

stereotyping, and the making of modern myths. Because World War Two is the context, the consequences of such seemingly abstract concerns emerge with special harshness. To people at war, after all, the major purpose in knowing one's enemies is to be better able to control or kill them.

The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth-Century South Africa

Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido

Between World Wars I and II, Afrikaners (Boers—white settlers, primarily of Dutch rather than English origin) became increasingly assertive in south Africa. Not only did they struggle to maintain a separation of white and nonwhite peoples there, they attempted to wrestle power from the British who were still in control. One part of these efforts was the further development of Afrikaner nationalism in south Africa. It was an avowedly racist philosophy, drawing on a Christian heritage and racial ideologies emanating from Europe at the time. Its focus was to institutionalize apartheid (racial segregation) by exploiting British democratic institutions. In the following excerpt, Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido trace the roots of Afrikaner nationalism, particularly the role played by the Afrikaner intelligentsia of the period.

Consider: *Why Afrikaners felt the need to formulate their own ideology; how the elements of Afrikaner nationalism served Afrikaner needs; connections made between ethnicity, religion, economics, and the state.*

To meet the challenge of cheaply purveyed British culture, daily life had to be redefined and an alien world transformed into one in which Afrikaner sensibilities ruled. . . . [N]o artefact was too substantial or too small not to have its Afrikaans version, no occupation too eminent or too humble, not to have its Afrikaans mutation. This coincided with the creation and re-creation of Afrikaner history, fiction, the language and cultural institutions, as well as with the increasingly successful economic movement in the Cape, based on the first Afrikaner insurance company, SANLAM. The activities of both cultural and economic nationalists were further developed through the Christian National ideology adopted by the Broederbond, a secret society founded in 1919 and devoted to mobilising Afrikaners for the nationalist programme. . . .

Much of what they wrote was confused and contradictory, but the general directions were clear. Nations and cultures were divine creations, each was sovereign and had its own calling and destiny. Service to the nation was service to God. Not only was the Almighty best served by worshipping Him in the language He had created; without

SOURCE: Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Essex, United Kingdom: Longman Group Publishers, 1987).

maintaining this language, the culture and nation He had created would not survive. Language, culture and nation were endangered by an alien capitalism and an equally alien communism. . . .

It was not capitalism *per se* which was the enemy of the Afrikaner people, according to the leading Bond member, L. J. du Plessis, but the control of the capitalist system by non-Afrikaners. Afrikaners had to take control of what was their rightful share, through *Volkskapitalisme*, the mobilisation of ethnic resources to foster Afrikaner accumulation. To do this, the northern Broederbond, with its weak financial resources, turned to the Cape-based SANLAM in the calling of the 1939 *Ekonomiese Volkskongress* (People's Economic Congress). . . .

At the Volkskongress, SANLAM launched the first Afrikaner-owned financial house, the *Federale Volksbelegging*, which by 1981 had become the second-largest single conglomerate in South Africa. The embryonic entrepreneurs of the north were largely excluded from this, and could only look forward to the small business of the one-man firm also advocated by the Kongress. For the Afrikaner poor, the "solution" offered was employment in the Afrikaner enterprises they were exhorted to patronise. There was a symbiotic relationship between Afrikaner capital and the growing Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie, but it was not a relationship without tension and conflict.

African Women and the Law

Martin Chanock

The period between the wars also witnessed the creation of social systems in the African colonies that had tremendous impact on the lives of ordinary men and women. Besides having to deal with taxation, forced labor, and the like, Africans were also subject to an array of new legal codes as well as changing customs relating to division of labor, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and every aspect of household management. Most of the new statutes were a combination of "traditional" legal norms interpreted according to European legal codes. For African women especially, the institutionalization of "customary laws" deprived them of much of their former independence and imposed a system of patriarchy that had no precedent in African society. Moreover, these laws were being imposed on African women at a time when European women had openly challenged the Victorian underpinning of male dominance. In the following excerpt, Martin Chanock describes some of the contradictions inherent in any such social engineering.

Consider: The argument that these policies lessened the status of women; the likelihood that such social engineering could be successful; the arguments that women might have made against the new laws.

The Marriage and Divorce Ordinances of 1902 and 1905 in Malawi made female consent (which could be given by the father, who would not normally have been the guardian) necessary for a valid marriage and lack of consent grounds for annulment. These gave