce an intense state of intoxication or stupefaction. This meant that cannabis limited the functioning of the brain which could result in aggressive acts or sexual perversion.<sup>490</sup>

Dr Louis Freed, a well-known psychiatrist based at Tara hospital in Johannesburg, described a drug-addicted person as being unstable and maladjusted. To Freed, this was a result of the breakdown of the family structure where drugs were an escape from harsh realities. The lack of family life was coupled with poor spirituality and psychological issues.<sup>491</sup> This acted as a

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<sup>484</sup> Nkosi, Devey, & Waetjen, "Cannabis policing in mid-twentieth century South Africa", 62-63.

<sup>485</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs".

<sup>486</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs".

<sup>487</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Thousands are drug addicts – expert", *Rand Daily Mail*, May 2, 1969, pg. 6 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "Thousands are drug addicts – expert").

<sup>488</sup> Nkosi, Devey, & Waetjen, "Cannabis policing in mid-twentieth century South Africa", 65.

<sup>489</sup> Nkosi, Devey, & Waetjen, "Cannabis policing in mid-twentieth century South Africa", 65.

<sup>490</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs".

<sup>491</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Personal story of an opium addict – why it began", *Rand Daily Mail*, November 13, 1969, pg. 11 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "Personal story of an opium addict – why it began").

mirror of horror to the Nationalist State to see white society in moral disarray. In social circles, the drug-addicted person showed signs of degeneration when loss of employment would lead to petty crimes, neglect of their children and familial responsibilities regarding their children's education, physical well-being, and morality.<sup>492</sup>

Cannabis acted as a moral panic trigger for the Nationalist Government. The National Party feared interracial sexual relations and cannabis created an environment where maintaining race segregation became difficult. Cannabis threatened to break the cultural boundaries between the different racial groups.<sup>493</sup> A top expert on alcoholism, as reported by the *Rand Daily Mail*, stated that next to alcoholism, drug addiction was South Africa's biggest social affliction and illness.<sup>494</sup> Psychiatrists believed that it was psychopaths who were prone to drug addiction. This is because their illness stemmed from childhood abuse, and now manifested into psychopathic illnesses that depended on drugs. However, it was recognised that drugs could symbolise rebellion for youths and that not every addict was a psychopath but what was generally accepted, was that drug addiction was a social evil.<sup>495</sup> Homosexuality, alcoholism, and drug addiction were markers of a society in moral decay.

## Conclusion

The apartheid regime was built upon and justified by the ideologies of white superiority. The white minority in South Africa were concerned with maintaining their political and economic power. This power to rule was seen as a divine right given to the Afrikaners by God. Religion was an influential factor in moulding and guiding white Afrikaner society where the Calvinistic teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church impacted political policies. The Dutch Reformed Church refined the ideologies of apartheid and emphasized the separate development of the different racial groups in South Africa.

The Nationalist State was riddled with anxieties concerning racial and moral purity and anything that threatened these norms. White Afrikaner society was structured around notions of heterosexual monogamous relationships and family life. Religious Afrikaners were also conservative patriarchists whose access to power was grounded in the patriarchal structures of apartheid. This was a white, patriarchal, heterosexual society that focused on being productive

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<sup>492</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs".

<sup>493</sup> Nkosi, Devey, & Waetjen, "Cannabis policing in mid-twentieth century South Africa", 73.

<sup>494</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Thousands are drug addicts – expert".

<sup>495</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "There's no hip-happiness in drugs".

members of society and upholding family life. These were the indicators of a morally pure society.

The Afrikaner community has been concerned with white purity from as early as the 1930s when the poor white problem served as a stain on the Afrikaner community because they threatened to expose the flimsiness of white supremacy. Keeping white society pure was a common preoccupation throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Nationalist State deemed white male homosexuality, alcoholism, and drug addiction as being social ills that would send white society into moral decay.

White homosexual males challenged the constructs of heterosexual gender norms and the structure of traditional family units. The State also believed gay men to be a direct challenge to white supremacy which meant that their power was challenged. In line with this, alcoholism and drug addiction were viewed in a similar light as homosexuality. Both white alcoholism and drug addiction were perceived as being social evils that debilitated white members of society to being unproductive and threats to family life, which in turn threatened white power. The Nationalist State attempted to protect white political rule through any means necessary.

## **Chapter 4 – Apartheid’s “cures” for Deviant Behaviours: Aversion Therapy, Labour Therapy, and Rehabilitation**

### **Introduction**

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, South Africa became overly preoccupied with segregation and the maintenance of a moral and pure white society. The apartheid regime, heavily influenced by Afrikaner Christian nationalism, demanded that white society uphold a certain standard of morality. As discussed in chapter 3, the morality of white society was dictated and defined by the Christian Bible as interpreted by the Dutch Reformed Church following Calvinistic teachings. The Dutch Reformed Church further encouraged hyper-masculine hetero-patriarchal ideals, with an emphasis on white purity. Any such behaviour that threatened to degrade the white moral fabric was classified as being deviant. Alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality were three societal ills that the Nationalist State fought to ‘cure’.

This chapter outlines and examines the different methods used to cure perceived social ills, including the work colonies used for alcoholics and rehabilitation centres for drug addicts. The chapter also gives an overview of laws passed in an effort to tackle alcoholism and drug addiction. Finally, the chapter discusses homosexuals' aversion therapy treatment methods during their military service. The role that psychology played in aiding the South African Defence Force to commit gross human rights violations will also be highlighted.

Several scholars have covered separately the various issues covered in this chapter and these serve as a scaffold for this chapter. Neil Roos traces the moral panic that alcohol caused white society while examining the complexity of white social structures during the apartheid era and why the overindulgence in alcohol was cause for concern. Roos highlights the argument made by Geoffrey Cronje, a sociologist during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that provided apartheid with an intellectual foundation, that those who displayed maladjusted behaviour should be subjected to corrective treatment through social engineering practises to ensure that white modernity was not stunted.<sup>496</sup>

Tiffany Jones explores the hypermasculinity and homophobia that characterised white society in 20th-century South Africa. Jones explains that the National Party was focused on preserving the purity of white society. The preservation of white society was important because it was

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<sup>496</sup> N. Roos, “Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and some Reflections on the Management of Whites in Early Apartheid Society, 1948 – 1960”, *The Historical Journal* 58 no. 4 (2015).

linked to white political and economic control. Jones explains that homosexuality challenged the understanding of Biblical interpretations relating to sexual relationships. Same-sex relations were a vice. Jones comments on how the National Party decided to employ methods of social engineering, such as aversion therapy, as a corrective measure.<sup>497</sup> A series of news articles published in the *Rand Daily Mail* corroborate Jones's analysis of the apartheid period. The news articles consistently mention that society at the time was facing a moral debasement.<sup>498</sup>

Traditional gender roles were strictly followed and adhered to during apartheid which meant that men were expected to be manly, strong, and God-following. However, this also meant that women were expected to play a role that was specific and tailored not only to their biological gender but also in relation to the Nation. Christi Van der Westhuizen describes Afrikaner women as the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation).<sup>499</sup> White Afrikaner women needed to subscribe to the ideals of motherhood in which they would nurture and support men and the nation. Motherhood, under Afrikaner nationalism, meant that women needed to be passive and domestic. The family would legitimise social hierarchy, which in turn legitimised biological understandings of gender to allow for the normative nature of heterosexuality.<sup>500</sup>

Homosexual men were viewed as feminine males whom the Bible, as interpreted by the Dutch Reformed Church, classified as being sinful and unnatural. The South African Defence Force, an environment considered to be masculine, particularly despised homosexuals. Aaron Belkin and Margot Canaday assess the integration of homosexuals into the South African army. Belkin and Canaday explain that while homosexuality was considered a sin and behaviour disorder, the army employed a dual policy concerning sexual preference. Gay men were not allowed to enter the Permanent Force and conscripts had to undergo treatment.<sup>501</sup> It is notable that behaviours deemed deviant needed to be cured.

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<sup>497</sup> T. Jones, "Controlling and Challenging Sexuality: Psychiatric Struggles over Homosexuality in the 1960s–1980s.", In *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, ed. T. F. Jones (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 116.

<sup>498</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Mans Moral Standards are Improving", *Rand Daily Mail*, January 9, 1963, Pg. 8 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "Mans Moral Standards are Improving").

<sup>499</sup> C. Van der Westhuizen, "Silence, Service, and White Sex" *The Lives of the Volksmoeder*, in *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*, ed. C. Van der Westhuizen (Durban: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press, 2018), p. 102 – 105.

<sup>500</sup> Van der Westhuizen, "Silence, Service, and White Sex", p. 102 – 105.

<sup>501</sup> A. Belkin and M. Canaday, "Assessing the integration of gays and lesbians into the South African Defence Force", *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 38 no. 2 (2010).

Various methods were employed to rid society of these perceived social ills. Work colonies, inherited from the Dutch Reformed Church, were used to rehabilitate alcoholics through the use of so-called labour therapy. Rehabilitation centres were also established to treat alcoholism. Work camps such as Greefswald were used in an attempt to cure drug addiction, and the South African Defence Force made use of outdated methods of aversion therapy to try turn homosexuals into heterosexuals. Neil Roos investigates the work colonies that were used in an attempt to rehabilitate alcoholics. The work colonies used methods of labour therapy as a prescriptive ‘cure’ for maladaptive anti-social behaviour.<sup>502</sup> Laura Pollecut discusses labour camps used for drug addicts such as Greefswald.<sup>503</sup> This was an army camp located in present day Limpopo which army members feared. Those in the army found using addictive substances were sent to Greefswald where they were subjected to intensive treatment as an attempt to take their minds off of drugs.<sup>504</sup> The *Rand Daily Mail* also highlights on the 1971 Drug Bill, which proposed a number of new laws for both addicts and dealers that included prison sentences, and Greefswald.<sup>505</sup>

### **White South Africa’s Morality**

Social cohesion in white South African society resulted in generating a society where societal norms were expected to be homogenously heteronormative. When a society becomes changeable and dynamic, this means there is a greater need for a higher social moral code. In Afrikaner society, the individual was expressed through the *volk*. Society, as a universal concept, was progressing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century This meant that the individual would be assumed to be lost without a moral anchor.<sup>506</sup> Therefore, in a localised South African setting, the individual, whose identity was expressed through the *volk*, was anchored by religion. The Dutch Reformed Church was regarded as an agent of socialisation in South African society.<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>502</sup> N. Roos, “Work colonies and South African historiography”, *Social History* 36 no. 1 (2011).

<sup>503</sup> L. Pollecut, "Unlocking South Africa's military archives." *Paper Wars: Access to information in South Africa* (2009), 136.

<sup>504</sup> Pollecut, "Unlocking South Africa's military archives.", 136.

<sup>505</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, “Army beat drugs in this way”, *Rand Daily Mail*, September 2, 1972, pg. 6 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, “Army beat drugs in this way”).

<sup>506</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, “Facing an Age of Revolution”, *Rand Daily Mail*, April 27, 1971, Pg. 13 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, “Facing and Age of Revolution”).

<sup>507</sup> W.J. Schoeman, “The Radical Discourse and the Dutch Reformed Church: Looking through a Descriptive Empirical Lens ... Towards a Normative Task”, *Acta Theologica* 2 (2010), 130.

This was owing to apartheid ideology being significantly informed by the church's religious teachings.<sup>508</sup>

The apartheid regime was officially sanctioned by the Dutch Reformed Church which saw the Church acting as a legislative body for moral laws deemed necessary to prevent South African society from falling into moral chaos.<sup>509</sup> Reverend F. D. B. de Beer, who was the Secretary for the Public Morals Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church in the early 1970s, stated that from the 1940s South Africa had been plagued with a decline in moral standards.<sup>510</sup> He hoped that South Africa would undergo a moral and religious renaissance.

De Beer, who in 1972 retired from the Dutch Reformed Church, described South African society at the time as grappling with a moral disease, which coupled with the current events occurring at the time, led the reverend to believe that this was the start of the general apostasy that the New Testament foreshadowed with the second coming of Christ.<sup>511</sup> This comes from an article published in the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1972. The *Rand Daily Mail* described the Reverend as being the guardian of public morals. De Beer believed that permissiveness was infiltrating white society. This permissiveness, he believed, came from alcohol, cinema and theatre charged with strong sexual energy, and magazines that pictured women dressed provocatively. This, in conjunction with epicureanism, atheism, and racialism were the causes of a moral disease.<sup>512</sup>

Freedom and agency, two widely employed Western concepts within South African society, were founded on biblical teachings of the fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. Biblical scriptures were understood as the rule of God over man rather than scripture being man's freedom. God was believed to be the Creator and Sovereign Ruler to whom man belonged to.<sup>513</sup> As apartheid ideology was informed by Christian principles and linked with

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<sup>508</sup> R. Muller, "Traversing a tightrope between Ecumenism and Exclusivism: The Intertwined History of South Africa's Dutch Reformed Church and the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian in Nyasaland (Malawi)", *Religions* 12 no. 176 (2021), 4.

<sup>509</sup> Muller, "Traversing a tightrope between Ecumenism and Exclusivism", 4.

<sup>510</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "The Rev. De Beer – man who wages war on moral threats", *Rand Daily Mail*, June 20, 1972, Pg. 15 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "The Rev. De Beer").

<sup>511</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "The Rev. De Beer".

<sup>512</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "The Rev. De Beer".

<sup>513</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Beyers Naude says hunt for truth in S.A. vital", *Rand Daily Mail*, June 2, 1967, Pg. 5 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "Beyers Naude says hunt for truth in S.A. vital").

Afrikaner Christian Nationalism, such understandings of Biblical concepts were apparent throughout the apartheid era.

White Afrikaner morality and religion were intertwined. White congregational members of the Dutch Reformed Church viewed the church as ‘their’ church. This was because the white Afrikaner congregational members had an objection to black people joining the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>514</sup> This was not uncharacteristic as from 1881 until the 1990s the Dutch Reformed Church was predominantly whites-only.<sup>515</sup> The understanding of the concept of ‘whites-only’ was not limited to church services as this was prevalent in general South African society, such as the laws of petty apartheid. Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, who was appointed as an Archbishop in 1951, stated that South Africa was an heir to racial segregation, white supremacy, and white survival where policymakers decided the tradition of racial separation as “one that cannot be changed”.<sup>516</sup>

Archbishop Hurley, who was affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, strongly opposed the apartheid regime. In 1951, as chair of the South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference where he and other bishops drafted pastoral letters in opposition to apartheid. The letter described the regime as being blasphemous and evil. From 1965 to 1966, Hurley was President of the South African Institute of Race Relations.<sup>517</sup> He believed that South Africa needed a moral change as there should be an appreciation for all human beings. To Hurley, race, culture, and colour were all incidental differences and being human was more important than these differences. Hurley called for respect and human dignity to be influential factors in South African social and political spheres.<sup>518</sup>

The basis of apartheid policies was white racialism and Afrikaner Nationalism. Archbishop Hurley described the likelihood of changing white racialism and Afrikaner Nationalism as talking of “reversing the rotation of the earth or the pull of gravity”.<sup>519</sup> Beyers Naude, an anti-apartheid theologian who played a significant role in aiding the African National Congress

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<sup>514</sup> Muller, “Traversing a tightrope between Ecumenism and Exclusivism”, 5.

<sup>515</sup> Schoeman, “The Radical Discourse and the Dutch Reformed Church”, 132.

<sup>516</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Moral Revolution is Needed in SA”, *Rand Daily Mail*, January 19, 1966, Pg. 10 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “Moral Revolution is Needed in SA”).

<sup>517</sup> Denis Hurley Centre, “Who Was Dennis Hurley?”, n.d., <https://www.denishurleycentre.org/page/who-was-denis-hurley?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1>, accessed 17 October 2022.

<sup>518</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Moral Revolution is Needed in SA”.

