“A special kind of colonist”: An analytical and historical study of the Ossewa-Brandwag as an anti-colonial resistance movement

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Titel:

“’n Spesiale soort kolonis’’: ’n Analitiese en historiese studie van die Ossewa-Brandwag as ’n anti-koloniale versetbeweging

Opsomming:

Die Ossewa-Brandwag (OB) was ’n unieke Afrikanerorganisasie, wat ’n Nasionaal-Sosialistiese ideologie aangeneem het, gevorm uit die sfeer van heersende ideologieë van die laat dertiger- en veertigerjare van die twintigste eeu. Die organisasie het ook gedien as die vernaamste versetbeweging teen Suid-Afrika se betrokkenheid in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog. Daar is heelwat studies onderneem wat die geskiedskrywing van die organisasie betref, maar daar is min te vinde ten opsigte van die OB se karakter as anti-koloniale versetbeweging. Die doel van hierdie verkenning is om die OB as ’n anti-koloniale Afrika-versetbeweging te ondersoek by wyse van ’n historiese analise deur gebruik te maak van ’n teoretiese aanslag binne die konteks van kolonialiteit/moderniteit. Die historiese raamwerk van die verkenning word geplaas binne ’n reeds gevestigde teoretiese paradigma van Afrika-verset, uiteengesit deur skrywers soos Branch and Mampilly, Fanon, Mamdani en Ndlovu-Gatsheni. Deur hierdie invalshoek word die nodige konteks geskep rondom die aard van die Afrikaner se identiteit soos dit ook deurgeskemer het in die OB. Die Afrikaner word ook binne die konteks van Afrika-verset geplaas om die OB se anti-koloniale karakter te peil.

Die bogenoemde verkenning skep ’n breë historiese konteks vir Afrika-verset en meer spesifiek Afrikaner-verset binne die bestek van ‘othering’ as fundamentele grondslag vir die ontwikkeling van versetgroepe. Afrikaner-verset, soos Afrika-verset, het ontwikkel uit intrinsieke verskille binne verskeie groepe na ’n verskynsel met ’n meer georganiseerde anti-koloniale karakter, voortgesit deur organisasies soos die OB. Verset in Afrika word egter beïnvloed deur die kolonialiteit/moderniteit digotomie wat die persepsies en karakter van die gekolonialiseerde verwrong. Die doelstelling van die gekoloniseerde is om hulself te bevry, maar is só beïnvloed deur koloniale persepsies dat die verset wat eindig op die emansipasie van die kolonie omskep word in die voortsetting van die gevestigde idees en strukture van kolonialisme.

Hiervolgens is die Afrikaner ’n *spesiale tipe kolonis*, aangesien die Afrikaner deur historiese gebeure en ontwikkeling beide die koloniseerder en die gekoloniseerde was. So kan beide die Afrikaner en die OB getipeer word as anti-koloniaal in karakter, bevestig deur verset, maar ook as kolonialiseerders in hul eie reg wat ’n patroon van kolonialiteit/moderniteit laat voortbestaan het. Hiervolgens was die OB ’n anti-koloniale beweging wat nie net die Tweede Wêreldoorlog teengestaan het nie, maar wat die Afrikaner wou emansipeer deur beide gewelddadige en nie gewelddadige aksie teen Britse gesag. Uiteindelik het dit ’n rol gespeel in die voortbestaan van spesifiek kolonialiteit deur die NP se verkiesingsukses in 1948 en die instelling van Apartheid.

In kort spoor hierdie studie die ontwikkeling van die Afrikaner as ’n spesiale tipe kolonis na en dui aan hoe die OB in sy kern ook ’n anti-koloniale beweging was wat beskik het oor die karaktereienskappe van ’n Afrika-versetbeweging gesien binne die konteks van die dinamika van kolonialiteit/moderniteit.

Sleutelwoorde:
Ossewa-Brandwag (OB), verset, anti-koloniale verset, sosiale bewegings, modernity/coloniality, nasionalisme, Afrikaner-nasionalisme, kultuurbeweging, Nasionaal Sosialisme, Afrikanergeskiedenis, 20ste eeu se Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis.

Title:

"A special kind of colonist": An analytical and historical study of the Ossewa-Brandwag as an anti-colonial resistance movement

Abstract:

The Ossewa-Brandwag (OB) was a unique Afrikaner organisation which adopted a National Socialist ideology within the context of the prevailing ideologies of the late thirties and forties of the twentieth century. The organisation also served as the leading resistance movement against South Africa's involvement in the Second World War. Although many aspects of this organisation's history are thoroughly recorded, there is little research regarding the OB's character as an anti-colonial resistance movement. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyse the OB as an Afrikaner anti-colonial resistance movement through a historical analysis that draws on the theoretical paradigm of 'coloniality/modernity'. The historical framework of this analysis is placed within an already established theoretical perspective on African resistance set out by authors such as Branch and Mampilly, Fanon, Mamdani, and Ndlovu-Gatsheni. This historical framework provides the necessary context surrounding the nature of the Afrikaner's identity, as manifested in the OB. The Afrikaner is, moreover, placed within the context of African resistance which allows for an analysis of the OB's anti-colonial character.

Furthermore, the broad historical context of African resistance is also investigated in the view of 'othering' as a fundamental basis for the development of resistance groups. This approach reveals how Afrikaner resistance, much like African resistance, developed from the concept of intrinsic differences, to a more organized anti-colonial movement in which resistance was perpetuated by movements such as the OB. Resistance is influenced by 'coloniality/modernity' which distorts the perceptions and identity of the colonised. The goal of the colonised is to liberate themselves but they become so assimilated within colonial perceptions that, when their resistance comes to an end with their emancipation from the colony, the established colonial ideas and structures live on through the rule of the recently liberated colonised people.

This approach sees the Afrikaner as a *special type of colonist* since the Afrikaner, throughout its history and development, was both the coloniser and the colonised. Therefore, considering their resistance toward colonial rule along with their perpetuation of the patterns of

'coloniality', the Afrikaner and the OB can be described as anti-colonial in nature. Indeed, the OB served as an anti-colonial movement that not only opposed the Second World War but also sought to emancipate the Afrikaner through both violent and non-violent resistance against British authority. These acts of resistance would only amount to the continuation of coloniality, especially considering the establishment of Apartheid after the 1948 election.

In short, this study traces the development of the Afrikaner as a special type of colonist and shows how the OB was in essence also an anti-colonial movement with the characteristics of an African resistance movement within the context of the dynamics of coloniality/modernity.

Keywords:

Ossewa-Brandwag (OB), resistance, anti-colonial resistance, social movements, modernity/coloniality, nationalism, Afrikaner nationalism, cultural movement, National Socialism, Afrikaner history, 20th century South African history.

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The conceptualization of this study began in 2016 after a discussion with my study leader and friend Mr. Charl Blignaut. Returning from the South African Historical Society Biennial conference our conversations wandered around various historical topics, mainly pertaining to our mutual interest in the Ossewa-Brandwag. Unknowingly, I found a wealth of inspiration as the long drive became mere minutes, as we rambled through our thoughts about the Afrikaner and the OB in particular. After that fateful conversation, we grappled with our expanding thoughts and formed our ideas into the study that would become my Master's dissertation. With this I give thanks to Charl, not only for his tutelage and the role he played on the theoretical level, but his willingness to believe in the merit of this study and his unwavering confidence in his student. I thank you for your capability in analysing and impounding my ever-meandering thoughts. A task not to be taken lightly, yet well endured. It is a great solace to know that I was and remain your student. As sure as history repeats itself, those who walk in the shadows of history are sure to meet again.

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Dawid Olivier

9 Augustus 2020

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Number and description

CHAPTER 1 - Introduction, historiography and chapter divisions

1.1. Introduction to a resistance perspective

Throughout history, humans have protested certain aspects of government or society that they dislike. Sometimes they do more than complain, sometimes they band together with other likeminded individuals to create awareness of their issues and to eventually try and change their circumstances.[1] The collective form of acting shows continuity within a group to promote or to resist changes in society or the group itself. Against this backdrop, the collective action can be defined as a social movement.[2] Social movements form the main body of a wider array of movements. As such, resistance movements[3] form part of the collective and serve as a focal point for this study. Resistance movements have occurred throughout the ages and are becoming a common occurrence as these movements take on the form of a global phenomenon. South Africa is no stranger to this occurrence as resistance movements range from colonial defiance, decolonization, liberation movements and political opposition[4] to modern day uprisings by the youth and unemployed, as well as organized labour, civil society activists, writers and artists, religious groups[5] and even social media backlashes.[6]

In recent years, more and more groups have emerged that voice their grievances through the formation of resistance movements and/or social movements. Recently some of these group activities include: Certain European movements oppose government decisions regarding refugee influx and have reacted by protesting (sometimes violently) either the permission or

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1 J. Goodwin and J.M. Jasper, *The Social Movements reader: cases and concepts*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), p. 3.

2 S. Shah, Social Movements: Meaning, causes, types, revolution and role, 2015, http://www.sociologydiscussion.com/social-movements/social-movements-meaning-causes-types-revolution-and-role/2248, Accessed: 29 February 2016.

3 Sociology defines a resistance movement as 'an effort to block a proposed change or to uproot a change already achieved.' However, for the purposes of this study the following definition can also be used in understanding resistance movements in a historical context. 'A resistance movement is any form of political protest by an individual, group of individuals, or collection of like-minded groups. In general, the protests are in opposition to occupation of a nation by a foreign presence or to internal government policies and rule.'; WiseGeek, What is a resistance movement? 2016, http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-resistance-movement.htm, Accessed: 29 February 2016; S. Shah, Social Movements: Meaning, causes, types, revolution and role, 2015, http://www.sociologydiscussion.com/social-movements/social-movements-meaning-causes-types-revolution-and-role/2248, Accessed: 29 February 2016.

4 K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, 2nd ed., (New York: Macmillan, 2005), pp. 332-455.

5 A. Branch and Z. Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, (London: Zed, 2015).

6 J. Bailly, *The impact of social media on social movements: A case study of the 2009 Iranian Green Movement and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution*, (Washington: Washington State University, 2012), pp. 3-35.

prohibition of refugees.[7] Furthermore, resistance has developed around the COVID-19 pandemic and its ensuing regulations which sparked a worldwide upsurge of movements against COVID-19 legislation.[8] Americans face frequent forms of activism such as the 'Black Lives Matter' movement, a national organisation working towards the equality of black lives. The movement orchestrates a variety of group based resistance activities through the collective unity of various groups or movements spreading across the globe as the struggle resonates with likeminded movements.[9] Moreover, the Middle East has seen a multitude of resistance movements in the past. The latest of these groups, The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), is known for launching attacks on a global scale in the name of religion and power, waging war on Western intruders and their own governing states.[10] Similarly, Hong Kong faces large scale insurrections which started in June 2019 against plans to allow extradition to mainland China. These events rallied the people of Hong Kong who enjoyed some extent of autonomy and who feared that the proposed Bill would undermine judicial independence and endanger dissidents.[11] Most spectacularly, 2020 marks the year of protest as Belarusians gathered in their thousands in Minsk to protest against disputed elections regarding President Alexander Lukashenko.[12]

Moving closer to home, South Africa has seen its fair share of social- and specifically resistance-movements. In 2012, South Africa witnessed what is now called the "Marikana massacre", when a large number of miners were killed by the police during mass wage protest at the Lonmin (Marikana) mine. This event sparked a series of protests and strikes which led to

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7 ABC News, Europe migrant crisis: Protests at Greece-Turkey border fence follow latest deadly water crossings, 2016, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-01-25/greece-turkey-fence-protest-follows-deadly-water crossings/7110956, Accessed: 29 February 2016; BBC News, Germany condemns deeply shameful protest against migrants, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35633471, Accessed: 1 March 2016.

8 K. Deese, Thousands march against coronavirus restrictions in Berlin, 1 August 2020, https://thehill.com/policy/international/europe/510111-thousands-march-against-coronavirus-restrictions-in-berlin, Accessed: 5 August 2020.

9 S.N. Olivares, Black Lives Matter: Black history in the making, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost .com/samy-nemir-olivares/black-history-in-the-making_b_9335330.html, Accessed: 29 February 2016; K. Petersen-Smith, Black Lives Mater: A new movement takes shape, *International socialist review*, Issue 96, 2015, http://isreview.org/issue/96/black-lives-matter, Accessed: 1 March 2016; K. Devlin (et al), Outside U.S., Floyd's killing and protests sparked discussion on legislators' Twitter accounts, 4 August 2020, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/04/outside-u-s-floyds-killing-and-protests-sparked-discussion-on-legislators-twitter-accounts/, Accessed: 5 August 2020.

10 G. Wood, What ISIS really wants, 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/ 03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/, Accessed: 29 February 2016.

11 BBC News, The Hong Kong protests explained in 100 and 500 words, 28 November 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-49317695, Accessed: 5 August 2020.

12 S. Tikhanovskaya, Belarus: Mass protest eclipses defiant Belarus leader's rally, 16 August 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53795871, Accessed 16 August 2020.

further violence and loss of life.[13] In 2014, almost 70 000 platinum mineworkers went on strike, demanding higher wages and in turn causing one of South Africa's longest and most costly wage strikes. The five month unpaid strike was marked with a series of dismissals, protests and acts of vandalism before agreeable terms could be met.[14] In 2015, South Africa faced student protests as the #FeesMustFall[15] campaign spread across social media and in turn the country, causing mass student protests, vandalism, and violent outbursts.[16] The #FeesMustFall movement is unique as it showcases modern day resistance originating from cyberspace.[17]Likewise, the 'Zuma must fall' (#Zumamustfall) campaign spread on social media at an immense pace as political parties and ordinary people took to the streets in protest against president Jacob Zuma in a march to the Union building on the 7th of April 2017.[18] In 2019, the service delivery protests developed from a series of protests and civil disturbances that took place across urban areas of South Africa and related to poor service delivery. These events were initiated in Alexandra on the 3rd of April 2019.[19]

When thinking of resistance movements in a South African context, the ANC is likely to come to mind as one of the most prominent groups. Graham, in fact, describes the ANC as one of South Africa's most prominent resistance/liberation movements that, for instance, symbolised black resistance and the end of the Apartheid regime.[20] However, resistance movements of lesser stature have also played their part in South Africa's rich resistance history and, as such, I seek to analytically explore one such movement in particular, the Ossewa-Brandwag

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13 P. Alexander et al., *Marikana: a view from the mountain and a case to answer*, (Johannesburg: Jacana media publisher, 2012).

14 SAHO, 2014 South African platinum strike: longest wage strike in South Africa, 2014, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/2014-south-african-platinum-strike-longest-wage-strike-south-africa, Accessed: 29 February 2016.

15 The FeesMustFall campaign is a student activist group, aiming to reduce the financial, racial and class barriers to accessing university education; G. Nicolson, Fees Must Fall: Reloaded, *Daily Maverick*, January 2016, http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-01-12-fees-must-fall-reloaded/, Accessed: 1 March 2016.

16 S. Swingler, Daily Maverick Chronicle #FeesMustFall – Violence at the gates of parliament, *Daily Maverick*, October 2015, http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-21-daily-maverick-chronicle - feesmustfall-violence-at-the-gates-of-parliament/, Accessed: 1 March 2016.

17 Bailly, *The impact of social media on social movements: A case study of the 2009 Iranian Green Movement and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution*, pp. 3-35.

18 I. Pijoos, Political parties, organisations gear up for nationwide shutdown against Zuma, *News24*, 4 April 2017, http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/political-parties-organisations-gear-up-for-nationwide-shutdown-against-zuma-20170404, Accessed: 7July 2017.

19 A. Nyathi, Alex residents vow to continue with protest until Ramaphosa, Makhura comestarted in Xitsonga, 12 April 2019, https://ewn.co.za/2019/04/08/alex-residents-vow-to-continue-with-protest-until-cyril-ramaphosa-david-makhura-come, Accessed: 5 August 2020.

20 M. Graham, "The ANC and the 'myth' of liberation solidarity: 'Othering' in Post-Apartheid South(ern) Africa", *Africa Insight*, vol. 44, no. 1, (2014), pp. 176-188.

(hereinafter abbreviated as OB). I intend to explore the nature of the OB's resistance through the lens of the Afrikaner's unique place in South African history.

The OB was the largest National Socialist organisation established during the early 1940's by the white Afrikaner *volk*[21], its main impetus being protesting South Africa's involvement in the Second World War.[22] The symbolic 'ox wagon trek' of the 1938 centenary celebration kindled a nationalistic enthusiasm that would give way to the mobilisation of the Afrikaner.[23] It was felt that this new found enthusiasm or 'gees'[24] needed to be situated within the 'volkslewe' [life of the nation]. This would be achieved through the establishment of a cultural organisation, that could stand guard ['Brandwag te staan'] over this cultural spirit—hence the name Ossewa-Brandwag.[25] Members of the *volk* had generally been alienated from one another and had for the most part been absorbed by the urban conglomeration. Marx describes this event in Afrikaner history as the 'Second Great Trek', characterised by urbanisation and social differentiation from the rural world.[26] Therefore the OB, with its symbolic ox-wagon emblem, could be seen as one of the bearers of nationalism among the Afrikaner *volk*, during a period in which the notion of being an Afrikaner was particularly celebrated.[27]

Colonel J.C. Laas, was the first leader of the organisation and was later followed by Dr. J.F.J. (Hans) van Rensburg in 1940.[28] The OB's objectives can be distilled into three simple, like-minded concepts, namely: national unity (Volkseenheid); withholding South Africa from

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21 The term *volk* is used to describe the white Afrikaner as a collective and is integrated into the text as it was used in contemporary times.

22 P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Unpublished report, Department of History, PU vir CHO, 1984).

23 C. Blignaut and K. Du Pisani, '"Om die fakkel verder te dra': Die rol van die jeugvleul van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939-1952", *Historia*, vol. 54, no. 2, (2009), pp. 133-134.

24 The term 'gees' here refers to the notion of being likeminded.

25 Ossewa-Brandwag-Archive, Institutional Archive and Museum, North-West University, Potchefstroom (Hereafter OBA): H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988.

26 C. Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, (1994), p. 196; The prolific Afrikaner historian, F.A. van Jaarsveld, also referred to this phenomenon as "the second Great Trek", F. A. van Jaarsveld, 'Die Afrikaners se Groot Trek na die Stede 1886-1976', in *Die Afrikaners se Groot Trek na die Stede, en ander opstelle*, (Johannesburg: Cape Town, 1972), pp. 135-225.

27 P. De Klerk, 'Die ideologie van die Ossewa-Brandwag', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras,* (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), pp. 292-295.

28 A.J.H. van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag,* (Johannesburg: Kultuur en Voorligtingsdiens van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1944), pp. 35, 45.

participating in the Second World War; and establishing an independent republic.[29] During this era of South Africa's history, the objectives of the OB appealed specifically to the Afrikaner people. These people bore the scars of war and humiliation, situated beneath the rule of a pro-British governmental system that could not satisfy the need for independence sought by the Afrikaner *volk*.[30] The OB's National Socialist ideology can be seen in correlation with other world ideologies of the time, and specifically to that of Nazi Germany. Although the OB's ideology can be described as situated within an Afrikaner ideology, namely, 'Krugerism'[31], portraying only some similarity to that of Germany, the OB may well have been regarded as Nazi-sympathizers.[32] Van Rensburg, for example, even stated his admiration for the discipline of German people under Hitler's rule, as well as their National Socialist state rule.[33]

In the early 1940's the OB gained its own militaristic wing, namely the 'Stormjaers', who countered the war efforts through sabotage and assassinations.[34] However, the violent resistance of the Stormjaers merely fuelled mass-internment, which started in 1940.[35] In this time, the OB gained various branching-organisations, notably its Youth front, later Boerejeug [Boere-Youth][36], and Woman's Division, later Vroue-adjunkraad [Woman's deputy council][37], who played their part during the OB's resistance campaign. By the end of the 1940's the OB was considered obsolete, mainly because of the outcome of the Second World War and unsuccessful policy adjustments after the war by the Smuts government. Despite these crippling factors, the OB also lost a considerable amount of its members to the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP),

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29 It will be fervently argued in the proposed dissertation, that these objectives in addition to other historical sources place the OB in the parameters of an anti-colonial or de-colonial movement, as the organisation advocated for Afrikaner independence from British control.

30 P.F. van der Schyff, "Verset teen 'Empire-Oorlog'", in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras,* (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), pp. 183-185; De Klerk, Die ideologie van die Ossewa-Brandwag, pp. 52-54.

31 Krugerisme is a term that was used to refer to the political structure of President Paul Kruger as democratic leader of the people, against the Smuts government – it mainly emphasised republican ideals of government; OBA: PAM A, cover 7: A.C. Cilliers, *Afrikaners Ontwaak!,* (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia, 1942), pp. 5-6.

32 G.C. Visser, *OB: Traitors or patriots?,* (Johannesburg: Johnathan Ball, 1976), pp. 16-17.

33 J.F.J. van Rensburg, *Their paths crossed mine,* (Cape Town: Central News Agency, 1956), pp. 38-49.

34 Van der Schyff, "Verset teen 'Empire-oorlog"', p. 218; H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika,* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007), p. 300.

35 C. Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', (MA. Thesis, North-West University, 2012), p. 136; Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag,* p. 125.

36 Blignaut and Du Pisani, '"Om die fakkel verder te dra': Die rol van die jeugvleul van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939-1952", pp. 137-138.

37 OBA: Grootraad-collection, B/F 1/3, cover18: Die Vroue-adjunkraad en Vrouevertakking; Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 138-140.

who won the national election of 1948, which would ultimately ensure the OB's collapse in 1952.[38]

The historiography of the OB emphasises the fact that the organisation should be regarded as a "resistance movement". However, the anti-colonial stance of the movement has only been touched upon and, as a consequence, the OB has never been analysed through the lens of anti-colonial resistance.[39] Taking into account contemporary theory on anti-colonial resistance, the OB forms part of an African resistance context since resistance movements arise from discontent and suppression (in this case, colonial supremacy and a later replacement of an "authoritarian" independence). This perspective gains momentum when situated within the theoretical discussions comprising the structural body for this dissertation.[40]

Furthermore, the OB's Afrikaner nationalism is situated within a sense of exclusivity, namely the 'Afrikanervolk'.[41] The Centenary celebrations were the catalyst for the establishment of a movement like the OB, precisely because it was accompanied by a spirit of growing exclusive nationalism that had already been developing before 1938.[42] Much due to the fact that the Afrikaner had also been impacted by colonial supremacy marking the end of the South African war and the extension of British dominion. Afrikaners were, moreover, excluded and marginalised as a result of colonialism during the first half of the twentieth century, which entailed cultural, financial and hierarchical suppression.[43] Therefore, the outbreak of World War II, as well as Hertzog's defeat against Smuts and the failed reunification efforts between Malan and Hertzog, led the OB to formulate comprehensive objectives against dominant rule. According to De Klerk, the OB saw itself in the midst of a struggle between an old and new

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38 J.J. Badenhorst, 'Vroeë organisasiestruktuur', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras,* (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 39; OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988, p. 9; P.J.J. Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag*',* in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag,* (Unpublished report, Department of History, PU vir CHO, 1984), p. 380.

39 In one chapter of his work, "Verset teen Empire Oorlog" in Vuurtjie in droë gras, PF van der Schyff draws some conclusions regarding the OB's initial emergence as a mere cultural body, but with lofty aims in respect to the Afrikaner's cause. Focusing on the organisations militant impact, especially through the years of the Stormjaers. However, even though he touches on the motivation for a militaristic stance toward the empire, he does not necessarily position the OB as an anti-colonial movement, but rather as an organisation positioned against an anti-Afrikaner structure; P.F. van der Schyff,"Verset teen 'Empire-oorlog"', pp. 183-218.

40 Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 3.

41 P.J.J. Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1938-1952', p. 15.

42 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', p.1.

43 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 196-197.

order of society, namely the capitalist-democratic and a national and socialist dispensation.[44] As representative of the new order, the OB would aim to situate the *volk* as a type of anti-colonial movement, hinged on Afrikaner culture, nationalism and eventual autonomy. This aim was to be achieved through both non-violent and violent actions of resistance, aligning the organisation against all that was British, or to whomever favoured an Afrikaner-minded outcome. Consequently, the OB played a role in the victory of the HNP's 1948 election, which led to the later implementation of Apartheid laws.[45] However, in the end, the OB did not amount to much on the political stage, as the HNP/ NP absorbed a number of its members—one of the major causes of the OB's disbandment. As such, the Afrikaner's path of retribution also led to their own form of colonial sovereignty, resulting in the perception of the Afrikaner as a colonist of a special type, one who serves as both oppressor and oppressed. This study, therefore, aims to explore this unique nature of the Afrikaner as colonist and to situate the Afrikaner firmly within the context of African resistance.

When considering South Africa's past, as mentioned earlier, it becomes apparent that resistance movements have occurred throughout and, not only did it play a role in moulding modern-day life, but it also shaped South African history. With the recent development of resistance movements, one can only assume that the roots of contemporary resistance could be found in its past. This statement rings true in view of the works of scholars like Fanon, Mamdani, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Tafira, Branch and Mampilly. However, I do not primarily focus on the causal relationship between resistance movements of the past and the present, nor do I seek to underpin a theoretical structure for such a relationship. Rather, the main focus of this dissertation is to place the Afrikaner of the first part of the twentieth century, and the OB, within the context of both African and anti-colonial resistance by emphasising the unique character of Afrikaner identity and exploring the anti-colonial tendencies and actions of the Ossewa-Brandwag (OB).[46] In doing so, this study seeks to fill a specific gap in African resistance studies seeing that resistance has broadly been approached and presented as a tool used by the black proletariat to achieve certain goals, usually directly or consequently related to colonialism.[47]

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44 De Klerk, 'Die ideologie van die Ossewa-Brandwag', p. 317.

45 SAHO, The Union of South Africa: Movement towards Republic, The Afrikaner ideal of a republic, 2015, http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/union-south-africa-movement-towards-republic, Accessed: 25 April 2016.

46 The term Oxwagon sentinel is noted as dual longstanding terminology, all the same, the term Ossewa-Brandwag is favoured as it is linked to contemporary description.

47 J. Abbrink and K. van Walraven, 'Rethinking resistance in African History: An introduction', in J. Abbrink, M. de Bruijn and K. van Walraven (eds.), *Rethinking resistance: Revolt and violence in African History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 1; G. Shepperson and T. Price, *Independent African: John Chilembwe*

Therefore, this dissertation aims at including and emphasising white (colonial) resistance in order to present a more comprehensive understanding of South African resistance. This study also seeks to establish some continuity regarding resistance in a historical trajectory. Furthermore, the focus will be on the OB situated within the broader perspective of modernity/coloniality.

The discussion has, thus far, contextualised the OB and from this reflection, the following problem statement and research question arise:

This dissertation aims to pursue a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the OB's resistance, by examining the movement's resistance politics in a South African and African context. The aim is to situate the Ossewa-Brandwag within a modern resistance spectrum. This will be done by means of a historical and theoretical analysis of the complex nature of Afrikaner identity and through emphasising the anti-colonial nature of the Ossewa-Brandwag. In so doing, this dissertation will also serve to illuminate the anti-colonial nature of Afrikaner identity which, in its turn, informed the resistance of the OB. This aim is situated in contemporary theory. The following research question will serve as the main focus of this study based on the above-mentioned aim: Against the background of the Afrikaner's complex identity as both colonised and coloniser, and with modernity/coloniality theory in mind, how can the Ossewa-Brandwag be seen as an African anti-colonial movement?

To realise this aim, the following four interconnected sub-questions are asked: 1) How can resistance be defined according to the relevant theory?; 2) Can the Afrikaner of the 1930's and 40's, (and by implication the members of the OB) be seen as "Africans" oppressed by colonialism?; 3) How can the nature of the OB be defined specifically in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality?; 4) Does the OB's activities and policies reflect anti-colonial tendencies? It is important to note that that I have undertaken this study with a clear theoretical approach towards resistance movements in South Africa.

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and the origins, setting and significance of the Nyasaland native rising of 1915, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969, c1958); T.O. Ranger, "Connexions between, 'primary resistance movements' and modern mass nationalism in East and central Africa", *The Journal of African History: II*, vol. 9, no. 4, (1968), pp. 631-641; A.F. Isaacman, et al., ""Cotton is the mother of poverty": Peasant resistance to forced cotton production in Mozambique, 1938-1961", *International Journal of Historical Studies*, vol. 13, no. 4, (1980), pp. 581-615; T. O. Ranger, "The people in African resistance: A review", *Journal of South African Studies*, vol. 4, no.1, (1977), pp. 125-146; S.A. Msellemu, *"*Common Motives of Africa's Anti-colonial Resistances in 1890–1960", *Social Evolution & History*, vol. 12, no. 2, (2013), pp. 143-153; Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, pp. 1-272.

The historiographies relevant to this study is extrapolated on in this chapter. Subsequently, I shall introduce the reader to the main trends in historiography concerning resistance movements in Africa and resistance in South Africa in particular. (1.2) After this section the chapter is concluded with further remarks on my research aims (1.3)

1.2 Historiography of resistance movements and the nature of South African resistance: The historiographical context of the OB.

The importance of this school of thought is affirmed by the large amount of academic research relating to the objectives of this study. However, the nature of what this study aims to achieve does not necessarily relate to many other studies. It is, therefore, necessary to establish a firm historiographical context, to assert the position of this subject matter within that of contemporary research. Accordingly, the historiographical exposition that follows should be seen as the establishment of context pertaining to this study and should not be seen as a complete comprehensive discussion of a specific research field.

1.2.1 Resistance in an African historiographical context

Resistance movements are frequently studied in various disciplines as an epistemological point of departure. A comprehensive historiography of resistance that covers the sheer amount of research already done on the topic would be a Sisyphean task. Seeing as resistance theories have developed over time, it is unnecessary to provide an in-depth historiographical discussion which may result in a redundant analysis. However, certain studies must be mentioned which relate to or influence the trajectory of this study. Starting with a brief historiography of African resistance, this section will move to more theoretical studies which discuss social movements and/or resistance movements. A short historiographical discussion on African resistance then follows since African resistance forms part of the larger collective of which South Africa is part of. A firm grasp of African resistance may prove fruitful when considering South African resistance.[48]

[48] Even though I mainly focus on South African resistance and more specifically the OB, the historiography that follows focuses on African resistance. This is done for two reasons: First, the following historiographical discussions will regard the material available surrounding the OB, giving some insight into South African resistance movements. Secondly, I would like to provide a sense of resistance in an African context as South Africa forms part of the former, and for arguments sake, South Africa forms part of the African trend of resistance movements, namely de-colonial resistance.

Throughout Africa's history, Africans have resisted the forces of domination. Africans rejecting or resisting domination and forms of domination such as exploitation or injustice have been the topic of historical discussion since the development of modern African studies in the 1960s.[49] Arguably, the first substantial study relating to African resistance is that of *Independent Africa* published in 1958.[50] The study follows the history of John Chilembwe and the rebellion in Nyasaland (Malawi), during the First World War. One can also refer to the work of Ranger that was published in 1968.[51] Ranger's study connects the nationalist struggles of the 1950s and 1960s to that of earlier resistance against colonial rule. Ranger argues that the occupation and settlement of Europeans gave way to early forms of resistance, the so-called primary resistance wave. The secondary resistance wave comprises of nationalist struggles for independence in the 1950s to 1960s. Within this parameter, resistance was viewed as a historical dimension of African nationalism or simply put, the 'resistance' and 'collaboration' views. These studies, however, simplified views on resistance and studies that later followed pointed to the complexities of resistance. Authors such as Glassman would later define resistance as a forward-looking defence of African tradition against an alien occupation, in the process assuming that the African societies involved were united in this common purpose.[52]

In the 1970s and 1980s scholars placed their focus on class structure, arguing that it was the configuration of class interests that determined if Africans would collaborate with colonial or settler rule. This gave way to a Marxist perspective as African countries in this time faced growing economic unrest and political instability; studies focussed on peasants revolting against international capitalism.[53] This consequently advanced a narrowing perspective on resistance, as scholars started to view any activity that frustrated the oppressors as a form of resistance. Consider the following studies: In Isaacman's "*Cotton is the mother of poverty": Peasant resistance to forced cotton production in Mozambique*, the authors discuss the view of 'banditry'. This refers to societal groups who destroy oppressive institutions perceived to

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49 Abbrink and Van Walraven, 'Rethinking resistance in African History: An introduction', p.1.

50 Shepperson and Price, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the origins, setting and significance of the Nyasaland native rising of 1915,* pp. 1-543.

51 Ranger, "Connexions between, 'primary resistance movements' and modern mass nationalism in East and central Africa", pp. 631-641.

52 J. Glassman, *Feasts and riot: Revelry, rebellion and popular consciousness on the Swahili coast, 1856-1888,* (Portsmouth: NH & London, 1986), p. 10; Abbrink and Van Walraven, **'**Rethinking resistance in African History: An introduction', p. 2.

53 Isaacman, ""Cotton is the mother of poverty": Peasant resistance to forced cotton production in Mozambique, 1938-1961", pp. 581-615; Ranger, "The people in African resistance: A review", pp. 125-146.

threaten the traditional order and with the intention to redistribute the wealth of the oppressors to the poverty-stricken society.[54] In Crummey's, *Introduction: 'the great beast',* published in 1986, the author argues that resistance can be mute, with stealth as principal characteristic.[55] Scott's *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, places the focus on the social basis of daily resistance, about those who are powerless. [56] The study conducted by Rotberg, *Protest and power in black Africa*, is of a large category, entailing various thoughts surrounding resistance efforts. This immense work is worth noting since its authors discuss resistance according to protest, riots, disorder and other forms of defiance.[57]

More recent studies have moved away from the notion of acts of resistance and place their focus on the intentions and continuity of resistance within Africa. *African studies in social movements and democracy* published in 1995, is a collective work pertaining directly to African resistance movements. The study explores various topics such as bread riots in Tunisia, Communist Parties in Sudan, the "Kaduna Mafia" in Nigeria, burial societies in Zimbabwe, and the efforts of the working class in Algeria. With its in-depth discussion on African resistance, the study follows a common thread throughout, namely the struggle against oppression and the forging of identity.[58] *Rethinking resistance: Revolt and violence in African history* is another collective volume on African resistance, published in 2003.[59] This volume analyses the concepts of resistance, violence, and ideological imagination with chapters on uprisings and revolts in nineteenth-century pre-colonial societies, early colonial Africa, and post-colonial rebellions as well as contemporary conflicts. Nonetheless, the authors identify a strong connection between past and present resistance as they examine the memory and heritage of resistance against the backdrop of Africa's social-historical development This connection between past and present is established by providing a broad overview of colonial, post-colonial and more recent resistance, along with a historical perspective on African struggles and contemporary problems. More recently, *Common motives of Africa's anti-colonial Resistances in 1890–1960* offers a

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54 Isaacman, "Cotton is the mother of poverty": Peasant resistance to forced cotton production in Mozambique, 1938-1961", pp. 581-615.

55 D. Crummey, 'Introduction: 'the great beast'', in D. Crummey (ed.), *Banditry, rebellion and social protest in Africa*, (London: James Curry, 1986), pp. 1-120.

56 J.C. Scott, *'Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance',* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 1-392.

57 R.I. Rotberg and A.A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and power in black Africa,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 1-1274.

58 M. Mamdani and E. Wamba-dai-Wamba (eds.), *African studies in social movements and democracy*, (Oxford: CODESRIA: 1995), pp. 1-636.

59 J. Abbrink, M. de Bruijn and K. van Walraven (eds.), *Rethinking resistance: Revolt and violence in African History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 1-366.

summative description of African resistance including a myriad of African countries, namely: the case of Shona and Ndebele rebellion of Zimbabwe, the Maji Maji war in Tanganyika, South West Africa (Namibia), war of resistance in Samori Toure of Guinea, the resistance in Democratic Republic of Congo and the Mau Mau in Kenya.[60]

One of the more recent studies is that of Branch and Mampilly, *African Uprising*,[61] which connects certain pathologies of African resistance, and links past experiences to contemporary protest. The authors engage with the category of political society and work towards theories of "the politics of popular urban protest".[62] Branch and Mampilly are of the opinion that political society thinks and acts outside of the state-civil society dichotomy and therefore undertake certain actions to change their way of life: "social and political structures" are "shaping the urban milieu from which protest arises".[63] *African Uprising* serves as a cornerstone for my own study, regarding the perspectives on African resistance in broad. Therefore, some of the main ideas of this study should be mentioned as follow:

The authors argue that African resistance can be characterised by three waves of protest: anti-colonial protests, anti-austerity protests, and today's modern protest waves. These waves are discussed in three individual chapters, while chapter four investigates the experiences of the urban poor and the conditions that can lead to protest. The final chapters make use of case studies across Africa, ending with a conclusion that situates Africa's protests in a global perspective and draws out linkages between political society in Africa and political society in other parts of the world.[64]

Starting from the first wave or the anti-colonial struggle phase, Branch and Mampilly discuss the nature and the beneficiaries of protest and political change in postcolonial Africa, through linking the work of two intellectual forefathers, Kwame Nkrumah and Frantz Fanon. The main

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60 S.A. Msellemu, "Common Motives of Africa's Anti-colonial Resistances in 1890–1960", *Social Evolution & History*, vol. 12, no. 2, (2013), pp. 143-153.

61 Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 3.

62 Political society refers to an urban underclass and its relations with the state. It is a category that includes the economically impaired, acting as a direct response to state violence; Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 11.

63 L.Q. Sneyd, Review: 'Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change by Adam Branch, and Zachariah Mampilly', *Project Muse*, 2015, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/604108, Accessed: 29 May 2016; Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 8.

64 L.Q. Sneyd, Review: 'Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change by Adam Branch, and Zachariah Mampilly', *Project Muse*, 2015, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/604108, Accessed: 29 May 2016.

divide between Fanon and Nkrumah can be traced to the countering ideas of non-violent and violent resistance.[65] Mampilly states that in the case of Ghana, Nkrumah was the first political figure in the African context that would be able to bring together a wide variety of constituencies, within a single movement, to challenge British rule very successfully. Based on his success, Nkrumah became a great advocate for non-violent resistance strategies as a tool for African liberation. However, Fanon challenged the assumption that non-violence is the only strategy to bring about liberation in the African context and advocated for a violent path of resistance. Fanon suggests that, depending on the context of the struggle, non-violence has only limited utility. Even though Nkrumah's strategy was successful in bringing independence, it largely failed to stir the types of transformation that most of the participants were seeking, namely: transformation in economic or political life. As is the case in many African states, when Nkrumah came to power in Ghana, he struggled to retain power and became another autocratic ruler that would signify the end of colonial rule.[66] Branch and Mampilly succeed in framing various components of African resistance, but most importantly, through outlining the consequences of Fanon's critique on independence struggles such as those in Ghana, they state that "such a mode of decolonisation would set the stage for the pathologies of colonial rule after independence".[67] This is an interesting statement, when taking Fanon's notion of decolonisation into account: "To tell the truth, the proof of success lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up."[68] Thus, a sense of violent decolonisation, as perceived by Fanon, can only be successful when the entire system is changed through such means (which relates back to the author's notion of colonial pathologies). Thus, as the first wave ended, it opened a path for the second wave of resistance to be established.

Retaining the focus on the first and second wave, Branch and Mampilly pay particular attention to political society's strained relationship with civil society, a division originating in the colonial separation of urban populations. This separation divided society 'into a small, relatively privileged, elite and working class on one side, opposed to a large underclass subject to constant coercion on the other'.[69] According to Branch and Mampilly, this division formed

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65 J. Phillips, "Review: Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly, Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change", *Africa Spectrum*, vol.50, no. 3, (2015), p. 140.

66 Z. Mampilly, Zachariah Mampilly on Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change, *School of Public Policy at Central European University*, 17 April 2015, Youtube: https://www.youtube.com /watch?v=EAe X Pcg CEe4, Accessed: 1 April 2016.

67 Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 31.

68 F. Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, (Trans.) Farrington, (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 35.

69 Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 8.

different identities and ultimately distinct forms of politics and protest that continues in the present day. Civil society, the recipients of the privileged urban category of colonial times, can generally hope for the gradual improvement of its social, economic, and political position. Moreover, since civil society has privileges to lose, it enters protests with a moderate interest in reform. In contrast, political society requires that 'everything must change for anything to change'; this society enters popular protest with the aim of overturning the entire system as quickly and radically as possible.[70] Thus, the second wave of resistance can be ascribed to the disappointments of multiparty regimes, structural adjustment programmes, austerity measures, and the limits to the capacities of civil society in the late 1980s and early 1990s (understood both as the precursor to the third wave of protest and, historically, emergent from the mistakes of the generation engaged in anti-colonial struggle).[71] The third waves of protests are characteristically placed in a context of neo-liberalism. Africa has seen substantial economic growth, yet it faces predominant unemployment, and its benefits elites and civil society with access to international networks while leaving the poor with few opportunities.[72]

What these studies on African resistance make apparent is that colonial resistance and its subsequent decolonisation movements are a broad encompassing occurrence which forms part of an African resistance perspective. As suggested by many of the historical writings mentioned above, resistance is not a monolith, seeing that it takes place in various forms and instances. It would also seem that resistance against colonialism was an unresolved phenomenon since economic, social and political marginalisation occurred after the events of decolonisation and encouraged forms of resistance relating to a colonial legacy. After considering these occurrences of resistance, it becomes clear how South Africa can be placed within the context of African resistance. South Africa, with its long history of opposition to colonial rule and decolonisation movements, finds itself within the colonial legacy. However, what makes South Africa even more thought-provoking is the instance of the Afrikaner and his legacy of both colonial resistance and oppression. As such, this study explores this phenomenon by viewing

70 Phillips, "Review: Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly, Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change", p. 33.

71 Phillips, "Review: Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly, Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change", p. 140; J. Silver, Review: 'Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change', by A. Branch and Z. Mampilly, *London School of Economics and Political Science*, 2015, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2015/10/23/book-review-africa-uprising-popular-protest-and-political-change-by-adam-branch-and-zachariah-mampilly/, Accessed: 2 April 2016.

72 Branch and Mampilly, *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*, p. 71.

the OB as a conventional resistance movement within the paradigm of theories on colonialism. First it is necessary to provide an overview of the historiography of the OB.

The historiography discussed above appears insubstantial when compared to the bulk of secondary studies relevant to this topic. However, it conveys the needed insight into African resistance literature. In the theoretical discussion, a wider range of African resistance studies is also touched upon. Before the theoretical discussion, it is first necessary to focus on the historiography of the OB. As such the next section sheds light on the OB by placing the topic in the context of available literature.

1.2.2 Historiography of the OB: A history of resistance and a lack thereof

Most of the information on the OB can be found in the collections of the OB Archives of the North-West University. Over the years, many publications have appeared on the OB, where almost all secondary sources that were published (after the movement's disintegration) consisted of research leaning on the primary material from the OB archive. There are various primary and secondary sources, which any researcher of the OB should consult in conducting their study. The first is a series of books that can be treated as primary material. One of the first studies that sought to provide a historical synopsis of the OB, was the work of A.J.H. van der Walt, '*'n Volk op trek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*', published in 1944.[73] As historical work, the book fails to shine an objective light on the OB as movement. It can rather be seen as a work of propaganda, highlighting Van der Walt's biased views on the organisation and the Afrikaner. Nevertheless, the book serves as the first publication that attempted a summative history of the OB and can thus serve as a means to understand contemporary thinking about the OB. Van der Walt does, however, manage to present a perspective on the Afrikaner zeitgeist concerning growing unrest and protest toward a colonial structure and British minded government. For instance, he thoroughly documents the political infringements against the OB and their path to gain a rightful place for the Afrikaner. His work particularly leans toward the discrepancies between Malan and the organisation,

[73] Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, pp.1-10.

which makes sense when considering that Van der Walt was also the director of "Die OB", the OB's newspaper, which served as their social platform for combatants.[74]

In 1953, after the dissolution of the OB, the book *Agter tralies en doringdraad* appeared. The book was published by 'Die Bond vir Oud-Geïnterneerdes en Politieke Gevangenes' [the Association of Former Internees and Political Prisoners] (BOPG), of which the majority were former OB members. The book consists of a series of chapters written primarily by former members of the organisation, among others, the Commandant-General (KG) of the OB, J.F.J. van Rensburg. *Agter tralies en doringdraad* provides insight into the mindset of the OB as well as the influence of the OB as a political threat to the Smuts government. It tells of the OB's role in caring for internees, which was an important aspect of the OB's acts and commissions and served as defiance of a system which sought to hinder resistance. The book is primarily a work of remembrance and covers various aspects of the former political internment, including the gathering clouds of war, camp life, and the effects of internment. It offers an interesting perspective into the view of internment and its consequences as a necessary step, a show of the *volk's* strength, it also blurs the lines between patriotic resistance and terrorism. The book certainly provides a wide perspective on various aspects of the OB during its existence and after its disintegration and maintains justification for their measures of resistance. [75]

In 1956, the autobiography of the organisation's leader, J.F.J. van Rensburg, *"Their paths crossed mine"* was published. The book is written with some biases as Van Rensburg displays nuances of a leader who is clearly bitter about the conclusion of his organisation. Nevertheless, it is an important primary document in understanding the OB-General himself. It particularly sheds light on the relationship between the OB, the National Party (NP) and the OB's activist wing, the Stormjaers, and how they justified resistance as a necessity for the greater good.[76]

Some secondary material is also of importance: G.C. Visser's work *OB: traitors or patriots?* was published in 1976. In his book, Visser deals with the controversy surrounding treason amongst Afrikaners.[77] The book mainly deals with the author's memories of the OB. As a

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74 C. Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008), p. 503.

75 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 5-6.

76 J.F.J. van Rensburg, *Their paths crossed mine*, (Cape Town, CNA, 1956).

77 Visser, *OB: Traitors or patriots?*, pp. 1-216.

policeman who investigated the actions of the OB, Visser's study contains useful information based on official police case dockets and reports, and, of course, a perspective from first-hand experience. However, throughout the book there is a complete lack of references and no bibliography to be found. This limits the value of Visser's publication, especially considering the hierarchy of sources in the historian's view. However, some insight can be gained from Visser's enquiry into the OB's position against the Second World War. In short, he discusses the position of the OB as wartime patriots, from an Afrikaner nationalistic point of view and, on the other hand, as traitors from a government perspective. This leads Visser to touch on various instances of OB resistance and specifically the internment of Afrikaners involved with these acts of resistance. Nevertheless, the most gripping perspective can be derived from that of Visser's own unique position in which we see someone with a police and governmental background but who still leans toward the perspective of the OB as patriots. This might directly speak to the influence of Afrikaner nationalism, but may also, given the year of publication of this book, reveal something about the NP as elected government since 1948 and their position in the OB. Perhaps this text serves as testimony to the adage that history is written by the victors. Nevertheless, the book provides valuable insight into the actions of the Stormjaers and their internment. Visser's study moves away from earlier works that mainly focused on the political aspects of resistance (or justifications for the measures of resistance) and deals with the OB's period of violence toward the government and the events that ensued. [78] Overall, *OB: traitors or patriots?* does not delve deeper than a recollection of events and concludes with the notion that resistance paved the way for Afrikaner rule.

Some of the most important academic contributions on the OB had been produced by the History Department of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (PU for CHE). Financial support from the Council for Social Scientific Research (CSSR) assured the launch of an in-depth research project that aimed to touch on all aspects of the OB's history. Financial sponsors forced the authors to publish the final, still unfinished, research report at the end of 1984. This report is the most thorough work available on the OB in Afrikaans and is housed in the Africana-section of the Ferdinand Postma Library. However, the report was never published. As such, it was adapted into a book and then published in the form of a collected work under the editorship of P.F. van der Schyff, *Die Ossewabrandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras*

[78] J. Zulaike and W.A Douglass, *Terror and taboo*, (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 12.

(1991).[79] Although the report was changed and several articles were omitted, the book is one of the most important publications for any OB study.[80] Several of the report's studies were published in academic journals or included briefly in the book. In the collected work, the contribution of J.J. Badenhorst on the organisational structure is included in the form of an adapted article published in the *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*.[81] P.J.J. Prinsloo's contribution to the CSSR project revolved around the cultural activities of the OB and is also included in the final product. In addition, two articles of P. de Klerk appeared in the *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, namely *Afrikanerdenkers en die beginsels van die Ossewa-Brandwag* and *Die Ossewa-Brandwag se ideaal van 'n nuwe samelewingsorde in Suid-Afrika*. [82] These two articles were adapted as a chapter, *Die ideologie van die Ossewa-Brandwag* in *Vuurtjie in droë gras*. The most important work pertaining to the needs of this study is that of P.F. van der Schyff, who deals with the activist character of the OB in the chapter "'Verset teen' Empire-oorlog", and provides an overview of the underground activities of the movement's Stormjaer wing. As can be derived from the title, van der Schyff puts forth a perspective on resistance that is against the Empire but it should not be regarded as an anti-colonial perspective; for the most part, it centres on the OB's position against South Africa's involvement in the Second World War. Yet, Van der Schyff's study provides an inept discussion on the Stormjaers resistance endeavours and offers but a broad perspective on violent resistance and the reasoning surrounding these actions.

More recent work on the OB is that of C. Marx's study, *Oxwagon sentinel: Radical Afrikaner nationalism and the history of the OB*.[83] Originally published in German in 1998, the book was republished in English in 2008. It includes a new approach to the social history of the Afrikaner and maintains that the latter converted from a populist to a cultural nationalism that radicalised simultaneously. Marx's fundamental premise is that the OB cannot be understood outside the context of radical Afrikaner nationalism. The book serves as an informative secondary source

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79 P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991).

80 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 7-8.

