

**The South African War and Afrikaner nationalism
in Afrikaans-language films and television:
changing representations circa 1930s - 2000s**

by

Domonique-Marie Verkerk

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Supervisor: Dr Gairoonisa Paleker

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
RESEARCH PROPOSAL & ETHICS COMMITTEE

DECLARATION

Full name: Domonique-Marie Verkerk

Student Number: 10592505

Degree/Qualification: PhD

Title of thesis: The South African War and Afrikaner nationalism in Afrikaans-language films and television: changing representations circa 1930s - 2000s

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Domonique-Marie Verkerk

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Abstract

The South African War is an important historical event for Afrikaners, not only because of the suffering endured, but also for how the war came to symbolise Afrikaner identity and ethno-nationalism. The South African War is central to Afrikaner beliefs and conceptions of the Afrikaner *volk*, or nation, its sense of belonging in South Africa, its sense of self and divine mission. Afrikaner perceptions of the war, its causes and consequences have influenced and continue to infuse a specific group identity, as well as an ethno-nationalism that eventually witnessed the political, economic and cultural growth that also fed into the problematic apartheid project.

This research focuses on Afrikaans-language films and series produced from the 1930s to the first decades of the 21st century, focusing on representations of the South African War, either as a topic or as a backdrop to the filmic narrative. The films are analysed as sites of memory of the war, its causes, and consequences. As such sites, these films have played an important role in nurturing and sustaining Afrikaner identity and ethno-nationalism, in which the war has been framed as a liberatory war for the very survival of the Afrikaner nation. The war and group memories of the war can be seen to have ignited not only group survival against the mighty British empire, but also provided impetus for the political triumph of Afrikaner nationalism as the bedrock of the apartheid project. As such, the films analysed in this research function as filmic memorials of specific historical moments and personalities. As filmic memorials, these films recall and commemorate a traumatic past in service of a specific ethno-nationalist and political agenda using a range of narrative devices and tropes. Some of these tropes, such as, the *volksmoeder*, Afrikaner myths of origin and belonging and the importance of land are also critical to iterations of ethno-nationalism throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries.

Key words:

South African War, Afrikaners, Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaans-language films, *volksmoeder*, mythical Boer hero, apartheid, *verraaiers*, nostalgia, White English-speaking South Africans, and Black people in the South African War.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging
ANC	African National Congress
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
FAK	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan African Congress
SAW	South African War
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
ZAR	Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek

1 Chapter 1:

Introduction

1.1 Background

The South African War (formerly known as the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902) was a conflict primarily between Great Britain and the two Boer Republics of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR), and the Oranje Vrijstaat. Even though the Boer Republics fought until the bitter end, they lost the war because Britain could put overwhelming numbers of men into the field, and because of its scorched-earth policy, which devastated the civilian population, and which included the destruction of many Boer farms and towns, and the establishment of concentration camps to hold Boer women and children, as well as camps for non-Whites. These measures were designed primarily to prevent Boer women and local Black groups from providing food and other support to the Boer commandos, as well as to break Boer morale. The suffering and loss of life resulting from these tactics by the British left a great deal of bitterness among the Boers (Afrikaners) for generations. This is evident in the ongoing tensions between Afrikaners and the British that characterised the early decades of the 20th century, culminating in the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and eventually an independent republic in 1961. This bitterness and the memory of injustice were important forces that shaped Afrikaner nationalism. Numerous Afrikaans-language films focusing on the South African War (hereafter referred to as the SAW) reflect these sentiments.

1.2 Research aim

The aim of this study is to analyse changing visual representations of the SAW in selected Afrikaans-language films and television series from the 1930s to 2000s in order to understand how changing representations have shaped Afrikaner memory of the war, Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner cultural identity.

1.3 Main research questions of the study

The study looks at the following questions:

- How is the SAW represented in Afrikaans-language films and television series?
- How have representations of the SAW in Afrikaans-language films and television series changed over time?

- What has shaped these changing representations?
- How do these changing representations reflect Afrikaner nationalism and identity?
- How have representations of the SAW in Afrikaans-language films and television series been understood and viewed by the audiences?
- What do these changing representations mean for how the war is remembered and memorialised?

1.4 Rationale

This study focuses on how the SAW is represented in Afrikaans-language films and television series in the period from the 1930s to 2000s, and particularly on how these representations have changed over time. Although a great deal of historical scholarship has focused on the SAW, not much has so far been written on changing visual representations of the SAW, or on the dialogic relationship between such visual representations and Afrikaner cultural and political identity. The research examines selected Afrikaans-language films and television series on the SAW as primary sources to assess the role of popular cultural productions in shaping Afrikaner memories, identities and memorialisation.

1.5 Definition of key concepts

1.5.1 *Afrikaners and Boers*

Afrikaners, whose roots go back to the 17th century,¹ were never a homogenous group. They are descended largely from the early Dutch and French Huguenot settlers who came to the Cape of Good Hope in the mid- to late 17th century.² The term “Afrikaner” has generated much debate. It was only after the Union of South Africa was declared in 1910 that three definitions were proposed.³ One definition places the three “sister” churches, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), the Reformed Church, and the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, and race at the centre of Afrikaner identity.⁴ A second definition places an emphasis on loyalty to South Africa and

¹ H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003), xiii.

² F. Pretorius, *The A to Z of the Anglo-Boer War* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 2; J. Greef and Schlebusch, C. “What genetic analysis reveals about the ancestry of South Africa’s Afrikaners”, 2021, <https://theconversation.com/what-genetic-analysis-reveals-about-the-ancestry-of-south-africas-afrikaners-133242>, accessed 11 October 2022.

³ A. Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër, zombie tot legoman: Mites en die ideologiese uitbeelding van die held in geselekteerde rolprente en dramareekse oor die Anglo-Boereoorlog” (PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2015), 7.

⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 7.

sees the promotion of the Afrikaans language as the key to Afrikaner identity.⁵ A third argument focuses only on being Afrikaans-speaking as the key to Afrikaner identity.⁶ All three attempts to define Afrikaner identity are problematic and exclusionary, mainly of other South Africans, both White and Black people, who may in fact meet some or all of these criteria. For example, Afrikaans is widely spoken among the Cape Coloured community.⁷ Likewise, not all “Afrikaners” are Afrikaans-speaking, or members of one of the three sister churches. These debates have filtered through to post-1994 South Africa, and consequently, “Afrikaanses” has been proposed as a more inclusive term.⁸

This study uses the term “Afrikaner” in its narrowly understood and historically exclusionary context. Other terms used include “Voortrekkers” to refer to the settlers who undertook the Great Trek in the 1830s. Another term is “Boer”, from the Dutch word for “farmer”, which refers to Afrikaners who lived in the *platteland* (rural areas) before and during the SAW, and was the term widely used for the “Boer” side opposing the British forces during the SAW and their descendants.⁹

1.5.2 Afrikaner nationalism

Afrikaner nationalism and nationalism are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. Nationalism means different things to different people, but can be broadly defined as an “ideology expressed by people who fervently believe that their nation is superior to all others”.¹⁰ Robert Longley notes that these feelings of superiority are often based on a shared ethnicity, language, religion, culture, and social values.¹¹ That is why often only some members are “allowed” in a nation and members who oppose the nation’s cause are seen as outcast by other members of the nation.¹² According to Benedict Anderson, this is because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation in a nation, there may still be comradeship based on certain criteria.¹³

⁵ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 7.

⁶ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 7.

⁷ A. Wessels, “Afrikaners at war,” in *The Boer War: Direction, experience and image*, ed. J. Gooch (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 73.

⁸ R. Nel, “Myths of rebellion: Afrikaner and countercultural discourse” (MA diss., University of Cape Town, 2010), 16.

⁹ Wessels, “Afrikaners at war”, 74.

¹⁰ R. Longley, “What is nationalism? Definition and examples”, 2021, <https://www.thoughtco.com/nationalism-definition-4158265>, accessed 12 October 2022; R.A. Sraders, “What is nationalism? Its history and what it means in 2018”, 2018, <https://www.thestreet.com/politics/what-is-nationalism-14642847>, accessed 12 October 2022; E.B. Haas, “What is nationalism and why should we study it?”, *International Organization* 40 no. 3 (1986), 707.

¹¹ Longley, “What is nationalism? Definition and examples”.

¹² Sraders, “What is nationalism? Its history and what it means in 2018”.

¹³ B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London and New York, NY: Verso, 2016), 7.

Anderson argues that this makes nationalism an “imagined” construct: many nations “invoke common descent, which in nearly all cases is mythical”.¹⁴ Ernst B. Haas holds a similar view, noting that nationalism implies “cognitive artefacts we invent to mark off an intellectual universe”.¹⁵

This is also the case with Afrikaner nationalism, which Rossouw Nel defines as “an imagined social grouping subject to historical and contemporary mythmaking”.¹⁶ Consequently, the traits and legacy attributed to nationalism vary in the accounts of its proponents and opponents.¹⁷ With Afrikaner nationalism, only White Afrikaners were allowed into what can be defined a “White laager” – a symbolic construct based on a laager surrounded by wagons. Those outside this laager, such as Black and White English-speaking South Africans, were seen as “others”. Nel further notes that Afrikaner nationalism helped to promote a worldview based on the idea of an idealised group’s brave fight against a greater power, which fostered opposition identity formation.¹⁸ Thus, the image of “David against Goliath” was used to give meaning to the values of this nationalism and to construct a distinct identity.¹⁹ Many films on the SAW are good examples of this, because they show the Boers as the underdogs fighting against the British Empire and still rising out of their difficult situation, even when the war is lost. Many Afrikaners used Afrikaner nationalism as a response to a perceived threat from the Black population on the one hand, and British imperialism on the other.²⁰

An additional term related to the construct of Afrikaner nationalism is the construction of the Afrikaner *volk* [nation or people], which is often used in nationalist rhetoric.

1.5.3 *The South African War*

Although the causes of the SAW, which started on 11 October 1899, are much debated, there is consensus that tensions between the Boers and the British, who both wanted control over the land and its mineral resources, especially following the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886, played a role.²¹ Another trigger for tension between the ZAR government and the

¹⁴ W.A. Galston, “Twelve theses on nationalism”, 2019, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2019/08/12/twelve-theses-on-nationalism/>, accessed 12 October 2022.

¹⁵ Haas, “What is nationalism and why should we study it?”, 708.

¹⁶ Nel, *Myths of rebellion*, 15.

¹⁷ Nel, *Myths of rebellion*, 15.

¹⁸ Nel, *Myths of rebellion*, 15.

¹⁹ Nel, *Myths of rebellion*, 15.

²⁰ Nel, *Myths of rebellion*, 15.

²¹ A. Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902. White man’s war, Black man’s war, traumatic war* (Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2011), 20-21; F. Pretorius, *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902* (Cape Town: Struik, 1998), 8; Pretorius, *The A to Z*, xxxii; P. Warwick, *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*

British was the *uitlander* [foreigner] situation. *Uitlanders* came to the Transvaal to prospect for gold and work in the gold mines.²² ZAR President Paul Kruger was worried that the *uitlanders* could take over and therefore increased the required period of residence before being permitted to apply for citizenship from five to 14 years, to prevent them from gaining voting rights,²³ which the *uitlanders* might use to vote against the ZAR government. According to Hermann Giliomee, this was “a wrong move since it became the focus of all the wrath of the immigration population”.²⁴ After a long war, protracted by an extended phase of guerrilla warfare (see Sections 1.6.2 and 2.4), the war ended on 31 May 1902, when the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging was signed by a number of Boer members of the executive council and the British representatives at Melrose House in Pretoria.²⁵

The SAW has also been termed the Boer War, the Second War of Independence, the Three Years’ War, and the Anglo-Boer War. For some British scholars, the SAW is known as the Boer War, implying one-sided aggression.²⁶ According to Louis Changuion, the reason many British prefer this name is that it refers to the enemy, namely the Boers – he argues that “a country or a people, will never refer to itself in the name given to a war in which it was involved because that would imply that it admits that it has been instrumental in causing the war”.²⁷

Some Afrikaners prefer to refer to the war as the “Tweede Vryheidsoorlog” [the Second War of Independence],²⁸ because it reminds them that the war was a struggle for their freedom. For this reason, Afrikaners added the word “Vryheid” [freedom] to the name.²⁹ Changuion suggests

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1; B. Mbenga and H. Giliomee, *New history of South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007), 20; E. Lee, *To the bitter end. A photographic history of the Boer War 1899-1902* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2007), 23.

²² Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 8; Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, in *A History of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 239; C. Nordbruch, *Vir vryheid en reg: Buitelanders aan Boerekant tydens die Anglo-Boere Oorlog 1899-1902* (Pretoria: Kontak, 2000), 14.

²³ Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 11; Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 239; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 207; Nordbruch, *Vir vryheid*, 14.

²⁴ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 238.

²⁵ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 261, Pretorius, *The A to Z*, li; F. Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 248; F. Pretorius, “The Anglo-Boer war: An overview,” in *Scorched earth*, ed. F. Pretorius (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 2001), 21; Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 78.

²⁶ Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 242; F. Pretorius, “The Boer Wars”, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/boer_wars_01.shtml, accessed 20 October 2020; L. Changuion, “To name a war: The War of 1899-1902,” *Historia* 44 no. 1 (1999), 107.

²⁷ Changuion, “To name a war”, 107.

²⁸ Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 242.

²⁹ Changuion, “To name a war”, 104.

that a problem with this name is that it focuses only on one side of the war, namely the ZAR's involvement, and ignores the Orange Free State's contribution to the war.³⁰

The last term used by some Afrikaners to describe the war is the "Driejarige Oorlog" [Three Years' War]. Although this is a less well-known term, some Afrikaners prefer to use this term as it emphasises the duration of the war. This name shows the Republicans' determination not to give up on their freedom, so that it took the British almost three years to subdue the Republics.³¹ However, this term is not favoured among scholars, who do not see this as sufficiently distinctive, as many other wars in South Africa and elsewhere took three years, and other South African wars took longer than three years.³²

According to André Wessels, the terms Boer War, Tweede Vryheidsoorlog, and Driejarige Oorlog are all biased because each is one-sided, focusing on the perspective of either the Boers or the British.³³ For this reason, many historians and Afrikaners prefer terms such as the Anglo-Boer War and SAW. However, the debate among historians on which term is most accurate is ongoing.

Historians who prefer the term Anglo-Boer War cite three reasons for their preference. Firstly, the term denotes the official warring parties.³⁴ Secondly, it is the most neutral term, as it lacks overt emotional undertones.³⁵ Thirdly, the term states exactly what the war was and, if it is translated into Afrikaans, as "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog" [Anglo-Boer War], it leaves no room for misunderstanding or confusion.³⁶ The disadvantage of using the term is that it does not acknowledge the participation of the Black population or foreigners who supported either the British or the Boers during the war.³⁷

Historians who prefer the term SAW cite the need to acknowledge that the war was not a so-called "White man's war",³⁸ nor a "gentleman's war", because both Black people's homesteads

³⁰ Changuion, "To name a war", 104.

³¹ Changuion, "To name a war", 103-104.

³² Changuion, "To name a war", 103-104.

³³ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 19.

³⁴ Pretorius, "The Boer Wars"; Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 19.

³⁵ Changuion, "To name a war", 108.

³⁶ Changuion, "To name a war", 108.

³⁷ Pretorius, "Everyone's war", 242.

³⁸ The focus of this study is on Afrikaners and their forebears. For more information on Black participation and internment in concentration camps, see D. Verkerk, "Africans in the South African War (1899-1902): An archaeological research study of an African concentration camp" (Master's diss., University of Pretoria, 2016), Warwick, *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*; Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*; B. Nasson, *The war for South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2010), and Pretorius, *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902*.

and Boer farms were destroyed during the war.³⁹ The term also shows where the war took place, namely in what is today South Africa, and that both Black and White people participated in the war and were affected by it.⁴⁰ According to Changuion, the hope is that this term will recognise Black participation.⁴¹ Therefore, many historians now prefer to use the term SAW instead of the Anglo-Boer War.⁴²

However, the term SAW is also problematic. For example, Changuion argues that the term SAW is mainly used by Whites who are trying to be politically correct and that few Black people claim that the war was also their war.⁴³ He maintains that “the war of 1899-1902 was a white man’s war and admitting that does not imply that the involvement of the indigenous population other than whites is being discarded or denied”.⁴⁴ Changuion also notes that the term does not acknowledge the participation of non-local volunteers.⁴⁵ During the South African War, both the British and Boers recruited *uitlanders*. Most of the foreign volunteers that the Boers recruited came from the Netherlands, Russia, Belgium, America, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia, Greece and France. Fransjohan Pretorius points out that the term SAW also does not clearly reflect Britain’s role in the war.⁴⁶ Britain also recruited regiments from Australia, Canada and New Zealand, which retained strong ties to Britain.⁴⁷ Changuion’s final point is that the term is problematic in the sense that all wars fought in South Africa were South African wars.⁴⁸ However, Pretorius and Wessels agree that no matter which name historians use, they must remember that it was officially a conflict between the Boers and the British and that the Black population was only drawn into the conflict as it unfolded across the country by those two sides.⁴⁹ It was decided to use the term the SAW in this study, as it is more comprehensive and inclusive than other descriptions.

³⁹ S. Marks, “War and Union, 1899–1910”, in *Cambridge history of South Africa*, eds. R. Roos, A. Kelk Mager, and B. Nasson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 160; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 217; Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 513.

⁴⁰ Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 242; Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 19.

⁴¹ Changuion, “To name a war”, 104.

⁴² Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 217.

⁴³ Changuion, “To name a war”, 106.

⁴⁴ Changuion, “To name a war”, 105.

⁴⁵ Changuion, “To name a war”, 106.

⁴⁶ Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 242.

⁴⁷ D. Judd, and K. Surridge, *The Boer War: A history* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 76.

⁴⁸ Changuion, “To name a war”, 107.

⁴⁹ Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 242, Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 19.

1.5.4 Black people

The SAW also involved Black Africans, Cape Coloured and Indian people, many of whom lost their lives and homes during the SAW. In this study, the term “Black/s” refers to people of African descent.⁵⁰ When other Black groups are mentioned, they are referred to specifically as “Coloured”,⁵¹ and “Indian”⁵². When this study refers to all three Black groups, then the term “Black people” is used. It should be noted that in this study, the reference to these “racial” labels still used in South Africa even by the post-apartheid government is not intended to be indicative of biological differences, or to be essentialising in any way.

1.5.5 Note on spelling and capitalisation, formatting and translations

A brief note on decisions made regarding spelling and capitalisation, the use of italics and the inclusion of translations may be helpful to the reader.

Because of the decision made regarding the term “Black”, as discussed in Section 1.5.4 above, the term is capitalised throughout, except in quotations where it was not capitalised in the original source. By analogy, the term “White” is also capitalised, except in quotations.

Most Afrikaans words and phrases are rendered in quotation marks, with a translation on first use, in square brackets. With names, such as the title of the newspaper *Die Vrye Weekblad*, translations are only given where they are necessary to aid comprehension, and such titles are italicised (as with other books, journal and newspaper names, and film names).

A number of words that are central thematic strands and have a more complex and shifting meaning are consistently italicised (except in quotations) and are not placed in quotation marks. The terms have a very specific meaning in Afrikaans that is not fully captured in a translation or even paraphrase. The terms are defined and discussed where they first occur, but the meaning of the terms does evolve over time and in different contexts. These terms include *volk*, *volksmoeder*, *Boeremeisie*, *Boerseun*, *verraaier*, *uitlander*, *bittereinder*, *agterryer*, *bywoner*, *penkop* and *platteland*, as well as *swart gevaar* and *rooi gevaar*.

⁵⁰ C. Agyemang, R. Bhopal, and M. Bruijnzeels, “Negro, Black, Black African, African Caribbean, African American or what? Labelling African origin populations in the health arena in the 21st century,” *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 59, no. 12 (2005), 1016.

⁵¹ Cape Coloureds were the offspring of miscegenation between white settlers, slaves and Khoikhoi people; F. Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 93.

⁵² According to Wessels, the first South African Indians originally came from the Indian subcontinent as indentured labourers and migrants. Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 99.

1.6 Literature review

1.6.1 Afrikaner historiography

There are numerous authors whose research has focused on Afrikaners, but for the purposes of this study, two historians stood out, namely Albert Grundlingh and Hermann Giliomee. Comprehensive and diverse coverage is provided by Grundlingh, who has written on various topics relating to Afrikaners, from rugby to music. A key text by Grundlingh that is relevant to this thesis is his chapter “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog in die bewussyn van die 20ste eeuse Afrikaner” [The Anglo-Boer War in the consciousness of the 20th century Afrikaner], which considers how the war influenced Afrikaners from the 1930s to the 2000s.⁵³ In this chapter, Grundlingh comments on how Afrikaners emerged, the symbolic function of the SAW in the formation of Afrikaner nationalism from the 1930s to the 2000s, and how this emergent nationalism was influenced by socio-political events.⁵⁴ According to Grundlingh, the SAW helped to shape Afrikaner nationalism because of the widely held perception that the deaths in the British concentration camps were a form of deliberate genocide.⁵⁵ Grundlingh concludes that because of this perception, Afrikaners have held a grudge against Britain and anything associated with Britain for many generations.⁵⁶

Giliomee’s influential work, *Die Afrikaners: ’n Biografie* (2003),⁵⁷ attempts to tell the (hi)story of Afrikaners from the 1930s until 1994,⁵⁸ covering a similar period as Grundlingh’s work. According to Giliomee, the history of Afrikaners in the 20th century is remarkable, because it features a number of great achievements. One of these is the establishment of Afrikaans as a spoken, written and academic language, which became one of two official languages in South Africa, and is still one of the eleven official languages after 1994.⁵⁹ Another area Giliomee focuses on is the relationship between language and nationalism.⁶⁰ As he notes, Afrikaners promoted Afrikaans both as a means to overcome their sense of inferiority in relation to

⁵³ A. Grundlingh, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog in die bewussyn van 20ste eeuse Afrikaners,” in *Verskroeiende aarde*, ed. F. Pretorius (Cape Town: Human en Rousseau, 2001).

⁵⁴ Grundlingh, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog in die bewussyn”, 243.

⁵⁵ Grundlingh, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog in die bewussyn”, 243.

⁵⁶ Grundlingh, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog in die bewussyn”, 243.

⁵⁷ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners: ’n Biografie* (Kaapstad: Tafelberg, 2004). There is also a shorter version of this book called *The Afrikaner: A concise history* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2020) and an English version called *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*. I have referenced the English version in my study.

⁵⁸ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, xii.

⁵⁹ H. Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners van 1910-2010: Die opkoms van ’n moderne gemeenskap* (Pretoria: Erfenisstigting, 2011), 1.

⁶⁰ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, xvii

English-speaking White South Africans and as a unique form of cultural expression.⁶¹ This is relevant to the current study, which discusses how Afrikaans-language films on the SAW helped to promote the Afrikaans language from the 1930s to the early 2000s. Giliomee concludes that Afrikaners can survive apartheid through the cultural renewal evident in the continued flourishing of cultural productions such as literature, music, and films.

Giliomee admits that Afrikaners were never a homogenous nation, nor was nationalism static or unproblematic.⁶² He argues that Afrikaner nationalism was a response to the socio-political context, as is also shown in relation to the films discussed in this study.⁶³ He also comments on areas previously neglected in research, such as the somewhat downplayed role of Afrikaner women in Afrikaner history and in building the *volk* by encouraging their menfolk during wars.⁶⁴ This aspect is important for the current study, which also discusses the role that Afrikaner women played from the 1930s to the 2000s.

1.6.2 The South African War

Historians displayed an interest in the SAW even during the war itself and in its aftermath, as seen from Leo Amery's *Times History of the War in South Africa* (1900-1909) and Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice and Captain Maurice Harold Grant's *Official history of the War in South Africa* (1906-1910).⁶⁵ However, it was only from the 1950s onwards that histories on the SAW become more rigorously academic.⁶⁶ This infusion of academic rigour may be partly ascribed to the availability of new evidence in the form of the War Office records which were declassified and became available to historians and researchers.⁶⁷

Many scholars agree that there are more publications on the SAW than on any other event in South African history.⁶⁸ According to Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh and Marylynn

⁶¹ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, xvii.

⁶² J.J. Bothma, "Hemel of die platteland: The intersection of land and whiteness in selected Afrikaans-language films, 1961-1994" (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2017), 13.

⁶³ Bothma, "Hemel of die platteland", 13.

⁶⁴ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, xvi.

⁶⁵ Cited in T. Pakenham, *The Boer War* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1979), xvi.

⁶⁶ W.J. Pretorius, "Die Britse owerheid en die burgerlike bevolking van Heidelberg, Transvaal, gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog" (PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2007), 3; J.L. Scott, "British concentration camps of the second South African War (the Transvaal, 1900-1902)" (MA diss., Florida State University, 2007), 4.

⁶⁷ L. Scholtz, *Waarom die Boere die oorlog verloor het* (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 1996), 6; I.R. Smith, *The origins of the South African War 1899-1902* (Harlow: Longman, 1996), ix.

⁶⁸ G. Cuthbertson, A. Grundlingh and M.L. Suttie, *Writing a wider war: Rethinking gender, race and identity in the South African War, 1899-1902* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2002), vii; I.R. Smith, "A century of controversy over origins", in *The South African War reappraised*, ed. D. Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 23; F.R. van Hartesveldt, *The Boer War historiography and annotated bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 12; D. Lowry, "Introduction: Not just a 'teatime war'", in *The South*

Suttie, a reason for historians' fascination with the SAW is public interest in the war, linked to Afrikaner nationalism and identity, which encourages researchers to “spruce up old insights and repackage them with attractive wrapping”.⁶⁹ Bill Nasson also believes that many historians are interested in the SAW because of a lingering popular nostalgia for an imagined Victorian colonial war.⁷⁰ Given the vast body of scholarship on the SAW, this literature review focuses on the work of four authors who have been acclaimed for what many consider to be authoritative histories.