<sup>519</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Moral Revolution is Needed in SA”.

while they were underground,<sup>520</sup> described the Afrikaners' interest in maintaining national, economic, and social liberty as an obsession.<sup>521</sup> Such an obsession over those liberties meant that they needed to be protected, and close contact with non-Christian people – especially blacks – made South African society vulnerable to moral degradation.<sup>522</sup>

Rev. de Beer condemned South African public immorality and likened it to the permissiveness that had engulfed the western world. Rev. de Beer stated that “alcohol, dancing, cinema and theatre with strong sex themes and magazines which print pictures of unclothed or scantily clad women aimed at raising the sex temperature of readers”<sup>523</sup> was immoral. A common phrase belonging to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century was “the debasement of our moral standards”<sup>524</sup>. According to the Afrikaner community and the Dutch Reformed Church, there was a desperate need to return to scripture where morality could be restored. Drunkenness, drug addiction, and an acceptance of the good life were branded as immoral actions.<sup>525</sup>

During the 1960s the Dutch Reformed Church believed that the white minority population’s morality had started to decay. This was due to members of society who did not conform to social norms and were branded as being deviant.<sup>526</sup> However, in the same decade, the argument for improved moral standards was made. A 1963 article published in the *Rand Daily Mail* argued that man's moral standards had improved over the last 200 years. The argument in this article, however, was in reference to white people. The article further demonstrated the general attitude towards black people in that the author said it was hard for many to be convinced that black people were “as human as ourselves”.<sup>527</sup>

The Dutch Reformed Church’s perceptions of immorality in South African society, such as alcoholism and drug addiction, and the wider population's views on black people, show reasoning as to why there was a call made for society to turn back to the scripture and again learn to lead a pure and moral life.<sup>528</sup> Alcoholism and drug addiction were two pressing issues

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<sup>520</sup> M. Soggot, “The Rev Beyers Naude: Courageous Afrikaner Cleric who became a Champion of South Africa’s Liberation Struggle”, 2004, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2004/sep/08/guardianobituaries.southafrica>, accessed 17 October 2022.

<sup>521</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Beyers Naude says hunt for truth in S.A. vital”

<sup>522</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “The Rev. De Beer”.

<sup>523</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “The Rev. De Beer”.

<sup>524</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Mans Moral Standards are Improving”.

<sup>525</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “The Rev. De Beer”.

<sup>526</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “The Rev. De Beer”.

<sup>527</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Mans Moral Standards are Improving”.

<sup>528</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “The Rev. De Beer”.

the Nationalist State wanted to eliminate. Both alcoholism and drug addiction risked white purity in that they could invite sexual relations with black people which would compromise white society and politics.<sup>529</sup> To combat alcoholism, work colonies were used.

## Treating Alcoholism

### *Work Colonies*

In the 1890s the Dutch Reformed Church established the first work colonies in South Africa. The work colonies were established to aid white families living in poverty following South Africa's mineral revolution. The church work colonies were centred around agriculture and were based on the preindustrial agrarian lifestyle rural white communities previously participated in. It was hoped that through the work colonies, the poor whites' economic situation would improve. The usage of the work colonies established by the church started to wane in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>530</sup>

Following the establishment and use of work colonies by the Dutch Reformed Church for poor whites in the 1890s, the State modelled their own version of work colonies. The State work colonies were used from late 1912 up until the 1960s to re-educate white men as a means to cure their drunkenness and idleness.<sup>531</sup> Ministers and government officials were fearful of the impact that alcohol had on family life and the nation as a whole. Alcoholics in the earlier decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were referred to as being maladjusted members of society. The concept of the work colonies was praised as the Nationalist State was concentrating on reforming the sections of society which needed it the most.<sup>532</sup>

The Work Colonies Act of 1927 made a specific provision for men guilty of alcohol abuse to be detained and sentenced to hard labour.<sup>533</sup> In 1949 the Work Colonies Act of 1927 was amended to focus on a far wider scope of white men considered to be maladjusted.<sup>534</sup> Mr F. B. Allen, a member of the United Party, who spoke in the House of Assembly debate on the Act, stated that the 1949 Work Colonies Act marked a new era for those who displayed maladjusted behaviour. This was owing to the government reducing taxation while making headway with

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<sup>529</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1177.

<sup>530</sup> Roos, "Work colonies and South African historiography", 56.

<sup>531</sup> Roos, "Work colonies and South African historiography", 54 – 58.

<sup>532</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Work Colonies Bill Praised in Assembly", *Rand Daily Mail*, March 5, 1946, Pg. 9 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "Work Colonies Bill Praised in Assembly").

<sup>533</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1179.

<sup>534</sup> Roos, "Work colonies and South African historiography", 66.

reform. However, the Act was criticised by many, including Mr J. R. Sullivan, also in attendance at the debate, due to unsatisfactory results from previous work colonies. Sullivan explained that the work colonies were not suited for rehabilitation due to the lack of scientific selection concerning inmate intake.<sup>535</sup>

The work colonies were influenced by ideas of penal reform, centred around containing disorder. Idleness went hand in hand with alcoholism, which caused general public anxiety. According to Calvinistic moral discourses, and ideas on racial progress, social scientists, and in particular psychologists, viewed idleness as being degenerate.<sup>536</sup> The National Party placed a considerable amount of energy into shaping and moulding white society by utilizing social engineering. The State needed to promote the ideal white citizen.<sup>537</sup> The work colonies aided the Nationalist State in their endeavour.

Geoffrey Cronje, a sociologist at the University of Pretoria in 1933 until the 1970s, ignited a fear-driven panic over white people drinking too much alcohol.<sup>538</sup> Cronje was a right-wing Afrikaner nationalist thinker that was influential in the 1940s. He had a particular fear concerning miscegenation. To Cronje, the Afrikaner mother was the protector of white Afrikaner purity. It was the woman who would choose to only procreate with pure-blooded Afrikaner men. Therefore maintaining white Afrikaner blood purity.<sup>539</sup> Alcoholism, Cronje feared, encouraged antisocial behaviour which would result in blood-mixing. As a way to combat this, he proposed methods of social engineering to ensure the purity of white society.<sup>540</sup>

Geoffrey Cronje ardently advocated for the use of social engineering practices. Social engineering uses manipulation methods to coerce members of society to behave in a manner aligned with society's social norms.<sup>541</sup> His rationale was that social engineering could be used to manage or change society. Cronje was enraged by the danger that alcohol placed, not only on family life, but also on social cohesion and societal stability. He also feared that the Afrikaner community's ability to climb the economic ladder was jeopardised by white society

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<sup>535</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Work Colonies Bill Praised in Assembly".

<sup>536</sup> Roos, "Work colonies and South African historiography", 60.

<sup>537</sup> Roos, "Work colonies and South African historiography", 64.

<sup>538</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1167 – 1168.

<sup>539</sup> J. M. Coetzee, "The mind of apartheid: Geoffrey Cronje (1907-), *Social Dynamics* 17 no. 1 (1991), 1-7.

<sup>540</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1173.

<sup>541</sup> V. Greavu-Serban, and O. Serban, "Social Engineering a General Approach", *Informatica Economica* 18 no. 2 (2014), 5.

drinking too much. He feared, most of all, that white alcohol abuse could lead to opportunities for blood mixing.<sup>542</sup>

To treat alcoholism, the person was treated as if they were sick. In the late 1940s Professor Douw G. Steyn, an employee of the University of Pretoria in the Department of Surgery for the Faculty of Veterinary Sciences stated that the treatment of an alcoholic was complex. Adequate treatment, according to Steyn, needed the professional input of the physician, sociologist, psychiatrist, magistrate, judge, and minister.<sup>543</sup> White men considered to be problematic were sent to State work colonies to be remoulded into men who aligned with the standard of white society set by the Nationalist State. The work colonies aimed to re-socialise the ‘problematic’ men by isolating them from the outside world where they would be re-educated and have their lives regulated.<sup>544</sup>

A change in the Work Colonies Act made in 1949 transferred the overseeing power from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare with the allowance of detaining anyone considered to display maladaptive behaviour.<sup>545</sup> This shift from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare could be owing to alcoholism being viewed within the disease model. Alcoholism was starting to be viewed as an illness.<sup>546</sup> Work colony inmates were made to work 48 hours per week in various fields like dairy, masonry, and welding. Cronje used the work colonies as a testing ground for his social engineering experiments, elegantly known as ‘labour therapy’. However, the Work Colonies Advisory Board devised a three-point medical plan advised by sociological and psychological practices. Inmates were to attend group therapy, spiritual guidance sessions, and one on one counselling sessions.<sup>547</sup>

In a 1949 Senate meeting, the then Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Dr A. J. Stals, defended the work colonies.<sup>548</sup> It was understood that action against drunkards and misfits was unobjectionable,<sup>549</sup> and to indicate the positive impact that work colonies had on inmates, Stals

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<sup>542</sup> Roos, “Alcohol Panic,” 1174.

<sup>543</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Alcoholics must be treated as sick people”, *Rand Daily Mail*, July 31, 1948, pg. 9 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “Alcoholics must be treated as sick people”).

<sup>544</sup> Roos, “Work colonies and South African historiography”, 65.

<sup>545</sup> Roos, “Alcohol Panic”, 1179.

<sup>546</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism”, *Rand Daily Mail*, August 8, 1972, pg. 15 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism”).

<sup>547</sup> Roos, “Alcohol Panic”, 1180.

<sup>548</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Stals hopes 50 per cent. Of deviates can be helped”, *Rand Daily Mail*, April 12, 1949, pg. 11 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “Stals hopes 50 per cent. Of deviates can be helped”).

<sup>549</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Gentlemen in retirement”, *Rand Daily Mail*, February 8, 1949, pg. 6.

quoted statistics indicating that 60% of “deviates” were reformed.<sup>550</sup> In the 1950s, the National Party expanded their policing of white society and a new work colony was established. The former military base of Sonderwater, located 48km from Pretoria on the urban outskirts, was transformed into South Africa’s largest work colony. Out of the public eye, social deviants were removed from apartheid’s cultural geography.<sup>551</sup>

Sonderwater was the National Party’s grand scheme to rehabilitate 200 000 inmates previously held at Eerste Rivier Work Colony. Inmates from the Swartfontein Work Colony were also moved to the Sonderwater Work Colony.<sup>552</sup> Sonderwater was larger than any other work colony predating it as previous work colony facilities were inadequate for sufficient inmate rehabilitation. Once an inmate would arrive at Sonderwater, a nurse would conduct a medical exam followed by an appointment with the district surgeon on his next site visit. Inmates were also assessed psychologically and sociologically as per Geoffrey Cronje’s request. Cronje was concerned that if the inmates’ background was unknown, then treatment would be made difficult.<sup>553</sup> The permanent staff at Sonderwater consisted of a doctor, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, and a social worker.<sup>554</sup>

As previously stated, the National Party was concerned with the purity of white society and so too was Geoffrey Cronje. Cronje wanted to preserve white purity and protect the *volk*. During inmates sociological examination they were questioned on their religious and moral values in addition to being asked about their sexual conduct. Inmates were further questioned on their church attendance and religious denomination. Therefore, at Sonderwater efforts were made to rebuild the moral and spiritual spheres of the inmate’s lives through hard work. Hard work would teach the inmate discipline and the value of productivity so that upon release, the inmate would lead a disciplined life.<sup>555</sup>

Ex-inmates still showing signs of maladjusted behaviour could be re-committed. Inmates were detained in the work colonies for a maximum of 3 years. After release, inmates were required to report to a social worker who would report on their employment, church attendance, dwelling, and adjustment to society. The ex-inmate had to refrain from using drugs and alcohol,

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<sup>550</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Stals hopes 50 per cent. Of deviates can be helped”).

<sup>551</sup> Roos, “Work colonies and South African historiography”, 68.

<sup>552</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “State master-plan for alcoholics to start in August”, *Rand Daily Mail*, July 21, 1952, pg. 1 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “State master-plan for alcoholics to start in August”).

<sup>553</sup> Roos, “Work colonies and South African historiography”, 68.

<sup>554</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “State master-plan for alcoholics to start in August”.

<sup>555</sup> Roos, “Work colonies and South African historiography”, 68-69.

find employment, and maintain family life.<sup>556</sup> However, the work colonies formally closed in 1961. The work colonies eventually closed because at any given time at least 30% of the inmate population was registered as absconded. Furthermore, new treatment plans were emerging regarding alcoholism that was more closely linked to the medical field. In addition, with the anti-apartheid struggle intensifying, the State so too intensified conscription. Now, instead of only being able to surveil and re-educate only maladjusted white men, the State could surveil, and re-educate all white men. However, that did not stop attempts to cure alcoholism.<sup>557</sup>

### *Rehabilitation Centres*

Alcoholism, according to South African government authorities, was the biggest social evil in the world and during the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, alcoholism was increasingly regarded as a disease. Alcoholism was regarded to be 5 times more prevalent than cancer with an estimation that every 1 in 16 social drinkers was an alcoholic or potential alcoholic.<sup>558</sup> Scientific research undertaken in the late 1970s confirmed that alcoholism was a disease and not a weakness.<sup>559</sup> Alpha Amino N Butyric Acid was the determining factor behind why some people could drink alcohol and not become dependent and why others did. It was this chemical make-up that would determine if a person would develop a dependency on alcohol or not. Some people would be able to drink the whole night and be unaffected but another person may have one drink and be affected.<sup>560</sup> A transition from institutionalising alcoholics on a psychological basis was being replaced by alcoholism being treated as an illness.<sup>561</sup>

From 1948 there were calls for alcoholics to be treated as sick people. There was advocacy for a three-point treatment plan that included medical treatment, psychotherapy and social orientation, and rehabilitation. Other possible treatment plans put forth by experts included amphetamine sulphate, which was said to cause a long period of sobriety, and apomorphine and other nauseating drugs.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1180.

<sup>557</sup> Roos, "Alcohol Panic", 1183.

<sup>558</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism".

<sup>559</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Alcoholism: it's you – not the bottle", *Rand Daily Mail*, August 24, 1978, pg. 9 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "Alcoholism: it's you – not the bottle").

<sup>560</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Alcoholism: it's you – not the bottle".

<sup>561</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Alcoholism: it's you – not the bottle".

<sup>562</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Alcoholics must be treated as sick people – professor", *Rand Daily Mail*, July 31, 1948, pg. 9.

In 1969, Reverend D. Cockram, the rehabilitation officer of the South African Temperance Alliance, estimated that there were 100 000 white alcoholics.<sup>563</sup> He called for restrictions to be placed on alcohol because of the harm it caused.<sup>564</sup> Ideas surrounding penalties for alcohol consumption were also circulated from the early 1960s because of the threat of family degradation and the entrenchment of anti-social behaviour.<sup>565</sup> Restrictions were viewed as inevitable due to the complexity of human economic systems and the potential harmful causes that were associated with alcohol.<sup>566</sup>

As indicated earlier, in an attempt to curb the sale of alcohol, limits were placed on liquor licences and the amount of alcohol bought. There could only be one liquor permit holder for every 1 000 male voters in an urban area. It was further stipulated that one permit holder may not sell more than 3 gallons of alcohol to one customer at any one time.<sup>567</sup> In 1969, Dr Jan Grobler, a pastor-psychiatrist for the Dutch Reformed Church, wanted alcohol to be classified as a drug. He reasoned that if barbiturates and amphetamines could be classified as drugs, then why not alcohol? Alcoholism and drug use had reached epidemic levels. The more freely that alcohol was available in South Africa, then the more problems there would be.<sup>568</sup>

In 1969 it was estimated that around 11 million white people were affected by alcoholism.<sup>569</sup> With there being 100 000 alcoholics, on average each one impacted the lives of 16 other people. In 1969 Mr T. J. Stander, the director of the South African National Council for Mental Health, lamented that South Africa had to play catch up in terms of rehabilitation procedures and facilities. This was because South Africa did not have any hostels or halfway houses for the mentally ill and also had too few rehabilitation centres.<sup>570</sup>

Alcohol abuse was viewed as a more serious problem than drug addiction.<sup>571</sup> To help alcoholics recover, Castle Carey Clinic for Alcoholics was established in 1957. The clinic was started by

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<sup>563</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "100,00 S.A. alcoholics, board told", *Rand Daily Mail*, November 4, 1969, pg. 4 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "100,00 S.A. alcoholics, board told").

<sup>564</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "100,00 S.A. alcoholics, board told".

<sup>565</sup> Paper given on some aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor by J. A. H. Van Niekerk, August 1962, A1132, Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987, Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Paper given on some aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor, A1132).

