VOLKSKAPITALISME

Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, 1934–1948

AFRICAN STUDIES SERIES 34

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VOLSKAPITALISME

Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, 1934–1948

DAN O’MEARA

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Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo
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# Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Broederbond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHI</td>
<td>Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (Afrikaans Commercial Institute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANS</td>
<td>Afrikaans-Nasionaal Studentebond (Afrikaans-National Students’ Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Afrikaner Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asokor</td>
<td>Afrikaanse sake-Ondernemings Korporasie (Afrikaans Business Undertakings Corporation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assocom</td>
<td>Associated Chambers of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVBOB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Verbond Begrafnis Ondernemings Beperk (Afrikaner League Burial Undertakings Ltd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bond</td>
<td>Afrikaner Broederbond (Afrikaner Brotherhood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonuskor</td>
<td>Bonus Beleggings Korporasie (Bonus Investments Corporation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOSS</td>
<td>Bureau of State Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWBB</td>
<td>Blankewerkers se Beskermingsbond (White Workers’ Protection League)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Communist Party (of South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNETU</td>
<td>Council of non-European Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI</td>
<td>Ekonomiese Instituut (Economic Institute of the FAK, q.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAK</td>
<td>Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCI</td>
<td>Federated Chambers of Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fonds</td>
<td>Reddingsdaadfonds (Rescue Action Fund)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FVB</td>
<td>Federale Volksbeleggings (Federal Volks’ Investments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GKV</td>
<td>Gereformeerde Kerk (Reformed Church)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G/NP</td>
<td>Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party (Purified Nationalist Party—see note 10, chapter 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPC</td>
<td>Gold Producers’ Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWU</td>
<td>Garment Workers’ Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hervormers</td>
<td>Hervormers organisasie binne die Mynewerkersunie (MWU reform organisation)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
### Abbreviations

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>HNP</td>
<td>Herenigde Nasionale Volksparty (Re-united Nationalist or People’s Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICU</td>
<td>Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union of Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWV</td>
<td>Ko-operatiewe Wynbouers-Venning (Cooperative Viticulturalists’ Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MWU</td>
<td>Mine Workers’ Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGK</td>
<td>Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHK</td>
<td>Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church – a separate church from the NGK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Nuwe Order (New Order)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Nasionale Party (Nationalist Party-see note on translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRT</td>
<td>Nasionale Raad van Trustees (National Council of Trustees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NURAHS</td>
<td>National Union of Railway and Harbour Servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OB</td>
<td>Ossewa Brandwag (Oxwagon Sentinels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARO</td>
<td>Reddingsdaadbond-Amateurolpretorganisasie (RDB Amateur Film Organisation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDB</td>
<td>Reddingsdaadbond (Rescue Action Society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAAU</td>
<td>South African Agricultural Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABRA</td>
<td>Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse Aangeleenthede (South African Bureau for Racial Affairs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safim</td>
<td>South African Farm Implements Manufacturers (Pty) Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALP</td>
<td>South African Labour Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanlam</td>
<td>Suid-Afrikaanse Lewensassuransie Maatskappy (South African National Life Assurance Co.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santam</td>
<td>Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Trust Maatskappy (South African National Trust Co.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>South African Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasbank</td>
<td>Suid-Afrikaanse Spaar- en Voorskot Bank (South African Savings and Loan Bank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIB</td>
<td>Tegniese en Industriële Beleggings (Technical and Industrial Investments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLC</td>
<td>(South African) Trades and Labour Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging (Transvaal Teachers’ Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UIF</td>
<td>Unemployment Insurance fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>United South African National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVM</td>
<td>Voorraade Inkopers en Verspreidings Maatskappy (Supplies Purchasing and Distribution Co.)</td>
</tr>
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Glossary

Liberal use is made throughout of Afrikaans terms. A glossary is thus included to assist the reader.

_Aandeel Buro_: Share Bureau (of the Reddingsdaadbond)
_Afrikaans-Nasionaal Studentebond_: Afrikaans-National Students’ League
_Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut_: Afrikaans Commercial Institute
_Afrikaanse Nasionale Kultuurraad_: Afrikaans National Cultural Council
_Afrikaans Taal-en Kultuurvereniging_: Afrikaans Language and Cultural Association
_Afrikaanse Vrouevereniging_: Afrikaans Women’s Union
_Afrikaner Broederbond_: Afrikaner Brotherhood
_Arbeidsfront_: Labour Front (of the Ossewa Brandwag)
_bewusmaking_: making (economically) conscious
_Blanke Werkers se Beskermingsbond_: White Workers’ Protection League
_boer_: farmer (a term sometimes also used to describe Afrikaners)
_boeregodters_: daughters of boers
_boereparty_: farmers’ party
_Breë Kerklike Komitee_: Broad Ecclesiastical Committee
_broedertwis_: division between brothers
_broer_: brother (term of address between Afrikaner Broederbond members)
_bywoner_: squatter
_‘Die Burger’_: The Citizen (daily organ of the Cape Nationalist Party)
_‘Die Doktor’_: the Doctor (D.F. Malan)
_diens_: service
_‘Die Krugerrand’_: The Powder Flask (organ of the Federal Council of the Herenigde Nasionale van Volksparty)
_‘Die Transvaler’_: The Transvaler (daily organ of the Transvaal Nationalist Party)
_‘Die Vaderland’_: The Fatherland (Hertzogist daily newspaper)
_‘Die Volksblad’_: The People’s Paper (organ of the Orange Free State Nationalist Party)
_Eeuvees_: centenary (of the Great Trek)
_eie_: own, private
_Ekonomiese Instituut_: Economic Institute (of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings)
Glossary