In his book, *Methods of barbarism? Roberts and Kitchener and civilians in the Boer Republics, January 1900-May 1902* (1977), Burrige Spies pays particular attention to how the war affected civilians, by discussing the scorched-earth policy and concentration camps.⁷¹ This book is particularly helpful for this study because it analyses the conditions which gave rise to and the motives that lay behind the policies of Lord Frederick Roberts and Lord Herbert Kitchener and which affected civilians in the Boer Republics, and the nature of these policies.⁷² Spies also considers whether the British complied with the Hague Convention, and looks at civilians – men and women – that were affected by the war.⁷³ According to Spies,⁷⁴ the British did not follow the rules of the Hague Convention, as they claimed that it did not apply to the SAW because the Boers were not represented at the conference of 1899 in the Hague (Russia and the Netherlands, the states that were instrumental in issuing invitations, did not want to offend Britain by inviting the Boer Republics to the conference). If the Republics were not signatories, this implied that the Convention's rules did not apply to the SAW.⁷⁵ According to Spies, this had dire consequences for the Boers beyond the war itself – as he rightly argues, it created the poor White situation in South Africa.⁷⁶ Spies's focus is, however, somewhat narrow, in that he does not mention that environmental factors such as drought also played a role in the poor White situation: there was a drought after the war, followed by the rinderpest, which had severe economic consequences for Boer farming.⁷⁷ Spies does mention that their

African War reappraised, ed. D. Lowry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 4; I.R. Smith, *The origins of the South African War 1899-1902*, xi.

⁶⁹ G. Cuthbertson *et al.*, *Writing a wider war*, vii.

⁷⁰ B. Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902* (London: Oxford University Press, 1999), xii.

⁷¹ S.B. Spies, *Methods of barbarism? Roberts and Kitchener and civilians in the Boer Republics, January 1900-May 1902* (Cape Town and Pretoria: Human and Rousseau, 1977), 9.

⁷² Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 9.

⁷³ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 17-18.

⁷⁴ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 10-11.

⁷⁵ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 11.

⁷⁶ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 303.

⁷⁷ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 281.

experience of the war and the concentration camps, and their loss of independence made it difficult for Afrikaners to forget the SAW, and motivated them to support General Louis Botha and General Jan Smuts in their call to establish a united and self-governing South Africa.⁷⁸

Thomas Pakenham broke new ground with his detailed and comprehensive book *The Boer War* (1979), which included information from interviews with people who actually fought in the war.⁷⁹ Pakenham was able to collect data on lived experiences of the war. The narrative he constructs is rooted in people's experiences and perceptions of the war. Pakenham overcomes the limitation that his interviewees may only have remembered what they believed was important by also using secondary and additional primary sources.⁸⁰ Pakenham argues that the Randlords played a role in the outbreak of the war.⁸¹ A second argument focuses on why Sir Redvers Buller made so many mistakes in the Natal campaign – Pakenham suggests that the reason for Buller's mistakes was a feud in the War Office. Pakenham's third key point is that Blacks also participated in the war – he argues that 100 000 Blacks joined the war as scouts or guides, but that it was the Blacks who paid the heaviest price in the war and in its aftermath.⁸² His final argument focuses on the involvement of Boer civilians in the SAW.⁸³ Pakenham rightly notes that thousands of Boers lost their homes and 20 000 to 28 000 Boers died in the concentration camps of epidemics and other factors.⁸⁴ Pakenham's seminal research has been confirmed by modern-day historians who focus on topics such as Black participation in the SAW and Black concentration camps, so that his book remains the most influential book available on the war.⁸⁵ Pakenham tried to move away from other historians with his argument that it was Sir Redvers Buller who successfully hammered out new tactics for a situation in which a 19th century army had to fight a 20th century war.⁸⁶ Pakenham acknowledges openly that the SAW and the deaths of women and children in the concentration camps contributed to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, as the memories of the war were kept alive in South African history books and at schools.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, p. 305.

⁷⁹ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. xvi.

⁸⁰ Pakenham, *The Boer War*.

⁸¹ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvi.

⁸² Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvii.

⁸³ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvii.

⁸⁴ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvii.

⁸⁵ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 187.

⁸⁶ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvii.

⁸⁷ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, 576.

Fransjohan Pretorius has written numerous books, articles, and chapters on the war. For the purposes of this overview, only one of his works is discussed here, namely *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902* [*The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*]. Pretorius focuses on the tension between the British and the Boers, which he sees as the main cause of the SAW.⁸⁸ According to Pretorius, this tension was driven by the British, who believed that the Afrikaners threatened their political and economic position⁸⁹ in South Africa, and by Afrikaners who thought that the British wanted to take away their independence (Pretorius does not explain in detail what position the British perceived the Afrikaners to threaten). He argues that conflict was heightened by memories of the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881), by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, the demand for voting rights for foreigners, and the Jameson Raid, all of which contributed to the outbreak of the SAW.⁹⁰ Like Pakenham, Pretorius concludes that the war and its remembrance contributed to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, as the war will always be remembered by Afrikaners; the SAW also led to the founding of a new party, the National Party, which would wipe out the political effects of the Vereeniging Peace Treaty.⁹¹

The South African War 1899-1902 (1999) by Bill Nasson also discusses the tensions between the British and Boers and how these developed into a war.⁹² According to Nasson,⁹³ this tension started during the Great Trek when the Boers moved away from British rule and established their own territories in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Nasson agrees with Pretorius that this tension was further triggered by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and the Jameson Raid.⁹⁴ What makes Nasson's book different from Pretorius's book is that he focuses on how the SAW has come to be remembered in the country and how it might be seen now.⁹⁵ Nasson notes that the SAW is still remembered because of all the books written on it.⁹⁶ Nasson argues that the deliberate stimulation of memories of the SAW should be regarded as a tool in forming Afrikaner nationalism because Afrikaner historians such as Gustav Preller used their

⁸⁸ Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 7. Several of his other studies are mentioned in the wider thesis.

⁸⁹ Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 7. It may be Britain's political position in Africa (Britain had colonised most of southern Africa), or economic position, as Britain controlled the Kimberly diamond fields.

⁹⁰ Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 89.

⁹¹ Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 90.

⁹² Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902*, xi.

⁹³ Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902*, 4.

⁹⁴ Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902*, 5-6.

⁹⁵ Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902*, xi.

⁹⁶ Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902*, 262.

work to remind Afrikaners about the “truth” of their “war of Freedom” and their National mission, which is to continue fighting for Afrikaner independence in the present.⁹⁷

1.6.3 *History and films*

Using visuals such as film in history studies is still relatively new terrain. The main reason for this is that historians mostly prefer written sources over visual ones.⁹⁸ According to Martinez, this is because of their training, how they view their role as historians and their attitudes towards visuals and texts.⁹⁹

Three seminal studies on film and history inform the use of visual sources. The first is Hayden White’s article “Historiography and historiophoty”, which focuses on two things that are important in history studies, namely “historiophoty” (“the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse”) and historiography (“the representation of history in verbal images and written discourse”).¹⁰⁰ This article stands out because it focuses on what Robert A. Rosenstone calls the challenge presented by historiophoty to historiography.¹⁰¹ According to White, many historians are faced with the challenge of deciding “whether it is possible to ‘translate’ a given written account of history into a visual-auditory equivalent without significant loss of content”.¹⁰² In some cases, written sources are better than visuals, while in other cases the opposite is true.¹⁰³ White comes to the conclusion that it depends “on the ‘way’ chosen to represent both ‘the past’ and our thought about its ‘historical significance’”.¹⁰⁴ White argues for filmic history as complementary rather than supplementary to written history, and acknowledges that historians are challenged to acquire a different set of skills that a more traditional training does not always provide.

The second key source is “History in images/history in words” by Robert A. Rosenstone, a historian and past film review editor for *The American Historical Review*.¹⁰⁵ He discusses the different viewpoints of R.J. Raack and I. Jarvie on whether written sources change their

⁹⁷ Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902*, 264.

⁹⁸ K. Martinez, “Imaging the past: Historians, visual images and the contested definition of history,” *Visual Resources* 11 no. 1 (1995), 21-45.

⁹⁹ Martinez, “Imaging the past”, 21-45.

¹⁰⁰ H. White, “Historiography and historiophoty,” *The American Historical Review* 93 no. 5 (1988), 1193.

¹⁰¹ White, “Historiography and historiophoty”, 1193.

¹⁰² White, “Historiography and historiophoty”, 1193.

¹⁰³ White, “Historiography and historiophoty”, 1193.

¹⁰⁴ White, “Historiography and historiophoty”, 1193.

¹⁰⁵ B.F. le Beau, “Historiography meets historiophoty: The perils and promise of rendering the past on film,” *American Studies* 38 no. 1 (1997), 153.

meaning when they are turned into films.¹⁰⁶ Rosenstone also wrote a book on films in history, namely *History on film/film on history* (2006). In the book, Rosenstone argues that films are important, because they have become part of our everyday lives. Thus, to leave them out of consideration is to ignore a major factor in our understanding of the past.¹⁰⁷ What makes this book stand out is that Rosenstone examines what historical films convey about the past and how they convey it.¹⁰⁸ According to him, the way films convey the past is that they go “beyond (as theorists argue all historians do) *constituting* its facts, that is, creating facts by picking out certain traces of the past (people, events, moments) and highlighting them as important and worthy of inclusion in a narrative, and instead indulges in *inventing* facts, that is, making up traces of the past which are then highlighted as important and worthy of inclusion”.¹⁰⁹ Some historians argue that films cannot be used by historians because of this socialised “inventing” of “facts”. However, Rosenstone distinguishes between “true inventions” and “false inventions” and argues that “true inventions” may not be accurate to the specific event represented in the film but may nonetheless remain “true” to the period, and more importantly, true to the construction of historical meaning. Thus, “inventing facts” is important, because historians (and the public) need more than words to understand the past – they need to see it and hear it.¹¹⁰ Rosenstone acknowledges that what is shown on film is not the real past, but he points out that what is written in literature is not real either. According Rosenstone, the written word has attained its primacy “because of certain rules for finding evidence and producing more words of our own and accepting the notion that they tell us about what is important in the vanished land of the past.”¹¹¹ Rosenstone also notes that even though films may be fanciful or ideological renditions of history, they still have an effect on the way we see the past.¹¹²

The Hollywood historical film (2008) by Robert Burgoyne explores how historical films form an understanding of the past.¹¹³ Burgoyne discusses different subtypes of historical film, namely, the war film (for example, *Saving Private Ryan*, 1995), the epic (for example, *Gladiator*, 2000), the biographical film (for example, *Capote*, 2005), the topical film (for example, *Titanic*, 1997) and the metahistorical film (for example, *JFK*, 1990). Each type of

¹⁰⁶ R.A. Rosenstone, “History in images/history in words: Reflections on the possibility of really putting history onto film,” *The American Historical Review* 93 no. 5 (1988), 1179.

¹⁰⁷ R.A. Rosenstone, *History on film/film on history* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2006).

¹⁰⁸ Rosenstone, *History on film*, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Rosenstone, *History on film*, 8; Rosenstone’s emphases.

¹¹⁰ Rosenstone, *History on film*, 1.

¹¹¹ Rosenstone, *History on film*, 1-2.

¹¹² Rosenstone, *History on film*, 5.

¹¹³ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaijer”, 23.

historical film is discussed in its own separate chapter, with case studies.¹¹⁴ Biographical films depict the lives of famous people; war films are films that focus on war as the main event or as a background; epic films are films on events that took place long before the historical period; topical films deal with specific events rather than the grand narratives of war or history, and metahistorical films challenge or critique the way history is conventionally represented.¹¹⁵ Burgoyne's book also explores how historical films shape our concept of the past through the specific language(s) and codes of cinema, using textual analysis to disclose the way images and sounds create a particular form of historical thinking.¹¹⁶ All the examples used in Burgoyne's book are Hollywood films,¹¹⁷ but the current study draws on Burgoyne's first chapter, on *Saving Private Ryan*, because it explains the war film as a genre.¹¹⁸

1.6.4 The South African War as a "media war"

The Honours research mini-dissertation "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent" [The Anglo-Boer War and the early development of the cinema] by Morné Coetzer provides a useful overview of the history of film, how it came to South Africa and the filmmakers who filmed the SAW.¹¹⁹ Coetzer's research draws on that of Thelma Gutsche (who is often used by other historians) as a source in his section on the South African film industry. The reason Coetzer focuses on the history of the film industry is that films became a way to communicate, especially when it came to war, where people wanted to see heroes and hear what was happening to their loved ones.¹²⁰ Coetzer's main argument is that films on the war played an important role during and after the SAW, by telling a story.¹²¹ Coetzer points out that these films are also a valuable source for historians, as it shows them what life was like during the war. Basic war footage led to other genres, such as news films, propaganda, documentaries and dramas after the SAW.¹²² Lastly, the history of films on the war shows that propaganda

¹¹⁴ R. Burgoyne, *The Hollywood historical film* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 1, 5.

¹¹⁵ Burgoyne, *The Hollywood historical film*, 43, 46.

¹¹⁶ Burgoyne, *The Hollywood historical film*, 12.

¹¹⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 23; Burgoyne, *The Hollywood historical film*, 1.

¹¹⁸ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 23.

¹¹⁹ M. Coetzer, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent" (Hons mini-diss, University of Pretoria, 2003), 1.

¹²⁰ Coetzer, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling", 2; also see Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 27.

¹²¹ Coetzer, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling", 54.

¹²² Coetzer, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling", 16.

could be used to change people's emotions, especially in Britain, where propaganda films were used against the Boers.¹²³

Stephen Bottomore's doctoral thesis "Filming, faking and propaganda: The origins of the war film, 1897-1902" focuses on representations of conflict in films from the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, to the Spanish-American War, the SAW and other wars that took place up to 1902.¹²⁴ The main argument of Bottomore's research is that films were already used well before the First World War.¹²⁵ Bottomore argues that since the invention of film in the mid-1890s, its links with the military flourished. According to Bottomore,¹²⁶ it was not long after the invention of film that filmmakers began to travel the world to cover various "small wars", in Cuba, South Africa, the Far East and the Balkans. Bottomore's research is important for this study because he discusses the SAW as a media war, commenting on films made on the war and how these were created for propaganda.¹²⁷ Bottomore points out that these films on the war always glorify the British forces and portray the Boers as "dirty Boers" to help instil negative associations with the Boers into the British psyche.¹²⁸ Bottomore remarks that the SAW was the most represented war on film until the First World War.¹²⁹

The doctoral thesis by Anna-Marie Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër, zombie tot legoman: Mites en die ideologiese uitbeelding van die held in geselekteerde rolprente en dramareekse oor die Anglo-Boereoorlog" [From Kavalier [a military unit] to traitor, zombie to lego man: Myths and the ideological representation of the hero in selected films and drama series on the Anglo-Boer War], discusses representations of the SAW in Afrikaans-language films and television series. This is similar to the current study, except that Van Vuuren focuses on two different arguments. Firstly, she points out the ideological role of Afrikaner nationalism in the films on the SAW.¹³⁰ Secondly, she looks at the myths and ideologies of the mythical Boer hero in representations of the SAW in Afrikaans-language films, in television series and on YouTube. Jansen van Vuuren argues that the mythical Boer hero played an important role in Afrikaner identity development from the 1930s to 2015 (when her research was done) by

¹²³ Coetzer, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling", 54.

¹²⁴ S. Bottomore, "Filming, faking and propaganda: The origins of the war film, 1897-1902" (PhD thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 2007), iii.

¹²⁵ Bottomore, "Filming, faking and propaganda", xv.

¹²⁶ Bottomore, "Filming, faking and propaganda", xv.

¹²⁷ Bottomore, "Filming, faking and propaganda", iii.

¹²⁸ Bottomore, "Filming, faking and propaganda", Chapter X, 3-4.

¹²⁹ Bottomore, "Filming, faking and propaganda", xxiii.

¹³⁰ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kt tot verraaiër", 139.

portraying their ideologies and myths to the Afrikaner audience.¹³¹ She notes that for many Afrikaners the mythical Boer hero had the qualities they needed – he is depicted as someone who is brave, and willing to sacrifice everything for his country and *volk*.¹³² Furthermore, she argues that many Afrikaners “still hold onto the mythical Boer hero, as it reminds them of their ‘era of innocence’, the time when they were willing heroes who fought for a righteous cause, before they became the ‘the villains of apartheid’”.¹³³ According to Jansen van Vuuren, there were also some Afrikaans-language films that challenged these myths and ideologies, such as *Verraaiers*, in which the protagonist is portrayed as a coward because he is not willing to sacrifice his family or his life for the *volk*.¹³⁴ Jansen van Vuuren’s work is important for the current study, because she uses some examples of Afrikaans-language films and television series that are also used in this study, namely *Sarie Marais* (1931), *Die Kavaliers* (1966), *Verraaiers* [*Traitors*] (2013) and *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* [*Feast of the Uninvited*] (2008) and *Donkerland* [*Dark land*] (2013).¹³⁵ The current study also uses Jansen van Vuuren’s argument on the mythical Boer hero, but this study goes further in focusing on changing visual representations of the SAW in selected Afrikaans-language films to understand how these changing representations have shaped Afrikaners’ memory of the war, Afrikaner nationalism and identity. In other words, the current study offers a contextualisation over time. Furthermore, the current study analyses four films that Jansen van Vuuren did not analyse, namely *Sarie Marais* (1949), *Gideon Scheepers* (1982) and *Danie Theron* (1983) and *Torn Allegiance* (1984). The last three of these films were made in the 1980s, a period on which very few scholars writing on Afrikaans films on the SAW have focused.

Another doctoral thesis that was important for this study, because it deals with films and literature on the SAW, is “Die representasie van die Anglo-Boereoorlog in Afrikaanse romans en rolprente ná 2002” [The representation of the Anglo-Boer War in Afrikaans novels and films after 2002] (2021) by R. Marais-Botha. In this thesis, Marais-Botha investigates the way in which the Anglo-Boer War is represented in Afrikaans novels and films made after the centenary of the SAW in 2002.¹³⁶ Marais-Botha based her studies on Eduan Swanepoel’s “Waarheid en versoening: Representasies van die Suid-Afrikaanse oorlog (1899-1902) in

¹³¹ R. Marais-Botha, “Die representasie van die Anglo-Boereoorlog in Afrikaanse romans en rolprente ná 2002”, (PhD thesis, North-West University, 2021), 46; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, i.

¹³² Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 131, 133.

¹³³ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, iv.

¹³⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 134.

¹³⁵ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, i.

¹³⁶ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, ii.

Afrikaanse, Engelse en Nederlandse fiksie” [Truth and reconciliation: Representations of the South African War (1899-1902) in fiction in Afrikaans, English and Dutch], a study of five phases of representation of the SAW in fiction written in these three languages.¹³⁷ These phases are the memory phase, the time of memoirs, propaganda documents, the period of silence, and post-colonialism in the 1980s.¹³⁸ Marais-Botha also focused on themes that the 20th and 21st century Afrikaner can identify with. These include betrayal, the trauma of rape and the fate of Blacks during the war.¹³⁹ The current study also discusses these themes, but, unlike Marais-Botha’s research, which focuses on written fiction, this study looks at films on the SAW that were made before 2002. Marais-Botha concludes that the representations of the SAW in present Afrikaans-language fiction are moving beyond Swanepoel’s fifth phase, even though many themes still form part of the fifth phase.¹⁴⁰ Marais-Botha claims that themes of the new emergent phase still have qualities of the previous phases, but also have their own qualities.¹⁴¹ Lastly, Marais-Botha notes that the way in which the SAW is represented in Afrikaans films and novels will constantly change, just as change occurs regarding the purpose (or ideology) for which these works are used.¹⁴²

1.6.5 The history of the film industry in South Africa

The history and social significance of motion pictures in South Africa: 1895-1940 (1972) by Thelma Gutsche remains one of the most comprehensive and illuminating studies on the early history of the film industry and film-viewing culture in South Africa. No research on South Africa’s film industry is complete if it does not take cognisance of Gutsche’s book. Many scholars rely on Gutsche’s work because it covers the history of the film industry in South Africa from the 1890s to the 1940s.¹⁴³ Gutsche paints a picture of a society in upheaval, which is reflected in the chaos in the film industry itself. Gutsche also looks at the flurry of activity and the rush to film the war at the time of the SAW itself, which she interprets as evidence of early filmmakers realising the benefits to the film industry that could come from filming the war. The filming of the war can be argued to have laid the foundations for sensationalism in the media, for the emergence of a kind of voyeurism that seeks to profit from people’s suffering,

¹³⁷ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, iv.

¹³⁸ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 31 - 34.

¹³⁹ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 8.

¹⁴⁰ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 198.

¹⁴¹ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 198.

¹⁴² Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 200.

¹⁴³ M. Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 10; T. Gutsche, *The history and social significance of motion pictures in South Africa 1895-1940* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1972), xxiii.

and for filmmakers going out of their way to satisfy the curiosity of the public.¹⁴⁴ According to Gutsche,¹⁴⁵ films on the SAW helped the South African film industry to flourish by popularising war films in order to make profits. Gutsche also notes that films on the war brought entertainment to people in towns.¹⁴⁶

Even though André L. le Roux and Lilla Fourie's book, *Filmverlede: Geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse speelfilm* [*Filmed past: History of the South African cinema*] (1982), does not offer any critical arguments, it still remains valuable for the current study as a broad filmography, because Le Roux and Fourie present details that are not presented in full by previous scholars, such as film synopses, information on main characters and actors, filmmakers and directors, cameramen, script writers and film companies.¹⁴⁷ Le Roux and Fourie's book also analyses all the films that were produced over seven decades in South Africa.¹⁴⁸ The reason this book is important for the current study is that the authors go further than Gutsche's work, which includes only film up to 1940, adding films up to 1979.¹⁴⁹ Some of the films used in the current study were made after the 1940s. According to Le Roux and Fourie,¹⁵⁰ in the early South African film industry, Schlesinger's African Film Production company dominated the industry. After the World War II, more filmmakers emerged, producing De Wet's Afrikaans-language films and Jamie Uys's films, thanks to a subsidy system.¹⁵¹ Le Roux and Fourie indicate that during the 1960s several films focused on war (especially the SAW), as a theme. These films include *Die Kavaliers* (1966, Elmo de Witt) and *Krugermiljoene* [*Kruger millions*] (1967, Ivan Hall).¹⁵² The authors note that during the 1970s, there were more Afrikaans-language films.¹⁵³

The cinema of apartheid: Race and class in South African film (1989) by Keyan Tomaselli discusses how the cultural and political ideologies of filmmakers influence the way in which they present stories and characters.¹⁵⁴ Tomaselli's book was useful to the current study because he covers an important topic for the history of the South African film industry, namely

¹⁴⁴ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*.

¹⁴⁵ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 48, 54; J.H. de Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film* (Pretoria: State Archives, 1991), ix.

¹⁴⁶ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 49.

¹⁴⁷ A. le Roux and L. Fourie, *Filmverlede: Geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse speelfilm* (Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, 1982).

¹⁴⁸ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, vii.

¹⁴⁹ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, vii.

¹⁵⁰ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, vii.

¹⁵¹ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, vii.

¹⁵² Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, vii.

¹⁵³ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, vii.

¹⁵⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 25.

legislation regulating censorship clearance before a film could be released.¹⁵⁵ According to Tomaselli,¹⁵⁶ films that did not fit into the ideology of the government could be refused a release or could be cut in ways that altered their meaning through censorship directives. He focuses on how legislation such as censorship was used in respect of films, he also looks at what effect it had on social mosaic that makes up South Africa.¹⁵⁷ One central effect, according to Tomaselli,¹⁵⁸ was to shape class and race perceptions and work roles. In many cases, films were banned for Black or mixed audiences.¹⁵⁹ Tomaselli argues that the apartheid government also exploited the industry to promote its own agenda, by creating “back to homelands” films. For Tomaselli,¹⁶⁰ these films were reflections of “grand apartheid”, because they show Blacks as unsophisticated people, dwelling in the rural areas, who belonged in the homelands rather than in a “White” South Africa. In these films Blacks are always shown to go back “home”. Once at home, the Black man discards his Western lifestyle and readapts to tribal life, wearing loin skins and beads.¹⁶¹

Jacqueline Maingard’s *South African national cinema* (2008) is another valuable source, as it focuses on the central role film played in building a “nation” and national identity in South Africa, especially regarding race and tensions between White English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners.¹⁶² Maingard also connects South African cinema to key points in South Africa’s history.¹⁶³ In her discussion of *De Voortrekkers* [*The Voortrekkers*] (1916, Harold Shaw), for example, Maingard argues that in terms of its production history the film sought to address English-Afrikaner tensions and promote reconciliation in the aftermath of the SAW by showing the Afrikaners that they needed to work along with the British “in order to defeat the powerful Zulus, a metaphor for the potential power of black people in the post-Union period when this film was made”.¹⁶⁴ Maingard also discusses the role films played in Afrikaner nationalism during the 1930s and 1940s by means of two examples.¹⁶⁵ The first example she discusses is *Sarie Marais* (1931), which is also discussed in the current study. According to

¹⁵⁵ K. Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid: Race and class in South African film* (London: Routledge, 1988), 11.

¹⁵⁶ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 20.

¹⁵⁷ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 11.

¹⁵⁸ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 13.

¹⁵⁹ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 14.

¹⁶⁰ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 71.

¹⁶¹ Tomaselli notes that “home” refers to the Homelands or Bantustans to which Black South Africans were relegated, whether they were born there or not. Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 71.