<sup>566</sup> Paper given on some aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor, A1132

<sup>567</sup> Paper given on some aspects of the distribution and consumption of alcoholic liquor, A1132

<sup>568</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "100,00 S.A. alcoholics, board told"

<sup>569</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "' Stop mental illness in time' call", *Rand Daily Mail*, September 12, 1969, pg. 5 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "' Stop mental illness in time' call").

<sup>570</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "' Stop mental illness in time' call".

<sup>571</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Alcoholism: it's you – not the bottle".

Mr A. J. Pienaar and his wife who later employed Matron Marita Naude. The clinic started to see an increase in numbers towards the late 1960s – 1970s. The country-style estate in Pretoria North increased from 5 beds to 65 beds with a total staff count of 20 in the early 1970s. The minimum stay for patients was 15 days at R65 for the duration of the stay.<sup>572</sup>

Castle Carey's treatment plan was simple – patients were pumped full of vitamins where they would have to “sweat it out”, followed by group discussion sessions. In these sessions, their families would join, and psychological care was given.<sup>573</sup> The clinic prided itself on its results. A third of the patients were re-adjusted after one round of treatment where they returned to normal life and refrained from drinking. Another third were successfully re-adjusted after the second round of treatment and the final third were treated through other methods or died alcoholics.<sup>574</sup>

In addition to treatment provided by Castle Carey, there was an outpatient programme at the Johannesburg General Hospital. From 1966 – 1968, there had only been a 4% relapse rate. Between 2 000 and 4 000 people were treated each year for alcoholism, and while undergoing treatment, 70% of patients found employment.<sup>575</sup> Alcoholics were often seen as being weak members of society who degraded the moral fibre of society and the structure of the family. Their approach to life was “stupid” and up until the acceptance of alcoholism as a disease, doctors were unwilling to treat alcoholics as they deemed them unworthy.<sup>576</sup> Drug addicts were viewed in a similar vein.

## **Treating Drug Addiction**

### ***Drug Reports and the 1971 Drug Bill***

Drugs use over the last century has been categorised between those who consume them lawfully and those who consume them in a deviant manner. Such classification was an attempt to differentiate between drug users based on normative thinking.<sup>577</sup> Those who consumed them within in a deviant manner were moral pariahs to the apartheid State. Colonial ideas of deviant drug users serving as a connecting bridge between different racial groups seeped into apartheid

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<sup>572</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism”.

<sup>573</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism”.

<sup>574</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism”.

<sup>575</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Alcoholism: it's you – not the bottle”.

<sup>576</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Breakthrough in the war against alcoholism”.

<sup>577</sup> T. Waetjen *et al*, “Convenors Preface to Special Issue: ‘Drug Regimes in Southern Africa’”, *South African Historical Journal* 71 no. 4 (2019), 533.

ideas. The white minority needed to remain pure. Drugs were often reported as an evil that brought different racial groups together and often as equals. The interests of white society needed to be protected at all costs.<sup>578</sup>

The *Rand Daily Mail* launched a special investigation into drug use in 1969. The report detailed that there were three categories of drugs: soft drugs, hallucinogenic drugs, and hard or mainline drugs.<sup>579</sup> Soft drugs were known to be amphetamines and barbiturates which were not addictive. Hallucinogenic drugs, or mind-altering drugs, were known to be Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) and marijuana. Hard drugs included opium, heroin, cocaine, morphine, and pethidine. Hard drugs were considered the most dangerous because they caused physical and psychological addiction.<sup>580</sup>

During the late 1960s, there were estimated to be tens of thousands of drug addicts in just Johannesburg alone.<sup>581</sup> To combat the rising numbers of drug addicts, the South African National Council for Alcoholism and Drug Dependency proposed three main focus points; firstly, the establishment of rehabilitation centres, secondly, the establishment of emergency treatment centres, and lastly, an education campaign that would continuously raise awareness to adults and children.<sup>582</sup>

The immorality of deviant drug use provoked an atmosphere of fear. It was imperative to instil into the white minority the dangers of drug taking. Drug usage invited racial groups to mix which would dilute the purity of the white population. The mixing of races would then result in a direct challenge to the socially constructed ontological hierarchy that positioned white society at the top.<sup>583</sup> From the institutionalisation of apartheid in 1948 by Prime Minister D. F. Malan, white society feared a white peril. There was a concern surrounding white miscreants degrading white society which would alter the racial hierarchy. Malan argued that black people were a direct threat to the survival of white society.<sup>584</sup> As previously stated, Geoffrey Cronje

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<sup>578</sup> S. Shelly and S. Howell, "Perpetuating apartheid: South African drug policy." In *The war on drugs and the global colour line* (London: Pluto Press, 2019), p. 160.

<sup>579</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "These are the hard narcotics ...", *Rand Daily Mail*, November 18, 1969, pg. 9 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "These are the hard narcotics ...").

<sup>580</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "These are the hard narcotics ...".

<sup>581</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Thousands have this problem", *Rand Daily Mail*, October 3, 1969, pg. 3 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "Thousands have this problem").

<sup>582</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Thousands have this problem".

<sup>583</sup> Shelly and Howell, "Perpetuating apartheid", 162.

<sup>584</sup> L. Koorts, "'The Black Peril would not exist if it were not for a White Peril that is a hundred times greater': D. F. Malan's Fluidity on Poor Whiteism and Race in the Pre-Apartheid Era, 1912-1939", *South African Historical Journal* 65 no. 4 (2013), 1.

argued that alcohol encouraged antisocial behaviour – drug usage fell within the same thought pattern. As a means to eradicate illegal drug use, the House of Assembly proposed a new drug bill in 1971 – The Abuse of Dependence-Producing Substances and Rehabilitation Bill.

The aim of the Bill was hitting hardest at the centre of the drug scene, which were the pushers. If convicted more than once, drug pushers could have faced a minimum prison sentence of 10 years with the maximum sentence being 25 years.<sup>585</sup> The 1971 bill was published in the House of Assembly at a time when the transition from ‘soft’ drugs to ‘hard’ drugs was starting to increase. At the time of the bill’s reading, there were an estimated three opium dens in Johannesburg, 200 mainline addicts, and drugs being smuggled in from visiting ships at the Lourenco Marques Port, in Mozambique. People posing as tourists would smuggle the drugs through the Kruger National Park into South Africa.

For first-time offenders convicted of drug pushing, the minimum sentence was 5 years prison time and a maximum of 15 years. First-time convictions for drug possession were no less than two years but no more than four years for a subsequent conviction, resulting in no less than five years but no more than 15 years. The police were granted the power to search premises, vessels, vehicles, and aircrafts without a warrant if there was a reasonable belief that in such instances the drug bill was in violation.<sup>586</sup> However, the most controversial part of the bill was clause 13.

Clause 13 of the Bill allowed for the indefinite detention and interrogation of detained persons. The magistrates were also empowered to issue warrants based on the belief that information relating to drug offences was withheld, and for the magistrate to determine whether the detainee answered the interrogation questions sufficiently, among other things.<sup>587</sup> While some welcomed the serious measures of the drug bill, others criticised it for being short-sighted. Some doctors and medical experts who criticised the Detention Clause did so as they felt the proposed legislation would not be adequate unless the State introduced a central coordinating narcotics bureau with staff who specialised in drug control.<sup>588</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “‘No mercy’ for the pushers”, *Rand Daily Mail*, May 06, 1971, pg. 2 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “‘No mercy’ for the pushers”).

<sup>586</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “‘No mercy’ for the pushers”

<sup>587</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Detention clause faces challenge”.

<sup>588</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “Doctors criticized measures”, *Rand Daily Mail*, May 06, 1971, pg. 2.

Dr A. D. Bensusan praised the government for taking drug taking seriously but was distressed that there had been no provision made to exempt those who were dependent on drugs while undergoing treatment.<sup>589</sup> The United Party, led by Sir de Villiers Graaf, also debated some of the aspects of the bill stating that in principle they supported some aspects of the bill but there were sections they did not agree with and would condemn them in the Committee Stage.<sup>590</sup> The bill also provisioned for addicts to undergo treatment in rehabilitation centres.

Most frequent drug buyers were younger age groups who were starting to experiment more with hard drugs.<sup>591</sup> It was surmised that there were two influencing factors which pushed children into drug taking. One was coming from a broken home and another was the inability to cope with schoolwork. Drugs acted as a method of escapism from difficult predicaments at home and school that caused disturbances in daily life.<sup>592</sup> An opinion piece published in the *Rand Daily Mail's* "Letter to the Editor" section went as far as to suggest that neglectful parents should be charged when minors were brought before the courts. The opinion piece further stated that delinquents were not solely a by-product of broken homes but also a result of parents who did not keep a watchful eye on their children.<sup>593</sup>

Another opinion piece called for the drug pusher to be sentenced to the death penalty. The reasoning was that if the judicial system could use the death penalty for murder, rape, and robbery with violence cases, then why not drug pushing?<sup>594</sup> This opinion piece provides interesting insight into white society's view of drug selling. The selling of addictive substances was equated with murder. Drugs were so vehemently loathed that they were placed in the same category as murder. The passing of the controversial 1971 drug bill considered drugs in a similar vein.

The 1971 drug bill was government gazetted on July 16<sup>th</sup> to amend the provisions of the 1928 Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act. The 1928 Act was amended to define habit-forming drugs and potentially harmful drugs by also empowering the Minister to be able to authorise particular categories of people to perform certain acts relating to potentially harmful drugs.<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>589</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Doctors criticized measures", *Rand Daily Mail*, May 06, 1971, pg. 2.

<sup>590</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "U.P. will condemn some aspects", *Rand Daily Mail*, May 06, 1971, pg. 2.

<sup>591</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Drugs: The mainliners", *Rand Daily Mail*, November 18, 1969, pg. 9 (hereafter cited as *Rand Daily Mail*, "Drugs: The mainliners").

<sup>592</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Drugs: Schools to blame", *Rand Daily Mail*, September 25, 1969, pg. 15.

<sup>593</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Parents should be charged", *Rand Daily Mail*, September 25, 1969, pg. 15.

<sup>594</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, "Bring in the death penalty", *Rand Daily Mail*, September 25, 1969, pg. 15.

<sup>595</sup> Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette, *Drug Laws Amendment Act, 1971*, Department of the Prime Minister, 73 no. 3211, Cape Town, 1971.

The now Act outlined measures and prison sentences for first-time convicted drug peddlers, multiple convictions for drug peddlers, first-time and multiple convictions for those in possession of drugs, police searches, and those obstructing police searches.<sup>596</sup>

### *Drug Rehabilitation*

The Drug Act outlined several reasons for grounds for committing addicts and alcoholics to rehabilitation centres. Misconduct, continually not being able to support oneself or dependants they were legally liable for, those who habitually begged for money or goods, and those who led an idle or disorderly life, could find themselves being shepherded into, and treated, in rehabilitation centres.<sup>597</sup>

One notable drug rehabilitation centre was Phoenix House, located in Auckland Park, Johannesburg. Phoenix House was established in 1971. The rehabilitation centre was an Open Therapeutic Centre that specialised in treating drug addicts.<sup>598</sup> The rehabilitation centre conducted surveys which indicated that 70% of their patients started using drugs between the ages of 12 and 16. It also indicated that the majority of addicts came from broken homes, of which 40% of their parents were either addicts or alcoholics themselves. Interestingly, the survey further indicated that giving into toddler tantrums could result in a future lack of control and drug problems.<sup>599</sup>

Phoenix House consisted of two adjacent derelict houses with no gates or locks which resulted in there being no security measures to keep patients in. The bare walls were covered with brightly made children's art and poetry written by patients. The rehabilitation centre employed a small number of staff that included Dr Sylvian de Marinda, one full-time social worker and two part-time, one occupational therapist, two psychologists, and three nurses.<sup>600</sup>

Jenny Frost, Phoenix House's occupational therapist and superintendent, described drug addicts as people who were frustrated, depressed, and wanted instant gratification. Frost further described the addict as having low self-esteem and being impulsive, resulting in them taking

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<sup>596</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Detention clause faces challenge", *Rand Daily Mail*, May 06, 1971, pg. 2 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "Detention clause faces challenge").

<sup>597</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Centers to care for addicts", *Rand Daily Mail*, May 06, 1971, pg. 2.

<sup>598</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "The phoenix and a rising menace", *Rand Daily Mail*, July 17, 1975, pg. 2 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "The phoenix and a rising menace").

<sup>599</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Parents close their eyes – but the children know the signs", *Rand Daily Mail*, February 21, 1979, pg. 7 (hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, "Parents close their eyes – but the children know the signs").

<sup>600</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "The phoenix and a rising menace".

unnecessary risks. Frost stated cynically that many sought out treatment out of fear of how the law might catch them.<sup>601</sup> Therapeutic treatment at Phoenix House consisted of psychodrama and discussion sessions.

On Wednesday mornings at 8 AM the patients would participate in psychodrama. This involved a re-enactment of a real-life situation that previously happened to one of them. This allowed patients to bare their emotions in a situation where they were previously unable to cope. Following this, a discussion session took place with a psychologist. The patients' feelings were discussed so they could understand why they felt the way they did. Rehabilitation was known to be a long, slow, and frustrating process.

However, not everyone found their way to a rehabilitation centre.<sup>602</sup> Drug addicts within the South Africa Defence Force faced a different reality. Members of the South African Defence Force found to be drug users were often sent to Greefswald, an experimental military station established to combat the rising number of drug addicts, located near the Limpopo River. From the late 1960s, there was an increased number of white youth reporting for compulsory service who were addicts.<sup>603</sup>

Admiral H. H. Biermann, the Defence Force chief from 1972 to 1976, stated that the army would rather give addicts a sense of belonging instead of declaring them unfit. It was found that 85% of the trainees at Greefswald suffered from psychological problems which influenced their drug habits. Of the 85%, 60% overcome their drug addiction during their national service while 30% produced unsatisfactory results and the remaining 10% yielded poor results but were not hopeless.<sup>604</sup> The Army isolated inmates at Greefswald and subjected them to exhausting exercises as an attempt to keep their minds off of drugs.<sup>605</sup> The army's method of fighting drugs was praised in the medical and military fields.

The conditions at Greefswald were known to be brutal. Greefswald was often criticised as being a penal camp, but Admiral Biermann dismissed those claims. Biermann claimed it was not a special unit, penal settlement, or rehabilitation centre. Instead, Biermann publicly framed it as a specialised supportive training unit that produced proud young men. Trainees stationed at

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<sup>601</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Parents close their eyes – but the children know the signs".

<sup>602</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "The phoenix and a rising menace".

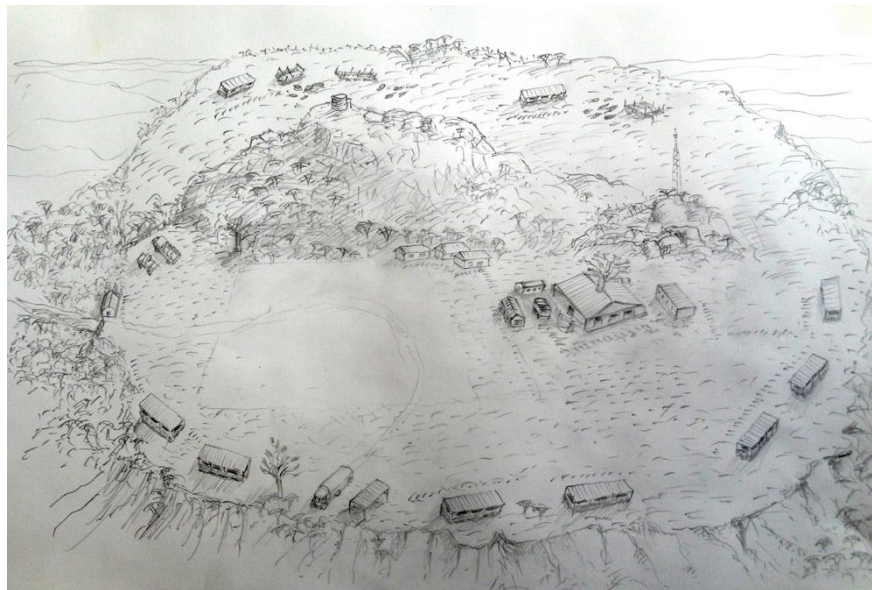
<sup>603</sup> Southern Africa Committee, "Southern Africa: A monthly survey of news and opinion", *Southern African Committee* 6 no. 5 (1973), 12.