81 J.J. Badenhorst, "Vroeë organisasiestruktuur van die Ossewa-Brandwag", *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, vol. 12, no. 3, (December 1987), pp. 54-82.

82 P. de Klerk, "Afrikanerdenkers en die beginsels van die Ossewa-Brandwag", *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, vol. 14, no. 1, (June 1989), pp 43-81; P. de Klerk, "Die Ossewa-Brandwag se ideaal van 'n nuwe samelewingsorde in Suid-Afrika", *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, vol. 14, no. 2, (December 1989), pp. 90-131.

83 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*.

for any OB study since it provides a broad overview of the OB along with new insights on the topic. Even though Marx focuses on the concept of nationalism, his work is not without value in the context of resistance seeing that he discusses these events in historical recollection, usually pertaining to a level of nationalistic tendencies.

Lastly, of note is the work of C. Blignaut, *Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954* and specifically, regarding resistance, *'Goddank dus hoogverraad en nie laagverraad nie': Die rol van vroue in die Ossewa-Brandwag se verset teen Suid-Afrika se deelname aan die Tweede Wêreldoorlog*,[84] both published in 2012. Blignaut has published several articles on the OB[85] and his more recent work takes a unique position in terms of gender studies. Blignaut aims to contribute to the historical-theoretical exploration of the Afrikaner women in the OB by making use of gender as a category of analysis. His work, therefore, involves both historical and theoretical components in which he presents a descriptive analysis of the role of women in the OB along with a gender analysis in theoretical context. In addition to this specific focus, his study also builds on previous studies in its thorough review of the OB as organisation. One of his most recent publications, '"*Rebellie sonder gewere*': *Vroue se gebruik van kultuur as versetmiddel teen die agtergrond van die Ossewa-Brandwag se dualistiese karakter*", sheds light on the role of women and their acts of resistance within the OB's resistance character. This article forms part of the body of work that investigates the OB in the light of its resistance movements.[86] Blignaut provides a larger historical context of the OB and fills a much-needed gap concerning

84 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 365-385; C. Blignaut, '"Goddank dus hoogverraad en nie laagverraad nie': Die rol van vroue in die Ossewa-Brandwag se verset teen Suid-Afrika se deelname aan die Tweede Wêreldoorlog", *Historia*, vol. 57, no. 2, (November 2012), pp. 68-103.

85 C. Blignaut, "From fund-raising to Freedom Day: The nature of women's general activities in the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939-1943", *New Contree*, no. 66, (July 2013), pp. 121-150; C. Blignaut, '"[D]oing gender is unavoidable': Contemporaries' understanding and use of gender as reflected in women's participation in the core activities of the Ossewa-Brandwag Women's Division, 1938-1943", *Historia*, vol. 58, no. 2, (November 2013), pp. 1-18; C. Blignaut, "Volksmoeders, spinwiele en wol: 'n Historiese verkenning van die aard van vrouearbeid in die Ossewa-Brandwag", *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*, vol. 28, no. 1, (June 2014), pp. 1-23; C. Blignaut, '"Die hand aan die wieg regeer die land [The hand that rocks the cradle rules the land]': Exploring the agency and identity of women in the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939–1954", *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 67, no. 1, (2015), pp. 47-63; C. Blignaut, '"Kan die vrou haar volk dien deur haar huis?': Afrikanerpolitiek en vrou in die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1942 tot 1954", *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, vol. 40, no. 1, (2015), pp. 102-124; C. Blignaut, '"Skep julle kommando's in reddingslaers om! Een vir almal, almal vir elkeen!': Die Ossewa-Brandwag se maatskaplike beleid van Sosiale Volksorg, 1943-1954", *New Contree*, no. 74, (December 2015), pp. 72-89.

86 C. Blignaut, '"Rebellie sonder gewere': Vroue se gebruik van kultuur as versetmiddel teen die agtergrond van die Ossewa-Brandwag se dualistiese karakter", *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*, vol. 30, no. 2, (2016), pp. 1-25.

Afrikaner gender studies. His work is of significance to this study as he deals with the broader historical overview and provides insight toward a perspective of anti-British sentiment as felt through the organisation.

It is clear from the studies discussed here that there is a particular focus on the historical aspects of the OB. It is also apparent that there is room for various historical studies relating to the OB as Afrikaner organisation. This is showcased by my own research on the OB as a propagandistic organisation in relation to Afrikaner-nationalism pursuits.[87] On another level, this study places the OB within a theoretical understanding of African and specifically South African resistance movements. Instead of providing yet another overview or justification of resistance, this study seeks to illuminate an ideological perspective of Afrikaner resistance as anti-colonial in nature.

Of the research done on the OB thus far, a handful of these address the OB as resistance movement or simply the movement's acts of resistance. Nevertheless, these studies lack in providing a cohesive understanding of the OB as an anti-colonial resistance movement. Therefore, this study is a unique addition to the comprehensive works done on the organisation. Additionally, this study forms part of an important historical progression that expands on an in-depth understanding of South African resistance movements since it moves the focus away from the OB as an Afrikaner-nationalistic resistance movement and places it firmly within an African/South-African resistance context.

1.3 The Ossewa-Brandwag as anti-colonial resistance movement: Consideration of research questions, methodology and chapter divisions

It becomes necessary to re-evaluate initial concepts and postulations as the discussion encompasses various thought processes regarding the historiographical and theoretical considerations. Hence, the following sections will discuss the research questions/aims, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. This is followed by a summative methodological orientation that outlines the chapter divisions to be followed throughout this dissertation.

[87] D. Olivier, 'Die aard van propaganda in die Ossewa-Brandwag ter bevordering van Afrikaner-nasionalisme', (Hons-mint-dissertation: NWU, 2015), pp. 1-125.

The historical-theoretical nature of this study requires a narrative assessment of resistance that will facilitate the dual objective of analysing the OB as an anti-colonial movement (even though the Afrikaner is to be perceived as colonisers themselves) within the context of South African resistance while also analysing the historiographical findings through the lens of modernity/coloniality theory. This focus, therefore, calls for further consideration of the concept of resistance movements. This leads to the first research question:

1) How can resistance be defined according to relevant theory? This issue has already been partly answered through a historiographical discussion. So as not to veer from the overarching aims of this study, it is important to lay a foundation through which the historical context can be perceived. Placing the OB within the spectrum of anti-colonialism allows for historical and contemporary analyses—an approach that fits well with the aims of the present study. The theory, as situated within the above-mentioned discussion, is to be perceived as a tool and does not direct this study as a dictum.

In order to situate the theory and the OB as an anti-colonial resistance movement, context must be formulated to serve as backdrop for the discussion. This leads to the second research question 2) Can the Afrikaner of the 1930's and 40's, and by implication the members of the OB, be seen as "Africans" oppressed by colonialism? The Afrikaner has a longstanding colonial background that originates from South Africa, however, because of the group's association with colonisation, their position as native becomes distorted.

It is sensible, then, to structure the next section of the dissertation according to a theoretical disposition that discusses the OB as resistance movement. The third research question naturally follows: 3) How can the nature of the OB be defined in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality? The discussion expounds on the position of the Afrikaner and the OB in view of the larger line of thought framed by this dissertation. This section of the study seeks to investigate the relevance of the OB's claim to an anti-colonial movement and how the presence of modernity/coloniality can shape this perception. In short, this question considers the notion that the OB's position within South Africa within the context of coloniality leads their actions to be of an anti-colonial nature.

Arguing the Afrikaner's position, opens the discussion for the fourth research question: 4) Does the OB's activities and policies reflect anti-colonial tendencies? The OB has historically been

associated with anti-British sentiment[88] but not necessarily with anti-colonial tendencies. That being said, if the Afrikaner is to be perceived as a sort of 'native', any resistance that is aimed at the colonial hierarchy permits the question of anti-coloniality. This section serves an important historical evaluation and attempts to legitimise the above-mentioned question.

These subsequent research questions are in direct support of the main research question and serve as accompaniment to the historical-theoretical understanding of this dissertation. Accordingly, I shall elucidate the research methodology of this study. This study makes use of qualitative research which is a type of research that allows for in-depth understanding of the postulated research outcomes and should enable the researcher to gain perspective on the topic at hand.[89] This approach is also helpful with regards to data analysis and collection of the subject matter, namely that of newspaper articles, letters, photos, manuscripts, tape recordings, speeches, books, official documents, pamphlets etc.[90] This study is therefore built on a strong foundation of primary and secondary source material. Naturally, primary sources are the main concern and secondary material is consulted with the aim of filling the gaps, tying the study together, and to build upon previous research.

An essential methodological aspect to be followed in the study is the hermeneutical method, a process that enables one to determine the extent to which certain sources can be placed within the framework of the greater whole. An hermeneutic approach is often used to assist the researcher when interpreting documents in order to analyse their deeper meaning and to answer the research question.[91] This dissertation can, more or less, be seen as an independent study which provides new thought processes and insight surrounding the topic (as explained in the respective historiographies).

Consequently, this study can be divided into 5 chapters of discussion, starting with Chapter 2 - *Theoretical exposition: Discussing the model of South African resistance.* This chapter stands in relation to chapter one but specifically focuses on the historical and theoretical discourse

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88 As evident within the historiographical works on the OB, various authors lean toward the blatant action of the OB as being anti-British. Yet, no author has claimed these actions to be a form of anti-colonial resistance.

89 J. Nieuwenhuis, 'Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques', in K. Maree, (ed.), *First steps in research*, (Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 2013), p. 78; E. Babie, et al., *The practice of social research*, (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 270-310.

90 L.M. Fourie, 'Kwalitatiewe inhoudsanalise', (Skool vir Kommunikasie: Noordwes universiteit, 2004), pp. 2-3.

91 Nieuwenhuis, 'Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques', p. 101.

required to gain a perspective on South African resistance with the aim to analyse the OB as resistance movements. This chapter lays the foundation and provides the tools for the discussion of later chapters.

Chapter 3 - *The roots of resistance: Historical background and analysis of South African resistance.* In this chapter, it makes sense to start with a theoretical argument/evaluation of South African resistance through the lenses of the theoretical exposition since it will lead to the investigation of the OB as resistance movement in the following chapter. This chapter serves a link between the theoretical discourse and the analytical chapters concerning the OB and attempts to situate the Afrikaner within the historical context of 'African'/colonial resistance movements.

Chapter 4 - *The OB as special kind of colonists resisting British colonialism.* The fourth chapter resembles more closely historical writing and centres on social aspects such as the actions of people. This section sees a historical study focused on the OB as organisation and its accompanying policies. The historical analysis is also to be situated within the theoretical context.

Chapter 5 – *Resistance and violence: Tools of the oppressed.* While maintaining perspectives on modernity/coloniality throughout, the penultimate chapter discusses the actions of the OB as part of an anti-colonial movement by situating resistance within the required perspective so as to bring this study's aims to fruition. The final Chapter (6) provides the conclusion and seeks to answer the questions and aims of this dissertation. A discussion on South African resistance will also follow to tie the study's findings to relevant context.

CHAPTER 2- Theoretical exposition: Discussing the model of South African resistance

2.1 The parameters of historical writing: Discussing modernity/coloniality by way of a historiography

A theoretical discussion will ground the aims and objectives of this study and by doing so, create the context for the analytical discourse. A theoretical historiography is required as the Afrikaner and the OB is placed within theoretical discourse applicable to South African resistance movements. This study is open to various theoretical thought processes in an attempt to understand the anti-colonial nature of OB resistance. Subsequently, this dissertation is placed within a certain contemporary school of thought that can be extended to various studies, as will be discussed in the historiographical contexts. The fact of the matter is that the selected aims move the parameters of research to that of resistance studies. However, resistance as focal point extends the outcomes to relating schools of thought, namely: South African resistance and modernity/coloniality. Placing these concepts in a historiographical discussion, therefore, allows for sufficient understanding and situates this dissertation parallel to that of contemporary thought and schools of analysis. While I predominantly make use of the school of modernity/coloniality, supporting context such as those of de-colonial studies also enrich the study.[1]

Placing the above-mentioned approaches in historiographical format is a large undertaking as some of the theoretical discourse stretches across history, entailing past and present views/theories. Nevertheless, with the utmost respect to those scholars who have researched this field before, only selected studies are discussed which portray specific theoretical insights relevant to this project.

For instance, the study of Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*,[2] is an immaculate work specifically concerning African resistance and is an important point of departure for any study which entails African resistance, modernity/coloniality and de-colonial thinking. *The wretched of the earth* treats many of the central ideas of the struggle for liberation against the background

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1 De-coloniality, forms part of the modernity/(de)coloniality school of thought, however de-coloniality tends to focus on the contemporary, which does not primarily fit into the objective this study seeks to achieve.

2 F. Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, (Trans.) Farrington, (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

of colonialism. Fanon's work can be seen as a revolutionary proposal, however, other key concepts are also brought to the forefront.[3] For example, Fanon exposes the problems of certain paths to decolonisation followed by countries in Latin America. In most of these countries, the national bourgeoisie merely replaced the metropolis bourgeoisie and remained dependent on foreign markets and capital after the country gained independence, which left the masses of newly created state seemingly unaffected[4]

To summarise, in *The wretched of the Earth*, Fanon offers ideas that are central to literature on colonialism and resistance/revolution. Accordingly, he advocated violence against the settlers as the way for colonised people to regain their sense of self-respect.[5] However, violence should only be understood as a tool for liberation to changing the system from the bottom up and is not always automatically justifiable. Fanon encouraged the colonised to reject the dehumanising domination of Western culture. He claims that Western culture corrupted the leaders of the decolonised state and made them put their own interests above the interests of the people.[6] Fanon's work can easily be situated in terms of resistance/revolution, modernity/coloniality and de-colonial thinking,

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3 'Fanon sets forth the idea of Marxist notions of history and that the progression toward freedom needs to be adapted to the struggle for independence. Analysing the movement from colonisation to independence, he modifies Marxist ideas. For example, Fanon notes that workers, far from being revolutionary, sometimes have an interest in colonialism and in the maintenance of a colonial economy'; J.K. Roth, "The wretched of the earth – summary": Critical survey of ethics and literature, *eNotes.com*, 1994, http://www.enotes.com/topics/wretched-earth#summary-the-work, accessed: 6 May 2016.

4 In the impressive collective work '*Power and popular protest: Latin American social movements'* the authors place an emphasis on Latin America's linkage to Neo-liberalism and the social movements that developed thereupon. However, the authors do not necessarily make a connection to modernity/coloniality in this book, they rather give insight on Latin American resistance movements and resistance movements in totality; S. Eckstein, *Power and popular protest: Latin American social movements*, 2nd (London: University of California Press, 2001).

5 To mention some works that discusses violence and nonviolence as method to resistance: Meyers work looks at the emergence of nonviolent revolutions around the world. He explores the victories and failures of these resistance movements in countries such as Zambia, Ghana, India and Grenada. The Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah is attributed in his writings on the importance of non-military methods of engagement; M. Meyer, "Revolutionary Nonviolence", *Tikkun*, vol. 30, no. 3, (2015), pp. 31-33; Ahlman takes Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana as setting for his study. He explores the ways in which the armed struggle of the Algerian Revolution of 1954-1962 helped transform African perceptions of the political and social processes of decolonisation in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This shows how the Algerian presence in the Ghanaian capital of Accra competed with, and transformed Nkrumah's own interpretations of decolonisation and the possibilities of a pan-African world created through 'nonviolent Positive Action'; J.S. Ahlman, "The Algerian question in Nkrumah's Ghana, 1958-1960: Debating 'violence' and 'nonviolence' in African decolonisation", *Africa Today*, vol. 57, no. 2, (2010), pp. 66-84.

6 J.G. McCollum, "Review: The wretched of the earth by Frantz Fanon", *The Forum: Cal Poly's Journal of History*, vol. 1, no. 1, (2009), pp. 113-116; J.K. Roth, "The wretched of the earth - summary": Critical survey of ethics and literature, *eNotes.com*, 1994, http://www.enotes.com/topics/wretched-earth #summary-the-work, accessed: 6 May 2016.

Leaping forward from the work of Fanon, the second study to be discussed is that of Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, published in 1996.[7] This is an impressive study and a monumental effort in the rethinking of the Africanist dilemma. In this book, Mamdani explores two issues of importance to decolonisation, namely: How power is organised and how it tends to fragment resistance in contemporary Africa.[8] In *African studies in social movements and democracy*,[9] Mamdani critically views the 'modernist and communitarian' theories as perceived by other Africanist scholars and suggests an alternative conclusion.

He provides a thorough analysis of the obstacles to the democratisation of post-independent African nations who are rooted, to a large extent, in the historical and institutional context of colonialism. According to Mamdani, power structures in contemporary Africa were mainly forged during colonialism's autocratic forms of direct and indirect rule.[10] In turn, this caused a bifurcated power structure between urban and rural rule. These power structures gave way to resistance within the structure itself. Direct rule would see resistance movements rise against colonial powers, whereas indirect rule would see resistance against the local authority. At independence, Africa faced an agenda which entailed three imperatives: "deracialising civil society, detribalising Native Authority, and developing the economy in the context of unequal international relations".[11] However, these changes have not been met and has caused the colonial authoritarian state to endure, especially through the preservation of "decentralised despotism" in local administration (the inheritor of the indirect rule instruments of colonial authority).[12] Accordingly, Mamdani proposes that governments look for better ways to link urban and rural areas in order to overcome the legacy of colonialism's bifurcated, urban-rural pattern of rule.[13] Mamdani's study is an impressive work and even though some of his ideas

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7 M. Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1996), pp. 1-356.

8 Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, p. 3.

9 This Anthology places the focus on a kaleidoscope of African social movements, encompassing topics such as Trade unions, burial societies, students, class, religious and gender movements, riots and mafia organisations. Moving between African countries this study is able to give a thorough analysis of African resistance and relays a strong common thread, namely: the experience of past oppression and the constant struggle for an identity; M. Mamdani and E. Wamba-dai-Wamba, *African Studies in social movements and democracy*, (Oxford: CODESRIA, 1995).

10 V. Steemers, "(Post) Colonialism and ideological configurations: An analysis of the power structures in Cheikh Hamidou Kane's Ambiguous adventure", *Rocky Mountain Review*, vol. 67, no. 2, (2013), p. 138.

11 Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, p. 287.

12 S.N. Ndegwa, "Review: 'Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism' by M. Mamdani", *Africa Today*, vol. 45, no. 2, (1998), p. 264.

13 Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, pp. 300-301.

can be integrated into this study, the most suitable concept of use here is that of the colonial legacy established though colonialism.

The above-mentioned studies directly and indirectly raise questions about colonial influence on African resistance. However, this may not be the intended line of thinking these scholars hoped to undertake. Colonialism cannot solely be blamed for the resistance faced in the past (or even those that they currently face) in South Africa and Africa. At any rate, it would be ignorant to disregard the influence and the role colonialism played/still plays. The following epistemological background is used in conjunction with the arguments made in the works above and forms part of the school of thought this study seeks to draw upon.

The project known as modernity/coloniality originated from the research of a plethora of scholars, arguably most ardently advanced through Quijano and Mignolo.[14] Modernity/ coloniality are complex, diverse, and historical structural concepts. The key thought being that of coloniality. The concept of coloniality originated in South America in the 1990's, especially through the works of Quinjano.[15] Coloniality calls into question the idea that knowledge is disembodied and independent of any specific geo-historical locations. Scholars of this school argue that such a belief has been created and implanted by dominant principles of knowledge that originated in Europe. In order to construct a universal conception of knowledge, Western epistemology has pretended that knowledge is independent of the geo-historical and biographical conditions in which it is produced. As a result, Europe became the cynosure of epistemic enunciation, and the rest of the world became the object to be described and studied from the European point of view.[16]

Linking this to a historical perspective, studies such as that of Duara, *Decolonisation: Perspectives from now and then*,[17] are notably relevant. The author's work provides a view of decolonisation and decoloniality as epistemic. Mainly, Duara posits that the deepening importance of capitalisation and the encroachment of 'alien' cultures erode existing

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14 W.D. Mignolo, "Delinking", *cultural studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, (2007), pp. 450-453.

15 A. Quijano, 'Colonialidad y modernidad/racionalidad' in W. Mignolo and A. Escobar (eds.), *Globalization and the decolonial option*, (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 22-32; A. Quijano, "Coloniality of power, eurocentrism, and Latin America", *Nepantla: Views from South*, vol. 1, no. 3, (2000), pp. 534-548.

16 W.D. Mignolo, Modernity and coloniality, *Oxford Bibliographies*, 2011, http://www.Oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0017.xml#obo-9780199766581-0017-bibItem-0002, Accessed: 29 May 2016.

17 P. Daura, *Decolonisation: Perspectives from now and then*, (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1-336.

communities and creates dualistic societies with adaptive and modern urban areas and largely underdeveloped rural areas. This ultimately leads to the normative exploitation of rural communities for the sake of supporting urban lifestyles[18] (this, moreover, directly links to some of the works discussed on resistance). However, coloniality is not to be understood in the same sense as decolonisation, since coloniality encompasses a perspective of totality. [19] By drawing on the work of González Casanova and Fals Borda, Mignolo states the following:

> [T]he experience that African countries were going through within colonisation had already happened at the beginning of the 19th century in Latin America, and it was already known by the 1960s that 'independences' was a new form of colonialism: that is, international colonialism in the process of building the national states[…] It was also clear at the time that coloniality operated not only in the sphere of the political and the economic but basically at the epistemic… cultural, and aesthetics levels.[20]

Cheah discloses that Mignolo counter opposes this entire formation, through a project of liberation that involves delinking from coloniality and modernity. He calls this project 'decoloniality' and it involves generalising the experiences of decolonisation and anti-colonial struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well as the recontextualization of the experiences of the *damnés,* the wretched of the earth, into a new epistemic frame. The project of decoloniality involves a double gesture: first, the re-embodiment and relocation of thought in order to unmask the limited situation of modern knowledge and their link to coloniality, and secondly, another mindset that calls for plurality and intercultural dialogue.[21] Decoloniality becomes an important thought process in a modern analytical sense but the parameters of modernity/coloniality gains precedence when considering the past.

It is also worth mentioning some authors who have influenced the South African epistemic surrounding the modernity/coloniality thought process. Two of the most influential authors, for

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18 C.C. Garcia, Review: 'Decolonisation: Perspectives from now and then' by P. Daura, *The Free Library*, 2005, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Duara,+Prasenjit,+ed.+Decolonisation%3A+Perspectives+from+Now+and+Then.-a0140744242, Accessed: 29 May 2016.

19 Mignolo, "Delinking", pp. 451-452.

20 W.D. Mignolo, Modernity and coloniality, *Oxford Bibliographies*, 2011, http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0017.xml#obo-9780199766581-0017-bibItem-0002, Accessed: 29 May 2016.

21 P. Cheah, "The limits of thinking in decolonial strategies", *Townsend centre for Humanities*, (November 2006), pp. 449-514, http://townsendcenter.berkeley.edu/publications/limits-thinking-decolonial-strategies, Accessed: 29 May 2016.

the purposes of this study, is Tafira and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, [22] who both made significant strides in their understanding of a South African colonial context.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's, *Empire, Global Coloniality and African Subjectivity,* is seen as part of the wave of recent intellectual positions that argument for the need of a de-coloniality thought process. In his book, the author suggests that political independence is, in fact, compromised by the fact that colonialism endured through coloniality. Global imperial designs which have been in place since colonialism did not disappear after decolonisation. Coloniality, as a recurrent theme of the colonial empire, stands at the order of the day, its invisible structures of oppression continue to reproduce Africa's subaltern position.[23] This forms the main position of the book and stands in relation to another of Ndlovu-Gatsheni's texts, *Coloniality of power in Post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation* Here, Ndlovu-Gatsheni examines the African postcolonial and liberation predicament and its crisis of cultural and economic dependence in relation to ideological explanation. The book chiefly discusses the effects of decolonisation and provides some consideration of the realities of the postcolonial oppressive state. The author spends a large section of the discussion on what he calls the 'colonial matrix of power'[24], a concept that deals with the myths of decolonisation and the illusions of freedom. Ndlovu-Gatsheni sees the African identity as situated in a modernist perspective in which current native discourses can be linked to colonial experience traceable to the time of colonialism. Throughout the book, an attempt is made to explain the recurrent logic of violence in Africa from a historical perspective and through the lenses of coloniality.[25] Certainly, these books form part of the thought process this study seeks to achieve, especially as it relates to the continuance of coloniality.

Tafira's, *Black Nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation,* shares some ideas with that ofNdlovu-Gatsheni. In his book, Tafira maintains that South Africa

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22 S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2013), pp. 1-308; S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Empire, global coloniality and African subjectivity*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 1-288; H.K. Tafira, *Black Nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1-375.

23 T. Nyamunda, "Review: '*Empire, Global Coloniality and African Subjectivity*' by S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni", *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 49, no. 2, (2014), pp. 113-115

24 The 'colonial matrix of power', can best be understood according to various structures of control. Referring to colonial structures of power, which remained after decolonisation such as the control over economy, gender, knowledge and authority.

25 P.C.B. Bassène, Review: 'Coloniality of power in postcolonial Africa myths of decolonization' by S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *CODESRIA,* 2015, http://pro.ovh.net/~codesria/spip.php?article2423&lang=en, Accessed: 1 June 2017.

(much like Africa), remains hostage to the structures of coloniality that remained after the end of Apartheid in 1994. Tafira examines various impasses of modernity throughout South Africa's history; he, dare I say, discusses the darker side of modernity, namely coloniality. He mainly focuses on Black Nationalist thought in South Africa and its genealogy and discusses the development of Black Nationalism and resistance in opposition to colonial rule or white domination throughout South Africa's history. Colonial/modernity and the coloniality of power, along with their equally sinister accessories, had a lasting impact on South Africa, one of the most notable influences is its development of an innate perspective of resistance and structures of power. Tafira's work provides a larger insight into the process of modernity/coloniality and the development thereof, it also relates to modern concerns of de-colonial thinking.[26]

The above-mentioned brief historiography is composed of studies that from part of this study's theoretical discussion and should simply provide context for the theoretical approach. The application towards realising the aims of this dissertation is of the utmost importance.

2.2 Modernity/coloniality: Understanding South African Resistance

The historiographical discussion concerning the basic epistemology of resistance makes apparent how colonial influence is a predominant causality within African (and South African) resistance. My focus for this study is to conduct a historical and theoretical analysis of the Ossewa-Brandwag's resistance in a South African context by means of a critical analysis of the dual nature of the Afrikaner as both colonial oppressor and oppressed. However, seeing as the focus of this study leads to such divergent disciplines, it is only fitting to introduce a transdisciplinary theoretical structure that moves between various logical stances. The theory used here, strongly relies on existing epistemology which I aim to use in order to shed new light on South African resistance in a historical perspective. The theoretical thought process aims to link the theory with the aims of this dissertation. This theoretical exposition, then, forms the foundation of an analytical historical study of the OB within South African resistance.

Historical studies in general discuss resistance and resistance movements using historical perspectives. However, it is necessary in modern studies to establish some theoretical basis

[26] Tafira, *Black Nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation*, pp. 1-11.

other than that of a historical context so as to widen perspectives. As such, this chapter aims to answer the first research question 1) How can resistance be defined according to relevant theory?

From a historical point of view, the majority of Africa's past armed conflicts have been fought within the borders of single states, between the government and one or several non-state insurgency movements, engaging in an armed struggle or peaceful protest over issues of territory or governmental power.[27] Furthermore, resistance movements in Africa[28] have historically been linked to liberation or de-colonial movements. This is not surprising seeing as resistance/liberation movements have occurred across Africa and to various degrees.[29] Even though Africa and South Africa share this accord regarding their resistance objectives in past events, not all resistance movements are associated with liberation/de-colonial movements. Anti-colonial or de-colonial resistance in Africa and South Africa can also be linked to contemporary theory, specifically that of modernity/coloniality since it may offer a cascading system of resistance throughout South African history. Given that coloniality forms part of a larger perspective, this section of the dissertation discusses thoughts surrounding modernity/coloniality, and views colonial influence in its totality and thereby also opens the discussion for matters concerning South African resistance.

Keeping this and the historiographical discourse in mind, a key thought is brought to light. First consider the following derived from Fanon's work, *Wretched of the Earth*:

> [D]ecolonisation is quite simply the replacing of a certain "species" of men by another "species" of men. Without any period of transition, there is a total, complete, and absolute substitution.[30]

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27 B. Talton, African resistance to colonial rule, *Temple University*, 2011, http://exhibitions.nypl.org /africanaage/essay-resistance.html#intro, Accessed: 1 April 2016; A. Roberts and T.G. Ash (eds.), *Civil resistance and power politics: The experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-5.

28 South Africa also has a history of liberation resistance, however it is more synonymous with the Afrikaner or Apartheid regime, than with colonial resistance, which occurred in most parts of Africa

29 Also see the historiography of chapter 1; V. Dudouet, "From war to politics: Resistance/liberation movements in transition", *Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management*, no. 17, (2009), pp. 3-7.

30 Here Fanon refers to the African elite or bourgeoisie, who replace the colonist, only to rein act colonial patterns. However, it is my conjecture that this can also convey beyond the perspective of neo-colonialism to that of coloniality and its persistent influence throughout South Africa; F. Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, (Trans.) Farrington, (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 35.

African resistance can be described according to a correlation method, such as the first, second and third waves of resistance as expounded by Branch and Mampilly, or simply as de-colonial movements. From Fanon's work, one might conclude that the view of 'men' replacing 'men' can extrapolated beyond the implied sense of decolonisation. This can be further interpreted by placing resistance in relation to the theoretical concepts of modernity/coloniality with the aim of identifying colonial pathologies as recurring structural components in South African societies which resulted in a connected system of resistance. This view forms part of the main theoretical thought that draws on the works of modernity and coloniality:

Modernity is a rather common term, yet its precise meaning is one of debate as a variety of definitions coexists in various fields of study. To counter this problem, this dissertation relies on the work of academics that have conducted research within the perspectives of modernity and coloniality. Mignolo, for instance, regards modernity as 'a promise of salvation by conversion, civilisation, newness, innovation, progress, development ect.' However, in order 'to advance the promises of salvation, violence (physical and psychological) become[s] unavoidable.'[31] Mignolo writes:

> Modernity became—in relation to the non-European world—synonymous with salvation and newness. From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, it was spearheaded by Christian Theology as well as by secular Renaissance Humanism (still linked to theology). The rhetoric of salvation by conversion to Christianity was translated into the rhetoric of salvation by the civilising mission, from the eighteenth century on, when England and France displaced Spain leading to Western imperial/colonial expansion. The rhetoric of newness was complemented with the idea of 'progress'. Salvation, newness and progress took a new turn— and a new vocabulary—after the Second World War, when the United States took over the previous leadership of England and France, supported the struggle for decolonisation in Africa and Asia and started an economic global project under the name of 'development and modernisation'. We know today the consequences of salvation by development. The new version of this rhetoric, 'globalisation and free trade', is under dispute.[32]

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31 W.D. Mignolo, Walter Mignolo on coloniality and Western modernity, *Symposium at Guggenheim UBS MAP Global Art Initiative*, 27 April 2015, https://www.guggenheim.org/video/walter-mignolo-on-coloniality-and-western-modernity, Accessed: 1 February 2017.

32 W.D. Mignolo, "Coloniality: The darker side of modernity", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1-2, (2007), p. 43.

Taking Mignolo's statement into account, I am predisposed to the concept of colonial modernity, which emphasises the occurrence of modernity through colonialism and its subsequent influences thereafter in postcolonial Africa/South Africa. Colonial modernity can be framed as follows: [33]

> Colonial modernity [...] is read discursively as a broad worldview that was underpinned by strong epistemological interventions that culminated in the colonisation and transformation of African consciousness...the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives' minds, and the integration of local economic histories into Western perspective.[34]

Colonial modernity forms part of the standard interpretation of modernity theory that views colonialism as the vehicle that brought modern values and institutions to the colonised world.[35] Ndlovu-Gatsheni offers a comprehensive outline concerning colonial modernity and its logistics; by making use of the work of Blaut, he provides the following European perspective concerning modernity:

1. A non-European region is empty or nearly empty of people (so settlement by Europeans does not displace any native peoples).
2. The region is empty of settled population: the inhabitants are mobile, nomadic, wanderers (European settlement violates no political sovereignty since wanderers make no claim to territory).
3. The cultures of this region do not possess understanding of private property, so the region is empty of property rights and claims (colonial occupiers can freely give land to settlers since no one owns it).
4. The final layer, applied to all of the "outside", is an emptiness of intellectual creativity and spiritual values, sometimes described by Europeans as an absence of "rationality".[36]

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33 Colonial modernity referring to expansion of colonial dominance through colonialism as perpetuated through modern epistemology or modernity; S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2013), p. 7; S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Empire, global coloniality and African subjectivity*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), p. 1; T.E. Barlow, *The formations of colonial modernity in East Asia*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 1-6.

34 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, p. 23.

35 G.K. Bhambra, Reframing colonialism and modernity: An endeavour through sociology and literature, *The Global South Project*, 2012, http://www.globalsouthproject.cornell.edu/reframing-colonialism-and-modernity.html, Accessed: 10 August 2017.

36 M. Battiste, *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), p. 61.

This logic provided the means for colonisation and exportation of the European model, the creator and exporter of modernity.[37] As such, European colonialism also provided the means for the re-identification of natives as savages, and gave way to the further conceptualisation of slavery, labourers, racism, segregation and Apartheid.[38] It should be noted that this system of oppression is not only seen through the lens of colonial modernity, but is regarded as the effluence for coloniality.

Furthermore, Tafira states that, with the establishment of colonial modernity, the path opened for six major interregnums within South African modernity. The first period occurs between 1488 and 1652, in which routes to Asia were discovered and Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape; the second period occurs between 1652 and 1795 and marks the initial confrontations and wars with indigenous populations and the establishment of the Cape colony as well as the appearance of the British. The third period occurs between 1795 and 1910 and marks the colonisation of the Cape by the British, the encroachment into the interior through the British and Voortrekkers, the South African War, black proletarianisation, urbanisation and industrialisation due to the discovery of precious metals and gemstones, and the Union of 1910. The fourth period occurs between 1910 and 1948 and sees the consolidation of white supremacy and African resistance to colonial rule, followed by the fifth period which occurs between 1948 and 1994, this period sees the implementation of and resistance to Apartheid, 'which is a node in South African modernity; as the ideas had been existent since, at least, 1488.' Finally, the sixth interregnum of modernity occurs after 1994, 'it is the continuum of global coloniality, the difference with earlier phases being that local white and global capital in tandem with black *nouveau riche* elite entangled in a mixture of "old" money and "new" money', which is mixed up in a miscellany of accumulation and squandering'. Tafira also expresses that he does not consider colonial modernity as a linear occurrence but rather as eruptions and disruptions.[39] Nevertheless, these authors concur with Mignolo when he argues: 'For me, the hidden agenda (and darker side) of modernity was coloniality'.[40] This becomes an important point, seeing as Mingolo directly declares that coloniality is connected to modernity. In other words, if

37 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation,* pp. 17-18.
38 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation,* p. 18.
39 Tafira, *Black Nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation*, pp. 4-5.
40 W.D. Mignolo, *The darker side of Western modernity: Global features, decolonial options*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 2.

(colonial) modernity is present, then forms of coloniality must be present as well.[41] He further elaborates:

> It is a 'present' which is 'absent' because what exists is not what Africans aspired for and struggled to achieve. Africans and other peoples of the Global South who experienced 'darker' manifestations of modernity which included such processes as the slave trade, mercantilism, imperialism, colonialism and apartheid, aspired for a new humanity in which species of the human race would coexist as equal and free beings. African nationalism and decolonisation were thus ranged against all the dark aspects of modernity, including underdevelopment and epistemic violence. But what emerged from the decolonisation process was not a new world dominated by new humanist values of freedom, equality, social justice and ethical coexistence. African people found themselves engulfed by a 'postcolonial neo-colonised world'[42]

Coloniality is different from colonialism since colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a colonised nation lies with that of the colonial power, making the colonised nation an empire. Coloniality instead refers to established patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, defining culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production beyond the limits of colonial administration.[43] According to Quijano, a relation of direct, political, social and cultural domination was established by Europeans through colonialism. This provided the underpinning of modernity/coloniality, which Quijano defines as a concept interrelating the practices and legacies of European colonialism in social orders and forms of knowledge:

> The repression fell, above all, over the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalised and objectivised expression, intellectual or visual. It was followed by the imposition of the use of the rulers' own patterns of expression, and of their beliefs and images with reference to the supernatural. [...] European culture became a universal cultural model. The imaginary in the non-

41 It is my opinion that coloniality has been present throughout South Africa, when concerning the various intervals of modernity, as stated by Tafira or modernity in general.

42 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, preface x.

43 Tafira, *Black Nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation*, pp. 2-3.

> European cultures could hardly exist today and, above all, reproduce itself outside of these relations.[44]

Coloniality identifies the racial, political, and social hierarchical orders imposed by European colonialism that prescribed value to certain societies while disenfranchising others. This categorisation produced a classification and discriminatory discourse that was reflected in the economic and social structure of the colony and that continued to reflect in the structure of modern postcolonial societies.[45]

> Thus coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of people, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day. [46]

Coloniality can further be viewed in line with the parameters of the colonial matrix of power; Ndlovu-Gatsheni identifies the profile of the colonial matrix of power as consisting of four interrelated domains: control of economy; control of authority; control of gender and sexuality; and control of subjectivity and knowledge.[47] However, this study does not seek to discuss coloniality as situated within post-colonial structures but rather its influence on South African resistance as developed through colonial modernity and structures of power. Therefore, even though the colonial matrix of power is indeed relevant, emphasis is placed on colonisation of the mind or knowledge, seeing that a 'mind colonisation' sets the basis for the development of coloniality as the colonised becomes able to reproduce colonial structures from their own perspective. Freire explains this transition in the following terms:

> On the other hand, at a certain point in their existential experience the oppressed feel an irresistible attraction towards the oppressors and their way of life. Sharing this way of life becomes an overpowering aspiration. In their alienation, the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors, to imitate them, to follow them.[48]

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44 A. Quijano, "Coloniality and modernity/rationality", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2 -3, (2007), p. 168.

45 A. Quijano, "Coloniality of power, eurocentrism, and Latin America", *Nepantla: Views from South*, vol. 1, no. 3, (2000), pp. 534-548; Quijano, "Coloniality and modernity/rationality", pp. 168-178.

46 N. Maldonado-Torres, "On the coloniality of being", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, (2007), p. 243.

47 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, p. 37.

48 P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, 30th anniversary edition. Transl. M.B. Ramos, (New York: Continuum Press, 2004), p. 11.

Freire elaborates by making use of an education paradigm, which he calls the 'banking' model. Within this model the commodity or knowledge is 'deposited' by the teachers or coloniser, in the minds of the pupils or colonised who do not have knowledge according to the coloniser. Therefore, the tasks of both groups are basically passive: the teachers' task is to transmit knowledge and the pupils' task is to absorb 'knowledge'. The 'banking' model thus displays the nature of colonisation of the mind. However, what permits the coloniser or the teacher to intervene in the pupil's or colonised people's mind, is the fact that the former possesses knowledge and the latter seemingly lacks knowledge. Thus, colonisation establishes new structures within the colony, permitting those with social authority or those with knowledge, to transfer said knowledge. Within this system of colonisation of the mind, the pupil eventually becomes a teacher as mind colonisation also takes place through the transmission of mental habits and contents by means of social systems external to the colonial structure. Such systems may include traditions, family, religion, cultural practices, science, language, the media, fashion, political regimentation, ideology, education, etc.[49] As such, colonialism projects its systems and knowledge onto the colonised and forms a cascading pattern, as is evident in post-colonial societies as coloniality.

Within this developmental phenomenon, modernity/coloniality can stand in direct relation to resistance.[50] Another perspective pertaining to the transfer of colonial pathologies and the subsequent resistance that it entails is put forward by Ndlovu-Gatsheni who discusses a view on liberation and emancipation. Liberation and emancipation are seemingly interchangeable terms, however, emancipation is viewed in terms of reform within a structure as opposed to liberation which seeks to de-link itself entirely from a system or structure.[51] Mignolo, too, maintains that:

> I am arguing here that both "liberation" and "decolonisation" points toward conceptual (and therefore epistemic) projects of delinking from the colonial matrix of power.[52]

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49 Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, pp. 57-60; M. Dascal, 'Colonizing and decolonizing minds', in I. Kucuradi (ed.), *Paper of the 2007 world philosophy day*, (Ankara, TU: Philosophical society of Turkey, 2009), pp. 309-311.

50 This forms one of the basses for this studies comparison between two organisations of opposite spectrums, emphasising the influence of modernity/coloniality within the South African resistance.

51 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, pp. 68-69.

52 W.D. Mignolo, "Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2-3, (2007), p. 455.

The terminology is further clarified by Ndlovu-Gatsheni:

> Those who wanted liberation were the colonized people who desired a rebirth as free citizens and new, liberated beings. But the decolonisation project in Africa was permeated by both imperatives of emancipation and liberation coexisting uneasily and tendentiously. The agenda of decolonisation was hijacked by the 'native bourgeoisie' and channelled towards emancipation. The 'native bourgeoisie', despite its black colour, was a creation of colonial modernity and had imbibed colonial languages and embraced Western cultures; as such it aspired to occupy the positions monopolized by the white colonial bourgeoisie. Its agenda was limited to replacing the colonial white bourgeoisie.[53]

Therefore, the actions of decolonisation set forth a structure of modernity/coloniality within the African political structure, creating epistemological mimicry.[54] Mandaza emphasises that what is generally celebrated as a postcolonial state, is an 'extension of Europe' without any significant autonomy. [55] This is especially evident in the case of South Africa, however this forms part of the larger discussion of this chapter and will follow after certain theoretical bases have been laid.

Modernity/coloniality does provide some answers for past, present and [future] structural forms or systems of power, eventually all coalescing into various forms of resistance. Linking coloniality to a South African resistance is both a congenital and foreign concept as coloniality is always present but not always known. Drawing on the above-mentioned discussion, proposed structural patterns regarding resistance can be established accordingly: With the arrival of colonial modernity, the path was paved for pathologies of modernity/coloniality to develop within a South African context. Resistance formed the subsequent answer for colonial modernity and proved to be the ramifications of the developing structures of power. However, resistance provided an incomplete dissolution as those who attempted to resist, were resituated within the cycle or colonial matrix of power itself. One can, therefore, argue that colonial modernity gave way to the primary waves of resistance, namely colonial resistance or to adapt

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53 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, p. 70; Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, (Trans.) Farrington, p. 87.

54 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, p. 63.

55 I. Mandaza, 'Reconciliation and Social Justice in Southern Africa: The Zimbabwe Experience', in M. W. Malegapuru (ed.), *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*, (Cape Town: Mafube Publishing Ltd., 1999), p. 82.

to Tafira statements of modernity, between the periods of 1488-1652 and 1795-1910.[56] The secondary waves of resistance can then be seen as resistance against the flawed colonial transition or autocratic rule of 1910-1948 and 1948-1994.[57]The final waves are the continuum of coloniality, which can be seen as contemporary resistance.[58] With these waves of resistance in mind, the idea with which this section began can be reinterpreted as follows: is the decolonisation of South Africa (oppositional resistance) to be understood as the mere replacement of a certain species of men (Dutch, British, Afrikaner), with another species of men (African)?

This section provided some insight into resistance and the perceived connection regarding modernity/coloniality. A thorough analysis of the South African experience will be carried out in the next chapter. Before this discussion can continue, it seems fitting to contextualise the structure of resistance and its associated concepts.

2.3 A theoretical exposition of social/resistance movements

In modern societies, people have organised themselves to pursue an array of goals. Social movements are conscious, concerted, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society, often using extra-institutional means. These movements are mainly composed of ordinary people as opposed to military officers, politicians, or economic elites. They need not be explicitly political, but many are.[59] While social movements can either be loosely structured or highly organised, they tend to lack organisation initially and acquire more organisational features as they develop. Social movements may, moreover, be successful or unsuccessful: if successful, their program becomes accepted into society at large and if unsuccessful, the movement my change their program or simply fall apart.[60] Lipschutz provides the following definition:

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56 I am to argue here that resistance was aimed at colonialism, culminating in the South African Wars, which transitioned to an incomplete system of decolonisation.

57 Regarding this phase of resistance, the focus moves to the OB, as this organisation opposed the ruling structure and colonial influences present at that time.

58 This study does not seek to include a discussion on contemporary resistance; however, some conclusions can be made from the discussion concerning the primary and specifically the secondary phases of resistance.

59 J. Goodwin and J.M. Jasper, *The Social Movements reader: cases and concepts*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), p. 3.

60 S.P. Ramet, *Social currents in Eastern Europe: The sources and consequences of the great transformation*, (Carolina: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 26.

> A social movement is a sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support.[61]

Social movements can be regarded as an umbrella term, with resistance movements forming part of the conglomerate. In any event, these movements do not just simply happen, it is social unrest which gives rise to a social movement. A variety of circumstances can give way to the forming of social movements, but only certain factors will be considered for the purposes of this study, these include: 1) A cultural drift: Values and behaviours constantly change within civilised societies. As cultural drifts occur, they give rise to popular self-conceptions that are at odds with social reality or in tension with political reality. This tension provides the context in which new social movements arise.[62] The development of a democratic society, the emancipation of women, the spread of mass education, equality of opportunity for both sexes, and the growth of secularism are all examples of cultural drifts. 2) Social disorganisation: A society can become disorganized as society undergoes changes un-simultaneously and in different parts. As such, so called lags can develop within society since the structure no longer functions as a cohesive compilation and contradictions arise within once established societal behaviours. For instance, as society becomes industrialised, a level of urbanisation must follow, which diminishes the need for traditional behaviour or a way of life, in exchange for that of a progressive lifestyle or modern behaviour. This may cause those in society who do not experience the same social change, to fall behind, or to lag as they develop feelings of isolation or a sense of indifference toward governing bodies/society. These isolated members of society no longer adhere to traditional behaviours and become increasingly receptive to resistance as confusion and frustration develops. Finally, a social movement can take shape due to the occurrence of a social injustice, that is, when a group of people feel that injustice has been done, through the denial or violation of economic, socio-cultural, political, civil or human rights. Any group, at any level of society may come to feel itself the victim of social injustice.[63] It is

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61 R.D. Lipschutz, *Civil societies and social movements,* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 12.

62 H.C. Koerper and E.G. Stickel, "Cultural Drift: A Primary Process of Culture Change", *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol. 36, no. 4, (1980), pp. 463-469; Ramet, *Social currents in Eastern Europe: The sources and consequences of the great transformation*, pp. 25-27.

63 S. shah, Social Movements: Meaning, causes, types, revolution and role, 2015, http://www.sociology discussion.com/social-movements/social-movements-meaning-causes-typesrevolution-and-role/2248,

important to note that these social changes tend to be linked to a modern state or the process of modernity, which can be connected through colonial influence.[64] It is inevitable, concerning modernity/coloniality, for select groups of a post-colonial state to enter a cultural drift or social disorganisation. While social injustice does not necessarily have to be linked to modernity, certain patterns arise when considering colonial modernity and its more sinister manifestations.

Social movements arise wherever social conditions are favourable. It may be noted that in a stable, well integrated society there are fewer social movements. In such a society there are very few social tensions or alienated groups, however as showcased in contemporary Europe and the United States, the level of a country's development does not necessarily equal stability. It is, therefore, clear that many factors contribute to the formation and type of social movements. Even though this study focuses on resistance movements, most social movements are of a mixed nature (or of a different type at different stages of its development), with most movements encompassing some form of resistance.[65] Mentioning all the various types of social movements is futile and not all social movements lead to resistance action. Instead, this study shed light on *resistance* of a specific movement. The OB is regarded as a social movement seeing that it formed out of a feeling of social dissonance. The OB developed into a resistance movement as the organisational aims and objectives became more specific, as it situated against colonial modernity and prevalent forms of coloniality.[66] The term "resistance movement" is generally aligned with the view of a collective opposing the legally established government or an occupying power, through the disruption of order.[67] However, this is an incomplete understanding of resistance movements because resistance is not always about the dominated versus the dominator. Resistance can often come from a place of division, a sense of "us and them".[68]

Accessed: 1 March 2016; T.R. Tyler and H.J. Smith, "Social Justice and Social Movements", *IRLE Working Paper*, no. 61-95, (March 1995), pp. 2-6.

64 It is not to be perceived that colonialism created the foundation for every aspect of injustice felt, but rather all types of injustice concerning the matrix of power.

65 J.M. Jasper, T*he art of moral protest: Culture, biography and creativity in social movements*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 5-6; S. shah, Social Movements: Meaning, causes, types, revolution and role, 2015, http://www.sociologydiscussion.com/social-movements/social-movements-meaning-causes-types-revolution-and-role/2248, Accessed: 1 March 2016.

66 Discussing coloniality and its influence on these organisations acts of resistance can be discussed at a later point, however some of the main concepts can be mentioned: A feeling on inferiority- Hierarchy and authority, economic, cultural and political exclusion based on nationality.

67 P. Policzer, 'Neither Terrorists nor Freedom Fighters', (Paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, 3-5 March 2005), pp. 3-5; Dudouet, "From war to politics: Resistance/liberation movements in transition", pp. 5-6.