¹⁶² J. Maingard, *South African national cinema* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), 1.

¹⁶³ Maingard, *South African national cinema*.

¹⁶⁴ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 5.

¹⁶⁵ Maingard, *South African national cinema*.

Maingard,¹⁶⁶ the film promoted Afrikaner nationalism by using a popular Afrikaans song, namely “Sarie Marais”. She argues that the song represents a form of national song, because in the title sequence it is said to be the closest thing to a national song and that it is sung by all Afrikaners, whether of Dutch or British descent.¹⁶⁷ The second example Maingard provides is *Moedertjie* [Little Mother] (1931, Joseph Albrecht). She suggests that *Moedertjie*, a film about the poor White Afrikaner situation, was used by the National Party to win votes, as it was shown to Afrikaner audiences.¹⁶⁸

South African Cinema 1896-2010 (2012) by Martin Botha also discusses the history of the South African film industry from 1896 to 2010.¹⁶⁹ The book is particularly useful to the current study because Botha argues that the SAW become an important theme in several post-1994 productions, such as the documentary *Scorched Earth* (2001, Herman Binge) and the television series *Feast of the Uninvited* (2008, Katinka Heyns).¹⁷⁰ In his discussion of *Feast of the Uninvited*, Botha notes that the filmmakers presented various themes, such as bitterness among Afrikaners after the war and the traumatic experiences of the war, by adding a narrator who “engages with the characters about their motives of joining the war as well as their post-war memories”.¹⁷¹ The film also uses characters based on the imagined lives of various families. The theme is evident when the narrator notes how difficult it is to tell a story of collective pain when it is on such a large scale – for example, 22 000 children died in the concentration camps, but when we cannot really recall, or bear to recall, the personal pain of history, we put the losses in numbers.¹⁷² *Scorched Earth* examines the scorched-earth policy that led to the concentration camps.¹⁷³ Botha shows that the filmmaker used testimonies, photographs, and conversations with historians such as Fransjohan Pretorius to contextualise the historical events and narratives of trauma.¹⁷⁴ This book plays a vital role in the current study because it also pays attention to various uses of film genres and styles in the context of South Africa’s complex social and political landscape.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 45.

¹⁶⁷ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 45.

¹⁶⁸ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 65.

¹⁶⁹ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 28.

¹⁷⁰ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 214.

¹⁷¹ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 216.

¹⁷² Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 216.

¹⁷³ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 216.

¹⁷⁴ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 216.

¹⁷⁵ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*.

Lastly, *Daar doer in die fliiek: 'n Persoonlike blik op die geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse rolprent* [*Over there, in the movies: A personal take of the history of the Afrikaans cinema*] (2016) by Leon van Nierop is important in this study because Van Nierop provides a detailed record on the Afrikaans-language feature films made in the 20th and 21st centuries.¹⁷⁶ Van Nierop argues that films on the war had a wider impact than simply keeping the audience informed about the war or providing a boost to the domestic film industry. He maintains that films on the war shaped military science and the course of South African history.¹⁷⁷ Van Nierop provides a few examples of how military science was informed by what people saw in films. Amongst other tactics, films on the war were used for propaganda.¹⁷⁸ According to Van Nierop, these films deliberately played on people's emotions, for example, many films for British audiences portrayed Afrikaners as backwards to make the films more interesting to those audiences. He notes that many British people who saw these films would be upset to see their loved ones having to fight "barbaric" people, but the British public liked these films because the British soldiers were always shown as the winners.¹⁷⁹ Lastly, these films on the war not only captured the historical event of the war itself, but also how things were during late Victorian times.¹⁸⁰ Van Nierop also drew on sources that have already been shown to be of value to this study, namely the studies by Gutsche, Coetzer, and Le Roux and Fourie.¹⁸¹

1.7 Methodology

To meet the research aim of this study and to answer the research questions, the study analysed a selection of Afrikaans-language filmic representations of the SAW to understand how changing representations of the SAW have shaped the Afrikaner memory of the war, and Afrikaner national and cultural identity. A number of Afrikaans-language films and television series were selected to span the 1930s to the 2000s. These films and series are *Sarie Marais* (1931, Joseph Albrecht), *Sarie Marais* (1949, Francis Coley), *Voor Sononder* [*Before sunset*] (1962, Emil Nofal), *Die Kavaliers* (1966, Elmo de Witt), *Krugermiljoene* (1967, Ivan Hall), *Gideon Scheepers* (1982, Henk Hugo), *Danie Theron* (1983, Fred Nel), *Torn Allegiance* (1984, Alan Nathanson), *Arende* [Eagles] (1994, Dirk de Villiers),¹⁸² *Verraaiers* (2013, Sallas de

¹⁷⁶ L. van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek: 'n Persoonlike blik op die geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse rolprent* (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2016).

¹⁷⁷ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*.

¹⁷⁸ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 21.

¹⁷⁹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 22.

¹⁸⁰ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 26.

¹⁸¹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*.

¹⁸² The film *Arende* is based on a television series with the same name. Only the film version has been analysed in this thesis, as the series is not freely available.

Jager), and *Modder en Bloed* [Mud and Blood] (2016, Sean Else). *Torn Allegiance*, an English-language film, was selected because it represents, at the very least, a linguistic counterpoint. More importantly, the film presents us as viewers a character, Ma, who is English by birth but married to a Boer, hence the title *Torn Allegiance*. The involvement of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) ensured that Afrikaner audiences would not have been able to watch the film because Mandalay/Progear, intended the film for release to a predominantly international community. The SABC bought the right to show the film to South Africans, as discussed in more detail in section 5.4 in Chapter 5. The selected television series are *Fees van die Ongenooides* (2008, Katinka Heyns)¹⁸³ and some episodes of *Donkerland* (2013, Jozua Malherbe).¹⁸⁴ These films and television series were chosen because the SAW features in them, either as the main story or as the backdrop for the story. These films also reflect the social, political and economic context of their period of production.¹⁸⁵ Most of the films are in the public domain, on sites such as YouTube and on DVD. Some, such as *Sarie Marais* (1931), are located in the National Film Video and Sound Archives in Pretoria but available for viewing on site.

The filmic representations mentioned above were used as both evidence and as a primary source, in line with Nicholas Pronay (1983).¹⁸⁶ Jefferey Richards notes that there are three stages of investigation when historians want to use films as evidence.¹⁸⁷ In the first stage, historians need to determine the themes and ideas that are conveyed in the film by analysing the content of the film.¹⁸⁸ In the second stage, historians need to understand how the particular film was made, when it was made and how it relates to the political, social and economic context in which it was produced.¹⁸⁹ In the last stage, historians need to look at how the audiences received the film by analysing (if possible) box office returns, television ratings and newspaper reviews.¹⁹⁰ Richards's three stages of investigation are used in the analysis of the chosen films in this study.

¹⁸³ There is an English version of the series *Fees van die Ongenooides* entitled *Feast of the Uninvited*, but Covid-19 lockdown restrictions prevented access to the English version, so only the Afrikaans version was used.

¹⁸⁴ Only Episodes 4 and 5 were analysed, as they deal with the SAW, but other episodes were consulted as necessary.

¹⁸⁵ P. Rabinowitz, "Wreckage upon wreckage: History, documentary and the ruins of memory," *History and Theory* 32 no. 2 (1993), 119.

¹⁸⁶ N. Pronay, "The 'moving picture' and historical research," *Journal of Contemporary History* 18 (1983), 366.

¹⁸⁷ J. Richards, "Film and television: The moving image", in *History beyond the text. Student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, eds. S. Barber and C. Peniston-Bird (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 76.

¹⁸⁸ Richards, "Film and television", 76.

¹⁸⁹ Richards, "Film and television", 76.

¹⁹⁰ Richards, "Film and television", 76.

Van Nierop suggests eight steps that historians need to keep in mind in analysing a film.¹⁹¹ The first step is to focus not only on the characters of the film, but also on how all the elements (visual, aural, *mis en scene*, etc.) are shown to the audience. The second step is to note that each element of a camera shot is there for a purpose. The third step is to analyse each camera shot, as each one has a different purpose in the film. The fourth step is to focus on the editing of the film. The fifth step is to examine the composition in the frames. The sixth step is to pay attention to the sound (diagetic and non-diagetic) in the film. The seventh step is to focus on the beginning of the film, as well as the credits and the title of the film, as they play an important role in creating the atmosphere. The last step is to focus on the filmmakers who made the film because they are also part of the film.¹⁹²

According to Stuart Hall,¹⁹³ certain points in a film yield encoded messages in the form of meaningful discourses. John Fiske and John Hartley agree with Hall, noting that in every film or television show there is a code that helps the audience to establish a boundary where real life ends and television begins.¹⁹⁴ However, the authors note that this boundary is often blurred because of the way we watch films, and see real life as the same, in that both are determined by conventions or codes.¹⁹⁵ Hall also points out that before this message can have an “effect” or be put to a “use”, it must first be appropriated as a meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded.¹⁹⁶ According to Hall,¹⁹⁷ there are three hypothetical positions from which decodings may be constructed. The first hypothetical position is the dominant hegemonic position, when the viewer “takes the connoted meaning from, say, a television newscast or current affairs programme full and straight, and decodes the message in terms of the reference code in which it has been encoded, we might say that the viewer *is operating inside the dominant code*”.¹⁹⁸ The second hypothetical position is a negotiated position,¹⁹⁹ when the audience

partly shares the text’s code and broadly accepts the preferred reading, but sometimes resists and modifies it in a way which reflects their own position, experiences and interests

¹⁹¹ L. van Nierop, *Oor die filmstudie: 'n Nuttige werkboek vir die klaskamer* (Pretoria: Lapa, 2010), 19.

¹⁹² Van Nierop, *Oor die filmstudie*, 19-20.

¹⁹³ S. Hall, “Encoding/decoding,” in *Media and cultural studies keywords*, eds. M.G. Durham and D.M. Kellner (Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell, 2006), 165.

¹⁹⁴ J. Fiske and J. Hartley, *Reading television* (New York, NY and London: Routledge, 1990), 47.

¹⁹⁵ Fiske and Hartley, *Reading television*, 47.

¹⁹⁶ Hall, “Encoding/decoding”, 165.

¹⁹⁷ Hall, “Encoding/decoding”, 171.

¹⁹⁸ Hall, “Encoding/decoding”, 171.

¹⁹⁹ Hall, “Encoding/decoding”, 72.

(local and personal conditions may be seen as exceptions to the general rule) – this position involves contradictions.²⁰⁰

The last position is an oppositional position when the viewer

whose social situation places them in a directly oppositional relation to the dominant code, understands the preferred reading but does not share the text's code and rejects this reading, bringing to bear an alternative frame of reference (radical, feminist etc.) (e.g. when watching a television broadcast produced on behalf of a political party they normally vote against).²⁰¹

The films and the series used in this study were analysed frame by frame or shot by shot to understand the order of images and how they play off against one another, as suggested by John E. O'Connor.²⁰²

Additional primary sources included archival documents pertinent to film production and the SAW, as well as newspaper articles sourced online via the UP library databases, SA Media and *Rand Daily Mail* online archive. Newspapers and magazines were consulted for film reviews and other public commentary where available.

1.8 Outline of the study

Chapter 1 discusses the research aims and objectives, the primary and secondary research questions and the rationale for the study. This was followed by the literature review which discussed the main books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and internet sources that have been written on the SAW, the SAW as a media war, the history of film in South Africa and how popular media's depictions of the war have influenced Afrikaner nationalism. The methodology has also been discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 discusses nationalism and why scholars such as Anderson argue that the construct is "imagined". Following this, the Afrikaans-language film industry and its dialogic relationship with Afrikaner cultural and political nationalism, which started from the early history of film to after 1994, is explored. Lastly, the chapter considers the SAW as a media war, by focusing on various types of media that were used to promote nationalism. This includes films, newspapers, poems, short stories and songs.

²⁰⁰ D. Chandler, "Semiotics for beginners", 2017, <http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem08c.html>, accessed 22 July 2019.

²⁰¹ Chandler, "Semiotics for beginners".

²⁰² J.E. O'Connor, "History in images/images in history: Reflections on the importance of film and television study for an understanding of the past," *The American Historical Review* 93 no. 5 (1988), 1204.

Chapter 3 takes a comparative approach to changing representations of the SAW in the two *Sarie Marais* films of 1931 and 1949 to see how representations changed across two distinct historical periods, namely the early 1930s and late 1940s, and the extent to which the broader social, political and economic context characterised by rising (1930s) and triumphant (1940s) Afrikaner nationalism, may have shaped representations of the war in these two films.

Chapter 4 compares representations of the SAW in films made in the 1960s, focusing on *Voor Sononder* (1962), *Die Kavaliers* (1966) and *Krugermiljoene* (1967), to identify how representations in these films had changed from the 1930s to the 1960s. The broader social, political and economic context shaped by the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 and becoming a republic in 1961, which influenced Afrikaner nationalism of the 1960s, is taken into consideration.

Chapter 5 compares representations of the SAW in the films made in the 1980s, focusing on *Gideon Scheepers* (1982), *Danie Theron* (1983) and *Torn Allegiance* (1984), to see how representations in these films changed from the 1960s to the 1980s. The changes are read in the context of how the broader social, political and economic context characterised by the sanctions against South Africa and the boycotts of the 1980s influenced Afrikaner nationalism in the 1980s.

Chapter 6 takes a comparative approach to changing representations of the SAW in the films made in the 1990s to 2000s. These films include *Arende* (1994), *Verraaiers* (2013) and *Modder en Bloed* (2016) and two series, namely *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* (2008) and *Donkerland* (2013), to see how films changed after 1994.

Chapter 7 draws together the larger argument by way of a conclusion reflecting on the findings, contribution and limitations of the study.

2 Chapter 2:

Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaans-language films: an overview

2.1 Introduction

“Orphans of the West rooted in Africa”, “oppressors”, “colonisers”, “peacemakers”, and “chosen people”²⁰³ – all these are labels that have been attached to the small nation known today as Afrikaners.²⁰⁴ As descendants of Dutch and French Huguenots, Afrikaners’ identity and nationalism emerged in the context of British colonialism at the Cape of Good Hope, the wider Cape Colony, and tensions and conflicts with indigenous groups. Two events – the victory at the Battle of Blood River (16 December 1838) and the crushing defeat at the end of the SAW – are critical to Afrikaner nationalism and identity.

This chapter provides a historical overview of the role of Afrikaans-language cultural productions, including film, in the growth and promotion of Afrikaner nationalism. The chapter argues that the evolution of Afrikaner nationalism as represented in such cultural productions has undergone several changes. In line with Saul Dubow’s point that Afrikaner nationalism is not static and fossilised,²⁰⁵ this chapter argues for an evolutionary Afrikaner ideology and identity and considers how this evolution has been shaped by media in general and in film in particular.

2.2 Nations and nationalism

According to Dusun Kecmanovic, the term “nation” comes from the Latin word *natus*, which means “born”.²⁰⁶ Many authors have written on nations, but most of them regard “nationalism as a specific expression of or an aberration from ideology, i.e., a type of fascism or liberalism”.²⁰⁷ Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, and Eric Hobsbawm all argue that nations are “imagined”. For Gellner, all nations are “invented” because he believes that a nation comes

²⁰³ *Die Afrikaners*, directed by H. Binge and K. Meiring (March Media, 2015), <https://www.showmax.com/eng/tvseries/5zotlcaz-die-afrikaners>, accessed 19 September 2022.

²⁰⁴ See Section 1.5.1 for the definition of the term for the purposes of this thesis.

K. Richard, “Afrikaners”, 2019, <https://www.thoughtco.com/afrikaners-in-south-africa-1435512>, accessed 15 September 2022; M. Boomgard, “Family, religion and tradition big part of Afrikaner culture”, *Pressreader*, 2014, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-tribune-south-africa/20140921/281878706586424>, accessed 20 May 2020; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, xiii.

²⁰⁵ S. Dubow, “Afrikaner nationalism, Apartheid and the conceptualization of ‘race’,” *Journal of African History* 33 no. 2 (1992), 209.

²⁰⁶ D. Kecmanovic, *The mass psychology of ethnonationalism* (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1996), 6.

²⁰⁷ I. du Plessis, “Narrating the ‘nation’: Cultural production, political community and young Afrikaans readers” (PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2004), 38.

into being when two people are part of the same nation and share the same traditions.²⁰⁸ By contrast, Hobsbawm argues that the construct of a “nation” belongs exclusively to a particular recent historical period. For him, a “nation” is a social entity as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state.²⁰⁹ He claims that a nation is constructed from above, but cannot be understood unless it is analysed from below, in terms of the assumptions, hopes, longings, and interests of ordinary people.²¹⁰ Anderson opposes the idea that nations have a primordial origin when he notes that nations are “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”.²¹¹ They are imagined because “members even of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.²¹² Anderson provides the example of a Javanese community. According to him, Javanese people “know that they are connected to people they have never seen, but these ties were once imaged particularistically – as indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and clientship”.²¹³ He explains that “even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations”.²¹⁴ Anderson points out that nations must not be distinguished “by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined”.²¹⁵

Ann McClintock notes that this “imagined nation” includes a shared experience of identification with an extended community.²¹⁶ Only certain people are allowed in this nation; there is a border that divides the nation from others. For example, the boundaries of the German nation “were drawn so as to exclude Jews by the Nazis, while the Communists – and most of the German Jews themselves – included the Jews within the boundaries of the nation”.²¹⁷

A nation is regarded as sovereign because “the concept was born in an age in which the Enlightenment and Revolutions were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained,

²⁰⁸ E. Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (New York, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 7.

²⁰⁹ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9.

²¹⁰ Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780*, 10.

²¹¹ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6; A.S. Steyn, “A new laager for a ‘new’ South Africa: Afrikaans film and the imagined boundaries of Afrikanerdom” (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2016), 5-6.

²¹² Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6.

²¹³ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6; Steyn, “A new laager”, 5-6.

²¹⁴ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6.

²¹⁵ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6.

²¹⁶ A. McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”: Women and nationalism in South Africa,” *Transition* 51 (1991), 104.

²¹⁷ N. Yuval-Davis and M. Stoelzler, “Imagined boundaries and borders: A gendered gaze,” *The European Journal of Women’s Studies* 9 no 3. (2002), 330.

hierarchical dynastic realm”.²¹⁸ It is also a community because “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”.²¹⁹ Horizontal comradeship, in this case, means that all members of a nation share a “certain set of ‘sacred’ features binding them together as a community”.²²⁰ An example of such as “sacred” feature is a shared language. Thus, when something threatens to destroy this “sacred” feature, it creates an imperative among the nation to fight for it; in some cases, people are willing to sacrifice their lives for these limited imaginings.²²¹

The term “nationalism” means different things to different people. For the primordialists,²²² “nationalism” is ancient, while the modernists believe that it is new and imagined.²²³ Theorists who fall in the latter group are Gellner, Hobsbawm, and Anderson. For example, Gellner and Hobsbawm agree that nationalism is a “principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent”.²²⁴ Gellner is also of the opinion that nationalism invents nations where they do not exist.²²⁵ In other words, there are no “true (real) communities”; instead, they are rather imagined into being.²²⁶ However, Anderson agrees with Gellner when he notes that “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined”.²²⁷ For Anderson, the term nationalism is a modern concept, it is universal (as everyone belongs to a nation) and it is powerful (so much so that people will die for their countries).²²⁸ In other words, Anderson is arguing that humans from prehistory to modern times were not born into different nations, but nations were created by shared experiences, values and traditions.

According to Anderson, nationalism emerged in the 18th century and became popularised through the distribution of ideas made possible by the printing press. The print media allowed

²¹⁸ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

²¹⁹ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

²²⁰ eHistory, “Theorizing culture, space, and nation”, Ohio State University, https://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/arctic-sovereignty/theory_aa, n.d, accessed 4 April 2022.

²²¹ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

²²² Primordialists are not discussed as the study does not deal with an ancient nation, but a modern one (Afrikaners).

²²³ P.E. Louw, “Political power, national identity, and language: The case of Afrikaans,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 170 (2004), 48; A.J. Motyl, “Review: Imagined communities, rational choosers, invented ethnics,” *Comparative Politics* 34 no. 2 (2002), 233.

²²⁴ Gellner, *Nations and nationalism*, 1; Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780*, 9.

²²⁵ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

²²⁶ Du Plessis, “Narrating the ‘nation’”, 40.

²²⁷ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

²²⁸ S. Chan, “Benedict Anderson, scholar who saw nations as ‘imagined,’ dies at 79”, *New York Times*, 15 December 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/15/world/asia/benedict-anderson-scholar-who-saw-nations-as-imagined-dies-at-79.html>, accessed 10 July 2021.

people to read articles in the language which they spoke.²²⁹ However, they first needed to replace Latin, which was the liturgical language spoken by many religious communities and the scientific lingua franca, with a language everyone in a particular space spoke.²³⁰ For example, in Austro-Hungary, Latin was replaced by the German vernacular due to its status as a popularly spoken language.²³¹ The print media reached a wider audience.²³² However, the print media also had its own relations of power, as only those who could read (initially, educated nobles, the clergy and the well-off) had access to the print media, excluding the poor and illiterate.²³³ Limiting what was printed, by whom, for whom, implied control over the masses as the well-off could choose what topic was worth printing and what was not important.

Nationalism can also be gendered. In many instances, nationalism has been masculinised, and women only feature in the background.²³⁴ However, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias give five ways in which women are featured in discourses on nationalism.²³⁵ Firstly, they are positioned as biological reproducers of the nation, which in Afrikaner nationalist discourse plays out in the *volksmoeder* [mother of the nation]. Secondly, they are perceived as reproducers of the boundaries of national groups. According to Yuval-Davis and Anthias, women are not only encouraged to have children, but they are also taught the “proper” way in which they should have them. Thirdly, they are seen as transmitters and producers of cultural narratives. A woman’s job is to teach the next generation about a nation’s heritage. Fourthly, women are seen as symbols and signifiers of national differences in male discourse. In many cases, it is the women who encourage men to fight until the end, and women are used as symbols of the nation, symbols that need defending. Lastly, women can be active participants in national movements: in armies, congresses, trade unions, activism, and community organisations. Women have also been expected to take part in nationalistic events by supporting and encouraging their men.²³⁶

²²⁹ M. Wa Muiu, *The pitfalls of liberal democracy and late nationalism in South Africa* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 12.

²³⁰ Du Plessis, “Narrating the ‘nation’”, 41.

²³¹ Wa Muiu, *The pitfalls*, 12.

²³² Wa Muiu, *The pitfalls*, 12.

²³³ Wa Muiu, *The pitfalls*, 12.

²³⁴ McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 105.

²³⁵ N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias, “Introduction,” in *Women-Nation-State*, eds. N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 7.

²³⁶ Yuval-Davis and Anthias, “Introduction”, 7 -10.

This study adopts Anderson's conception of a nation as an imagined community divided by imagined borders to separate "us" from "them".²³⁷ Furthermore, this study adopts Anderson's four criteria, namely that nations are imagined, sovereign (nations are independent), and bounded or limited (nations have imagined boundaries to divide people into an "us" versus a "them"), and they act as a community (nations have a "sacred" feature, for which they would die and that unites them).

Afrikaners fit into Anderson's first category, in that they share a nationalism that is imagined because they claim to share religious²³⁸ beliefs and a language. Religion is important when it comes to nationalism, as it unifies a nation and it creates loyalty to the national movement.²³⁹ Therefore, over the centuries, people have carried out inquisitions, crusades, and wars in the name of their religion and country.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, every nation has a religious myth or story of origin, which is important in the development of national identities when it takes the form of myths of "election or closeness".²⁴¹ Peter C. Mentzel notes that nations have powerful myths of religious exceptionalism in which they see themselves as chosen to perform a powerful mission that is both religious and national.²⁴² The most popular example includes the biblical Israelites who believed that they were God's chosen nation.²⁴³ Another example are Afrikaners, who like the biblical Israelites, consider themselves as God's chosen *volk*. As the chosen people they saw themselves as superior to other nations.²⁴⁴ For example, they began to see themselves as God's chosen people after the victory against the Zulu army at the Battle of Blood River which followed on from the massacre of Piet Retief and his delegation at UmGungundlovu and of many Voortrekkers at Blaauwkrantz and other sites (in what is today the Weenen area) in 1838. Anton Ehlers state that some historians debate whether the Voortrekkers won the battle fairly because the Zulus' weapons were more primitive than those of the Voortrekkers, for

²³⁷ See H. Ben-Israel, "Nationalism in historical perspective", *Journal of International Affairs* 45 no. 2 (1992), 373; H. Kohn, "Nationalism", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 30 November 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism/European-nationalism>, accessed 17 December 2022; M. Suzman, *Ethnic nationalism and state power: The rise of Irish nationalism, Afrikaner nationalism and Zionism* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999) 1; S. Mihelj and C. Jiménez-Martínez, "Digital nationalism: Understanding the role of digital media in the rise of 'new' nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 27 no. 1 (2020), 334; Yuval-Davis and Stoelzler, "Imagined boundaries", 334.

²³⁸ This is only a brief discussion on the theme of religion, also see Chapter 6.

²³⁹ B.J. Rieffer, "Religion and nationalism: Understanding the consequences of a complex relationship," *Ethnicities* 3 no. 2 (2003), 229.

²⁴⁰ Rieffer, "Religion and nationalism", 217.

²⁴¹ P.C. Mentzel, "Introduction: Religion and nationalism? Or nationalism and religion? Some reflections on the relationship between religion and nationalism", *Genealogy* 4 no. 4 (2020), 3.

²⁴² Mentzel, "Introduction", 3.

²⁴³ Mentzel, "Introduction", 3.

