

$$\frac{6.}{16} \times \frac{1}{2\frac{1}{5}}$$

$$\frac{6.}{35}$$

$$\frac{1}{6}$$

$$\frac{12}{176}$$

4. But the methods were different. Afrikaner nat'ion was not building a unity out of what was the common denominator of whites - or even of native white South Africans. It was separating the Afrikaners off from the rest.

From the same starting groups of intelligentsia, priests, doctors, chiefs & generals, they struck out in opposite directions - towards exclusive tribalism of Afrikaners, and towards inclusive national identity of Africans.

The basis for both was laid before union - The Told Baweging, The Cape & Told. Native Congresses. Union was the decisive moment when SA became a legal entity. & the possibility of a South African nation emerged.

5. Afrikaners had the option of going for a broad white nation. It could have set out to abolish the inferiority of Afrikaners by seeking to enrol the non-jingo non-imperialist whites in a United Front. It could have sought to build on its own anti-imperialist traditions, on the ~~class~~ absence of class division & upper & lower classes in the Afrikaner volk, on the democratic freedomly egalitarianism of individual homestead farmers.

Instead, it chose to go for exclusiveness, to withdraw from all others, to seek amends for conquest not by seeking a new & wider basis for the last Boer Republics, but to seek to recreate them through their numerical superiority - to revenge conquest & imperialism by reinstating the worst oppressive, white supremacist aspects of the republics, based on serf labour.

Afrikaner Nat'ion had only one aim - power. When the NP was formed 1910 after Union - it set out not to further Union but to prevent it - to foment Afrikaner separatism as a way to Afrikaner power, Afrikaner dominance.

6. Why should this be so? The same social surroundings which 2 years later gave rise to the quite opposite Afrikaner nationalism, impinged on both

I suppose. because they represented the most conservative and backward looking section - based on family based farming self-sufficiency, through dependence on tied - self - labour.

And because their cultural tradition was in a narrow Calvinist Church, heavy with a sense of sin, strong, terrifying strong on ~~the~~ conformism, on authority, on obedience, on the master - servant as God-ordained orders.

7. Power: a separatism. - two breeds. The separatist - ~~separateness~~ - apartheid everywhere in every field. Taal. Handels. Kerk. Voorzitters. Noodhulp. Volksspiele, (the one that didn't replace either Rugby or cricket). Insorance. Bankij, Burial Societies, Vroese Fed. Reddingsdaad, Trade Unions. Volkshemde, Uniewinkels.

This unification in an apartheid Kruul delivered into the hands of the leaders the political power they sought. Their political programme was to recreate the lost wonders of the Republic - of sturdy independent farmers as the rulers of the land, untainted by foreign capitalists and money grabbers; of subject - subdued blacks, hounded back to their locations and their huts, staid when the boss wanted them to be - forever content yet handy for labour; of stern patriotism, where all transgressions were subject to severe punishment, and orders of masters were to be as orders of God.

8. One height they did not capture. The economy. That would fall to them from political power.

9. Only once, for a short time, was there a flicker of hope for another course for Afrikaner nationalism. In Boer War, there was a real spirit of independence, of anti-imperialism, which led many progressives & socialists to proclaim the Boer *freedom struggle*. They failed to see the contradictory character - its base in black oppression - one of the fundamental aspects of the Republic they upheld - even in their treatment of POWs. Was the struggle progressive? On world scale perhaps? On local scale, maybe? No pure phenomena.

And again shortly <sup>before</sup> after Union, when the combinal effects of the Boer War and the development of mining employment drove the first generation of young Afrikaners into wage labour - and so into the trade unions - into some shaky alliances with labour - so-called.

In 1913 & after, there was a smattering of prominent Afrikaner opponents - Japie Louw etc. At Union in 1922, it was these same Afrikaner workers again, with the still strong cultural traditions of the Boer War, who formed the Commandos together with non-mils, as an irregular and force, foraging. And committing the majority of the assaults and atrocities against black land owners in the state. (Malan & Rensburg Rev.)

A flicker. Its last dying gasp was in the Hertzog-Crowell pact in the elections. But already then, the progressive spirit had burnt out.

For the NP, the pact was a manoeuvre to power - not an alliance for progress. From there on, the pursuit of power through a separate vote was the sole spur.

It was a deliberate campaign, what today would be called social engineering. It created a single bloc of voters, separated off from the English speaking voters and their class - the hands appear like Smuts & Havenga & Hofmeyr - ~~later~~ A skilled campaign, by Broeders.

The English section, satisfied in its economic power, & in the coming dependence on foreign capital took it easy, scarcely fought back. Relied totally on its economic dominance. It acquiesced in the locality of the rural vote, in the removal first of the Cape black voters, then of the Coloureds from the Roll.

And in the end, in 1948, the plan succeeded. Power! By that time, when in power they could perhaps broadcast the English into a single white nation - it was too late. By 1948 African nationalists had come of age. Nationalist, linked across colour lines, producing a new SA nationalhood to challenge Afrikanerdom. It was the final confrontation of our time!

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