68 This forms part of the larger discussion of this section and will be reiterated at length.

Pile states that resistance can involve 'resistance to any kind of change, to progressive and radical politics and to social transformation'. Resistance is about 'mass mobilisation in defence of common interests, where resistance is basically determined by the actions taken.[69] Therefore, a resistance movement does not have to be aimed at political grievances in general, but can be directed against social and cultural changes in the country.[70] Resistance movements can, therefore, be defined as a collective or a group, instilling some form of resistance or protest to subjugate their grievances. However, any movement that establishes itself can be defined as a non-violent movement (civil movement) or violent movement as these movements employ different types of resistance methods.[71] The formation of a movement and the actions of such a movement can be determined from different varying degrees as the formation of a collective is attributed to factors causing social unrest, but the actions of the individual and collective are attributed to: 'cognitive beliefs, emotional responses, and moral evaluation of the world - the three subcomponents of culture - are inseparable, and together these, motivate, rationalise, and channel political action.'[72] Movements are either violent, non-violent or a mixture of the two throughout the movement's existence (as in the case of the OB). A non-violent movement can include methods like boycotts, strikes, protests, and organised non-cooperation to challenge entrenched power and exact political authorisation. Violent movements can consist of the same methods; however, the group/movement also enlists acts of violence.[73]

The following perspective on social movements is also of importance to this study as it explains what happens to a social movement when it gains power. According to Grodsky, the elites of social movements change their conceptual views as they enter a position to practise politics.[74] Members of social movements who become political actors in democratic regimes differ in mentality and philosophy from their former colleagues who simply remain in the organisation

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69 S. Pile and M. Keith, *Geographies of resistance*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-5.

70 Sociology Gide, Social movement's types, 2016, http://www.sociologyguide.com/social-change/social-movements-type.php, Accessed: 1 March 2016.

71 M.J. Steph and E. Chenoweth, "Why civil resistance work: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict", *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 1, (2008), pp. 1-38; J. Chang and A. Clott, '(Non) violence and conflict', in J. Hawdon, J. Ryan, M. Lucht (eds.), *The causes and consequences of group violence: From bullies to terrorists*, (London: Lexington Books, 2014), pp. 109-123.

72 Jasper; T*he art of moral protest: Culture, biography and creativity in social movements*, p. 12.

73 Steph and Chenoweth, "Why civil resistance work: the strategic logic of nonviolent conflict", p. 8.

74 B.K. Grodsky, *Social Movements and the New State: The fate of pro-democracy organisations when democracy is won*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), p. 25.

with no political or institutional pressure.[75] The reason for this is the realisation of the dynamics in policy making. New actors in the political arena focus more on solving the problems than those of social movement corps who insistently criticise the functioning of the state.[76] This may also be linked to the concept of liberation and emancipation when regarding the actions of movements against colonialism, colonial structures or colonial modernity. This rings true, profanely so, regarding the remnants of colonialism or coloniality and its structures of power.

To understand resistance as a topic of historical analysis, it is valuable to view resistance not simply as a theory, but as a concept. The following definition should be seen as a tool of reference and does not by any means exclude the theoretical discussion, but simply serves as refined point for departure from a historical perspective:

> …resistance employs in a broad sense to signify intentions and concrete actions taken to oppose others and refuse to accept their ideas, actions or positions for a variety of reasons, the most common being the perception of the position, claims or actions taken by others as unjust, illegitimate or intolerable attempts at domination. The concrete acts of resistance involved may or may not be acts of physical violence and extend also to other spheres of human behaviour. Resistance, however, must be defined not so much by various forms of concrete acts, as by the *intent* of those performing these acts, aimed usually at the defence of pre-existing and cherished socio-political arrangements, upholding other civilizational ideals, or defending existing power structures, elite or otherwise.[77]

Much has been said about the theoretical composition of social and resistance movements. This established composition fits well with the aims of this dissertation with regards to modernity/coloniality yet also leaves room for evaluation as this discussion proceeds. However, this composition lacks historical overview regarding resistance and its developmental course as it relates to modernity/coloniality. The following extension of this section can convey some insight into resistance through a perspective of colonial modernity:

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75 Grodsky, *Social Movements and the New State: The fate of pro-democracy organisations when democracy is won*, p. 33.

76 I.N. Telci, "Review: 'Social Movements and the New State: The fate of pro-democracy organisations when democracy is won', by B.K. Grodsky", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 66, no. 9, (2014), p. 1583.

77 J. Abbrink and K. van Walraven, 'Rethinking resistance in African History: An introduction', in J. Abbrink, M. de Bruijn and K. van Walraven (eds.), *Rethinking resistance: Revolt and violence in African History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p.8.

Firstly, people inhabited Africa, and more specifically South Africa, before colonisation had occurred. These pre-colonial farmer/hunters inhabited vast parts of the continent and faced inevitable clashes with other communities or groups due to a need for resources or expansion of territory.[78] This changed with the arrival of colonialism, which began in South Africa in 1652 and which created a model for slavery and forced labour. However, this can also be seen as the original model of colonialism brought by the Dutch in 1652 and disseminated by the British in 1795 and that was subsequently exported from the Western Cape to the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.[79] It is necessary to start the discussion at this point of South African history seeing as some basis for resistance is found in references to the concept 'to other' or 'othering'—a concept which pertains to various ethnic groups found in South Africa.

The theoretical concept was originally coined within post-colonial theory; [80] however, the idea of 'the Other' is a complex one. Various definitions of the idea have been formulated in various studies (and disciplines), which makes it hard to determine the exact meaning of 'the Other'. The inclination of this study is to move to a view of group degradation due to contradistinction. I prefer Lister's view that 'othering' can be understood as a 'process of differentiation and demarcation by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them' – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained'.[81] With this statement in mind, 'othering' becomes an inherent perspective when referring to resistance, it links with an almost primal epistemic stance where people would collate or be separated due to discursive phenomena (this bestowed an innate perspective/characteristic to a specific group; inevitably causing a volatile intergroup relation). This definition is quite to the point, and it is here that we require a more comprehensive description, as proposed by Jensen:

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78 H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007), pp. 1-41; T.N. Huffman, Pre-colonial history of SA, *South African History Online*, 2010, http://www.sahistory .org.za/article/pre-colonial-history-sa, Accessed: 12 November 2016.

79 N. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, (New York: Cambridge, 2010), pp. 3-4; F. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, 2nd ed., (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2000), pp. 68-87; SAHO, History of slavery and early colonialism in South Africa, 2011, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-slavery-and-early- colonisation-south-africa, Accessed: 14 November 2016.

80 Referring to ethnic minority identities situated within specific social contexts and conditioned by them; S.Q. Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", *Qualitative Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, (2011), p. 63.

81 R. Lister, *Poverty*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), p. 101.

> ...I define othering as discursive processes by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate. [82]

Certainly, the notion of the 'other' places an individual or an object into a select role, establishing one's own identity through opposition to, and frequently vilification of this 'Other'.[83] The process of 'othering' can be classed through race, ethnicity as well as gender. However, 'othering' is not an alternative of racism(s)/sexism or class, but rather a way of addressing aspects thereof: [84]

> ...othering concerns the consequences of racism, sexism, class (or a combination hereof) in terms of symbolic degradation as well as the processes of identity formation related to this degradation.[85]

Within this broad spectrum, especially in a more contemporary context, in some way, we are all 'others' to someone and everyone else is 'other' to us. Consider De Beauvoir statement that "...no group ever sets itself up as the One without at once setting up the Other against itself".[86] Therefore, the existence of 'others' becomes crucial in defining what is 'normal' and for the *one*[87] to situate his or her own place in the world.[88] It can be inferred that man needs an opposition or 'other', for himself to become the one (superior) subject. One's perceived notions can then easily be projected onto those who are regarded as- the 'other'.

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82 Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", p. 65.

83 Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", p. 63; Y. Gabriel, The other and othering- a short introduction, 10 September 2012, http://www.yiannisgabriel.com/2012/09/the-other-and-othering-short.html, Accessed: 23 November 2016.

84 K. Wren, "Cultural racism: something rotten in the state of Denmark", *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 2, no. 2, (2001), p. 144; Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", p. 65; G.C. Sipvak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An essay in reading the archives", *History and Theory*, vol. 24, no. 3, (1985), pp. 252-272.

85 Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", p. 65.

86 S. de Beauvoir, *"Introduction to second sex." In feminist theory reader: Local and global perspectives*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 33.

87 The term *one* is used in a variety of studies concerning 'othering' and simply refers to those who 'other' or those who perceive themselves as superior. As such the term is also used in this study, to maintain some continuity within the theoretical discourse.

88 B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin, *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 169.

> …the "Other" is a means of establishing (forming) oppositional binaries of power, which then operate to assert not only the naturalness and primacy of the binary system and the "One", but also the self and mutual destruction of the "opposites" in an ever-continuing war of domination...the "other" and its markers are intertwining discursive tools to produce and maintain hegemonic boundaries.[89]

'Othering' is therefore quite useful to the intentions of this study. It should be self-explanatory that a theoretical concept such as 'othering' could be at the root of some form of resistance/opposition and/or violence[90] since the phenomena of conflict can, in most cases, be traced back to a concept of 'us and them'.[91] Regarding colonialism, Fanon argues that "they have become men: men because of the settler, who wants to make beasts of burden of them—because of him, and against him. Hatred, blind hatred which is yet an abstraction, is their only wealth".[92] Fanon regards the concept of the other as a product of colonialism, where both settler and native are intertwined through violence: the *one* seeking domination over the 'other' and the 'other' intending to kill the settler (liberate himself), as he himself transforms into the *one*.[93]

> This "Other", however, in an attempt to "speak" (i.e., in an attempt to force its own discourse into or against the dominant one), not only assumes that this binary existence (of the "One" versus the "Other") is a natural condition, but also argues (implicitly or explicitly) for the inferiority of the "One" against which it itself is constructed, furthering a cycle of violence and destruction.[94]

It is accepted that agency[95] forms part of becoming the 'other' and that oppositional agency concerns resistance, which may lead to violence or death. Nevertheless, the success and failure

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89 M.A. Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", *Humanities*, vol. 3, no. 4, (2014), pp. 612-613.

90 S. Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and complexity in the global economy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 149-151; A. Jones and D.L. Manda, "Violence and 'Othering' in colonial and postcolonial Africa. Case study: Banda's Malaŵi", *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, (2006), pp. 197-213.; Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", pp. 63-73; The Mosaic Rooms, Naomi Klein: Let them drown—The violence of othering in a warming world, 10 May 2016, https://vimeo.com/166018049, Accessed: 29 November 2016.

91 Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", pp. 611-613; T.M. Curley, Othering violence, othering people, *Hippo reads*, 2014, http://read.hipporeads.com/othering-violence-othering-people/, Accessed: 23 December 2016.

92 Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, p. 17, (as quoted by Ergun).

93 Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", p. 611.

94 Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", p. 613.

95 The capacity to act within as well as up against social structures; Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", p. 67.

of the 'other's' agency signifies their disposition toward that which is regarded to be 'natural' or the 'order of things'.[96] In turn, it can be maintained that 'othering' may lead forms of violence and/or resistance, perpetuated through social injustice or even cultural drifts, which can pave the way for the formation of social movements/resistance movements.[97] This is the case in South Africa, too, regarding the movements under discussion.

Much like the concept of coloniality, 'othering' is situated within group/individual mentality, which poses a certain recurring epistemic. 'Othering' can be classified along with coloniality, considering the comparative structures visible between these theories, both focus on systems of power. Nonetheless, 'othering' is not explicitly defined as a product of colonialism and is, instead, seen as an extension of colonialism, when structures of power are concerned in a postcolonial study.[98] In other words, the phenomenon that breathes life into the 'other' can be a colonial or non-colonial occurrence. But, in the case of the first it can be argued that the concept of the 'other' is perpetuated through modernity/coloniality, forging a recurring cycle situated within a colonial and postcolonial context, mimicking Western epistemology. Ergun states that colonialism was the result of the pursuit of the modern and colonialism the result of the perceived 'other', perpetuated through a sense of modernity[99] or as I put forth, modernity/coloniality.

> In other words, "modern" is not limited to an issue of the neutrality of time, but it operates through and naturalises a relation between "have"s and "have not"s—"one"s and "none"s[...]The very deployment of "modernity" divides time, space, societies, genders/sexes and sexualities into "us" (moderns or postmoderns) and "them" (premoderns). Through its naturalness and primacy, it forces subjects into self and mutual destruction in an ever-continuing war of domination. It creates certain criminals (premoderns) and stabilise power as it is exerted on them through violence. Furthermore, it forces these subjects to "fuse violence" into themselves (into their very state of being as a condition they are trapped in) and legitimises the violence they exert onto themselves.[100]

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96 Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency", p. 67; L.M. Ahearn, "Language and Agency", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 30, (2001), p. 30; Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", pp. 613-614.

97 Cultural drifts and social injustice from some basis for the creation of social movements and has been discussed as such in chapter one.

98 J.L. Wiltberger, 'Rethinking Latino immigration: Modernity/coloniality and the geopolitics of knowledge in the United States', (MA. Thesis: University of North Carolina, 2008), pp. 11-13.

99 This statement has been adapted and may vary from that which Ergun argued in totality; Ergun, 'Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent', pp. 611-620.

100 Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", p. 616.

One can find the continuance of colonial knowledge through modernity/coloniality within South African history and its intertwining tug of war between those who are identified as 'other' or perceived as the *one*. An identity concerning resistance could arise in the form of oppositional agency against hegemonic boundaries and the identities forged to achieve the 'us and them' or the almighty *one* (superiority opposing inferiority). However, "as any subject that required [...] to be defined, different and in opposition, "man" required it's Other [...] a becoming relative to him, in order to be a subject."[101] It is to be contested, then, that resistance might quite simply lead to men replacing men, as modernity/coloniality entrenches the mind and causes a cascading system of resistance. Therefore, it can be concluded that the concept of the 'other' is one forged within the refiner of colonialism, sharpened and enhanced through modernity, and unknowingly wielded through coloniality on all sides of the South African resistance spectrum.

As discussed, this theoretical composition forms part of the basic set of tools to be used in the analysis of the OB as an anti-colonial resistance movement (in the perspective of South African resistance). To this end, the following chapter seeks to present a cohesive theoretical application and historical background.

101 Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", p. 611.

CHAPTER 3 – The roots of resistance: Historical background and analysis of South African resistance

3.1 "A special kind of colonist": The complex identity of the Afrikaner as South African

As can be derived from the previous chapter, a definite link can be drawn between South African resistance and the theoretical discourse. This chapter serves as mouthpiece for chapters one and two and applies the theoretical exposition to South Africa's historical background through an analysis of Afrikaner resistance. This chapter seeks to answer the second question 2) Can the Afrikaner of the 1930's and 40's, and by implication the members of the OB, be seen as "Africans" oppressed by colonialism? This question becomes increasingly important to the context that needs to be created in order to analyse the Afrikaner and, eventually, the OB within the set theory of modernity/coloniality as it applies to the colonised.

With the background of modernity/coloniality in mind, Coloniality becomes synonymous with colonial structures situated in a contemporary sense. Even though I do concur with this statement, it would be incongruous not to acknowledge the role of Western/European modernity and the formation of colonial structures both physically and imaginary, as presented through colonial epistemic. I am, moreover, convinced that coloniality (structures of power) can be viewed as a developmental phenomenon derived from colonial modernity and imbedded within both the native and colonist (colonial ancestry). Coloniality is also found in/and prompts acts of resistance against colonial modernity and its remnants. If coloniality is the darker side of Modernity that exists through the colonial matrix of power within present post-colonial societies[1] (as in Tafira's six modernity interregnums), then it makes sense that with each instance of modernity, some colonial remnants may be transferred, solidifying certain structures through repetition that culminates in a structure of coloniality in the present. If one perceives this cycle of modernity/coloniality as a system of development, the roles of the colonial conglomerate have to be re-evaluated in order to identify what colonisation was and what the development of coloniality entailed or, more specifically, how it can be understood as a colonisation of the mind. In a South African context, the question arises whether coloniality has only embedded itself within the mind of the native (including the unique situation of the

[1] W.D. Mignolo, *The darker side of Western modernity: Global features, decolonial options*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 1-2.

Afrikaner, as I shall show) or whether it can be situated within the ancestry of the colonist (also including the Afrikaner).[2] If the latter stands true[3], perspectives of South Africa's colonial history and the resistance thereof requires revision. Against this backdrop, yet another important question arises if the OB is to be considered as an anti-colonial movement. The question can be stated as follows: Can the Afrikaner be regarded as colonist or merely a colonial child warped through colonial patterns to conform to structures of coloniality? This question is deepened by the knowledge that coloniality is derived from colonialism or colonial modernity, which emphasises the aim of this study, that is, to investigate and substantiate the view that the OB served as an anti-colonial organisation. I argue that the OB was established due to the consequential phenomena of colonial modernity and was influenced through colonial structures to act as a resistance movement. Both the colonial and anti-colonial identity of Afrikaners during the first half of the twentieth century needs to be explored before the focus can be placed on the OB. This statement forms part of the main objective of this chapter.

If the Afrikaner is perceived as mere colonist, it would stand to reason that they were not influenced through/impacted by colonial structures and simply functioned within the colonial hegemony as Europeans, but seeing as the Afrikaner was formed in Southern Africa over time and faced a clear separation from Europe both physically and socially,[4] certain aspects of nativity become relevant. If the Afrikaner is perceived as a native, it implies that they did not establish colonial structures but rather re-established these structures due to a colonisation of the mind, as natives often do.[5] In this regard, I am of the opinion that the Afrikaner should be perceived as both colonist and native since the Afrikaner was a direct product of colonialism

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2 Seeing as South Africa is multi-racial, consisting of people of both the colonist and colonised heritage spectrums, both influenced by the colonial era in a modern sense.

3 Referring specifically to the Afrikaner, this statement becomes true, as the Afrikaner is a product of modernity and as such was influenced by colonial thought and structure of administration. Even though the Afrikaner is derived from the colonist, he is also regarded in a sense as a native- making him susceptible to colonial influence. (This will be discussed within the text).

4 This sense of separation will be evaluated as the discussion develops.

5 In this regard, chapter 2 provided a short perspective on mind colonisation. To reiterate, the colonist is seen as the one with knowledge and the native the one without knowledge. Therefore, a process of knowledge transferral is established, as the colonist or teacher's function is to teach, to uplift those of lesser being and to bring Europe to the colonies. Due to physical or social colonial structures prevalent in the colony, the native becomes knowingly and unknowingly situated within this knowledge transferral process. Knowingly, as the native forcibly or willingly experiences and perceives these new social structures within the colony; and unknowingly as knowledge is transferred through the solidification of habits or through the experience of European culture, education, religion ect., moulding the native into a teacher for those who do not yet have knowledge; P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, 30th anniversary edition. Transl. M.B. Ramos, (New York: Continuum Press, 2004), pp. 57-63; M. Dascal, 'Colonizing and decolonizing minds', in I. Kucuradi (ed.), *Paper of the 2007 world philosophy day*, (Ankara, TU: Philosophical society of Turkey, 2009), pp. 309-313.

and enacted methods of colonisation but did so as a separate entity, arguably due to the influence of established colonial structures and the need to form their own native homeland.[6] *Ergo*, it can be argued that the Afrikaner is, in the most basic sense, a native and, at the same time, also a colonist seeing as they implemented acts of colonisation and acted through/within colonial structures. This is a controversial statement which needs to be defended. In simpler terms, one may ask whether the Afrikaner should be seen as only a colonist or also as a native?

Some contemporary organisations or figures would regard the Afrikaner as a colonist given the Afrikaner's European bloodline, the colour of their skin, or the actions of a united white South Africa from 1910 that culminated in the Apartheid system. Originally, the South African Communist Party (here after SACP) and later the African National Congress (here after ANC), referred to the Afrikaner as a special type of colonist, accentuating South Africa's past dual-colonisation.[7] The SACP/ANC's referral to the Afrikaner as that of a special type of colonist pertains to the fact that South Africa was (re)situated[8] within colonial diameters in 1910 as the Afrikaner and British collectively came to power. This differs from the typical colonial structure because South Africa was dominated by internal forces[9] and not external ones, as with colonialism. However, Afrikaner domination can be viewed as a colonial action rather than one based solely on class differences.[10] In short, the Afrikaner can be understood as an established group, within the parameters of South Africa, who enacted their dominion under the banner of British colonialism, *ergo* their actions can be interpreted in the same vein as that of colonialism. This perspective acknowledges the Afrikaner's colonial advances, but also allows for further

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6 One of the main reasons for the Great trek was the need to establish a homeland; Reader's Digest, *Illustrated history of South Africa: The real story*, (New York: Reader's Digest Association of South Africa, 1992), pp. 114-120.

7 South African Communist Party, *The road to South African freedom: Programme of South African Communist Party*, (London: Inkululeko Publications, 1962), pp. 27-35; J. Brown, et.al, *History of South Africa: Alternative visions and practices*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), p. 131; S. Friedman, *Race, class and power: Harold Wolpe and the radical critique of apartheid*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2015), p. 6; T. Mbeki, Address by President Thabo Mbeki: Special National Congress, *South African Communist Party*, 9 April 2005, http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=73, Accessed: 13 July 2017.

8 Considering the fact that earlier colonialism was only implemented in select geographical areas of Southern Africa through different colonies or groups, this can be seen as the first instance of South African colonialism.

9 The fact that the Afrikaner is perceived as an internal force, says something about their perceived identity. One can only be an internal force if regarded as an internal member or coinhabiting community.

10 B. Nzimande, 'The meaning of leadership in a divided society: Lessons from the life of Govan Mbeki' by G. Mbeki, *Lecture at East London*, 11 July 2013, http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:mzjMw4Fn_XAJ:www.sacp.org.za/docs/sp/2013/sp0712.html+&cd=4&h =en&ct=clnk&client =firefox-b, Accessed: 5 July 2017; D. Everatt, "Alliance politics of a special type: The roots of the ANC/SACP alliance, 1950-1954", *Journal of South African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, (March 1992), p. 20.

discussion regarding the aforementioned term, 'special type' of colonist. This term recognises the Afrikaner's indifference to, or lack of enactment of, primary forms of colonisation as initiated from a foreign country and emphasises the question concerning the Afrikaner's nativity.

However, organisations such as Black First Land First (BLF), claim that 'South Africa belongs to black people' and that 'white people came in 1652 and stole their land'.[11] Economic Freedom Fighters leader, Julius Malema also refers to the land issue and claims that, 'Dutch gangsters came to South Africa and took the land' which belongs to 'their forefathers', alluding to the notion that South Africa belongs to Africans or non-whites.[12] Both cases are concerned with the looming land questions at present[13], but it also becomes clear that both organisations indirectly perceive the Afrikaner as a colonist by virtue of their ancestry; both organisations view the events of early colonialism and thereafter as a fluent transition of colonial domination, disregarding the Afrikaners claim to nativity.[14] This view is even imbedded in popular pop culture,[15] Peter Tosh famously sang: 'If you're a black man, you're an African.'[16] It is to be noted that this song focuses on the black Diaspora and the link these descendants share to Africa. However, the subtext is not fundamentally true, seeing as an African or native to Africa does not have to be regarded as black. One can, therefore also reason that if people can identify as African through their genealogy in a foreign country, the opposite should entail the same outcome for those of European decent born in Africa. Perhaps the Afrikaner poet Breytenbach says it best:

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11 Black First Land First, Land now! Soweto declaration, Presented at Mofolo Park Soweto by A. Mngxitama, 28 May 2017, https://blf.org.za/2017/05/28/land-now-soweto-declaration/, Accessed: 13 July 2017.

12 A. Chothia, 'Dutch gangsters took our land', says Malema, African News Agency, *OIL*, 3 April 2017, http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/dutch-gangsters-took-our-land-says-malema-8479549, Accessed: 7 August 2017; A. Watson and A. Mathebula, Afrikaner boys, die poppe sal dans!- Malema, *The Citizen*, 14 November 2016, http://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1344722/afrikaner-boys-die-poppe-sal-dans-malema/, Accessed: 10 August 2017.

13 The issue regarding land has a long standing in South-Africa. Stretching as far back as the initial settlers of the Cape and thereon, culminating with the land seizures during Apartheid. The current government followed/s an approach of land-redistribution and compensation, ensuing from their election into power after 1994. However, there are individuals and groups who feel this approach is too time constrained and does not bring forth radical change.

14 I do not attempt to engage a discussion, nor do I attempt to provide an answer for the land issue. Instead, I place to focus on the sub context of the mentioned discussion, which brings the Afrikaners nativity and ancestral ties to the foreground.

15 A.J. Jihad, Candy cigarettes and cap guns: Fuck white people, *Genius media Inc.*, 2017, https://genius.com/Ajj-fuck-white-people-lyrics, Accessed: 6 August 2017.

16 P. Tosh, African, 1977, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hxm1cU5Ewbw, Accessed: 24 July 2017.

> But then, since when is this 'my' country? Who am I? I and my kind, those who look and speak like me? And the blacks? Of course the country is theirs, that's what the struggle has been all about and am I not black too? Yes, but actually the land belongs only to those who are locked in a battle for life and death. Can there be degrees of nativeness? Black and Boer and brown, OK. Indian? Come now, do I really see them as fully South African? And the Anglo-whites? Wait a minute there, don't ask all these uncomfortable questions. The other white immigrants then—Greek, Dutch, Polish, Italian, German, Portuguese? How long before they can qualify as African? And the black immigrants from Mozambique and Botswana and even further north? Should they have a better claim than the pale Europeans?[17]

Who, then, can be seen as a native? This is a dangerous question since it can easily aim to legitimise one group and deem another illegitimate in their country of residence. Neocosmos argues that this line of questioning is complemented by the dominant perception in South Africa, that indigeneity is the only way to rightfully claim resources, jobs and entitlements which should rightfully be reserved for native people. He further states that this is not a new perspective and has historically been used by some dominant groups to maintain supremacy. The Apartheid government, for instance, claimed that there were no people living in South Africa before colonisation, allowing them to claim authority and disenfranchise or marginalise others. Even in contemporary South Africa this perspective has not changed; Neocosmos refers to a letter received by the Mail & Guardian on 16-22 May 2008 which argued that Black Economic Empowerment should be restricted to indigenous people—the author hints at the exclusion of Indian and coloured people, and perhaps even regards them as less indigenous.[18] This concept also flourishes in the contemporary notion issued by the ANC's president Cyril Ramaphosa and his endorsement of land redistribution without compensation.[19] Therefore, I do not issue this question or the previous questions with the intent of legitimising the Afrikaner's claim to certain advantages within South Africa. Instead, I hope to determine the Afrikaner's nativity in order to argue the role of colonial structures of power and its effects on the Afrikaner, such as its noted influence on Africans and coloniality in a contemporary sense.

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17 B. Breytenbach, *Return to Paradise*, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993), p.9.

18 M. Neocosmos, *From 'foreign natives' to 'native foreigners': Explaining xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Citizenship and nationalism, identity and politics*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2010), pp. 143-144.

19 J. Campbell, Ramaphosa confronts land reform in South Africa, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 2 March 2018, https:// www.cfr.org/blog/ramaphosa-confronts-land-reform-south-africa, Accessed: 5 March 2018.

In terms of genealogy, the South African native may be best defined as being of Nguni, Sotho-Tswana and/or Khoisan descent, seeing as these people are historically regarded to be the first Southern African settlers.[20] Yet, *pure*[21] Nguni/Sotho-Tswana/Khoisan descent is an almost impossible requirement, given the large extent of racial mixing that has occurred in South Africa. A few South Africans who consider themselves natives are likely to have some European or non-southern African ancestry. There are, for instance, the various ships that were wrecked off the Eastern Cape coast during the early colonial days of which the survivors were rapidly assimilated into the local Xhosa population and nature took its course.[22] Large amounts of slaves were also imported from various locations and assimilated with both the white and black native population of the Cape colony.[23] Nevertheless, in a modern perspective nativity has become synonymous with race or ancestry, linking contemporary black ethnic groups to these first South African settlers/natives. It makes sense that nativity should still be regarded as defined within European parameters due to its categorising according to race—a categorisation reminiscent of colonialism and how certain categories were issued to various groups within the colonial structure.[24] Surely, if one looks past the colonial established notion of placing groups in various monolithic boxes, the answer may prove more intricate than ancestry or skin colour.

The Afrikaner received his "bastardised paternity" from Dutch settlers,[25] yet the Afrikaner can be more purposefully understood as an effluent thereof as they readily identify themselves with African soil. Contrary to belief, most of the early Dutch settlers were soldiers of fortune or moved to escape convictions for petty crimes and were also overwhelmingly male.[26] However, the colony grew rapidly and a large percentage of modern Afrikaners can trace their roots back to this time. Even though there was a lack of Dutch women, there were many non-European women present at the Cape. There were Khoisan (Nguni/Sotho-Tswana) women and there were

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20 H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007). pp. 16-23, 36-37.

21 The term pure is used within the sense of direct ancestral linage, without the influence of external ancestral bloodlines, simply within the context of nativity. The term is not used in aspect of racial superiority, nor with the mindset of racial classification or racial degradation.

22 F. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, 2nd ed., (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000), p. 79.

23 H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), pp. 48-49; S. Newton-King, Slavery, race and citizenship: The ambiguous status of freed slaves at the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries, *The South African Archaeological Society*, 1 March 2016, http://www.archaeologysa.co.za/events/slavery-race-and-citizenship-ambiguous-status-freed-slaves-cape-17th-and-18th-centuries, Accessed: 5 August 2017.

24 Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 45.

25 The Afrikaner does not stem from the Dutch alone and should be noted as such, although according to Heese the largest majority of the Afrikaner originated from Dutch and German heritage; J.A. Heese, *Die herkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657-1867*, (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), pp. 1-335.

26 Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, p. 27; Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 47.

also slaves from elsewhere in Africa, Madagascar and Asia. Naturally , it was not long before the first "Afrikanders"[27] and some Afrikaner ancestors were born.[28]A former Governor of the Cape, Simon van der Stel, was born to a mother who was a slave of Mauritius and a father who was a Dutch company man.[29] According to Guelke the Cape experienced a large degree of racial fluidity for the first seventy-five years before the ratio of European women could compare to that of the men.[30] However, even though a few frontier men crossed the racial and cultural boundaries, most of them did not assimilate into African society.[31] In fact, the opposite stands true considering that some of these women were conformed within European parameters.[32] Heese estimates that seven percent of Afrikaner families can be traced to non-European progenitors.[33] Since racial mixing has occurred to a considerable extent in South Africa, genealogy should not be the defining feature of nativity. Instead, nativity should be evaluated according to a group's identification to a geographical location which they are historically associated with or depend on; it should be a place of ethnical and cultural development or simply put, one's homeland.[34] Therefore, the continuing discussion will make use of the following historical focus points in order to answer the question regarding the Afrikaner's position as native and colonist: A) A separation from Europe and the yoke of colonialism; B) the formation of a new group associated with Southern Africa and; C) the Afrikaner as a problematic native of a special type.[35]

A) The Afrikaner as a people or as a collective group first started to identify as Afrikaner from the 18th century.[36] However, for the Afrikaner to establish itself as an innately African group,

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27 The term was originally coined to refer to those of both European and slave descent.

28 Those who were of slave and European descent were called 'Afrikaners' or 'Jonker Afrikaners'. The British called these people 'Afrikanders' and in all three instances the term refers to the individual's geography of birth; Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 53

29 Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, p. 51.

30 L. Guelke, "The anatomy of a colonial settler population, 1657-1750", *The International Journal of African Historical studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, (1988), pp. 462-463.

31 L. Guelke, 'Free hold farmers and the frontier settlers, 1652-1780', in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The shaping of South African society*, 2nd ed., (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), p. 93.

32 As an example, there can be referred to Eva one of the so called *strandloopers,* who was assimilated into the house of Cape Commander J. van Riebeeck. Eva adapted to Dutch customs and even learned the Dutch language, which made her an invaluable interpreter. She also engaged in relations with a P. Van Meerhoff, a Danish surgeon; Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, p. 32; Linking to Freire's postulation that the oppressed seek to become like their oppressor; Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, p.11.

33 Heese, *Die herkoms van die Afrikaner, 1657-1867*, Preface.

34 D.E. Sanders, "Indigenous peoples: Issues of definition", *International Journal of Cultural Property,* vol. 8, no. 1, (1999), pp. 4-13.

35 The argument concerning the Afrikaner's nativity becomes important in order to situate the Afrikaner within the theory of modernity/coloniality. With that said, the following section will make use of select historical analysis and will not issue a complete evaluation on the topic seeing as I only seek to answer a select question pertaining to a larger question which needs to be answered.

36 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 50.

they had to be separated from Europe both physically and socially. The first European[37] groups to cast asunder their national identities in exchange for a re-identification as an inherent collective within Southern Africa were the 'free burghers'.[38] With the arrival of the 'Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie' (VOC)[39] at the Cape, a new class emerged in 1657, the 'free burghers', who were freed from company contracts and given the opportunity to become self-sufficient farmers.[40] It is important to note that many Europeans, or burghers, had been present in Southern Africa from the 1650's; these groups created distance between themselves and their homelands and, over time, assimilated with different groups from different backgrounds or contexts. This mixing resulted in the collective mindset of Africans or, eventually, Afrikaners.[41] Van Aswegen describes the formation of the Afrikaner collective accordingly:

> The process started by people leaving Europe, their settling here and their gradual identification with South Africa as their permanent home. At the Cape the Dutch, Germans, French and other immigrants did not retain their own nationalities, but through intermarriage and with the incorporation of African and Eastern elements (among others slaves from the East and Africa), they amalgamated and eventually developed their own character. A variety of local factors influenced them and combined to give impetus to the fusion process: the colonial rule of the DEIC, which gave them the possibility of making a living but placed many restrictions on them; the everyday living conditions and their attempts to make a living as individuals, families and communities; specific South African circumstances such as geography, climate, soil conditions and its relative isolation from the outside world; the distribution of a large number of whites over a vast geographical area during the 18th century and the relative isolation it caused, the nature and level of education, religious and general cultural life in colonial circumstances and their contact and interaction with a variety of black societies. [42]

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37 The largest part of the Afrikaner's ancestry relates back to Europe, but as mentioned previously some groups did procreate within the internal structures of Southern Africa and the groups at that present.

38 As the Dutch/VOC started to expand their foothold at the Cape, it was decided to release some company members, allowing married men to claim farmland and to become self-reliant, also elevating the saturated work market at the Cape. The first burghers were freed from company rule by 1657; A.J. Böeseken, 'Die vestiging van die Blankes onder die Van der Stels', in C.F.J. Muller (eds.), *500 Jaar: Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, (Pretoria: Academica, 1969), pp. 47-49.

39 Some sources also make use of the abbreviation DEIC which stands for the Dutch East India Company. This is simply the English variation of the original Dutch name for the VOC.

40 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 1.

41 Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 70-71.

42 H.J. van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, (Pretoria: Academica, 1990), p. 79.

The Afrikaner, therefore, had to be distanced from a European identity in order to transcend into an African collective. Arguably, this new character or identification can be ascribed to the following aspects: The formation of the burgher as an economic class;[43] their dependence on each other, partly referring to the burger commando system;[44] the eventual development of burgher communities, along with a sense of individualism;[45] and the fact that the burgher were situated beneath the yoke of colonialism; detached from their European identification. These points are perhaps some of the main reasons for the development of an independent character and is therefore discussed accordingly.

The amount of burghers grew steadily over time and formed a semi-independent economic class by luring away company servants and immigrants to establish themselves as 'Free Burghers' in the hopes of financial profit.[46] This group was distanced from Europe in a geographical sense and relied on the company model of Batavia,[47] which drew a clear class distinction between those who worked for the company and those who were regarded as 'free burghers', as well as the lowest castes, who were slaves. The Khiosan was also later absorbed into this class distinction and situated within colonial law. According to Giliomee, it was this class distinction and not race, skin colour or religion that originally determined if and how someone could rise from their economic position.[48] As issued through the officials and courts, this class system also determined residential occupation, restricted free movement, allocated military service, land ownership and one's precedence within the community.[49] While the burghers were free to make a living of their own, they had to submit to the rules stipulated by the VOC or risked being taken back into service as sailors or soldiers, forfeiting their established lives.

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43 Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, pp. 54-55.

44 T. Keegan, *Colonial South Africa: The origins of the racial order*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 30-31.

45 G.H.L. Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), pp. 25-30.

46 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 79.

47 When the VOC founded the settlement at the Cape in 1652, it was placed under the authority of both the company's directors in Amsterdam - the Heeren XVII and the Council of India in Batavia. The Cape was ruled out of Batavia until 1731; Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 42.

48 This becomes particularly prevalent in view of the racial fluidity of the Cape and the fact that some free blacks formed part of the burgher class group. However, this did not remove early forms of discrimination as racial consciousness became very much imbedded within the class system or, more specifically, the Cape; N. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, (New York: Cambridge, 2010), pp. 146-147.

49 Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 45; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 15.

> They had to swear an oath to both the States-General and the Company, but they lived under the Company's authority and laws and paid taxes to it. They were the Company's burghers. The fact that the Company could banish them or force them to return to its service reinforced the low status the burghers had in the eyes of top government officials.[50]

This would be easier said than done as the Company initially issued harsh prices for goods and only allowed burghers to cultivate that which the company deemed necessary, causing some burghers to bear the brunt of poverty. Most of the Company's economic policies were regarded as restrictions on burgher freedom and gave way to protests and petitions from as early as 1658 and that lasted throughout the Company's rule. Therefore, the burgher class was initially situated in such a position that they were subordinate to the Company socially, economically and politically, which was not the status they thought they agreed upon, but which the burgher status entailed in the Netherlands. Yet, economic hardships and social degradation did not define all of the burgher families seeing as some of these burghers made a success of their ventures, much due to more lenient economic policies that were consequently issued by the VOC from 1676 on. The VOC mainly had a capitalistic derogative concerning the 'Free burghers' formation and did not consider the burghers to be more than extended company servants. [51] Therefore, the burgher class and position was perceived as inferior in comparison to the Company officials and even those of the same status in Europe. Upon his visit to the Cape, Councillor van Reede made the following statement:

> …'free burghers' were far from maintaining the status that this would imply in the Netherlands; it would be better, he suggested, if poor settlers should be classed as '*boeren en bouwlieden'* (peasants and farmhands)[…]Even at this early period of South African history a division had developed between the views of the European or Batavia-based officials accustomed to their more organized and less threatened societies and the colonist, permanently conscious of the fragility and dangers of their position on the tip of a strange and frightening continent.[52]

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50 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 26.

51 N. Worden, *Cape Town between east and west: Social identities in a Dutch colonial town*, (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2012), pp. 65-67; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 76-95.

52 Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, p. 54.

Interestingly, even though the burghers were held in disregard by the Company, they did not share the view on their position. Giliomee states that the Cape burghers later 'embraced their own foundation myth: that they were indispensable to the Cape settlement and their interests were of key, if not of paramount importance, to maintaining the settlement.' This foundation myth would be stimulated as the burgher commando sharpened and became known as 'defenders of the land', this view would further develop with the increasingly important role the burghers played in administration.[53] Moreover, this foundation myth became part of nationalist myth as contradicting views between the burghers and the Company were a continued cause of conflict. However, it is this sense of indifference that would wedge a feeling of us against them and spur the colonist to develop a separate character from that of the VOC, as well as a sense of justification for their purposed equalisation to or even later superiority to company officials. It is important to keep in mind that the oppressed seeks to become like their oppressor.[54]

In the late 17th and early 18th century, Company officials enlisted corrupt policies favouring themselves so as to gain Company monopoly over the Cape's trade sector. Some officials even boasted about the diminishing need for burghers as officials could seemingly supply the Cape with the needed produce themselves.[55] This sparked forms of burgher rebellion, especially amongst the richest burghers and most notably by Henning Husing and Adam Tas who sent a petition to Amsterdam via authorities in Batavia, accusing Cape officials and, more specifically, Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel of misconduct.[56]

> The officials were outraged: they tended to consider themselves the Company's 'legitimate children' and the burghers as 'illegitimate bastards' without legal rights.[57]

Thereafter, the company incarcerated or deported those involved. The 'Lord Seventeen in Amsterdam'[58] even recalled various company officials and forbid all officials to own land or take part in trade (these regulations were, however, not consistently enforced).[59] The class

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53 The influence of the myth and the subsequent stimuli will be elaborated on as this discussion progresses; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 6-7.
54 Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, p. 11.
55 Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, pp. 48-49; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. xiv and 24-26.
56 Böeseken, 'Die vestiging van die Blankes onder die Van der Stels', pp. 47-49.
57 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 25.
58 Some sources revere to 'the Chamber of XVII'.
59 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 97.

distinction and actions of the Company officials might not only have furthered burgher amalgamation, but also gave way to a sense of pride as the burghers obtained their first real victory over the Company officials. This sense of pride would also help calm the tension at the Cape, as did the introduction of the loan farm system in 1713, which further alleviated economic pressure and expanded the frontier.[60]

Even though most of the early burghers were farmers, they also became differentiated in terms of economic activities, most prevalently because of 'climatic conditions', 'the availability of land', 'taxes', 'land prices' and 'the restrictions placed on them.'[61] The burghers distinguished themselves as some developed professions or became entrepreneurs amongst the Cape urban population; some remained wheat, wine and cattle farmers, especially those situated in the south western Cape who usually formed part of the richest burghers; and finally there were those who formed part of the frontier cattle farmers or frontier farmers.[62] The burghers divided in various distinct groups, each contributing to the colony as part of the structure and not as part of the European collective. The various groups of burghers also developed their own character and created diversification within the burgher society; the burghers from the frontier could hardly be compared to those of the Cape yet they still formed part of a collective class that shared correlating traits. Nevertheless, given the economic development, most of the burghers and, especially those who were considered wealthy, would be found pinned against the VOC in order to increase their economic proficiency or to maintain their economic and social standing. Since their newfound burgher status was dramatically different from their stance in the Netherlands, many burghers felt a sense of injustice on the subject of their class or status within the colony.

> Much ambiguity surrounded the status of the burghers. Free burgers were not prepared to accept a status radically different from that of the burghers of the Netherlands. They were burghers and citizens, not mere subjects or subordinates. The claim may not have been factually correct, but the burghers never abandoned this aspiration. The burghers in the western Cape who were to take part in the Patriot struggle during the 1780's described themselves as 'free citizens of a colony of the United Netherlands, sharing the same rights and privileges'.[63]

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60 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 25-26.

61 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 80.

62 G.C. de Wet, *Die vryliede en vryswartes in die Kaapse nedersetting, 1657-1707*, (Cape Town: Cape Town Historiese Publikasie-Vereniging, 1981), pp. 27-93; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 81-93; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 28.

63 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 6.

It is also worth noting that the grievances concerning burgher status could also have been influenced by a feeling of misrepresentation; the Company occasionally placed those deemed to sub-classes, in other words, the black caste, in equal standing with the burghers. Despite the class distinctions between the various groups, the burghers and the Company officials shared certain traits such as their race/descent and their Christian birth; natives and slaves, on the contrary, had to conform. The burghers were particularly discontent when their status and position, as Christians, was jeopardised and they were treated as the equals of slaves/blacks. This brings to mind the petition against Van der Stel, as organised by Tas and Henning, where the farmers claimed that Van der Stel was constantly favoring the 'swart volkje' (the black populace) over its Christian subjects'. Giliomee, states that this claim was probably enraged by the fact that Van der Stel made use of signatures from free blacks and other coloured groups to defend the original burgher petition and its claims.[64] Another case that reflects this feeling was the burgher rebellion of 1738-39. In 1738, complaints were issued by the 'Namaquas' claiming that some 'white' farmers had stolen their cattle. The Company acted against these burghers by summoning them to appear in the Stellenbosch court. Officials also confiscated the cattle of the party concerned and withheld their livestock until a decision could be rendered. This authoritative action caused an upheaval among the burghers, resulting in a petition in 1739 that accused the governor and 'landdrost' (Magistrate) presiding in Stellenbosch of corruption and dictatorial action. "The authorities were also criticised because they allegedly took the part of the heathen Khoikhoi against the whites".[65] Instances such as these provide some justification for the marginalisation of the burghers within their structurally superior class and their perceived ties to the Company.

> As the Boers made abundantly clear, the burgher status of these 'free' burghers was regarded as second-rate by the VOC administration: they were only as free as the aims and policies of the Company would allow. By the 1770s, however, the burghers themselves had come to hold a different view of their status. They maintained that they had been awarded burgher rights of Cape Town, with which came definite privileges and status that could not and should not be undermined by the arbitrary decisions of Company officials. Difference of opinion about the term *burgerregt* and burgher status would be the cause of much tension with the administration [...]With this frame of reference, it was

64 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 17.
65 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 98-99.

> not surprising that the Cape protesters in the 1770's laid great stress on their burgher rights.[66]

The question of economic inequality, as well as class and rights were again challenged as the movement of Cape Patriots formed, inspired by the 'struggle of the Dutch Patriotic movement against aristocratic privileges and for popular sovereignty.' However, Giliomee believes that at the heart of the movement was the clash over the founding myth. During 1778, 18 burghers were recalled by the Company and forcibly sent overseas. This was due to some Company officials' insistence that the VOC should recall some recalcitrant burghers. Consequently, the Cape Patriots used the natural rights philosophy or, more comprehensibly, the concept of the social contract as postulated by Rousseau in 1762,[67] and the burgher's own version of the foundation myth. They claimed that the Company and the first settlers entered an 'original social contract'. The burgher's depicted Van Riebeeck's administration as that of a 'golden age', in which they enjoyed 'proper, natural and fitting freedom'. 'Subsequently the colonists had been exposed to an "arbitrary despotism." In their view every person released form company service enjoyed all the rights of citizens who had never been in Company service.' In this regard they questioned their position at the Cape and sought political involvement concerning their self-preservation.[68] In the early 1770's and early 1780's, the Patriots mobilized the "colonists of the south-western Cape behind the banner of burgher rights and greater participation in the government".[69] The movement would eventually adapt and refine its policies over time and become more economic in nature, yet they achieved little as the VOC rejected their main demand, namely burgher representation on the Council of Policy. While the movement achieved some changes, it faded after 1787.[70] Van Aswegen describes the outcome of the movement accordingly:

> The Patriots movement achieved little. The DEIC once again prohibited its officials from possessing land and from competing with the free burghers, and granted the free burghers the right to sell as much of their produce as possible to visiting ships. Their surplus

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66 Worden, *Cape Town between east and west: Social identities in a Dutch colonial town*, pp. 66-67.

67 J.J. Rousseau, *The social contract*, (Trans.) C. Frankel, (New York: Hafner Press, 1947), pp. 5-125.

68 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 54-55.

69 A. Du Toit and H. Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: Analysis and Documents*, Volume 1: 1780-1850, (London: Uneversity of Calofornia Press, 1983), p. 5; C. Beyers, *Die Kaapse Patriotte gedurende die laaste kwart van die agtiende eeu en die voortlewing van hul denkbeelde*, (Pretoria: JL van Schaik, 1967), pp. 250- 381.

70 Du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: Analysis and Documents*, pp. 41-50, 258-265; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 56.

> produce would be bought up by the company at prices to be determined by a commission of six members, three of whom would be burghers. Their request to be allowed free trade with company ships was turned down. The monopoly system, with all its levies and obligations, remained unchanged. Their request for representation in the Council of Policy also was rejected. [71]

The economic policies and lack of representation accompanying the burgher class are some of the main causes of dispute throughout the VOC's involvement with the Cape colony. These issues also reinforced grievances felt surrounding the burgher class, in particular, the different standing they had from the burghers of the Netherlands, as well as the indifference of the Company toward their European counterparts. These policies and attitudes allowed for separation among those who clung to their European status and those who became Africanised; some burghers became increasingly restless under Company rule.[72]

The expansion of the Cape colony and the development of the 'Trekboer' or frontier farmer[73] groups would add to an established sense of separation from a European or Cape colonial way of life and would develop a strong feeling of individuality among the frontier burghers. The frontier farmers were semi-nomadic pastoralists who began moving both northwards and eastwards into the interior to find better pastures/farmlands for their livestock to graze on and, in some cases, to escape the autocratic rule of the VOC.[74] The movement into the interior was a spontaneous expansion and in no way part of the VOC's colonisation policy. Most of these farmers switched from agricultural farming to pastoral farming, seeing as the small Cape market could not absorb the total agricultural production;[75] cattle farming was a relatively cheaper and safer economic course and with the institution of loan farms, land became more freely available.[76] With the migration into the interior, the Company knew they could not prohibit the

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71 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 101.

72 M. De Beer, *Who did what in South Africa*, (Jeppestown: AD Donker, 1995), p. 136; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 34, 54; R.E. Gordon and C.J. Talbot, *From Dias to Vorster: Source material on South African History 1488-1975*, (Cape Town: Nasou, 1985), p. 49; P. Hugo, "Frontier farmers in South Africa", *African Affairs*, vol. 87, no. 349, (October 1988), pp. 541-543; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 93; J.D. Omer-Cooper, *History of Southern Africa*, 2nd ed., (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1994), p. 25.

73 The term 'Trekboer' is regarded as the original designation for the frontier farmers.

74 G. L'Ange, *The White Africans: From colonisation to liberation*, (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2005), p. 524.

75 It is also worth mentioning that agricultural farming became increasingly competitive, concerning the monopoly some Company officials still had over the produce for the market, as well as the rise of some wealthy burghers who also competed for the market, marginalising the smaller farmers.

76 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 88.

expansion, therefore they issued a system of loan farming,[77] whereby the farmer could occupy land and by prescriptive right, it could be regarded as settled land. Unlike the system of succession at the Cape where large farms were passed down in the family, the poor frontier farmer's sons could easily acquire a loan farm and expand into the interior.[78] As such, a large amount of farmers moved into the interior during the 1700s, forcefully leading to the expansion of the frontier as some districts would eventually follow to issue some measure of authority at later stages.[79] The famers on the frontier developed a distinct character different to those still situated under colonial hegemony.