²⁴⁴ A.D. Smith, "Ethnic election and national destiny: Some religious origins of nationalist ideals", *Nations and Nationalism* 5 no. 3 (1999), 336.

example, the Zulus used buckshot, inflicting enormous damage among the approaching Voortrekkers. Furthermore, historians argue that the Battle of Blood River did not save the Voortrekkers, since only a few Voortrekkers were involved in the battle. Thus, the battle could not be regarded as the birthplace of Afrikaner people as the idea of the *volk* had already emerged long before 1838.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Afrikaners still mythologise their “victory” over the Zulus and proclaim their superiority over the Zulus because they ‘won’ the Battle of Blood River against large odds, after their vow to God to commemorate that day in perpetuity. Some claimed that they had avenged Retief and others who had been killed earlier,²⁴⁶ even though Blood River was not the last skirmish between the Voortrekkers and the Zulus. This was partially acknowledged in a speech by Daniël François Malan, then Prime Minister, at the site where the battle took place, when he stated that the site shows the difficulties of keeping South Africa a “White man’s country”.²⁴⁷ For many Afrikaners, the victory at the Battle of Blood River was the evidence they needed to show them that they were God’s chosen *volk* as He allowed them to win.²⁴⁸

The main institution that helped to promote the ideology of the “chosen *volk*”, was the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk [the Dutch Reformed Church or DRC], which wanted to unify the Voortrekkers and their descendants, based on a claim to racial, moral and cultural purity, and to draw strength from their painful history.²⁴⁹ As Erna Oliver notes, religious institutions could play an important role in promoting nationalism, as they had access to a large and impressionable audience and continue to exercise a certain traditional authority.²⁵⁰ As the “chosen *volk*”, Afrikaners uphold boundaries to separate themselves from outsiders.²⁵¹ The DRC helped to separate Afrikaners from Black people by supporting apartheid, through making their members believe Black people supported communism and were therefore dangerous.²⁵²

²⁴⁵ A. Ehlers, “Desegregating history in South Africa: The case of the covenant and the battle of Blood/Ncome River,” in Australian Historical Association Conference (2000), 16.

²⁴⁶ T. D. Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975), 13.

²⁴⁷ J. van der Merwe, “‘From Blood River’ to ‘Belhar’: A bridge too far,” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40 no. 1 (2014), 141.

²⁴⁸ J.A. Templin, “The ideology of a chosen people: Afrikaner nationalism and the Ossewa Trek, 1938,” *Nations and Nationalism* 5 no. 3 (1999), 399.

²⁴⁹ A.B. Teppo, *Afrikaners and the boundaries of faith in post-Apartheid South Africa* (Oxford: Routledge, 2022), 29.

²⁵⁰ E. Oliver, “Afrikaner Christianity and the concept of empire,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 31 no. 1 (2010), 1.

²⁵¹ Smith, “Ethnic election”, 336.

²⁵² P. Kruger and J.M. van der Merwe, ‘The Dutch Reformed Church as a prominent established South African church: In transition towards the 21st century’, *Verbum et Ecclesia* 38 no. 1 (2017), 2; R. Fourie, “‘Angels and demons’? The Dutch Reformed Church and anticommunism in twentieth century South Africa” (PhD thesis, University of the Free State, 2021), 1; Teppo, *Afrikaners and the boundaries of faith*, 34.

For this reason, the DRC has been criticised as the “National Party at prayer”.²⁵³ By the 1980s, the DRC no longer supported apartheid, claiming that it was against their teachings. The DRC was no longer in favour as some Afrikaners moved to more liberal churches as they were tired of the DRC’s conservative ways.²⁵⁴

Another thing that Afrikaners have in common is the Afrikaans language, a fusion of European, Asian, and African languages. As Stephen Barbour notes, the “cultural coherence of an ethnic group or a nation is often partly expressed by language”.²⁵⁵ He notes that it works in two ways: language may facilitate communication and hence coherence within a group.²⁵⁶ In other words, speaking a single language unifies a nation. Hence, language is very important for ethnic identity, national identity, and nationalism.²⁵⁷ In this case, it is the Afrikaans language. The Afrikaans that we know today was not spoken during the 1600s to 1700s, as most educated Afrikaners spoke Dutch (or various other languages).²⁵⁸ The proto-Afrikaans spoken at that time was a creole language, dismissively called a “kombuistaal” [kitchen language]. It was spoken by rural people, the urban working class, Cape slaves, and some middle-class civil servants, and traders.²⁵⁹ However, after the SAW, nationalist Afrikaners wanted to elevate the Afrikaans language from its association with the “the kitchen” and the lower class to keep the *volk* pure.²⁶⁰ Therefore, efforts were made by people like Gustav Preller, who began to publish in the Afrikaans language, instead of Dutch, to foster a sense of Afrikaner identity through promoting the language as an autonomous and official language.²⁶¹ The furtherance of their “own language” became one of the key objectives of the Second Language Movement in 1905; as a result, Afrikaans became an official language in 1925.²⁶² From then until 1994, the use of Afrikaans has grown in academia and in education.

²⁵³ Fourie, “Angels and demons?”, 1.

²⁵⁴ Teppo, *Afrikaners and the boundaries of faith*, 43-46.

²⁵⁵ S. Barbour, “Reflections on nationalism and language: A response to Miquel Strubell”, *Current Issues in Language and Society* 5 no. 3 (1998), 196.

²⁵⁶ Barbour, “Reflections on nationalism and language”, 196.

²⁵⁷ Barbour, “Reflections on nationalism and language”, 196.

²⁵⁸ E. Cloete, “Afrikaner identity: Culture, tradition and gender”, *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 8 no. 13 (1992), 45.

²⁵⁹ H. Willemsse, “More than an oppressor’s language: Reclaiming the hidden history of Afrikaans”, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/more-than-an-oppressors-language-reclaiming-the-hidden-history-of-afrikaans-71838>, accessed 12 July 2021.

²⁶⁰ S. Swart and L. van der Watt, “‘Taaltriomf of taalverdriet?’ An aspect of the roles of Eugène Marais and Gustav Preller in the Second Language Movement, circa 1905-1927,” *Historia* 53 no. 2 (2008), 131.

²⁶¹ I. Berger, *South Africa in World History* (New York, NY: Oxford, University Press, 2009), 96; S. Swart and L. van der Watt, “‘Taaltriomf of taalverdriet?’”, 127.

²⁶² I. Berger, *South Africa in World History*, 96; J. van Wyk, “Afrikaans language, literature and identity,” *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 77 (1991), 80.

The National Party (NP) government used Afrikaans to attempt to enforce education in Afrikaans and thus suppress the indigenous languages. As a result of this, and larger apartheid, Afrikaans has been dubbed the “language of the oppressor”.²⁶³ This has had a negative impact on the language in the public eye, as it led to movements such as #Afrikaans-must-fall (2016), which demanded that the language be removed as a language of tuition at historically Afrikaans universities.²⁶⁴ Furthermore, Afrikaans now has to compete with ten other official languages, which includes English and other African languages. According to Mariana Kriel, this has caused fear among Afrikaners, who are afraid that if they lose their language, they will lose their identity.²⁶⁵ Afrikaners perceive the demise of their language in the public domain today as symbolic of their marginalisation, disempowerment, and loss of control.²⁶⁶ This has led to a Third Language Movement, which is a response by Afrikaners concerned about the loss of protection of the Afrikaans language by the new government which took over in 1994.²⁶⁷ The Third Language Movement’s aim is to maintain and promote Afrikaans and to unify those who speak the language into an “inclusive community”.²⁶⁸ Despite the setbacks outlined above, the language is still flourishing in the private spheres of culture, education and the media.²⁶⁹

In terms of Anderson’s second category, the *volk* can also be regarded as sovereign as they were independent after the establishment of the Boer Republics. After the British took over from the Dutch colonial government in 1806, independence from the British became an important motivation for the Great Trek (1835-1845) – the move to the interior of the country. During this Trek, they established two independent republics, namely the Oranje Vrijstaat, and the ZAR.²⁷⁰ Therefore, it can be noted that the Great Trek contributed to the rise of a *volk*.²⁷¹

Anderson’s third category is applicable in that the Afrikaner nation has set the limits of identity by othering non-Afrikaners (both White English-speaking South Africans and Black people) on the basis of language and race. Many Afrikaners saw the *volk* as pure and superior over

²⁶³ Willemse, “More than an oppressor’s language”.

²⁶⁴ Willemse, “More than an oppressor’s language”.

²⁶⁵ M. Kriel, “Discourses of language activism: The Green Movement and Afrikaans,” *Language Matters: Studies in the Languages of Southern Africa* 34 no.1 (2003), 52.

²⁶⁶ V. Webb, “Constructing an inclusive speech community from two mutually excluding ones: The third Afrikaans language movement,” *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 47 no. 1 (2010), 107.

²⁶⁷ C.S. van der Waal, “Creolisation and purity: Afrikaans language politics in post-Apartheid times,” *African Studies* 71 no. 3 (2012), 451.

²⁶⁸ Webb, “Constructing an inclusive speech community”, 108; Van der Waal, “Creolisation and purity”, 451.

²⁶⁹ Willemse, “More than an oppressor’s language”.

²⁷⁰ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 2.

²⁷¹ P. de Klerk, “Was die Groot Trek werklik groot? ’n Historiografiese ondersoek na die gevolge en betekenis van die Groot Trek,” *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 49 no. 4 (2009), 662.

Black people, whom they regarded as unclean and inferior.²⁷² This construction of the “other” was intended to separate the *volk* from Black people to keep the Afrikaner *volk* pure.

Lastly, the *volk* can be considered a community as they have a goal that unifies them as one. In this case, that goal is their desire for sovereignty and keeping the *volk* pure. Afrikaners mostly did this with the help of their religion. As discussed above, Afrikaners consider themselves as God’s chosen *volk*, so they believe that they had a divine mandate to smite heathen peoples (Black people) and reduce them to their pre-ordained position as “perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water”.²⁷³ This was done with the help of the system known as apartheid, which dehumanised Black people by removing them from their homes, if these fell within designated “White” areas, by restricting their movements and by controlling their lives and education. Furthermore, Afrikaners’ desire for sovereignty is framed as independence from British control and acts as a unifier. In some cases, this desire was so strong that many were willing to sacrifice their lives for it. It also led to two moments in Afrikaner history, namely the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) and the SAW. Afrikaners won the first of these wars, which showed them that even though they were a small nation, they were still able to defeat the mighty British Empire. They lost the SAW, and at great cost, but they learned to use its memory to show how strong and resilient their ancestors were, as they refused to give up on their cause – their quest for independence – despite the deaths in the concentration camps and scorched-earth policy. The loss of the SAW also had an impact on how Afrikaners saw White English-speaking South Africans. In many cases, Afrikaners considered them foreigners, never forgetting what others who spoke their language (the British SAW forces) did to Afrikaners’ ancestors (the Boers) during the SAW.

Afrikaner nationalism is also a modern concept that originated during the 18th century. McClintock notes that Afrikaner nationalism “was forged very recently in the crucible of colonial contradiction”.²⁷⁴ There could be two dates that fit into what McClintock refers to as the “colonial contradiction”. Firstly, it has been argued that the first signs of Afrikaner nationalism emerged in the early 1800s because of events such as the Slagtersnek Rebellion²⁷⁵ (1815), which was still a sore point for some Afrikaners, as the event shows their desire to be

²⁷² C. Verwey and Quayle, M., “Whiteness, racism, and Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa”, *African Affairs* 111, no. 445 (2012), 551.

²⁷³ A. du Toit, “No chosen people: The myth of the Calvinist origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and racial ideology,” *The American Historical Review* 88 no. 4 (1983), 920.

²⁷⁴ McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 106.

²⁷⁵ M. Burgess, “The unlikely story of the Slagtersnek gallows beam,” *Farmer’s Weekly* 2017, no. 17018 (2017), 65; Nel, “Myths of rebellion”, 25.

independent of Britain. The Rebellion started when an Afrikaner, Frederik Bezuidenhout, ignored a court summons for mistreating his Khoi-Khoi worker. He rejected a warrant for his arrest and was shot resisting surrender. His brother Hans and others attempted to avenge his death by starting a rebellion. Nothing came of it as some of the rebels were caught and five were hanged. Hans was also shot resisting arrest. J.A Heese notes, that the rebellion became a propaganda tool to show Afrikaners how unfairly the British treated the *volk*.²⁷⁶ The rebels were immortalised as brave martyrs standing up against British authority, for which they paid the ultimate price.²⁷⁷ Thus, the rebellion was regarded as the real beginning of Afrikaners' struggle against British colonial rule.²⁷⁸ The rebellion is no longer seen this way as historians like Heese came to the conclusion that the martyrs like Fredrick were not heroes as their actions were controversial.²⁷⁹ A second event that was crucial to the forging of Afrikaner nationalism was the SAW. In Afrikaner nationalist discourse, Afrikaners were victims, but also resilient. This victim discourse would remerge in later years in "a narrative that would eventually bring Nationalists to power in 1948, along with apartheid legislation".²⁸⁰

Three factors helped shape Afrikaner nationalism. These are the print media, as discussed by Anderson, mythmaking, as considered by Rossouw Nel, and what Dan O'Meara's calls "volkskapitalisme" [national capitalism].²⁸¹ According to Anderson, the growth of the print media made it easy to spread nationalism. Stella Viljoen agrees with Anderson, when she notes that the print media built a shared network of symbols (such as language and ideas) throughout the nation, thereby establishing the basis for an emotional community.²⁸² Therefore, it can be argued that the print media also played an important part in forming Afrikaner nationalism. For example, the translation of the Bible from Dutch to the Afrikaans language in 1933 helped Afrikaners to understand where they as a "chosen *volk*" came from.²⁸³ The Second Language Movement was also crucial to the codification of the Afrikaans language. The movement was

²⁷⁶ J. A. Heese, *Slagtersnek en sy mense* (Kaapstad: Tafelberg, 1973), 1.

²⁷⁷ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 86.

²⁷⁸ J. Bezuidenhout, "Nou in die verlede: Slagtersnek, Bophuthatswana en wit oppermagtigheid," *Litnet*, 3 November 2020, <https://www.litnet.co.za/nou-in-die-verlede-slagtersnek-bophuthatswana-en-wit-oppermagtigheid/>, accessed 7 May 2022.

²⁷⁹ J. A. Heese, *Slagtersnek en sy mense*, 1.

²⁸⁰ Burgess, "The unlikely story", 64.

²⁸¹ D. O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

²⁸² S. Viljoen, "'Imagined community': 1950s kiekies of the *volk*", *Image & Text: A Journal for Design* no. 12 (2006), 19; Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 44-45.

²⁸³ C.H.J. van der Merwe, "The Bible in Afrikaans: A direct translation – a new type of church Bible", *HTS Teologiese Studies* 68 no. 1 (2012), 1.

used as a tool by which the *volk* could be unified as speakers of the Afrikaans language.²⁸⁴ After the SAW, the British made English the official language, which made Afrikaners bitter, as they lost not only their independence, but could not use their own language in official communication or situations. Therefore, they reacted against what was perceived as Lord Alfred Milner's anglicisation policy by launching the Second Language Movement.²⁸⁵ This movement fashioned the myriad Boer vernaculars into a single identifiable Afrikaans language because of the release of works of literature and other publications in Afrikaans.²⁸⁶

Most of the newspapers (or books) that promoted Afrikaner nationalism were printed by the Nasionale Pers [National Press], which evolved into Naspers, as it is known today. It was established in 1915 as a voice for Afrikaners by focusing on printing and publishing Afrikaans magazines, newspapers, and books.²⁸⁷ For this reason, Naspers became a pro-Afrikaner medium that could escape influences from White English-speaking South Africans.²⁸⁸ The NP soon formed a relationship with the Nasionale Pers. Both the Nasionale Pers and the NP gained from the mutual relationship, especially at the height of the NP's rule in the 1960s. The NP could promote Afrikaner nationalism without any competition, as it financially supported Nasionale Pers.²⁸⁹ However, when apartheid ended, it had a temporary negative impact on the Nasionale Pers, as there was a decline in media that promoted Afrikaner nationalism.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, there was more global competition, so the press had to rebrand itself as Naspers by shifting away from promoting Afrikaner nationalism and being a vehicle for apartheid and a propaganda machine for the NP.²⁹¹ One of the Nasionale Pers's most famous publications was *De Huisgenoot* [the house companion], an Afrikaner magazine launched in 1916. Viljoen notes that there were two reasons for the establishment of the magazine, namely, to aid the Cape NP

²⁸⁴ Van Wyk, "Afrikaans language, literature and identity", 80.

²⁸⁵ S.S. Swart, "A 'ware Afrikaner' – an examination of the role of Eugene Marais (1871-1936) in the making of Afrikaner identity" (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2001), 87.

²⁸⁶ McClintock, "No longer in a future heaven", 107.

²⁸⁷ L. Rabe, "From peoples press to globals superstar", 2014, <https://themediainline.co.za/2014/07/from-peoples-press-to-globals-superstar/>, accessed 15 July 2021; Steyn, "A new laager", 4; M. Dlodla, "Hustle and flow! An analysis of Naspers' operationalization as reported by prominent South African newspaper publications over a three-year period" (MA diss., University of KwaZulu Natal, 2017), 1.

²⁸⁸ Anon, "Naspers Ltd. History", 2004, <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/naspers-ltd-history/>, accessed 20 June 2022.

²⁸⁹ Dlodla, "Hustle and flow!", 1; G. Botma, "Paying the field: The cultural economy of Afrikaans at Naspers", *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 29 no.1 (2008), 44.

²⁹⁰ S.T. Mosime, "Naspers Media Group: Ethnic past and global present. Media firms, class and ethnic identities during the age of convergence and expansion – the case of Naspers in the first decade of the 21st century," *Global Media Journal-African Edition* 8 no. 1 (2014), 63-64.

²⁹¹ Naspers now promotes and profits from a non-racial inclusive democratic state in which Afrikaans is a minority language, although Naspers still supports Afrikaans, and now owns most Afrikaans-language media. Mosime, "Naspers Media Group", 63; Botma, "Paying the field", 60.

and to provide escapism for the *volk*, who needed it after the SAW and during World War I.²⁹² The magazine's name *Die Huisgenoot* (1917), was thought to reach a wider audience of Afrikaans-speakers, also evident in its adoption of the Afrikaans language. This was a part of the process of according Afrikaans a more official status and thus displacing Dutch as the official language.

Nel argues that mythmaking was central to the establishment and spread of Afrikaner nationalism.²⁹³ Afrikaners have various myths, which are used selectively, for example Boer men, like the *bittereindes* were turned into the mythical Boer who is always ready to help the *volk*. These heroes include Danie Theron (discussed in Chapter 5), the “martyr” Gideon Scheepers (discussed in Chapter 5), and symbols such as the Women's Monument, in Bloemfontein.²⁹⁴

Boer men were not the only ones who were turned into heroes. Boer women were also turned into heroines for the role they played in the SAW. Boer women stayed behind to take care of their farms; they were the ones who saw their homes being destroyed, they were the ones who saw their loved ones die in concentration camps and in battlefields, yet they still motivated the men not to give up. The Women's Monument was built in 1913 to commemorate Boer women's actions and those who died in the camps. The structure includes a bronze sculpture by Anton van Wouw, of a woman standing, and a woman seated, weeping, with her lifeless child in her lap. There are also plaques indicating how many Boers died in each camp – the numbers give a sense of the suffering in these camps. However, it is the statue that stands out, as it symbolises how Boer women experienced these camps. These women symbolise those who have no more tears left – they have wept for the 27 000 Boer women and children who died in these camps for the *volk en vaderland* [the nation and the fatherland]. The standing woman looks to the east, seeing the new dawn of the Afrikaner *volk* which will come up through the darkness.²⁹⁵ The statue was inspired by the memory of Emily Hobhouse, who spoke of seeing a weeping woman at the Springfontein station.²⁹⁶ According to Dunbar Moodie, these places have also become places of pilgrimage.²⁹⁷ On special Afrikaner holidays, such as 16 December, which historically commemorated the Battle of Blood River, and formerly known

²⁹² Viljoen, “‘Imagined community’”, 19.

²⁹³ Nel, *Myths of rebellion*, 15.

²⁹⁴ Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom*, 18.

²⁹⁵ Cloete, “Afrikaner identity”, 50.

²⁹⁶ Anon, “History”, 2017, <http://vrouemonument.co.za/index.php/en/history>, accessed 15 July 2021.

²⁹⁷ Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom*, 20.

as the Day of the Vow (now known as the Day of Reconciliation), Afrikaners come to such monuments such as the Voortrekker Monument, to commemorate the sacrifices their ancestors made for the *volk*.

Lastly, O'Meara sees "the rise of Afrikaner nationalism between 1934 and 1948 as inextricably bound up with the development of Afrikaner capitalism, or at least with consciously orchestrated diffusion of previously alien, pro-capitalism views among Afrikaners".²⁹⁸ The SAW and the aftermath of the scorched-earth policy led to the impoverishment of many Afrikaners. This situation was exacerbated by droughts, and international problems, such as the Spanish Influenza (1918-1920), and the Great Depression of the 1930s, contributing to the creation of the South African poor White problem. What added to their dire situation was that after the SAW, English companies dominated the mining, financial and commercial industries, which made Afrikaners feel as if *they* were the "hewers of wood and drawers of water".²⁹⁹

In this context, the Afrikaner Broederbond [Afrikaner Brotherhood]³⁰⁰ came up with the idea of *volkskapitalisme* to empower miners, farmers, and intellectuals.³⁰¹ The Broederbond needed "to mobilise the savings of the *volk* to finance existing and new Afrikaner undertakings".³⁰² They created a *volkfonds* [national fund] to help with the poor White Afrikaners' situation.³⁰³ As more Afrikaners urbanised and got jobs, they started investing in the *volkfonds*, which led to the establishment of companies such as the Nasionale Pers, the Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Trust en Assuransie Maatskappy [South African National Trust and Insurance Company, SANTAM], and the Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Lewensassuransie [South African National Life Insurance, SANLAM) to serve Afrikaners.³⁰⁴ The Eerste Ekonomiese Volkskongres [First Economic People's Congress] in 1939, in Bloemfontein, was attended by politicians,

²⁹⁸ S.J. Morse, "Review: *Volkskapitalisme: Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948* by Dan O'Meara," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 22 no. 4 (1984), 673.

²⁹⁹ Rabe, "From peoples press to globals superstar". Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 291.

³⁰⁰ The Afrikaner Broederbond – a right-wing secret society – was established in 1918. According to Theo Sonnekus, the Broederbond played a crucial role in establishing Afrikaner nationalism, as it sought to secure the political, economic, moral, and cultural well-being of Afrikaners, while at the same time being loyal to the NP. They helped poor Afrikaners during the 1930s. They established the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings [Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations] (FAK) to ensure that the Afrikaans language would not die out. T. Sonnekus, "Seeing ghosts: The past in contemporary images of Afrikaner self-representation" (PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2016), 32.

³⁰¹ D. O'Meara, "Thinking theoretically? Afrikaner nationalism and the comparative theory of the politics of identity, a tribute to Harold Wolpe," Paper presented to the Inaugural Conference of the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust, 1997, 10; T. Makhaya, "The temptations of neo-volkskapitalisme," *Daily Maverick*, 2 October 2014, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2014-02-10-the-temptations-of-neo-volkskapitalisme/>, accessed 1 April 2022.

³⁰² O'Meara, "Thinking theoretically?", 10.

³⁰³ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 292.

³⁰⁴ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 291.

businessmen, and academics.³⁰⁵ The Congress had three aims: to help Afrikaners escape from their economic bondage, to help them gain a “legitimate” share of the economy, and to support Afrikaner businesses.³⁰⁶ As a result of the Congress, the Federale Volksbeleggings [Federal People’s Investments] were established so that Afrikaners could invest in Afrikaner companies.³⁰⁷ According to Mbenga and Giliomee, all of these changes increased Afrikaner investments as follows: mining from 1% to 18%, manufacturing from 3% to 15%, and trade from 8% to 16%.³⁰⁸ This also resulted in the Tweede Ekonomiese Volkskongress [Second Economic People’s Congress] in 1950. When the Second Congress took place, most of the *volk* were already “saved”, so the aim was to develop (their own) existing undertakings.³⁰⁹

As already indicated, nationalism tends to be gendered. This is also the case with Afrikaner nationalism. According to McClintock, Afrikaner men were seen “to embody the political and economic agency of the *volk*, while women were the (unpaid) keepers of tradition and the *volk*’s moral and spiritual mission”.³¹⁰ Afrikaner women also fulfil the five roles mentioned by McClintock. Firstly, Afrikaner women were biological reproducers of the Afrikaner *volk* and language.³¹¹ Afrikaner women had one primary duty and that was to produce a White Afrikaner nation. Secondly, they were reproducers of the boundaries of national groups. Afrikaner women were not allowed to marry men of other races, based on the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, which prohibited mixed marriages (for men and women).³¹² Thirdly, they were active transmitters and creators of the national culture. It was women who taught the next generation the importance of the Afrikaner heritage and language, making them *volksmoeders*. The fourth role fits in with the third, as it made them symbols of the nation, as it was women who encouraged the Boer men to fight until the end of the SAW and who looked after the farms while their men went to war, if the women were not interned in the concentration camps. Lastly, Afrikaner women have been active participants in national struggles.³¹³ There

³⁰⁵ FAK, “3 Oktober, Gebeure,” Afrikaanse Kultuur Almanak, 2021, <https://www.afrikanergeskiedenis.co.za/3-oktober/>, accessed 2 July 2021; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 293.

³⁰⁶ Steyn, “A new laager”, 76; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 293; H. Lawson, “The economic basis of Afrikaner Nationalism”, *Liberation* no. 27 (1957), 20.