<sup>604</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Army beat drugs in this way"

<sup>605</sup> Pollecut, "Unlocking South Africa's military archives.", 136.

Greefswald were routed through 1 Military Hospital, a hospital which employed crude behaviour therapy practises.<sup>606</sup> In an open *Facebook* group, titled “Greefswald”, previous recruits shared their personal experiences while being stationed at the camp from the late 1960s into the late 1970s. Some shared stories of being physically abused while others contradicted Bierman explaining that they understood Greefswald to be a labour camp for drug addicts.<sup>607</sup> Another shared a sketch of how they remembered the layout of the camp, this is pictured below.<sup>608</sup>

Fig. 5 Sketch of Greefswald Labour Camp



Source: Gordon Torr, 2013

Colonel Aubrey Levin, who was involved in aversion therapy practises conducted on white homosexual men in the South African Defence Force, was said to be involved in the treatment of drug addicts sent to Greefswald. Levin was recorded visiting Greefswald from November 1971. In reports from Greefswald, Levin is usually the only person who is mentioned by name situating him in the centre of the project. However, in a dissertation written by Levin in 1974 for his Doctorate completed at the University of Pretoria, he states that Greefswald, acting as a labour therapy camp, was not of his creation. Levin states that Greefswald was established by

<sup>606</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “‘Greefswald is no penal camp’ - Biermann”, *Rand Daily Mail*, September 2, 1972, pg. 4 (Hereafter cited as Rand Daily Mail, “‘Greefswald is no penal camp’ - Biermann”).

<sup>607</sup> C. Freeman, “Facebook Group – Greefswald” 11 October 2022., <https://www.facebook.com/groups/107635699254061>, accessed 02 December 2022.

<sup>608</sup> G. Torr, Facebook Group – Greefswald”, 4 March 2013., <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10151469348849354&set=g.107635699254061>, accessed 02 December 2022.

the Surgeon General at the time, Cocky Cockcroft and he was merely a member of the team at Greefswald headed by Cockcroft.<sup>609</sup> Levin's interaction with deviant members of society was not limited to drug addicts.

### **'Curing' Homosexuality**

Due to the hypermasculine and heteronormative disposition of the apartheid social and political fraternity, when the topic of sexuality arose, the South African State and some medical practitioners attempted to preserve white purity. However, this took a perverse and unethical turn.<sup>610</sup> Hormone therapy, gender reassignment surgery, and aversion therapy were methods used in desperate attempts to 'cure' homosexuality. This form of behaviour therapy was employed at an interesting time. The use of aversion therapy practises was common in countries such as Czechoslovakia, Britain, and America during the 1950s into the 1960s, but it was also during this period that the ethics and efficacy of aversion therapy was being called into question in the northern hemisphere. At a time when other countries were discontinuing the use of aversion therapy, the Nationalist State of South Africa was starting to implement it. Psychiatrists in the South African Defence Force were practising outdated methods on homosexual white conscripts.<sup>611</sup>

Homosexuality was pathologized as a mental illness. It was the cause of a moral panic in white Afrikaner society. The 1968 publication of the second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders aided in the legitimisation of the pathology model of homosexuality as it classified homosexuality as sexual deviance.<sup>612</sup> Mental institutions were generally situated away from urban centres on the outskirts of cities. Patients were separated from their families where they often lived in poor conditions. Tiffany Jones described the "institutionalised patient [as being] both metaphorically and physically exiled".<sup>613</sup> Homosexuality as a perceived mental illness was politically shaped by the apartheid State.

Mental patients were viewed as objects that could be used for medical experimentation by medical practitioners.<sup>614</sup> In 1969, the South African Defence Force initiated the "Aversion

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<sup>609</sup> Pollecut, "Unlocking South Africa's military archives.", 136.

<sup>610</sup> Jones, "Controlling and Challenging Sexuality", 116.

<sup>611</sup> Van Zyl, "The Aversion Project", 49.

<sup>612</sup> S. Pillay *et al*, "Queering the History of South African Psychology: From Apartheid to LGBTI+ Affirmative Practices", *American Psychological Association* 74 no. 8 (2019), 956.

<sup>613</sup> T. Jones, "Patient Accounts: Life in State Institutions and Challenging Exile, 1939 - 1961", In *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, e.d. T. F. Jones (New York: Routledge, (2012), p 58.

<sup>614</sup> Jones, "Patient Accounts", 60.

Project” and pursued it over the years until 1987. This was a project that attempted to ‘cure’ gay men. White men suspected of being homosexual were sent to either a psychologist or psychiatrist for assessment and treatment. This treatment consisted of aversion shock therapy, chemical castration, or gender reassignment surgery.<sup>615</sup>

Psychologists and psychiatrists involved in the aversion project were criticised for professional misconduct as conscripts were subjected to appalling treatment.<sup>616</sup> Even though the aetiology and treatment of homosexuality had no consensus among practitioners, their ideas sometimes supported the State’s objectives.<sup>617</sup> Homosexuality was noted to be prevalent in places like schools, prisons, and the army.<sup>618</sup> The Department of Justice enlisted the help of medical practitioners to solve the problem of homosexuality.

Patients who were admitted into mental institutions were put through rigorous physical examinations that included blood count and protein analysis, bone-age estimations, genital examinations, and urine tests among others. This resulted in homosexuality generally being defined within the confines of psycho-sociological explanations and ideas of biological difference.<sup>619</sup>

The classification of homosexuality as a mental illness was removed in 1973 from the American Psychiatric Association’s Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. However, this had no impact on psychiatrists’ medical perspectives working for the South African Defence Force. Homosexual Conscripts’ were sent to Ward 22 at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria.<sup>620</sup> Heading Ward 22 was Dr Aubrey Levin, an army psychiatrist with the ranking of Colonel.<sup>621</sup> Levin loudly proclaimed that he had had previous success in treating homosexuality. He explained that during his time at the Johannesburg General Hospital and Sterkfontein Hospital, he had successfully treated many homosexuals and lesbians through his aversion therapy treatment method.<sup>622</sup>

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<sup>615</sup> Pillay *et al*, “Queering the History of South African Psychology”, 956.

<sup>616</sup> R. Kaplan, “South African psychiatrists and the aversion project”, *South African Journal of Psychiatry* 9 no. 2 (2013), 52.

<sup>617</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 118.

<sup>618</sup> Rand Daily Mail, “The homosexuals”, *Rand Daily Mail*, March 9, 1968, pg. 10.

<sup>619</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 122.

<sup>620</sup> R. Kaplan, “Treating homosexuality during apartheid”, *British Medical Journal* 329 no. 7480 (2004), 1415.

<sup>621</sup> R. Kaplan, “The Aversion Project – Psychiatric Abuses in the South African Defence Force During the Apartheid Era”, *South African Medical Journal* 91 no. 3 (2001), 216.

<sup>622</sup> Jones, “Controlling and Challenging Sexuality”, 129.

Aubrey Levin's therapy programme consisted of aversion therapy methods. This consisted of electric shocks and the injection of drugs<sup>623</sup> such as morphine.<sup>624</sup> This method was less of a therapy and more of an experiment.<sup>625</sup> Tiffany Jones notes that those in mental institutions, or, in this case, conscripts in Ward 22, were treated as objects at the disposal of the Nationalist State.<sup>626</sup> Aversion therapy was performed on patients who other than being labelled as homosexual, were healthy. Medical professionals involved with the South African Defence Force still regarded homosexuality as a pathology and used outdated medical procedures to 'cure' homosexuals.<sup>627</sup>

Homosexuality among the permanent force was forbidden and those who committed homosexual acts were sent for rehabilitation. During rehabilitation, aversion therapy methods consisted of electrodes being strapped to the conscript's arm. Wires were attached to the electrodes and a machine operated with a dial calibrated from one to ten. Black and white pictures of men were shown to the conscript who was instructed to fantasize. While fantasizing, the conscript was shocked. Only when in immense pain would the dial be turned down to zero. As the shock stopped, the conscript was shown a colour centrefold picture from a *Playboy* magazine. This would be repeated 3 times per session with sessions being held every 2 to 3 days.<sup>628</sup>

In a 1997 *Sunday Times* article, a former homosexual conscript, Michael Smith, detailed his terrible experience during his compulsory military service. He explained that he was drugged and given electric shocks. Smith named Aubrey Levin as the conspirator behind his attempted forced sexual orientation change. Smith recounted that, firstly, he was made to admit to his parents that he was homosexual. Here, Levin interjected explaining to his family that he had a treatment plan which would 'cure' Smith. The family agreed. Smith was then subjected to aversion shock therapy.<sup>629</sup>

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<sup>623</sup> R. Kaplan, "The Bizarre Career of Aubrey Levin: From Abuser of Homosexual Conscripts to Molester of Male Prisoners", *Forensic Research Criminal International Journal* 2 no. 5 (2016), 1.

<sup>624</sup> Van Zyl, "The Aversion Project", 48.

<sup>625</sup> M. Van Zyl *et al*, "The Aversion Project: Human Rights abuses of gays and lesbians in the South African Defense Force by health workers during the apartheid era", *Simply Said and Done* (1999), 75.

<sup>626</sup> Jones, "Patient Accounts", 60.

<sup>627</sup> Van Zyl, "The Aversion Project", 75.

<sup>628</sup> Belkin and Canaday, "Assessing the integration of gays and lesbians into the South African Defence Force", 4.

<sup>629</sup> *Sunday Times*, "Troopie tells of gay 'torture horror'", *Sunday Times*, June 22, 1977, pg. 13 (hereafter cited as *Sunday Times*, "Troopie tells of gay 'torture horror'").

Other conscripts' accounts of aversion therapy included being made to look at pornographic photos of men and upon arousal, they were shocked. Another psychiatrist was notorious for intravenously giving conscripts up to 60mg of Valium, this was done to keep patients sedated. A mother whose son and son's friend were admitted into Ward 22 recounted her son's friend stating that they were always "drugged up" and unaware of how many days were passing.<sup>630</sup> Most commonly, like Michael Smith, most had electrodes strapped to their arms with wet cloths, shown erotic photographs of men, made to fantasize, and shocked until they screamed due to unbearable pain. Once the electric shock had ceased, photos of naked women were shown with the desired effect being that homosexual thoughts would be replaced by heterosexual ones.<sup>631</sup>

In their article detailing the human rights abuses committed by the South African Defence Force during the Aversion Project, Vasu Reddy, Lisa Wiebesiek, and Crystal Munthree interviewed several former homosexual army conscripts. Their first interview was conducted with a man referred to as Clive. Clive explained how, just like Smith, he was made to first admit to his parents that he was gay and then later given electric shocks while looking at 'boy magazines'. Clive's doctor, Dr Villesky, made him talk about what he thought about when viewing the magazines while receiving electric shocks.<sup>632</sup> In interview five with a conscript referred to as Neil, Dr Reynders gave him tablets that would dampen his sex drive. Neil reported that tablets resulted in causing lasting psychological, hormonal, and physiological damage.<sup>633</sup> These were crude interpretations of behaviour therapy.<sup>634</sup>

If aversion therapy's result was unsuccessful, there was a possibility that conscripts would undergo gender reassignment surgery. It is estimated that in the 18 years between 1969 to 1987, there were 900 surgeries conducted, roughly working out to 50 surgeries per year.<sup>635</sup> The procedure consisted of surgically changing the physical anatomical structure of homosexual conscripts. Following the surgery, which was sometimes incomplete, conscripts were discharged and given new birth certificates. They were also told to cut themselves off from

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<sup>630</sup> Van Zyl, "The Aversion Project", 77.

<sup>631</sup> Sunday Times, "Troopie tells of gay 'torture horror'".

<sup>632</sup> V. Reddy *et al*, "Military Mutilation: The aversion program in the South African Defence Force in the apartheid era", in *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, theory, and citizenship*, ed. S.N. Nyeck and M. Epprecht (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 96.

<sup>633</sup> Reddy, "Military Mutilation", 97.

<sup>634</sup> Kaplan, "Treating homosexuality during apartheid", 1415.

<sup>635</sup> Kaplan, "The Aversion Project", 16.

friends and family members.<sup>636</sup> Others were sometimes chemically castrated or given hormone treatments.<sup>637</sup> It was not uncommon for conscripts to have undergone these procedures without having given their consent.<sup>638</sup>

Homosexuality was grounds enough to be discharged from the Permanent Force. During the intake process, there was a policy directive expressing that care must be taken as to not admit those with 'behavioural disorders' into the Permanent Force.<sup>639</sup> However, there were those who were found to be homosexual and sent to Ward 22. Following being discharged, many former conscripts held Aubrey Levin personally responsible for the abusive and inappropriate treatment they were subjected to while in the army.<sup>640</sup> Reliable and thoroughly conducted empirical studies have proven treatments like aversion therapy to be ineffective. As a result of having undergone aversion therapy, many former conscripts state that they felt fearful, shameful, and conflicted.<sup>641</sup> A further consequence of aversion therapy left some homosexuals physically and emotionally scarred, others depressed, and some men reporting sterility.<sup>642</sup> After being discharged, other conscripts committed suicide.<sup>643</sup>

A well-known visual source that investigates the South African Defence Force's Aversion Project is a documentary, directed by Gerald Kraak in 2003, titled *Property of the State: Gay Men in the Apartheid Military*. The documentary deals with the contradictory experiences of gay men in the army. Some homosexual men found it to be an environment of eroticism, and others hostility. Interviews with former conscripts and anti-military activists were conducted for the documentary.<sup>644</sup>

The lives of gay conscripts are explored in the documentary. It explains how on their first-day army officials attempted to 'sniff' out gay men. Army officers attempted to literally try to smell which men were gay. The documentary further comments on suicides committed by homosexual conscripts and details the abuses conscripts received from other conscripts who

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<sup>636</sup> Kaplan, "Treating homosexuality during apartheid", 1415.

<sup>637</sup> Belkin and Canaday, "Assessing the integration of gays and lesbians", 5.

<sup>638</sup> Kaplan, "Treating homosexuality during apartheid", 1416.

<sup>639</sup> Van Zyl, "The Aversion Project", 55.

<sup>640</sup> Reddy, "Military Mutilation", 100.

<sup>641</sup> Van Zyl, "The Aversion Project", 37.

<sup>642</sup> Reddy, "Military Mutilation", 92.

<sup>643</sup> Kaplan, "Treating homosexuality during apartheid", 1415.

<sup>644</sup> Gay and Lesbian Archives, "Property of the State", *Newsletter of the Gay and Lesbian Archives of South Africa* 5 (2003), 1.

raped them. Ward 22 is also featured in the documentary where Aubrey Levin was named in connection with aversion therapy practices.<sup>645</sup>

Fictional stories based on homosexual conscript accounts have been documented through published novels. *Moffie* by Andre-Carl van der Merwe is a fictional story based on the real-life experiences of van der Merwe. The novel is set in the 1980s during a period where army service was compulsory and homosexuality was deemed a deviant sin.<sup>646</sup> The novel is centred around the main character, Nicholas van der Swart, who is conscripted into the army. Van der Swart is gay and terrified that the army will learn of his sexual orientation. If discovered as homosexual, van der Swart fears that he will be sent to Ward 22. Throughout the novel, van der Merwe draws our attention to the hypermasculine nature of the apartheid regime and provides the reader with a glimpse of the daily lived experience of a gay man in the South African military.<sup>647</sup>

## Conclusion

White society was moulded around the ideas of white purity and white morality. Such ideas were influenced by the interpretations of Biblical texts by the Dutch Reformed Church, which themselves were influenced by Calvinism. Alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality evoked emotions of disgust, anger, and fear because those three perceived social ills threatened to topple the racial hierarchy order.

Alcoholics were sent to State work colonies where treatment plans were shaped by penal reform policies that advocated for labour therapy. Alcoholics working in the work colonies were treated through hard labour which was said to distract them from alcohol. Later, the work colonies were closed and alcoholics were treated in rehabilitation centres. Labour therapy was replaced with psychological therapy. Alcoholism was recognised as a disease in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Drug addicts were sent to rehabilitation centres where they would undergo psychological treatments. The Nationalist State attempted to rid society of drugs by passing an Act in 1971 that would severely deal with drug peddlers and drug users. Heavy prison sentences were given

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<sup>645</sup> R. Schaap, "State of Emergency: An exploration of attitudes towards homosexuality in the SADF, 1969 – 1994", *the University of Stellenbosch Master of Arts Dissertation* (2011), 47.