> The isolation of the interior made the cattle farmers' independent and practical people, but at the same time led to a large measure of individualism. Because they were far removed from the authority of the Company, exposed to the rigid demands of the pioneering way of life, and often threatened by San or Xhosa, these people had to rely on their own strength for survival. They were used to making their own decisions and to giving commands and acting accordingly. They had very little contact with authorities from day to day and government measures often were ignored. Their independence and individualism made them unwilling to accept authority from outside and submit themselves to it.[80]

Considering the progressive development of the Cape from the 1700s, the farmers of the western Cape lived with a consciousness of civilization; their close proximity to a congregation and church, their own expansive areas of land, access to a multitude of slaves, impressive homes and distaste for menial labour, made them comparable to primitive aristocracy. Hinged on the model provided by Batavia, authority and rank became exceedingly important at the Cape, especially to the wealthier burghers as 'they clung tenaciously to their rank and right of precedence.' Rank determined one's precedence or position in society which even extended to trivialities such as seating in church and public functions, one's place at funeral processions, or the number of horses that can be pulled by a carriage or the uniform of a coachman or footman. This led large land and property owners to pursue positions such as 'heemraden',[81] militia

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77 The system of loan farming issued a contract to a farmer who occupied a stretch of land at a certain price which needed to be payed annually. The farmer could easily abandon his contract and trek further into the interior and simply acquire a new contract; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 89-93.

78 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, p. 28.

79 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 89-93.

80 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 93.

81 The 'heemraden' was the term used to refer to the local burgher or Boer Council of Justice.

officers or church wardens- offices which then conferred dignity.' In this regard, the burghers of the Cape and western Cape were firmly situated within the authoritative class structure imposed by the VOC.[82] However, the further one went into the interior, the less significant these differences in rank became, and the more ridiculous the rituals which accompanied them.[83] Unlike the farmers of the Western Cape, the frontier burghers did not own much as most were, in a way, nomadic, they made use of shelters for short periods of time or constructed small homes consisting of one or two large rooms as residence.[84] Money was also usually scarce and the outskirts of the frontier was a long distance from any market, causing these frontiersmen to make what they needed themselves or to trade locally. Although schools and churches were limited to the border areas of the interior, there was a strong tradition that each family should own a Bible. These frontier families usually lived fairly dispersed and isolated, they considered their neighbours competition with regards to grazing space and the opportunity for cattle or the ivory trade. Giliomee iterates the following perspective on frontier burghers:

> The trekkboers were more African than their kinsmen in the west. Like the Khoikhoi, they stored milk in skin sacks, dried strips of game (later called biltong), wore *veldschoenen* (sandals made from cowhide) and sometimes animal skins. Both Afrikaners and Basters were forced to develop a pragmatic lifestyle that made survival possible in the African interior. Observers expressed shock about a European community that appeared to become ever more African, or as some phrased it, 'degenerate' or 'wild'[...] But most of the frontier burghers did not become 'degenerate' despite the stereotypes of Africa as the 'Dark Continent'[...] While some farmers were desperately poor and lived the simplest of lives, they strongly wished to conform to the values and norms of the racially exclusive burgher community of the rural western Cape. [85]

Clearly, there were large differences in wealth and living conditions between the farmers of the western Cape and the farmers of the interior, much like the merchants among the urban

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82 It should also be mentioned that even though these burghers were situated within the colonial authoritative structure, they still questioned their position as inferiors and would answer that question with rebellion.

83 Nevertheless, a form of class rule appeared among the wealthier burghers once the pioneer phase of the frontier was over. Class rule was synonymous with the more affluent burghers who shirked commando duty or paid others to go in their stead; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 15-16 and 34.

84 There were those frontier farmers who settled in an area, expanding their homes over time, serving the needs of the family.

85 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 34.

population and those who worked as labourers.[86] These differences were not only limited to wealth and poverty, but also had a bearing on their experience of life and world view. In this regard, the actions of the Cape Patriots rebellions can be restated since the (western) Cape burghers sought to claim their authoritative perspective of economic freedom and political equality though rebellion. The independence or individualism of the frontier burgher led to an acceptance of 'the law of the frontier'—a law applied in the interior, in the absence of Company authority. This law enforced the will of the frontier burgher (the stronger party) over that of the native population (the weaker party). Hereafter, the unsanctioned expansion of the frontier resulted in conflict with the native population, economic advances through interaction with native tribes[87], and an overall sense of lawlessness. This can arguably also account for some later rebellions on the frontier seeing that these frontier farmers could not cooperate with the new district authorities.[88] Therefore, even though the burgher groups diversified to the brink of becoming estranged from one another, they remained a group connected through a common history and their shared position as a class subordinate to the company. It may have been precisely this position which caused them to question their place in the colony as a collective group.[89]

Since the burghers improved their class and expanded into the interior, they were required to act as defenders of their acquired land. According to Walker, from 'the first introduction of the free burghers it was regarded as an axiom that all white men in the colony able to carry arms could be called upon to defend it.'[90] In 1658, conflict erupted between the Dutch settlers at Cape Colony and the Khoi peoples located near the Cape. In order to protect the settlement, all able-bodied men were conscripted. After the conclusion of this conflict, all men in the colony were liable for military service and were expected to be ready on short notice.[91] It is at this point

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86 The free burghers, who formed part of the urban cape population, account for 27 percent of the burgher population. Their day-to-day life was much different than that of the farmers, with most of these burghers participating in forms of trade; however, their livelihood still depended on the policies of the VOC and the economic fluctuations. Only a relatively small group could be regarded as prosperous, with a large amount working as free labourers, forming some of the poorest burghers in the class; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 81-82.

87 It is true that there were economic advantages, concerning the opportunity to trade cattle or ivory with the native people and in some cases even to steal or cheat these people. However, life on the frontier also meant danger, as some of these native groups also posed a treat either through cattle raids, attacks or war.

88 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation,* pp. 33-34; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 92-93, and 103, 117.

89 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation,* p. 35.

90 E.A. Walker, *The Cambridge history of the British empire: South Africa, Rhodesia and the high commission territories,* Volume III, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 151.

91 K. Shillington, *Encyclopaedia of African History*, Volume 3, (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn Taylor and Francis Group, 2005), p. 360.

that a sense of pride developed among the burghers concerning their military achievements; on one occasion a memorial was sent to van Riebeeck, boldly asserting: 'For we be the defenders of our land.'[92] This much reflects the sense of camaraderie developed among the burghers as they relied on one another to protect the land they considered to be theirs. This mentality also influenced the burgher perspective on the 'founders' myth' and their position within the colony.

> During the eighteenth century the commando became the single most important symbol of the cultural and social cohesion of the frontier burghers, and the chief instrument of their common interest in disposing and subjugating indigenous people. But commandos also revealed how tenuous that cohesion and common interest could be, for they were typically riven with faction, and burghers were often very reluctant to take up arms at the behest of the military authorities. At first, commandos were officially organized under company officers. In 1715 the first purely colonial commando took the field with official approval, but under the command of a free burgher. After 1739 commando service became obligatory, and burgher officers with the rank of field cornet were appointed to take charge, commandos largely operated independently […] Later in the 18th century when 'Bushmen' resistance beyond the escarpment posed for the first time a serious obstacle to colonial expansion, the burgher community became more militarised.[93]

From this extract, it can be derived that the commando system would remain an important part of the colony's defensive plan. By the 1700s, the geographical size of the colony had increased to a large extent[94], leaving the small military garrison at the Cape ineffective in the distant border districts. It was at this time that the commando system was expanded and formalized. Each district[95] had a 'field cornet' that was charged with calling up all burghers in times of need. However, due to the extent of the district ward and poor communication, burghers later started to take matters into their own hands by, for instance, pursuing cattle thieves without Company authority.[96] The commandos also formed an intrinsic part of protection during the

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92 Walker, *The Cambridge history of the British empire: South Africa, Rhodesia and the high commission territories*, p. 151.

93 Keegan, *Colonial South Africa: The origins of the racial order*, p. 30.

94 To an extent the Burger population grew from a total of 14 men in 1657 to 14929 burgers in 1795. As such these Burgers would expand the Cape and the agricultural landscape; Van Aswegen, History of South Africa to 1854, p. 87.

95 The district of Swellendam was declared a separate district in 1745 and Graaff-Reinet came into being much later in 1786; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 103.

96 Alternative Finland, The Boer volunteers of the De La Rey commando in the winter war, 8 March 2017, http://www.alternativefinland.com/boer-volunteers-de-la-rey-commando-winter-war/, Accessed: 20 September 2017; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 59.

conflict with the neighbouring Xhosa tribes, which would later become known as the 100 year war from 1779-1879.[97] The aforementioned concept of separation could consequently develop seeing that burghers relied on themselves to provide protection and not to the colony, per say, but their own property and community. In other words, they liberated the Company of a fundamental function required of every governing institution, namely a sense of protection; this brings the aforementioned concept of the 'social contract' into question. As previously mentioned, it may have been this sense of isolation from Company authority that sparked rebellion on the frontier since the grievances that led up to these events are notably similar to those of the Cape Patriots rebellion. The burghers therefore started to question the authority and/or position of the Company in opposition to that of their own position within the colonial structure.

The Graaff-Reinet rebellion of 1795 to 1799 marked the first major resistance movement to ensue on the frontier.[98] Some of the grievances of the interior did correspond with that of the burghers of the Cape, more specifically the Cape Patriot movement, however, the burgher resistance in the interior encompassed a frontier character as their rebellion was more militant and they openly rebelled against the authority of the Company, unlike the more peaceful protests that occurred at the Cape.[99] There are various reasons for the occurrence of the rebellion of 1795, but an important factor was the company's decision to reduce its garrison at the Cape in 1789. The burghers of the eastern districts were quick to realize that the company could neither effectively protect them nor punish them.[100] This was further emphasised by the authority's inability to manage the conflict between the burghers and the neighbouring Xhosa. Another important cause for the rebellion was the Company's economic policies, particularly the hefty increases of taxes which the cattle farmers could not mediate with. Another important grievance was the ever-monopolistic policies of the Company that pressured farmers to supply their meat at a fixed price while the Company sold it at a great profit. Finally, what contributed to the rebellion was the dissatisfaction with Company officials who alienated the burghers in the districts. A poignant example is that of Graaff-Reinet *landdrost* Maynier, who made himself a hated man through his actions and attitude towards the burghers in his district, which ultimately led to his forceful ejection from district and the issuing of a rebellion. In 1795, the

97 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 67-69.
98 SAHO, General South African history timeline: 1700s, 30 November 2015, http://www.sahistory .org.za/article/1700s, Assessed: 6 January 2017.
99 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 103.
100 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, pp. 35-36.

rebellion in Graaff-Reinet decided to cast off the authority of the Company and elected their own *landdrost*, these events influenced the Swellendam district, which essentially followed the same pattern, but quickly dissipated. The burgher rebellion and the proclamation of independence[101] was short lived as the VOC themselves were compelled to surrender to the British occupation of 1795. According to Van Aswegen, "as was the case with the rebellion of the Cape Patriots, it was not their aim to obtain freedom and independence, but merely to shed the yoke of Company rule."[102] Even though the British occupied the colony, the burghers of the Graaff-Reinet district were not willing to part with their freedom without a final ado. The British government soon cut off the ammunition supply from the Cape to Graaff-Reinet leaving the burghers exposed to attack. In 1796, the district submitted to British authority, allowing power to shift back to the Cape government. Resistance on the frontier would resurface during the brief occupation by the British of the Cape up to 1803 followed by an upsurge of burgher displeasure with colonial authority. From 1806 onward, the British came to be a permanent fixture of colonial authority and replaced the once predominantly Dutch character of authority with British influence. However, by 1875, the Afrikaner nation had already been in the making for some time, even though the people's awareness of their mutual bond was not yet fully developed. At this time, a measure of unity was fostered around language, religion, identification with South Africa and beliefs about white supremacy. The name Afrikaners was already used to indicate this new identity and even though the term and feeling of being Afrikaner was not interpreted as absolute among all the burghers, there was, at least, the shared view and experience of being a homogeneous group.[103]

The Dutch first lost the colony to Britain following the 1795 Battle of Muizenberg, but had it returned after the 1802 Peace of Amiens. It was re-occupied by the British following the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806, and British possession was re-affirmed by the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1814.[104] These events would establish initial feelings of indifference between the burghers and the British and would grow over time. Unlike the VOC's colonial system, British administration was a 'crown colony', that is, a top-down structure. Power was vested in the hands of colonial

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101 Giliomee states that these districts did not proclaim republics as often assumed, instead they expressed a desire to fall directly under the new republics in the Netherlands; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 73.

102 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 104-105; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 73-74; SAHO, Graaf-Reinet, 16 Maart 2011, http://www.sahistory.org.za/places/graaf-reinet, Accessed, 20 September, Accessed, 6 January 2016.

103 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 79, 105, 163.

104 A. Wilmot and J.C. Chase, *History of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope: From its discovery to the year 1868*, (Cape Town: J. C. Juta, 1869), pp. 206, 224, 235, 260.

authorities and the burghers were marginalised to a degree from all central governing bodies. The Cape did not experience vast economical changes in the first few years of British administration and even though there was an increased in foreign trade, economic restrictions were still prevalent under the new colonial authorities. It was also important for Britain, as a colonial power, to not only cast the governmental structure in a British mould, but also to loosen the Dutch ties of the colony through Anglicisation. The Afrikaners accepted British rule with little initial resistance, but by no means surrendered their already established identities. British colonisation therefore did not feed into the Afrikaner's perception of themselves as natives, instead, it furthered their position as an established group opposed to any form of Anglicisation; while Afrikaners were willing to adapt to British colonialism, they insisted on retaining their own character.[105] Afrikaner grievances would come to a climax in the 1830's as Britain began to introduce the first rudimentary rights for the Cape's Black African population, abolishing slavery in 1833. Afrikaners were not only concerned with the possible loss of labour that may follow, more importantly, considering the Afrikaner's sense of status, it may have been the action of 'gelykstelling'[106] and the Christening of Blacks that diminished the Afrikaner position and that escalated grievances. The resentment that the farmers felt against this social change, as well as the implications of various factors over a long time, factors such as political marginalisation, economic uncertainty and the imposition of the British language and culture, were some of the main causes for the formation of the Great Trek.[107] However, many Afrikaners did not leave the Cape Colony '— though Dutch-speaking and bearing resentments about being under British rule—were very much part of the Cape establishment.'[108]

At this point of the discussion, it becomes apparent that the burghers or rather, Afrikaners, as they subsequently became known, were bound together as a Southern African collective due to their formation as a class distinctively different from the Company officials, Europeans or slaves and natives. As such, the burghers were a uniquely separate people composed of various

105 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp.79, 105 and 174-190.

106 The action of placing the Afrikaner and Black citizens of the Cape, into a collective group of equal standing.

107 It is to be noted that historians have argued various reasons for the Great trek, from poverty, opportunity to claim new and better lands, to a sense of Nationalism. Nevertheless, most historians agree upon the role the abolishment of slavery played and the formation of the Great Trek; Reader's Digest, *Illustrated history of South Africa: The real story*, p. 110; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. xiii; Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, pp. 111-114.

108 Mail & Gardian, Review: 'The Afrikaners: Biography of a people: Hermann Giliomee (Tafelberg)', 9 May 2003, http://mg.co.za/article/2003-05-09-the-afrikaners-biography-of-a-people-hermann-giliomee-tafelberg, Assessed: 6 January 2017.

groups amalgamated into the burgher class—a class of white Christians still superior to that of the native or supposed heathens. However, these groups remained inferior to Europeans or Company officials as their burgher status dictated, leading their offspring to became more Africanised, identifying with Africa rather than Europe as the frontier burgher specifically testifies. The burghers also diversified over time but remained a collective as they shared a common history, they developed cultural traits specific to them and bared the yoke of colonialism. In this regard, the burghers became an imagined collective[109] seeing that the diversified groups were previously separated both physically and socially. The frontier burghers and those of the Urban/Western Cape, for instance, were separate groups that nevertheless shared two general connections namely, a common colour-consciousness or being Christian, and the brunt of the colony's colonial system. It can be said, then, that the burghers were connected through their being perceived as an 'other' indifferent toward the VOC and later Britain. Le May emphasises this statement:

> What divided the two segments of the Afrikaner people was a difference in culture between relatively sophisticated Cape Dutchmen, literate, urbanized and in touch with Europe and the rough-hewed Boer. It needed a common aspiration, or a common grievance, to link together these two diverging parts of the Afrikaner people. That link was eventually made through a distaste for British rule; the precipitants of Nationalism existed when a sufficient number of Afrikaner, wherever they lived, began to feel a communal resentment at what they regarded as a foreign occupation. Afrikaner Nationalism did not have a steady and homogeneous growth. There were periods when it went, as it were, into remission until stimulated by some fresh grievance. But some of the preconditions had existed before the coming of the British and could be found in Boer resentment at aspects of the Company's rule.[110]

A sense of forming part of a common collective, different from other role players within the colony was established before the British arrived at the Cape and is especially prevalent among the Afrikaners who opted for a form of greater political involvement or self-governance (i.e., the Graaff-Reinet rebellion and Cape Patriots movement). These movements do not prove the

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109 Drawing from the work of Andersons, imagined communities, because the burghers from part of a collective group or class, they become tied to each other on a basis of an imaginary collective even though some of the burghers preside in isolation; they still align themselves with their class or historical collective; B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London and New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 1-266.

110 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, p. 33.

Afrikaners nativity, but does give some indication that they considered themselves different and unwilling to submit under colonial rule as inferiors. Burghers could have regarded themselves as colonial natives for various reasons such as: Their established ancestry within Southern Africa, their class position that differed from Europeans, their own founder's myth and ties to Southern Africa, their expansion into the interior, contact and assimilation with Black groups, baring the conflict on the frontier and, finally, their developed perception of being defenders of their land and, therefore, its true authoritative embodiment. These perspectives would solidify with British colonialism as the burghers on the frontier would eventually rebel through undertaking the Great Trek.[111] The argument for the Afrikaner's nativity can also be made when considering the influence colonial modernity exercised throughout the colony and its influence on the Afrikaner, much like the natives in varying degrees.[112]

In terms of the colonial system, 'the Afrikaners were both a colonised people and colonisers themselves, both victims and proponents of European imperialism'.[113] This provides some insight into the Afrikaner and their identification with Southern Africa, consider, for instance, how the burgher/Afrikaner developed their own language, national identity, history and religion, not as Europeans but as quasi Africans. However, they did differ radically from the indigenous Khoi, the San, and the south-moving Bantu-speaking peoples whom they would later encounter deeper into the interior.[114]

Some merit for the argument lies in the notion that the Afrikaners based their nativity on their identification to Africa, the further they established their identity, the further they moved away from the colony. However, the main proponent for nativity is found in their colonial suppression, seeing as the earliest components of the Afrikaner people had been situated under the yoke of colonialism along with the native. It is exactly this concept that makes the Afrikaner a colonist of a special type. It is only the native who is colonised, yet we find the Afrikaner carrying part of the yoke of suppression with little to no claim to nativity. The following section

111 It is to be noted that the Great Trek was not an action of Nationalism, but eventually lead the Afrikaners to implore nationalistic tendencies within their established states. Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 185-188.

112 This will be discussed in focus area C, bringing this section to its conclusion and opening discussion for the subsequent sections.

113 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. xiv.

114 SAHO, From European to 'Africaander', 24 March 2011, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/afrikaner, Accessed: 1 January 2017.

will elaborate on this argument by discussing the developing proponents of the Afrikaner as a people with specific focus on the Afrikaner's characteristics as a native to South Africa.

B) It is postulated that the burghers developed their own character consequential to their position due to the early conceptualisation of separation enacted within the Colony's physical and social structure as enforced through the yoke of colonial authority. The Afrikaner thus matured into a seemingly native people as they eventually developed their own language, culture, the need for self-preservation stemming from their imagined association to one another (e.g., resistance actions against the VOC), frontier expansion, domination of natives, and the eventual Great Trek which directly testifies thereof.[115]

> Admiral Stavorinus, wrote in 1770: "Although the first colonists here were composed of various nations, they are, by the operation of time, now so thoroughly blended together, that they are not to be distinguished from each other; even most of such as have been born in Europe, and have resided here for some years, changed their national character, for that of this country."[116]

Therefore, the notion of the Afrikaner's identification with Africa can mainly be attributed to their longstanding relations within Africa, as well as their being treated as the 'other' by their ancestral counterparts. It is perhaps the Afrikaner's "othering" that resulted in the unconscious development of a group different from that of Europe, yet one consciously indifferent to Africans, identifying, instead, with established colonial norms. To shed some light on the validity of this notion, one can refer to the statement made by Hendrik Biebouw (Bibault) in 1707: 'I shall not leave, I am an Afrikaander, even if the landdrost beats me to death or puts me in the gaol. I shall not, nor will I be silent.'[117] The context of the statement is not as significant as the use of the word 'Afrikaander'. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the term Afrikaner was applied to indigenous people (Blacks and/or slaves) or people of indigenous descent.[118] According to Giliomee the term would thereafter be used again in 1712 in an official document to distinguish among Europeans according to their place of birth.[119]

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115 N. Worden et al., *Cape Town: The making of a city*, (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998), pp. 20-30 and 56- 58.
116 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 51.
117 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 22.
118 The exact context or meaning which Hendrik Biebouw (Bibault) tried to achieve is unclear.
119 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 22-23.

Since there is little information regarding Biebouw's statement, the precise meaning of his proclamation remains unclear. Nevertheless, the fact that he refers to himself in this context speaks of his self-identification with his land of birth.[120]

> He called himself an Afrikaner, but was the term more than merely descriptive? Did he only want to indicate that he was native of Africa (in contrast with natives of Europe), or did he imply that Afrikaners of European decent had rights and enjoyed a status that Landdrost Starenburg, an immigrant, ought not to ignore?[121]

The point stands, for the Company to designate whites as 'Africanen' on an official document was strange.[122] From its usage one may conclude that this most likely entailed a perceived notion of 'othering' that categorised whites into hierarchal order or attributed an African descent to former Europeans. [123] Nevertheless, for Biebouw to refer to himself as an Afrikaner years before the term would be accepted under the wider populace, directly testifies of the increasing strains colonial society experienced. The notion of being Afrikaner could, moreover, imply certain imperceptible rights.

In the 1730's, much in the same sense as Biebouw, a burgher by the name of Estienne Barbier, would again refer to him and his burgher countrymen as Afrikaners, sprawling from discontent with the Company and a feeling of injustice. As previously mentioned, the burgher rebellion of 1738-39 was rooted in the government's unwillingness to allow trade between burghers and the Khoi due to frequent claims of theft throughout the battering process. Barbier was accused of the same misconduct when some Namas who lived near the Orange River arrived at the Cape complaining about a loss of cattle. Due to false accusations made against a Company official, Barbier was convicted and imprisoned following these claims. As luck would have it, he escaped his sentence and convinced some burghers in the Drakenstein Valley area of the official's wrongdoings. In a declaration 'he appealed to his "Afrikander broederen" (Afrikaner

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120 Seeing as the "Afrikaander", as Biebouw puts it, was still European through heritage pre-established notions on the 'other' or native were present, it is doubtful that he would refer to himself in an inferior or subhuman context.

121 The term Afrikaner would later be used more openly in the 1790's- referring to those who would rather identify with the country than their colonial heritage; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 23 and 51-52.

122 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 23.

123 The European must, at all cost, subjugate those of non-equal standing under his boot, seeing as the European, who finds himself displaced in a savage land, longs for the comforts and proper epistemology of home. Thus, aspiring to modernity, he must dictate his superiority in order to realize his desires in his home away from home.

brothers) to join him in opposing a government that favoured the "Hottentots, who knew neither salvation nor damnation" above white men.'[124] Some then took up active forms of protest and others offered passive support, yet little could be done against Company action and Barbier was executed in 1739.[125] Barbier's use of the term Afrikaner should be seen in a different light than that of Biebouw. Firstly, Barbier makes use of the concept in reference to the burghers as a collective people through an emotional appeal, and secondly, to emphasise their difference from the Company who seemingly denies their equal standing in terms of race/religion or heritage. Therefore, both of these events indicate the first documented notions of being Afrikaner which seems to refer to a group seemingly different from both the Company/Europe (who do not identify with the colony as homeland) and groups who do not share their European identification/heritage and its accompanying advantages. Intrinsically, the concept of the Afrikaner indicates a separateness or indifference as the basis for identification. Therefore, the burgher's overall grievances, rather than selected incidents, could have inspired a notion of transitioning into Afrikaners; discontents within the colony prompted the development of a new identity which came to fruition at the end of the eighteenth century. At the heart of the Afrikaner's identity, is the burghers' association with the concept of the Afrikaner on account of them being 'othered'. The term also allowed for the creation of a collective superior to that of the colonial burgher class. These Afrikaners could identify with Africa, re-enforcing a historically built perspective concerning their position within the founder's myth and their role as protectors of the land. This, furthermore, enabled them to emphasise their right to land, authority, and a sense of freedom (as ordained by their identity). The Company, on the other hand, claimed these rights while still identifying with Europe. Le May describes the development of the notion accordingly:

> By the time substantial contact was made with the Xhosa masses, the preconditions for Afrikaner nationalism had been set: the rejection of cosmopolitanism from the Cape [...] the notion that Boers and their decedents were by natural right entitled to as much land as they wanted [...] the belief that political superiority was theirs by natural right; the by now developed notion that the land was 'empty' and therefore ownerless; the assumption

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124 N. Penn, *Rogues, rebels and runaways: Eighteenth-century Cape characters*, (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1999), pp. 101-129; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 52.

125 N. Penn, "Estienne Barbier: An eighteenth-century Cape social bandit?", *Social Dynamics*, vol. 14, (2007), pp. 1-19.

> that the black cultures would give way before superior white will; the belief that retreat into the interior was the way to solve the problem of harassment by law or native. [126]

Le May's statement might be more applicable when only considering the frontier burghers, nevertheless, the claim of nationalism is a bit strongly worded as nationalistic tendencies could hardly be argued. Still, there was some continuity concerning the burgher's position or association to the land, religious convictions, and their position within the colony. The tendency for collectivism occurred due to their mutual perspective of injustice or grievances, which positioning them as an 'other' and bred unification. This is apparent from the Cape Patriots movement of the early 1770's and late 1780's, who referred to themselves as 'Africaners' during petition against the colonial government for extended rights.[127] Again, the concept of being Afrikaner may have unconsciously implied a sense of entitlement to certain rights and privileges that they felt were lacking. After the Patriots movement, the term Afrikaner would be more frequently used, specifically in reference to those of European descent who associated with Africa and spoke Dutch. However, even though there are grounds for the augment concerning a feeling of indifference between the burghers and the Company (which gave way to the development of a new identification), it can also be said that the term Afrikaner gained favour due to an increase of free blacks who also occupied the status of 'Free burgher'. The amount of free blacks saw a significant increase from the 1770's, along with records that reported a feeling of racial prejudice and documentation frequently using the term white.[128] It can therefore be argued that the identification of Afrikaner rather than burgher also developed from a sense of indifference on the basis of race, since the Afrikaner shared the mentality of superiority over the black sub-groups. Therefore, I believe the term Afrikaner developed from the position of being 'othered'; burghers were seen as a superior group to that of the black caste by virtue of their race and religion, but inferior as a class to Company officials who were directly aligned to Europe. Placed under the boot of the Company, it is this contradictory position which gave way to the development of the Afrikaner as an equal or even superior group and which conjured perspectives such as the founders myth, the view of themselves as protectors of the land, the violation of the social contract and nativity, and fortification against the Company's claims of Afrikaner inferiority.

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126 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, pp. 32-33.

127 Beyers, *Die Kaapse Patriotte gedurende die laaste kwart van die agtiende eeu en die voortlewing van hul denkbeelde*, pp. 327-328.

128 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 51-52.

Considering the status of burghers and their subjugation within the colony, their development into a uniquely native people is a consequential outcome. What makes the Afrikaner unique in this context is that they remind of the Latin American creoles.[129] Much like the creoles of Latin America,[130] the Afrikaner who themselves were seen as the 'other' through the eyes of the VOC and later the British, reinforced their indifference toward Europe through the development of characteristics unique to them and Southern Africa. The Afrikaner would also enforce methods of resistance against the coloniser and claim dominion over the natives as a sense of superiority or right of domination flourished following years of colonial affliction and colonial modernity.[131]. It is worth considering, for a moment, the development of the Afrikaner as a type of creole.

As mentioned, the burghers who formed the Afrikaner group developed from various European ancestors and even from an African background, ergo, giving way to the amalgamation of the burghers and their position through a social class. Unlike the creoles of Latin America who gained position through their European heritage, it was one's burgher class, rather than race, that defined one's standing at the Cape; consider, for instance, the formation of the 'free blacks' who were officially given the same status as burghers.[132] However, unlike those of a non-European linage, most of the white burghers were perceived as Christian. This identification would be important as it directly tied the burgher to some sense of European authority, creating the general association of being white *and* Christian as opposed to those who were usually considered to be heathens *and* Black. This perception can be explained accordingly:

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129 Creole is a term that refers to people of European descent born abroad, most notably within newly established colonies. These creoles are placed in a hierarchical system, second to those who are born in Europe, yet still inferior; T.H. Donghi and J.C. Chasteen, *The contemporary history of Latin America*, (Durham: Duke University press, 1993), p. 49.

130 Latin American Creoles were of European descent but were born in South America, they were not regarded with the same standing as those born in Europe/Spain. The creoles would be subordinate to their Spanish born counterparts but superior to those of mixed or native heritage; J.C. Chasteen, *Born in blood and fire: A concise history of Latin America*, 3rd ed., (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2011), pp. 94-96.

131 In the history of Latin America, the creoles claimed power through campaigns of resistance against their colonial paternity. Even though a verity of circumstance led to the formation of resistance movements, it can be argued that being 'othered' encouraged the occurrence of resistance. '*The creoles where irked by a program of discrimination that made them second-class citizens in their own homeland*'; C.A. Frazee, *World history: The easy way*, Vol. 2, (New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1997), p. 336.

132 Worden, *Cape Town between east and west: Social identities in a Dutch colonial town*, pp. 74-77.

> The American historian Winthrop Jordan remarked vis-à-vis the Negro that 'the concept embedded in the term Christian seems to have conveyed much of the idea of us against them: to be Christian was to be civilized rather than barbarous, English rather than African, white rather than black.'....Governor Janssens of the Batavia as ministration, after a visit to the interior, reported that the burghers called themselves 'men and Christians, and the Kafirs and Hottentots heartens, and on the strength of this they considered themselves entitled to anything.[133]

The concept of religious superiority had a long standing, even before the concept had been exported to the Cape and can directly be aligned to the concept of 'othering'. As the historian Charles Boxer wrote, 'One race cannot systematically enslave members of another race without acquiring a conscious or unconscious feeling of racial superiority.'[134] However, the concept of race had not yet crystallised at the Cape, as Giliomee states, 'race as a biological concept would not appear in South Africa before the late nineteenth century.' Instead of race, the church introduced perceptions on Christian cultural superiority as opposed to that of the heathen. The colony would use this sense of indifference combined with European perceptions of blacks,[135] as justification for slavery and servitude. Therefore, the burghers were positioned below the status Company officials commanded but were regarded in equal standing where religion and race were concerned. As such, the burghers were also placed above the lowest caste, namely slaves and the khoisan, who were not Christians nor white, but could enter the class through salvation and baptism. It is also because of this perception that the burghers took so little trouble to baptize their slaves.

> But the strongest factor was the master's fear that their control would be jeopardised. To sit with them as equals in a church constituted an act of *gelykstelling* or social levelling which would dilute their sense of exclusivity and superiority.[136]

To reiterate Boxer's previous point, the burghers could not regard themselves as exalted over the slaves or natives without a conscious or unconscious claim of superiority. The latter was

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133 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 41.

134 C. Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 56.

135 A central justification to this perception of Christian superiority was Noah's curse on Canaan, the Son of Ham which gave way to a rationale for the enslavement or persecution of heartens, which was also synonyms with that of blacks; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 14.

136 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 43-44.

also true of the position of the Company's superiority to that of the burghers. These perspectives of power would develop over time: The claims of Tas during the Van der Stel struggle in 1705, for example, or the burgher rebellion of 1738-39, which also added to burgher discontent and initiated the transition of religious belief to racial discontent. By 1727, it was decided that free blacks could no longer serve with the burghers in the armed forces and in 1765 restrictions were placed on the clothing of free black women, ensuring a sense of elegance only to white women. Authorities also imposed restrictions on the measure of aid to be given to destitute free blacks as well as their participation within administrative bodies.[137] This contradicting system that regarded white Christian burghers as inferior to Company officials yet superior to blacks would define the burghers as creoles and give way to their development as a new identification within the colonial structure.

Thus these Afrikaners referred to themselves as an original nation and soon developed their own language, namely Afrikaans, which was seen as a poorly executed version of the Dutch vernacular.[138] Afrikaans developed as creole of the Dutch language structure and originated from the communication channels of master and slave or non-Europeans. This included simplification of the language and incorporation of other language elements such as Malay-Portuguese—a common language among the slaves.[139] Nevertheless, for most of the 19th century, Afrikaans primarily existed as a spoken language while the standard Dutch was still used as the writing system among Afrikaners.[140] The first known form of written Afrikaans occurred in the form of a poem that dates back to 1795.[141] Afrikaans would gradually be absorbed by newspapers, schools and churches of the Afrikaner populations until it officially replaced Dutch as the writing system of South Africa in 1925.[142]

The creolisation of the burgher is also relevant in the light of the 'Trek' or frontier expansion. F.J. Turner's "Frontier theory"[143], as issued within the parameters of American history, proves

137 Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, p. 66; Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, p. 134.
138 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 52-53.
139 Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p. 71.
140 Accredited Language services, Afrikaans, https://www.alsintl.com/resources/languages/Afrikaans/, Accessed: 25 August 2017; H. den Besten, *Roots of Afrikaans: Selected writings of Hans den Besten*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), pp. 55-58.
141 SAHO, Oldest example of written Afrikaans appears in a poem, 16 March 2011, http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/oldest-example-written-afrikaans-appears-poem, Accessed: 25 August 2017.
142 Accredited Language services, Afrikaans, https://www.alsintl.com/resources/languages/Afrikaans/, Accessed: 25 August 2017.
143 F.J. Turner, *The frontier in American History*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), 1-192.

equally insightful when applied to the development of the Afrikaner. Turner started his study by setting up an evolutionary model, using the time dimension of American history and the geographical space of the land that became the United States. His argument was that the new environment had caused a rapid evolution of social and political characteristics, as people migrated westward and thereby creating what would become the 'American'.[144] The first settlers who arrived at the American east coast acted and thought like Europeans, they did so in a new environment that was quite different from what they had known. The most important difference was the vast amounts of seemingly unused and high-quality farmland, some of which was used by the Natives as hunting grounds. As these early settlers migrated inward, they became more distant from their European mindsets and roots as they adapted to the new environment in various ways.[145] The next generation would move even further inland and so discard more European ways of life that were no longer useful. European norms were adapted to suit their conditions, for example, they established churches, aristocracies, and an intrusive government as well as gaining control of the best land by a small elite class. Every generation moved further west and became more American, and these settlers became more democratic and less tolerant of hierarchy. In broad terms, the further west these early pioneers migrated, the more "Americanised" the community became.[146]

With Turner's perspective in mind, much can be said of the Afrikaner's similar development. As stated early on, the burghers developed a strong sense of individualism as they moved into the interior, they became blunted to the notions of a European way of life and even to the lives of their Western Cape counterparts. Those who chose to 'Trek', took with them a sense of Christian morality and the rights it provided, a looming mindset of white superiority, and a strong belief in their claim to the land.[147] The burghers only interacted with the Cape to trade and to acquire certain goods that could not be attained otherwise. Even though a sense of being an Afrikaner was already developing, it can be said that these people became more African or Afrikaner orientated the further they moved from the Company and isolated themselves, followed by their eventual call for independence as the Graaff-Reinet rebellion may prove. Yet,

144 J. Derman, "Frederick Jackson Turner and the gospel of wealth", *The Concord Review*, vol. 6, no. 3, (1995), p. 137.

145 F.J. Turner, Frontier theory 'characteristics', American Institutions Survey Department of Translation Studies, *University of Tampere*, http://www.uta.fi/FAST/US2/REF/fjt.html, Accessed: 22 August 2015.

146 F.J. Turner, Excerpts from writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, 1890s-1920s, *University of Michigan*, 2005, http://www-personal.umd.umich.edu/~ppennock/doc-FJTurner.htm, Accessed: 21 August 2015.

147 In other words, these 'trekboers' took a perspective of colonial modernity with them only to reinterpret their established beliefs through their own actions (an early sense of coloniality).

the Patriots movement and events in the Western Cape also illustrates the comprehensiveness of being an Afrikaner seeing that these people were not found in the frontier. However, Turner's theory arguably becomes more applicable regarding the events of the Great Trek. It is only after the Great Trek that the Afrikaner became truly established as an individual group that became all the more distant from their roots the deeper they went. The Great Trek resulted in the formation of Boer Republics and later, the South African wars which are reminiscent of the American Revolution. The South African wars marked the pinnacle of their transition, they fought to maintain what they have established as a separate entity. The Afrikaner's migration patterns formed a large part of Afrikaner culture and history since it helped them crystallize as a people, so as to become more Africanized.

Turner's work can prove to be a valuable alternative measure to perceiving the creolisation of the Afrikaner seeing that it has less to do with their development as a people, and more with their maturation as a Creole group (with their own traditions intertwined within a colonial structure). The concept of creolization enriches the argument of the development of a people through frontier migration. The Afrikaner was formed from a place of opposition against their European standing and only fully developed in the frontier as a creole collective reissuing the parameters set by their colonial ancestors which was suited to their perspective and needs in the frontier. I differ from Turner by interpreting the actions of the frontiersmen, that is, their adaptations of European norms to suit their new conditions, as the regurgitation of colonial modernity, which would eventually transition to structures of coloniality. As these people 'Treked', a notion of being different or a group apart from the main collective had ensued; as the frontiersmen moved into the interior, they had already been established as Afrikaner/creoles. As such, they would most definitely adapt European norms to suite their conditions but not without considering a colonization of the mind and providing guidance to their notions of expansion. Therefore, Turner's word does provide some insight into the Afrikaner as a Creole/native of Africa.

Considering the discussion thus far, the case for the Afrikaner's nativity should become prevalent. However, one should be cautious not to mimic the type of Afrikaner nationalistic notions that were predominant in the historiography of the early 1900's and which traced Afrikaner pedigree to the Trek, the Eastern frontier rebellions, the trekboers, Adam Tas and

Hendrik Biebouw.[148] On the whole, I do not doubt the Afrikaner's European *and* African background, instead, I hope to show how these historical pressure points can be used to define the Afrikaner's divergence from Europe. To emphasise this once more, I refer to Van Aswegen who ties this notion and the ongoing discussion together:

> The whites were also bound together by their historical experiences in South Africa, where they had shed their European decent and had become Africanized in the course of nearly one-and-a-half centuries. They accepted the name Afrikaner to give expression to their social and political status as a group and to indicate their association with their new fatherland. The Afrikaner was shaped by colonial rule. The colonial system supported the group and created a foundation for development, but the group developed in interaction and also in conflict with the colonial system. As the Afrikaner's political awareness developed, the system became too restrictive for him to satisfy his economic and political aspirations.[149]

Therefore, the Afrikaner, unlike the Dutch/British, developed within South Africa and more importantly, as inferior to Europeans. With this in mind, the Afrikaner shares some distinct traits with other natives of a colonised land. However, the Afrikaner, too, became a coloniser, a problematic native of a special type. The notion of being an Afrikaner could only develop once they were situated outside of the leading cast, as those who were colonised. The Afrikaner could, therefore, only face ethical, class and hierarchical alienation by creating their own cultural ethnocentricity, as established through their own sense of colonisation.[150] In their attempt to formulate their identity, one that would remain intrinsically influenced by colonialism, Afrikaners projected their frustration and perceived colonial structure onto the people they encountered. Trained and assimilated to British colonialisms they could not recreate an Afrikaner identity without certain structures that endured through a colonisation of the mind, leaving the Afrikaner to assume the position of both oppressed and oppressor. Section C of this study seeks to answer this problem and serves as the final discussion on the Afrikaner's nativity.

C) The discussion thus far has largely focused on providing evidence for the argument of the Afrikaner's nativity. Yet, considering the Afrikaner's heritage and genealogical traits, the claim

148 M. Legassick, "The frontier traditions in South African Historiography, Collected Seminar Paper", *Institute of Commonwealth Studies*, no. 12 (1972), pp. 15.

149 Van Aswegen, *History of South Africa to 1854*, pp. 105-106.

150 The oppressed seek to become like the oppressor, as colonial modernity has not only seeped into their immediate space but has claimed power over their perceptions. There is no point of reference except that of a colonial reference point.

to nativity may still be perceived as weak. I do, however, strongly believe the Afrikaner to be a native of a special type, owing much to the fact that they share strong correlating factors with the Cape colony and Africa itself. As already conveyed, it was a physical and mental separation from a European way of life and its advantages, as enforced through the yoke of colonisation, that gave way to the amalgamation of the Afrikaner who would then develop their own cultural traits. This, in turn, sparked the consciousness of being native and the search of a homeland to call their own. However, despite the factual argument, the Afrikaners themselves assumed a native position. As the Afrikaner identity developed, the group associated themselves to and from Africa on the strength of their convictions and position within the country. This perspective does provide validity for some of the questions posed by this Chapter. To clarify, the Afrikaners believed themselves to be a sort of native (despite the truth of their origins) seeing as the early Afrikaners laid the foundation of this concept, allowing it to manifest through the generations the further they pulled from the Cape and Europe.

This study therefore regards the Afrikaner as a native of a special type. This native is put together from traits of both native Africa and European colonialism. The Afrikaner dogma of being African stemmed from indifference towards the colony and the lesser native. With this in mind, this section makes the final argument towards the Afrikaner's perceived nativity. This Chapter opened with the question: Is the Afrikaner regarded as colonist or merely a colonial child twisted through colonial patterns to conform to structures of coloniality? As established in sections A and B, the Afrikaner was not considered to be European since they lacked the entailing privileges, nor were they native since they lacked some traits of inferiority.[151] The Afrikaner is consequently considered to be a Creole, physically (through their admixing with natives) and socially (as their standing allowed some administrative and eminent positions within society second to any European true born).

Considering the theoretical discussion, those who are perceived as native/Creole can also be associated within the compounds of modernity/Coloniality, as presented in the case for the colonial matrix of power that specifies colonial subjection on those of a native background, thereby further embedding colonial structures. The literature study accounts for some studies concerning the influence of coloniality on Africans. Of these, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, in particular argues the impact of coloniality on Africans and their sense of a false freedom pertaining to

[151] Regarding these traits, as previously mentioned, natives were considered heathens on the grounds of their beliefs and racial features.

contemporary thought.[152] Yet, to a lesser extent, he also mentions the influence colonialism had on the Afrikaner.

If the Afrikaner is in fact a special type of native, it would make sense that the claws of coloniality (occupying the matrix of power), influenced the Afrikaner as well. A summative perspective surrounding this thought is offered accordingly:

Much has been said concerning the Burghers development within the parameters of Dutch cultural influence at the Cape. Unlike the colonisation of 1652, the Burgher or rather the Afrikaner had already started to conceptualise before 1806, which would cause British colonisation to affect both the African and Afrikaner. This event would also influence Africans to a larger extent as expansion would greatly increase.[153] Ndlovu-Gatsheni likens British imperialism to an omnipresent influence surrounding cultural life within the colony. He describes the English imagination as stretching only so far as British superiority over other races and ethnicities:

> Anglicization was also predicated on a contemptuous approach towards non-English people including Afrikaners who were considered an inferior race just like Africans. [154]

With the colonisation of the Cape in 1806, the Afrikaner lost control of the economy, their authority, and control of subjectivity and knowledge, and would regain a false sense of security in the early 1900's under the pretence of freedom. In the case of the African, British colonisation brought certain liberal thoughts and associated freedoms yet it still instituted colonial patterns that would be reiterated during the Afrikaner's authoritarian era. The arrival of the British moulded the Cape to fit English conformity and the already complex nature of the Cape colony was made even more intricate through the addition of new factors arriving on the scene. British authority was followed by British settlers and their accompanying views, thoughts, and culture.[155] W.W. Bird, a British official explains:

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152 S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Epistemic freedom in Africa: Deprovincialization and decolonization*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2018), p. 266.

153 Gileomee, *Die Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 85.

154 S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2013), p. 63.

155 C. Merrett and J. Nauright, 'South Africa', in B. Stoddart and K.A.P. Standiford (eds.), *The Imperial game: Cricket, culture and society*, (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.

> An Englishman, from Orkneys to New South Wales, is the same unbending creature. He accommodates himself with difficulty to the manners of other countries and nothing can be right or proper that is not English, and to which he isunaccustomed. [156]

Giliomee states that some British rulers, from as early as 1803, incurred that Burgher history is nothing to be proud of, perceiving the colony as cruel, cowardly and devious. There was but little backlash to this sense of British superiority, mainly due to fact that the colony provided little resistance during the Cape's occupation while the more educated Burghers realised their inferiority to European standards. This was emphasised by their realisation that they were being placed beneath British Authority. These perspectives would culminate with the Anglicisation of the Cape Burgher and through the advancement of British clothing, social etiquette, culture, and the affirmation of English as the progressive language of civilisation. A large amount of the elite Cape Burghers accepted English as amalgamating to new standards of British authority became the norm.[157] The process was not necessarily one-sided, but it is helpful to remember that in the nineteenth-century Cape, it was the British who held power. Establishing British hegemony was about preserving and increasing that power. Even if minds could not easily be colonised, 'consciousness was power', and British hegemony helped to determine the nature of that consciousness.[158]

Hence, from a British perspective there was also a practical consideration. Loyal, submissive Dutch officials could act as representatives of English ideologies seeing as these officials enjoyed the trust of the Afrikaner population. Unlike the Dutch/Afrikaner conservative perspectives, the British enacted quite a liberal stance specifically concerning racial conduct, Black employment opportunities, and the eventual dismissal of slavery. To a lesser degree, these English liberal positions could also be seen in the management of institutions such as private publishing. The British Anglicised the court and various government systems in an attempt to institute English as the executive language in the education sector through English missionaries, they even promulgated to fill vacant clergy positions with English Calvinist

55; C.R. Kotzé, ''n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834', in C.F.J. Muller (eds.), *500 Jaar: Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, (Pretoria: Academica, 1968), p. 98.

156 Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 154.

157 Du Tiot and Giliomee, *Afrikaner political thought: Analysis and Documents, Volume one: 1780- 1850*, p. 279.

158 V. Brickford-Smith, "Revisiting Anglicisation in the nineteenth-century Cape colony", *The Journal of Imperial and commonwealth history*, vol. 31, no. 2, (2003), p. 83.

preachers. These changes had little effect on the Afrikaner who settled the interior and only concerned themselves with the authorial changes. However, in retrospect, the Anglicisation policy also showed little success as most Afrikaners, even those at the Cape, adopted English and its accompanying traits second to Dutch—their congregational salvation and identity.[159] It is perhaps this sense of secondary acceptance which allowed for the lack of prominent resistance movements during the early years of British occupation.[160] H. Philips, a British psychotherapist, attributed the burgher complacency to a sense of being submissive:

> As to the Dutch, with very few exceptions, they are so accustomed to obey that they tremble at the shadow [...] One of the very worst effects of slavery is predominant in them, in proportion as they tyrannize over their domestic slaves, in the same ratio they degradingly crouch at the feet of their rulers.[161]

It should not be understood that resistance did not occur at all seeing that the Afrikaner's complacency receded in later years. Certain acts of resistance stand out: the 'Slagtersnek rebellion' of 1815/16, following the death of Frederik Bezuidenhout at the hand of a coloured soldier,[162] ending in the arrest of Bezuidenhout's brother and the banning of 38 sympathetic Afrikaners who reacted to Bezuidenhout's unjust judgement. Further, the protest against slave regulations ensuing form 1826 followed acts of lawful disobedience and saw threats of armed opposition after further restrictions in 1830/31. Besides the quarrelling slave debate, a prominent issue had been Crown colony mismanagement as certain officials abused the system to serve their own hand. Complaints and protest ensued from the British settlers, particularly during the Somerset era at the start of 1821. Afrikaner protest also followed from 1830 as both groups sought a sense of autonomy but, unlike the British settlers, the Afrikaners were against the abolition of slavery. By 1841, several large meetings concerning autonomy had already taken place, the largest was to follow in the same year. However, these meetings were too little avail. In 1848, following the model set in Australia and New-Zealand, the British authorities promulgated to solve the Cape labour issue with the importation of convicts. This event renewed the Cape's protest action for an autonomous society, but this time the British settlers

159 Kotzé, ''n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834', pp. 98-109.

160 Resistance would eventually follow and will be discussed later on.

161 Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 157.

162 The British introduced new laws in 1809, giving Khoi and Hottentots a sense of protection under British law and, more importantly, from their colonial employers. The 'Slagtersnek' rebellion is an effluence of the Afrikaner's distaste toward these changes; T. Couzens, *Battles of South Africa*, (Claremont: David Phillip Publishers, 2004), pp. 48-63.

and Cape Afrikaners would find common ground as both groups banned together in common disapproval. Even though autonomy was not achieved, they did manage to stop the importation of convict labourers. This was a defining moment as both groups forged a sense of camaraderie, though it was mostly the Afrikaners who identified with the British settlers than the other way around. Not all the Afrikaners shared this sentiment, a large group of Afrikaners 'Treked' inland at around 1834, during the Great Trek, enacting their protest through ejection into the interior, disregarding the problems they faced with the Cape structure.[163] The causes of the Trek can be synopsised accordingly:

Rather than a mere urge to Trek, these Afrikaners moved inland due to dissatisfying circumstances. The frontier wars were becoming more frequent as was the lack of British support; the commando system had also been marginalised leaving the Afrikaners in the interior feeling a sense of resentment towards British authority. Amidst these changes, British law abolished slavery and elevated the position of Blacks to a degree of 'gelykstelling' through Ordinance 50.[164] Additionally, these farmers suffered financially as they lost property either through raids, the relinquishment of slaves and/or the vagrancy of labours that enjoyed new labour opportunities.[165] Considering the Afrikaner's grievances, their migratory action could be seen as anti-colonial resistance with the aim of achieving an autonomous society which could be built on Afrikaner perspectives rather than British liberal law.