³⁰⁷ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 293.

³⁰⁸ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 293.

³⁰⁹ O’Meara, *Volkskapitalisme*, 249.

³¹⁰ McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 108.

³¹¹ K. Geldenhuys, “Constructing motherhood: The *volksmoeder* in Nationalist South Africa,” *Polity*, 19 November 2012, <https://www.polity.org.za/article/constructing-motherhood-the-volksmoeder-in-nationalist-south-africa-2012-11-19>, accessed 27 July 2021; McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 111.

³¹² Geldenhuys, “Constructing motherhood”.

³¹³ Geldenhuys, “Constructing motherhood”.

were Afrikaner women who also fought along with their menfolk in the SAW. This, for McClintock, makes Afrikaner women both the coloniser and colonised.³¹⁴

Afrikaner nationalism as the force that once helped Afrikaners to establish apartheid is now declining; as a political policy, apartheid no longer exists. Furthermore, Afrikaners as a “unified” nation started to crumble as more Afrikaners opposed the NP and the apartheid system.³¹⁵ According to Christi van der Westhuizen, it catapulted the *volk* into a state of confusion, as they felt that they no longer had an identity.³¹⁶ Right-wing Afrikaners even wanted a *volkstaat* (a separate state for only Afrikaners to live in), but it never became a reality.³¹⁷ Since 1994, streets named after Afrikaners and public spaces relating to their history have been renamed, replaced by names of freedom fighters. For example, Voortrekker Street in Pretoria is now called Steve Biko Street, named for the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement. As a result of this sense of dislocation, some Afrikaners have established a number of towns such as Orania and Kleinfontein or have emigrated to other countries, as they feel unwelcome in the country of their birth. Jonathan Jansen notes, the reason why some Afrikaners feel so “vulnerable” is because of the recognition of defeat.³¹⁸ They knew in the end that Apartheid would come to an end.

The new government tried to incorporate Afrikaners into the new South Africa, by allowing them to keep their monuments and museums. For example, the Voortrekker Monument still stands overlooking Pretoria, and the burial sites of Boers in the Free State still enjoy prominence.³¹⁹ Land-owning Afrikaners, as well non-Afrikaners still have their land that they took from Blacks during Apartheid.³²⁰ Yet, there is a “tribal stigma” that clings to Afrikaners, who are seen as “people against transformation” and racists.³²¹ Therefore, there is a belief that Afrikaners must prove their loyalty to the new South Africa more than other South Africans.³²²

³¹⁴ McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 110.

³¹⁵ T. Blaser, “I don’t know what I am’: The end of Afrikaner nationalism in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Transformation* 80 no. 1 (2012), 6.

³¹⁶ C. van der Westhuizen, “Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa: Inward migration and enclave nationalism”, *HTS Teologiese Studies* 72 no. 1 (2016), 2.

³¹⁷ J. D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood: confronting race and the Apartheid past* (Stafford: Stafford University Press, 2009), 27.

³¹⁸ J. D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood*, 29.

³¹⁹ J. D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood*, 28.

³²⁰ J. D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood*, 28.

³²¹ M. Vestergaard, “Who’s got the map? The negotiation of Afrikaner identities in post-Apartheid South Africa,” *Daedalus* 130 no. 1 (2001), 38.

³²² Vestergaard, “Who’s got the map?”, 39.

Despite this, it does not mean that Afrikaner nationalism is a “spent force”.³²³ As Thomas Blaser notes, there are still young Afrikaners who have been educated through their families and churches to the “bitter knowledge” of the past.³²⁴ They hope that Afrikaner nationalism will continue to resonate at a time of extreme social, economic, and political dislocation and insecurities.³²⁵ This helps to keep Afrikaner nationalism alive.

2.3 A brief history of the Afrikaans film industry and Afrikaner nationalism

South Africa has one of the oldest film industries in the world, dating back to 1895.³²⁶ The first time a motion picture was shown on a Kinetoscope (an invention by Thomas Edison which converted a series of photographs into moving images) for a South African audience was on 4 April 1895 in the Henwood Arcade between Pritchard and President Street, in Johannesburg.³²⁷ According to Gutsche, the machine was hailed as one of “The Greatest Scientific Marvels of the Age” and the “Marvel of the New World”, as it allowed the audience to view one of three motion pictures when they put a coin in a slot.³²⁸

In 1895, Carl Hertz, a stage magician, acquired a projector from Robert W. Paul in London.³²⁹ To entertain people, Hertz decided to add the projector and animated photographs to his act.³³⁰ Hertz must have become popular, because, not long after the Jameson Raid (29 December 1895 to 2 January 1896), Sydney Hyman asked him to screen some projected motion pictures at the Empire Palace of Varieties (owned by the Hyman brothers); previously most of the films shown there were shown using a kinetoscope.³³¹ Hertz agreed, so in May 1896 the first projected

³²³ J. Grobbelaar, “Afrikaner nationalism: The end of a dream?,” *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 4 no. 3 (2010), 396; S. Dubow, “Afrikaner nationalism”, 209.

³²⁴ Blaser, “I don’t know what I am”, 4.

³²⁵ C. Jung, “After Apartheid: Shaping a new Afrikaner ‘volk’”, *Indicator South Africa* 13 no. 4 (1996), 16.

³²⁶ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 9, 21; M. Botha, “South African cinema (1)”, *Kinema: A Journal for Film and Audiovisual Media* (2006), 1; R. Jooste, “Representing history through film with reference to the documentary film *Captor and Captive: Perspectives on a 1978 Border War incident*” (MA diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2013), 15; A. van Staden and K. Sevenhuysen, “Drie vroeë Afrikaanse rolprente (1938-1949) as uitdrukking van die sosiale gewete van die Afrikaner”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 23 no. 1 (2009), 158; C. Steyn, “Die argivering van die Afrikaanse film (1916–2014)” (MA diss., University of the Free State, 2015), 17.

³²⁷ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 10; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 7, 9; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die flied*, 14, 20.

³²⁸ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 9; Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 10.

³²⁹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 4; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die flied*, 17; Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boere oorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 11; J. Rouch, “The situation and tendencies of the cinema in Africa,” *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 2 no. 5 (1975), 51.

³³⁰ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 10; Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 10.

³³¹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 4.

motion picture, *A Highland Fling* (1895), was seen at the Empire Palace of Varieties.³³² These projected motion pictures were so realistic that the press found it difficult to see what was real and what was not.³³³

Not long after that, Edgar Hyman (Sydney Hymans's brother) shot the first film in South Africa, a scene in Adderley Street in Cape Town, in 1898.³³⁴ Shortly thereafter, Hyman shot a film of the then President of the ZAR, Paul Kruger, stepping out of his carriage on the way to the *Volksraad* (Parliament).³³⁵ According to Van Nierop, this was the unofficial beginning of the South African film industry, and created the first film critic – the President himself.³³⁶ To honour Kruger, Hyman decided to add some piano as background music when he showed Kruger the film, but Kruger was not pleased with the “ungodly” instrument, and it was only when an organ was brought in that he finally watched the scene.³³⁷ Van Nierop quips that Kruger's criticism was a precursor of today's criticism of modern films.³³⁸

In May 1899, the quality of films was enhanced when British Mutoscope and Biograph improved their technical standards in South Africa.³³⁹ On 24 May 1899, the first film using a biograph was shown in a hall in the Wanderers in Johannesburg.³⁴⁰ According to Gutsche and Coetzer, the reasons why the biography³⁴¹ was so popular was that the cameras worked with electricity, making the image clearer. It was not as noisy as the first projectors, and the picture did not flicker as much.³⁴² There was also an orchestra that played throughout the (silent) film as background music.³⁴³ The biograph also allowed people to watch films imported from

³³² Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 21; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 10, 13; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 4; Steyn, “Die argivering”, 17.

³³³ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 13.

³³⁴ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliék*, 19.

³³⁵ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 4; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliék*, 19; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 21.

³³⁶ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliék*, 19.

³³⁷ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliék*, 19.

³³⁸ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliék*, 19.

³³⁹ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 14.

³⁴⁰ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 14; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 36.

³⁴¹ According to Gutsche, “the term ‘bioscope’ become the standard term for anything to do with moving pictures”. Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 27.

³⁴² Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 14; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 38.

³⁴³ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 14; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 38.

America and Britain on mobile bioscopes.³⁴⁴ According to Gutsche, this was “the history of organised South African cinema”.³⁴⁵

Even as the SAW was approaching, people still came to watch these films; every Sunday these halls were packed.³⁴⁶ The last biograph film was shown on 30 September 1899, a few weeks before the SAW was declared.³⁴⁷ As Gutsche notes, entertainment throughout the world was completely disrupted by the war.³⁴⁸ However, the SAW was not the end of the South African film industry – in fact, the SAW was responsible for creating new genres, such as news film, propaganda, documentaries, drama, and war scenes.³⁴⁹

The print media are thus not the only tool used to spread nationalism. In some cases, people have used films to promote nationalism. This was also the case with Afrikaners, who used the medium to spread nationalism, as Adriaan Steyn notes: “[T]hrough the sociality arising from Afrikaners’ collective participation in the cinematic ritual of watching film, the imagined boundaries of Afrikanerdom were being drawn”.³⁵⁰ This was done through making films on important Afrikaner events such as the Great Trek. One of the earliest films Afrikaners made that spoke to nationalistic discourse was *De Voortrekkers* [*The Voortrekkers*] (1916, Harold Shaw), a film on the Great Trek and the Battle of Blood River.³⁵¹ Of these two events, it was the Battle of Blood River that stood out because it was a battle in which the Voortrekkers defeated the Zulus.³⁵² To show this victory, the filmmaker spared no costs to make sure that the film was historically accurate.³⁵³ They even used 20 000 spears, 500 rifles³⁵⁴ of the period, and 40 trek ox-wagons, which were made especially for the film.³⁵⁵ This made the film so

³⁴⁴ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 9, 21; Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 1.

³⁴⁵ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 36.

³⁴⁶ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 39.

³⁴⁷ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 40.

³⁴⁸ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 40.

³⁴⁹ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 16; Steyn, “Die argivering”, 17.

³⁵⁰ Steyn, “A new laager”, 73; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 115.

³⁵¹ Jooste, “Representing history”, 15; D. Britz, “Bosbok Ses films: Exploring postheroic narratives” (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2017), 5. Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 31.

³⁵² Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 16; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 10; Jooste, “Representing history”, 15.

³⁵³ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 33; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 10.

³⁵⁴ As used by Andries Pretorius and his followers during the Battle of Blood River. Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 313.

³⁵⁵ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 314; H. van Zyl, “‘De Voortrekkers’ (1916): Some stereotypes and narrative conventions,” *Critical Arts* 1 no.1 (1980), 25.

realistic that when General Louis Botha, then Prime Minister, watched the film, he was moved to tears by this depiction of one of the most famous incidents in South African history.³⁵⁶

Maingard notes that the film projects “notions of national identity through particular images, which typify categorisation of South Africa identities that had already been put in place by 1916 and at the same time it promotes white identity in post-Union South Africa”.³⁵⁷ This was done through some representations such as the Boer and British alliance against the Zulus, the focus on the significance of nuclear family, and representations of gender.³⁵⁸ Furthermore, the story promotes White supremacy by focusing on the Boers’ point of view of the event and by portraying Black people as the ‘other’.³⁵⁹ For instance, no Blacks’ views of the battle are shown.³⁶⁰ According to Van Nierop, Zulus and the Portuguese are shown as villains and the Voortrekkers as heroes.³⁶¹ For example, the Zulu king, Dingane, is shown as barbarous, and the Portuguese are portrayed as the people who tell Dingane that the White man will take their land away, putting some of the blame for the killing of Piet Retief and his delegation on the Portuguese traders.³⁶²

In addition, the message of the film, made in the first year of World War I, is that Afrikaners must support unity between the British and Afrikaners, not only to promote it in Britain for the purposes of the war against Germany, “but also congruent with white political sentiment against the perceived ‘threat’ of Black political advancement”.³⁶³ For Maingard, the film also promotes Afrikaner nationalism through its deployment as a cultural signifier because of its screening on 16 December 1916, at the Paardekraal Monument. This was another significant monument for many Afrikaners as it commemorates the Boers’ vow that they would be independent from Britain, which led to the First Anglo-Boer War.³⁶⁴ The day also celebrated the Battle of Blood River, as seen in Chapter 3.³⁶⁵ It was also shown at the end of the Centennial of the Great Trek in 1938, at the laying of the cornerstone of the Voortrekker Monument in

³⁵⁶ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 316; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 33.

³⁵⁷ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 18.

³⁵⁸ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 26.

³⁵⁹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 18, 20.

³⁶⁰ Jooste, “Representing history”, 16; E.G. Strelbel, “The Voortrekkers: A cinematographic reflection of rising Afrikaner nationalism,” *Journal of Film and Television Studies* 9 no. 2 (1979), 26.

³⁶¹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 27.

³⁶² Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 28.

³⁶³ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 18.

³⁶⁴ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 18.

³⁶⁵ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 24; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 16-18; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 10. K.G. Tomaselli, “Popular memory and the Voortrekker films,” *Critical Arts* 3 no. 3 (1985), 17; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 16; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 16.

Pretoria.³⁶⁶ The film script was written by Gustav Preller, an Afrikaner historian and journalist. Preller was a key figure in promoting the Afrikaans language and an expert on the Great Trek.³⁶⁷ This meant that the film was based on his interpretations of the Great Trek.³⁶⁸ Preller also gave the film a heroic and mythical dimension by dramatising some scenes, such as the encounters with Dingane, the victory at Blood River, and Dingane's subsequent assassination.³⁶⁹ According to Jooste, these details helped to create and sustain the ideology that the Voortrekkers were the founding fathers of a new nation and a group of brave and heroic pioneers.³⁷⁰ For these reasons, Maingard believes that the film made its mark, as it was sewn into the growing nationalistic sentiments of the Afrikaner *volk*.³⁷¹ The film was shown throughout the Union to large audiences.³⁷²

Dubow argues that Afrikaner nationalism was slow to emerge during the 1930s to 1940s, because Afrikaners were still mostly dealing with issues such as the Great Depression, the poor White situation, and a drought.³⁷³ All three events (as discussed in more detail in Chapter 3) had a negative impact on Afrikaners. During the 1930s, there was a drought while the country was facing the Great Depression.³⁷⁴ These events meant that there were fewer sheep, as most died of the drought, and farmers could not replace them, as they had no income due to the Depression, which in turn resulted in less wool to export.³⁷⁵ Many had to leave their farms and move to the cities. However, the cities were already full of poor Whites who had already moved there in the aftermath of the SAW. This problem worsened when Blacks also came to the city to seek work.³⁷⁶

Things changed after World War II, because many Afrikaners started to become more receptive to radical ideas.³⁷⁷ Afrikaner nationalists started to take the division between Afrikaners and Black people seriously, because they realised that the only way for the *volk* to survive and stay pure was to separate Afrikaners from Black people. For this reason, the government passed the

³⁶⁶ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 18.

³⁶⁷ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 24.

³⁶⁸ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 313; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 10; Strebel, "The Voortrekkers", 26; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 24; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 27.

³⁶⁹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 25; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 25.

³⁷⁰ Jooste, "Representing history", 15.

³⁷¹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 18.

³⁷² Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 316; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 24.

³⁷³ Steyn, "Die argivering", 19; Dubow, "Afrikaner nationalism", 210.

³⁷⁴ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 283.

³⁷⁵ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 283.

³⁷⁶ Dubow, "Afrikaner nationalism", 211.

³⁷⁷ Dubow, "Afrikaner nationalism", 210.

Native Bills in 1935 to keep Afrikaners and Black people separate.³⁷⁸ The displaced Afrikaners needed something to boost their morale, as they had little and, to add to their bitterness, they had to compete with Blacks for employment. Therefore, it can be argued that films such as *Sarie Marais* (1931) and *Moedertjie* [*Little mother*] (1931, Joseph Albrecht),³⁷⁹ were released to help boost their morale, because the films showed them that if their ancestors could overcome hardships, then so could they. That was why these two films helped to spread Afrikaner nationalism, which shifted the film industry from being dominated by the British to being controlled by Afrikaners.³⁸⁰

The celebration of the Centenary of the Great Trek in 1938 was arguably the most lavish celebration in Afrikaner history. According to Eustacia Riley, the Great Trek “had been a nexus around which Afrikaners could organise performances of cultural nationalism and exercise their spatial claim to the country”.³⁸¹ To celebrate this occasion, Joseph Albrecht wanted to release *Die Bou van ’n nasie* [*The building of a nation*] (1938, Albrecht), a film that shows Afrikaner history from Bartholomew Diaz to becoming a Union in 1910.³⁸² Albrecht went to great lengths for this film to be released on this special day, so he found sponsors for it, namely the Department of the South African Railways, Harbours, and Airways.³⁸³ He made sure that the film was historically accurate.³⁸⁴ However, the film was not released in time for the Centenary celebrations; according to Gutsche, it was only shown five months later, on 24 May 1939.³⁸⁵ Even though the film did not premiere on a special day, it still received high praise, especially from the Afrikaner press, for example, in the newspaper *Die Vaderland* [*The Fatherland*], which pronounced the film a “magtige faktor in ons nasiebou” [mighty factor in our nation-building].³⁸⁶

A year after the Centenary celebrations took place, Hans Rompel established the Reddingsdaadbond Amateur Rolprent Organisasie [Rescue Action League Amateur Film

³⁷⁸ Dubow, “Afrikaner nationalism”, 211.

³⁷⁹ Steyn, “A new laager”, 73.

³⁸⁰ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 6; Jooste, “Representing history”, 16.

³⁸¹ E.J. Riley, “From Matieland to Mother City: Landscape, identity and place in feature films set in the Cape Province, 1947-1989” (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2012), 32.

³⁸² Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 52; Riley, “From Matieland”, 32; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 345; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 52; Van Staden and Sevenhuysen, ‘Drie vroeë Afrikaanse rolprente’, 159; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 37.

³⁸³ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 27; Riley, “From Matieland”, 32; Tomaselli, “Popular memory”, 20.

³⁸⁴ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 346.

³⁸⁵ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 349.

³⁸⁶ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 348.

Organisation, RARO], in 1940.³⁸⁷ According to Maingard, RARO was a result of the Eerste Ekonomiese Kongress.³⁸⁸ RARO was also established because Rompel was opposed to Anglo-American cultural imperialism, which dominated the South African film industry, and the influence this had on the *volk*.³⁸⁹ Rompel wanted Afrikaans-language films to be about Afrikaner life, events, stories, and traditions.³⁹⁰ As a result, Rompel directed *'n Nasie Hou Koers* [*A Nation Keeps on Course*] (1939), a documentary that follows the re-enactment of the Great Trek, which took place during the centenary of the Trek in 1938.³⁹¹ According to Maingard, the documentary continued the work of entrenching the nationalist ideals in the Afrikaner mind.³⁹² Le Roux and Fourie note that this is because Gustav Preller wrote the script.³⁹³ This, for Maingard, means that the film portrays Afrikaners as the ones who tamed the country and its indigenous people by bringing civilisation to them.³⁹⁴ The film attracted a large Afrikaner audience. Many who came to watch the film even wore Voortrekker clothes, symbolising the occasion as an historic Afrikaner event.³⁹⁵ According to Botha, the film was so popular that it was shown 258 times in 144 venues to at least 50 000 people.³⁹⁶

Afrikaans-language films of the 1940s continued to promote Afrikaner nationalism.³⁹⁷ The NP's electoral victory in 1948 benefited Afrikaners, as it left the film industry in their hands.³⁹⁸ As a result, most of the films that were shown offered escapism to Afrikaner audiences.³⁹⁹ Some of these films are *Die Wildsboudjie* [The Venison Roast] (1946, Arthur Bennet and Louis Knobel), which is about a reverend who becomes involved with illegal hunting, *Die Skerpioen* [The Scorpion] (1946, Arthur Bennet), a detective story along the lines of Sherlock Holmes, *Kaskenades van Dr. Kwak* [High jinks of Dr Quack] (1948, Pierre de Wet), a film about a doctor who lives in a town where no one ever gets sick, and *Kom saam vanaand* [Come along tonight] (1948, Pierre de Wet), South Africa's first full-length musical.⁴⁰⁰ Botha notes that there were also films that focused on Afrikaner identity and their socio-political realities, such as

³⁸⁷ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 29; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 31.

³⁸⁸ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 52; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 64.

³⁸⁹ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 28-29; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 32.

³⁹⁰ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 32; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 31; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 64.

³⁹¹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 52; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 30.

³⁹² Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 52.

³⁹³ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 31.

³⁹⁴ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 55.

³⁹⁵ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 57.

³⁹⁶ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 29.

³⁹⁷ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 29.

³⁹⁸ Steyn, "Die argivering", 22.

³⁹⁹ Botha, "South African Cinema (1)", 1.

⁴⁰⁰ Steyn, "A new laager", 73; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 35, 38.

Geboortegrond [Birth ground] (1946, Pierre de Wet), which shows the reality of poverty among Afrikaners during the era.⁴⁰¹

During the 1950s, the Afrikaans-language film industry started to grow, adding new film genres, such as comedies, musicals, dramas, and thrillers.⁴⁰² This growth was strengthened after Hollywood's Twentieth Century Fox bought the Schlesinger Empire in the 1950s.⁴⁰³ According to Botha, one of the few "independent film distributors outside the Twentieth Century Fox network was the Pretoria-based Wonderboom Inry Beleggings [Drive-in Investments]", which developed into Ster Film Imports, financed by Sanlam.⁴⁰⁴

Even though there was a film industry subsidy by 1956 (discussed below), none of the money went to shorts, documentaries, or experimental films. Most of it was given to propaganda films.⁴⁰⁵ The apartheid government invited John Grierson,⁴⁰⁶ from Canada's National Film Board, in 1949 "to report on the role of informational, education, scientific, and research film in South Africa and on the development of a 'common scheme' that would promote the 'national interest'".⁴⁰⁷ Grierson was also invited to establish a national film board. His proposed film board was to provide the ideal mechanism for the exploration of film, fostered in what he described as a vigorous political climate.⁴⁰⁸ However, nothing came of Grierson's 1954 proposal, because of his emphasis on the educational value of film. For Grierson, film had the potential to transcend boundaries, a point that contradicted apartheid ideology, which sought to entrench boundaries.⁴⁰⁹ The apartheid government argued that it was able to enforce its hegemony through the state and other agencies, including radio and the press, and other economic and repressive political agencies now at its command.⁴¹⁰ But his reports led to the establishment of a National Film Board, which was, however, different from what Grierson

⁴⁰¹ Botha, "South African Cinema (1)", 1.

⁴⁰² Britz, "Bosbok Ses films", 40; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 41.

⁴⁰³ M.P. Botha, "The struggle for a South African film audience," *Kinema, A Journal for Film and Audiovisual Media* (2004), 1.

⁴⁰⁴ Botha, "The struggle for a South African film audience", 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 198.

⁴⁰⁶ Grierson was invited because he had the same beliefs as the Apartheid government when it came to White South African English-speakers (whom he saw "pampered Whites"). Grierson was at that time Controller of Films of the British Central office of Information. K. Tomaselli and E. Heese, "John Grierson in South Africa: Afrikaaner Nationalism and the National Film Board", 1999, <http://www.screeningthepast.com/issue-7-first-release/john-grierson-in-south-africa-afrikaaner-nationalism-and-the-national-film-board/>, accessed 2 April 2022.

⁴⁰⁷ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 10-11.

⁴⁰⁸ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 199.

⁴⁰⁹ Tomaselli and Heese, "John Grierson in South Africa".

⁴¹⁰ Tomaselli and Heese, "John Grierson in South Africa".

originally proposed.⁴¹¹ Tomaselli and Heese note that, because the National Film Board was constituted by the government, it functioned primarily as a production and distribution facility for NP propaganda until it dissolved in 1979.⁴¹² According to Maingard, this meant that the National Film Board was “circumscribed by the broader apartheid view of nation itself”.⁴¹³

The next development was the subsidy scheme in 1956 to reward successful films.⁴¹⁴ According to Steyn, the government introduced the subsidy scheme because it wanted to “dissuade filmmakers from producing films that had only a limited popular appeal and, instead, incentivized them to produce films that reflected *volksmaak* [the nation’s taste]”.⁴¹⁵ Botha offers another reason for the subsidy scheme – the government wanted to manipulate the film industry to benefit Afrikaners.⁴¹⁶ This was definitely the case, as the government gave more funds to Afrikaans-language films that promoted Afrikaner nationalism than to English-language films.⁴¹⁷ Botha notes that Afrikaner audiences were large and stable, which meant that Afrikaans-language films had longer runs, so they would receive more funds.⁴¹⁸ As a result of the subsidy scheme, of the 60 films made from 1956 to 1962, 43 were Afrikaans-language films, 13 were English-language films and four were bilingual. The government, then under the leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd, hoped that this would benefit the growth and spread of the Afrikaans language.⁴¹⁹ However, the government only funded a film once it was successful at the box office.⁴²⁰ This meant that in order to obtain the subsidy, films needed to provide light entertainment, escapism, and deal with Afrikaner reality and beliefs.⁴²¹ According to Botha, Afrikaners wanted to see their ideals, which included an attachment to their pastoral past, linguistic and racial purity, as well as religious and moral norms, in these films. Filmmakers also needed to portray Afrikaners as chatty, heart-warming, and loveable, which meant that most Afrikaans-language films were one-sided in their portrayal of Afrikaans-speaking people.⁴²² For these reasons, no films were made on the socio-political turmoil of the period

⁴¹¹ Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 199.

⁴¹² Tomaselli and Heese, “John Grierson in South Africa”.

⁴¹³ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 11.

⁴¹⁴ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 1; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 99.