<sup>646</sup> Sunday Times, "Book of the week", *Sunday Times Lifestyle*, September 24, 2006, 18 (hereafter cited as Sunday Times, "Book of the week").

<sup>647</sup> Sunday Times, "Book of the week".

to those in violation of the Act where they could face up to 25 years in prison. Those who were not in rehabilitation centres, or prison, found themselves at Greefswald. Greefswald was a military camp where drug addicts in the army were sent. The camp used hard labour as a deterrent to drug usage. The camp was criticised for using penal reform methods but the army defended the camp stating it was a specialised unit.

Psychiatrists and psychologists participated in committing human rights violations. Homosexuals were subjected to inappropriate and appalling treatment during their compulsory army service in the South African Defence Force. Homosexuals were subjected to aversion shock therapy treatments, chemical castration, hormone therapy, or gender reassignment surgery. These treatments often left conscripts feeling depressed, shameful, and fearful. Some even committed suicide. In their attempt to maintain white purity, the apartheid government put their ideals above the needs of all groups of society.

## **Chapter 5 – Against a Common Enemy: Perceived Deviance and the Alliance between Religion, Race, and Science in Apartheid South Africa**

### **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the convenient alliance between religion, race, and science during the apartheid era as the apartheid body politic sought to grapple with deviant behaviours. Firstly, this chapter will discuss the Calvinistic Christianity adhered to by the Afrikaners in relation to the role it played during apartheid. Religious ties to race and science will be examined while exploring religion as an institution of social control. Secondly, this chapter hypothesises reasons for the apartheid State's use of science as a tool for social control. This will be done by exploring how internal issues such as social deviance and civil unrest and the external challenges (international pressure and the liberation of bordering countries) presented the apartheid State with a set of challenges that prompted recourse to a strategy that mobilised science and religion. The legitimacy of the apartheid State was always under threat from multiple fronts, which pushed them to use any means possible to secure their political and economic survival. Lastly, this chapter will explain how the sociological concepts of normalcy and deviance relate to white society during the apartheid regime. The apartheid State employed social control methods such as work colonies and aversion therapy. Furthermore, the military also acted as an institution of social control while simultaneously being a symbol of heteropatriarchy.

The apartheid system was always under threat from multiple fronts, even during the so-called “Golden Age” of apartheid, circa late 1960s to early 1970s. If it was not contending with external political forces, then it was battling internal issues that threatened to undermine its social and moral fabric. Alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality were some of the key internal issues that threatened to undermine the social fabric of Afrikanerdom. As the religious and racial sensibilities of Afrikanerdom came under attack, the State looked to science for a solution. This occasioned a strange new alliance. Scientific models that came into direct contradiction with religion were berated and labelled as falsities, like the theory of evolution. However, when branches of science and the social sciences supported white supremacist ideologies, the apartheid State not only accepted such theories but employed them as part of its control toolkit. Examples of this can be found in eugenics which supported white gene purity and scientific racism which supported white superiority.

The National Party, which was the dominant political force during the apartheid era, formulated its political policies around the preservation of white society, and these policies were enacted and entrenched at a time when the winds of change were blowing across the region and the continent. Predating the implementation of apartheid, racial segregation and racism were already in existence in South Africa. However, the apartheid approach took matters to a new level with a clutch of laws and policies that were not seen since the arrival of the British and Dutch colonists in the Cape during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

As many scholars have elaborated, the formulation of the Afrikaner identity over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had come with a growing sense of nationalism among Afrikaners that was intertwined with Christianity, where the Bible was interpreted literally and white racial purity was valorised. Saul Dubow in his article “Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of ‘Race’” explains that the Afrikaners used their ethnicity as a driving force of mobilisation to grab State power during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>648</sup>

In another article entitled, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High-Apartheid South Africa”, Dubow discusses the role that scientific racism played in sustaining apartheid.<sup>649</sup> Dubow does this by examining the role of intellectuals like J. D. J. Hofmeyr who was a plant geneticist associated with the University of Pretoria in the late 1950s, and Gerhardus ‘Gerrie’ Eloff, a proponent of eugenics. As members of the South African Genetics Society, they were concerned with white racial purity. Black people were deemed a threat to white economic and political enterprise, while also posing a threat through their possible dilution of white genes through interracial sexual relations – a centrepiece of the black peril scares. The National Party campaigned with such fears in mind and won the 1948 general election which resulted in the legal implementation of apartheid

The Afrikanerdom’s obsession with white racial purity and white political control went into overdrive from the 1950s onwards. As John M. Luiz has illustrated, the apartheid system practised social engineering on a mass scale, not only in relation to black people but also in terms of the organisation of white society.<sup>650</sup> It is commonly understood that the National Party

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<sup>648</sup> S. Dubow, “Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of ‘Race’”, *The Journal of African History* 33 no. 2 (1992), 209.

<sup>649</sup> S. Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High-Apartheid South Africa”, *Kronos* 41 no.1 (2015), 244.

<sup>650</sup> J. M. Luiz, “The Evolution and Fall of the South African Apartheid State: A Political Economy Perspective”, *Ufahamu: A Journal of South African Studies* 26 no. 2-3 (1998), 62-63.

embarked on campaigns of social control and engineering concerning black people as evidenced through legislation such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the implementation of the Bantustans. However, the policing of white society was often left to lurk in the shadows.

Geoffrey Cronje, one of the academics who provided apartheid with intellectual scaffolding while also raising anxieties over white alcoholism during the 1940s, and Hendrik Verwoerd, an Afrikaner political leader credited with being the architect of apartheid, both injected ideas of social and racial hygiene and eugenics into apartheid thinking. White society needed to be kept pure racially and socially. In his article “The mind of apartheid: Geoffrey Cronje (1907- )” John M. Coetzee investigates the intellectual work produced by Cronje in the pre-apartheid era and highlights the emphasis that Cronje placed on white racial and national purity.<sup>651</sup> Interracial sexual relations jeopardised the white gene pool as black people were believed to be inferior and born with undesirable characteristics.

Edward A. Tiryankian has written about how apartheid found its justification in scripture, which ostensibly deemed the Afrikaners as guardians over the less culturally mature and uncivilised black indigenous people.<sup>652</sup> The Calvinistic Christian ethos permeated almost every sphere of Afrikaner life. The Christian National Education is an example of this where Afrikaner school pupils were taught Biblical scriptures and Christian views on morality. R. G. MacMillan, in their article “Christian National Education”, expands on the policy of Christian National Education, explaining that from a young age the Afrikaner youth were instilled with Christian morals as understood by the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>653</sup> These Christian morals were: white people were superior to black people, to be a moral citizen meant you were a Christian, and you believed in creationism.

However, the Bible was not the only authority that provided justification for apartheid; instead, the social sciences, in particular psychology, sociology, and anthropology, were also mobilised in aid of this whole exercise.<sup>654</sup> South African eugenic practices were legitimised by psychology, sociology, and anthropology through their understanding of scientific racism and

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<sup>651</sup> J. M. Coetzee, “The mind of apartheid: Geoffrey Cronje (1907- )”, *Social Dynamics* 17 no. 1 (1991), 3.

<sup>652</sup> E. A. Tiryankian, “Apartheid and Religion”, *Theology Today* 14 no.3 (1957), 385.

<sup>653</sup> R. G. MacMillan, “Christian National Education”, *A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 28 (1967), 44.

<sup>654</sup> T. F. Jones, “Averting White Male (Ab)normality: Psychiatric Representations and Treatment of ‘Homosexuality’ in 1960s South Africa”, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34 no. 2 (2008) 398; Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 244.

social Darwinism. However, even though these disciplines modelled around science were incorporated into apartheid ideology, scientific theories that contested Biblical teachings were rejected. This was to such an extent that the theory of evolution was forbidden to be taught in schools. How then could a regime that rested firmly on the foundation of religion use science not only as an additional avenue of legitimisation but also as a means of curing perceived social deviancies? As this chapter will show, science was used only when in alignment with the agenda of the National Party.

### **Apartheid, Christianity, and Science**

In the late 1800 the Boers of Dutch descent were at loggerheads with the British in the Cape. In the Boer struggle for self-determination, religion acted not only as a source of comfort during a time of strife but also as a source of moral support.<sup>655</sup> This form of nationalism bred hierarchal exclusivity.<sup>656</sup> The church called for definitions of separateness to be more clearly defined.<sup>657</sup> Through the church, “Christian” became synonymous with “European” and “white man”. Therefore, Christianity became a distinguishing feature of being white while also acting as a buttress against the British and black people.<sup>658</sup> Such nationalism pushed for a land the Boers could call home. Following the Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) the Boers not only felt stateless, but they also felt their identity was in a state of crisis.<sup>659</sup>

The Afrikaners, whose superiority was supported by their understanding of Christianity and their phenotypical features, appointed themselves as the black person's overlords due to the belief that they were more civilized.<sup>660</sup> Calvinistic Christianity separated the Afrikaners and black people.<sup>661</sup> This was because black people were perceived as primitive with the psychological make-up of a European who had not reached full maturity.<sup>662</sup> Such assertion of white racial superiority was drawn from Social Darwinism.

Afrikaner Christian Nationalism and scientific racism played an important role in shaping apartheid.<sup>663</sup> The Afrikaner's selective use of science is interesting as they were a deeply

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<sup>655</sup> Tiryanian, “Apartheid and Religion”, 390.

<sup>656</sup> M. B. Mhlauli *et al*, “Understanding Apartheid in South Africa through the racial contract”, *International Journal of Asian Social Science* 5 no. 4 (2015), 209.

<sup>657</sup> Ritner. “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 17.

<sup>658</sup> Tiryanian, “Apartheid and Religion”, 390.

<sup>659</sup> Tiryanian, “Apartheid and Religion”, 388.

<sup>660</sup> Mhlauli *et al*, “Understanding Apartheid in South Africa”, 209.

<sup>661</sup> Hexman. “Dutch Calvinism”, 97.

<sup>662</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 244.

<sup>663</sup> Dubow, “Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of ‘Race’”, 209.

religious community. The theory of evolution, which contradicts Biblical accounts of the creation of the universe, was vehemently denounced. This was because evolution challenged the authority of Biblical scriptures.<sup>664</sup> However, we see the Afrikaner community developing a symbiotic relationship with science.<sup>665</sup> Social Darwinism, which attempts to account for different species' separate evolution based on regional location, employs elements of evolutionist theory, was incorporated into apartheid regimes justification.

Darwinist theory, in conjunction with scientific racism, classified humans into a hierarchal order based on the different stages of evolution they were in: primitive to civilised. Whites were at the top of the hierarchy and black people were at the base. These ideas of racial superiority were used in part to justify apartheid.<sup>666</sup> Where science contradicted religion, it was jettisoned but where science supported scripture, it was used to strengthen notions of racial difference and white rule.

The Dutch Reformed Church had a peculiar attitude towards science and its relation to religion. The Dutch Reformed Church interpreted the Bible literally. Everything written was believed to be true and the Bible then became the Christian science handbook.<sup>667</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Boers identified themselves with the Israelites, God's chosen people. Black people were likened to the sons of Ham who carried the curse of Cain. This meant that black people were doomed to perpetual bondage due to the wrath of God, thus giving the Boers Biblical justification for their treatment of black people.<sup>668</sup>

During the 1960s, Biblical understandings and scientific ideas of racial difference morphed into a particular strain of eugenic thought employed by the National Party. The 1960s and 1970s saw ideas of scientific racism strengthening in South Africa. Scientific racism and eugenics had long been apparent in Europe, a notorious example being Nazi Germany. During World War Two, Adolf Hitler employed the use of scientific racism and eugenics. Through the understanding of scientific racism, the Jews, Gypsies, and homosexuals, to name a few, were viewed as weak and worthless members of society. Informed by eugenic strains of thought,

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<sup>664</sup> Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of 'Race'", 242.

<sup>665</sup> J. Van den Heever, "Creationism in the Colonies: science, religion and the legacy of apartheid", 1.

<sup>666</sup> Mhlauli *et al*, "Understanding Apartheid in South Africa", 204.

<sup>667</sup> Van den Heever, "Creationism in the Colonies", 1.

<sup>668</sup> Tiryanikian, "Apartheid and Religion", 392.

those who ostensibly weakened society were either sterilised or killed because “if they were not worthy of breeding, why should they be worthy of living?”.<sup>669</sup>

Transitioning out of the war periods, European countries started to move away from crude racial theories. During the 1960s, British scientists started to question the credibility of the classifications of race. This was a result of newly emerging ideas which increasingly questioned human social life being reduced to the biology of race. To the majority of scientists in the northern hemisphere, from the 1940s, race was increasingly becoming irrelevant as a legitimate way of classifying human beings. Nazi racism had helped to solidify these ideas of racial redundancy.<sup>670</sup> These progressive ideas on race are in stark contrast to the concepts of race apparent in South Africa during apartheid.

The South African Genetic Society, established at the University of Pretoria in 1956, was “a statement of confidence in Afrikaner science”.<sup>671</sup> J. D. J. Hofmeyr, the President of the society from 1956, who specialised in plant genetics, along with other academics such as Gerhardus ‘Gerrie’ Eloff and D. J. Nolte, (who were also specialists in plant genetics), invested a great deal of energy on work focusing on human genetics.<sup>672</sup> Genetics was of a particular focus owing to the belief that different racial groups had different levels of intelligence, culture, moral codes, and religion. If interbreeding were to take place between white and black people, this would threaten the white genetic pool.<sup>673</sup>

As God’s chosen people, the Afrikaners needed to maintain their identity culturally, biologically, and religiously, if they were to fulfil their calling. Therefore, the preservation of Afrikaner racial identity became their duty.<sup>674</sup> J. D. J. Hofmeyr emphasised the need for research to be conducted on racial intermixture within a scientific context. This interest continued into the 1970s when eugenics also became topical in South Africa. This is where Hofmeyr began promoting the idea of human genetics being racialised as a defence for apartheid.<sup>675</sup>

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<sup>669</sup> J. Marks, “History of Scientific Racism”, in *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism*, ed. J. H. Moore (Farmington Hills: Thompson and Gale, 2008), p. 10.

<sup>670</sup> S. Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960* (London: The MacMillan Press LTD, 1982), 172.

<sup>671</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 241.

<sup>672</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 240.

<sup>673</sup> Dubow, “Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of ‘Race’”, 222.

<sup>674</sup> Ritner. “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 26.

<sup>675</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 241-242.

In the 1970s anxieties over race were heightened. Black birth rates were increasing and mortality rates decreasing while white birth rates were declining. The white minority would be even more of a minority. The 'Black Peril', *swaart gevaar* in Afrikaans, was a white political rhetoric used to remind white people of the threat that black people posed to their survival. This rhetoric was further used to justify the National Party's neo-Malthusian policy entitled 'The National Family Planning Programme'.<sup>676</sup> The National Family Planning Programme was implemented in 1974. This was a State sponsored programme that promoted the improvement of women's and children's health through family planning services. These services were free to any woman who wanted to use them.<sup>677</sup>

The white state attempted to deflect any form of black suspicion over the implementation of the programme. If the programme was suspected to be influenced by politics it was feared by Parliament that the programme would then not work.<sup>678</sup> However, it was acknowledged that there was a link between white fears concerning rising black birth rates and the establishment of the programme. The Family Planning Programme was suspected of being a dubious programme that had "genocidal undertones".<sup>679</sup> Depo-Provera was a contraceptive injection widely administered at clinics run by the Family Planning Programme. The contraceptive injection would last up to 3 months, which resulted in health care workers recommending Depo-Provera due to its long-lasting effects.

By the late 1980s both the United States of America and Britain had banned Depo-Provera due to side effects, however in South Africa, over 50% of the black female population were still injected with this contraceptive injection.<sup>680</sup> The pill and intrauterine devices (IUDs) were also administered at family planning clinics. Black women who had IUDs inserted often reported heavy periods, ectopic pregnancy, infertility, and sterilisation.<sup>681</sup> Further attempts were made by the Nationalist State to control the perceived *swaart gevaar* through Project Coast. Project Coast was South Africa's covert biological and chemical warfare programme carried out in the 1980s.<sup>682</sup> The project, headed by Dr Wouter Basson, aimed to develop a defence strategy in the

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<sup>676</sup> B. Brown, "Facing the 'Black Peril': The politics of population control in South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13 no. 2 (1987), 256-262.