_Ekonomiese Volskongres_: Economic Congress of the Volk
_Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings_: Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations
_Federele Volksbeleggings_: Federal Volks Investments

_geldmag_: financial power
_Gereformeerde Kerk_: Reformed Church
_gesuwerde_: purified
_Gesuwerde Nasionale Party_: Purified Nationalist Party (see note 10, chapter 2)

_handhaving_: promotion/assertion/defence (see note 4, chapter 4)

_helpmekaar_: mutual aid
_Helpmekaarsvereniging_: Mutual Aid Association
_Herenigde Nasionale Party_: Re-united Nationalist Party
_hereniging_: re-union
_Herstigte Nasionale Party_: Reconstituted Nationalist Party
_hervormer_: reformer (member of the Hervormingsorganisasie)
_Hervormingsorganisasie binne die Mynwerkers Unie_: reform organisation within the Mine Workers’ Union
_Het Volk_: The People (an early political party)
_hoofleier_: leader-in-chief

_‘Inspan’_: Span in (journal of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings and Reddingsdaadbond)
_Kapitaalkragtig_: see note 4, chapter 8
_Keeromstraat_: Keerom Street (location of Die Burger office)
_kerk_: church
_Kleinsake Finansieringsmaatskappy_: Small Business Finance Company
_‘Koers’_: Directions (a journal)
_Kommandant-General_: Commandant General

_kongres_: congress
_koppie_: hill
_kultuur_: culture
_kultuarpolitiek_: cultural politics
_Nasionale Party_: Nationalist Party (see note on translation, p. xv)
_Nasionale Pers_: National Press
_Nasionale Raad van Trustees_: National Council of Trustees
_Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk_: Dutch Reformed Church
_Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk_: Dutch Reformed Church (but separate from the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk)
_Noodhulpliga_: First-aid League
_Nuwe Orde_: New Order
_ons_: we/us
_oorheesings_: domination
_oorstrooming_: inundation
_Oranje Unie_: Orange [Free State] Union (an early political party)
Glossary

*Ossewa Brandwag*: Oxwagon Sentinels
*partypolitiek*: party politics
*plateland*: rural areas
*Rebellie*: the Rebellion of 1914–15
*red*: see note 1, chapter 8
*reddingsdaad*: act of rescue
*reddingsdaadbeweging*: movement for the act of rescue (also used synonymously with ‘the economic movement’)
*Reddingsdaadbond*: Rescue Action Society
*Reddingsdaadfonds*: Rescue Action Fund
*Republikeinsebond*: Republican League
*Saambou*: Build Together (a building society)
*Sakekamer*: Chamber of Commerce
*samesmelting*: fusion
*Sappe*: members of the South African Party
*smelters*: fusionists
*souvereinitet-en-eie-kring*: (theological doctrine of Divine) sovereignty in each sphere
*Spoorbond*: Railway League
*Spoorbondkas*: a savings bank established by Spoorbond
*Stormjaers*: Storm troopers (of the Ossewa Brandwag)
*suiwering*: purification
*Uniewinkels*: Union shops
*verarming*: impoverishment
*vereniging*: union
*verklaring*: declaration
*volk*: see note on translation (p. xv)
*volkseenheid*: unity of the volk
*volkseconomie*: volk’s economy
*volksfront*: a front of the volk (national front)
*‘Volkshandel‘*: Volk’s Commerce (journal of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut)
*volkskapitalisme*: people’s capitalism
*volkskongres*: congress of the volk
*volksleier*: leader (in chief) of the volk
*Volksparty*: People’s Party
*volksrepping*: the rescuing of the volk
*volksverarming*: impoverishment of the volk
*Voordrede Inkopers en Verspreidings Maatskappy*: Supplies Purchasing and Distribution Company
*Voortrekker Pers*: Voortrekker press
*Vryetjedafdeling*: Free-time section (of the Reddingsdaadbond)
*‘Wapenskou‘*: Review of Arms (journal of the Afrikaanse-Nasionaal Studentebond)
*wins*: profit

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Note on translation

Unless otherwise stipulated, all translations in the study are mine. The translation of some terms posed problems. The word volk, for example, has no direct equivalent in English, and is usually translated as either ‘people’ or ‘nation’. Not only does it imply both these meanings, but, as employed in the nationalist lexicon, the term came to connote both an ethnicity and organic unity not conveyed in either of these paler English terms. Thus except for a few instances where the context indicates that either of the terms ‘nation’ or ‘people’ is more appropriate, I have retained the word volk untranslated, to convey the wider meaning.

Other Afrikaans terms encountered in the literature have no direct English equivalent. These are indicated in notes (e.g. n. 4, chapter 4; n. 1 and 4, chapter 8).

Strictly speaking, the Afrikaans Nasionale Party should be translated ‘National Party’. However, common South African English usage refers to the Nationalist Party, which rendering I have retained.
It is ordained that we [Afrikaners], insignificant as we are, should be amongst the first people to begin the struggle against the new world tyranny of Capitalism.

Jan Christian Smuts, *A Century of Wrong*

The landlady was a mean woman from the Midlands. I don’t mean that coming from the Midlands caused her meanness. You’ll get good people from there, or from any airt or part of the world. But if Cockneys or a Siamese are mean or decent, they’ll be mean or decent in a Cockney or Siamese way.

Brendan Behan, *Borstal Boy*