As in the case of the African, the patriarchal change at the Cape exercised a certain liberal effluent. One of the first major changes took place in 1807 with the abolishment of slavery in England, which, in actuality, would only take effect in 1834 at the Cape.[166] This act would give way to the formation of a cultural drift, as seen with the slave-revolt of 1808. Led by two Irish sailors and two slaves, Abraham and Louis, the group managed to gather some 300 slaves and a few Khio-khoi to their cause before the revolt was quickly suppressed. They did, however, evoke a conglomerate perspective regarding the position of slavery. One of the more prolific

163 S. Grundlingh and D. Phil, 'Vyftig jaar Britse bestuur, 1806-1854', in D.W. Kruger et al. (eds.), *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, (Kaapstad: Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery, *BPK*, 1970), pp. 163-166 and 178-182; Van Aswegen, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika tot 1854*, pp. 194-206; Kotzé, ''n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834', pp. 105-117.

164 The elaboration on these changes will be set out in the next paragraph.

165 A.J.H van der Walt and D. Phil, 'Die groot trek tot 1838', in D.W. Kruger et al. (eds.), *Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, (Kaapstad: *Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery, BPK*, 1970), pp. 188-198; C.F.J. Muller, 'Die Groot Trek-tydperk, 1834-1854', in C.F.J. Muller (eds), *500 Jaar: Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, (Pretoria: Academica, 1968), pp. 128-133.

166 Kotzé, ''n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834', p. 112.

changes was the ‘Hottentot’ proclamation of 1809, which placed those of colour in equal standing with the law and direct alignment with the Afrikaner.[167] This proclamation ensured work diligence, training of a select craft and the prohibition of vagrancy through the issuing of a pass system. This proclamation would directly lead to the conceptualisation of Ordinance 50, which took effect from 1828—the law was applied on a colour-blind basis. To this degree, the Anglicisation policy proved successful, especially concerning the eventual abolition of slavery that extended cultural association. However, conflict with the Xhosa tribes on the border ensued as the British authority could not seem to find a substantial solution. What followed was a sense of joint liability among the communities on the one side and limiting commando counter action on the other.[168]

Yet, the influence of British colonisation and Anglicisation has a two-pronged perspective. The purpose of Anglicisation was not merely to ensure the advancement of the British culture. Instead, it encouraged the belief that one cannot be civilised, achieve equal rights or economic growth without this sense of conversion to the English language, education, culture, dress or even hygiene:[169]

> Postcolonial theory traces back to imperialism deployment of binary logic both as an epistemological device and as an ontology, which posits a seminal dichotomy between 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' conditions of being. Given their imperialist derivation, binary oppositions ipso facto are embedded in a process whereby the conquest and appropriation of territorial space then is affirmed by the imposition of cultural categories of 'superior' and 'inferior'.[170]

Perceiving oneself as part of the crown and its accompanying privileges, such as a white queen who sees no racial discrimination and acts merely on behalf of her subjects. Freedom was enacted through British law, however, it was also unknowingly replaced by stringent labour shortages and passes. Crown rule spread authority and subjection on the back of these notions,

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167 This change is also directly linked to the ‘Slagtersnek’ rebellion.

168 Kotzé, ‘‘n Nuwe bewind, 1806-1834’, pp. 111-122; Grundlingh and Phil, ‘Vyftig jaar Britse bestuur, 1806-1854’, pp. 175-180.

169 B. Nasson, *Abraham Esau’s war: A black South African at war in the Cape, 1899-1902*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 6-8.

170 A. Jones and D. L. Manda, “Violence and 'Othering' in colonial and postcolonial Africa. Case study: Banda's Malawi”, *Journal of African Cultural Studies,* vol. 18, no. 2, (2006), p. 198.

leaving resistance, the Trek, and even war irrelevant without the realisation of breaking the colonial chain. [171]

British colonial influence at the Cape showed a clear dichotomy between the Dutch system and crown rule. Most spectacularly so in their liberal ideological implementations and Anglicisation policy. While the Calvinistic Afrikaner[172] trekked inland to re-establish conservative patterns of 'othering', they were resituated within this colonial structure, perpetuating actions of colonisation especially after 1948. This implies that the Great Trek served as an action of emancipation rather than liberation since reoccurring colonial pathologies would still follow. Therefore, the colonial matrix would merely re-establish a few decades later with the Union of 1910, which gave the Afrikaner authority under British rule but still excluded Africans. However, this collaboration should be seen as a false sense of freedom as the Afrikaner was still marginalised within the system. For instance, the industrialisation and urbanisation of the 1930's and 1940's kept Afrikaners confined to the rural agricultural sector and largely unprepared for the economic changes the British had steadily enjoyed. Industrial development such as the discovery of minerals in the late 1800's fuelled much of the conflict throughout South Africa, fragmenting the Afrikaner into various social classes. This led to a series of inner-white conflicts during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, due to the strong imperial industrialisation held by the British and the weak agricultural domestic capital maintained by the Afrikaner.[173] The African would eventually add to the tension as various labour movements and union actions sparked from the inequality.[174] It is this action of resubmission that would entitle the Afrikaner to claim the position of a special type of colonist. As these Afrikaners and Africans existed within a longstanding structure of British colonialism, certain pathologies were established and reiterated through resistance and the acquisition of authority. Seeing as the oppressed seeks to become like his oppressor, the result was the replacement of one species of man with another.

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171 Nasson, *Abraham Esau's war: A black South African at war in the Cape, 1899-1902*, pp. 7-8; B. Willan, *Sol Plaatje: A Biography, 1876-1932*, (Johannesburg: James Currwey Publications, 1988), p. 239.

172 The Afrikaner's Calvinistic position is an important one; this belief or sense of *Us,* strengthens their convictions regarding their social position and reaffirms their need for *a them.*

173 To reiterate Duara's notion the urban faction (British industrialisation), that is, expiation of the rural faction (Afrikaner farmers) in order to maintain their urban structure and advantages.

174 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Coloniality of power in post-colonial Africa: Myths of decolonisation*, pp. 165-168; B.J. Liebenberg, 'Die Unie van Suid-Afrika tot die Statuut van Westminister, 1910-1931', in C.F.J. Muller (eds.), *500 Jaar: Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, (Pretoria: Academica, 1968), pp. 344-345.

3.2 Historical background: Solidifying modernity/coloniality in South African resistance

Before expounding the discussion of resistance, as perceived through the theoretical discourse of chapter 2, a perspective on the work of Mamdani may solidify the prevalent view of colonial modernity and its transition to coloniality in South Africa. This section seeks to answer the research question 3) How can the nature of the OB be defined in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality? Therefore, the following discussion focuses on the application of the theory in order to evaluate the nature of the OB's resistance.

Mamdani presents an interesting argument concerning the transition of colonial domination or rule within South Africa by linking past patterns of rule to more contemporary patterns. This view does not directly form part of the theoretical application that follows this section but provides some perspective on the transition of modernity/coloniality on a macro level. As such, this section provides the tone for the subsequent analysis of resistance by providing a historical and theoretical overview of colonial structures in transferral and it's prompting of resistance movements.

Mamdani's '*Citizen and Subject*' may provide the link between South Africa and a perceived notion of modernity/coloniality as catalyst for resistance. Firstly, Mandini states that colonialism forged a legacy in historical and institutional context.[175] He takes the colonial state as his point of departure and maintains that contemporary failures of democratisation stem from the inability of most governments to reform the colonial mode of indirect rule via "customary" tribal authorities that prevail in rural Africa.[176] Accordingly, colonialism forged a bifurcated colonial regime which was seen as the solution provided by the colonial minority to effectively control the native majority. Originally, most African colonies opted for a direct centralised authoritarian rule, which Mamdani refers to as a "form of urban civil power" that excludes natives from civil freedoms.[177] However, the British (and later the Afrikaner) opted for an indirect rule, which proved to be a more effective form of domination. Indirect rule was administered through Native Authorities by customary laws, the laws of the local communities.

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175 M. Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1996), p. 3.

176 G.M. Gerhart, Review: 'Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism', *Foreign Affairs*, 1997, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/1997-03-01/citizen-and-subject-contemporary-africa-and-legacy-late, Accessed: 26 May 2016.

177 Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, p. 18.

Because customary authorities were often designated by the colonial state, village chiefs easily evolved into despots.[178]

When applied to South Africa, Mamdani argues that the difficulties in South Africa's racially segregated past is writ large in the rest of the continent. It therefore denies South Africa and Apartheid any exception, embracing the argument that Apartheid was the generic form of colonialism or simply a form of indirect rule.[179]

> …neither institutional segregation nor apartheid was a South African invention. If anything, both idealized a form of rule that the British Colonial Office dubbed "Indirect rule"[180]

However, Mamdani's statement does not exonerate the Afrikaner and his role in the oppression of the African since the blueprint of segregation and the design of Apartheids lies with the colonial powers of South Africa and the Afrikaner[181], especially considering modernity/coloniality. Mamdani's view does, however, evoke an interesting idea: South African history faced a sense of dual colonisation,[182] namely that of the Dutch/Burghers (later the Voortrekkers), Britain, and eventually the Afrikaner (a special type of colonist). This stresses the earlier question of whether coloniality has merely been embedded in the mind of the native or whether it can be traced back to the ancestry of the colonist. From 1652 to the 1800's, a sense of colonial domination from the Dutch and British commenced in South Africa—within this structure the free burger would develop as colonial native and eventually be regarded as the proto-Afrikaner.[183] In this time, we also find darker manifestations of

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178 V. Steemers, "(Post) Colonialism and ideological configurations: An analysis of the power structures in Cheikh Hamidou Kane's Ambiguous adventure', *Rocky Mountain Review*, vol. 67, no. 2, (2013), p. 138.

179 Here I argue that apartheid is in fact an outcome of modernity/coloniality, as the Afrikaner found himself influenced through colonial modernity and the colonial matrix of power, re-evaluating the prevalent discourse of 1948. However, if Apartheid is seen as a form of indirect rule, does that not provide the Afrikaner with the status of an African community?; M. Chege, "Review: 'Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism'", *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1, (1997), p. 47.

180 Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, p. 7.

181 Even though the Afrikaner shares in the blame of South Africa's past, it has much to do with the influence of colonial modernity and coloniality.

182 Keep in mind that the Cape was originally colonized by Dutch settlers since 1652 and became a British colony in 1828; SAHO, 'History of slavery and early colonisation in South Africa', 12 April 2011, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-slavery-and-early-colonisation-south-africa, Accessed: 28 May 2016.

183 The nativity of the Afrikaner has already been discussed in the previous section, Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. xiv-xvi.

colonial modernity, such as slavery, segregation, and conflict, but most prevalently the establishment of the *one* against the lesser *them*.

Nevertheless, one can see the Afrikaner's break from a sense of colonial rule as the Great Trek occurred.[184] The Great Trek can directly or indirectly be seen as a form of resistance or, more specifically, anti-colonial resistance. Seeing as the Trek was caused by various events of colonial authoritarian displeasure, the emancipation of slaves and financial strains served as some of the main antagonistic points. The movement can be seen as that of opposition against the British colony ergo Cape colony, formed through social unrest in the form of a cultural drift[185] and injustices[186] enforced through modernity.[187] The Great Trek can be seen as the re-establishment of the Afrikaner and, at a later stage, Afrikaner culture since it would form part of popular Afrikaner culture, upheld through organisations such as the OB, especially to promote resistance.[188] The Afrikaner originates directly from the Dutch and French colonists but a sense of identity loss can be attributed to their being re-colonised by Britain. This sense of identity loss leans to perceived notions of hierarchy or 'othering', projected onto the Afrikaner and other natives through colonial modernity.

> Between the mid-1820s and mid-1830s the British ushered in a near social revolution, ending all statutory discrimination and ultimately slavery. But they did so after first abolishing all the institutions to which the burghers had become accustomed.[189]

A new cultural identity came into being, namely the 'Voortrekker', as the Afrikaner moved away from the Cape and British dominion. This event saw the Afrikaner enact his domination

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184 The Great Trek was a movement of Dutch-speaking colonists up into the interior of southern Africa in search of land where they could establish their own homeland, independent of British Rule; Reader's Digest, *Illustrated History of South Africa: the real story*, pp. 114-120.

185 The emancipation of slaves and specifically Ordinance 50 (The official recognition of the equality between settlers and native inhabitants) serve as forms of a cultural drift as the new perspectives were in contradiction with the established parameters of society.

186 The burgers (Afrikaners) saw the British as unjust because slaves were seen as property and emancipation would not be in the interest of those who owned slaves. Secondly, a perspective of being treated as the 'Other' was also prevalent. Ordinance 50 established equal standing between settler and native, contradicting the colonial model established around colonial hierarchy. Therefore, the burgers could feel that they were treated unjust seeing that they lost their slaves and, to a certain extent, their native position as part of the *One.*

187 Reader's Digest, *Illustrated history of South Africa: The real story*, pp. 138-143; Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, pp. 146-183.

188 This action is also regarded as a form of colonialism; however, it must also be seen as an eventual result of a colonisation of the mind since the oppressed seek to become like the colonist.

189 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. xiv.

over the African[190] only to be eventually re-dominated by Britain. This act of domination by the Afrikaner can stand in correlation with the discussion concerning coloniality or a colonisation of the mind. The Afrikaner, who perceives himself to be dominant to the African as perpetuated through colonial modernity, relies on or falls back on colonial pathologies to make sense of their new or own colonial advances.[191] The Great Trek should, moreover, be viewed as an expansion of colonial dogma that placed those peoples of the north within the sphere of colonial modernity, entrenched in the view of the colonist. But these Afrikaner Republics were short lived as the seized land became more appealing to their colonial sire, resulting in the Afrikaner states being resituated within the hands of the *one*.[192]

> After the mineral discoveries, independent African territories fell one by one. Many submitted 'voluntarily' to their pacification, but this process can be fully understood only against the background of a century of conflict and the use of force. Annexation merely legalized a gradual process of expanding British rule. Those who refused to bend the knee were conquered militarily […] the Boer republics were defeated in 1902[…][193]

It is important to note that this form of resituating the Afrikaner under colonial rule, did not just happen, it was preceded by two South African wars, finally ending in 1902. Various native people were also involved in this war, some fighting with the colonist and some with the Afrikaner, both hoping for a better hand to be dealt.[194] In 1910, the Union was established, giving authority to the Afrikaner through the legitimate authority of Britain:

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190 I perceive this act of domination as the effluence of colonial/modernity seeing as the Great Trek was an act of resistance, influenced through colonial modernity. The reestablishment of the Afrikaner in a way that is reminiscent of their colonial ancestors, indicates a sense of coloniality.

191 The Afrikaner is a spawn of modernity and colonialism. As a child of the colonist, the Afrikaner is taught according to the ways of the civilised, yet they are never regarded with equal standing. Metaphorically, the Afrikaner can live in his father's house but being a bastard, he can never carry his name. When he comes of age, he seeks his own house and identity, away from his father's harsh rule. When he establishes himself, he relies on his upbringing to guide his ventures. He finally finds himself to be more of a colonist, more like his father, than even he knew. Oblivious to the influences of coloniality, he forges his own modern colonial structure.

192 Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, pp. 67-125.

193 A. Odendaal, *The founders: The origins of the ANC and the struggle for democracy in South Africa*, (Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012), p. 8.

194 The fact that different native groups can be found fighting with those who dominated and seized their land, indicates the influence of colonial modernity and coloniality on the native mind. As the African was left with little to no choice, other than to change their circumstances within the colonial structure; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, pp. 222-224.

> In 1910 the new white dominion was inaugurated as the Union of South Africa. It was in fact the terms of this union, which secured white interest, including those of the recently conquered Boers, at the expense of blacks, that formed the immediate cause of the formation of the ANC in 1912.[195]

A new structure of rule was thus set in motion within South Africa, indirect rule made use of three sources of local power coexisting in South Africa: legitimate but crumbling chiefly authority, a new set of local leaders recognized by the colonial government, and the local magistrate: [196]

> The formation of colonial states (and eventually the Union of South Africa in 1910) incorporating the numerous pre-colonial independent chiefdoms led to vast increase in social scale and the broadening of the whole scope of politics. For Africans power now lay not at the relatively nearby Great Place, but at the magistrate's court in the towns and centres set up by the colonists and, through them, with the colonial government in Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, all of which were by 1902 accountable to the British Colonial Office […] colonial rule was imposed on the subject people without disturbing traditional relations completely. Colonial administration appointed headmen, who were often traditional chiefs, or else, especially in the Eastern Cape, elected councillors […] The new headmen fulfilled corrupted versions of the pre-colonial chiefly roles.[197]

However, the Union of 1910 can also be seen as a form of indirect rule as the Afrikaner, the native authority/autocratic ruler, was swayed to British conformity. This, in turn, caused Britain (as coloniser) to retain rule over South Africa, as the Union was ruled by an elite Afrikaner/British authority with dominion over both the African and the Afrikaner. This is further affirmed when considering the OB as dominant Afrikaner resistance movement, against British authority and rule. The argument can therefore be made that the OB was, in fact, a liberation movement, pertaining exclusively to the Afrikaner. The OB revolted against colonial rule/domination, only to eventually see the Afrikaner resituate itself as the sole ruler and enforcer of an adapted form of indirect rule: Apartheid. However, this also forms part of the theoretical discussion; Apartheid can be understood as a form of colonial modernity and the

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195 Odendaal, *The founders: The origins of the ANC and the struggle for democracy in South Africa*, p. 8.
196 Odendaal, *The founders: The origins of the ANC and the struggle for democracy in South Africa*, p. 16.
197 Odendaal, *The founders: The origins of the ANC and the struggle for democracy in South Africa*, pp. 15-16.

domination of the Afrikaner can be understood as an outcome of colonial structures imbedded over time. In linking Freire and Fanon's statements regarding the transition of the oppressor to the oppressed, Helene Opperman-Lewis perceives the trauma of colonisation and suppression a psychological strain (colonisation of the mind[198]) that compels the colonised to project their frustration and perceived (acceptable) actions onto those they deem to be 'other'.[199]

It is a fact that colonisation occurred before the 1900's but because the Afrikaner established themselves in the north through dominating the African, the events of 1910 indirectly signify the colonisation of Africans/Afrikaners in South Africa under British rule. This important connection can be articulated as follows: The events of 1910 signify the colonisation of South Africa and colonial modernity, it gave way to the resistance that followed and in the case of the OB, the victory of the NP in 1948 also gave way to a single party state that reinforced colonial methods but resisted the British crown. These developments led to the events of 1961 which saw South Africa became an independent country.

The abovementioned perspective provides a broad overview on the transition to modernity/coloniality, specifically with regards to indirect rule or hierarchy. Reiterating Mamdani's theoretical position, indirect rule caused a bifurcated power structure between urban and rural rule. These power structures resulted in resistance within the structure itself as the once rural Afrikaner opposed the urban tone through cultural revival and aimed their resistance at the government (tribal despot) through direct and indirect resistance. Since the government adapted to a colonial outcome, due to their attained position of power, these actions of resistance can be viewed as anti-colonial nature. The subsequent section analyses this discussion within the parameters of resistance, and with a focus on the OB.

3.3. The configuration of social resistance movement in South Africa: The OB as effluent of colonial modernity and colonial structures.

To gain insight into South African resistance movements, the focus is shifted to resistance in a historical sense with the intent to connect past patterns of modernity and coloniality as

198 What is perceived to be acceptable is the colonist and his actions, who is given immediate justification by those who have been 'othered'.

199 H. Opperman-Lewis, *Apartheid: Britain's bastard child*, (Westville: Reach Publishers, 2016), pp. 1-28.

justification for resistance movements such as the OB.[200] This section serves as further theoretical application and aims to position the theoretical proposal of Chapter 2 within the context of South African resistance by emphasising mutual forms of modernity/coloniality (colonial structures of power) throughout.

The section to follow, addresses the important impetus of this study as it attempts to answer the third research question: 3) How can the nature of the OB be defined in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality? The previous section did however, touch upon some valid points concerning modernity/coloniality and its influence within South Africa, providing this section with a strong basis for discussion.

Drawing insight from the work of Branch and Mampilly[201] South African resistance, much like African resistance, can be perceived according to 3 phases or waves of resistance. Furthermore, as situated within Tafira's timeline of colonial modernity,[202] it can be postulated that most of the interims of colonial modernity mark the transition of colonialism or rather the transition of a modern colonial structure. As previously stated, colonial modernity gave way to the primary waves of resistance, that is, colonial resistance. Adapting the thoughts of the two above-mentioned authors, the primary wave of colonial resistance can be seen from (1488-) 1652-1795[203], marking the arrival and introduction of colonialism under the Dutch or VOC; and 1795- (1806)-1910, with the reoccupation of segments of South Africa under British rule.[204] The secondary waves of resistance are then seen as resistance against the flawed colonial transition or autocratic rule, these waves occurs from 1910-1948, which marked the Union of South Africa and solidified British and Afrikaner rule,[205] and 1948-1994, which encompassed resistance against the autocratic rule of the Afrikaner as the newly dominating force transitioned

200 This section will not provide a complete historical analysis of resistance but will provide select events to support the argument of this study.

201 J. Phillips, "Review: Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly, Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change", *Africa Spectrum*, vol.50, no. 3, (2015), pp. 133-140.

202 H.K. Tafira, *Black Nationalist thought in South Africa: The persistence of an idea of liberation*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). pp. 3-5.

203 Even though I do concur with Tafira's findings, the events of 1488 and after do not signify colonialism and does not fit the anti-colonial resistance wave, however, the basis for 'othering' and resistance might also stem from this time, as native and European did come in contact, intensifying notions of superiority and inferiority; R. Davenport and C. Saunders, *South Africa: A modern History*, 5th ed., (London: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2000), pp. 21- 33.

204 Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, pp. 88-105.

205 As discussed in the previous section, since the Afrikaner is perceived as a native, they can be viewed as the autocratic leaders in a system of indirect rule or merely as the despotic rulers flowing forth from an incomplete transition of colonialism; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern History*, pp. 267-297.

from colonial rule.[206] The second wave of resistance will be the focus of this section; this study does not primarily seek to discuss the first and final waves of resistance, the first being anti-colonial resistance mainly enacted through war or open conflict and the latter, the continuum of coloniality, which can be seen as contemporary resistance.[207] Hence, coloniality, in the context of post-colonial studies, is not the central point of this resistance study but the transition from colonial modernity to the solidification of colonial structures that directly determine the existence of coloniality in the present. Arguably, when examining past patterns of resistance, it is this transition that is the cause of contemporary resistance. This section will make use of the following theoretical framework when discussing selected resistance movements. This framework is introduced at the start of the discussion to provide a cohesive conjecture and serves as tool for analysis. The discussion should, therefore, adhere to the framework/tool of analysis and not the other way around:

I am convinced that South African resistance is mainly a product of colonial modernity and the remnants thereof, seeing as colonialism was the vehicle that brought modern values, institutions and/or colonial structures of domination. Quijano argues that the colonial structure of power resulted in a caste system in which the coloniser was ranked at the top and the colonised at the bottom due to their different phenotypic traits as a culture presumed to be inferior.[208] I perceive the main component of the colonial structure to be that of 'othering', it is the driving force behind said caste system. Thus, this colonial structure is found embedded within the political, social, and cultural domination of the colony who perceive themselves as superior; it is they who provide salvation, newness or progress to those of inferior definition. [209] This resulted in the colonial reign over authority, economy, and social control in the Cape colony. Most importantly, this structure assured control over the means of knowledge and, therefore, a colonisation of native minds within a European perspective, which would collectively form part

206 Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern History*, pp. 377-560.

207 Discussing South African resistance within the spectrum of 3 resistance waves, as postulated above, can vary from a broad conception of colonial resistance seeing as the period from 1910 to 1994 can, instead, be perceived as colonial resistance and not resistance against autocracy. The Afrikaner's nativity, moreover, blurs this line of discussion since the 1900s would then mark a period of autocratic resistance as a native group claimed domination over other native groups. However, even though these waves or timelines may evoke critique, the theoretical composition concerning the evaluation of resistance can be viewed as separate from this perspective and does not need to be accounted for within the structure of resistance waves. Accepting this notion will further emphasise South African resistance, as placed in the context of African resistance and the transition of colonial structures.

208 A. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/rationality", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2-3, (2007), pp. 168–178.

209 W.D. Mignolo, "Coloniality: The darker side of modernity", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1-2, (2007), p. 43.

of the colonial matrix of power (as it is still regarded at present). However, as stated by the theory of coloniality, these structures are perpetuated within a post-colonial society through the colonial matrix of power that constructs contemporary colonial structures. In South Africa, colonisation has arguably occurred more than once. I differ from Tafiras considering these structures; I perceive each act of re-colonisation as a reintroduction of (colonial) modernity and the solidification of colonial structures through repetition. With each instance of colonial modernity, resistance movements are formed on the premise of either an injustice felt (usually perpetuated through the concept of the 'other') or social disorganization/cultural drifts that directly links to colonial modernity as modernity presents new or liberal thought, as opposed to established or conservative[210] thought or mindsets.[211]

Movements opposed to the colonist or colonial structures are usually unsuccessful since they either resist only parts of the colonial structure or only the colonist. What these types of movements overlook is the colonial legacy prevalent in society. Therefore, if a resistance movement achieves their goal, they merely create space for the re-identification of colonial pathologies, further resistance against colonial structures, or a new quasi-colonial authority. I perceive South African resistance movements as the act of liberation from a certain species of men, only to be replaced by another like-minded species of men who could not bring forth emancipation.[212] Those who perceive themselves as the superior *one*, as opposed to the inferior *them*, create the space for *them* to question the *one*. Then, upon successful questioning through resistance, *they* become a *one* in their own right, situated within the parameter of the colonial structure of power.[213] Consider again, the implications of Boxer's previous statement that one cannot systematically overpower another without acquiring a conscious or unconscious feeling of superiority.[214]

With this notion in mind, along with the ideas put forth in section 3.2, the OB can be contextualised within the same framework. The development of these resistance movements is set within the secondary wave since primary forms of resistance were enacted against

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210 It is to be noted that in this case resistance can either be positioned against the notion of liberal transition or applied to promote a more rapid transition.

211 D. Rovinsky, Review: 'The age of ideology: Political ideologies from the American revolution to post-modern times', by J. Schwarzmantel, *H-Net*, 1999, http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=3006, Accessed: 13 September 2017.

212 See the quote on Fanon on page 32; F. Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, p. 35.

213 M.A. Ergun, "Modernity a Myth that manufactures consent", *Humanities*, vol. 3, no. 4, (2014), p. 611.

214 Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire*, p. 56.

colonisation, as previously discussed, specifically regarding resistance at the Cape colony, the border wars, and the South African wars that marked the flawed transition of the Union of 1910. This transition would lead to the formation of resistance movements or anti colonial movements such as the OB who, instead of resisting the colony itself, resisted the outcome and structures of colonisation. The development of the OB as anti-colonial resistance movement can be discussed accordingly:

It can argue that the OB was influenced by a sense of cultural drifts and a sense of injustice caused by the nature of the colonial/modern society and their shared history. The OB was born out of the 1938 centenary celebrations, which should be viewed in the context of a social disorganisation. A society can become disorganized as societal changes take place un-simultaneously and in different parts. This is exemplified, for instance, by the level of urbanisation that follows the industrialisation of a society. In the case of the Afrikaner, a surge of urbanisation left the people feeling alienated from their rural roots, they experienced a form of social disorganisation and started searching for their roots.[215] The OB, then, became a catalyst, and bridge between the urban and rural Afrikaner as the organisation issued a revival of Afrikaner history and culture.[216] This revival appeared justified to a people who still bore the scars of war, as both a physical and 'imagined' *volk* tied through common 'cultural roots'.[217] However, as an organisation, the OB was mainly motivated through a cultural, economic, and political discontent instilled by a British minded government.[218] The Afrikaner should also be seen as a victim of the modernisation process; even though they formed part of the white minority rule, large sections of the Afrikaner population carried the weight of economic constraints.[219]

> At this time, Afrikaners were on their 'Second Great Trek'. The term refers to urbanisation, with all its accompanying consequences of wide-spread pauperisation,

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215 S. Shah, Social Movements: Meaning, causes, types, revolution and role, 2015, http://www.sociologydiscussion.com/social-movements/social-movements-meaning-causes-types-revolution-and-role/2248, Accessed: 1 March 2016.

216 OBA: H.M. Robinson-Collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988.

217 Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, p. 26.

218 A.J.H. van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Johannesburg: kultuur en voorligtingsdiens van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1944), pp. 5-10.

219 Black citizens in South Africa suffered a far greater burden than could ever be argued against the Afrikaner but the fact remains that a large section of the Afrikaner population suffered certain restraints; Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 245.

> alienation from the rural world where people came from, and increasing social differentiation.[220]

The OB's initial aim could be described as a cultural revival that moved away from modernity and strived toward reliving the aspects of early Afrikaner history and. Additionally, as the OB took shape, ideologies like National Socialism and 'Krugerism'[221], which are regarded as anti-modernisation/anti-colonial ideologies, would rise out of earlier aims.[222] On the other hand, Black South-Africans[223] faced further political isolations as South-Africa became a Union in 1910, the country was then governed by the white Afrikaner, loyal to the British crown. The OB underwent a stage of cultural drifts, which led to the establishment of their movements. It is interesting to note that the organisation was formed due to a sense of exclusion that occurred within a political, cultural and/or economic front, as the position of power changed.[224] It is also this exclusion that ignited the collective gathering of individuals into a nationalistic movement, both physically and imagined (these groups refer to imagined terminology such as the *volk*[225]).

In terms of social injustice, it becomes clear that the OB initially felt a sense of political, economic and social injustice. As mentioned, the OB formed after the 1938 centenary celebrations, at which point the notion of social-cultural injustice was more suitable than arguing a feeling of political or economic injustice. This is confirmed by Van der Walt:

> Die maatskaplike, ekonomiese en politieke agtergrond van die volkslewe, waarteen die feesvieringe van die eeufeesjaar sou afspeel, was vir die denkende en idealistiese Afrikaner in byna alle opsigte bitter ontmoedigend.[226] - [The social, economic and political background of the 'volk', which the centenary celebrations would play against,

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220 C. Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, (1994), p. 196.

221 Krugerisme is a term that was used to refer to the political structure of President Paul Kruger as democratic leader of the people, against the Smuts government; OBA: PAM A, cover 7: A.C. Cilliers, *Afrikaners Ontwaak!*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia, 1942), pp. 5-6.

222 P.J.J. Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag*'*, in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Unpublished report, Department of History: PU vir CHO, 1984).

223 Black people were not the only ethnic group politically isolated, other groups and leaders like Gandhi and the African Peoples Organisation also established forms of resistance in this time; Giliomee and Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 231, 234, 235.

224 This can also be linked to a sense of colonial modernity (mentioned organisations as movements of its direct opposition).

225 Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, pp. 5-7.

226 Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, p. 1.

was within the thoughts of every idealistic 'Afrikaner' and in almost all aspects very discouraging.]

Thus, feelings of political, social, and economic injustice are at the heart of the organisation's origin. The OB was founded as a cultural organisation, it was only later that the ideology of National Socialism took shape (which, itself, can be described as a form of rectifying the injustices felt).[227] A sense of cultural abandonment followed as the *volk* undertook its 'Second Great Trek' and succumbed to urbanisation.[228] The 1938 centenary celebrations fostered a feeling of *volks*-congregation or 'volksgees'[229] through its cultural activities,[230] this feeling would develop into Krugerism and National Socialism on an ideological level, though this does not exclude other injustices felt.

The OB's development was determined by the influence of modernity and the colonial *One*. It is also because of this reason that the OB can be considered an anti-colonial movement since the organisation merely sought to resist aspects of the colonial structure. The OB adopted a three-pronged objective: National unity or *volks*-unity, withholding South Africa's involvement in the Second World War and finally, the establishment of an independent Republic.[231] As is evident from these objectives, the OB carried a prominent anti-British sentiment. Their nationalistic tendencies align with the argument of a cultural drift, but much of the Afrikaner's misfortune was contributed to British influence and emerging culture which also fanned the nationalistic flames.[232] Their opposition to the war was less an act of direct disobedience and more a sentiment of self-preservation as they could not orchestrate such a sacrifice for a Queen they did not identify with.[233] Yet, the war also served as an opportunity; a loss for the British

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227 OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988.

228 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 196.

229 The term 'volksgees' can be interpreted as a sense of Afrikaner unity; Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, p. 1.

230 Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', p. 101.

231 J.J. Badenhorst, 'Vroeë organisasiestruktuur', in P.F. van der Schyff (red.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 39; OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988, p. 9.

232 P.F. van der Schyff, "Verset teen 'Empire-Oorlog'", in P.F. van der Schyff (red.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), pp. 183-185; P. De Klerk, 'Die ideologie van die Ossewa-Brandwag', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), pp. 52-54; Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 196-197.

233 Blignaut, '"Goddank dis hoogverraad en nie laagverraad nie': Die rol van vroue in die Ossewa-Brandwag se verset teen Suid-Afrika se deelname aan die Tweede Wêreldoorlog", p. 73; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 75, 1979: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A. Neethling-Pohl, pp. 3-4.

could serve as a victory for the Afrikaner in the hopes of forming an independent republic.[234] However, rather than direct conflict with the crown, the OB enacted their resistance towards the government, subject and despot of British authority. To a larger extent, the Nationalistic tendencies of the OB fed into historical contexts, as leaders and governing systems of the past were exalted to the highest esteem. This type of Krugerism was founded on the notion that the *volk* was historically a superior entity, as compared to the marginalised *volk* under a British sentimental government.[235] The OB's resistance can consequently be seen as propagandistic of nature seeing that their movement sought to free the Afrikaner's mind and to uphold the *volk* and accompaniments as pure and noble. The last words of Kruger can be found inscribed in various propagandistic platforms:

> 'Neem uit die verlede alles wat goed en edel is, en bou daarmee die toekoms'- ['Take from the past everything that is good and noble and build with it your future'] [236]

It becomes clear that the OB hinged their perspectives on patterns of the past aiming to develop a revival through resistance. It is interesting to note that the OB's use of historical connotations throughout their resistance also serve as anti-colonial measure as they sought to create an emotional connotation toward the *volk* and to situate modernity and British relations in a negative light. The OB's inclination to the past might also speak to the NP and Afrikaner ties with the British and the effluence of colonial structures disfavouring the Afrikaner. The OB's resistance would eventually become more violent as their militant Stormjaer wing became involved. Nevertheless, violence becomes a tool of liberation and can be found in most anti-colonial movements as iterated by Fanon.

The OB followed a path of resistance within the context left by the aftermath of the first waves. The OB defined its path as an anti-colonial resistance movement, one employing its strategy against the colonial government rather than the colony itself. The organisation set its efforts against the structure of colonialism and not against the seeds of coloniality, as was seen in the

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234 P.F. van der Schyff, 'Die Ossewa-Brandwag en die Tweede Wêreldoorlog' in P.F. van der Schyff (red.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Unpublished report: PU vir CHO, 1983).

235 D. Olivier, 'Die aard van propaganda in die Ossewa-Brandwag ter bevordering van Afrikaner-nasionalisme', (Hons-mini-dissertation: NWU, 2015), pp. 17-18.

236 OBA: *Die OB*, 10.10.1945, p. 1.

Afrikaner's reinstatement of colonial patterns through Apartheid. Hereafter, Chapter 4 will continue the discussion on the OB as an anti-colonial movement through a historical exposition.

Chapter 4 - The OB as special kind of colonists resisting British colonialism

Chapter 3 illustrates how resistance can be perceived as a correlating system, running along the lines of modernity/coloniality as the colonial structure of power gives way to resistance against structures enforced from the time of colonialism. The OB serves as a case study regarding the theoretical discussion that aims to shed further light on the third research question that investigates the nature of the OB's resistance in the context of modernity/coloniality theory. This chapter will elaborate on the final research question 4) Does the OB's activities and policies reflect anti-colonial tendencies? I place my focus on the policies that relate to the context of anti-colonialism by providing a historical overview of the movement as seen in this new light.

4.1. The Ossewa-Brandwag: An anti-colonial resonance

During the 1920s, the Afrikaner found itself in an era referred to by Marx as the 'Second Great Trek' [1] Which symbolically accentuates the urbanisation of the Afrikaner people with all its concomitant effects of widespread impoverishment, a sense of being alienated from the rural world, and an increase of social differentiation.[2] In this regard, the Afrikaner faced the rise of colonial modernity as the "tribal leaders" (the Afrikaner government) helped to transform the urban landscape and to mimic the European ideals of a capitalistic state. As evidenced by the words of Eric Louw (one of the first Afrikaner diplomats, to D.F. Malan),[3] a struggle had been underway on both the economic and cultural fields:

> We must admit the fact that the English section is stronger than the Afrikaner one. In the field of language, they are stronger because they have a world language. In the economic field they are stronger because all the enterprises are in their hands. The average English-speaker is better educated than the average Afrikaans speaker […] From their connection with Great Britain the local English-speakers derive a measure of political and moral strength. And in the final analysis there is the unpleasant fact that so many of Afrikaners

1 C. Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, (1994), p. 196.

2 H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), p. 405.

3 Louw sought to warn Malan, who was the leader of the NP in the Cape Province at that time, regarding the possibility of a coalition and the consequential effluence.

> are Anglophiles (Engelsgesind) and want to carry favour with the English […] An authentic republican party is the only means of reviving a national spirt among Afrikaners.[4]

In the face of these social problems and a growing awareness thereof among Afrikaner intellectuals, a radicalisation of Afrikaner nationalism arose in the 1930s, which opened the door for fascist ideas as society underwent a sense of social disorganisation. Ergo, prior to the establishment of the OB, strong nationalist tendencies had already started to emerge in the South African context.[5] Nationalism was particularly prevalent in the political regime of the 1930s, where a rift formed in the National Party (NP) between the constitutional nationalists and the radical, culturally oriented republicans in 1934. This rift centred on the issue of the NP's merger with the South African Party (SAP) and, as is evident from the above-mentioned passage sent to Malan,[6] this decision did not appeal to all parties involved.

After 1934, nationalistic tendencies took form in an informal alliance between the 'purified' NP and the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB). Radical nationalistic ideologies that developed before the 1930s were incorporated into Hertzog's populist party. These events outline the background against which the development of the OB should be seen as a nationalistic organisation. Therefore, when the 'Reformed National Party' (HNP) split again in 1940, the OB stepped in to fill the need for Afrikaner unity. From this context, the symbolic 'Ossewatrek' (which took place in 1938 to commemorate the centenary of the Great Trek) brought about a great nationalist enthusiasm among the people. The *volk,* who were perceived as estranged, could now rediscover one another. Cultural nationalism thus found its origin in this carefully planned event.[7]

This awakening in turn served as impetus for Afrikaner nationalism and give life to the OB as protector of this newfound sense of collectivism. Dr. DF. Malan summarises this notion simply as bringing together that which belongs together based on inner conviction.[8] The *volk*'s development followed a national movement that led to an undeniable appeal to participate in

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4 Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 357.

5 F. A. van Jaarsveld, 'Die Afrikaners se Groot Trek na die Stede 1886-1976', in *Die Afrikaners se Groot Trek na die Stede en ander opstelle*, (Johannesburg & Cape Town: Perskor, 1982), pp. 135-225.

6 SAHO, National Party (NP), 10 August 2017, https://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/national-party-np, Accessed: 9 August 2019.

7 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 196-197.

8 OBA: *Die OB*, 12.11.1941; T.D. Moodie, *The rise of the Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner civil religion*, (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1975), p. 146.

the creation of a home for the Afrikaner people.[9] The idea of establishing such a movement not only flowed from the enthusiasm that accompanied the centenary celebrations but as. J. (Hans) Abraham, an OB member who would later become a Stormjaer, stated one should understand the deeper symbolism surrounding the ox wagon:

> Die volk was nou al tot so ver vol van hierdie altyd-maar-terugdeins, altyd-maar-terugdeins, en al wat Brits en Britse tradisie is, wat op hulle van toepassing gemaak is […] En toe die ossewa begin rol, was die geesdrif van die volk wonderbaarlik om te aanskou. Mense van wie jy dit nooit gedink het nie, van die ou Boer-Sappe, het aan die fees deelgeneem […][10]

> [The people were so sick of always backing down, always backing down, and having all that is British and British tradition applied to them [...] And when the oxwagon began to roll, the enthusiasm of the people was wonderful to behold. People you never would have thought of, even the old Boer 'Sappe' joined in the festival [...]

The OB officially opened its first branch in 1939 in the *Tweetoringkerk* (Twin Spire Church) in Bloemfontein and would grow over a period of 4 years to encompass its largest membership of 300 000 people.[11] Initially, several existing cultural organizations turned themselves into branches of the OB. In most parts of the country, inquiries and invitations for the establishment of branches were received.[12] To band the organisation as an effective movement, the OB divided their organisation into various substructures. Divisions and branches were established and divided into Six Territories within the Union.[13] The OB focused on the commando[14] groups that consisted mainly of veterans, members of shooting associations, labour workers, police, and young men who, among other things, functioned in a more militaristic system and appealed to the organisation as an organised group. In time, a commando system was set up for women, it focused mainly on fundraising, social issues, propagation, and support in their given areas.[15]

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9 P.J.J. Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Unpublished report, Department of History: PU vir CHO, 1984), p. 102.

10 P.F. Van der Schyff (ed.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Unpublished report, Department of History, PU vir CHO, 1984), p. 2.

11 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 195.

12 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 192-193, 1979: Herinneringe van J.H. Abraham, p. 9.

13 OBA: Area C-collection, B/F 6/5, cover 27: Gebiedsbevel 5/43, 08.06.1943.

14 Differing from the original commando system, these groups served as outlet for the Afrikaner who sought to join a likeminded group that could uphold Afrikaner culture and values. These groups became invaluable to the OB as they shared some militaristic foundation and cultural perspectives.

15 OBA: Kaaplandse beheerraad-collection, B/F 5(i)/1, cover 5: Pamphlet: Die Ossewabrandwag, pp. 2-3.

The Commando structure was not a new phenomenon seeing as this type of organisation had, in fact, been developed during the establishment of the Cape colony and further developed with the colonial context of the two Boer Republics. However, within the OB this structure can also be regarded as a type of political militia that united members into a disciplined faction that could blur all social, financial, and political lines. Marx regarded the '*kommando* structure, with its rank-and-file clarity and simplicity' as an 'alternative to the increasingly complex processes of higher politics.' Perceiving the system 'as a grass roots protest of a people who felt powerless in the face of a political party which was being restructured and modernised at that time, thereby losing much of the popular appeal that was so characteristic of Hertzog's leadership.'[16] Subsequently, the commando would also establish a militaristic wing, the Stormjaers, who employed a violent alternative to the resistance efforts. [17]

At the outset, the organisation gained footing as a cultural movement but quickly grew on account of their anti-war sentiment that appealed to the Afrikaners who could not coincide with a British sympathetic government's notion of war.[18] The Second World War formed a wedge in Afrikaner society and divided those who were pro-war (mainly found in the United Party) and those who were anti-war (those in the OB and HNP). This divide also led to a decline in collective ideology, consequently fragmenting into various parties and organisations. The OB turned to the past to find symbolic meaning in the 1914 Afrikaner rebellion against the First World War, these symbols strengthened their convictions through an epitomized image of patriotism and Afrikaner preservation.[19] Moreover, the feeling of collective frustration served as a catalyst for Afrikaner nationalism and organisations like the OB provided an outlet for such frustration. Violence between the members of the OB and soldiers s became a common sight. However, violent resistance would intensify as the more extremist Stormjaers switched to sabotage and treason attempts that were considered 'heroic acts of resistance to the government's war efforts.' The riots caused members to end up in prisons or internment camps, adding to established feelings of dismay toward the government.[20] In this context, the OB can

16 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 198-199.

17 C. Blignaut, '"Die hand aan die wieg regeer die land [The hand that rocks the cradle rules the land]': Exploring the agency and identity of women in the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939–1954", *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 67, no. 1, (2015), p. 61.

18 OBA: Grootraad-collection, B/F 1/4, cover 38: Die voorbepaalde doel of eindpunt.

19 The 1914 rebellion stands in direct opposition to the British. A group of Afrikaners, for instance, refused to take up arms against the German Empire and indirectly their fellow Afrikaners. It can be said that the OB sought to keep this spirit of rebellion alive and can be directly linked to their anti-colonial perspective.

20 B.J. Liebenberg, 'Van die statuut van Wesminster tot die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1931-1961', in C.F.J. Muller (eds.), *500 Jaar: Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, (Pretoria: Academica, 1968), pp. 379-385.

also be examined as a radical Afrikaner nationalist group as it pertains to the anti-colonial train of thought surrounding the organisation:

Marx states that one of the main reasons why the OB was so attractive to most Afrikaners in the beginning was due to the fact that the movement did not clearly stipulate their ideological profile. Instead, the OB merely represented broad goals that every Afrikaner nationalist could agree with. These objectives were mainly unity, a rejection of South Africa's participation in the Second World War, and the ideal of republicanism.

The outbreak of the war along with the rift in the NP and the transition of the government to British sympathisers, made the OB quite appealing to Nationalistic Afrikaners. Van der Walt goes as far as referring to the OB as 'Public enemy No. 1 of the imperialists.'[21] Participating inside the ranks of the OB could, therefore, be seen as a sort of passive rebellion, taking a stand against the government who did not envision a clear Afrikaner perspective.[22]

In January 1941, the OB appointed a new leader, J.F.J (Hans) van Rensburg who believed himself a man of action rather than a cultural hothead.[23] In disregard of the NP's political views, he campaigned for 'a free Afrikaner-republic based on a national-socialistic foundation'.[24] Afrikaner nationalism could be seen as the persistent development and expression of certain beliefs and concepts that had already been visible in the history of the Afrikaner.[25] As a movement, the OB based its ideology on Afrikaans ideological traditions, but also expressed and motivated its ideals, it also fit with ideologies of its time, especially Fascism and National Socialism.[26] The National Socialist ideology of Germany served as a way of thinking that did take hold in South Africa thanks to the media, especially the well-known Radio Zeesen that spread German National Socialist ideology through propaganda and thus influenced the

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21 A.J.H. van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Johannesburg: kultuur en voorligtingsdiens van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1944), p. 42.

22 Blignaut, '"Die hand aan die wieg regeer die land [The hand that rocks the cradle rules the land]': Exploring the agency and identity of women in the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939–1954", p. 129.

23 Even though this statement is made in *Die Burger*, this statement seems to carry some weight. J.H. Abraham recalls, how Col. Laas's zealously laboured to promote cultural gatherings, but frequently lacked organisation. Perceiving Col. Laas as a person who acted and spoke hastily; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 192-193, 1979: Herinneringe van J.H. Abraham, p. 10-12.

24 H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007), p.300; *Die Burger*, 25.02.1941.

25 OBA: PAM A, cover 11: Die Grootraad, Die anti-kommunis, 1944, p. 1.

26 P. De Klerk, 'Die ideologie van die Ossewa-Brandwag', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 292.

ordinary South African's thinking.[27] Van Rensburg himself stated that he had a great appreciation for the discipline of the German people under Hitler, as well as their National Socialist state system.[28] Bearing these influences in mind, the OB's nationalistic tendencies could be understood as a cultural drift given the impetus of external (modern) thought and its ability to encourage the Afrikaner to re-examine their ideological position. However, the OB emphasized that, unlike European countries and the German nationalists of that time, it was not an organisation that attempted to adopt nationalism. What the OB wanted to achieve was to adapt nationalism to the modern circumstances and needs of their own background. They hoped to generate their ideology through fundamentals laid down by Afrikaner ancestors, as interpreted through the eyes of OB leadership.[29]

Moodie argues that the Afrikaner's rise to power before 1948 could also have been motivated by a religious sect of the *volk* which was both Christian and Calvinistic, affirming a belief among some Afrikaners that they were a chosen nation for whom God has a plan. The Great 'Trek' can be interpreted as a symbolic transition into the promised lands (Boer Republics) that awaited the time the Republic would rise again.[30] This Christian/Calvinistic ideology does not exclusively pertain to the OB's nationalistic tendencies, but when considered within their cultural identity, it gives effect to supplementary processes of identification.[31] In this regard, the idea of South Africa belonging to the Afrikaner was formed[32], it was based on the religious perspective of a so-called second coming in terms of Republicanism. In any case, Moodie maintains that the initial line of thinking was not to pit the Afrikaner against the British, but to

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27 C. Marx, "'Dear listeners in South Africa': German propaganda broadcast to South Africa, 1940-1941", *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 27, no. 1, (1992), pp. 148-172.

28 J.F.J. Van Rensburg, *Their paths crossed mine*, (Cape Town: Central News Agency, 1956), pp. 38-49.

29 OBA: *Die OB*, 19.11.1941.

30 At the heart of Calvinistic doctrine and even prevalent in the writings of poets like Langenhoven. the Afrikaners of the 1930's and 1940's drew on past events almost as a form of sacred text, regarding their past and present suffering to that of Jesus and His suffering, before His resurrection and the establishment of the kingdom. Hence, these Afrikaner believed that a so-called second coming was inevitable, which would usher a new republic. I. Hexham, "Dutch Calvinism and the development of Afrikaner nationalism", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol. 79, no. 315, (April 1980), pp. 195-208; Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner civil religion*, pp. 14-17.