<sup>677</sup> C. E. Kaufman, "Reproductive Control in Apartheid South Africa", *Population Studies* 54 no. 1 (2000), 105.

<sup>678</sup> Brown, "Facing the 'Black Peril'", 264.

<sup>679</sup> Kaufman, "Reproductive Control in Apartheid South Africa", 105.

<sup>680</sup> Kaufman, "Reproductive Control in Apartheid South Africa", 110.

<sup>681</sup> D. Lewis, and E. Salo, "Birth Control, Contraception, and Women's Rights in SA: A Cape Town Study", *Agenda* 9 no. 17 (1993), 64.

<sup>682</sup> H. Purkitt, and S. Burgess, "South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme: A Historical Perspective", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 no. 2 (2002), 231.

field of biochemical weapons. Project Coast was justified by explaining that through the project, South Africa would gain valuable knowledge on chemical weapons.<sup>683</sup>

While the Dutch Reformed Church provided apartheid with ideological support through religious sanction for racial separation,<sup>684</sup> science, endorsed by white academics, further aided apartheid by providing intellectual reasonings for the defence for racial separation. White people believed themselves to be at the top of the civilisation hierarchy, as they perceived themselves as culturally and religiously mature.<sup>685</sup>

Britain and America during both World Wars had been involved in the production of biochemical weapons, which influenced South Africa. As a defence strategy to protect the country during the Second World War, South Africa produced mustard gas along with other chemical weapons. In 1946, South Africa dumped large quantities of mustard gas at sea. However, this did not derail South Africa's fascination with biochemical weapons.<sup>686</sup> General Magnus Malan, South Africa's Defence Minister from 1980 to 1991, formally implemented Project Coast in 1981.<sup>687</sup>

Dr Adriaan Goosen, who headed the Roodeplaat Research Laboratory in the 1980s, which acted as a front company for Project Coast, testified at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the late 1990s that research was conducted in producing a biological agent that would selectively kill black people.<sup>688</sup> This research was founded on work conducted by an unknown European scientist who claimed to have developed a bacterial strain that would only kill people of colour. However, those claims were dismissed because anatomically there were no biological differences between black and white people.<sup>689</sup>

At the Roodeplaat Research Laboratory further research was conducted on a targeted sterilisation vaccine. This vaccine was to be formulated with the goal of sterilising black people. It was proposed that the vaccine would be administered clandestinely through the country's water supply. Doctors working at the research laboratory confirmed that the production of the vaccine was possible. By research conducted into peptide synthesis, it was

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<sup>683</sup> M. Malan, *My life with the SA Defence Force* (Hatfield, Protea Book House, 2006), 393.

<sup>684</sup> Tiryanian, "Apartheid and Religion", 385.

<sup>685</sup> Mhlauli *et al*, "Understanding Apartheid in South Africa", 204.

<sup>686</sup> Purkitt, and Burgess, "South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme", 230-231.

<sup>687</sup> C. Gold, and P. Folb, *Project Coast: Apartheid's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme* (United Nations, 2002), 12

<sup>688</sup> J. Singh, "Project Coast: Eugenics in apartheid South Africa", *Endeavour* 31 no. 1 (2008), 6.

<sup>689</sup> Singh, "Project Coast: Eugenics in apartheid South Africa", 6.

hypothesised that the formation of HCG in women after conception could be prevented, therefore resulting in effective contraception.<sup>690</sup>

Henrick Verwoerd explained that South Africa's racial policies were not racist but instead allowed the black population to develop and evolve in their own space and in their own time. This was done to preserve "cultural and ethnic differences".<sup>691</sup> Werner Eiselen, an anthropologist associated with Stellenbosch University in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, played a pivotal role in the construction of apartheid thinking. As the Secretary of Native Affairs from 1950 to 1958, Eiselen drafted the original blueprint for apartheid that was based on imperial assumptions of social evolution. Such assumptions of social evolution fed into ideas of comparative religion during apartheid. According to Eiselen, black South Africans' beliefs and practices could not be classified as a religion and the term "religion" should be reserved for people with an "elevated culture".<sup>692</sup>

Koot Vorster, a theologian, and brother to former Prime Minister B. J. Vorster, maintained the assumption that the Afrikaner population would be weakened if miscegenation was to occur as he believed that there was a spiritual and physical incompatibility between black and white people.<sup>693</sup> This was in line with Afrikaner Nationalist thought as the Afrikaner people justified their actions by arguing that they had the right to maintain their identity. Afrikanerdom, the *volk*, used Christian Nationalist ideas to forge cultural and ethnic unity between Afrikaners.<sup>694</sup> Geoffrey Cronje, a sociologist and criminologist working at the University of Pretoria during the 1940s, referred to apartheid as the Afrikaner *volk's* salvation.<sup>695</sup>

Apartheid ideologues feared any form of mixtures between the different race groups as this would impact the purity of the white population.<sup>696</sup> Ideas of racial purity were evident in Werner Eiselen's work, a founding member of the *volkekunde*, established at Stellenbosch University.<sup>697</sup> *Volkekunde* was the Afrikaner Nationalist version of Anthropology, more specifically social anthropology. This nationalist form of anthropology was established first at

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<sup>690</sup> Gold, and Folb, *Project Coast*, 65.

<sup>691</sup> Dubow, "Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy", 243.

<sup>692</sup> D. Chidester, "Apartheid Comparative Religion in South Africa", in *Religion, Theory, Critique: Classic and Contemporary Approaches and Methodologies*, e.d. R. King (Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2017), p. 557.

<sup>693</sup> Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of 'Race'", 222.

<sup>694</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Identity: Just another name for power", *Rand Daily Mail*, September 12, 1978, pg. 11.

<sup>695</sup> JCoetzee, "The mind of apartheid: Geoffrey Cronje (1907-)", 3.

<sup>696</sup> Chidester, "Apartheid Comparative Religion in South Africa", 560.

<sup>697</sup> Dubow, "Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy", 243.

Stellenbosch University in the 1920s but continued and evolved over successive decades into the late apartheid era.

*Volkekunde* placed a substantial emphasis on cultural difference where race was used as a classification to categorise difference. *Volkekunde* was closely linked to racial science.<sup>698</sup> An integral part of the *volkekunde* syllabus was racial science and eugenics.<sup>699</sup> Geoffrey Cronje was highly concerned with racial mixing. In his 1945 book, *'n Tuiste vir die nageslag* (A Home for Prosperity), he dedicated the publication to Afrikaner mothers who were the protectors of the Boer nation's bloodline.

According to Cronje, the Afrikaner mother was the person who would decide to only have sexual relations with pure-blooded Afrikaner men thus keeping the bloodline pure. The Afrikaner father was not viewed in the same regard. This emphasised the importance placed on the female role in reproduction and why interracial mixture caused anxiety.<sup>700</sup> The Afrikaner mother was viewed as the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation). White Afrikaner women needed to subscribe to the ideals of motherhood so that they could nurture and support men. It was through the family that social hierarchy was legitimised which in turn legitimised biological understandings of gender to allow for the normative nature of heterosexuality.<sup>701</sup> If racial mixture were permitted, then Cronje feared that white people would eventually cease to exist.<sup>702</sup> The Dutch Reformed Church supported these ideas of racial separation as they were completely opposed to miscegenation. The Church stated that it was “the sacred conviction of the Afrikaner People and Church that the only salvation of the people’s existence lies in the implementation of this principle of race-separation”.<sup>703</sup>

Gerhardus ‘Gerrie’ Eloff, a nationalist radical-right eugenicist who in the 1960s was tasked with creation of the anthropogenetic institute associated with the South African Genetics Society, was a firm believer in the racial superiority of the Afrikaner population. Eloff sought to use anthropology to provide Christian National ideology with a scientific underpinning. He did this by making the argument of positive eugenics which stated that the Afrikaners had a

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<sup>698</sup> C. S. van der Waal, “Long walk from volkekunde to anthropology: reflections on representing the human in South Africa”, *Anthropology Southern Africa* 38 no. 3-4 (2015), 220.

<sup>699</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 243.

<sup>700</sup> Coetzee, “The mind of apartheid”, 3.

<sup>701</sup> C. Van der Westhuizen, “Silence, Service, and White Sex: The Lives of the *Volksmoeder*”, in *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*, ed. C. Van der Westhuizen (Durban: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press, 2018), p. 102 – 105.

<sup>702</sup> Coetzee, “The mind of apartheid”, 7-8.

<sup>703</sup> Ritner. “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, 24.

combination of the best Nordic qualities. Thus, Afrikaners should remain pure but also act as custodians over the black population.<sup>704</sup>

Christianity, as practised by the Afrikaners through the Dutch Reformed Church, played a significant role during apartheid. The Dutch Reformed Church not only influenced apartheid policies but also acted as a generator for the Afrikaner people's social norms and values.<sup>705</sup> For the Afrikaner community, the Old Testament acted as a mirror of their lives. They believed they were God's chosen people who were given the divine right to rule over the primitive heathens of South Africa.<sup>706</sup> There was a general understanding that black people were primitive people who had not reached the same stage of development as white people, thus rendering them culturally retarded and psychologically immature.<sup>707</sup>

The Dutch Reformed Church supported apartheid ideology while simultaneously providing religious justification. While not every white person endorsed the implementation of the apartheid regime, a great majority of the white population did – both Afrikaans and English-speaking white people.<sup>708</sup> Apartheid, spurred by the idea of maintaining white culture and moral purity, was a regime initiated by growing Afrikaner Nationalism. Afrikaner Nationalism was significantly influenced by Calvinism where Christianity acted as a driving force of Afrikaner Nationalism.<sup>709</sup>

Ideas of Christianity and white moral purity were instilled in the Afrikaner community from a young age. In the late 1940s, Christian National Education was introduced into schools. The curriculum was compiled by the Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys van die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (Institute for Christian National Education of the Afrikaans Culture/al Federation) established in 1939. This education policy was implemented to mould the Afrikaner youth in the image of God.<sup>710</sup> Thus, the education received by white children would be Christian and “national”. Christian education meant that you lived your life according

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<sup>704</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 248.

<sup>705</sup> S, Ritner. “The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 2 no. 4 (1967), 2

<sup>706</sup> I, Hexman. “Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism”, *African Affairs* 79 no. 315 (1980), 195.

<sup>707</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White”, 244.

<sup>708</sup> Tiryanian, “Apartheid and Religion”, 385.

<sup>709</sup> Hexman. “Dutch Calvinism”, 197.

<sup>710</sup> MacMillan, “Christian National Education”, 44.

to Biblical scriptures in line with the Dutch Reformed Church's interpretation and national meant you had a love for your language, history, and culture.<sup>711</sup>

Christian National Education was a form of education which closely followed the Calvinistic teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church. Religious and political sentiments associated with the Church and the National Party were combined to promote Afrikaner unity among white children from their formative years.<sup>712</sup> In the Christian National Education policy, the theory of evolution was forbidden to be taught at schools. This was because evolution was perceived as undermining Biblical descriptions of life forms, especially humans. Furthermore, such scientific findings were also in contradiction with Biblical understandings of creationism.<sup>713</sup>

Christian National Education was taught in Afrikaans with emphasis placed on the history of the Afrikaner people and cultivating a love for one's own nation. This resulted in the glorification of the State.<sup>714</sup> In a 1949 pamphlet titled *Blackout*, a manifesto published by the Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys ((Institute for Christian National Education) was criticised as a blueprint for Christian-National education. The pamphlet referred to the education policy as being skilfully prepared propaganda that furthered the Christian-National doctrine. In line with their inference of propaganda, *Blackout* highlighted the threat of education being state-controlled. In all capital letters, the pamphlet states, "C.N.O IS A POLICY OF INDOCTRINATION".<sup>715</sup>

On June 25<sup>th</sup> 1949, a symposium at Duncan Hall, Johannesburg, was held on Christian National Education. The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge was represented by Prof. J. Chris Coetzee who was the main speaker at the event. Coetzee stated that the Christian National Education policy was developed from the point of view of the Calvinistic teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church. He pointed out that while being aware of the criticism surrounding science being taught from a Calvinist perspective, he maintained that the science they studied was in alignment with their views on life. Prof Coetzee then strategically mentioned their following of Plato's idealism, Aristotle's realism, and Dewey's pragmatism – ancient

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<sup>711</sup> Mhlauli *et al*, "Understanding Apartheid in South Africa", 209.

<sup>712</sup> MacMillan, "Christian National Education", 45.

<sup>713</sup> Van den Heever, "Creationism in the Colonies", 2.

<sup>714</sup> MacMillan, "Christian National Education", 46-47.

<sup>715</sup> Blackout pamphlet on Christian National Education, AD1715, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Blackout pamphlet on Christian National Education, AD1715).

philosophies ostensibly in line with Nationalist thought.<sup>716</sup> These ideas would be challenged over the course of time.

A 1960 *Home and School Council* pamphlet warned parents of the negative impacts of Christian National Education. The pamphlet described this form of indoctrination as a distortion of the Afrikaner people's history that moulded children in the image of "extremists". Racial prejudice was further instilled in the Afrikaner youth. Christian National Education taught the literal interpretation of the Bible with an outright rejection of evolution. Nothing anti-Christian was permitted to be taught.<sup>717</sup>

In alignment with this, the school subject of History was heavily centred around Afrikaner Nationalist history and its ties to religion. History was to teach the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity. Jesus Christ was history's turning point. That is why history classes needed to teach Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Life and Death of Christ, and the Second Coming and the End of the World. History classes also stressed that each nation had its own singular role to play in the fulfilment of God's plan. Young Afrikaner children could only do this if they were equipped with knowledge of the nation's true origin and national heritage.<sup>718</sup>

Christian Nationalism aided apartheid in differentiating itself from other forms of segregation. This was because Christian Nationalism was intertwined with racist ideas about racial biological differences.<sup>719</sup> In instituting policies, the National Party used both scripture and cherry-picked science. As stated previously, science that corroborated biblical justifications was accepted. As an established religion in South Africa, Christianity played a pivotal role in society, resulting in a South African society that was not exposed to views contrasting the prevailing Christian orthodoxy.<sup>720</sup> With such an emphasis being placed on white purity and religion, it was imperative to the Nationalist State that white society conforms to the social norms established through religion, although religion sometimes had a symbiotic relationship with science. This relationship with science helped maintain white power and white social norms. If white society transgressed the generally accepted social norms, such as being an

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<sup>716</sup> Duncan Hall Symposium on Christian-National Education, 1949, AD1715, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Duncan Hall Symposium on Christian-National Education, 1949, AD1715).

<sup>717</sup> Home and School Council pamphlet, 1960, AD1715, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974, Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg (hereafter cited as Home and School Council pamphlet, 1960, AD1715).

<sup>718</sup> Blackout pamphlet on Christian National Education, AD1715.

<sup>719</sup> Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of 'Race'", 209.

<sup>720</sup> Rand Daily Mail, "Humanism versus Dogmatism", *Rand Daily Mail*, November 15, 1984, pg. 7.

alcoholic, drug addict or homosexual, then scientific methods were employed to ‘cure’ the perceived social ills.

### **Science and Religion in the Policing of White Society**

In order to maintain a white-ruled South Africa, the National Party had to prevent any form of mixture – race, language, and culture. This was also done in the name of preserving white racial purity.<sup>721</sup> Geoffrey Cronje was of the assumption that race was preordained by God during creation. Cronje was a proponent of maintaining racial diversity as this would protect the *volk* from “bastardisation”. Racial diversity, to Cronje, like that of Hendrik Verwoerd, was the separate development of the different races. Separate development translated to the race groups of South Africa existing independently of one another. To Cronje, the mixture of races was an unnatural sin against Creation.<sup>722</sup>

The State and Church colluded to ensure that white Calvinistic Christians remained in force and performed the role of acting as guardians over the alleged primitive black population. Such power retention was maintained through the social policing of white society. White society had to remain pure, moral, Christian, and heterosexual. Although during the 1950s (such as the 1952 Defiance Campaign), during the 1960s there was wider and more organised civil unrest which began to increasingly challenge the Nationalist State during the era of high apartheid. During this time, South Africa also started to come under international scrutiny.