⁴¹⁵ Steyn, “A new laager”, 73.

⁴¹⁶ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 1.

⁴¹⁷ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 7; Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 1; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 51.

⁴¹⁸ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 51.

⁴¹⁹ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 1; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 51.

⁴²⁰ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 1.

⁴²¹ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 51.

⁴²² Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 51.

and the realities experienced by Black people.⁴²³ Van Nierop notes that as a result of this, the films shown during this period were films with safe stories and artificial storylines which catered to the censors.⁴²⁴

Films for Black audiences were not considered important, so it was only in 1972 that the government introduced a subsidy for Black films.⁴²⁵ According to Gairoonisa Paleker, films that qualified for these subsidies needed to be in an African language, with a predominantly Black cast, and be aimed at Blacks.⁴²⁶ This subsidy was created in collaboration with some White citizens and the apartheid government, who saw it as an opportunity to subsidise White entrepreneurs; as a result “the film products of this subsidy can be viewed as the collaborative output of the National Party government and some of the white citizens of apartheid South Africa”.⁴²⁷ As Paleker notes, these Whites “assumed surrogate roles in the articulation and perpetuation of apartheid ideology” in the guise of entertainment.⁴²⁸ Furthermore, these films received less subsidy than films made for Whites, because the government saw no need to spend vast resources on Blacks, whom the government did not treat as full South African citizens with any voting rights.⁴²⁹

During the 1960s, Sanlam, a company that had been built with Afrikaner capital, bought out Twentieth Century Fox.⁴³⁰ They merged with Ster Films to become the Suid-Afrikaanse Teaterbelange Beperk [South African Theatre Interests Limited] (SATBEL).⁴³¹ SATBEL bought out the cinema distributor Ster and renamed it Ster-Kinekor, which become one of the largest film distributors in South Africa.⁴³² The fact that SANLAM took an interest in the film industry is significant, because for the first time it allowed Afrikaans-language films to be exclusively financed, produced, distributed, and shown by Afrikaner capital.⁴³³ In this way, Afrikaner interests came to dominate the South African film-making and -distribution industry,

⁴²³ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 2.

⁴²⁴ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 99.

⁴²⁵ G. Paleker, “Creating a ‘black film industry’: State intervention and films for African audiences in South Africa, 1956-1990” (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2009), 6.

⁴²⁶ Paleker, “Creating a ‘black film industry’”, 6.

⁴²⁷ G. Paleker, “The B-Scheme subsidy and the ‘black film industry’ in Apartheid South Africa, 1972- 1990,” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 22 no. 1 (2010), 91.

⁴²⁸ Paleker, “The B-Scheme subsidy”, 91; Paleker, “Creating a ‘black film industry’”, 76.

⁴²⁹ Paleker, “Creating a ‘black film industry’”, 62.

⁴³⁰ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 2; Steyn, “A new laager”, 81.

⁴³¹ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 2.

⁴³² Steyn, “A new laager”, 73; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 81-82.

⁴³³ Steyn, “A new laager”, 82. K.G. Tomaselli and M. van Zyl, “Themes, myths and cultural indicators”, in *Movies, Moguls, Mavericks: South African Cinema 1979-1991*, eds. J. Blignaut and M. Botha (Cape Town: Showdata, 1992), 395-471.

which meant that the propaganda potential of the film was fully at the disposal of Afrikaner nationalist interests and the apartheid state.

Films made during the 1960s were not very different from those made in the 1950s, as they were also light entertainment showing delightful images of Afrikaners in the background.⁴³⁴ As Botha notes, these films continued to reflect “South Africa during the Verwoerdian regime of the 1960s”.⁴³⁵ In other words, they were films only for White Afrikaners to watch and they were in Afrikaans.⁴³⁶ The predominant genres were musicals, adventure stories, comedies, romantic war films, and films about wildlife.⁴³⁷ However, while Afrikaners were watching these films, the country was facing an unstable political era, as the anti-apartheid struggle gained momentum against the dehumanising, oppressive, and violent apartheid regime and its laws.⁴³⁸ One important event is the Sharpeville Massacre, which took place on 21 March 1960. During the riot, the police killed 69 people and wounded 130, as discussed in Chapter 4.⁴³⁹ Botha notes that there were no films reflecting any of these events, because filmmakers were forced to show light entertainment, such as comedies.⁴⁴⁰ Films which did show what was going on were banned as a warning to others not to follow in their footsteps. One such film was *Zulu* (1964, Cy Endfield), which was banned because the censors did not want audiences to see a dramatization of a Zulu uprising.⁴⁴¹ But most filmmakers followed the law.

In 1961, South Africa became a republic.⁴⁴² Filmmakers looked for inspiration from past events, such as the SAW.⁴⁴³ Jansen van Vuuren notes that when South Africa became a republic, Afrikaners were finally liberated from what they perceived as an antagonistic and oppressive British regime.⁴⁴⁴ For Afrikaners, this meant that their suffering in the SAW had been justified.⁴⁴⁵ As a result of this interest, filmmakers started making romantic films on the SAW.⁴⁴⁶ These include *Voor Sononder* (1962, Emil Nofal), *Ruiter in die Nag* [*Rider in the*

⁴³⁴ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 110.

⁴³⁵ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

⁴³⁶ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

⁴³⁷ M. Botha and A. van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa: The rise of alternative film* (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers), 10.

⁴³⁸ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 50; Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 10.

⁴³⁹ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 10; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 38.

⁴⁴⁰ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 50; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 110.

⁴⁴¹ T. Head, “Video nasties: What films have been banned in South Africa?”, 2020, <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/lifestyle/banned-films-list-south-africa/>, accessed 17 July 2021.

⁴⁴² Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 10.

⁴⁴³ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 11.

⁴⁴⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 130.

⁴⁴⁵ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 11.

Night] (1963, Jan Perold), *Die Kavaliers* (1966, Elmo De Witt), *Krugermiljoene* (1967, Ivan Hall) and *Strangers at Sunrise* (1969, Percival Rubens).⁴⁴⁷ Jansen van Vuuren dubs the 1960s the “Decade of the Boer hero”; she notes that these films were used to promote Afrikaner nationalism, because the government used them to remind the *volk* in a time of Black resistance of all the sacrifices their ancestors made during the SAW.⁴⁴⁸

The government also introduced the Publications and Entertainment Act in 1963. This law required South African and foreign films to be censored before a film was shown.⁴⁴⁹ According to Steyn, the Publications and Entertainment Act and the subsidy scheme prevented filmmakers from producing any political films.⁴⁵⁰ However, by the end of the 1960s, more filmmakers started to oppose apartheid laws by criticising the traditional portrayal of Afrikaners. One filmmaker to do so was Jans Rautenbach,⁴⁵¹ who directed *Die Kandidaat* [*The Candidate*] (1968). What made this film so unique was that there were no conservative or traditional images of the Afrikaner.⁴⁵² The film changed the South African film industry, as it made the Afrikaner look at himself and it also exposed the hypocrisy of those designated as super-Afrikaners.⁴⁵³ Another film by Rautenbach, *Katrina* (1969), shows the horrors of apartheid and the racial classification system.⁴⁵⁴ The film is about a Coloured woman, Katrina, who “tries for White”.⁴⁵⁵ Katrina’s son is unaware that he is Coloured and Katrina falls in love with a White priest, but all of their lives are shattered when secrets are revealed.⁴⁵⁶ In terms of the Publications and Entertainment Act, Rautenbach was forced to cut some scenes and replace them with others before he could release the film.⁴⁵⁷ Despite this setback, Botha claims that *Katrina* still “remains one of the most innovative films to come out of the apartheid years of the sixties”.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁴⁷ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 69-72; Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 11.

⁴⁴⁸ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 130-131. Jansen van Vuuren based this on the fact that seven films were made on the SAW during the 1960s (see Le Roux and Fourie). While doing this research and talking to Trevor Moses, film archivist at the National Film Video and Sound Archives, I concluded that there were not seven films made on the SAW, but four, as the other two deal with either the First Anglo-Boer War or the Border War.

⁴⁴⁹ Steyn, “A new laager”, 84.

⁴⁵⁰ Steyn, “A new laager”, 85.

⁴⁵¹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 136.

⁴⁵² Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 154.

⁴⁵³ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 155; Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

⁴⁵⁴ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

⁴⁵⁵ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

⁴⁵⁶ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

⁴⁵⁷ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 176.

⁴⁵⁸ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 3.

The Afrikaans-language film industry did not change much during the 1970s. Most of the films showed a one-sided and stereotypical image of Afrikaners.⁴⁵⁹ For Steyn, the “boereplaas” [farmer’s farm] was a central motif, and Afrikaners were portrayed as traditional against this backdrop.⁴⁶⁰ Nevertheless, some filmmakers challenged this view during the 1970s. One of them was Ross Devenish.⁴⁶¹ One of his films, *The Guest* (1977, Ross Devenish), shows Eugene Marais, a famous Afrikaner poet, as a drug addict.⁴⁶² Devenish’s film was a box office disaster, as he was unable to find an audience for his film.⁴⁶³ Most of the genres of the 1960s continued into the 1970s, except for musicals, which started to die out.⁴⁶⁴

Two new genres emerged during the 1970s. One of them was romantic melodramas.⁴⁶⁵ These were usually about two lovers who could not be together, for example, in *Vicki* (1970, Ivan Hall), which is about two young people who fall in love but cannot be together because they are siblings.⁴⁶⁶ Another example of this kind of romantic melodrama is *Kwikstertjie* [Wagtail] (1974, Elmo De Witt)⁴⁶⁷, about a journalist who falls in love with his friend’s fiancée.⁴⁶⁸ The second genre was the war film, especially the Border War films (1966–1989).⁴⁶⁹ According to Rina Jooste, most of these Border War films were made while the war on the Border to Angola was still taking place.⁴⁷⁰ These films were also used to promote Afrikaner nationalism, because they were used to get Afrikaners to support the war, which caused them to create a border between “us” (mostly Afrikaners) and “them” (the communist, be it Black people or Cubans).⁴⁷¹ Britz notes that the enemy was not the British (as it was in films on the SAW), but the communist, characterised by “Blackness”.⁴⁷² As long as these films showed Afrikaners fighting to sustain apartheid and were against communists then they would receive a subsidy.⁴⁷³ An example of a film on the Border War is *Kaptein Caprivi* [*Captain Caprivi*] (1972, Albie

⁴⁵⁹ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience” 2.

⁴⁶⁰ Steyn, “A new laager”, 85.

⁴⁶¹ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 4.

⁴⁶² Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 2.

⁴⁶³ Botha, “The struggle for a South African film audience”, 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 102.

⁴⁶⁵ Steyn, “Die argivering”, 28; Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 12.

⁴⁶⁶ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 12.

⁴⁶⁷ *Kwikstertjie* is the sequel to *Môre, Môre* [Morning, Morning] (1973, Elmo de Witt).

⁴⁶⁸ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 144.

⁴⁶⁹ Steyn, “Die argivering”, 28; Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 28; Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 43; Anon, “Coming of age for SA film industry”, *News24*, 1 November 2000, <https://www.news24.com/News24/Coming-of-age-for-SA-film-industry-20001101>, accessed 11 June 2020.

⁴⁷⁰ Jooste, “Representing history”, 32.

⁴⁷¹ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 43.

⁴⁷² Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 43.

⁴⁷³ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 133.

Venter), which is about Afrikaans soldiers who save Afrikaners from communists.⁴⁷⁴ Jooste notes that the film romanticises the army and its operations, which in turn enthused young Afrikaners regarding the idea of supporting military conscription and accept being “called up” to prevent communists from taking over their country).⁴⁷⁵

The introduction of television in 1976 had a significant impact on the South African film industry.⁴⁷⁶ When television was introduced, the film industry experienced a slump, as many people preferred to watch television instead of going out and paying for a film.⁴⁷⁷ This meant that the size of audiences who came to watch films started to dwindle.⁴⁷⁸ Botha and Van Aswegen note that just two years before television came to South Africa, the film industry was flourishing.⁴⁷⁹ Filmmakers did not use the industry’s potential “to portray contemporary social reality and to utilize the medium in creative ways”.⁴⁸⁰

Apart from television, the 1970s is important for another significant moment. On 16 June 1976, in Soweto, the police shot about 700 Black (historians disagree over the number) people who resisted pass laws.⁴⁸¹ The world saw the horrors of apartheid in the news, but most South Africans did not, because most footage of the event was banned on South African screens, including the censored television news. Filmmakers continued to provide South Africans, especially Afrikaners, with escapist entertainment.⁴⁸² According to Botha and Van Aswegen, most of what the audiences saw were images of student love, young men demonstrating their manliness by doing military service, and quaint rural “ooms” [uncles] and “tannies” [aunties].⁴⁸³ The Soweto Uprising showed that Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid were not as strong as the apartheid government wanted Afrikaners to believe, suggesting that they had nothing to fear.

The 1980s witnessed very little change. The Afrikaans film industry still faced competition from television. According to Botha and Van Aswegen, only 50 Afrikaans-language films were made during this period, because of the decline of audiences.⁴⁸⁴ In response, several filmmakers

⁴⁷⁴ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 43; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 126.

⁴⁷⁵ Jooste, “Representing history”, 32.

⁴⁷⁶ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 102.

⁴⁷⁷ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 192, 216; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 121.

⁴⁷⁸ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 211.

⁴⁷⁹ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 12.

⁴⁸⁰ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 12.

⁴⁸¹ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 12.

⁴⁸² Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 12.

⁴⁸³ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 13.

⁴⁸⁴ Botha and Van Aswegen, *Images of South Africa*, 13.

decided to make films based on television series. These include *Nommer asseblief* [Number please] (1981, Henk Hugo), *Verkeerde nommer* [Wrong number] (1982, Franz Marx), *Die Bosveldhotel* [The Bushveld Hotel] (1982, Fred Nel), *Skollie* (1984, Ivan Hall), *Vyfster: Die Slot* [Five Star: The End] (1985, Sias Odendaal and George Ballot), *Liewe Hemel Genis* [Good Heavens, Genis] (1986, William Egan) and *Agter Elke Man* [Behind every man] (1990, Franz Marx).⁴⁸⁵ However, most of these films were not of a high standard because they were made in a hurry, and the filmmakers used television techniques, which is why Van Nierop dubs this era the “junk food decade” in the South African film industry.⁴⁸⁶

In the 1980s, more films began to question the political order in the country.⁴⁸⁷ One such film was *My Country My Hat* (1983, David Bensusan), which is about a White working class couple who illegally employ an African as a gardener who struggles to get a passbook.⁴⁸⁸ Another example includes *Die Groen Faktor* [The Green Factor] [1984, Koos Roets), which is about an NP candidate who turns green, to show the destructiveness of Afrikaner racism.⁴⁸⁹ Lastly, the well-known Afrikaans-language film, *Fiela se Kind* [Fiela’s child] (1987, Katinka Heyns), is about a White Afrikaner who is raised by a Coloured woman before he is placed in the care of an Afrikaner family of woodcutters. Steyn notes that this film was unique in its sympathetic depiction of a Coloured family.⁴⁹⁰ Some of these films were even shown at film festivals held in Cape Town and Durban, but they still faced problems with the censors, which in the end meant that some were banned. Nevertheless, these filmmakers still told a history that the NP conveniently ignored, making them guardians of popular memory within the socio-political process in South Africa.⁴⁹¹ These films became part of a collection of alternative films, a cinema that gave a voice to the voiceless, to marginalised people.⁴⁹² Another example is *Jock of the Bushveld* (1986, Gray Hofmeyr), which shows the poor treatment of Black farmworkers by some farmers.⁴⁹³

It was during the 1990s that the film industry changed completely. In 1994, South Africa became a democratic country, which officially ended apartheid and led eventually to the demise

⁴⁸⁵ Steyn, “A new laager”, 87; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 214.

⁴⁸⁶ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 215.

⁴⁸⁷ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 43; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 157.

⁴⁸⁸ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Steyn, “A new laager”, 88.

⁴⁹⁰ Steyn, “A new laager”, 88.

⁴⁹¹ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 5.

⁴⁹² Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 5.

⁴⁹³ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 5; Anon, “Jock of the Bushveld”, IMDb, 2020, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2306589/>, accessed 2 July 2020.

of the NP.⁴⁹⁴ This was not a victory many Afrikaners wanted, for many reasons, and for filmmakers it meant their subsidy scheme came to an end in 1995.⁴⁹⁵ As a result, only seven Afrikaans-language films were made in that decade.⁴⁹⁶ Two of these were the comedies *Lipstiek Dipstiek* [Lipstick Dipstick] (1994, Willie Esterhuizen) and *Kaalgat tussen die Daisies* [Naked among the Daisies] (1997, Koos Roets).⁴⁹⁷ One thing that made these films different from films made during the apartheid era is that they took advantage of the demise of South Africa's longstanding censorship regime, when *Lipstiek Dipstiek* became the first Afrikaans-language film to show nudity and sex.⁴⁹⁸ It was the highest-grossing film of that time,⁴⁹⁹ showing that audiences were tired of censors' controlling what they were allowed to watch. These films also mocked the Afrikaners' churches, which were responsible for shaping Afrikaner nationalism; for example, in *Lipstiek Dipstiek*, a minister is depicted as a "pervert" dressed in women's clothing.⁵⁰⁰ According to Steyn, the reason for this was that filmmakers wanted to unshackle and purge Afrikanerdom from a perception of themselves as conservative and respectful, by portraying them as modern people who are the complete opposite. The subsidy scheme was replaced with a film fund of R10 million.⁵⁰¹ Steyn notes that no Afrikaans-language films received any of these funds and then had to rely on private funds.⁵⁰²

Despite the demise of the state subsidy, the Afrikaans-language film industry is still continuing, largely because of private capital funding. One notable Afrikaans-language film is *Ouma se slimkind* [Grandma's clever child] (2007, Gustave Kuhn), about an orphaned, handicapped boy who lives with a Black boy and an old White woman in a farmhouse.⁵⁰³ Soon afterward the new generation of Afrikaner filmmakers decided to separate themselves from the so-called traditional Afrikaner culture and apartheid by making films with strong sexual connotations on young Afrikaner men searching for their place in society.⁵⁰⁴ These films include *Poena is Koning* [Poena is King] (2007, Willie Esterhuizen), *Bakgat* [slang: Cool/Great] (2008, Henk

⁴⁹⁴ Anon, "South Africa election results: 1994", n.d, <https://elections.thesouthafrican.com/south-africa-election-results-1994/>, accessed 4 June 2020.

⁴⁹⁵ Botha, "South African Cinema (1)", 1

⁴⁹⁶ Britz, "Bosbok Ses films", 51.

⁴⁹⁷ Steyn, "A new laager", 89

⁴⁹⁸ Steyn, "A new laager", 90.

⁴⁹⁹ Steyn, "A new laager", 89.

⁵⁰⁰ Steyn, "A new laager", 90.

⁵⁰¹ Steyn, "A new laager", 89, 90; Botha, "South African Cinema (1)", 6; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 59.

⁵⁰² Steyn, "A new laager", 89, 90; Botha, "South African Cinema (1)", 6; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 59.

⁵⁰³ Steyn, "A new laager", 94; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 279.

⁵⁰⁴ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 217.

Pretorius) and *Vaatjie sien sy gat* [slang: Vaatjie sees his arse] (2008 Esterhuizen).⁵⁰⁵ Steyn indicated that all three films received lukewarm to cool reviews, but were still a success at the box office.⁵⁰⁶ When the NP was in control, these topics would have been silenced along with marginal people.⁵⁰⁷ Afrikaans-language films also experienced a boom due to the satellite channel Kyknet,⁵⁰⁸ which released these films to a larger Afrikaans-speaking audience.⁵⁰⁹ Thus, more films and documentaries were made on the SAW, because after Afrikaners had lost their political power, many felt defenceless as they did not know where they belonged any more. The documentary *Scorched Earth* (2001, Herman Binge), and the television series *The Feast of the Uninvited* (2008, Katinka Heyns) were released to remind them of an era of innocence before they became the villains of history.⁵¹⁰

2.4 The South African War and Afrikaner cultural productions

The SAW was the costliest and bloodiest war fought by the British in the period from 1815 to 1914, costing the British taxpayer more than 200 million pounds. Loss of life is estimated at 22 000 British soldiers, including officers. Approximately 7 000 Boers died on the battlefields and around 27 000 Boer women and children perished in the concentration camps. About 12 000 Black people lost their lives on the battlefields and more than 20 000 perished in the Black camps in less than three years.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, Pakenham notes that the SAW was one of the most humiliating wars in which Britain fought, even though Britain won the war.⁵¹² According to Nasson, victory “was not without hand-wringing in London over the economic and political costs of its campaign, over its less than gymnastic military efficiency and over whether it had a reliable enough level of national fitness to secure the imperial future.”⁵¹³ The British did not anticipate that the war would last long, because they believed that the Boers were “backwards” and would be easy to defeat by the powerful British army. However, the Boers’ determination not to give up caused the war to last longer than anyone anticipated.

⁵⁰⁵ Steyn, “A new laager”, 94.

⁵⁰⁶ Steyn, “A new laager”, 94-95.

⁵⁰⁷ Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 8.

⁵⁰⁸ Kyknet is defined as an Afrikaans-language channel. Owned by the pay-TV operator, M-Net, it was launched on the DStv satellite service. It mostly caters for Afrikaners or Afrikaans-speaking people.

⁵⁰⁹ Steyn, “A new laager”, 96.

⁵¹⁰ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 73; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 214.

⁵¹¹ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvi; Pretorius, “The Anglo-Boer War: An overview”, 21.

⁵¹² Pakenham, *The Boer War*, xvi.

⁵¹³ Nasson, *The War for South Africa*, 16.

After the war, the SAW as a historical event remained a thematic preoccupation, particularly for many South Africans, and especially for Afrikaners. One possible reason is that, as a site of national trauma, the SAW and concentration camps created enormous bitterness among Afrikaners which was passed down from generation to generation.⁵¹⁴ According to Wessels, there was a sense that one could rebuild a farmhouse that had been destroyed, but that those who had died in concentration camps could not be brought back or replaced, which added to Afrikaners' bitterness.⁵¹⁵ Of the approximately 27 000 Boer civilians who died in roughly 40 British concentration camps, 80% were children under the age of 16.⁵¹⁶ Conditions in these overcrowded camps rapidly deteriorated because of illnesses, poor quality food supplies, overfilled tents, inadequate medical care, and unhygienic conditions, resulting in high death tolls.⁵¹⁷ All that Afrikaners have left of these compatriots is their graves, scattered around the country. Unlike with the Great Trek, which was celebrated in the Centenary Trek, the Boers could not celebrate the SAW – one does not celebrate a defeat.⁵¹⁸

Nevertheless, Nationalist Afrikaners used the war as a vehicle to promote Afrikaner ideology through cultural productions to help Afrikaners deal with the bitterness of the war. Newspapers, films, poems, short stories, novels and songs on the *bittereinders* (those who fought until the bitter end of the war) and women as *volksmoeders* were used to remind Afrikaners of the sufferings that their forebears had to endure, as well as how they rose from the ashes. The SAW became a strong focus and rallying memory for Afrikaner nationalism, which in turn formed the foundation of apartheid. When Afrikaners again lost political power in 1994, many experienced this event as a loss of national identity. Attempts to regain an identity and resistance to being blamed for apartheid appear to have led to a renewed interest in the SAW, which has been hailed as a time of innocence before Afrikaners came to be considered the villains of South African history.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁴ A. Wessels, "Die traumatiese nalatenskap van die Anglo-Boereoorlog se konsentrasiekampe", *Southern Journal for Contemporary History* 26 no. 2 (2001), 12.

⁵¹⁵ Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 137.

⁵¹⁶ Pretorius, "The Anglo-Boer war: An overview", 21; Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 265; Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 78; F. Pretorius, "Concentration camps in the South African War? Here are the real facts," 2019, <https://theconversation.com/concentration-camps-in-the-south-african-war-here-are-the-real-facts-112006>, accessed 21 September 2020.

⁵¹⁷ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 213-214; Pretorius, "Concentration camps".

⁵¹⁸ A. Grundlingh, "Reframing remembrance: The politics of the centenary commemoration of the South African War of 1899–1902", in *History Making and Present Day Politics: The meaning of collective memory in South Africa*, ed. H.E. Stolten (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 207.

⁵¹⁹ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 74

The SAW was not only important as the first modern war, but also because of the media coverage of this war, both during and after the war.⁵²⁰ The war has been called one of the first media wars because about 200 reporters and war artists chronicled the war,⁵²¹ using a variety of media to cover the war, such as newspapers and films.⁵²² Vincent Kuitenbrouwer points out that communication by that time was faster, due to steamboats and the advent of intercontinental telegraph lines that enabled a larger and faster flow of information between different parts of the world.⁵²³ As a result, many countries, including America and Europe, were fed “a sizeable diet of information about the conflict, its origins, its progress, and the lessons that should be drawn from it”.⁵²⁴ This enabled people not only to read about the war, but also to see and experience it in early films, especially in the form of newsreels.⁵²⁵

Before film was used to show people all the events of the war, there were newspapers.⁵²⁶ People were already enjoying a higher standard of literacy long before the war started, benefiting from the communication methods that brought news to them.⁵²⁷ This meant that for the first time people in various countries, such as Britain, could follow the news of their loved ones in South Africa, which created a mass readership anxious to read about the war.⁵²⁸ Given the popularity of newspapers, companies began to develop vibrant newspapers that catered for the masses and were more traditional than newspapers such as *The Times* and *Daily Mail*.⁵²⁹

Reporters focused on military events, but also covered different topics, for example, personalities, including British generals such as Roberts, to attract a larger readership.⁵³⁰ Two well-known reporters were Leo Amery, who later edited the seven volumes of *The Times history of the war in South Africa*, and Winston Churchill, who later became the Prime Minister of Britain. These reporters covered various stories, but their views were mostly one-sided, as they mainly focused on the “gallantry of the British on the veldt [the southern African

⁵²⁰ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, xxiii, Chapter IX—p.1.