31 The Early 1900's saw an epoch of the proliferation of literature on the Great Trek. The works focused on glamorised or mythical perspective surrounding the trek, preparing for the centenary celebrations of 1939. One of the mythicised perspectives was the symbolic comparison of the trek to that of Israelites journey to the promised land. The perspectives would be absorbed by the Afrikaner elite in attempts to propagate nationalistic tendencies; A. Du Toit, "Puritans in Africa? Afrikaner "Calvinism" and Kuyperian Neo-Calvinism in late nineteenth-century South Africa", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 27, no. 2, (1985), pp. 209-240.

32 The Afrikaner saw a religious claim to land, not a native claim. Perhaps they even regarded the British as 'colonial gangsters who took their land.'

perceive 'English-speaking prejudice and discrimination' as proof of 'God's election and at the same time ensured the separate existence of Afrikaner consciousness'. However, anything that threatened this conscious separateness was seen as 'demonic', especially British 'imperialism', and its connection to 'capitalism and egalitarian liberalism'.[33] Clearly, Anglophobia and anti-imperialism had already been embedded in Afrikaner society well before the events of 1939, it was one of the ideological proponents the OB was founded on. Therefore, alternative ideologies such as National socialism and cultural or Afrikaner history became important combatants against British colonial modernity. In accordance, Blignaut describes the position of the OB as follows:

> Afrikaner culture' was propagated on the one hand and on the other hand the unique combination between Afrikaner Calvinist nationalism and National Socialism was not only propagated, but used as motivation for activism, rebellion and attacks on party politics, democracy, the Smuts government and South Africa's participation in the Second World War II.[34]

Fanon defines the colonised as a people fighting with the tools of the oppressor, namely, modern technology, language, Colonial culture and so forth. However, he contests that the colonised do not fully adopt these tools but modifies them to meet their own needs. Moreover, Noobanjong states that, for the colonised, 'to accomplish their goals, they revalidated the past, glorified their own creation of a nation-state, and justified their rewriting of history.'[35] Similarly, the Afrikaners of the early 1900's re-evaluated their past in order to contest the colonial structure. They repositioned themselves to stifle the perception of their otherness, this allowed for the development of superiority (becoming the *one*), based on the old colonial ideology of tying one's social position to a Godly ordinance. Therefore, the OB also regarded cultural perspectives as paramount since it gave legitimacy to anti-colonial resistance.

Accordingly, the OB's nationalism can also be examined in the context of Krugerism as extension for the organisation's nationalistic ideology. In some cases, the OB refers to the organisation's quest for Krugerism and it is relatively safe to claim that Afrikaner nationalism,

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33 Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner civil religion*, p. 14.

34 Blignaut, '"Die hand aan die wieg regeer die land [The hand that rocks the cradle rules the land]': Exploring the agency and identity of women in the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939–1954", p. 48.

35 K. Noobanjong, *Power, identity, and the rise of modern architecture: From Siam to Thailand*, (PHD dissertation: University of Colorado, 2003), p. 57, his work is also published on Dissertation.com; Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, pp. 218-221.

as manifested within the OB, was influenced by Krugerism. As mentioned, the term refers, inter alia, to the political structure of President Paul Kruger as democratic leader of the Afrikaner people, it also focuses on the people as a unit within the context of Christian nationalism.[36] Van Rensburg specifically refers, in the official newspaper of the movement, "Die OB", to the political dispensation of 1941 and comments on politics as characterized by popular divisions in the rival parties. He refers to Paul Kruger's victory over Piet Joubert for the presidency of 1897, (without official political parties) and emphasises the fact that Joubert did not hold the opposition bench after the election but served with Kruger in the Executive Council to promote the *volk*. Thus, he propagates the idea of a no-party system and emphasizes national unity for the coming republic, a unity he attributes to Kruger's political system which is non-party political system that better correlates with the OB's image of the Afrikaner.[37] The OB's roots were deeply embedded in the history of the Afrikaner's struggle to break ties with the British, to renounce subjection to a foreign power, and to decide, as in the republican era, their own fate.[38] The organisation, therefore, denounced a British enforced structure to pursue an Afrikaner system which was historically and nationalistically more acceptable.[39] With this in mind , the OB sought to reaffirm National socialist ideologies from the past in order to present an alternative to imperial capitalism. These perspectives would naturally be more widely accepted if it could be linked to the Afrikaner historically, rather than through liberal conjecture. Hence, the ideological foundation of Afrikaner political and social systems has an anti-colonial undertone seeing that they sought to bring change to the structure of the colonial matrix of power through Afrikaner National socialism.

Van Rensburg later condensed the OB's nationalistic ideology accordingly: To promote the actions of the Afrikaner and to assert themselves as a people. To live and develop collectively in their own ethnic character and disrupt and/or persist through conditions or phenomena that threaten the Afrikaner's actualisation as a people. To ensure that every area of public life, (the social, religious, cultural, scientific, educational, economic and political aspirations) is pursued and fulfilled so that the Afrikaner can take his equal position among other peoples and

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36 OBA: PAM A, cover 7: A.C. Cilliers, *Afrikaners Ontwaak!*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia, 1942), pp. 5-6; OBA: *Die OB*, 10.10.1945, p. 1.

37 OBA: *Die OB*, 12.11.1941; D. Olivier, 'Die aard van propaganda in die Ossewa-Brandwag ter bevordering van Afrikanernasionalisme', (Hons-mint-dissertation: NWU, 2015). p. 17.

38 Van der Schyff, *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, p. 2.

39 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 196-198.

contribute to the maintenance of Afrikaner values.[40] To this end, one may argue that the OB's nationalistic tendencies also link to a sense of self-preservation concerning their position against British influence. As discussed in Chapter 3, the OB can be linked to other Afrikaner movements and can be situated within the context of anti-colonial movements. Considering the ideological and political atmosphere of the 1930's, the OB should be categorised within the parameters of the second wave of resistance since the Afrikaner was still under the yoke of colonialism at this time. Therefore, the ideological stance of the OB is one of an anti-colonial movement seeking emancipation from a sense of coloniality, specifically with regards to knowledge and culture, economic dominion, and the ability to become self-governing through a revival of Afrikaner nationalism/Krugerism and maintaining a conscious separate culture. The organisation consequently enacted various forms of resistance, aiming to abolish the recognisable ramifications of coloniality. It should also be noted that even though the Afrikaner of the 1930's and 1940's saw the events of the past as inoculation for symptoms of British assimilation (colonisation of the mind), the Afrikaner's longstanding relation to colonialism had left an already tainted past. The Afrikaner sought to repeat those structures of the colonial matrix of power that previous generations deemed to be Afrikaans, noble, and true. In other words, they wanted to resituate South Africa in colonial terms, much like the sacred Republics of old.

Accordingly, the following sections will shed light on the organisation as an anti-colonial resistance movement. The discussion will focus on their method and action of resistance in relation to their position as an anti-colonial movement within the second wave of resistance. Much like other prominent movements of the time, this Afrikaner movement found their following based on the disappointments with the multiparty regimes that could not bring forth transformation from the set colonial pathologies of the past. Furthermore, Chapter 5 compliments Chapter 4 in dealing more exclusively with the OB's anti-colonial resistance.

4.2. The OB: Catalyst for Afrikaner rebellion

Even though the rise of the OB was an impassioned or, to some extent, an emotional Afrikaner movement, the organisation served as an important platform to alleviate grievances and to act

[40] These ideological underpinnings become an antithesis to the British colonial structure; Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', pp. 101-102.

as protectorate of the subjugated Afrikaner. The following section seeks to explore the OB as a so-called 'home' for the Afrikaners.[41] This perspective argued that the OB is, in essence, an anti-colonial movement, it is, therefore, important to first sketch the background of the historical context surrounding this movement. The OB orientated the Afrikaner towards self-preservation instead of colonial preservation. This section thus considers the nature of the organisation and its resistance efforts with the aim of supplementing the third research question.

While the enthusiasm of the 1938 centenary celebrations animated the development of the OB, it was not substantial enough to sustain the organisation as anything more than a flickering cultural movement. As the clouds of war gave way to mobilisation in Europe, the OB hoped to become something more, a catalyst for Afrikaners who opposed the thought of war on the side of imperial Britain. Even though the OB was not affiliated with politics at that time, the war efforts aligned their objectives.[42] In every aspect of their existence, the OB positioned themselves against all that was British but in doing so they opened a path for external modernity, as influenced through German thought pertaining to the cultural drift as produced by the centenary celebrations. They would eventually tie modernist ideology to their cultural movement, such as nationalism and fascism. Even though they claimed that these ideological perspectives had been present in the Afrikaner Republics of the past, these ideological aspects not only served to preserve the character of the Afrikaner,[43] but stood in opposition to a British minded structure, perhaps even a form of indirect rule.

The HNP and OB were similar in the sense that both organisations were Afrikaner minded. However, with the outbreak of the war and the consequent failure of party politics to bring about Afrikaner unity, the OB became a safeguard during the war years.[44] Although South Africa and the British had formed a Union, a section of the Afrikaners felt closer to Germany. Some of them were of German descent and identified with Germany's fight against Britain.[45] But rather to a larger degree the OB shared some ideological basis with Germany and supported

41 OBA, Interview, Transcription tape, Tape no. 112, 1976: H.M. Robinson/J.C.J. van der Westhuysen, p. 11.

42 OBA: Interview Transcription Tape, Tape nos. 115, 1976: H.M. Robinson/W.R. Laubscher, p. 7.

43 C. Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008), p. 503.

44 L.M. Fourie, 'Mobilisering van die Afrikanerdom', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), pp. 45-46.

45 SAHO, Second World War and its impact, 1939 to 1948, 27 July 2016, https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/second-world-war-and-its-impact-1939-1948, Accessed: 6 December 2019.

their position against the English.[46] The motion against the war also appealed to those parts of the *volk* who were involved in the South-African war or those who were subjected to the concentration camps during the war. The OB further resonated with those involved in the Rebellion of 1914 and with every Afrikaner who bore some feeling of British repression. Many Afrikaners grew up either experiencing transgressions by British hands or with the remanence of stories told by family members that confirmed a feeling of opposition. With these events, transgressions, and stories still lingering in their minds, the Afrikaner could not, would not, fight a British war.[47]

Since the OB embodied Afrikaner culture and a spirt of nationalism, it assumed the prerogative of opposing the war and, in doing so, the OB identified as an anti-colonial movement. The OB, then, became a home for the Afrikaner by presenting an alternative to colonial indirect rule, namely republicanism. These efforts expressed collectivism under the banner of cultural revival. Marx confirms this statement in his research:

> It explains why nationalism during that phase of its development very often took on such an "anti" bias. Nationalism is "anti"/against the enemy without being clearly "pro"/for anything really. It was a semi-military movement. It represented a reaction to the declaration of war, and it had no clear-cut ideological content right from the beginning. Its primary function was to mobilise Afrikaner resistance.[48]

When the war followed in September 1939, patriotism ensued much like it did during the celebrations of 1938 and the rebellion of 1914. Even though the OB, as a movement, could align with the thoughts and aspirations of the Afrikaner, they could not calm the emotions that flowed through the *volk*. H.M Robinson[49] stated that, as a young university student at that time, the feeling amongst the youth was to act rather than to conduct themselves passively. He shares some insight into the initial acts of resistance by explaining how they propagated and disrupted daily activities as a motion of resistance. As an example, he shares an experience of how some students rallied to disrupt the anthem, 'God save the Queen' at a movie exhibition after which

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46 P.L. Van den Berghe, *South Africa, a study of conflict*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 97-109.

47 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 216-219, 1983: H.M. Robinson/A.S. Spies, p. 9; OBA: OB Jaarboek 1947, p. 15.

48 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 200.

49 Robinson joined the OB's Stomjears at an early age and became part of the larger OB movement as he climbed the ranks.

they quarrelled with some soldiers that were present. It became a common sight to find young Afrikaners and soldiers in street fights as they drew a clear line between us and them. These fights served as an act of defiance against the notion of war that they seemingly had to accept. Students would make anti-war propaganda and hang posters in and around Pretoria during the night. They exclaimed that they felt they had to 'Do something.' Robinson further elaborates that at the start of 1940, some students used a Union Jack to extinguish the torch of the 'Voortekkerwa', located at the main building of the University of Pretoria. This led Afrikaner students to organise a night watch at the wagon for some months to follow.[50] These acts of defiance can be seen within the context of anti-colonialism. It is clear that a sense of national pride had already taken root at this time, underlying the notion of a 'war that was seen, in nationalistic categories, as forced upon us'. Naturally, they found an outlet in 'violence perceived as defensive'.[51] Robinson would later join the Stormjaers, aligning himself to the OB like many Afrikaners who wished to oppose the government's participation in the war. In short, these actions provide some evidence for the notions of a cultural drift, as parts of society became exceedingly opposed to the modernist notion of a world war. However, much like the war of 1914, the Afrikaner struggled to amalgamate these notions through a British lens, so they repurposed past colonial thoughts of preservation and, over time, rebellion.[52]

More radical organisations would also find their place in society, especially the radical minded youth. 'Die Boerenasie' of General Manie Maritz resonated with some Afrikaner ranks who maintained a strong militaristic background. 'Die Boerenasie' was a short-lived movement that aimed to overthrow the government and call out a Republic. They propagated their cause with pamphlets, calling the Afrikaners to 'awaken before it was too late'.[53] The organistaion tried to link their ideology with the OB, but to little avail as the OB feared that the notion of a rebellion would give Smuts the ammunition he needed to disband the organisation, much like the Rebellion of 1914.[54] Other organisations such as the Greyshirts, Blackshirts and Brownshirts, as they were commonly known, had existed for some time but, would become more prevalent as the war drew closer and peaked the interest of the zealous Youth. The Greyshirts mainly affiliated with Nazism and was considered a fiercely anti-Semitic organisation. They protested

50 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape nos. 43 & 45, 1973: J. van der Walt/H.M. Robinson, p. 2.
51 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 201.
52 Perhaps the notion of war could be seen as the peripheral last straw; it became clear to Afrikaner movements that their own past and modernist existence were at the centre of Afrikaner life and not Britain.
53 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape nos. 43 & 45, 1973: J. van der Walt/H.M. Robinson, p. 4.
54 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 84, 1974: H.M. Robinson/J.C. Neethling, pp. 24-25.

the immigration of Jews and, to some extent, helped sway the NP to prohibit the arrival of Jewish refugees. The Brownshirts where anti-Semitic as well, they aimed to establish a corporate state with occupation-oriented representational structures. Then there were the Blackshirts, a group who maintained some Nazi ideology while seeking to establish a basis for 'Christian-minded national Aryans'. All three of these organisations were considered violent and militaristic of nature. As anti-sematic notions became more accepted within party politics, they would later lose most of their members either to Hertzog's Purified National Party in 1939, or to the OB's Stormjaers, that encompassed a larger hegemony.[55] There were other groups present during this time, however, most of these movements became absorbed by the larger movements as a feeling of nationalism of strength in unity prevailed.

Against this background, the NP felt it necessary to employ action, fearing that civil decorum could diminish as the war progressed. On the 7th of February 1940, General Smuts received parliamentary approval to implement certain emergency measures that were deemed advisable due to South Africa's participation in the war. This included the introduction of military operations and security precautions, that is, the internment system.[56] Internment was probably the most hated type of enforcement since those suspected of opposing war efforts could be detained without a trail for an indefinite period. Another war measure that led to large scale outrage among the Afrikaner ranks was the forced surrender of weaponry and ammunition by every civilian. For the Afrikaners, especially the farmers, this was an outrageous demand seeing as, much like their frontier forefathers, weaponry spoke to their sense of freedom. The government also issued an array of special permits that were needed to obtain fuel and other goods. Later measures, as implemented in 1944, prohibited civil servants and teachers from joining movements like the OB, who were now considered a threat to the government.[57] Many Afrikaners felt these measures to be unjust as it blurred the line between those who were pro-war and those who were not. The NP called a non-partisan civil service into act, which meant that no South-African could be forced into war. Those who volunteered were identified by a red tab on their shoulders, dividing the white population into two political distinctions. This

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55 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 84, 1974: H.M. Robinson/J.C. Neethling, p. 1; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 19-20, 1973: H.M. Robinson/J.C. Neethling, p. 3; Internet Archive: Wayback Machine, Followers of Hitler, 15 July 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/200707 15031456/http:// www.anc.org. za/books/reich4.html, Accessed: 6 December 2019; Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 212.

56 P.F. van der Schyff, "Verset teen 'Empire-Oorlog'", in P.F. van der Schyff (red.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 208.

57 Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 442; Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 201.

division became all the more prevalent when civil servants who joined in the war effort were seen enjoying certain advantages that were not extended to anti-war-sympathizers. This distinction resulted in people losing their jobs and being looked over for promotions in companies.[58] Thus, society would be divided by those who were white and those who were not, those who were anti-war, and those who were deemed traitors by taking up the red oath and, specifically, those who favoured the Afrikaner side and those who favoured the British side. Organisations like the OB became an intrinsic part of life that could serve as an outlet for frustrations and become a caretaker for those who felt suppressed.

The OB gained a wider appeal as their cultural activities served as a type of rebellion against colonial modernity, yet they still employed action against war measures. The OB appealed to those who sought to change certain outcomes through a militaristic nature and the Afrikaner who wanted to be resituated within his own heritage instead of a British perspective. Consequently, the OB became the largest Afrikaner resistance movement of its time, outside of party politics. Considering the continuity among various movements, one may argue that the effluence for an anti-colonial movement, within the second wave of resistance, was inevitable. The OB and its appealing ideological underpinning then became the acceptable home for several Afrikaners and their resistance efforts. However, due to the nature of resistance, this perspective changed and resulted in the overflow toward the HNP at a later stage. Before moving to the penultimate chapter, the following section will provide a historical overview of the OB's resistance efforts by discussing some of it's the most significant actions of resistance.

4.3. OB resistance in broad: From anti-colonialist movement to colonist

The following section provides a framework in which to situate the OB's resistance. It will become apparent that the OB aligned their resistance both to government policy and the HNP, their political rival. This context is particularly important since this section will argue that the OB's anti-colonial resistance is situated only within a certain timeline. With this outcome in mind, the following section concludes the third research question 3) How can the nature of the OB be defined in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality? The discussion also addresses the final research question 4) Does the OB's activities and

[58] OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 3-5, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A.S. Spies, p.5.

policies reflect anti-colonial tendencies? In order to bring these research aims to fruition, the context offered in this section will allow for the transition into Chapter 5.

As expressed, the OB was not the only organisation who embodied Afrikaner nationalism and a disposition toward the British. Various militaristic groups had mushroomed after 1938 and in 1939, after the start of the war.[59] Many of these smaller groups became absorbed by the OB, mainly due to similar convictions or the fact that the OB embodied a larger group for change.[60] However, the OB can be seen as a unique organisation of its time because the organisation maintained cultural goals of a generic nature. This meant that large sections of the *volk* could find some grounds for approval concerning the Afrikaner. Republicanism had been an underlying tone and was not always propagated on the fore ground, but envisaged as an ideal.[61] The fact that the organisation situated itself against the war efforts also made it a home for the Afrikaners, especially the youth who found the Stormjaers particularly appealing.[62] In Early 1940, the government identified the OB as a German Nazi movement on the grounds of the organisation's militaristic background and ideological tone. While this was not entirely true, the organisation did indeed align themselves with a German victory—a victory they saw as an opportunity for an Afrikaner republic. Moreover, while the OB shared certain Nationalistic and Fascist ideological ideas, they considered these thoughts to be an expression of the past. Instead, they aimed to position these epistemic patterns against colonial influences (colonisation of the mind).

These claims and a growing number of announcements concerning an uprising from the 'Boers' against the government, resulted in the internment and questioning of OB members who were suspected of planning a coup. Preventative measures against resistance were taken across South Africa, paying special attention to communication and transport routes. The first outbreak of violence after the large-scale internments took place in Potchefstroom during June and August of 1940 when soldiers stationed near the area attacked student activists. Potchefstroom was known to be an OB stronghold where students openly discussed their republican ideals.[63] These

59 Some of these organisations have already been briefly highlighted, such as Maritz's 'Boerenasie.'
60 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 211-213.
61 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape nos. 157 & 162, 1978: L.M. Fourie/H.M. van der Westhuysen, p.6.
62 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 3-5, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A.S. Spies, p. 68.
63 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 380-381.

actions were interpreted as being anti-government and the Smuts government alleviated the measures taken by these soldiers.

At the start of 1941, tensions grew to an ever high with 'soldier-riots' pinned against the Afrikaner and its institutions. One of the best examples can be found in the attack of the *Voortrekker Pers*, publisher of the *Transvale*r and the *Vaderland* newspaper in *Springs*, during late January 1941. These newspaper publishers took a strong position against the war and were known to publish anti-British propaganda. At this time, their position toward the OB had also been favourable before things went sour with the HNP. Some 400 (allegedly intoxicated) soldiers vented themselves by attacking these publisher buildings. During this time, some 30 000 OB members were attending a meeting in the nearby area. What followed was a clash with strong Afrikaner opposition and some OB members who were present. The fight ended with the death of one soldier due to police brutality and an attempt to calm the situation.[64] It was during this time the OB saw the opportunity to employ their so-called 'hidden objective', to cause as much unrest as possible in the interior to prevent the Union Defence force from participating in the war against Germany.[65] In this regard, the Stormjaer movement systematically grew during the early 1940's. Helping to envelope South Africa with sabotage and underground resistance throughout 1941 and 1942, when the war was at an all-time high and could still fall in favour either which way.[66] The OB's 'hidden objective' had also been influenced by Germany, seeing as the OB established contact with German high command. Germany was intrigued by the notion of a South African coup and investigated the possibility. While the OB did consider the advantages such an alliance could hold for the organisation,[67] they were quite reserved and remained focused on their goal of an Afrikaner republic. Even though communications with Germany would not yield much more than the idea of a putsch, it left a paper trail that proves that the OB were at least considering such actions. Not even mentioning the involvement of OB liaisons and German agents such as Van Rensburg's adjutant Heimer Anderson and Robey Leibbrandt.[68] The government's suspicion and

64 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/ H. Anderson, pp. 7, 24; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 396-397.

65 G.C. Visser, *OB: Traitors or patriots?*, (Johannesburg: Johnathan Ball, 1976), p.55.

66 Van der Schyff, "Verset teen 'Empire-oorlog"', p. 218.

67 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 516-517.

68 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 57-57A, 1974: J.F.J. van Rensburg, K.J.H. Beherns, H.M. Robinson, H.M. van der Westhuysen, H.C. van Rooy/H.J.R. Anderson. pp. 14-19.

reprimanding of the organisation was, therefore, not without merit as their anti-colonial actions became more evident.

The Stormjaers were not officially part of the OB, but as described by Van Rensburg: 'The Stormjaer organisation was the sourdough of activism in the OB.'[69] The development of the Stormjaers helped to justify the United Party's (UP) war measures seeing that the end of 1940 marked mass OB and Stormjaer internments. Although the country was under no immediate threat, the internment measure became a tool used by those who were pro-war to stifle Afrikaner nationalists. These actions were widely questioned and could be compared to the same tactics employed during the 1914 Rebellion and the South African war. What's more, it left the Afrikaner's resentment to further fester.[70] It is important to note how the influence of modernity/coloniality, as a once British structured system of suppression, became a tactic employed by the suppressed themselves, namely the NP, these measures would later be employed in the Apartheid system as well. Concerning the large amount of OB and Stormjaer internees, internment became an important aspect of the OB's resistance campaign; the type of resistance it invoked allowed for some anti-colonial resistance acts to take place form the shadows. [71] However, resistance was not always situated against the government's actions as some grievances among the Afrikaners would also become prevalent.

The relationship between the OB and HNP had initially been rather reserved. The OB did not strive for political goals and did not want to affiliate with the political spectrum, fearing that they might lose sections of the *volk* that the political party could not appeal to. This was particularly the case with Colonel Laas, who maintained the organisation's independence.[72] In spite of their initial comradeship, the accusations that circulated about the OB left the HNP displeased. The allegations concerning the coup led leading OB members to the decision that new leadership was needed for the organisation. This much was guaranteed with the expansion

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69 In this context, Dr. van Rensburg refers to the Stormjaers as the violent militaristic faction that rised due to circumstance and is not a direct effluence of the OB's resistance; Van Rensburg, *Their paths crossed mine*, p. 51.

70 C. Blignaut, '"Goddank dus hoogverraad en nie laagverraad nie': Die rol van vroue in die Ossewa-Brandwag se verset teen Suid-Afrika se deelname aan die Tweede Wêreldoorlog", *Historia*, vol. 57, no. 2, (November 2012), p. 77; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*: *Biography of a people*, p. 443.

71 The number of internees would steadily grow due to the organisation's hidden objective, aiming to stifle South African deployment for the war efforts. As such the early 1940's where frequented with acts of sabotage and violence. The government could not dismiss OB involvement due to Stormjaer actions, resulting in widespread investigations.

72 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 205.

of war measures in November 1940, which forbade any organisation of implementing drill exercises and extended police authority to lawfully search homes and individuals.[73]

In October 1940, the OB and HNP gained some ground during the Cradock-agreement which identified the OB as 'coordinators' of the *volk* on the grounds of Voortrekker principles, leaving the political terrain to the HNP as agreed upon with Malan.[74] This was a short-lived relationship as the HNP splintered in the late 1940's, creating a vacuum for OB membership who shared a large amount of the HNP's and the newly established Afrikaner Party's members. In this regard, party politics and social movements would go head-to-head as they strived to maintain and increase membership from the same constituent pool. In 1941, the relationship between the HNP and OB left nothing to be desired. With the arrival of Van Rensburg as the newly appointed Commandant general of the OB, the relationship would decline as the organisation could not agree on the terms stipulated by the Cradock-agreement, namely the OB's abstinence form party politics and non-violent resistance actions as employed through the Stormjaers. There was also a contradiction on the side of the HNP since the party aimed to strengthen the *volk* movement through their own means under the HNP's reorganisation plan, which also invalidated their previous agreement.[75]

Although relations between the two organisations had become tense regarding the dispute over interference in each other's activities, the first major cause of a rift came with the draft of a Republican constitution that the OB had published in a July 1941 circular. According to this publication, obtaining a republic should not be considered a party-political issue, but a people's ideal of Afrikanerdom. Malan (the leader of the HNP) saw this as blatant interference in political matters and set an ultimatum to the OB. Either the OB withdrew the circular or Malan would request that all the HNPs members resign from the OB.[76] As a result of the dispute, the Afrikaner Unity Committee (AEK) convened a meeting for 1 September 1941. The discussions turned out to be redundant as a separation had already taken place. As L.M. Fourie remarked: "One thing is certain: the Afrikanerdom was torn, and its cause was the power struggle between

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73 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 381.

74 Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, pp. 24-29.

75 Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, pp. 45-50; Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", p. 197; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p.412.

76 Fourie, 'Mobilisering van die Afrikanerdom', p. 60.

the leadership corps of the OB and HNP." [77] From here on, the OB and HNP became engaged in a propaganda campaign, mainly remarking on political or ideological statements and attempts of slander.[78] In this regard, the OB considered their action as part of an ideological epistemic found in the past, perceiving their perspective as a sort of structural liberation, as opposed to the HNP who sought change within the stipulated structure. Nevertheless, this tear between the two main Afrikaner movements would eventually tie to ineffective resistance action as the organisations fought one another instead of the colonial pathologies.

In the beginning of 1941, the OB suffered a blow when the government issued a war measure in the form of an emergency decree that forbade state officials to remain OB members. This measure had mainly been a result of the OB's involvement in acts of sabotage via its Stormjaers wing. As a result of the backlash, the organisation barrelled down the path of republicanism, rejecting parliament and party politics. In this process, fascist ideologies from abroad were widely absorbed and integrated into Afrikaner ideals such as Krugerism.[79] The OB had lost a large amount of its members due to its division with Malan's HNP and the war measures that restricted its membership. These actions not only weakened the OB as a resistance movement but marked the decline of the organisation as symbol for Afrikaner unity. During this time, the OB would become more uniform and homogeneous socially, finding its mass basis with the more rural farmers and city workers.[80]

By losing a large section of its members and public standing, the OB began specifically stipulating its ideological profile. Marx notes that all brochures and pamphlets outlining the organisation's policy and ideology was published only after 1942. These propaganda pieces particularly leaned toward the ideological grounds for Republicanism with a National socialist basis. The result was an even further decline of numbers; the organisation could no longer appeal as a mere cultural movement and was seen as a fascist organisation. Instead, its members aligned themselves with other political movements who also encompassed Afrikaner unity and who could eventually bring actual change. The Stormjaer wing maintained its membership as its ranks cared little for the changing political landscape and focused on resistance actions to

77 Fourie, 'Mobilisering van die Afrikanerdom', pp. 61-62.
78 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp.420-421.
79 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 216-217.
80 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 214-216.

stifle the war. Yet, these actions of resistance also deterred OB members who could not associate themselves with violence against the state and its people.[81]

During this time, the OB aimed to maintain its position as a mass Afrikaner movement in the midst of a changing landscape that had become more politically inclined. With the 1943 general election, the OB was at a crossroad when the organisation was no closer to bringing the change that could only be achieved on the political forefront. In the months prior to the elections, the organisation threatened the HNP with electoral boycotts as the organisations could still not see eye to eye. With the elections drawing closer, the OB would have to make a decision. The HNP was by no means a match for the UP and by voting for the party the OB would recognise the HNP as the Afrikaners political party even though the OB advocated for a non-party system. If they were to boycott the elections, the Smuts government could remain in power or merely split the votes which would have been advantageous for the UP. The OB risked losing members either way. Van Rensburg recognised the severity of the situation and attempted to neutralize the outcome by calling for 'the elections to be turned into a demonstration from all opponents to the war.' With this attempt he sought to delegitimize the elections while appeasing OB members. Party leaders gave few thoughts to this proposal, leaving the OB with the right to boycott the election as an act of resistance against the UP's position of war.[82] This action could also be used as argument against party politics and their position toward Afrikaner unity:

> Op Vrybrug het Dr. Malan gesê dat die verkiesing gaan beslis "of die volk na die lewe sal gaan of na die dood". As dit so is, dan het dr. Malan besluit dat ons volk na die dood sal gaan, want liewer om die Ossewabrandwag en ander groepe se bestaan te erken, en daar deur te verseker dat die volk gesamentlik optree, verkies hy om vingeralleen nie net teen die vyand nie, maar ook teen sy mede-Afrikaner op te trek. Net om seker te maak dat sy party na die verkiesing die enigste oorblywende opposisie sal wees.[83]
>
> [At Vryburg, Dr. Malan said that the election was going to decide whether the *volk* will live or die. If so, then Dr. Malan decided that our nation will die, because instead of acknowledging the existence of the Ossewabrandwag and other groups that will ensure that

81 Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as mass movement, 1939-1941", pp. 217-218.

82 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, p.37; Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, pp. 130-134; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p.444.

83 OBA: *Die OB*, 30.07.1943, p.4.

the volk act in unity, he decided to act alone, not only against the enemy, but also against his fellow Afrikaner. Just to ensure that his party is the only remaining opposition after the election.]

After the 1943 elections and the ongoing hostility among the organisation and the Malan party, along with the OB's lack of political representation, Van Rensburg started to consider whether the OB should establish their own political party. With regards to the election, it became abundantly clear that the OB would have to collaborate with an established party or form their own as they could not compete with a party and its direct vote system based as a hegemonic cultural movement. The war efforts against Germany had also begun to crystallise, giving a shelf life to the OB's main objective and in turn their mass following. As is the case for resistance movements, the change or affiliation to a political effluence is rather the rule then the exception since a political base provides an opportunity for legislative change.[84] This decision was largely contested as the OB's only option, especially in the light of the hostile actions of the HNP which still had to be dealt with. The organisation also claimed that the HNP had ejected some of their members and that the OB needed to step in, not only to create a home for the Afrikaners on a national and cultural front, but in the political arena as well.[85] The proposal of a parliamentary front was made so that the OB could influence elections despite the fact that it was not a political party. The OB's attempt failed because the OB still advocated a non-party state and did not abandon its ideology against democracy. The organisation also could not present a clear-cut plan as a political movement, they merely maintained their aspiration of Afrikaner unity.

Hereafter, fearing that they would lose further support, the OB emphasised their position against communism and anti-Semitism in the hopes that their position would set the same blaze the war efforts brought in 1939. As stated in the 1948 issue of 'Die OB', the organisation encourages the *volk* to support Western Europe and the so-called (British) 'Motherland' and fight against the coming communist wave.[86] It is clear that the OB wanted to establish a joint focus on a new starting point but this was received with little success. The reason for this was that this direction appeared to be at conflict with their main ideology. It appeared as though the OB wanted to plunge the *volk* into a fight and thus indirectly support the Smuts government that was once

84 Dudouet, 'From war to politics: Resistance/ liberation movements in transition', pp. 3-4.
85 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p.448.
86 OBA: *Die OB*, 05.05.1948, p.1.

considered the enemy.[87] During 1946, the OB had a hand in the establishment of various anti-communist resistance groups. Most of these groups could be found in and around Pretoria and Johannesburg, this ideological corollary found its basis with the railway and mine workers groups. As a movement, the OB became more rigid in its mass basis, focussing their efforts on the workers unions. Workers had been displeased with economic states for some time, they felt some injustice toward the government who they believed advanced the black worker's cause above their own people. They feared that the communist movements of that time would attempt a form of 'gelykstelling'. Hence, the OB could find some anti-communist foothold starting from 1944; they lent a hand to various worker strikes and commando cells which prepared for an eventual retaliation against the communist threat.[88]

The OB had strong opinions regarding race, that had been prevalent since its early years, but as the organisation lost its sense of purpose with the culmination of the war, they propagated these ideological undertones more prevalently, aiming to appeal to sub-groups within the Afrikaner ranks. Anti-semitic propaganda became more prevalent after 1945, and even when the atrocities of German Anti-Semitism became known the organisation did not waver in its onslaught.[89] The OB also shared their ideals regarding Black society and advocated miscegenation among the races.[90] When their anti-war efforts became obsolete after 1945, the group employed more violent action as they set their goal toward anti-semitic, communist, and leftist groups. Moving away from street brawls, the OB and Stormjaers resistance became a more systematic action of resistance. In this way, they would face a smaller chance of repercussion since they did not stand in opposition against the government, but a mutual threat. For instance, the OB members stormed a leftist club in Pretoria smashing everything in it. In February of 1945, some young OB members, with the help of the police, attacked the headquarters of the Communist Party in Pretoria, who had become one of their favourite targets during this time. More serious assaults were exacted against Jews, these included arson attacks on Jewish businesses and frequent actions of assault. The Stormjaers became a home for Afrikaners, particularly those who favoured such tactics.[91] The opposite was also true as these actions placed the organisation in a

87 N.M. Stultz, *Afrikaner politics in South Africa, 1934-1948*, (California: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 121-123.

88 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp.472-475 and 536.

89 OBA: *Die OB*, 05.22.1946, p.1-2; *Die OB*, 29.05.1946, p. 3; *Die OB*, 06.05.1946, p. 1.

90 OBA: PAM V-E, Van Rensburg -Toespraak te Pretoria: Die Vooraand van ons volkseie sosialisme, 13 November 1943, p. 25.

91 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p.522.

negative public spotlight. These actions should also be seen as an effluence of a cultural drift that had embodied itself within sections of the *volk*, only to move to the foreground as previous goals became exhausted. Therefore, this form of resistance is still perceived as action against modernity/coloniality; it originates from the fear that Afrikaner nationalism could suffer a blow if contradicting ideology were left uncheck.[92]

However, these acts of resistance amounted to no more than a stirring of the pot, they could still not provide a clear-cut plan of action concerning the racial focal point that had become more prevalent at this time.[93] What led many Afrikaners and OB members to the HNP was the clearly outlined policy of the organisation. The HNP, as a nationalist minded party, had introduced its racial policy before the election of 1948, namely Apartheid. The policy was successfully adopted by several groups of white South Africans, especially the farming community who used cheap black labour and saw the economic benefit in the policy.[94] The policy also found a sympathetic ear among white urban dwellers, as the United Party's policy of integration caused fear of unemployment with an urban influx of Black South Africans.[95] With regard to election tactics, the HNP was very knowledgeable in exploring white fears before the 1948 election. By means of propaganda, Black political power was linked to Communism, which, at this time, was considered a threat to Afrikaner unity and culture. Slogans such as "Black Danger" and "Red Danger" were used to distort perceptions in support of the party.[96] Racial prejudice had been prevalent throughout the Afrikaner's existence, and was a well-known pathology to fall back on.

During the 1948 election, despite the controversy between the OB and HNP, Van Rensburg instructed OB members not to vote against the NP so as to 'preserve a White South Africa.'[97] The HNP of Malan, who was already in a coalition with the Afrikaner Party of N.C. Havenga (in the coalition, the National Party was formed), ended the Smuts government with the general election of 1948 and shortly thereafter released all political prisoners, further weakening the need for the OB. Malan's victory in 1948 does not mark the end of the OB as the organisation

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92 OBA: PAM S-U, cover 11: *Ossewa Bandwag, Some facts about the Ossewa Brandwag: Propaganda refuted*, (Stellenboch: Pro Ecclesia, 1944).

93 OBA: OB Jaarboek, 1948, p. 25; OB Jaarboek, 1947, p. 27.

94 OBA: PAM P-R, cover 2: H.B. Thom, *Politieke driehoek, 1947-1948: Malan, Strijdom en Havenga*, (Stellenbosch: Genl. J.B.M. Hertzog-geskiedenis VI, 1976), pp. 6-8.

95 M. Roberts, *South Africa 1948-2000: The rise and fall of Apartheid*, 3rd ed., (Essex: Longman, 2001), p.26.

96 D. Aikman, *Great souls: Six who changed the century*, (New York: Lexington Books, 2003), p.81.

97 Fourie, 'Mobilisering van die Afrikanerdom', p. 145.

still existed for some years. However, the OB had lost its mass appeal and was essentially absorbed during the election. Thus, the OB transitioned from a mass resistance movement to a hallowed cultural organisation, kept alive by the NP's perpetuation of coloniality through Apartheid. Social movements who enter power, Grodsky argues, relate to the dominant structure or thought process found in the political system. Once they realise that their movement can no longer conjure change, they adopt the policy of the political party that can bring forth such change.[98] Therefore, the HNP became the dominant home for the Afrikaner by not only absorbing OB members, but by assimilated their thoughts.

These and other factors stifled the OB—an opportunistic and highly contentious movement. There was also growing discord within the movement about its future direction and methods of resistance.[99] The result of the 1948 general election also brought the members of the OB to the realization that the movement would lead to nothing. The OB considered itself the embodiment of the republican ideal and yet it appeared as though the ideal could only be achieved in the party-political sphere. This led to the final degeneration of the OB in 1952.[100]

The discussion thus far offered a mainstream perspective of the OB as resistance movement and its eventual decline. Because the OB pitted itself against the colonial government, its character as anti-colonial movement endures. As their objectives became obsolete, so did their resistance toward the government, who could only be thwarted through the political arena and it is the HNP, not the OB, that became the chosen movement to champion emancipation. Returning to the argument at hand, the OB can thus be perceived as an anti-colonial movement considering the following context:

Given the Afrikaner's colonial influenced past, the parameters for colonial modernity had been embedded deep within their society as they recreated colonial patterns within the republics. The Afrikaner also practised indirect rule in their resituating of themselves from the republics into a colonial submissive structure as leading faction of the natives. The Afrikaner government under British rule transitioned into a type of colonial despot which placed the interests of their

98 B.K. Grodsky, *Social Movements and the New State: The fate of pro-democracy organisations when democracy is won*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), p. 25.

99 OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988, p. 9.

100 C. Blignaut and K. Du Pisani, '"Om die fakkel verder te dra': Die rol van die jeugvleul van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939-1952", *Historia*, vol. 54, no. 2, (2009), p.154.

colonial sire above that of the South African (Afrikaner) people. The once rural Afrikaner, who shared newly established trauma of colonisation and the violence it pertained, sought emancipation from the forced structure in order to re-claim the once mythical Republics of the past and to re-establish their position as the *one* within their own society. Resistance would, then, be aimed at the colony with the intent to bring down their tools of suppression before emancipation could be achieved. This would create a sense of exclusive Afrikaner nationalism combined with a socialistic tendency, as imagined in the past, fortified against a further colonisation of the mind. Once the mind is no longer a prisoner of the European epistemic, all that is regarded to be foreign and British is to be re-evaluated—even though the glorification of their own colonial past lends to a sense of coloniality itself. Nationalism served to re-evaluate cultural and societal assimilation; the Afrikaner, first and foremost, regarded his own position and, therefore, did not re-evaluate sections that maintained and established their position as an 'other'. Organisations like the OB would give life to notions of colonial resistance, it ultimately served as a platform for conglomeration.

Socialist and fascist perspectives were the modern tools needed to bring down colonial structures such as capitalism and party politics. The resistance against the war can then be seen as resistance aimed toward the Union since the Afrikaner (and the OB) believed that a German outcome would be in the Afrikaner's favour and lead to the hegemonic decay of British rule in South Africa. The OB's Stormjaer-wing would, for instance, use violent means of resistance: The oppressed becomes restless for change. In contrast, even though the HNP shared Nationalistic tendencies with the OB and were also opposed to a British outcome, they resented the OB's violent means. The HNP viewed the OB as much too radical to bring change outside of the political arena; the HNP believed that the OB would only cause division among the Afrikaners. Once the war ended, the organisation did indeed become a mere shell of its previous anti-colonial glories. At its end, the organisation clung to any ideological grounds it could muster, such as their racial and anti-communist views. These attempts only served to usher in a new colonial despot as the Apartheid government sought to build on the foundations of their colonial legacy instead of changing the system from the bottom up.[101]

[101] I consider the reinstitution of colonial pathologies, such as racial discrimination, part of the remnant of coloniality. However, it must be contested that the Afrikaner only sought to change the system where the *volk* was concerned, i.e. colonial structures that encouraged their position of becoming the *one*, especially regarding their colonial influenced perspectives on hegemony and racial segregation.

The remainder of this section will deal with the OB's acts of resistance as a cultural movement before they switched to the violent phase of resistance with the establishment of the Stormjaer wing. Rather than focusing on the internal strife against Afrikaner parties, the following Chapter will discuss the anti-colonial resistance prevalent in the early years of the OB's existence.

Chapter 5 - Resistance and violence: Tools of the oppressed

The previous chapters all elucidated the unique nature of the OB's resistance and while Chapter 4 examined the OB as an anti-colonial movement by considering the organisation's policies, some historical contexts remain unexplored. This Chapter will offer such a discussion through a historical analysis of primary sources in order to answer the fourth research question by expounding on the organisation's anti-colonial activities. The first section will evaluate the OB as a cultural movement (the less violent means of resistance) before moving to the next section that pertains to the violent efforts of the Stormjaer movement. The discussion will maintain the theoretical tone; however, the historical analysis will not entail the events after 1945 when the OB's anti-colonial position became fragile, merely serving as sputter for the HNP's victory.

5.1. Anticolonial resistance: The OB as an Afrikaner cultural movement

The discussion thus far affirmed that the Afrikaner's national culture was founded by an exclusive nationalism. This exclusive nationalism was characterised by the cultural awakening brought about by the Voortrekker Centenary celebrations. The awakening, in turn, provided the impetus for Afrikaner nationalism. The combination of these developments resulted in the formation of the OB as Afrikaner nationalist movement. Members of the *volk* that followed the national movement enticed other organisations to participate in the creation of a home for Afrikanerdom. The OB formed part of the national movement and gained momentum through its declaration as guardian of the Afrikaner people.[1] The main function of the OB was initially limited to cultural events:

> Die viering van Afrikaanse volksfeeste en verjaardae van ons helde, die daarstelling van gedenktekens, kransleggings by monumente, die nasporing en instandhouding van geskiedkundige plekke en grafte van Afrikaners wat op die Pad van Suid-Afrika gesterf het, die hou van byeenkomste soos skyfskiet, pappegaai en aasvoëlskywe, jukskeigooi, ens., die beoefening van volkspele en volksliedere, die hou van optogte, gereëlde byeenkomste van opvoedkundige en gesellige aard, opvoerings, lesings oor geskiedenis,

[1] P.J.J. Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Geskiedenis van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Unpublished report, Department of History: PU vir CHO, 1984), p. 102.

> ons letterkunde, nasionale aangeleenthede en die wêreld van die vrou, debatte, kampe vir mans en vroue, ens.[2]
>
> [The celebration of Afrikaans folk festivals and the birthdays of our heroes, the erection of memorials, wreaths at monuments, the tracing and maintenance of historical sites and graves of Afrikaners who died on the Road of South Africa, the holding of events such as disc shooting, clay pigeon shooting, Jukskei etc., performing folk games and anthems, conducting marches, regular educational and social gatherings, performances, lectures on history, our literature, national affairs and the world of women, debates, camps for men and women, etc.]

However, the OB also wanted to be more than just a mere cultural organisation. Thus, the OB was a means by which collaboration between Afrikaners could take place outside and above politics in order to realize the ideal of freedom for the Afrikaner. With his takeover of the movement in 1941, Dr. Van Rensburg used the cultural activities of the OB to serve broader goals. For him, the OB was a tool to foster and develop an activist spirit within the Afrikaner.[3] Some of these significant cultural activities are discussed accordingly:

5.1.1. Cultural celebrations: A means for opposition

Throughout its existence, the OB focused on Afrikaner culture. As a cultural organisation, the OB propagated various events as commemorative celebrations in celebration of important events or figures from Afrikaner history.[4] However, the OB fully utilized these celebrations to propagate their cause by focusing on the established enthusiasm of the people to promulgating a desired outcome for the organisation's cause. These events are also regarded as stimulus for Afrikaner nationalism, re-affirming events of the past as the people joined to collectively share in the spirit and sense of belonging instilled by these events.

One of the most important festivals that the OB celebrated was Freedom Day or 'Majuba Day' which commemorated the 'Boere' Afrikaner's victory over Britain on 27 February 1881, during

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2 OBA: N.G.S.van der Walt-collection, B/F 11/59, cover 1: *Die Volksblad*, 06.02.1939, *Die Volksblad*, 15.04.1939, Die Volkstem, 13.02.1939.

3 C. Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', (MA. Thesis, North-West University, 2012), p. 181; OBA: *Die Burger*, 25.02.1941.

4 Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', pp. 332- 384.

the First South-African War. The OB purchased the farm Majuba-North where Mount Amajuba is located, on behalf of the Afrikaner people in 1940. Over the years the OB held various rallies on the site. The celebration served to fuel the OB's ideal of freedom, amongst its members, the celebrations were regarded powerful symbols. The day was also closely linked to the OB's ambition to become an autonomous people.[5] Furthermore, this celebration served as tool to promulgate the position of the Afrikaner against that of the Union and British Empire.

On 27 February 1942, the first Freedom Day celebration was held in Majuba, where more than 7,000 people attended the event. The highlight of the celebrations were the kindling of the bonfire or freedom fire. Apart from lighting the bonfire in Majuba, the commander of each OB commando had to make sure that a torch was burning in a high place in his area on the evening of the celebrations. The kindling of the fire served as a symbol for the people, vowing to fulfil their quest for freedom. The organisation's mouthpiece, *The OB* states: 'That is why we now, collectively and separately, make the solemn vow that we will not stop the struggle for the independent Republic and will not give up.'[6]

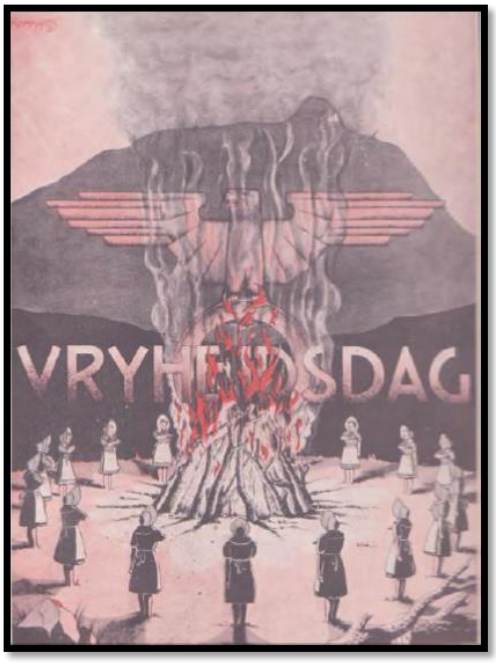

Figure 1: OB-Boere-Youth stare into the flame during Freedom Day on Amajuba mountain.[7]

5 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 8: *Die Voorpos*, January 1948, pp. 46-47.
6 OBA: *Die OB*, 11.03.1942.
7 OBA: OB Jaarboek 1948, p. 32.