The mid-to-late 1960s was a period marked by political uncertainty. Following the events of the Sharpeville Massacre (March 1960), which highlighted the fragility of white power, Christian leaders started to question the Biblical foundations of apartheid.<sup>723</sup> The independence of neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe further shined the spotlight on South Africa and put the apartheid regime into an invidious position. This unsettled the National Party as it questioned the power and strength of whiteness.<sup>724</sup> From the 1970s South Africa also started to face international pressure in response to growing concerns about the apartheid regime and its excesses. Western countries started to impose formal sanctions on the repressive regime. In 1986 the United States passed the Comprehensive

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<sup>721</sup> Chidester, “Apartheid Comparative Religion in South Africa”, 560.

<sup>722</sup> Coetzee, “The mind of apartheid”, 9.

<sup>723</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 260.

<sup>724</sup> T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: From 1902 to the Present* (South Africa: Penguin Random House, 2021), p. 146.

Anti-Apartheid Act which placed further sanctions on the regime.<sup>725</sup> With neighbouring countries gaining independence, civil unrest growing, and increasing international pressure, President P. W. Botha declared a state of emergency in July 1985.<sup>726</sup>

In 1976 the Soweto Riots broke out and Steve Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, was obtained in 1977. This resulted in an international outcry that prompted the United Nations to impose an arms embargo against South Africa.<sup>727</sup> In 1987 the Southern African Liberation Committee published a booklet detailing South Africa's Total Strategy. The booklet stated that from the mid-1980s opposition to the apartheid regime had resulted in outbreaks of mass demonstrations.<sup>728</sup>

Rent boycotts, tax revolts, paramilitary forces like *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, rising crime rates, international sanctions and embargos, withdrawal from the Commonwealth, and neighbouring countries being liberated (some via communist backing who also aided exiled South African liberation movements such as the African National Congress), sent the National Party into a state of panic.<sup>729</sup> Apartheid and white power's legitimacy were being challenged internally and externally. The Nationalist State was losing its hegemonic control over South Africa. To maintain the farce of white supremacy, white society had to adhere to the societal social norms to ensure white political and economic control and stability. Alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality were internal societal threats to white society.

Apartheid was fixated on binary ideas of masculinity and femininity which promoted gendered social roles based on biology while simultaneously normalising heterosexuality. The heteropatriarchal nature of apartheid society supported white male structures and upheld white political and economic control. The State had to control white sexuality so that interracial sexual relations could be prevented so that white political dominance could be asserted. Furthermore, the State policed white sexual orientation as homosexuality challenged Biblical teachings of sex for procreation and not pleasure. White moral purity was paramount in the

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<sup>725</sup> A. W. Marx, "International Intervention in South Africa: The Difficult Transition to Development Assistance", *Journal of International Affairs* 46 no. 1 (1992), 175

<sup>726</sup> P. L. Levy, "Sanctions on South Africa: What did they do?", *Centre Discussion Paper, Yale University no. 769*, (1999), 3-5.

<sup>727</sup> J. Selfe, "Adaptations to the Security Intelligence Decision-Making Structures under P. W. Botha's administration", Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town (1987), 2.

<sup>728</sup> Southern African Liberation Committee booklet on Total Strategy, "South Africa's Total Strategy: War on the Frontline States in Defense of Apartheid", February 1999.

<sup>729</sup> Luiz, "The Evolution and Fall of the South African Apartheid State", 62-63.

effort of resisting black communist advances. If white society was in moral decay, then white power would wane and South Africa would no longer be white-controlled.<sup>730</sup>

To the black majority population and the international world, the apartheid State lacked legitimacy. The apartheid regime was a complex system of social engineering that policed the social norms of society to maintain power but, as it lacked legitimacy in the eyes of many, it was a regime that struggled to exist.<sup>731</sup> The black majority, white 'deviant' behaviour, and international pressure saw the National Party colluding with science to keep a firm hold on its position of power. Scientific practises, like aversion therapy, gender reassignment surgery, and hormone therapy were used to 'cure' white male homosexuality. Scientific theories, like social Darwinism, were also employed to support notions of white superiority. Science was rejected when in contradiction with religion.

### **The Alliance Between Race, Science, and Religion**

The Afrikaners were a community centred around the notion of identity preservation. Such identity was exclusive. Each member of the Afrikaner community acted not as an individual, but as a part of the society as a whole. Only those of blood, soil, culture, tradition, and belief belonged to the Afrikanerdom. The Afrikaner nation, the *volk*, was headed by a patriarchal leader ordained by God with absolute authority, and members of society were dedicated workers.<sup>732</sup> The *volk* was viewed as a collective organism with a soul of its own that was pure and natural. The interest of the individual was expressed through the collective group. The Afrikaner *volk* was sustained by Afrikaner Christian Nationalism. This was a form of nationalism that provided an ideological justification for white superiority.<sup>733</sup>

In order to create societal uniformity, institutions and mechanisms are established to introduce social control. Social control applies to all members of society at all times.<sup>734</sup> Social control is a method used by society to regulate itself in alignment with its desired values and principles. Sociologists have also come to refer to social control as the “social psychology of conformity”.<sup>735</sup> Public opinion, law, religion, and education are all functions of social

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<sup>730</sup> Jones, “Averting White Male (Ab)normality”, 398.

<sup>731</sup> Luiz, “The Evolution and Fall of the South African Apartheid State”, 68.

<sup>732</sup> Van den Heever, “Creationism in the Colonies”, 5.

<sup>733</sup> Dubow, “Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of ‘Race’”, 220.

<sup>734</sup> M. Deflem, “Deviance and Social Control”, in *The Handbook of Deviance*, ed. E. Goode (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), p. 31.

<sup>735</sup> M. Janowitz, “Sociological Theory and Social Control”, *American Journal of Psychology* 81 no. 1 (1975), 82-83.

control.<sup>736</sup> With the institutionalisation of apartheid, public opinion, law, religion, and education all acted as institutions of social control within white society and the larger South African society. Members of the Afrikaner *volk* could only be born into the *volk* where the *volkswil* (nations will) was an expression of the organic *volk* that instructed each individual member to be a subscriber. The Afrikaner *volk* had to remain pure thus resulting in race mixing being a betrayal to the *volk*.<sup>737</sup>

In Genesis 11: 1-8, the Christian Bible tells the story of the Tower of Babel. The building of the tower commenced with the hope that if it was built high enough, mankind would be able to reach the heavens. To halt the construction of the tower, God diversified mankind's language which made it impossible for effective communication resulting in man being unable to finish building the tower. Genesis 11: 1-8 was used to justify racial separation based on ethnicity. The National Party, drawing from Genesis, stated that it was God's will for different races to live separately.<sup>738</sup> As it was believed that different racial groups were at different evolutionary progression stages, this translated into the need for the racial groups to live separately from one another.<sup>739</sup> White Afrikaners were incredibly concerned with maintaining their culture, identity, and language which ultimately led to a concern with keeping the Afrikaner *volk* pure. In line with that thread of thought, the South African Genetics Society started to focus on the scientific research relating to interracial mixing, human genetics, and eugenics.

Following the First World War eugenic theory was present in South Africa. Professor Harold Fantham, head of the Department of Zoology at the University of the Witwatersrand from 1917-1932, passionately advocated for use of eugenics. To combat the threat of white deterioration, Fantham proposed that through heredity "human beings [could] be improved by improving individuals and improving race".<sup>740</sup> In 1920, with Fantham as the President, the Eugenics and Genetic Standing Committee of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science was established. Through this committee, ideas of eugenics became popular as they declared race mixing perilous to the preservation of the white race. Furthermore, the Eugenics Committee also discouraged those suffering from mental illness,

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<sup>736</sup> Deflem, "Deviance and Social Control", 33.

<sup>737</sup> Coetzee, "The mind of apartheid", 14.

<sup>738</sup> E. B. Farisani, "Interpreting the Bible in the context of apartheid and beyond: An African perspective", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40 no. 2 (2014), 209.

<sup>739</sup> Chidester, "Apartheid Comparative Religion in South Africa", 557-558.

<sup>740</sup> L. Naicker, "The role of eugenics and religion in the construction of race in South Africa", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 38 no. 2 (2012), 3.

“feble-mindedness”, “alcoholism”, and “marked criminal tendencies”, from procreating. It was proposed that marriage laws and forced sterilisation be implemented.<sup>741</sup>

It is believed that human genetics in South Africa found merit in 1956 with the establishment of the South African Genetics Society.<sup>742</sup> In 1958 the First National Congress was hosted by the Genetics Society at the University of Pretoria.<sup>743</sup> At this Congress two resolutions were passed unanimously. Firstly, an institute for human heredity was to be established (it was never established possibly due to controversy it may have caused). Secondly, genetics would have to feature more prominently in schools and universities.<sup>744</sup> In 1962, the Genetics Society hosted its Second Congress. At this Congress, it was discussed that more interest should be shown to the different aspects of human genetics and especially racial genetics. Special attention was to be placed on racial genetics because of the racial diversity that was present in South Africa.<sup>745</sup>

Saul Dubow notes that the proceedings of the South African Genetics Society were published in both official languages, Afrikaans and English. Dubow explains that with the proceedings being published in both languages, the Society wanted to be taken seriously both nationally and internationally. In congresses held in 1966 and 1970, the Society showed a continuing interest in both human genetics and eugenics. The Genetics Society used human genetics to defend high apartheid. The Society did this by supporting white supremacists.<sup>746</sup>

Gerrie Eloff firmly believed in the racial superiority of the Afrikaner *volk* and argued in favour of positive eugenics to create a white Christian nation that would look after the black population.<sup>747</sup> Racial mixture was feared because different races had different intellectual capabilities, religious practices, and psychical composition which meant that if miscegenation occurred, the *volk* would be weakened.<sup>748</sup> As race was of particular concern and white society needed to maintain its status of superiority, white ‘deviant’ behaviour jeopardised white hierarchal standings. Not only did alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality highlight the fragility of the white heteropatriarchal State but white female alcoholics and drug addicts were

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<sup>741</sup> T. Jenkins, “Medical genetics in South Africa”, *Journal of Medical Genetics* 27 no. 12 (1990), 762.

<sup>742</sup> Jenkins, “Medical genetics in South Africa”, 762.

<sup>743</sup> Editors of the South African Journal of Science, “Oor iets en alles – Notes and news”, *South African Journal of Science* (1958), 302.

<sup>744</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 241.

<sup>745</sup> H. W. Hitzeroth, “The Second Congress of the South African Genetics Society”, *Mankind Quarterly* 3 no. 3 (1963), 161.

<sup>746</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 241.

<sup>747</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 241-248.

<sup>748</sup> Dubow, “Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid, and the Conceptualisation of ‘Race’”, 222.

believed to blur racial lines and engage in sexual relations with black men thus tainting white purity.

Interracial sexual relations, and blood mixing, were viewed as a crime against nature that went against the *volkswil*.<sup>749</sup> Alcohol and drugs caused anti-social behaviour within white society, and this could lead to race mixing.<sup>750</sup> In the constructs of power during apartheid, whiteness was accompanied by heterosexuality as the accepted societal norm. For white power to be maintained, white society had to be pure and heterosexual as this was following Biblical teachings.<sup>751</sup> During the late apartheid era, the National Party was confronted with threats on all fronts. To combat such, the religious State allied with science to keep white morality pure.

Order, according to apartheid logic, was grounded in the dominance of white patriarchy. Socio-political, cultural, and economic order was reinforced by white heterosexual patriarchal dominance. This was because the social norms of 'man' and 'woman' were defined through white experiences and values.<sup>752</sup> The South African military acted as an institution of social order. Within the military, masculinity was praised, while femininity was marginalised. Order encompassed "authorities, hierarchy and discipline, and refers implicitly to the type of centralised control embodied in military structures".<sup>753</sup> In the military, and by extension white society, where traditional gender roles were adhered to, this would ensure the racial purity, health, and prosperity of the nation.<sup>754</sup> Within the Afrikaner community itself, there was an increasing change in public opinion that moved away from conservative ideals to more liberal ideals, especially in regard to homosexuality.<sup>755</sup>

Although the Bible was interpreted literally as scripture verses were believed without any hesitation and anything in contradiction with the Bible was rejected, like the theory of evolution,<sup>756</sup> the National Party did embrace science in instances where it supported apartheid.

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<sup>749</sup> Coetzee, "The mind of apartheid", 14.

<sup>750</sup> N. Roos, "Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and Some Reflections on the Management of Whites in Early Apartheid Society, 1948-1960", *The Historical Journal* 58 no. 4 (2015), 1173.

<sup>751</sup> M. Van Zyl *et al*, "The Aversion Project: Human Rights Abuses of Gays and Lesbians in the South African Defense Force by Health Workers During the Apartheid Era", *Simple Said and Done* (1999), 31.

<sup>752</sup> A. A. Matteis, "#TradCulture: Reproducing whiteness and neo-fascism through gendered discourse online", in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Studies in Whiteness* ed. S. Hunter & C. Van der Westhuizen (New York: Routledge, 2022), p. 91-94.

<sup>753</sup> Van Zyl *et al*, "The Aversion Project", 39.

<sup>754</sup> Matteis, "#TradCulture", 94.

<sup>755</sup> K. du Pisani, "Shifting Sexual Morality? Changing Views on Homosexuality in Afrikaner Society During the 1960s", *Historia* 57 no. 2 (2012), 205.

<sup>756</sup> Van den Heever, "Creationism in the Colonies", 4.

Science supported apartheid through theories of racial difference ‘proving’ black people to be cognitively inferior.<sup>757</sup> Science helped white society in its attempt to ‘cure’ white ‘deviant’ behaviour. Behaviour therapy and aversion therapy, endorsed by psychology, were methods used to treat homosexuality. The Afrikaner community had developed an awkward relationship with science which was partly owing to the legitimacy crisis South Africa was experiencing.<sup>758</sup>

Social science studies aided the apartheid system. A. Burke, from the Department of Psychology at the University of Johannesburg, stated that apartheid was “not only based on racially prejudice social research, but also maintained by such research”.<sup>759</sup> Psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, and sociology aided apartheid by legitimising and supporting social order based on phenotype. Working in partnership with the social sciences and humanities, eugenics provided a rationale for social inequality based on biological difference with Christian Nationalism providing a theological justification.<sup>760</sup> Racial lines in South Africa were drawn in accordance with Social Darwinism and this was because, as Hendrick Verwoerd put it, would protect black people in the land of the Afrikaners. This was so that the black population would not be constantly reminded of their inferiority by being “continually humiliated as a failed imitation white”.<sup>761</sup>

Scientific racism was key in sustaining the everyday assumptions of racial difference. During the 1960s, South Africa displayed thoughts and practises that employed pre-war ideas of scientific racism.<sup>762</sup> Social sciences, like anthropology, during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, focused on racial differences and inferiority. Anthropologists who studied the skulls and postures of Europeans believed that this was evidence enough to label black people as inferior. When looking at Darwin's theory of evolution, there were also claims that racial inferiority was supported by scientific proof.<sup>763</sup> Apartheid social scientists used these racial theories and incorporated them into white supremacist ideologies.

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<sup>757</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 255.

<sup>758</sup> J. Stemmet, “The Storms of Reforms: South Africa’s Reform Strategy, c. 1980 – 1989”, *Joernaal* 38 no. 2 (2013), 131.

<sup>759</sup> A. Burke, “The Abuse of Social Science Research Results for Political Gain: The Apartheid System as a Case Study”, *Journal of Public Administration* 45 no. 3 (2010), 404.

<sup>760</sup> A. Burke, “Mental healthcare during apartheid in South Africa: An illustration of how “science” can be abused”, in *Evil, Law and the State* ed. J. T. Parry (New York: Rodopi, 2006), p. 89.

<sup>761</sup> Burke, “The Abuse of Social Science Research Results for Political Gain”, 405.

<sup>762</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 237.

<sup>763</sup> Burke, “The Abuse of Social Science Research Results for Political Gain”, 408.