⁵²¹ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, xxiii, Chapter IX—p.1; J. Gooch, “Introduction,” in *The Boer War: Direction, experience and image*, ed. J. Gooch (London: Frank Cass, 2000), xvii; C. Williams, “‘Our war history in cartoons is unique’: J.M. Staniforth, British public opinion, and the South African War, 1899–1902,” *War in History* 20 no.4 (2013), 494; V. Kuitenbrouwer, “‘A newspaper war’?: Dutch information networks during the South African War (1899–1902),” *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128 no. 1 (2013), 127.

⁵²² Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, xxiii.

⁵²³ Kuitenbrouwer, “‘A newspaper war’?”, 127.

⁵²⁴ Williams, “‘Our war history’”, 494.

⁵²⁵ K. O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media (1899–1902),” *Twentieth Century British History* 13 no. 1 (2002), 9–10.

⁵²⁶ Gooch, “Introduction”, xvii.

⁵²⁷ G. Fremont-Barnes, *Essential histories: The Boer War 1899–1902* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 10.

⁵²⁸ O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media”, 2; Fremont-Barnes, *Essential histories*, 10.

⁵²⁹ O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media”, 2.

⁵³⁰ O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media”, 2.

landscape], presented coverage of the sieges of Ladysmith, Kimberley and (especially) Mafikeng [now Mahikeng] in idealized, almost romantic terms”.⁵³¹ According to Kuitenbrouwer, British officials manipulated news agencies and newspapers to focus on information that was considered to be beneficial for the war effort.⁵³² Therefore, it can be argued that British newspapers purposefully held back information on concentration camps that was considered to be harmful to the war effort.⁵³³ The Boers also had newspapers which were circulated among the commandos during the war.⁵³⁴ Like the British newspapers, these newspapers focused on various stories (which were first censored before being printed) that promoted the Boer cause by delaying bad news such as Roberts’s occupation of Bloemfontein on 13 March 1900, and focusing on the good news for the Boer side.⁵³⁵ Two of these newspapers were *De Volksstem* [*The People’s voice*] and the *Standard & Diggers News*. They were pro-Boer and were also one-sided, as they romanticised the Boers as models of energetic, Calvinist, freedom-loving and family-loving people, to help their cause in the war.⁵³⁶ However, after May 1900, when the British took Pretoria, the Republican newspapers were closed down; publication only resumed after the war.⁵³⁷

The SAW has been called “the most thoroughly filmed war to date, in terms of both staged and actuality scenes”.⁵³⁸ According to Strebel, there were two types of footage on the SAW: raw documentaries and representative films (also called as dramatic enactments).⁵³⁹ There is not much footage on the actual fighting, as reporters were, for obvious reasons, unable to capture what was happening in the field during an actual battle.⁵⁴⁰ Therefore, some reporters stayed behind in their own countries and contented themselves with making dramatised recreations and staged propaganda vignettes.⁵⁴¹ Film companies that covered the SAW included the

⁵³¹ O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media”, 2.

⁵³² Kuitenbrouwer, ““A newspaper war?””, 131.

⁵³³ Kuitenbrouwer, ““A newspaper war?””, 131.

⁵³⁴ F. Pretorius, “Justifying the South African War: Boer propaganda, 1899–1902”, in *Justifying war: Propaganda, politics and the modern age*, eds. D. Welch and J. Fox (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 24, 31.

⁵³⁵ Pretorius, “Justifying the South African War”, 24.

⁵³⁶ O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media”, 5; F. Pretorius, “Boer propaganda during the South African War of 1899-1902,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37 no. 3 (2009), 399-419.

⁵³⁷ O’Morgan, “The Boer War and the media”, 12.

⁵³⁸ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, Chapter X—p. 1.

⁵³⁹ E.G. Strebel, “Primitive propaganda: The Boer War films,” *Sight and Sound* 46 no. 1 (1976), 45; E.G. Strebel, “Imperialist iconography of Anglo-Boer War film footage,” in *Film before Griffith*, ed. J.L. Fell (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 264.

⁵⁴⁰ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, xxiii; Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 45; J. Barnes, *Filming the Boer War* (London: Bishopgate Press, 1992), 19.

⁵⁴¹ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 45.

Warwick Trading Co, British Biograph, Mutoscope Co, RW Paul, and Vitagraph Co.⁵⁴² These companies sent well-known filmmakers to South Africa to capture the war, including John Bennett-Stanford, William Kennedy-Laurie Dickson, Joseph Rosenthal and Edgar Hyman.⁵⁴³ These early films were shown throughout the world to interested audiences.⁵⁴⁴ The perceptions and reception of these depictions varied. For example, pro-Boer countries (such as Ireland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Russia, Croatia, and parts of the United States) cheered for the Boers, booing the British, but it was the other way around in pro-British countries (Canada, Australia, and New Zealand).⁵⁴⁵

People in the early 1900s were in favour of dramatised recreations (or “fake” battle scenes), as they believed that such films were a boon to the young film industry’s financial success.⁵⁴⁶ People needed to pay if they wanted to watch these films, increasing income for the film industry. These films helped the audience to “experience” some of the conflicts.⁵⁴⁷ However, not everyone was in favour of representative films, because they saw these films as inaccurate and sensational.⁵⁴⁸ Moreover, many of these representative films were made for propaganda reasons.⁵⁴⁹ In many partisan films shot from a British point of view, the British are portrayed as heroes, whereas the Boers are depicted as villains. For example, Paul Kruger was depicted as “the embodiment of evil in these films, completely lacking in morals or a sense of justice”,⁵⁵⁰ in the representative film *Set-to between John Bull and Paul Kruger* (1900),⁵⁵¹ which lampoons Kruger in a boxing match with John Bull. The film portrays Kruger as cheating when in the second round he kicks John Bull, waves a white flag, and hits Bull from behind when his back is turned.⁵⁵² These films become known as “sham Boer War films” that created feelings of

⁵⁴² De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, ix.

⁵⁴³ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent” 2; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 20.

⁵⁴⁴ Lee, *To the bitter end: A photographic history*, 6.

⁵⁴⁵ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, Chapter XI—p. 24; De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, ix.

⁵⁴⁶ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, 8.

⁵⁴⁷ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, 8.

⁵⁴⁸ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, Chapter X—p. 2.

⁵⁴⁹ Bottomore, “Filming, faking and propaganda”, xxvi; De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, xxviii; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 22; Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 23.

⁵⁵⁰ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 47.

⁵⁵¹ Strebel, “Imperialist iconography”, 264, 265; Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 45; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 222.

⁵⁵² Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 47.

anger among pro-British audiences as they saw their loved ones fighting against these “barbaric” Boers.⁵⁵³

The article “Primitive Propaganda: ‘The Boer War films’” (1976) by Elizabeth G. Strebel focuses on representative and actual films made during the war. According to Strebel, these films were not only produced to reveal more about Victorian England, but also for propaganda reasons, as they portrayed the British as heroic and as fulfilling their duty, whereas the Boers are shown as villains in these films, as discussed above.⁵⁵⁴ As Strebel notes, this was mostly done to boost the morale of the home population, as it gave them hope that there were people out there fighting for their cause.⁵⁵⁵ For Strebel, it explains why surrender films such as *Cronje’s Surrender to Lord Roberts* (1900, W. Paul Robert), which is about the capture of the famous Boer general on 27 February 1900, were popular among filmmakers.⁵⁵⁶ Films such as these spared the public “most of the horrors of the war” while preserving traditional notions of heroism, chivalry and honour with regard to warfare.⁵⁵⁷ Strebel concludes that “even though the Boer War ultimately troubled many a conscience and shook imperial confidence, the cinema only served to gloss over that which was disturbing, perpetuating the myths of the Empire and satisfying the emotional need of populace for war”.⁵⁵⁸

The publication *Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 on film* (1991) by Johan de Lange, former Chief of the South African National Film Video and Sound Archives (SASNFVSA), contains a catalogue of all the dramatised recreations made during the war and actual war footage from the SAW.⁵⁵⁹ De Lange argues that films on the SAW not only influenced military science, but also helped the film industry to flourish by exploiting people’s desire to see their loved ones on film for commercial profit.⁵⁶⁰ According to De Lange,⁵⁶¹ films on the SAW were the first propagandist films made with the aim of psychologically influencing the audience. De Lange does not say what kind of psychological effect it had on the people or whether it was successful. However, it can be argued that these films did have a psychological effect on the audience, because in some instances these films look so real that the pro-British audiences sometimes “booed” the Boers and Kruger and cheered for the Tommy (the British), and vice versa if the

⁵⁵³ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 22.

⁵⁵⁴ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 47.

⁵⁵⁵ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 47.

⁵⁵⁶ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 46.

⁵⁵⁷ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 46.

⁵⁵⁸ Strebel, “Primitive propaganda”, 45-47.

⁵⁵⁹ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 22.

⁵⁶⁰ De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, ix.

⁵⁶¹ De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, ix.

audience was pro-Boer.⁵⁶² De Lange also noted that the SAW was used much later by a German filmmaker as a theme for an attack on the British, in the film *Ohm Kruger* [Uncle Kruger] (1941, Hans Steinhoff).⁵⁶³

Few films on the SAW have survived,⁵⁶⁴ for two reasons. Firstly, they were filmed early in the history of film, and therefore people were not interested in preserving them.⁵⁶⁵ Secondly, celluloid, on which the early films were made, is highly flammable – there are still some of these films in archives around the world, especially in South Africa, Australia, Britain, and France, but the quality of the films has deteriorated, which limits research on them.⁵⁶⁶

The SAW also became a major theme in Afrikaans-language films made during the 1930s to 2000s. Films were already made on the SAW from the 1930s to 1940s. These films were not only produced to help celebrate achievements such as Afrikaans becoming an official language, but also to help Afrikaners in this period to cope with events such as the Great Depression, World War I, and World War II. There were also films made on the SAW during the 1960s to show Afrikaners that they had finally fulfilled the dream of liberty of those who died in the war when the country became independent of Britain in 1961. There were also some films made on the SAW in the 1980s to help Afrikaners to cope with the political turmoil taking place in the country. The 1990s to 2000s saw films made on the SAW, as well as also television series, which were made to help many Afrikaners who felt hopeless to cope with their new politically powerless situation.

There were also other representations of the SAW, besides films and television series, such as poems, short stories, novels, and music. According to Wessels and Pretorius, all these media focus on topics such as the concentration camps, a David-versus-Goliath reading of the war, the role foreigners played, the scorched-earth policy, Afrikaner bitterness in the 20th century, Boer heroes on the battlefield, important historical figures, betrayal in the Boers' own ranks, the relationship with the British and with Black people, the experiences of prisoners of war, religion, the disillusionment of defeat and the post-war reconstruction process.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶² De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, ix.

⁵⁶³ De Lange, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902 on film*, ix; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 26.

⁵⁶⁴ Strelbel, “Primitive propaganda”, 45.

⁵⁶⁵ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 2; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 26.

⁵⁶⁶ Coetzer, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog en die vroeë ontwikkeling van die rolprent”, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ F. Pretorius, “Die historiesiteit van resente Afrikaanse historiese fiksie oor die Anglo-Boereoorlog,” *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 52, no. 2 (2015), 61; A. Wessels, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) in die Afrikaanse

Some poems written by Afrikaner poets show Afrikaner suffering during the SAW, such as poems by early Afrikaans poets such as Jan F.E. Celliers, Eugène Marais, C. Louis Leipoldt, Totius, and the later poet D.J. Opperman.⁵⁶⁸ According to Giliomee and Mbenga, Marais's poem "Winternag" [Winter Night] can be regarded as a metaphor for the post-war desolation and mood of bitter resignation.⁵⁶⁹ Opperman's poem "Gebed om die gebeente" [Prayer for/around the Bones] is about Commandant Gideon Scheepers, who is discussed in Chapter 5.⁵⁷⁰

Some of the films that form part of this study are based on books such as *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* (2008) by Pieter Georg du Plessis (better known as P.G. du Plessis), an Afrikaans writer, dramatist, and academic. The book was turned into a television series with the same title in 2008. Another book is *Donkerland* (2013) by Deon Opperman, dramatist and actor, and Kerneels Breytenbach, Afrikaans writer and journalist. As with *Fees van die Ongenooïdes*, *Donkerland* was also released as a television series in 2013. Wessels claims that these authors got their inspiration from numerous documents and diaries found around the world.⁵⁷¹

The series, *Donkerland* and *Fees van die ongenooïdes*, both promote propaganda as they play with their audience's emotions through music, visuals, poems, characters, and the way in which they present the SAW as a war of heroes. However, the authors of the above-mentioned books (Du Plessis and Opperman), on which the series, *Donkerland* and *Fees van die ongenooïdes*, is based on cannot be regarded as being in service of a specific ethno-nationalist and political agenda. Both Du Plessis and Opperman's books are polemical in the sense that they challenge Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s to reflect on the position of their language, culture, and identity in the "new" South Africa. Du Plessis's book offers an alternative look at the SAW as it not only criticises the spotless image of mythical Boers and their "holy" SAW, but it also comments on the Afrikaners' position, identity, and language after 1994.⁵⁷² Furthermore, the book also deals with the reality of the war as it looks at topics such as rape, murder (or abortion),

letterkunde: 'n Geheelperspektief," *Die Joernaal vir Transdissiplinêre Navorsing in Suider-Afrika* 7 no. 2 (2011), 187.

⁵⁶⁸ Berger, *South Africa in World History*, 95; Wessels, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) in die Afrikaanse letterkunde", 185.

⁵⁶⁹ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 228.

⁵⁷⁰ Wessels, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) in die Afrikaanse letterkunde", 195; J. Fourie-Symmons, "Gebed om die gesteentes," *Litnet*, 6 May 2015, <https://www.litnet.co.za/gebed-om-die-gesteentes/>, accessed 3 Augustus 2022.

⁵⁷¹ Wessels, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902) in die Afrikaanse letterkunde", 195.

⁵⁷² G. Taljaard-Gilson, "'n Ondersoek na die waarde van historiese fiksie: drie geskiedkundige romans in oënskou geneem", *LitNet Akademies* 10, no. 1 (2013), 383, 389.

Black heroes, cowards, and dishonesty.⁵⁷³ Opperman is regarded by some as controversial as most of his works focus on Afrikaner suffering and the suffering that Afrikaners have caused other groups. Opperman takes a brutally honest look at the role Afrikaners played in South African history as well as the impact of apartheid on Blacks.⁵⁷⁴ For Johann van Heerden it is as if his play *Donkerland* holds a mirror for Afrikaners to see what brought them to their current reality (the loss of their political power after the 1994 elections) so that they can question their place in it and their future.⁵⁷⁵ Marisa Keuris agrees that Opperman's work continues with many of the ideas embedded in Afrikaner nationalist ideology by giving a panoramic view of the rise and decline of Afrikaner nationalism by the end of 1996.⁵⁷⁶

A recent phenomenon is an upsurge in popular songs on the SAW. The evergreen song "Sarie Marais" (see Chapter 3 for further detail) dating back to the later years of the SAW has been supplemented by songs such as "De la Rey" (2006), "Afrikanerhart" [Afrikaner heart] (2009), and "Modder en Bloed" [Mud and Blood] (2016), all written by Sean Else and Johan Vorster. In 2006, Bok van Blerk (the stage name of Louis Andreas Pepler) released the song "De la Rey", which became a hit, calling on General Koos de la Rey to come and lead his people (the Boers) out of desperate circumstances.⁵⁷⁷ This was one of the first songs in Afrikaans that sold over 122 000 copies in less than six months, and the song appears to have been popular among both right- and left-wing Afrikaners.⁵⁷⁸ The music video received an award for the best music video in the MK89 awards (a DSTV Channel Music Award). It shows suffering during the SAW with recreated footage of wounded men in sodden trenches, women in concentration camps, farms burning and De la Rey galloping in to save his people in their time of need.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷³ G. Taljaard-Gilson, "'n Ondersoek na die waarde van historiese fiksie: drie geskiedkundige romans in oënskou geneem", *LitNet Akademies* 10, no. 1 (2013), 383, 389.

⁵⁷⁴ M. Carlin, Alcock, D., Graver, D., Wolff, T., Halm, B.B., Miller, J.G., Liston, W.T., Vorlicky, R., Singh, Y., Reynolds, M. and Carlson, M., "Performance Review", *Theatre Journal* 49, no. 1 (1997), 53.

⁵⁷⁵ J. van Heerden, "Theatre in a new democracy: Some major trends in South African theatre from 1994 to 2003" (PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2008).

⁵⁷⁶ M. Keuris, "'Theatre as a Memory Machine': Magrita Prinslo (1896) and *Donkerland* (1996)", *Journal of Literary Studies* 28, no 3 (2012), 89.

⁵⁷⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 47; M. Steyn, "De la Rey, De la Rey, De la Rey: Invoking the Afrikaner ancestors," *Thamyris/Intersecting* no. 27 (2014), 47, 144; B. van Blerk, "Bok maak hart oop oor De la Rey," *Rapport*, 25 Februarie 2007, 3; A. Krog, "De la Rey is new ancestor of Afrikaner youth," *Ilha do desterro: A Journal of Language and Literature* 61 (2011), 31; C. Lotter, "'The De la Rey Phenomenon' – More than a song?" n.d., GAMUT - Grieg Academy Music Therapy Research Centre (NORCE and University of Bergen), <https://voices.no/index.php/voices/article/view/1748/1508>, accessed 20 August 2020.

⁵⁷⁸ Krog, "De la Rey is new ancestor", 31; C. McGreal, "Afrikaans singer stirs up controversy with war song," *The Guardian*, 26 February 2007, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/feb/26/music.southafrica>, accessed 19 August 2020; Steyn, "De la Rey", 145.

⁵⁷⁹ K.C.S. van der Waal and S. Robins, "'De la Rey' and the revival of 'Boer heritage': Nostalgia in the post-Apartheid Afrikaner culture industry", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37 no. 4 (2011), 766; Y. Groeneveld,

Young Afrikaners sang the chorus “De la Rey, De la Rey, sal jy die Boere kom haal” (De la Rey, De la Rey, will you come to fetch the Boers) with a hand over the heart as they sang about a nation “that will rise up again”.⁵⁸⁰ The gesture hints at the importance of this song for Afrikaners as a *volkslied*,⁵⁸¹ a term that refers to more than a folk song, with overtones suggesting a kind of shadow anthem.⁵⁸² In some instances, audiences even flew old South African flags, including the Transvaal Vierkleur (blue, white, red and green) and some sang “Die Stem”⁵⁸³ at one of Van Blerk’s concerts.⁵⁸⁴ According to Gary Baines, this suggests that the song “is able to touch a raw nerve in the Afrikaner psyche while also prompting a momentary uplift of the spirit”.⁵⁸⁵ These young Afrikaners are known as the “De la Rey” generation.⁵⁸⁶ The popularity of the song has been ascribed to its evocation of nostalgia and a sense of frustration among young Afrikaners for being blamed for apartheid, which was the policy before they were born.⁵⁸⁷

Baines argues that De la Rey was not chosen by chance: “[I]t is probably not accidental that the songwriters invoked a figure from the untainted pre-apartheid past, when the forebears of contemporary White Afrikaners were victims of British imperialism rather than the enforcers of an unjust political system”.⁵⁸⁸ Antjie Krog has suggested another reason that the songwriters chose De la Rey as a figurehead. According to Krog, De la Rey was seen as a

“The De la Rey uprising,” *Mail and Guardian*, 22 February 2007, 12; Steyn, “A new laager”, 67; G. Baines, “Lionising De la Rey: Afrikaner identity politics and performative nostalgia in post-Apartheid South Africa,” *African Identities* 11 no. 3 (2013), 1.

⁵⁸⁰ McGreal, “Afrikaans singer”; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 47; Van der Waal and Robins, “‘De la Rey’ and the revival”, 768.

⁵⁸¹ For the purposes of this argument, a *volkslied* is a song that this *volk* make their own as they relate to it. In this case, Afrikaners found their identity reflected in the song. Interview with Sean Else, Skype, 31 March 2021. D. Verkerk (student at University of Pretoria, interview with S. Else, 30 September 2020).

⁵⁸² Lotter, “‘The De la Rey phenomenon’”.

⁵⁸³ The Call of South Africa, the national anthem until 1994 (sung jointly with “God Save the King/Queen” from 1938 until 1961, and then the sole national anthem until 1994).

⁵⁸⁴ B. Jooste, “Offensive lyrics incite racism, says FF+”, *IOL*, 23 February 2008, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/offensive-lyrics-incite-racism-says-ff-390558>, accessed 19 August 2020; Groeneveld, “The De la Rey uprising”, 12; McGreal, “Afrikaans singer”.

⁵⁸⁵ Baines, “Lionising De la Rey”, 7.

⁵⁸⁶ D. Goosen, “Geen links en regs om genl. De la Rey”, *Volksblad*, 26 January 2007, 8; J. Gerber, “Afrikanerjeug hunker na eie helde, identiteit,” *Beeld*, 23 January 2007, 13; Van der Waal and Robins, “‘De la Rey’ and the revival”, 768.

⁵⁸⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 48; Steyn, “De la Rey”, 145.

⁵⁸⁸ Van der Waal and Robins, “‘De la Rey’ and the revival”, 774; McGreal, “Afrikaans singer”; Citizen reporter and SAPA, “Only one old flag for ‘De la Rey’”, *Citizen*, 12 February 2007, 4; Groeneveld, “The De la Rey uprising”, 12; Lambrechts and Visagie, “De la Rey, De la Rey, sal jy die Boere kom lei?”. *LitNet Akademies* 6 no. 2 (2009), 82; Steyn, “De la Rey”, 147; Baines, “Lionising De la Rey”, 6; Lotter, “‘The De la Rey phenomenon’”; A. Grundlingh, “Why have a ghost as a leader? The ‘De la Rey’ phenomenon and the re-invention of memories, 2006-2000,” in *Reshaping remembrance. Critical essays on Afrikaans places of memory*, eds. A. Grundlingh and H. Siegfried (Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2011), 154.

⁵⁸⁸ Baines, “Lionising De la Rey”, 6.

surrogate father [for Afrikaners], not leading to an uprising, but assisting children [Afrikaners] to deal with their guilt [for apartheid] in such a way that they can at last begin to integrate into the new society in which they feel they actually belong.⁵⁸⁹

The song caused considerable controversy. Pallo Jordan, former Minister of Arts and Culture, believed that the song could be hijacked by right-wingers as a “call to arms”.⁵⁹⁰ There were also members of the public who agreed with Jordan; for example, one person said on YouTube that as a Zulu man the song gives him chills, as it sounds like a war cry.⁵⁹¹ Some claimed that there was a coded message in the song, which can lead to revolutionary ideas.⁵⁹² Many critics even consider the song to be heralding an Afrikaner uprising and fighting the SAW again, except that this time Afrikaners will not be facing the British on the “battlefields”, but they will be up against Black people.⁵⁹³ For this reason, the government regarded the song as a struggle song.⁵⁹⁴ According to Mbe Mbhele, struggle songs are “by far the most democratic process that exist in protest and social movement – when people sing together, the call-and-response structure of revolutionary songs allows for collective engagement”.⁵⁹⁵ Struggle songs are sometimes used to create connections between a large number of people.⁵⁹⁶ Van Blerk has defended the song on many occasions by stating that it only meant to reflect a part of the history of Afrikaners, and was not a political statement.⁵⁹⁷ In an interview with Else, he reiterated that the song was not a political song and that the public were asked not to bring the Vierkleur to Van Blerk’s shows, but he admitted that the media would deliberately focus on instances when a fan brought a Vierkleur to make it look as if the song was political.⁵⁹⁸ Antje Krog argues that there are no signs of frustration, White-on-African⁵⁹⁹ racism, or of being aggrieved in the song itself.⁶⁰⁰ By 2009, the government did agree that it was not a struggle song, but they warned that the song could still be used by others to mislead Afrikaners to protest against the

⁵⁸⁹ Krog, “De la Rey is new ancestor”, 33.

⁵⁹⁰ McGreal, “Afrikaans singer”.

⁵⁹¹ “De la Rey,” YouTube, upload by “UpsetSheep”, 5:15, 15 February 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlHqKJyo3GQ>, accessed 19 February 2022.

⁵⁹² Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 47.

⁵⁹³ Krog, “De la Rey is new ancestor”, 32.

⁵⁹⁴ Lotter, “‘The De la Rey phenomenon’”; Van der Waal and Robins, “‘De la Rey’ and the revival”, 765; Steyn, “De la Rey”, 146.

⁵⁹⁵ M. Mbhele, “Struggle songs let us be heard”, *Mail and Guardian*, 13 October 2017, <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-10-13-00-struggle-songs-let-us-be-heard/>, accessed 2 November 2020.

⁵⁹⁶ Mbhele, “Struggle songs let us be heard”.

⁵⁹⁷ M. Kennedy, “De la Rey ghost is laid to rest,” *Citizen*, 16 February 2007, 4.

⁵⁹⁸ Interview with Sean Else, Skype, 31 March 2021.

⁵⁹⁹ In this sense it can be argued that the song does not encourage Whites to hate Africans.

⁶⁰⁰ Krog, “De la Rey is new ancestor”, 32.

government.⁶⁰¹ The hype over the song may be over, but the song is still popular – at the time of writing, over 2 million people had viewed the video on YouTube.