The poster in Figure 1 served as a reminder of the festival and the oath the Afrikaners made on this day, it is a stimulus and call for action. The celebration of Freedom Day is a commemorative celebration of the 1881 victory against the British, as well as the taking of a vow (to God) against British influence in the Afrikaner's struggle for unity. The celebration is a powerful propaganda medium; members of the OB saw Majuba as an event of the past that could re-instil hope for a future victory over Britain. Thus, the celebration served as an anti-war and anti-British gathering where the people could gain perspective and light a flame of national unity against a joint colonial opposition. The festival is symbolic in nature, it showed how the victory of the past could be applied to the circumstances of the time and reaffirmed an attitude of 'us against them'. This attitude was helped along by the fact that the people were already connected to the commemoration of a shared history.[8] The activist nature that accompanied the celebration is exemplified by a snippet of Van Rensburg's speech delivered at the 1946 festival:

> The attitude of the O.B was still and is still today that he broke with the Empire. Finally gone forever and he sees the salvation of this nation in the establishment of a Republican State of Authority. If it is then a war crime to feel and act that way, then he does not apologize and if he is to be punished for it, it is no punishment for him. This is his calling in the days of Afrikaner persecution and jingoism. [Adapted][9]

The organisation also held other festivals that did not solely focus on anti-colonial sentiment but sought to maintain the volk's defiant spirit and to collect funds for the organisation's operations. OB Day (Fund Day) was the second largest festival day organised by the OB each year. The day was related to the 1938 Centenary celebrations and the establishment of the organisation itself.[10] Fund Day provided a social gathering and some entertainment. In the afternoon 'Boeresport' (folk games) was often held with competitions such as, jukskei, three legged races, and so on. Performances of folk-dance were also on the program and some veterans from the South-African War also shared their experiences with the youth. These events were also used as platform for the OB to address the people and promulgate the cause.[11] The main objective of the festival, however, was to collect funds for the organisation and for the organisation's emergency assistance fund or 'volksorg'. This fund aimed at helping the poor

8 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 8: *Die Voorpos*, January 1948, p. 14.
9 OBA: *Die OB*, 06.03.1946, p. 1.
10 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 8: *Die Voorpos*, January 1948, pp. 4-5; OB Jaarboek 1946, p. 5.
11 OBA: *Die OB*, 18.12.1942; OBA: Transvaalse beheerraad-collection, B/F 8(i)/1, cover 1: Fondsdag, 8 August.

and those families whose husband/father had been in the internment camps and who could not provide for themselves otherwise.[12] This was mainly a nationalistic endeavour regarding the Afrikaner's position in society and their fears of liberal transition. Miss. A.C.M. Mostert affirms this notion in her call for funds, as printed in the Transvaler newspaper:

> Other times we are called to battle. This time around immediately to the O.B. fund. The survival of our white race is at stake. The Oxwagon sentinel, man, woman and child, stand guard for the people, because our people may not fall while they sleep.[13]

While this is not a direct act of resistance, it does lean toward the thought that the OB sought to provide for their people seeing as their government was not concerned with the Afrikaner. In calls like these, we see Afrikaner nationalistic or socialistic ideology being brought to fruition. Again, the OB relied on the past as a tool to hammer out colonial perspectives, pitting Afrikaner history against all that was deemed British.

The OB also celebrated a so-called day of mourning which was held each year on 31 May, it commemorated the day the last Boers finally surrendered the war at Vereeniging on the 31st of May 1902. The Transvaler stated that 30,000 people attended the festival in 1941, of which only 3,000 attendees were OB members. This is certainly an important event for Afrikaners since it was an act of rebellion against the empire and South African government. Again, these events also serve as an opportunity to spread OB ideology, Van Rensburg, for instance, addressed the crowd and declared the need for an independent anti-capitalistic society, as proposed by the Transvaler. [14] These events should also be seen as an attempt to influence colonial modernity through the spread of so-called Afrikaner ideology.

Hero Day celebrations were also celebrated nationwide by OB districts and its members from 1941. According to Prinsloo, there were three motives for the celebrations: to pay tribute to national heroes, to restore the graves of fallen heroes, and finally to bring the people together in unity in order to declare the 10th of October to be People's day (volksdag). The day was especially important because it was President Paul Kruger's birthday which fit well with the

12 OBA: *Die OB*, 08.08.1945, p. 2.
13 OBA: J.F.J. van Rensburg-collection, B/F 12/63, cover 1: *Transvaler*, 1948.
14 OBA: J.F.J. van Rensburg-collection, B/F 12/64, cover 1: *Transvaler*, 12.05.1941.

Hero celebrations.[15] The reference to Kruger is important, seeing as Kruger is often regarded as the father of the Afrikaner nation by the OB[16] and icon of the ideological view of Krugerism. With this tribute to Kruger, the OB could influence the emotional position of the people, namely: patriotism towards the Afrikaner and their heroes; Anti-British sentiment and resistance thinking; and then Krugerism that could be linked to republican ideas and Afrikaner nationalism. Figure 2 portrays one of the marches that took place on Hero Day in 1941. Note the 'Vierkleur'[17] held on high throughout the procession, it represents one of the Boer republics, the ZAR and symbolises the notion of a united culture, Krugerism, and an autonomous nation.[18]

Figure 2: Flag parade of OB Youth on Hero Day.[19]

The organisation would exalt various heroic figures who could be portrayed as a patriotic, anti-colonial or resistance symbol. One of these figurative symbols was Jopie Fourie who, much like Kruger, was a celebrated and iconic part of Afrikaner culture. Fourie was one of the movement's great heroes who died as a martyr due to his involvement in the 1914 rebellion against South Africa's participation in the First World War. The story of Jopie Fourie was regularly incorporated into OB material, especially youth publications, which served as a

15 Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', p. 371; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 8: *Die Voorpos*, October 1946, pp. 3-4.

16 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 8: *Die Voorpos*, October 1946, pp. 3-4.

17 The Vierkleur or Four-colour was the official flag of the South-African Republic; OBA: OB jaarboek, 1947, pp. 39-40.

18 D.P. Olivier, 'Die aard van propaganda in die Ossewa-Brandwag ter bevordering van Afrikaner-nasionalisme', (Hons-mini-dissertation: NWU, 2015), p. 60.

19 OBA: OB Photo-collection, Photo nr. 1112: Krugerdag vieringe, 10 October 1941/42.

powerful tool in terms of Afrikaner unity and an anti-colonial perspective.[20] The story of Jopie Fourie would be further utilized through the actions of Elsabe Nel (who also happened to be related to Jopie Fourie) and the OB's struggle against the war efforts.[21]

Nel is regarded as one of the OB's first heroines who was questioned because of her involvement with OB maters. However, she refused to testify against her fellow Afrikaners and was sent to prison. After a nationwide protest campaign led by the OB, Nel spent only three days in prison instead of ten days and was released on Monday, the 16th of December 1940 at 9:00[22] (Dingane's Day), which provided the ideal setting for a rally. According to the Transvaler, 15, 000 festival goers gathered at the Wonderboom suburb in Pretoria awaiting Nel's release. Upon her arrival an OB-led march ensued through Pretoria maintaining 3,000 OB members, thereafter it was decided to hold the festival at Wonderboom the coming year as well.[23] Nel, in her own right, became a resistance symbol and was presented as such.[24] In the 1948 OB Yearbook of the Northern Transvaal, for instancce, S.J. de Jongh describes (pseudonym of Van Rensburg) Nel's actions as an inspiration for the youth and tells the story of Johanna, a 10-year-old who wished to join the OB due to Nel's selfless actions.[25]

Clearly, celebrations and their meaning were an important weapon in the OB's arsenal. Celebrations were propagandistic, the core of the festival served as an attraction force to strengthen OB numbers. The people could thus be united based on the cause that was celebrated and the nature of the entertainment that could accompany the celebrations. The true motive was, therefore, hidden, the aim was to promote Afrikaner nationalism and culture by way of suggestion, by creating a negative feeling towards everything that was not Afrikaans. As discussed earlier, the Afrikaner became alienated from one another and felt marginalised and these celebrations provided an opportunity to relive the glory of the past, to support one another and, importantly, to ignite the flames of opposition. These celebrations were, furthermore, powerful opportunities to assert the Afrikaner cause as seen through an Afrikaner minded lens, and not the colonial perspective of a European modernism. What's more, these events could

20 Prinsloo, 'Kultuurbeeld van die Ossewa-Brandwag', p. 370.
21 OBA: OB Jaarboek 1946, p. 57.
22 Die Vaderland, 16.12.1940.
23 OBA: J.F.J. van Rensburg-collection, B/F 12/64, cover 1: *Transvaler*, 12.17.1941.
24 The actions of Elsabe Nel will be discussed in a following section.
25 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 211-215.

serve to delink[26] the Afrikaner's acknowledgement of their own histories, however, they would merely resituate themselves in a tainted pattern of conservatism embedded in colonial pathologies that have long been established.

5.1.2. The 'Katdoringgeselskap': Resistance through the theatrical

Resistance was also employed through cultural events supported by the OB. The 'Katdoringgeselskap',[27] so named because they wanted to be a thorn in the side of the government, was a cultural organisation related to the OB with the proposed purpose of helping the OB achieve their goal.[28] From its conception, the OB identified as a cultural organisation and strived to keep Afrikaner culture alive through mass gatherings and events. From this initiative, the 'Katdoringgeselskap', which was formed under the leadership of Anna Neethling-Pohl, was born. Neethling-Pohl had already emerged as an actress at this stage and was also involvement in the 1940 Women's March in opposition to the Afrikaner's involvement in the war.[29] Forty years later, Neethling-Pohl would still refer to British sentiment accordingly:

> …daardie vyand, daardie denasionaliserende vyand van destyds wat in ons skole, in ons meubels, in ons kuns, in ons alles ons probeer verkleineer het.[30]
> […that enemy, that denationalising enemy of old, who tried to belittle us in our schools, in our furniture, in our art, in everything we are.]

Under the leadership of Neethling-Pohl, the 'Katdorings' were used as a facet of the OB's resistance campaign. The group also often carried out missions for the organisation's activist Stormjaer movement. Chris Neethling, Anna Neethling-Pohl's husband, was not only a Major-general in the OB, but an active member of the Stormjaers.[31] As far as OB and Stormjaer

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26 The term delinking was coined by the work of Mignolo. Alluding to the notion that the colonised can delink form a colonised mindset through linking to (Cultural) perspectives that had been established outside of the colonial parameter.

27 Roughly translated to the thorn/thorned company.

28 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag', 1938 tot 1954, p. 220.

29 The women march will be discussed at a later point; Blignaut, '"Goddank dis hoogverraad en nie laagverraad nie': Die rol van vroue in die Ossewa-Brandwag se verset teen Suid-Afrika se deelname aan die Tweede Wêreldoorlog", p. 73; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 75, 1979: H.M. Robinson/ A. Neethling-Pohl, pp. 3-4.

30 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape no. 75, 1979: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A. Neethling-Pohl, p. 3.

31 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape no. 75, 1979: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A. Neethling-Pohl, p. 14.

resistance was concerned, the company received instructions from Neethling-Pohl via her husband, Dr. Neethling. The group would often serve as cover for dangerous men who conducted underground work for the Stormjaers, such as the fugitive F.A. Faurie and several others.[32] Under the guise of a cultural group, important intelligence work could be done for the Stormjaers and for the OB. The 'Katdorings' also served as a cover in other ways. Mrs. F. Botha recalls an evening where a secret meeting would be held in Rustenburg. One of the OB's informants warned that the police would investigate the meeting that night. Neethling-Pohl assembled the core members of the group and held a concert instead of the meeting. When detectives arrived, they found no signs of a meeting, leaving their investigation fruitless. Botha states that after this event, impromptu concerts such as these became a common occurrence when the OB leadership decided to use the 'Katdorings' as veil to hide meetings more often. [33]

Other than cloak and dagger events, the group sang and performed various anti-war and anti-English songs and poems, with a particular focus to appeal to the youth. The group later expanded with the arrangement of concerts and performances. The first major performance of the group was at a large gathering of the OB at Potgietersrus after Dr. J.F.J. van Rensburg was sworn in as the organisation's leader, with more than 10,000 people attending the rally.[34] Neethling-Pohl stated that various songs, stage productions, and one-act performances were presented with a specific focus on anti-English or Afrikaner nationalist principles: 'These were all attempts to feed and inspire the people's need for this urge of nationalism and freedom […]"[35] The group mainly served to influence or intensify negative perspectives of the British, as these events could easily rally the masses and youth to act against the colonial government.

This anti-colonial perspective is exemplified by some of the songs that had been performed: 'Salute, ou pellie, darso kom 'n koprel' [Salute, old friend, here comes a headache],was a satire on General Smuts's war effort, which played out different stages of the war and symbolised certain days in the life of a soldier in the war; 'Pinkpikanin' was composed as a song that mocked the soldiers who signed the red oath and also the war itself. The first public performance of 'Pinkpikanin' was at a rally of the OB Youth Movement in a German Club in Pretoria. It was a very popular song sung at almost every rally, but due to the condescending tone of the song,

32 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tap nos. 43 & 45, 1973: J. van der Walt/H.M. Robinson, p. 23.
33 OBA: Interview: Transcription tapes, Tape no. 61, 1975: H.M. Robinson/F. Botha, p. 5.
34 OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 2/10, cover 8: Program van optredes.
35 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 75, 1979: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A. Neethling-Pohl, pp. 8-9.

it was later banned by internment detectives. ‘Swart vark’ [Black pig] ridicules the questioning of a suspicious person by the political detectives and his involvement in so-called anti-government or war actions. As in the game, when interrogated, all answers must always be the same: senseless (lest thee be a black pig). However, even though the song ridicules the process of being questioned by officials, a hidden meaning is also evident, one should not renounce one’s own people but protect the interests of the *volk* above one’s own; ‘Vra is vry’ is a derision of the HNP and the split between the OB and the Party. It serves as a form of opposition against the HNP that would become the eventual political opposition of the OB, syphoning its members.[36] As may be evident, these cultural rallies fortified against a colonisation of the mind, it emphasised notions of oppression and encouraged people to question their position within the Union, allowing resentment to grow.

Film and theatre work had also been employed to serve the organisation. The film ‘n Nasie hou koers’ [A Nation holds its course] was created by amateur filmmakers and captured the inspirational events of the 1938 Centenary celebrations for future generations. It provides a comprehensive and versatile look at the events of the Centenary year in recordings that are largely exclusive. The film is, essentially, a documentary and cannot be seen as a work directly affiliated with the OB. However, the work is significant because of the influence it had on Afrikaner nationalism and the development of the OB, it was produced at a time when a sense of unity flowed through the nation.[37]

Some theatre work performed by the Katdoringgeselskap can be affiliated with the OB, these include: ‘Die terugtog oor die berg’ [The retreat across the mountain], which is about a group of Voortrekker women protesting the annexation of Natal during the Great Trek. The women talk to British envoys and, later, the secretary. The women speak on behalf of the men and members of the people. In the conversation, however, the “British government” ensures that they only want to provide protection to the people. Yet, the ‘Boers’ resisted the request and repeatedly accused the ‘British Government’ of not upholding their word since the ‘Boers’ had already been murdered by natives and treated as ‘dispassionate slaves’ in the Cape. After the conversation is completed, the women return to the men where they decide to move further north. The performance is concluded with a song sung in Dutch in which the group of

36 OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 2/10, cover 4: Kort verduidelikende aantekeninge, pp. 1-2.

37 OBA: PAM M-N, *Die ontstaan van ‘n Nasie hou koers’ -soewenier program*, (Cape Town: Nasionale Pers), pp. 1-17.

Voortrekkers bid farewell to the people who are left behind, as well as their home and 'Fatherland'.[38] The performance, as a propaganda medium, emphasizes the existing perceptions that the Afrikaner cannot place his trust in the British state. The work is an anti-British performance, it uses the people's perception of history to create a sense of Afrikaner pride and emotional retention toward the British.

Therefore, the OB used their position as a cultural organisation to steer the *volk* toward their nationalistic republican ideal and anti-colonial sentiment. These events and cultural presentations offered a non-violent platform for resistance that would remain for the entirety of the organisation's existence. The cultural events also acted against modernist thought, saturated Afrikaner society with traditionalism. These efforts were to little avail against coloniality, this type of resistance does not aim to change the system but merely the minds of the people. It is worth considering to which extent these cultural gatherings were in service of the colonial mindset. With that said, one must ask if these cultural gatherings served to delink from modernist perspectives. As discussed at length, the Afrikaner is a difficult subject seeing as they are themselves colonists of a special type. In short, I postulate that these events shielded the Afrikaner against colonial thought in the sense that the Afrikaner found pride in their re-evaluated past. Opposed to the structure of a colonisation of the mind where the European equivalent remains the captivation of the colonised imagination and thought. However, being colonisers themselves, these events merely situated the Afrikaner within the colonial patterns and thoughts of the past, that had arguably been influenced thorough the act of colonisation itself. As a result, cultural activities of resistance proved useful in the founding of nationalistic ideas and strengthened the notion of indifference between us vs. them. These activities also emphasised a cultural drift in terms of Afrikaner nationalism and republicanism. The events of 1948 illustrate how the Afrikaner, much like the creoles of Latin America, took the mantel of their colonial fathers and became the coloniser—colonisers of a special type. Therefore, these actions and events were important to the delinking of their perspectives since it resituated patterns of coloniality and focused their resistance on modernity instead of coloniality.

[38] OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 2/11, cover 4: Toneelstuk: "Die terugtog oor die berge", pp. 1-3.

5.2. Resistance and the written word: Writing anti-colonial resistance.

Throughout the OB's existence, a plethora of publications were issued that are anti-colonial in nature. These publications include the preparation and issue of newspapers, books, intellectual works or other publicly presented documentation. The type of material that can be considered a resistance endeavour will be discussed accordingly. Because written propaganda is widely used, the focal point of these sections is the OB's newspaper since it was directly affiliated to the movement and was not an external source. It is to be noted that a variety of other publications circulated the OB, like *'Die Voorpos'*[39] and *'Vuurslag'*[40], two of the most prominent magazines within the organisation. However, these publications only appeared after 1945, their focus is therefore more cultural than anti-colonial. The material provides an overview of resistance against modernity/coloniality.

5.2.1. 'Die OB'- The official newspaper of the OB

The influence of the press was regularly used as both an offensive and defensive method in the organisation's resistance efforts. As the widespread influence of newspapers became essential to a successful resistance campaign, the OB established its own organ to produce the desired results. Initially, several other newspapers promoted the case of the OB but would later launch attacks against the organisation following their violent actions and split with the leading Afrikaner party. The organ only circulated internally, which meant it was not terribly effective in influencing perceptions outside of the organisation. Accordingly, the paper enacted resistance against the organisation's opposition and attempted to consolidate the organisation's ideological perspectives.[41]

The friction between the OB and the government on the one hand, and the HNP on the other, resulted in strong opposition against the OB in the mass media. This could also have been because *'Die Vaderland'* was basically under the financial control of Malan and Havenga. This accounted for the change in position against the OB after 1940. *'Die Transvaler'*, edited by H.F. Verwoerd, was considered the most merciless in its attack against the OB, especially when

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39 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 8: *Die Voorpos*, October 1946, pp. 1-2.

40 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, August 1948, p. 1.

41 OBA: Grootraad-collection, B/F 1/4, cover 38: Propaganda; OBA: N.G.S. van der Walt-collection, B/F 4/22, cover 2: Propaganda en die pers; C. Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008), pp. 439-440.

it came to pushing party interests.[42] In his onslaught against the OB, Verwoerd even resorted to publishing the names of OB members who had resigned at the organisation.[43] This created the need for their own mouthpiece, also named '*Die OB'* as established in 1941.[44] Nicolaas van der Walt was appointed editor of the paper, he consequently became one of the most important propagandists in the organisation. Van der Walt was a firm believer in the potential of a National socialist or Fascist state and he was convinced that these principals could preserve the character and purity of the nation. He held a strong position against party politics as it fundamentally did not coincide with his vision for the Afrikaner people.[45]

In the first few issues of *Die OB,* the organisation stipulates its policies and objectives mainly focusing on National Socialism. The paper was used to set out the OB's purpose, constitution, policy and other aspirations, but the paper became more focused on events and opportunities that may stifle its opposition and their attacks. In this regard, several other newspapers propagated OB policies in earlier years, such as *'Die Volkstem'*, *'Die Volksblad'* and 'Die Burger' providing a platform for the OB's goals, operations, and endeavours during the founding years.[46] Overall, the purpose of *Die OB* was to set the record straight and to ensure that the *volk* did not lose trust in the organisation:

> Ons beleef moeilike tye, tye van verdraaiing van feite, verduistering van die waarheid wat oral verwarring meebring onder die volk. 'Die O.B.' sal geroepe wees om die onkruid, deur 'n vyandige hand in die nag gestrooi, te wied deur, deur die lig van waarheid die duisternis te verdryf en waar verwarring en verslapping gevolglik ingetree het, koers aan te dui en te besiel. [47]
>
> [We are experiencing difficult times, times where facts have been distorted, the truth obscured and confusion is everywhere among the people. "Die O.B." will be called to weed out the weeds that has been scattered by a hostile hand in the night, they will be

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42 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the History of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 439.

43 OBA: *Die OB*, 25.02.1942, p. 5.

44 OBA: H.M. Robinson-collection, B/F 4/19, cover 4: Die Ossewa Brandwag: 'n Perspektief op die uitstalling, 1988, p. 6.

45 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the History of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 503.

46 OBA: *Die OB*, 19.11.1941, pp. 2-3; OBA: N.G.S. van der Walt-collection, B/F 11/59, cover 1: Die Volkstem. 13.02.1939, *Die Volksblad*, 06.02.1939; OBA: PAM O, cover 4: *Die Burger*, 12.06.1940.

47 OBA: *Die OB*, 12.11.1941, p. 1.

called to cast off the darkness through the light of truth, to be steadfast where uncertainty and idleness ensued.]

Naturally, the paper prevalently voiced its indignation toward the war and Britain itself. However, the paper did not provide a definitive plan in which ties should be broken with the 'Empire', instead, it provided republican idealism on the off chance Germany wins the war.[48] In a general, the paper indicated resistance toward the party structure, as is the case for the publication of the 12th of November 1941: The front page article of the paper reads; '*Volk*-Unity would be Dangerous: Ridiculous allegations against the Ossewabrandwag'. The article deals with a statement made by Malan against OB leadership, declaring that the OB does not promote unity but division. The OB argued that if the *volk* has become divided, it will be because of politicians who split the people in different campaigns, these parties do not support the OB. *Die OB* takes the conversation further and also refers to a statement made by the 'Oosterling' (pseudonym, used by an opposition newspaper) which stated that the OB does not really strive for unity but a dictatorship and, for this reason, the OB must be stopped through party politics. *Die OB* again pointed out that the organisation strives for unity and that it is only the opposition's method of spreading divisions, for fear that the party system will fail.[49] These examples confirm the defensive nature of the paper as resistance tool. The paper could also promote opposition against the so-called modernist structure of party politics as well as Afrikaner nationality.

This pattern of defensive and offensive publishing would carry on well in to the late 1940's. In its 8 August 1945 issue, the paper sets its sights in the direction of the HNP with the headline 'Why is the H.N. Party crying: Sour fruits of Malan's policy to split'. This article refers to the objection of the HNP against OB members who did not support the party in the 1945 intermediate-elections. *Die OB* stated that the organisation had repeatedly 'extended the hand of friendship' to the HNP, yet this was never reciprocated. The article expanded on the frequent attacks the OB has had to endure in the media throughout the years. The hand of friendship is only figuratively extended as the election draws closer.[50]

48 OBA: *Die OB*, 26.11.1941, pp. 1-2; OBA: *Die OB*, 04.03.1942, p. 4; OBA: *Die OB*, 22.04.1942, pp. 1-4; OBA: *Die OB*, 24.03.1943, p. 1; OBA: *Die OB*, 03.05.1944, p. 2.

49 OBA: *Die OB*, 12.11.1941, pp. 3-4.

50 OBA: *Die OB*, 08.08.1945, p. 1.

The organ also served as a platform to establish resentment toward the government, it frequently publishing fluff-articles concerning the injustice of the war measures and its effect on the Afrikaner (usually in reference to the internment policy and the families influenced thereby).[51] Such an example can be found in an article published on the 26th of November 1941, the article centres on the hardships families must endure when the main providers of the home have been interred. The OB took it upon themselves to provide for these families and even extended their support to the purchasing of Christmas gifts for the children of these homes.[52] The issue of the 14th of January 1942 goes as far as to claim that the government is 'anti-Afrikaner' concerning its party politics and the economic position of the Afrikaner. Therefore, the OB with its socialist ideals, seeks to re-establish the 'worker and small farmers' to their rightful position within society.[53] These articles are not only propagandistic in the sense that they try to weaken the government's position, but also serves as a strong basis from which to form perceptions around National Socialism.

As already stated, much of *Die OB*'s efforts were also employed against Britain and the war. In the issue of 10 March 1943, the paper refers to the cultural celebration of 27 February with the following headline, 'Ossewa Brandwag renews vow to fight for freedom: Symbolic fires lit with great enthusiasm across the country'. The article deals with the celebrations of 'Majuba Day' and vividly recalls some of the events. The article is not very long but is an important link to the events that took place, it reaffirmed the OB's position against the 'Empire'.[54]

As the OB's resistance against the war and, to a certain extent against Britain became obsolete after 1945, *Die OB* served as a tool to reposition the organisation's ideological outlet. In the newspaper of 7 May 1947, an article was published entitled 'First fight Communism out of the Union Building says CG'. The article addresses the state of communism and the government's inability to act against the danger. The OB claims its hindsight, seeing as the organisation had warned the *volk* and government of the threat of communism, well before it became a looming danger.[55] The OB accused the government of coddling the notion of communism and allowed a foothold to be found in Afrikaner ranks and in the government. They felt that the government

51 OBA: *Die OB,* 12.11.1941, p. 4; OBA: *Die OB,* 19.11.1941, pp. 1, 8; OBA: *Die OB,* 08.04.1942, p. 4.
52 OBA: *Die OB,* 26.11.1941, p. 1.
53 OBA: *Die OB,* 14.01.1942, p.1.
54 OBA: *Die OB,* 08.03.1943, p. 1.
55 This is evident from earlier publications such as the book 'some facts about the Ossewa Brandwag: Propaganda refuted', which will be discussed further in this section.

only acted when anti-communism became popular. The report continues to charge and even states that some ranks in the government are pro-communist.[56] The article can be understood as a ploy to weaken the credibility of the government's position against that of the OB. After 1945, anti-communist articles were by far the most fervently propagated theme in *Die OB*.[57] To bring the *volk* together under a common resistance, the OB used the modernist notion against communism as substitute for the conflict the Second World War assured.

The paper of the 7th of May 1944 directly refers to the OB publication, 'Some facts about the Ossewa-Brandwag: Propaganda refuted' which was distributed by the OB. The organisation viewed the booklet along the lines of an educational piece instead of a work of propaganda (as can be derived from the book's title). Much like *Die OB*, there is strong reference to the opposition (especially the Press) of the OB and the 'false allegations' against the organisation. There is also a focus on unlawful punishment regarding internment camps with reference to Afrikaners who were imprisoned on the grounds of their relationship with the OB. Communism and the 'Bantu crisis' also make an appearance in the book, warning the reader of the imminent danger and the government's contempt toward these issues. The book tries to provide a solution regarding these threats through the implementation of National socialist policies: "No, without the tight reins of a National-Socialist Authoritarian State, no nation can hope to achieve social security of its nationals."[58] Thus, the OB contests the only way to defend against communism and the Black Soviet republic is to adopt a policy of National Socialism. Here the organisation stipulates the need for Afrikaner nationalism based on socialist principles since only an Afrikaner orientated society can serve the interests of the *volk*. This ideological underpinning sets their socialist ideology apart from a communist perspective that could share various traits. While communism seeks a socialist society, Afrikaner Nationalism only seeks these ideals for the Afrikaner. This work marks the start of a series of multi-paged copied pamphlets which were translated to English in an attempt to influence the perceptions English-speakers had toward the organisation. This was, of course, not successful seeing that it claimed the OB was not necessarily anti-English, but were focused, instead, on their position as anti-communists and Anti-Semites.[59]

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56 OBA: *Die OB*, 07.05.1947, p. 1.

57 OBA: *Die OB*, 07.03.1945, p. 1; OBA: *Die OB*, 09.05.1945, p. 1; OBA: *Die OB*, 16.05.1945, p. 1; OBA: *Die OB*, 06.06.1945, p. 1; OBA: *Die OB*, 03.10.1945, p. 1.

58 OBA: PAM S-U, cover 11: *Ossewa Bandwag, Some facts about the Ossewa Brandwag: Propaganda refuted*, (Stellenboch: Pro Ecclesia, 1944).

59 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the History of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 477.

The success of *Die OB*, as publication, was mediocre, the paper was mainly circulated internally with little propagandistic value outside the organisation. Initially members paid little attention to the paper, to such a degree that the OB head office had to encourage people to read the organ. Many people also rejected the paper due to its aggressive nature towards the HNP.[60] However, the paper remained in circulation until 17 December 1952, at which time the paper and the organisation had become a mere shadow of its former self. On the whole, the organ served the purpose of a resistance medium and allowed for propagation against modernist, and later, modernist- notions. Therefore, the paper extended the ideological cultural drift that the OB experienced and placed emphasis on injustices felt. The paper focused on Afrikaner ideology while attempting to flatten colonial structures, i.e., party politics and capitalism. Perhaps more importantly, the paper condensed and focused the OB's intended outcomes and served to bind Afrikaner and OB thoughts and perceptions, thereby permitting readers to link their own views more concisely to that of the organisation. The paper ultimately promoted anti-colonial sentiment while promoting Afrikaner-mindedness along with colonial pathologies regarding hegemony and societal structure.

5.2.2. Gender as anti-colonial construct.

Some background is required regarding the influence of coloniality on the position of gender, as viewed and expressed in the written word. Note that some sections further on will highlight the actions taken by women in order to situating them in the past parameters of the *volk*. This section will give an overview on some publications that are regarded as anti-colonial due to their focus on the *volk* and their perceptions regarding gender.

To start with, 'Gesonde huisgesinne bou 'n lewenskragtige volk' [Healthy families build a vibrant nation], was published in the form of a brochure in October of 1942.[61] This publication served as an official policy regarding the organisation's belief in a family centred *volk*. From its establishment, the OB wanted to uplift the social and economic position of the Afrikaner; this objective was an important emphasis in their struggle toward national unity.[62] In order to

60 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the History of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 439-440.

61 OBA: Grootraad van die Ossewa-Brandwag, *Gesonde huisgesinne bou 'n lewenskragtige volk*, (Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia, 1942), pp. 1-9.

62 A.J.H. van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, (Johannesburg: kultuur en voorligtingsdiens van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1944), pp. 11-13.

establish a new societal order, built on National Socialist principles, the OB saw itself as the 'creator of the organic Afrikanerdom'.[63] In the brochure, 'Healthy households build a vibrant nation', the various functions of the family are explained, these include the: biological, economic, social, cultural-education, religious and national aspects of Afrikaner life. The brochure's relevance to this section of the discussion lies in the fact that the brochure stipulates that all these functions must be done to maintain the *volk*. As such, the *volk* is not perceived to be greater than the family construct, but the individual and their needs within the family are not greater than the needs of the *volk*.[64]

The policy and the functions set out for the family can be understood as a direct reaction to the rapidly changing Afrikaner society that had been influenced by urbanization, impoverishment, and growth in individualism among the Afrikaners. The brochure thus serves as an ideological extension of the notion that family life was of great importance to the *volk* because it formed the very foundation of the *volk*'s existence. This ideological basis can be contested as an anti-colonial perspective accordingly: First and foremost, the publication emphasises national socialist thought seeing as every aspect of the family is to be aimed at the creation and maintenance of the *volk*. The Afrikaner is placed outside of the colonial construct as the *volk* becomes like a family, a care giver to one another.

The Afrikaner established itself through redefining economic views through socialist application and religious doctrine through nationalism. The Afrikaner's past was nearly sacred, it was the historical foundation on which it was to build the *volk*. Since these policies combat the colonial matrix, it can be interpreted as anti-colonial and reflective of the Afrikaner's perceptions within the *volk* and outside of the so-called colonial nation. Furthermore, this ideological alignment could break down physical colonial barriers and align with the construct of gender. Biologically, the family's purpose was to grow the Afrikaner nation but ideologically, perceptions of gender were understood in a historical sense that, too, would serve the needs of the *volk*. The most basic of these notions were the men's role in the economy and commandos as it is, they who would fight for republicanism. Women would serve as cultural

63 OBA: D.J.M. Cronjé-collection, B/F 1/5, cover 4: Die Ossewa-Brandwag: Vanwaar en waarheen?, p. 24.

64 OBA: Grootraad van die Ossewa-Brandwag, *Gesonde huisgesinne bou 'n lewenskragtige volk*, p. 5.

guards and good mothers, the caretakers of the *volk* (this included fundraising and the housing of escaped internees).[65]

As evidenced by the OB's 'Boere' Youth magazine, 'Vuurslag', gender would encompass certain responsibilities.[66] Every single publication entailed cultural stories about historical events and people, developing a form of hero worship that enabled the OB to make use of the past to establish Afrikaner parameters against the British. The publications could impress the youth, who strove to attain infamy and regarded these acts as patriotic.[67] These cultural stories were also expressed in the militaristic style of the youth organisations and the activist style of the OB.[68] The attitude could also transfer to other branching organisations since the Boere Youth was largely intended to be absorbed by the Stormjaers.[69] This form of Hero worship suggest that the Afrikaner believed the *volk* to be something worth fighting for and that the sacrifices are justified in the service thereof. The attitude of opposition extends to these stories, some directly address the issue of the Afrikaner versus the Englishman. Opposition is further encouraged by stories of internment and Afrikaner oppression. Thus, the perception is created that everything that is Afrikaans is good or noble, and that which does not fit within this perception must be rejected.[70]

Some articles also encourage the youth to consider certain career choices only because it could be of interest to the *volk* in the future. In line with the OB's family policy, there is an ongoing focus on several basic career paths that focus on the exposition of the *volk*. The main career paths, as mentioned in the magazines, are that of a Social Worker[71], actuary[72], teacher and housewife. These professions are thoroughly discussed in terms of financial support, professional function, and the execution in the interests of the *volk*. The portrayal of the position

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65 OBA: Grootraad van die Ossewa-Brandwag, *Gesonde huisgesinne bou 'n lewenskragtige volk*, pp. 1-23.

66 Even though the magazine was first published in 1947, a time beyond the frame of direct anti-colonial resistance, it provides insight into the anti-colonial notions that would be maintained through republicanism.

67 Here the action of Jopie Fourie and Elsabe Nel are important. They became symbols of Afrikaner patriotism and heroism that the youth could aspire to.

68 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, October 1947, pp.1-4; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, October 1948, p. 1; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, June 1948, pp. 1-2; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, July 1948, p. 1.

69 OBA: Kommandant-Generaal-collection, B/F 2/2, cover 12: korrespondensie J.A. Smith/kolonel Laas, 5 Maart 1940.

70 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, April 1948, pp. 6-7; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, July 1948, pp. 6.

71 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, October 1947, pp. 9-11.

72 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, April 1948, pp. 4-5.

of educator or housewife appear particularly propagandistic. Education is specifically linked to the interest of national unity since it offers the opportunity to educate the youth in terms of Afrikaner principles and in their own language.[73] The role of the housewife is considered noble and a much-needed position as *she* would be regarded as caretaker of *her* household and the *volk*.[74]

These publications are a type of anti-colonial resistance, a counter-reaction to established parameters of a colonisation of the mind. As Western/European liberal thoughts normalised the notion of the working women.[75] This is particularly the case with the youth who are moulded to shape a *volk* or Afrikaner-minded outcome as opposed to that which coloniality dictates. These works also stand against the other aspects of the colonial matrix as they seek to transition the perspective from the *one* to that of the *them*. It is important to note that the OB considers these perceptions to have a historical basis—the past becomes an intrinsic tool for resistance. The Afrikaner repositions the past to favour future endeavours, in an attempt to counter colonial pathologies that could have developed over time. Afrikaner gender norms become exalted within this context, perhaps leaving OB members contempt with their purpose filled roles as mothers or caretakers. Therefore, the *volk* becomes the main component of resistance; from this position, they can establish an inclusive frame to shield themselves from colonialism. While these publications were not successful, the OB enacted resistance so as to maintain the imagined volk and its construct of the family.

5.3. Internment and growing unrest

The implications of internment have been mentioned throughout this study. The following section seeks to discuss the resistance that it evoked and the actions that surrounded this war measure. Internment was implemented by the Smuts government in 1940 when the Second World War had just begun, as precautionary measure to investigate those suspected of sedition. Initially, the interned were Germans, Italians or those with an immediate ancestry who were accused of being pro-Hitler, but from 1941, OB members became the most common group to

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73 OBA: Grootraad-collection, B/F 1/3, cover 30: Opvoeding en onderwysbeleid, pp. 1-2.; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, June 1948, pp. 2-3.

74 OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, April 1948, pp. 5-6; OBA: PAM V-E, cover 3: *Vuurslag*, February and March, 1948, pp. 11-12.

75 M.A. McEuen, *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941–1945*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011), pp. 17, 101.

be found in the camps. This was largely due to the resistance the Stormjaers started to employ. F. Marais estimated a near total of at least 2000 interned Afrikaners. This had largely been because people could be detained indefinitely without knowing why they were arrested to begin with. Even though these men faced uncertainty it was usually their families who were left in a dire situation as they became exiles in their community with little to no financial support [76]

In retaliation of internment, the OB started fund raising activities after the first interments in 1940 in order to assist those families who were affected.[77] The task fell to the women of the OB who provided for these families and in some cases also housed refugees who escaped from the camps or accused persons who ran from the authorities.[78] In itself, the actions of these women can be considered acts of defiance that uphold Afrikaner nationalist perspectives. The Women-section had already been established in July 1939, it focused on propaganda efforts and fund-raising programs. According to Jossie Marais of the Vryburg commando, women mainly sold baked goods or held gathering/events in an attempt to collect money for the internees and their families[79]

Figure 3: The official propaganda poster for the OB's Relief fund. [80]

[76] OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 11, 1978: Herinneringe van J. Trümpelmann, pp. 1-12; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the History of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 525.

[77] Van der Walt, *'n Volk optrek: 'n Kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Ossewa-Brandwag*, p. 125.

[78] Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', p. 211.

[79] OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 208, 1985: Herinneringe van J. Marais, p. 3.

[80] Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', p. 320.

Figure 3 directly relates to section 5.2.2 and to the role of the family within the *volk*. The fundraising of the OB not only attests to the implications of internment but also to the people's urge to protect the family structure that compromised the *volk's* nationalistic structure. This socialist structure reflects the modernist influence that had imbed within the OB through a cultural revival.

Moreover, women also played a vital role within the OB's resistance campaign.[81] Nearing the end of 1940, a large amount of the OB men had already been interned and many men felt the pressures that the 'red oath' entailed. Despite the social, political, and financial pressures, the oath could alleviate the constraints of unemployment.[82] The women, therefore, took it upon themselves to protest the war since the men were prohibited to do so publicly. A brochure of the 1940 Women's Protest states that women wanted to take a stand on behalf of their husbands and sons.[83] The OB and members of the women-section sent a call for resistance and was steadily answered throughout South Africa. On the 22nd of June 1940, 6 000 women from across South Africa walked from Church Square to the Union Building in Pretoria. Along the way, more women joined the protest until there were 9870 women in total. In addition, thousands of men stood as spectators along the road. As seen in figure 4, some women put on Voortrekker clothes, which Grobler ties to the deputation of Voortrekker women who protested the annexation of Natal on the 9th of August 1843.[84] Surely, the past become an intrinsic tool against the established structure of the Union. So, too, does the role of women and the position of gender (as perceived through a European lens). In this regard, Blignaut evaluates the role of women in the OB and how their presence reaffirms the notion of being Afrikaner women ("Volksmoeders of the nation") and what that entails. In this sense, positioning the role of

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81 OBA: J.S. de Vos-collection, B/F 1/5, cover 3: Omsendbrief: Werksaamhede; Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', p. 48.

82 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 55-56, 1974: H.C. van Rooy, H.M. van der Westhuysen, K.J.H. Beherns and J.F.J. van Rensburg/L.J.C. Bootha, p.15.

83 The war was especially taxing on women whom did not want to lose their children and husbands like many of them had to lose their parents during the South African war; OBA: Reëlingskomitee van die Vroue-optog, *Die vrou roep Suid-Afrika, Die Vroue-optog, 22 June 1940*, (Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers, 1940).

84 J. Grobler, "Volksmoeders in verset: Afrikanervroue-optogte in Pretoria, 1915 en 1940", *Suid Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*, vol. 23, no. 1, (2009), p. 27; Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 207-208.

gender within the past can be seen as colonial resistance toward the structures of gender norms prevalent within the colonial matrix of power.[85]

Figure 4: OB members of the women section taking part in the Women's protest of 1940.[86]

The protest of 1940 can be viewed as a symbolic action of ongoing resistance toward British colonialism. This action also reaffirms the Afrikaner's mindset at that time, as they strived for a sense of unity and strength to be found in the past, as embodied by the centenary celebration. Their actions can therefore be linked to a cultural drift since they sought to rebuild Afrikaner nationalism on experiences of the past.[87] A deputy of three women issued a petition for neutrality at the Union Building to General Smuts's Secretary, Minister J.H. Hofmeyr.[88] The women later also submitted a signed petition with 150 533 signatures for neutrality to be given to Hertzog to present at parliament.[89] In the end, the government did not respond to either petition, it was regarded inconsistent with Parliament decisions.[90]

85 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 360-362; This is also affirmed with OB publications such as 'Gesonde huisgesinne bou 'n lewenskragtige volk' as evaluated in a previous section.

86 OBA: OB photo-collection., Photo nr. 856: Vroue-protesoptog, 22.06.1940.

87 In this type of nationalism, is not unique as it also pertains to the German nationalism of that time situating it within the spectrum of modernity.

88 OBA: Reëlingskomitee van die Vroue-optog, *Die vrou roep Suid-Afr*ika, *Die Vroue-optog, 22 Junie 1940*.

89 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 209-210.

90 OBA: Reëlingskomitee van die Vroue-optog, *Die vrou roep Suid-Afrika, Die Vroue-optog, 22 Junie 1940*.

Regardless, this action can be considered as evidence of anti-colonial resistance, seeing as the mass protest directly opposes British policy and sentiment. This view is heightened by the symbolic Afrikaner attire linked to anti-colonial actions of the past. One may even argue that this movement of women and the symbolic action it carried, as one of the first resistance actions after the 1938 celebration gathering, served as ignition for resistance to come. It reminded Afrikaners of their longstanding indifference toward the British and their notion for self-preservation as a *volk*.

At the end of 1940, several prominent members of the OB had been interned, despite objections from the OB's 'Groot Raad' [Grand Council]. Caring for the families of those who were interned and providing refuge to escapees, or defendants who hid from the authorities, was a task wholeheartedly undertaken by the members of the OB. OB member, Elsabe Nel, for instance, was particularly devoted to the cause of Afrikaner families affected by internment. [91]

In 1940, Nel a schoolgirl who studied in Pretoria, went home to her family farm for the holidays. There she met Jan Ackermann, an escaped internee who had been housed by her parents. Nel was approached by Ackermann (a German liaison) and her parents (OB affiliates) to send a message to Ackermann's wife in Durban, who would ensure that the message was received through the right channels.[92] Nel's young age made her inconspicuous so she received the letter from Anna Neethling-Pohl's[93] house and travelled to Durban under the guise that she was visiting for the holiday after an appendicitis operation.[94] The police was aware of the movements of OB/Stormjaer affiliated members since they had some evidence of a strong Stormjaer cell in Durban; they seized documents in the office of an OB-general which indicated that the district was involved in the organisation of a coup.[95] It was, therefore, no surprise when a detective of the South African Police force arrived, shortly after the holidays, at Nel's school to interrogate her. However, Elsabe refused to give any evidence or to answer questions. Her

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91 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', p. 212.

92 P.F. van der Schyff, "Verset teen 'Empire-Oorlog'", in P.F. van der Schyff (red.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras*, (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 246; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 204, 1985: H.M. Robinson/E. de Wet (neé Nel), pp. 1-2.

93 Neethling-Pohl was a prominent Afrikaner actress and member of the OB, who had more than one dealing with Stormjaer espionage.

94 Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', pp. 211-212.

95 G.C. Visser, *OB: Traitors or patriots?* (Johannesburg: Johnathan Ball, 1976), pp. 87-92.

non-cooperation resulted in a trail and her immediate incarceration, which was short-lived as the OB employed protest action and widespread objection which led to Nel's release.[96]

Figure 5: Elsabe Nel upon her release from prison.[97]

In this sense, women like Nel inspired others and helped the Afrikaner and, especially Afrikaner women, to claim their position within the resistance efforts. Nel became something of a martyr in the OB ranks and her actions where thoroughly propagated. Since Elsabe was also related to the OB hero, Jopie Fourie, her actions against government policy were, moreover, linked to past events of anti-colonial resistance. This sense of rebellion, much like that of Jopie Fourie, could serve as symbols of resistance and Afrikaner fortitude.

The internment policy undoubtedly had an impact on the organisation and on each OB member's life, especially in the way the war efforts were resisted and how people's behaviour changed in response to that change. The OB's anti-British sentiments, the attitude towards South Africa's war participation, and direct resistance contributed to the Union Government's targeting of the OB. Those who were seen as a threat to the government's war effort were detained without trial as political prisoners or placed in internment camps. Between 1939 and 1943, the war conditions had a decisive influence on public policy. Most of the OB internments

96 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 204, 1985: H.M. Robinson/E. de Wet (neé Nel), pp.3-11; Blignaut, 'Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories–teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa–Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954', p. 212.

97 OBA: OB Jaarboek 1947, p. 69.

took place during this time and with it came the biggest resistance from the OB, especially the Stormjaers.[98]

Internment can also be linked to modernity and coloniality. Even though internment intended to target persons classified as dangerous to the state, as the war progressed more and more Afrikaners were interned because of their opposition against the war and government policy. Interestingly, the Afrikaners, as a *volk*, endured similar war measures during the South African war. Marx states that some Afrikaner nationalists even 'tried to equate the internment camps with the Boer war concentration camps, in order to establish historical continuity in the path of suffering of the *volk*'.[99] What forms here, appears to be a modernist system not employed by the British but by the Afrikaner government (a fact reminiscent of a colonisation of the mind: The Afrikaner government and its people surely still felt the scars left by British concentration camps). For them to issue a policy of internment was more about sympathising with the British than with the *volk*. Therefore, coloniality transitions and is applicable not on racial basis but embeds itself within the colonial notion of the 'other'. The government embodied a British structure of rule against the OB who sought an Afrikaner, colonially inspired structure of rule. This system incited resistance among the Afrikaners perhaps because of its imagined link to the concentration camps.[100] Consequently, resistance would be maintained against the colonial government outside of the walls of internment and, in some cases, inside of those walls. In some cases, resistance would be evoked by the interned themselves. Consider, for example, J.F (Kowie) Marais, who joined the OB in 1940. Due to his prior involvement working for the SABC, he was tasked with the creation of a radio transmitter in order to establish contact with Germany. This established network would serve to involve Germany in a South African coup, nearing a German victory over the Allied forces (This topic will be discussed in further detail later on).

The garage where Marias and others such as Abraham Spies, Jo Spies, and C.S. Kruger operated would later be raided resulting in their internment on the 23rd of March 1941 at the Ganspan internment facilities. The camp that was used at Ganspan used to be an old people's home,

98 D. Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective,* (Berkley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), p. 129.

99 Marx, Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag, p. 525.

100 Marx, Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag, p. 525.

Marais noted only about 70 interned OB members, excluding the Germans and Communists[101] from the camps next to theirs. Prior to their arrival, Marais had already established a contingency plan in case he would have been arrested, that is, he created a hidden sypher to send messages outside of the camp. Marais and his wife could use this sypher to relay hidden messages in their letters. Using this information, Marais and other interned members started to dig a hole from their quarters to the outside, knowing that they would be able to make arrangements with OB members to assist their escape. On the 11th of October 1941, six months after they started digging, 9 men escaped and were on the run. Members of the Stormjaers and OB assisted their escape, providing asylum among the OB members.[102]

Marais would be interned again in July 1942, after nearly 9 months of freedom. This time, he was held at the camps in Koffiefontein as Ganspan camps had been re-allocated due to a number of escaped internees, not excluding Marais's group. Higginson states that many police and prison guards endeavoured to act lenient when it came to restricting the movement of the internees. This can be attributed to the contradictory perspectives on internment, as many prison guards identified with the Stormjaer/OB cause, resulting in them turning a blind eye.[103] Upon his arrival, Marais noted that the number of internees had increased significantly, a total of 700 men were now present, 420 were Stormjaers or OB members. Marais would be involved in another escape plan but instead of only gaining freedom, he intended to give 'the government a moral slap in the face'. Therefore, their escape plan acted as a type of resistance against the government's war measures, but also as an act of patriotism considering the sheer amount of men who had been interned due to their devotion to the Afrikaner's cause. The plan was largely formulated by high-ranking members of the Stormjaer such as Christiaan de Jager, John Vorster (later Prime MinisterVorster), Melt Toerien, and Kowie Marais. The group attempted to free 40 to 50 men, aiming to make their resistance statement known. The initial plan was that Jan Ackerman (the same Ackerman associated with Elsabe Nel) would be tasked to win the favour of the guards, situating himself as a false informant. His credibility would be built over time, he would feed them fragments of the truth and some of the interned men would serve as scapegoats to make Ackerman a believable informant. On the night in question, 3 men would

101 He states that the German camps had more members than the Afrikaner camps did, speculating about 80 internees. However, no recollection on the communist camp could be given, he regards the activities of the camp as being secretive.

102 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 5-7, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/J.F. Marais, pp. 9-13.