Afrikaner psychologists during apartheid tended to subscribe to crude racist explanations. Psychologists were found in the military, police force, prisons, secret police, and intelligence structures. Psychologists tended to be repressive, ridged, and hierarchal where they were often unquestioning and uncritical. Psychologists also subscribed to a narrow racial and political agenda.<sup>764</sup> Like psychologists, psychiatrists followed similar ideological patterns. Psychiatrists in the military played a ‘corrective role’ in that they played a significant role in controlling homosexuality. Historically, mental normality has been based on white heterosexual experiences which have resulted in psychiatry being influenced by hetero-patriarchal ideals. It has been posited that psychiatry developed with the maintenance of morality in mind.<sup>765</sup>

The National Party’s ultimate goal was white supremacy with a pure white race. Under the umbrella of white purity, was heterosexuality. Heterosexuality was the societal norm constructed from biological understandings of gender. Therefore, homosexuality was believed to be a physical and/or mental disorder. Psychiatrists in the South African Defence Force attempted to ‘cure’ homosexual conscripts through aversion therapy, hormone therapy, and gender reassignment surgery. As discussed in chapter 4, the Aversion Therapy project at 1 Military Hospital was dedicated to the treatment of ‘curing’ white homosexual ‘deviants’.<sup>766</sup>

The military acted as an institution which constructed and affirmed white masculinity. This was further constructed by denying access to black people, woman, and homosexuals. Members of the permanent force who had psychological problems were sent to Ward 22. Homosexual members were frequent admissions to this ward.<sup>767</sup> Other permanent members who engaged in deviant behaviour, like drug addiction, were sent to Greefswald where they were expected to participate in labour therapy.

Apartheid psychology and psychiatry practices were complicit in facilitating an oppressive regime as they maintained the socio-economic system of apartheid.<sup>768</sup> Saul Dubow states that “through the adoption of science and technology, and the display of military strength, [this] offered a niche for a new assertion of racial superiority”.<sup>769</sup> Science, particularly the social sciences, when in corroboration with religion was incorporated into Afrikaner ideological

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<sup>764</sup> S. Cooper, “A synopsis of South African psychology from apartheid to democracy”, *American Psychologist* 69 no. 8, 2014, 840.

<sup>765</sup> Jones, “Averting White Male (Ab)normality”, 400.

<sup>766</sup> Jones, “Averting White Male (Ab)normality”, 397.

<sup>767</sup> Van Zyl *et al*, “The Aversion Project”, 49.

<sup>768</sup> Burke, “The Abuse of Social Science Research Results for Political Gain”, 408-411.

<sup>769</sup> Dubow, “Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy”, 261.

discourses but when in contradiction, it was rejected. Thus, the alliance between race, science, and religion.

## Conclusion

The preservation of white Afrikaner identity was paramount to the Nationalist Party hence its mobilisation of all kinds of strategies to achieve this. The preservation of white Afrikaner identity meant that white power structures would also be preserved. The white minority control was built on the foundations of white moral purity, heterosexuality, and religion. The strong foundations of moral purity, heterosexuality, and religion translated into white control over the economic, social, and political spheres of South African society. Christian Nationalism provided the scaffolding for apartheid. Religion provided a theological justification for the establishment of apartheid while simultaneously providing a blueprint of moral living for white society.

The preservation of white society hinged on the purity of white society. This meant that white society needed to remain untainted. Interracial sexual relations were labelled as a crime against nature. Through the social sciences, like anthropology, there was claimed scientific proof that different racial groups were at different stages of evolutionary progression. White people were civilised and black people were primitive. Thus if miscegenation were to occur, it would result in a bastardisation of the *volk* as it was believed there were religious, cultural, and psychical incompatibilities between white and black people.

The Black Peril, or *swaart gevaar*, caused the white population great anxiety. Black birth rates were increasing and mortality rates were decreasing. The white population feared that they would soon be even more of a minority. The Family Planning Programme implemented in 1974 acted as a defence mechanism for white society. Depo-Provera, a contraceptive injection, and IUDs, which black women reported left them infertile, were widely administered throughout the country. Project Coast further attempted to aid in combating rising black birth rates. The project tried to formulate a targeted sterilising vaccine that would work only on black women. In addition, Project Coast further attempted to create a biological weapon that would selectively kill black people.

The social sciences aided apartheid by legitimising it. They supported notions of racial difference which allowed for the strengthening of a white supremacist ideology. J. D. J. Hofmeyr and Gerrie Eloff of the South African Genetics Society focused on eugenic thought

relating to the protection of white purity. As the Afrikaners believed themselves to be God's chosen people, they were to act as custodians over the black population. Therefore, not only was interracial sexual relations a betrayal of the *volk* but it was also in contradiction to the fulfilment of God's plan.

The apartheid State was overly concerned with white moral purity and religion because these structures aided in safeguarding white control. White society needed to remain pure and religious so that the National Party could remain in power. From the 1960s the apartheid regime started to face an increase in internal and external pressure which called for the dismantling of the oppressive regime. Rent boycotts, riots, mass demonstrations, and tax revolts broke out across the country into the 1980s. There was also a rise in paramilitary groups. Sanctions and embargos were placed on South Africa by the United States and the United Nations. South Africa's neighbouring countries were being liberated resulting in there no longer being a white barrier between South Africa and the rest of the continent. The apartheid regime was in crisis.

The deeply religious State whose life was intertwined with religious Calvinistic teachings rejected the theory of evolution and modern-day science. This was because it came into direct contradiction with Biblical understandings of creationism. However, notions of white superiority were not only supported by the Christian Bible but also through scientific racism and the social sciences. The Afrikaner community had an awkward relationship with science. Where science was in contestation with religion, it was dismissed but where it endorsed religion, it was incorporated into justifications of superiority. However, science not only aided apartheid in legitimising it through scientific racism but it also aided apartheid in its attempt to 'cure' those who were perceived as socially deviant.

As discussed in chapter 3, white society needed to remain pure so that white control could be sustained. If white society was in moral decay, then the white minority would cease to remain in power. The apartheid regime was one based on religion, moral purity, and biological constructs of gender. White alcoholism and drug addiction could result in sexual relations taking place between different racial groups thus diluting white genetics. Homosexuality, considered a mental disorder and evil, posed a threat to the heteropatriarchal nature of white society. The apartheid regime had clung to binary ideas of masculinity and femininity. Homosexuality fell outside this binary causing moral panic. Sex was meant for reproduction to keep white society pure, not for pleasure.

The Afrikaner community was policed by social order dictated by constricted social norms. The Afrikaners were a part of the *volk* which was an organic collective where the individual could not exist outside the nation. The South African Defence Force is an important example of an institution of social control. The military was a strong proponent of the promotion of masculinity. Women, black people, and homosexuals were excluded. However, if members of the permanent force were found to have the perceived psychological disorder of homosexuality, they were admitted to Ward 22 at 1 Military Hospital.

Homosexual men were treated through either aversion therapy, hormone therapy, or gender reassignment surgery in an attempt to ‘cure’ their disease. Here, psychology and psychiatry aided apartheid. Science, race, and religion developed a unique alliance. Religion provided theological justifications for apartheid and the social sciences provided scientific justifications for apartheid. Both aided in maintaining an idea of white racial superiority. However, religion always took precedence and science was only consulted when needed as an additional avenue of reinforcement.

## **Chapter 6 – Conclusion**

Apartheid is often studied in relation to the black South African population and the oppression they endured. However, this thesis sought to uncover how that was predicated on internal mechanisms of control which bordered on abuse. This thesis investigated methods of control used to police white society. Such methods of social control sought to aid in the maintenance of white purity which in turn would aid in securing white power. Genetic purity, Christianity, and biologically accepted ideas of gender were components comprising an untainted white society. This thesis further examined the intertwining roles of race, science, and religion in the part each played in maintaining white purity.

Ideas of white superiority and black inferiority existed before the institutionalisation of the apartheid system. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch settlers and British colonists practised slavery. White dominance and black subjugation would filter down into successive centuries. Being of European descent was a marker of progression and civilisation, characteristics which were believed that black communities lacked. It was imperative that white society uphold these markers of advancement. The Poor Whites of the late 1800s to the 1930s were a threat to white society. The Poor Whites were accused of being of subpar intelligence while being idle non-participating members of society. To combat that, the Dutch Reformed Church intervened with the establishment of the initial work colonies. This identifies that the social control of racial groups in South Africa would be a pattern present throughout the apartheid era.

Racial control existed in various forms for all members of South African society. While the most vicious control mechanisms were reserved for black people, this thesis illuminates how structures of control and policing within white society influenced structures relating to power which impacted all racial groupings. The apartheid regime was built upon and justified by the ideology of white superiority and it was vital to white society that they maintain their political and economic stronghold. However, resistance to the apartheid regime was common throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, both internally and externally. Internally, the 1950s saw the Defiance Campaign, the 1960s the Sharpeville Massacre, and the 1970s the Soweto Riots, to name a few. In the late 1970s, white males were also conscientiously objecting to compulsory military service in resistance to apartheid. Internationally, South Africa was sanctioned economically, banned from overseas sporting events, and faced worldwide condemnation.

This right to rule was seen as a divine right given to the Afrikaners by God. Religion played an influential role in moulding and guiding white Afrikaner society as Calvinistic teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church impacted political and social policies. As a result, the State and religion became intertwined as Afrikaner Nationalism morphed into Afrikaner Christian Nationalism. The Dutch Reformed Church interpreted the Bible literally where scripture verses were used as Biblical justifications for the implementation of apartheid, the telling of the story of the Tower of Babel serving as an example. The Bible was further used to justify a white rule because it was believed that black people were the sons of Ham marked with the curse of Cain. This saw the Nationalist Government riddled with anxieties concerning racial and moral purity and anything that threatened racial and moral purity.

White society was moulded around the ideas of white purity and white morality which were influenced by the literal interpretations of Biblical texts by the Dutch Reformed Church and these interpretations were influenced by Calvinism. White morality was understood within the confines of masculinity and gendered patriarchal perspectives. This provided a detailed expectation of the roles that white society needed to accurately execute. Religious Afrikaners were conservative patriarchists whose access to power was grounded in the patriarchal structures of apartheid. The white heterosexual patriarchal society which focused on being productive members of society and upholding family life, needed to be morally pure.

White morality and the hyper-nationalist nature of the white Afrikaner society meant that whiteness was fiercely protected. Gender roles, family life, and being productive, contributing members of society resulted in a highly functioning moral society that served in protecting white political and economic survival. Alcoholism, drug addiction, and homosexuality evoked emotions of disgust, anger, and fear because those three perceived social ills threatened to topple the racial hierarchy.

Alcoholism and drug addiction were accused of allowing different racial groups to come together and often as equals. Furthermore, these two 'social ills' could allow sexual interracial relations to occur, which was labelled as a crime against nature. This would compromise white society's purity. Alcoholism and drug addiction were often acknowledged as contributing factors relating to the breakdown of the nuclear family unit. Family units were important to the patriarchal ideals of white society. Alcoholics and drug addicts were not active, contributing members of society. Their deviant maladaptive behaviour needed to be 'cured'.

The preservation of white society hinged on the purity of white society. Through the social sciences, like anthropology, there was claimed scientific proof that different racial groups were at different stages of evolutionary progression. White people were civilised and black people were primitive. Thus, if miscegenation were to occur, it would result in a bastardisation of the *volk* as it was believed there were religious, cultural, and physical incompatibilities between white and black people.

The Black Peril, or *swaart gevaar*, caused the white population great anxiety. Black birth rates were increasing and mortality rates were decreasing. The white population feared that they would soon be even more of a minority. The Family Planning Programme implemented in 1974 acted as a defence mechanism for white society. Depo-Provera, a contraceptive injection, and IUDs, which black women reported left them infertile, were widely administered throughout the country. Project Coast further attempted to aid in combating rising black birth rates. The project attempted to formulate a targeted sterilising vaccine that would work only on black women. In addition, Project Coast further attempted to create a biological weapon that would selectively kill black people through the country's water supply.

The social sciences aided apartheid by legitimising it. They supported notions of racial difference which allowed for the strengthening of a white supremacist ideology. J. D. J. Hofmeyr and Gerrie Eloff of the South African Genetics Society focused on eugenic thought relating to the protection of white purity. As the Afrikaners believed themselves to be God's chosen people, they were to act as custodians over the black population. Therefore, not only was interracial sexual relations a betrayal of the *volk* but it was also in contradiction to the fulfilment of God's plan.

The Afrikaner community has been concerned with white purity since the 1930s when the poor white problem served as an embarrassment to the Afrikaner community and threatened to expose the flimsiness of white supremacy. The trend of keeping white society pure was a common occurrence throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Nationalist Government labelled white male homosexuality, alcoholism, and drug addiction as being social ills that would send white society into moral decay.

White homosexual males challenged the constructs of heterosexual gender norms and the structure of traditional family units. The State also believed gay men to be a direct challenge to white supremacy which meant that their power was challenged. In line with this, alcoholism

and drug addiction were viewed in a similar vein as homosexuality. Both white alcoholism and drug addiction were perceived as being social evils that debilitated white members of society to being unproductive and threatening family life which in turn threatened white power. The Nationalist State attempted to protect white political rule through any means necessary.

The deeply religious State whose life was intertwined with religious Calvinistic teachings rejected the theory of evolution and modern-day science. This was because it came into direct contradiction with Biblical understandings of creationism. However, notions of white superiority were not only supported by the Christian Bible but also through scientific racism and the social sciences. The Afrikaner community had an awkward relationship with science. Where science was in contestation with religion, it was dismissed but where it endorsed religion, it was incorporated into justifications of superiority. However, science not only aided apartheid in legitimising it through scientific racism but it also aided apartheid in its attempt to 'cure' those who were perceived as socially deviant.

The Afrikaner community was policed by social order dictated by social norms. The Afrikaners were a part of the *volk* which was an organic collective where the individual could not exist outside the nation. The South African Defence Force is an important example of an institution of social control. The military was a strong proponent of the promotion of masculinity. Women, black people, and homosexuals were excluded. However, if members of the permanent force were found to have the perceived psychological disorder of homosexuality, they were admitted to Ward 22 at 1 Military Hospital.

Although the apartheid regime borrowed from Pavlovian methods, its own implementation of these practices was out of step with global trends during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century when the apartheid era employed the use of aversion therapy procedures, in countries such as Britain and Czechoslovakia, aversion therapy was no longer used. However, within the South African Defence Force homosexual men were treated with either aversion therapy, hormone therapy, or gender reassignment surgery in an attempt to 'cure' their disease. Here, psychology and psychiatry aided apartheid. Science, race, and religion developed a unique alliance.

Prior to aversion therapy practises being present in South Africa, the precedent was set by Czechoslovakia, Britain, and America. These three northern hemisphere countries used electric, and sometimes chemical, aversion therapy methods to treat homosexuality. Britain

and America further used aversion therapy to treat alcoholism. Homosexuality and alcoholism were berated as markers of a degrading society. Thus, aversion therapy was used to ‘cure’ these perceived social ills. Following in these countries’ footsteps, South Africa, not only influenced by aversion therapy practises but also ideas of scientific racism, adopted these practises and ideologies during the late apartheid era.

By the 1960s ideas of racial differentiation, influenced by scientific racism, started fading in countries like Britain. During this period the ethics and efficacy of aversion therapy were further questioned. However, despite this, the apartheid regime continued to employ outdated scientific theories and practices to aid in their endeavour to maintain white control. The National Party felt immense pressure both nationally and internationally as the legitimacy of apartheid was criticised. The religious State developed a symbiotic relationship with science. Science was employed when it helped legitimise and retain white power. However, when science was in contradiction with religion, it was chastised and dismissed.

Religion provided theological justifications for apartheid and the social sciences provided scientific justifications for apartheid. Both aided in maintaining an idea of white racial superiority. However, religion always took precedence and science was only consulted when needed as an additional avenue of reinforcement. The apartheid regime employed methods of social control to ensure that a society aligned with teachings of the Bible would prevail. Ideas of racial hierarchy were rooted in theories belonging to scientific racism. Religion and science allowed for the white minority to believe in their right to rule over South Africa. Work colonies, drug rehabilitation centres, labour therapy, and aversion therapy were methods used to control ideas of difference.

Following on from the research conducted in this thesis, the psychological and physical impact that aversion therapy had on individual persons could be further investigated into. As discussed in chapter 4, extensive literature explains the origins and procedure of aversion therapy but little literature details individual white male homosexual experiences. Furthermore, the psychological impact on nursing and medical staff administering the aversion therapy could be researched. Few pieces of literature discuss from the perspective of medical personal.

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