103 J. Higginson, *Collective violence and the agrarian origins of South African apartheid, 1900-1948*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 341.

stage an escape and Ackerman would feed this information to the guards who would search the fields for the escapees. At that time, the remaining guards would be distracted by other internees while the rest would disable the facility's power through crossing the main power wires with makeshift chains. Under the cloak of darkness, the remaining group of men would storm the gate and escape since the few guards stationed there would not be able to stop the group. The plan never succeeded, they struggled to toss the chains in such a manner that it caused a power outage. Some guards also came across the group as they attempted the power outage and fired shots. Hearing these shots, the men would disperse as the guards became aware of the commotion.[104] Even though this action failed, it illustrates how the interned also sought to resist the war and its measures by acting against the government and its policies. Resistance was not always conducted in this way. For instance, Vorster himself showcased his displeasure by means of hunger strikes. It is, however, certain that the men of the Stormjaers and the OB sought an Afrikaner Republic and would aim to achieve it by whatever means necessary, be they violent or peaceful. [105]

Internment, as a measure of war, was highly disapproved of, it consumed various OB and Stormjaer resources in order to resist such a system. The actions of the OB against internment measures were made possible by their fund-raising events and those who appealed to such a sense of nationalism, that they would house escaped internees. The OB also employed legal assistance and funds to its members in an attempt to free these men.[106] On the other hand, the Stormjaers enacted other methods of resistance surrounding the internment system, these included prisonbreaks, stealing money to provide cover for the legal fees of the interned, and directly causing violence in order to stop the internment proses altogether.[107] Seeing as the concept of internment could be directly linked to British occupation and the South African war, many Afrikaners saw these measures as cruel and anti-Afrikaner.[108] The resistance evoked by this system could, therefore, be regarded as anti-colonial in nature seeing that resistance was directly aimed at the government's policy. In this regard, those who were interned were, in one way or another, involved in actions against the government, meaning that their resistance against the government lead to their detainment. The resistance enacted from the camps

104 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 5-7, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/J.F. Marais, pp. 1-16.

105 Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective,* pp. 131-133.

106 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 226, 1981: H.O. Terblanche/B.J. Vorster, pp. 21-22; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 5-7, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/J.F. Marais, p. 7.

107 These actions will be discussed in the following section on Stormjaer resistance.

108 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 525.

themselves also leans to the anti-colonial. However, resistance employed toward this system can also be perceived as resistance toward modernity/coloniality considering the system's link to structures of the past. Therefore, resistance against internment would be seen as direct resistance against a colonial structure of power that had been used by the government as a tool from the past to maintain the Afrikaner's inferior position. However, this would remain an act of emancipation as coloniality surely endured, it merely combated a British-minded government and did not oppose the structural root.

5.4. Attempting emancipation: Stormjaers and violent resistance

In the case of the OB itself, violence usually surrounded the organisation, either through their own actions or by those who merely associated with the cause. Even though the OB employed resistance specifically against the government's system of rule, the OB was quite reserved in their acquisition of change through violence. Marx explains this remark accordingly:

> The OB was faced with a considerable dilemma. It questioned the existing order, which it wanted to overthrow by violent means. At the same time, however, it allowed itself to be included in a minimal consensus at various levels. Thus it approved white rule in principle and was prepared to support the existing order rather than endanger the system of racial domination through its actions, for it did not want to unleash a civil war- especially not between the English- and Afrikaner-speaking population. For this reason, it never resorted to violent means in a way that would openly challenge the fundamental principles of the system.[109]

Initially, the actions of the more radical Stormjaers would be monitored and watered down in fear of the Afrikaner's safety. However, violence was still exerted by young members who could not await orders form their superiors.[110] Violent actions would grow steadily over time and became more radical during 1942/3. Much like the OB, Smuts also feared the possibility of a civil war, resulting in his lenient or indecisive action against the group. Malherbe believes this notion was influenced by Smuts' remembrance and awareness of the bitterness his earlier stifling of Afrikaner movements caused. This happened in the context of the 1914 Rebellion, the death of Jopie Fourie, as well as the violent dispersal of the 1922 Mine strike. Smuts showed

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109 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 522.

110 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 55-56, 1974: H.C. van Rooy, H.M. van der Westhuysen, K.J.H. Beherns and J.F.J. van Rensburg/L.J.C. Botha, p.15.

a tolerant perspective toward the movement, especially when the victory of the British became more apparent.[111]

To better understand the spectrum of the OB as an anti-colonial movement, the following discussion will deal with the actions of the Stormjaer wing and the resistance they employed through violent action. In this discussion it will also become apparent that the OB sought emancipation from Britain, not liberation and was not prepared to sacrifice the position the Afrikaner maintained through the generations. This is already made evident concerning Marx's statement and the OB's approach to violent resistance. This perception, therefore, foreshadows the OB's failure to bring forth actual change as the structure of coloniality would merely endure.

With South Africa's participation in the Second World War, many OB members resisted the war efforts through the Stormjaers wing. The Stormjaers were not publicly affiliated with the OB but the organisation found its establishment and mass basis from the OB constituent.[112] Abraham Spies, prominent OB member and one of the founders of the Stormjaer movement, explains that since soldiers regularly clashed with Afrikaner activities, especially those where the OB was involved, the organisation was indeed required during 1940.[113] These clashes were predominantly caused by the increase in the number of right-wing organisations that sprang up after the announcement of war. Anti-British propaganda also intensified during this time, resulting in riots as an act of mutual provocation. Therefore, with the crystallisation of the movement in April 1940, every OB-commando was instructed to form a Stormjaer (SJ)-section within their area.[114] These members were handpicked in each commando, there was a sense of prestige among the chosen few who were sworn in, in secret. This was initially limited to the Transvaal but spread as time progressed. The Stormjaers were not to function as a separate organisation, but rather as a separate unit within the OB. Their initial goal was to train organised and disciplined members in order to be prepared for the day that the German victory came, so that these individuals could help conduct a coup and establish a republic.[115] The movement was

111 Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective*, p. 136.

112 J.F.J. Rensburg, *Their paths crossed mine*, (Cape Town: Central News Agency, 1956), pp. 51, 85.

113 This becomes particularly prevalent in the attack on the Voortrekker building in 1941, where around 70 soldiers attacked the building after they claimed that they saw posters propagating the OB around the building; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos.76-77, 1974: H.M. Robinson/J.H. Coetzee, p. 15.

114 Marx is uncertain as to the exact date on which the Stormjaer group was founded seeing as various members differ in the exact time of establishment. Spies, the founding member, concurs that early 1940 seems to be the general timeline.

115 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 216-219, 1983: H.M. Robinson/A.S. Spies, pp. 51-58.

not limited to this eventual goal but were guided through it. P.F. van der Schyff summarizes the objectives and actions of the movement as follows:

> Apart from functioning as a prepared unit, with a goal of a possible coup, the Stormjaers also helped when people had to escape from camps or prisons; to commit smaller and larger acts of sabotage as a sign of resistance and retaliation; to meet the needs of struggling OB families, for example to rob a Venterspos mine-van.[116]

With the arrival of Van Rensburg as OB leader, control of the Stormjaers was given over to Steve Hofmeyr, who had considerably more radical ideas for the group.[117] Only later, the exact time is unclear, the Stormjaers were removed from the OB as a separately functioning movement. They were, however, still compiled of some OB members and were still under the direct orders of Hofmeyr and indirectly, Van Rensburg.[118] Van Rensburg sought a type of safeguard and by splitting the two groups as seemingly separate organisations, the OB could claim anonymity form the actions of the Stormjaers later on.[119] The organisation shifted to more violent means as the movement would become particularly active during the years 1942/3.[120] The organisation mainly consisted of young men, particularly those with an attuned sense for militaristic aspects or criminal tendencies. The Stormjaer members consisted of soldiers, police officers, and those working in security since these individuals had some militaristic training and were no strangers to violence.[121]

According to Spies, the Stormjaers initial function was to serve as a defence corps for the OB, it was to intervene in the vandalization of OB offices and that of their affiliates. They were also to act in the interests of the *volk* as clashes with the government's soldiers had escalated during Afrikaner events. The Stormjaers would also interfere with the internment system by staging prisonbreaks and helping to conceal escapees. Spies also recalls some more radical infringements such as their involvement in the blowing up of cafés and businesses in the

116 Van der Schyff, "Verset teen, 'Empire-oorlog"', p. 227.
117 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 216-219, 1983: H.M. Robinson/A.S. Spies, pp.58-59.
118 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 3-5, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A.S. Spies, pp. 16-20 and 70.
119 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, p. 36.
120 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 234, 1988: H.M. Robinson/C.M. Bakkes, p. 5; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 353-354.
121 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 99, 1979: H.M. Robinson/B.S. Bornman, p. 5; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 361-362.

Transvaal area.[122] However, these types of infringements were also typically employed by the 'Tereurgroep', a small anarchist group established within the Stormjaer movement, with the specific intent to serve under Van Rensburg as a security unit. The 'Tereurgroep' functioned separately from the Stormjaers and mainly consisted of the police units that initially formed part of the Stormjaers. Both of these groups employed resistance according to the orders they received from Van Rensburg.[123] M. Botha recalls some of the early attacks in 1940, where a few men blew up a grocery store in Springs and other businesses around the country; resistance measures such as these were not always ordered, and many men acted out of their own cognizance and frustration. [124] Early resistance consisted of strategic attacks such as the cutting of telephone wires, gathering information through wire taps, freeing important OB members with trusted information, and raiding police- and magistrate- offices for confiscated weapons.[125] In other incidents, efforts were aimed at crippling the transportation of soldiers who were to embark for the African campaign through tampering with train tracks or to scare train drivers by firing warning shots.[126] Whatever the case these sub-organisations employed sabotage and resistance to hinder the government's war efforts and the war measures. Violence was not directly aimed at the government or at the colonial structure, instead, it was a rambunctious annoyance concerning South Africa's involvement in the war by occupying the government's forces.

The initial spirit of resistance that became prevalent in the Stormjaers would later engulf other parts of the OB as well. As already discussed, even though women could not directly affiliate with a group like the Stormjaers, some women played an integral part in concealing runaways and wanted Stormjaer affiliates. Some of them were even involved in underground networking and communication efforts as expressed through the 'Katdoringgeselskap'. Other sections like the Boere-Youth movement of the OB, would metaphorically act as a release valve that would provide the Stormjaers with its future members. The Boere-Youth established its own militaristic group within their division known as the 'Penkoppe'. They were not nearly as

122 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 3-5, 1973: H.M. Robinson & H.C. van Rooy/A.S. Spies, pp. 25-28.

123 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 14-15, 1974: H.M. Robinson/M.L.P. Slabbert, pp. 1-2; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 10-13, 1973: H.C. van Rooy & H.M. Robinson/J.C. Coetsee, pp. 4 and 14-15.

124 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos.160-161, 1978: H.M. Robinson/H.W. Botha, pp. 18-19.

125 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 10-13, 1973: H.C. van Rooy & H.M. Robinson/J.C. Coetsee, pp. 4 and 13-19; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 266, 1991: Radio Suid-Afrika/S.P.E. Boshoff, pp. 2-7.

126 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 154, 1977: L.M. Fourie/J.J. Coetzer, pp. 7-8.

violent as the Stormjaers but equally as passionate, Penkop activism meant the defacing of public property and publicly mocking the Union Jack.[127] Nevertheless, these groups merely account for a perspective of the time.

The Stormjaers became involved in treasonable actions due to Van Rensburg's 'hidden objective' which aimed to keep as many troops as possible occupied in the county through violent actions.[128] Aligning with this outcome, the OB's 'Geheime Diens' unit established communication with Germany hoping they would help advance this goal. At first, a weak network had been established via Lourenco Marques in Mozambique, making use of the *Sunday Times* newspaper (which was also available in Lourenco Marques) to communicate through a coded message.[129] They also used a small transmitter located in Pretoria to help establish communications. Later they moved to a larger transmitter in the Vryburg area which became their main means of connection. Here the well-known 'Radio Zeesen' station served as a link between the two countries by fiercely propagating the OB's cause to Afrikaner nationals.[130] Through this communication, it was agreed upon that the OB, at an undetermined hour, enact a campaign of mass sabotage, targeting communication networks, roads and English newspapers, all the while rallying coordinated strikes to stifle South-Africa's production network. This would not only weaken the government's grip on the country but would also cause a blow to Britain's production line, weakening their war efforts.[131] However, even though these communications and scheming did not amount to much, it opened the way for undesirable elements to enter the organisation, more specifically, the Stormjaers. Early resistance was aimed against war efforts but would see a change after 1941 as the Stormjaers would influence radical developments.

At the end of 1941, the organisations suffered a blow by the hands of a German 'spy' who brought an atavistic element to the Stormjaers that would greatly tarnish the image of the OB and its divisions. Robey Leibbrandt was a South-African boxer who attended the 1936 Olympic-games in Germany. There he became so enthralled by the spirt of German National

127 C. Blignaut and K. Du Pisani, '"Om die fakkel verder te dra': Die rol van die jeugvleul van die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1939-1952", *Historia*, vol. 54, no. 2, (2009), pp. 135-136.

128 OBA: Interview: Transcription Tape, Tape no. 137, 1977: L.M. Fourie/S. Boshoff, p. 2; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 515.

129 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 24, 1973: H.M. Robinson/A Barnard, pp. 4, 7-9.

130 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, pp. 25-27.

131 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 516-517.

Socialism and their military prowess that he stayed on in Germany, later joining a military unit. After extensive training, Leibbrandt set off to South Africa. His mission was to find his German contact and to deliver a transmitter, then await further orders. Due to unforeseen circumstances, he could not meet his contact and was left to his own devices, the opportunity offered him the time to realize his own interests.[132] Leibbrandt, a stout Afrikaner National Socialist, suffered such a severe type of fanaticism that he believed he could turn himself into a South African 'Führer'.[133] Eventually finding his way to OB headquarters, Leibbrandt met with Van Rensburg and his adjutant Anderson, where he made his intentions clear. Leibbrandt aimed to seize control of the organisation either willingly or through force, as he claimed that the time was seemingly ripe for a coup. After this discussion and Van Rensburg's natural dismissal of Leibbrandt's demands, he set off to actively work against the OB. He did this by entering the ranks of the Stormjaers. From within the movement, he syphoned members to establish his own movement, the National Socialist Rebels (NSR), who aimed to conduct a coup by murdering Smuts. Leibbrandt served as a police officer while his boxing career took off and, as such, appealed specifically to those Stormjaers in the police force.[134] Under his leadership, the group would institute radical resistance. In December 1941, Kalie Theron and 'Doors' Erasmus, former Stormjaer members who formed part of the police unit, attempted to blow-up a railway bridge just as the train was to cross the bridge. They believed the trains were carrying troops to Pretoria, but instead, it happened to be the families of the troops on their way to Durban to say goodbye. In either case, such an act of sabotage would be considered a terrorist attack. It would result in bitterness toward the OB/Stormjaers since the men involved were knowingly associated with these groups rather than Leibbrandt's newly found group. The two men fumbled their orders and, in the end, an accidental detonation caused their deaths.[135] The OB became increasingly weary of Leibbrandt and how his actions could affect the organisation. Fearing the worst, they informed the government about Leibbrandt and his intentions. In December of 1941, Leibbrandt was arrested after the police conducted their investigation and lured him into a trap. With his arrest they found a list of names of police officers who affiliated with Leibbrandt's movement as well as a list of Stormjaers who had nothing to do with Leibbrandt and the NSR.

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132 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, pp. 15-17.

133 Albert Blake gives a contemporary view of Leibbrandt and is acknowledged even if not properly researched; A. Blake, *Robey Leibbrandt: 'n Lewe van Fantisme*, (Johannesburg & Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2019), Preface.

134 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, pp. 13-18.

135 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 57-57A, 1974: J.F.J. van Rensburg, K.J.H. Beherns, H.M. Robinson, H.M. van der Westhuysen, H.C. van Rooy/H.J.R. Anderson, pp. 19-21; Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective*, p. 136.

As a result, a huge wave of arrests followed in January 1942, with over 500 people interned.[136] This was due to the large police membership within the group, 314 police officers and 59 railway policemen were arrested.[137]

Understandably, the emotions in the organisation became increasingly tense, some Stormjaer police officers even planned to overthrow senior police officers and take control of the police headquarters. In reaction, Van Rensburg made a public statement claiming the Stormjaers had nothing to do with the Leibbrandt fiasco:

> Ek sê vir julie die manne wat daar bo gearresteer word, is nie Leibbrandt se mense nie, dis my mense, dis die Stormjaers"[...]Hy sê: "En ek is hoof van die Stormjaers". Hy wou gehad het die koerante moet dit publiseer dat hierdie klomp polisie-kêrels, so vinnig as moontlik, dit kry. Dis 'n meesterstuk, dat hy daaraan gedink het, want die vinnigste manier is deur die pers. Toe gebruik hy die pers om so vinnig as moontlik die wye laer te bereik om hierdie polisiestaatsgreep te keer. Toe hulle dit in die koerante lees, toe (ek het met hulle kontak gehad) is hulle doodtevrede. Hulle is doodgelukkig dat dr. Van Rensburg hom in die publiek vereenselwig met hulle.[138]
>
> ["I tell you the men arrested up there are not Leibbrandt's people, they are my people, they are the Stormjaers" […]He says, "And I am the head of the Stormjaers". He wanted the newspapers to publish it, so that these bunch of police fellows could receive it as quickly as possible. It is genius that he thought of it, because the fastest way is through the press. Then he used the press to reach the whole group as quickly as possible to stop this police coup. When they read it in the newspapers, (I got in touch with them) they were completely satisfied. They were happy that Dr. Van Rensburg publicly identified himself with them.]

Besides calming the Stormjaers, Van Rensburg's statement had little effect as a large amount of the Stormjaer police unit had been interned. However, in retrospect, Van Rensburg's action also tied the OB to the Stormjaers, putting any speculation about their co-involvement to rest. Unable to tame his wild Stormjaer movement, Van Rensburg had no choice but to seek a sense of retribution through violent means. This led to a meeting of Stormjaer-officers, on the 18th of

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136 One of the arrests was a Mr. Krauwkamp. With his arrest the police raided his home and found another list with known Stormjaers affiliates: OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, pp. 18-21; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 432-433.

137 Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective*, p. 129.

138 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, p. 21.

January 1942. At this meeting, Hofmeyr gave the orders to employ large-scale sabotage actions throughout the Transvaal and Orange Free State as a means of retaliation against the arrests. Only a few days later, on the 22nd of January, the first wave of sabotage commenced as 15 power cables at a power pylons had been blown up.[139] Subsequently the group's action escalated, and more telephone wires were cut and power interruptions became more frequent.[140] These actions were influenced by the increase of arrests, as Van Rensburg himself stated: "Sabotage follows in line with arrest." [141]

Engaging in hundreds of sabotage events, the organisation's violent means would inevitably lead to repercussions. The events of January to March 1942 resulted in heightened awareness of government and police involvement against the organisation.[142] In this context, the public image of the Stormjaers and, inadvertently, the OB would suffer. In July of 1942 two Stormjaers, Julian Visser and Hendrik van Blerk, were sentenced to death (the NP later appealed for a life sentence) after these men blew up the Benoni post office, which resulted in the death of an innocent life. Later that year, 58 men appeared in court after a pre-empted plan to sink a ship in Durban harbour. During the arrests, several Stormjaers and one police officer was shot and severely injured. Two of the saboteurs evaded arrest by detonating the explosives that was planned for the ship, resulting in their suicide. [143] Actions like these caused the masses to question the OB since increasingly radical action did not necessarily appeal to the public.

With the increase of arrests, the Stormjaers needed large amounts of money if they wanted to pay the fines of their members and to support the families of the interned. What followed was the so-called 'jobs', as nicknamed by the Stormjaers. Small groups would rob post offices, banks or money-vans from the mines in order to supply Stormjaer headquarters with enough money to manage the effects of the arrests. These actions and the wave of violence that ensued was placed under stringent control and would eventually subside. With sabotage came prosecutions, this meant that saboteurs had to flee and be housed. In this regard, things started to die down as it became increasingly difficult to employ actions against the state. In this time, the state had also prosecuted various saboteurs, marking the end of 1942 with 52 charges of

139 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, p. 21.
140 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 434.
141 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, p. 22.
142 C. Vasey, *Nazi intelligence operations in non-occupied territories: Espionage efforts in the United States, Britain, South America and South Africa*, (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2016), pp. 285-286.
143 Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa: South African in perspective*, p. 129.

high treason.[144] As the government tightened their grip on the Stormjaers, the string of interments would yield 'traitors' among the ranks.

The Stormjaers were implicated in at least two deaths following the internments of 1942. These two men had been executed on Van Rensburg's orders. The first was Dice Lötter, who was supposed to testify against a German agent who had ties with the OB. He was executed by known Stormjaer Barnie Basson on the 12th of November 1942. The second was L.F. Nel, a former OB and Stormjaer member who became an informant after his internment. Nel was abducted from his home on the 30th of September 1942, his body was found two weeks later in a mine shaft with a bullet to the head. These actions sway to the extreme and should be perceived as actions of fear, rather than resistance (considering the extent of internment and the frustration that it accompanied).

To a lesser extent, violence would also follow against the HNP when the incited Stormjaers clashed with the opposition party. Given their position toward the OB and, indirectly, to the Afrikaner, the HNP could also be viewed as 'traitors'. Two examples stand out: H.F. Verwoerd, editor of *Die Transvaler*, who was probably one of the main opponents of the OB, warded off attacks in 1941 as a group of Stormjaers gathered at the head office of the organ, seeking retribution for the paper's slanderous claims against the OB. In 1944, F. Mentz, a party office-bearer was abducted and publicly beaten with a sjambok, following some negative comments he made regarding to the OB's 'Noodhulp' funds.[145] These actions left many Afrikaners who affiliated with the organisation dissatisfied, it appeared as though the OB was aiming its violence at its own people. While the OB remained accountable, many of these actions were the result of youthful impatience, seeking to act.[146]

These events were inevitably tied to Van Rensburg, who publicly defended the Stormjaers and confirmed his involvement, as thoroughly propagated through the HNP.[147] These actions, along with the Leibbrandt episode that resulted in a string of sabotage attacks, was a decisive blow to the organisation. This, furthermore, led the government to employ strong war measures,

144 OBA: Interview: Transcription Tape, Tape no. 90, 1975: H.M. Robinson/C.H. Beetge, p. 1.

145 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 523.

146 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 524.

147 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 16-18, 1973: H.M. Robinson/H. Anderson, pp. 37-40; Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 524-526.

resulting in mass internment. The wave of violence that characterised the years 1942/3, confused the eventual goal of the OB as these actions of resistance did more harm than good.[148] The wave of violence provided the opposition with enough material to strike at the heart of the OB and to weaken their populist grasp on the *volk* (who did not want to associate with these actions).

Even though violent actions were scaled down after June 1943, it was still a common occurrence, especially in the Transvaal area. Stormjaer activities entailed sabotage, prisonbreaks and money distribution throughout 1943/4.[149] Much like the OB, the Stormjaers had to reconsider their organisational outcome as the war started to come to fruition. The organisation maintained their structure but situated their aims against communist ideologies and the looming threat it held to Afrikaner society.[150] The Stormjaers found their basis in the Labour Front, specifically on the Rand and in Pretoria after 1942, as membership decreased following the wave of violence and arrests. These labourers found appeal with the movement as many of them had been pushed to poverty during the war and the corresponding flow of Black workers. The OB sought to influence these appointments and the trade unions. Accordingly, the Stormjaers, helped organise an 'Arbeids-kommando' and clashed with communist movements and unions that were prevalent on the Rand.[151] The Stormjaers functioned in the Transvaal area where they enacted violent attacks on Jewish and communist businesses. By now, the Stormjaers had become a group of rambunctious boys as uncoordinated attacks raged on until the election of 1948.

Considering the theoretical approach, violent action often becomes a tool of resistance movements, it is employed in an attempt to change the colonial structure. However, as in the case of the OB, violence was employed in such a manner that it amounted to little change. As a populist movement, hinged on Afrikaner cultural and nationalist aspirations, these actions did not coincide with the perceived image of the organisation. Even though violence was aimed at the war efforts, those who experienced these waves of resistance was the Afrikaner. As such, these actions could appear as an attack on the *volk* since it created a sense of separate

148 Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 434.
149 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 29-30, 1974: J. van Zyl Alberts/H.J. van den Berg and B. Basson, pp. 5,16.
150 OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape nos. 190, 1976: H.M. Robinson/B. Basson, pp. 1-2; OBA: Interview: Transcription tape, Tape no. 34, 1974: H.M. Robinson/D. Theron, p. 8.
151 OBA: Interview: Transcription Tape, Tape no. 90, 1975: H.M. Robinson/C.H. Beetge, pp. 2-4.

perspectives, mainly between radical Afrikaner nationalism and those linked to party politics. In short, these actions could not be considered as violence against 'them', but toward the imagined 'us'. The failure of the Stormjaers can be attributed to the fact that their actions did not impede the end results of the war, as became clear in 1944. Secondly, since the Stormjaers were tied to a social movement, the resistance they could offer would lead to a lacklustre end result (only a political spectrum could bring forth the needed change), yet in this regard they opposed the HNP who could tarnish their resistance activities through political and propagandistic means. Considering the short timeframe in which the Stormjaers acted, along with their goal to disrupt the war efforts, it becomes apparent that the group would not achieve much by the conclusion of the war. The usefulness of the Stormjaers, as an anti-colonial movement, ended abruptly. One should also consider the events that occurred during 1942 and thereafter, when the organisation's goal became distorted resulting in resistance against internment. The Stormjaer movement can be considered an anti-colonial movement, however, their success as an anti-colonial movement is questionable seeing that the violence propagated by them merely advanced the position of the HNP.

5.5. The end of the OB and the rise of Afrikaner despotism: The problems of coloniality

Several factors led to the decline of the OB. From 1946 onward, the OB began to lose momentum. The end of the Second World War was a death sentence for the OB, seeing as the organisation had no political alternative in case Germany would lose the war. One of the main reasons for the OB's establishment was due the outbreak of the Second World War. Not only was the war one of the organisation's main proponents but their anti-colonial resistance had largely been hinged on a favourable outcome as well. After the war, the OB began to experience a crisis, it appeared as though the organisation's time had run out. In addition, large-scale demoralization spread among OB members after the war, leading to a decline in membership and a spirit of apathy among active OB members. To add insult to injury, from 1946 the OB began to experience serious financial problems.[152]

The OB leadership was painfully aware of the decline and sought to stop it. The organisation changed their focus to favourable modernist ideologies such as communism and anti-Semitism

[152] Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, pp. 530-554.

to enthral their resistance. The organisation would also encompass a larger political spectrum. However, these actions also failed as the organisation's newly established policies were found to be contradictory to their initial aims, particularly pertaining to their position on party politics.[153] The political arena was getting hotter for the OB as the HNP capitalized on the signs of the OB's collapse. During this time, the OB maintained their focus on the *volk*'s need for the organisation, emphasising their indispensability as champions of republicanism. The OB did, however, change their position from an exclusive Afrikaner national socialist movement, to one that would encompass whites of both Afrikaner and English backgrounds within their republican ideals, based on Christian ideals.[154]

The HNP's victory during the 1948 election was an even bigger blow to the OB than the results of the Second World War. Most of the OB's members had been absorbed into the HNP.[155] This can mainly be attributed to the organisation's inability to make the needed ideological and political transitions after 1945. The outcome of the general election on the 26th of May 1948 brought the realization that the movement would come to an end. The OB considered itself the embodiment of the republican ideal and yet it appeared that the ideal could only be achieved in a party-political sphere. However, the OB helped to deliver the final blow to the colonial government seeing that the OB ordered their members to vote for Malan's party during the elections.[156]

Accordingly, it can be stated that the OB's anti-colonial resistance ended after 1945 along with the war. As previously stated, the organisation attempted to maintain their resistance perspective by changing the organisation's objectives as needed. However, this transition was flawed as it caused confusion and weakened their position as anti-colonial movement. The OB's final action against the Union could only be achieved by linking to the HNP, in the hopes of championing the Afrikaner cause. In this case, OB members transitioned to the leading party and adopted the ideological foundation that had been established in the movement. Yet, this study does not seek to investigate the failures or victories of either organisation. This study hopes to establish that the OB is situated within the second wave of resistance since the

153 J.J. Badenhorst, 'Vroeë organisasiestruktuur', in P.F. van der Schyff (red.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: vuurtjie in droë gras,* (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 39.
154 OBA: *Die OB*, 01.10.1952, pp. 1-2.
155 Prinsloo, 'Kultuuraktiwiteite van die Ossewa-Brandwag', p 380.
156 L.M. Fourie, 'Mobilisering van die Afrikanerdom', in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewa-Brandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras,* (Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO, 1991), p. 145.

organisation exacted anti-colonial resistance against the leading governing party, the despots of 1910-1948. Due to their marginalised political position and short-lived objectives, the organisation would see to an incomplete resistance effort. Their opposition and claims to power only resituated colonial powers. This study, therefore, regards the ideological and cultural founding's of the OB to be influenced by coloniality. Thus, even if the OB were to achieve political victory, they probably would have created a structure much like that of the HNP. The Afrikaner should be seen as a special type of colonist, one that opposed the Union merely to re-stipulate the parameters according to their will, as most colonial movements do, hence the problematic nature of coloniality.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

The OB, as radical National socialist movement, was an important facet of anti-colonial resistance. This is a difficult position to claim since it alludes to their identity as colonised colonists, moulded and perpetuated throughout colonial history to come to mean the same thing. Yet, grounds for the OB and, by association also the Afrikaner's, claim to this position must be considered given the evidence for anti-colonial resistance.

On account of their possible nativity and position as colonially supressed, the Afrikaner appears to fit within the theory of the colonised. They can, moreover, be afforded a position among African resistance efforts as they became colonial despots by re-establishing links to the past and the familiar patterns that previously provided legitimacy to the British.

Upon gaining power, they embraced the old African pattern of disregarding notions prevalent in resistance and resituated themselves within the political spectrum of coloniality in order to claim power as their own, whether it be in a nationalistic fashion or not. By now it is clear that the Afrikaner bears the cross of being unique among colonists. Considering the parameters within the theoretical composition of modernity/coloniality, the Afrikaner became a white community that merely replaced a certain species of men with another species of men (as is accepted to be the path for most African states).

6.1. The Ossewa-Brandwag as an anti-colonial resistance movement situated within the theoretical context of modernity/coloniality.

The position of this study regarding the OB as anti-colonial resistance movement should be clear by now. The OB has already been viewed through various lenses, but as emphasized by the theoretical implications, modernity/coloniality has, to some extent, been embedded within the nature of South African resistance. This concept and the central focus of anti-colonial resistance was directly addressed by the central research question: Against the background of the Afrikaner's complex identity as both colonised and coloniser, and with modernity/coloniality theory in mind, how can the Ossewa-Brandwag be seen as an African anti-colonial movement?

How can the Ossewa-Brandwag be seen as an African anti-colonial movement against the backdrop of the Afrikaner's complex identity as both colonised and coloniser in consideration of modernity/coloniality theory? To successfully answer this research question, four sub-objectives were set out. The first question aimed to define the concept of resistance according to relevant theory. The second research goal discussed the validity of the Afrikaner of the 1930's and 40's, and by implication, the members of the OB, as Africans oppressed by colonialism. The third aim pursued a perspective on the nature of the OB, specifically defined in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality. Finally, the fourth research aim moved the discussion toward the OB's activities and policies and reflected on the organisation's anti-colonial tendencies. The reader is reminded that throughout the study the focus has been placed on historical continuity, by means of a theoretical basis with which to steer the argument. From the beginning, the presuppositions underlie the research questions as follows and can be linked to the main findings of the study:

6.1.1. How can resistance be defined according to relevant theory?

This aim is mainly discussed in Chapter 2 that outlined the broader concept of resistance and accompanying social movements. It is also within the parameters of this aim that the discussion expounds on modernity/coloniality since this epistemic can be tied directly to African and anti-colonial resistance efforts:

Resistance encompasses a broad term and can change its intended meaning depending on the qualifier. Resistance is accordingly used as a term that refers to any violent or non-violent action in which an individual or group opposes a certain aspect of society. While it is by no means the norm, social movements frequently include aspects of resistance and then transition to resistance movements, seeing as the platform offers the opportunity to bring forth tangible change. However, as in the case of South-Africa, resistance has, to a great extent, been enacted as anti-colonial resistance in which a group employs resistance toward an aspect of society that enforces unfavourable colonial elements or a colonial power that influences society directly. Because of South Africa's rich colonial history this anti-colonial resistance has been employed and analysed in various historiographical discussions. The concept and influence of coloniality in South Africa, on the other hand, has not yet been analysed to the same extent. This point proves particularly research worthy in a study on African resistance.

The foundation of African resistance can be understood as the effluence of 'othering'. This stems from the repressive and submissive past that colonisation has established along with its longstanding pathologies evoked through the colonial matrix of power. As such, resistance, both violent and non-violent, is prone to be enacted through social movements that find constituency through a mass basis that share correlating factors. These factors are often formed due to various phenomena, including a collective opposition toward oppression or a cultural drift resulting in an ideological move due to external epistemic thought that incites new perceptions of dissatisfaction. It should also be mentioned that while a cultural drift can be linked to social disorganisation (as modernity sets forth new liberal thought), coloniality embeds conservative patterns that exalt a twisted perspective of the past. This study argues that resistance has been influenced by the concept of coloniality since the epistemic draws on colonial structures, specifically the source of knowledge found in past experiences that would result in the revival of colonial parameters and, in turn, actions of resistance or indirectly, anti-colonial resistance. In either case, various South African resistance movements took place along the lines of anti-colonial resistance. These movements were, as this study proposes, an effluence of coloniality seeing as South Africa has faced repeated forms of colonisation that, in each instance, resulted in the resituating of past patterns of colonialism within societal structures. To be clear, coloniality should be viewed as the continuance of colonial epistemic or rather, the colonial matrix of power, specifically as it pertains to knowledge and how the colonised retain colonial perspectives as point of reference. Therefore, even though a sense of emancipation has been achieved, the colonised merely return to parameters stipulated by the colony. Any act of resistance employed by those who were subjected to colonisation, may, consequently, be considered a form of anti-colonial resistance since the colonial epistemic endured through coloniality and its structures.

Accordingly, resistance can be perceived in various waves, each making way for the other as an incomplete transition from the colonial structures that remained. The first wave of resistance is directly enacted toward the colonist and the encroachments of modernity. The second wave of resistance is enacted toward the colonial despot that replaced the colonist, resituating past colonial structures as the first wave merely brought emancipation instead of true liberation. In this context, liberation changes the system from the bottom up in order to subdue to effect of coloniality. The third and final wave is contemporary resistance situated against the patterns of modernity/coloniality; resistance is yet to usher in true liberation. In this regard, most cases of African resistance have failed to break the chain of coloniality, established colonial patterns are

seemingly transferred throughout the ages, embedding in the native people's minds, culture, economy, hierarchy and the like. Perspectives of (de) coloniality are required in order to free the previously colonised in contemporary times.[1]

It is exactly this notion of delinking that sparks the question surrounding the Afrikaner. If the colonised are influenced by coloniality, then surely the Afrikaner had seen his share of suppression, even though they were responsible for a large amount of colonial suppression themselves. This issue frames the second research aim and the Afrikaner's position as a native of a special type.

6.1.2. Can the Afrikaner of the 1930's and 40's, and by implication the members of the OB, be seen as "Africans" oppressed by colonialism?

Chapter three discusses the position of the Afrikaner with regards to their nativity. The argument for the Afrikaner's position as a native of South Africa is brought forth by the imposition of the theoretical composition of modernity/coloniality on the colonised. This study has aimed to apply theoretical thought on an Afrikaner movement and its colonised groups. Thus far, it has been argued that if the Afrikaner can be considered a native of South Africa (even a special type of native), their actions should directly adhere to the theoretical composition associated with anti-colonial resistance and modernity/coloniality. In short, if the Afrikaner is indeed a native, theoretically one could argue their resistance efforts to be anti-colonial in nature and their actions influenced by coloniality.

Thus, the Afrikaner can be understood to be a colonist of a special type since this group finds their origin in the colonial project; they were, to some extent, colonised and supressed. However, the Afrikaner also enacted principals of colonisation in South Africa, albeit different from the methods followed by their European counterparts. This perspective is complicated by the fact that the Afrikaner established themselves and identified as Afrikaners within the Cape area over a time span of a 100 years. Certainly, the Afrikaner should then be regarded a native of a special type. This argument makes use of three historical focus points in order to answer the question regarding the Afrikaner's position as native and colonist: A) A separation from

[1] See sections in 1.2. in Chapter 1; 2.2. and 2.3. in Chapter 2 and section 3.3. in Chapter 3

Europe and the yoke of colonialism; B) the formation of a new group associated with Southern Africa and C) the Afrikaner as a problematic native of a special type.

To start with, the Afrikaner did not colonise the Cape as is often believed. Instead, they developed as a people over time; physically, they mixed with various ethnic groups as found at the Cape, and socially, they developed their own culture, history, and language in addition to their position within the colony as non-Europeans. These early settlers enjoyed some freedoms but endured an existence as inferiors to any European true born. This much is evident from the protest that were steadily aimed at the VOC and their structural changes by the free burghers and Afrikaners. The Afrikaner can also be understood as a sort of creole since they were connected to both their European and African influences to prove the legitimacy of their existence. As creoles, they would enjoy a certain amount of status but could never be regarded as European and the advantages it entailed. The colour of their skin stereotypically aligned them to Christianity and the salvations of modernity, yet their status was similar to that of the African. The Afrikaner was subsequently perceived as 'Afrikander', a native of Africa and thus also received the oppression that accompanies othering. Their position of inferiority led the Afrikaner to claim a history of anti-colonialism, much like the natives of Africa, as they resisted various structures of colonialism but did not seek to change the system since they still enjoyed some of its advantages.

The Afrikaner steadily developed over time as their position within the colony demanded legitimacy. As a result, there was a marked increase in the Anglicisation of the Cape, many Burghers found themselves removed from these influences as they established growing societies in the interior. They learned to rely on one another as the Cape could hardly provide for their needs concerning the availability of goods and, more importantly, protection from the native Khoisan. Considering the frontier theory discussed here, this sense of alienation and camaraderie provided these people with a growing sense of exclusivity and allowed them to become more than a type of European, but a new group of settlers who associated with the land and one another—they became Afrikaners.

Those who found themselves at the Cape had a similar experience. Yet, the foundations for the Afrikaner had already been established before the Anglican transition could steadily impact their formation as a people. The Afrikaners of this time had already shared a collective history and faced similar struggles. They also had in common, a growing cultural nuance from that of

Dutch culture into Burgher culture and, eventually, Afrikaner culture. In this regard, even though English became the subsequent spoken/written language, these people still used their vernacular in church, at home, and among themselves. It is perhaps this othering that became a catalyst for the need and formation of a group like the Afrikaners because it provided the support and collectivism that would help them flourish. They were not European nor were they African, but they were considered native. From this position they enjoyed privileges a 'full native' could not. However, it is exactly this position that would make the Afrikaner a problematic kind of native, these European advantages would later translate into resistance actions taken by the Afrikaner.

The abolition of slavery not only threatened the Afrikaner's economic way of life but also the imagined parameters of what it meant to be an Afrikaner. If slaves gained rights, the Afrikaner would not be considered a creole and would no longer be a superior but a type of native, more equal to those he once suppressed. With this in mind and with little to tether them to the colony, a large group decided to move inland where they would further Afrikaner parameters and unknowingly, also coloniality. This is the third focus point of the present study—the Afrikaner became a colonist of a special type.

Therefore, when the Afrikaner 'Treked' into the interior as a form of resistance, two different perspectives emerge. The first is a sense of colonialism, as these white men re-instituted patterns of the colony, not as the oppressed but as the oppressor and formed their own republics. Secondly, the'Trek' of the Afrikaner can also be seen as that of an African migration. A white community who had been influenced by the structures of modernity and colonialism merely re-established patterns of coloniality upon the people they encountered. In both perceptions, the South African war concluded with the Afrikaner and native being recolonised. The Afrikaner was then situated as the leading community, issuing a sense of indirect rule as the Afrikaner was still submissive to its colonial patron. Within this context, the Afrikaner established imagined parameters regarding to their right to rule, believing themselves to be as native as any African, yet still superior due to their colonial position that transcended time through coloniality. Views of the Afrikaner's nativity largely developed from their anti-colonial history. The Afrikaner were again colonised with the Anglo-Boer Wars (South African Wars) and in this instance, it appeared as though their submissive position gained legislative power (which would later be undone).

Despite a few differences, the theoretical approach of this study seems to fit the Afrikaner identity well, especially with regards to coloniality. The theoretical background, moreover, supports the notion that the Afrikaner is a native/colonist of a special type.[2] Considering this argument, the effect of 1910 merely resituated the Afrikaner among the colonised and called for an evaluation of Afrikaner movements that opposed colonial structures and policies. I therefore consider the argument for the OB as anti-colonial movement, a sound one.

6.1.3. How can the OB be defined in terms of anti-colonial resistance within the context of modernity/coloniality?

This research question forms the main argument in Chapter 4 and provides the subsequent question with the basis for the OB's position as anticolonial movement. In the light of the previous question, the Afrikaner can be seen as becoming a native of a special type (considering their identification with Southern Africa), but also a colonist of a special type as they themselves colonised the interior and would later do so through Apartheid. Since this study seeks to discuss the proposed parameters of resistance, the focus was shifted to the OB as anti-colonial resistance movement within the framework of modernity/coloniality. Therefore, an analysis of the nature of the OB as anti-colonial movement is a direct effluence of the previous research question, both allude to the Afrikaner's nativity and association to colonisation.

The formation of the Afrikaner led to the eventual establishment of their own republics and the survival of coloniality. These were short-lived and the Afrikaner again found itself within an established Union with the British, a union that re-positioned the Afrikaner as the 'other' and tribal despot. The Union formed a wedge between Afrikaners as colonialism still had a yoke to bare, leaving the Afrikaner feeling alienated from their cultural and historical past, a mere shadow of their former selves in terms of hegemony and economy. Some groups and political parties would emerge to question their position and legitimacy to rule. One such group was the Ossewa-Brandwag, one of the largest social movements of its time, largely influenced by a shared cultural drift experienced with the centenary celebrations of 1938 and the oppression of South Africa's involvement in the Second World War.

[2] See section 3.1., 3.2. and 3.3. in Chapter 3

The OB found its impetus, as an anti-colonial resistance movement, in its protest of the Second World War, which served as catalyst for the organisation's objectives and public appeal. However, being strongly linked to a reimagined Afrikaner past, the organisation sought to reject colonial pathologies through a cultural, social, and political revival, as situated within the Boer republics. The OB should not only be seen as an anti-colonial movement (due to their physical actions) but should also be understood in terms of their apathy toward the British and their colonial structures. The group initially focused their efforts on an epistemic onslaught, aiming to stifle British modernity by offering an Afrikaner perspective. The OB's actions against the war varied between more passive resistance and the radical resistance of the Stormjaers, who enacted sabotage and violence to make their demands known. These organisations also connected with Germany in the hope that the war would decide the Afrikaner's fate by ushering in republic ideals when the Germans claimed victory, allowing the organisation to establish a coup. Furthermore, the organisation was influenced by the socialist and fascist ideologies of this time. In order to claim autonomy over these ideologies, they would be repurposed within Afrikaner culture and ideologies like Krugerism. Their focus was against coloniality itself, seeking a conservative past opposed to a modernist liberalist perspective. However, they remained influenced by coloniality, the Afrikaner's past is indeed entrenched by colonial dogma.

The OB's actions were also opposed to the colonial matrix of power. The organisation sought to establish their own hierarchy through republican ideals that counterattacked the government's authority by resisting its policies and its appeal to order. The violent actions taken by the Stormjaers can be interpreted as the demolition of colonial structures and authority. Such acts of violence could penetrate the mind of the colonised and free him from the notion of being inferior to the oppressor. The democratic capitalistic nature of society was also brought under scrutiny as this system was regarded to be colonial and should, therefore, be replaced by Afrikaner National Socialist structures. The Afrikaner protected their knowledge of self by repurposing this ideological basis within their own reimagined context. The OB also positioned itself against a colonisation of the mind, as the organisation weaved history, culture, and national thought into every aspect of the Afrikaner's existence. Therefore, the revaluation of the Afrikaner past and a growing perspective of nationality based on cultural and socialist ideologies, inevitable led to anti-colonialism.[3]

[3] See section 4.1., 4.2. and 4.3. in Chapter 4

All things considered, the organisation seems to embody the views expounded on in Chapter 2 and 3. The OB (indirectly, the Afrikaner as well), became natives influenced by coloniality; they re-established their own glorified past to combat the influences of colonisation through an anti-colonial position. However, this merely serves as a sense of emancipation considering the Afrikaner's colonial past, they would eventually establish themselves as colonist of a special type in their striving to reposition South Africa in colonial patterns, as experienced in the past.

6.1.4. Do the OB's activities and policies reflect anti-colonial tendencies?

The final research question, as discussed in Chapter 5, synthesises the aims previously discussed. As such, a historiographical exposition investigated the activities that can be interpreted according to the relevant theory and in the context of anti-colonial resistance.

In essence, the OB was an anti-colonial resistance movement that aligned their policies with Afrikaner National Socialism and the establishment of republic ideals. To strengthen nationalistic tendencies, the organisation's cultural activities became drenched in strong historical context pitted against the British.

The OB's policies and anti-colonial attitude was also propagated to the masses through publications that strongly linked to the *volk* and the individual. Re-imagined constructs such as these could affirm Afrikaner-minded pathologies that are opposed to colonial rule. This is apparent in the *volk*'s resistance in the face of war measures such as internment, which only seamed to create a platform for their national socialist front. Resistance allowed the Afrikaner members of the OB to serve the call of the *volk* and would testify of their need and aspiration to establish an Afrikaner-minded government as opposed to the colonial system that was in place. As a cultural organisation, the OB emphasised the Afrikaner's collective past. This was an important strategy that allowed the organisation to link past experiences to contemporary issues as well as enable them to enact a sense of indirect anti-colonial resistance through gatherings, celebrations, and direct anti-colonial resistance through performances and the written word that placed the British in an unfavourable light. These actions were a powerful motivator for more deliberate groups such as the Stormjaers and the youth.

It is also important to mention that the OB's cultural resistance efforts fortified the *volk*'s mind against colonial influence. As previously mentioned, the organisation sought to resituate the

Afrikaner's perspective on the *volk* itself. For that reason, a cultural onslaught was used to glorify the past, to establish the notion of *us* against *them* and to package modernist thought within an Afrikaner historical perspective. This helped to establish the Afrikaner as the creator and focal point of knowledge since knowledge no longer had to be derived from a British perspective. A new Afrikaner identity enabled the Afrikaner to assume the imagined authority to rise above their colonial sires and to become colonists of a special type.

No other action provides such strong footing for the argument than that of the Stormjaers since the group sought to bring forth change through violent means of resistance. Chartering a path for the OB's 'hidden objective', the group would occupy South African forces in order to cripple the country's involvement in the war. This led to actions of sabotage and an innate disregard for the social structures that had been prevalent within the Union. Therefore, it can be said that the chief objective of the Stormjaers was that of anti-colonial resistance. This cause had been so firmly instilled that those Stormjaers who had been interned, maintained their resistance efforts and hoped to remain a thorn in the side of the colonial government. The OB's anti-colonial attitude would diminish after 1945, when the organisation's objective became obsolete. However, in a final act of defiance, the OB aligned itself with their direct opposition, the HNP. By voting for the party, the OB assured the establishment of an Afrikaner-minded organisation that would eventually break ties with the British.[4]

Therefore, the Ossewa-Brandwag can be seen as an African anti-colonial movement considering their Afrikaner following and their direct acts of resistance against the colonial system. This is further affirmed by the organisation's ideological beliefs that sought to oppose colonial perspectives by uplifting the *volk*, to establish the *volk* at the heart of South African social and political life. The Afrikaner's identity was shaped through colonialism but developed over time with the influence of coloniality. They would eventually embrace the concept of colonialism and become the internal colonisers of South Africa. In this way, coloniality survived but measures of resistance would rise again with African anti-colonial movements.

[4] See section 5.1. to 5.5. in Chapter 5.

6.2. Implications and future studies

Since this study mainly grapples with the first and second waves of resistance, only a short deduction can be made concerning the third wave of resistance as experienced at present. The third wave of resistance is characterised by the enduring colonial pathologies that are still present within previously colonised states under the guise of coloniality. This is due to the inability of resistance movements to change the political and social structure from the bottom up. The second wave of resistance, therefore, led to the third. In this study I argue that the resistance before 1948 (against the British) and the resistance after 1948 (against the National Party government) can both be assigned to the second wave of resistance. Hence, the argument for the Afrikaner's position as a colonist of a special type. Future comparative studies may benefit from aligning the actions of the second wave of resistance since it may reveal much about Black and white South African resistance movements. Depending on these findings, such an argument may further enlighten the issue of the Afrikaner's status as native.

Moreover, the fact must also be stated that for the third wave of resistance to be effective, the failure of the resistance enacted before 1994 should be examined. Therefore, the focus should be shifted from Afrikaner influence on South Africa's colonial context, to an exploration of the structures that endured both through the Afrikaner and the African to better undertake a (de) coloniality perspective.

This study fills a gap in the modernity/coloniality spectrum as the Afrikaner was perceived as merely the effluence of colonialism rather than an African people influenced by colonialism. Within this context, the Afrikaner must be considered as partaking in the search for freedom and cannot be marginalised within decolonial perspectives. Such an endeavour of marginalisation should be regarded within the structure of coloniality itself. Since it would only reposition the scales without re-examining its nature and origin. Future studies within the proposed context may benefit from a holistic African perspective which includes the white community from South Africa.

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