2.5 Conclusion

Based on Anderson’s theory, the Afrikaner “nation” can be regarded as “imagined”. As an imagined community, Afrikaners share two things, religious beliefs and a language, which bind them together as a community. The nation is limited because the only people allowed in its borders are “pure White Afrikaners”. It is sovereign because as a nation the Afrikaners were independent of the British after the Great Trek, and it is a community as Afrikaners have a strong sense of comradeship.

The *volk* may not be in power, but the idea of the still exists as a unifying force among many Afrikaners. As a result of what many Afrikaners perceive as political and national marginalisation, many have decided to leave the country, as the situation made them feel unwelcome. Not all Afrikaners could afford to leave or choose to do so. Most have stayed and adapted. But a small group created the Afrikaner-only town of Orania in the Northern Cape and its sister town of Kleinfontein [little fountain], a lesser-known Afrikaner enclave in Pretoria. Such actions showed a kind of defiant attitude – “if we cannot rule South Africa then we will leave”. Afrikaners may be politically marginalised, but culturally and economically, they are still strong; for example, KykNet (an Afrikaner channel) still has a large audience and is especially active in funding Afrikaans-language film and television, and Afrikaners are still relatively affluent, even though they are no longer in control over the country and its financial sector.

The development of Afrikaner nationalism was strengthened by the print media, mythmaking, and capitalism. For example, the government used *Die Huisgenoot*, as well as Afrikaans-language newspapers, to promote its propaganda. The myths created helped Afrikaners to cope with their situation, for example, the mythical Boer hero was used to remind them of times when heroes were willing to fight for a cause.

Capitalism also promoted the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, as many companies were established by Afrikaners to help only Afrikaners, which in a sense gave them a nationalistic pride that their nation was able to help them when they needed it. Afrikaner nationalism still

⁶⁰¹ Lambrechts and Visagie, “De la Rey”, 81.

exists, but it has decreased since apartheid ended. However, Janis Grobbelaar notes that if Afrikaners feel threatened again, then Afrikaner nationalism will rise again.⁶⁰²

The SAW also had an enormous impact on the *volk*. Even though it has been 120 years since the SAW was fought, for many Afrikaners, it is as if it took place yesterday. According to Oliver, this is because Afrikaners regard themselves as the victims and underdogs of the SAW, because they suffered under the British.⁶⁰³ These feelings were transferred to the next generation. Therefore, films were made on the SAW to show Afrikaners that the sacrifices their ancestors made were not in vain (as they did obtain freedom in the 1960s). Afrikaners also felt that they needed the world to see what their forebears went through at the hands of their enemies (the British) and as a way to encourage younger Afrikaners, especially those who have lost their identity and political power. Therefore, they wrote poems, stories, and songs on the SAW, as it was an important event for them. It helped to shape them as an imagined community. These representations were also used to encourage the younger generation by showing that their ancestors went through much worse, and still rose from the ashes. Furthermore, these visual representations on the SAW were mostly used, written, shown, and expressed so that Afrikaner nationalism never died out. Thus, as long as there is a need for recalling the SAW, one can be sure that Afrikaner nationalism will always be alive in many Afrikaner's hearts.

Afrikaans-language films were used as a vehicle to spread Afrikaner nationalism from the time when films arrived in South Africa in the 1890s. Early films such as *De Voortrekkers* were used to help Afrikaners to overcome the effects of the SAW by portraying Afrikaners as heroes who were sent to bring light to a "dark" continent by "civilising" Africa and defeating Black people in battles such as the Battle of Blood River. Films of the 1930s to 1940s boosted many Afrikaners' morale, something they needed as they were dealing with the Great Depression and a drought among other things, because these films focused on Afrikaners' history. For example, *Die Bou van 'n Nasie* was about the Great Trek, which showed them that if their ancestors could take action, then so could they. Films of the 1950s to 1980s were mostly made to provide Afrikaners with escapism, as they were dealing with turbulent times. For example, *Kaptein Caprivi* was made to boost Afrikaners' morale, as it portrayed them as heroes who were fighting the communists. Films of the 1990s to 2000s were made to help Afrikaners' cope

⁶⁰² Grobbelaar, "Afrikaner Nationalism", 396.

⁶⁰³ E. Oliver, "South Africa: The arduous task of facing our religious past", *Acta Theologica* 31 no. 1 (2011), 83.

with their new situation. For example, both *Scorched earth* and *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* showed Afrikaners that their ancestors did not give up on their independence, even though they lost it after the war, so they should not give up on their cause, despite the fact that they have lost their political power.

3 Chapter 3:

The South African War and cultural production: The case of *Sarie Marais* (1931 and 1949)

3.1 Introduction

The 1930s witnessed the forging of a distinct identity among Afrikaners as an aspect of the solidifying of Afrikaner nationalism. This strategy was implemented in the context of the Great Depression, and included the economic, social and cultural empowerment of Afrikaners. This process would continue into the 1940s, culminating in the electoral victory of the NP in 1948. This shift in the regime ushered in apartheid.

Against this background, this chapter focuses on the short film *Sarie Marais* (1931), directed by Joseph Albrecht, and on a new *Sarie Marais* (1949), directed by Francis Coley, a full-length film, a year after the election of the NP government. The chapter argues that these two films were crucial to Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid nation-building because of the way in which they recalled the SAW in the context of the 1930s and 1940s. These two decades witnessed significant social, economic and political changes. Among other things, increasing Afrikaner urbanisation led to social and cultural dislocation. The Great Depression, drought, and the rinderpest contributed to increased economic hardships, exacerbating what became known as the poor White problem. In this larger context, the two films functioned as an antidote to Afrikaner hopelessness by recalling an earlier moment and a graver threat to Afrikaner existence, namely the perils of urban modernity. Both these films can be read as morale-boosting propaganda. Furthermore, the chapter argues that the 1949 film is imbued by a distinct anti-war sentiment, shaped in large measure by the horrors of World War II.

3.2 Summaries of the films

As discussed in Chapter 2, the 1930s were a crucial period for the consolidation of Afrikaner identity, and it was a period in which the rise of Afrikaans as a language was an important factor. The 1931 production of *Sarie Marais* – a ten-minute long film – can be seen as part of the Second Language Movement of the earlier decades, which sought to promote Afrikaans as part of an Afrikaner cultural identity and cultural nationalism. *Sarie Marais* (1931) was the first Afrikaans-language featurette (a short feature film) or “talkie” on the SAW, in which

Afrikaans can be heard in the dialogue and in song.⁶⁰⁴ The dialogue between characters largely progresses through the popular song “Sarie Marais”, on which this film is based.⁶⁰⁵ The film was produced and released by African Film Production. The film was released on 25 May 1931 at the Orpheum in Johannesburg.⁶⁰⁶ The storyline presents the protagonist Jan, a Boer prisoner of war in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). While he is waiting for the war to end, he writes a letter to Sarie, the girl he loves, as she patiently waits for him to return. He tells her of his longing to return to her and his farm in the Transvaal. At the climax of the film, a British soldier tells Jan about the signing of the peace treaty, which implies that they can all go home. Everyone in the room is excited, and they start singing “Sarie Marais”. Jan cannot wait to be with Sarie. As soon as their ship docks, he and his men on horseback gallop into the sunset so that he can be with Sarie. At the end of the film, Jan reunites with Sarie, and they kiss.⁶⁰⁷

African Film Production was a strong producer of films during the 1930s, but it was only under the aegis of Union Film that the first truly Afrikaans-language film – also released in English⁶⁰⁸ – was produced.⁶⁰⁹ This film was Francis Coley and A.L. Bennet’s *Sarie Marais* (1949), a completely new version of the 1931 film of the same name.⁶¹⁰ *Sarie Marais* (1949), one hour and nine minutes long, was released in 1949 as a full-length film in black and white.⁶¹¹ The idea for *Sarie Marais* started in 1944 when the magazine *Filma* held a competition to find a woman who could play Sarie Marais in a film with the same title.⁶¹² Van Nierop notes that this was the first time that a magazine was involved in the promotion of a film.⁶¹³ The role of Sarie

⁶⁰⁴ A. Jansen van Vuuren, “The mythical Boer hero: Deconstructing ideology and identity in Anglo-Boer War films,” *The European Conference on Media, Communication & Film*, 2017, 4; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 26; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 26; Jooste, “Representing history”, 18; A. Worsdale, “A biography of bioscope”, *Mail & Guardian* 14 no. 3, (1998), 3; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 37; Botha, “South African Cinema (1)”, 1; R. Peach, “Queer cinema as a fifth cinema in South Africa and Australia” (PhD thesis, University of Technology, 2005), 90; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 31.

⁶⁰⁵ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 45; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 31.

⁶⁰⁶ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 26.

⁶⁰⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, “The mythical Boer hero”, 4; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 26; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 26; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 45; Jooste, “Representing history”, 16; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 31; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 37; Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324.

⁶⁰⁸ The fact that it was made in English makes it the first South African sound film to be released for a global audience. Anon, “Nicol to attend premiere of ‘Sarie Marais’”, *Rand Daily Mail* (1949), 9.

⁶⁰⁹ M. Eckard, “South Africa film history vs the history of motion pictures in South Africa,” *South African Theatre Journal* 25 no. 1 (2011), 74.

⁶¹⁰ Eckard, “South Africa film history”, 74; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 74; IMDb. “Sarie Marais” (2020). https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2034770/?ref=fn_al_tt_1, accessed 27 July 2020.

⁶¹¹ Jooste, “Representing history”, 18; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 74; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 262; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 33.

⁶¹² Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 38.

⁶¹³ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 63.

Marais went to Helen Faul. Johann Nell played the role of the man Sarie loves, Johann de Villiers.⁶¹⁴ The film is the story of Sarie, who loves Johann, but is forced to marry someone else (her brother's friend, Chris), because her uncle, Oom Hendrik (James Norval), the family patriarch, considers Johann a coward because he leaves both his family and country before the war.⁶¹⁵ Chris dies close to their home during a skirmish against the British. Sarie loses her home and eyesight during the skirmish. When Johann finally returns, he visits Sarie, who is happy that he returned, but also sad because he has never fought in the war. When she tells him so, he leaves and goes home, but he encounters Oom Hendrik, who tells him that the commandant has asked Oom Hendrik to blow up some British artillery to allow the Boers to cross a defended "poort" [neck between two mountains]. In an argument between Johann and Oom Hendrik, Johann wounds Oom Hendrik by accident, which meant Oom Hendrik cannot complete his mission. Johann is left with no choice but to complete the mission. He does not realise that the fuse for the explosives is too short. As a result, Johann is blown up. Johann's death makes him a hero, as he has sacrificed his life. Thus, Johann earns the respect of Sarie's family after he joins the SAW and is killed in action.⁶¹⁶

3.3 Comparative analysis of common themes

In the 1930s, Afrikaner nationalism gained momentum because Afrikaners did not want to live under British control. To unify the *volk*, Afrikaner nationalists used the memory of the SAW to show how the British had acted towards the Boers.⁶¹⁷ This interest in the SAW led to books and articles⁶¹⁸ on the war, all of them hailing the Boers as heroes, while deploring the miserable conditions in the concentration camps.⁶¹⁹ This strategy united many Afrikaners under the umbrella of Afrikaner nationalism (although they did not all support the same political party) and was intended to awaken their love for their *vaderland* [fatherland] and a new

⁶¹⁴ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 63.

⁶¹⁵ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 39; Eckard, "South Africa film history", 74.

⁶¹⁶ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 65.

⁶¹⁷ J. Boje and F. Pretorius, "'Kent gij dat volk: The Anglo-Boer War and Afrikaner identity in postmodern perspective,'" *Historia* 56 no. 2 (2011), 60.

⁶¹⁸ Pretorius, "Die historisiteit", 62-63, cites the following examples of such books: Deneys Reitz's *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (1929), which is about the adventures of Reitz, a *bittereinder*, during the SAW. Another example is *Bittereinders* (1935) by J.R.L. van Bruggen, *Merk vir die eeue* (1938) by T.C. Pienaar, and *Helkampe* (1941) by Ewald Steenkamp.

⁶¹⁹ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 289.

volksbewussyn [national group consciousness].⁶²⁰ According to Grundlingh, filmmakers and writers also used the SAW to remind Afrikaners not to give up their freedom.⁶²¹

War is central to nation-building for many nation-states.⁶²² John Hutchinson notes that many nations were created by war, or had their boundaries defined by wars or civil strife.⁶²³ In *Sarie Marais* (1949), the film suggests the approaching war by showing dense clouds building up when Johann walks away from his family and country after hearing that the SAW has been declared. Furthermore, Oom Hendrik tells his family that it is a good thing that the Republics have declared war, as Afrikaners wanted to be independent of Britain. The premise is that Afrikaners declared war on Britain, as they believed that Britain would be easy to defeat, based on their victory in the First Anglo-Boer War at the Battle of Majuba (1881), but they underestimated Britain, which adopted new strategies (the scorched-earth policy and the camps), which helped the British to win the SAW by unjust tactics aimed at civilians. Moreover, these strategies were responsible for the deaths of thousands of Boers, especially children, and contributed to the poor White situation. This all added to the bitterness because many Afrikaners believed that the British “played dirty” when they implemented the camp system and scorched-earth policy.

Boers who returned to South Africa after being prisoners of war had to face the fact that they were under British control. This control became evident when South Africa had to support Britain in World War I. This situation divided Afrikaners, between those supporting James Barry Munnik Hertzog and those who supported Louis Botha, Prime Minister and Jan Christiaan Smuts. The division among Afrikaners about war and their opposition to or “alliance with” Britain did not start or end with World War I. Afrikaners were already divided long before then. Historically, Afrikaners have never been a homogenous group. As with all communities, Afrikaners also had significant differences of opinion on various issues. For example, there were Afrikaners who were opposed to the Great Trek, and ones who were opposed to participation in World War I.⁶²⁴

⁶²⁰ Grundlingh, “Die Anglo-Boereoorlog in die bewussyn van die 20ste eeuse Afrikaner”, 245.

⁶²¹ A. Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness,” in *The impact of the South African War*, ed. D. Omissi and A.S. Thompson (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002), 25.

⁶²² J. Hutchinson, “Bringing the study of warfare into theories of nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalisms* 24 no. 3 (2018), 7.

⁶²³ Hutchinson, “Bringing the study of warfare”, 7.

⁶²⁴ J. Arquilla, *Insurgents, raiders, and bandits: How masters of irregular warfare have shaped our world* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 134; A. Greaves and M. Xolani, *Zulus at war: The history, rise, and fall of the tribe that washed its spears* (La Vergne, TN: Skyhorse, 2018), 84.

Afrikaners who supported involvement in the war, for example, Jan Christiaan Smuts and Louis Botha, wanted to participate in the war so that they could seize German Southwest Africa (now known as Namibia), which would make South Africa stronger and more powerful.⁶²⁵ Botha had to act quickly, or forces from other British dominion countries would be sent to do the job, which would make South Africa lose face and look weak.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, Smuts believed that South Africa's freedom and the future of Western civilisation were at stake if Germany won.⁶²⁷ Others opposed the war, for example, James Barry Munnik Hertzog, who believed that if South Africans, especially Afrikaners, joined the war, it would look as if they were bowing to the Empire to which they had lost the SAW little over a decade earlier.⁶²⁸ Furthermore, Hertzog along with Afrikaners who supported him wanted South Africa to remain neutral, because they believed that there was no reason for the country to be part of a war that was taking place in Europe.⁶²⁹ This division sparked the 1914 Rebellion, which began on 10 October 1914. The day was considered auspicious because Siener van Rensburg, a "Boer Nostradamus", prophesied that on this day Afrikaners would be independent.⁶³⁰ Afrikaners who participated in the Rebellion hoped to reclaim their lost Eden (the freedom they lost after the SAW) and to establish a Provisional Republican Government.⁶³¹ However, the rebellion failed as a result of poor logistical planning, leaving the rebels with insufficient food and ammunition.⁶³²

In *Sarie Marais* (1949), this division is reflected by Johann and Oom Hendrik. When the Marais family hears that war has been declared, Oom Hendrik says to his family and Johann, "ek het goeie nuus, uiteindelik het ons oorlog verklaar" [I have good news, we have finally declared war].⁶³³ For Afrikaners who supported war, like Oom Hendrik, it was a good thing that the war had been declared – they saw it as the only way to be free from Britain, and they believed that they would win the war. However, those who were against war (like Johann) felt that war was not the only option to achieve independence. So, when Johann hears the news, he is not excited,

⁶²⁵ B. Nasson, *WWI and the people of South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2014), 15, 19.

⁶²⁶ Nasson, *WWI and the people of South Africa*, 72.

⁶²⁷ Giliomee, "Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949", 308-309; Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa*, 122; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 293; B. Nasson, *South Africa at War 1939-1945* (Pretoria: Jacana Media, 2012), 16.

⁶²⁸ Nasson, *WWI and the people of South Africa*, 19.

⁶²⁹ Harrison, *The white tribe of Africa*, 122; Giliomee, "Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949", 308-309; Berger, *South Africa in world history*, 103; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 439; B. Freund, "South Africa: the Union years, 1910-1948 – political and economic foundations," in *Cambridge history of South Africa*, ed. R. Ross, A. Kelk Mager and B. Nasson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 215.

⁶³⁰ Nasson, *WWI and the people of South Africa*, 83.

⁶³¹ Nasson, *WWI and the people of South Africa*, 19, 84.

⁶³² Giliomee, "Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949", 295; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 383.

⁶³³ *Sarie Marais*, directed by F. Coley (Unifilms, 1949), 00:42:09.

and responds sarcastically, “Is dit goeie nuus? [Is this good news?].⁶³⁴ Oom Hendrik offers him a rifle to use in the war, but Johann declines it, saying that he will not need it, and then he walks away from the war. Johann never wanted to fight in the war, thus he leaves before the war reaches them. The only reason he participates in the war is to complete Oom Hendrik’s mission to blow up the British artillery. It can be argued that this shows that just like Johann, many Afrikaners had no choice but to participate in World War I, as Hertzog lost his motion not to participate, despite strong opposition to participation. Therefore, when World War I was declared on 28 July 1914, Afrikaners had no choice but to fight along with their former enemies against Germany, a country that had supported them during the SAW.⁶³⁵ However, Johann can also represent the fact that Afrikaners were tired of war in 1949, when the film was released, as they had participated in the SAW, in World War I, and just came out of World War II when this film was made. Therefore, Johann is portrayed as a pacifist.

The fact that South Africa went to war as a British ally in 1914 and in 1939, despite the pleas from Afrikaners not to enter the war, may have caused some to vote for the NP in 1948.⁶³⁶ They needed someone who would listen to their voices and who would stand up for them. In other words, they wanted a Boer hero who could help them to be free from the British. The NP portrayed itself as this hero, who is represented by Oom Hendrik, as he is prepared to fight for the Boers’ independence. Many Afrikaners voted for the NP during the 1948 election because the party believed in keeping the Afrikaner nation pure (by creating laws that would become part of apartheid) and it advocated independence from Britain.⁶³⁷ After the election, Daniel François Malan (now better known as D.F. Malan) said, “Today South Africa belongs to us once more. South Africa is our own for the first time since the Union, and may God grant that it will always remain our own.”⁶³⁸ For many Afrikaners, this victory felt as if they were closer to their dream of being free from Britain.⁶³⁹ *Sarie Marais* (1949) offers a sense of this kind of

⁶³⁴ *Sarie Marais* (1949), 00:42:17.

⁶³⁵ T.R.H. Davenport and C. Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 283; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 380-381; R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 84; H. Giliomee, “Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949,” in *A history of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 281, 294; M. Plaut, “How the first world war rewarded white South Africans but not black compatriots,” 2018, <https://theconversation.com/how-the-first-world-war-rewarded-white-south-africans-but-not-black-compatriots-106102>, accessed 9 May 2021.

⁶³⁶ Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 114; Giliomee, “Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949”, 311.

⁶³⁷ Giliomee, “Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949”, 311; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 500.

⁶³⁸ Giliomee, “Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949”, 311.

⁶³⁹ Giliomee, “Afrikaner nationalism 1902-1949”, 312.

victory where Johann (who in this case represents the Afrikaners) defeats the British soldiers by blowing up their artillery pieces.

As discussed in Chapter 2, gender and nationalism are closely linked, because each nation assigns gender roles to its citizens. As McClintock notes, “no nationalism in the world has granted women and men the same privileges and access to the resources of the nation-state”.⁶⁴⁰ An important gendered role assigned to women is that of mother of the nation. In both films the trope of the *volksmoeder* is a predominant motif. Afrikaner women were expected to be bearers of culture and civilisation, and therefore they were also expected to ensure that the racial purity of the *volk* was preserved.⁶⁴¹ According to Christel Stander and Hein Willemse, “such virtues constituted the framework of a sexist ideology that was invented by the Afrikaner patriarchy and perpetuated by Afrikaner nationalist and women’s organizations”.⁶⁴² Therefore, scholars such as Ria van der Merwe and Louise Vincent believe that the *volksmoeder* trope was constructed by politically powerful men to manipulate women in a way that suited the men.⁶⁴³ As scholars note, Afrikaner women were not only mothers of their families, but were also expected to be mothers for the *volk*.⁶⁴⁴

According to Elsabé Brink, the *volksmoeder* was a figurehead, a figure of speech, and an idealised figure of Afrikaner women.⁶⁴⁵ The image of the *volksmoeder* emerged during the SAW, because Boer women went from supporters of the war and farmers’ wives to figures of lamenting mothers with infants in their arms.⁶⁴⁶ The idea of the *volksmoeder* is also based on the “Voortrekker Mother”⁶⁴⁷ because Voortrekker women were seen as tough and self-reliant,

⁶⁴⁰ McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 105; C. Blignaut, “Doing gender is unavoidable: Women’s participation in the core activities of the Ossewa-Brandwag, 1938-1943,” *Historia* 58 no. 2 (2013), 7; K.J. Bell, “Who makes a nation? An examination of nationalism, gender, and membership in the nation”. *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse* 1 no. 12 (2009). <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=80>, accessed 26 September 2022.

⁶⁴¹ C. Stander and H. Willemse, “Winding through nationalism, patriarchy, privilege and concern: A selected overview of Afrikaans women writers,” *Research in African Literatures* 23 no. 3 (1992), 6.

⁶⁴² Stander and Willemse, “Winding through nationalism”, 6.

⁶⁴³ R. van der Merwe, “Moulding *volksmoeders* or volks enemies? Female students at the University of Pretoria, 1920-1970,” *Historia* 56, no. 1 (2011), 81; L. Vincent, “Bread and honour: White working-class women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26 no. 1 (2000), 61.

⁶⁴⁴ Geldenhuys, “Constructing motherhood”; McClintock, “No longer in a future heaven”, 110; L. Vincent, “A cake of soap: The *volksmoeder* ideology and Afrikaner women’s campaign for the vote,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32 no. 1 (1999), 10.

⁶⁴⁵ E. Brink, “The ‘Volkmoeder’ – a figurine as figurehead,” in *Reshaping Remembrance Critical Essays on Afrikaans Places of Memory*, ed. A. Grundlingh and S. Huigen (Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2001), 6; Geldenhuys, “Constructing motherhood”.

⁶⁴⁶ Van der Merwe, “Moulding *volksmoeders*”, 83.

⁶⁴⁷ One famous woman of this type is Susanna Smit, who said that she would rather walk barefoot over the Drakensberg than live under British control. There is a statue in the Drakensberg commemorating her. E. Brink, “Die Volkmoeder: ’n Beeld van ’n vrou,” in *Van Volkmoeder tot Fokopolisiekar: Kritiese opstelle oor Afrikaanse herinneringsplekke*, ed. A. Grundlingh and S. Huigen (Stellenbosch: Sunpress, 2008), 9.

and they did everything themselves, from sewing clothes for themselves and their families, to taking care of their families.⁶⁴⁸ However, for Christi van der Westhuizen, the image of the *volksmoeder*

discursively morphed from *kragdadigheid* [forcefulness] and *veglustigheid* [combativeness] to actively recruiting subjects for Afrikaner nationalism in the ‘feminine’ spheres of whites only welfare and in politics; to self-sacrifice and domestic cloistering for God, volk and family during Afrikaner nationalist dominance.⁶⁴⁹

It is also a term men used to justify why women were not allowed to participate in politics (as seen later on). Therefore, the Sarie figures in both the 1931 and the 1949 films are “passive objects” that show Afrikaner women that their place is in the home.

It was particularly during the 1930s that the idea of the *volksmoeder* was used in propaganda, as this period raised fears that the Afrikaner *volk* (as an imagined nation) might die out. This anxiety arose because of the poor White situation (discussed later) and the increasing urbanisation of Afrikaners in the “evil cities”,⁶⁵⁰ in the aftermath of the scorched-earth policy during the SAW and because of the drought and the worldwide Great Depression. The cities were regarded as evil because they were seen “as the seats of ‘English-Jewish’ capitalism that was bent on ploughing the Afrikaner under, and as hotbeds of vice and crime”.⁶⁵¹ Therefore, many Afrikaners were concerned that urbanisation of Afrikaners would lead to the *volk*’s decline. In this context, the *volksmoeder* plays an important role – she was to intervene and rectify the situation.⁶⁵²

Hence, Afrikaans-language films tended to portray the *volksmoeder* as a beacon of hope: she was the one who boosted men’s morale, urged them to continue the war, provided provisions and emotional support.⁶⁵³ In *Sarie Marais* (1931), the young future *volksmoeder* is Sarie, who is shown as inspiring Jan not to give up. The hope that they will see each other again one day buoys him up. This can be seen when Jan sings the song “Sarie Marais”. As he sings the refrain of the song, “Daar onder in die mielies, by die groen doringboom” [Down there in the maize

⁶⁴⁸ Vincent, “A cake of soap”, 11.

⁶⁴⁹ C. van Westerhuizen, “Identities at the intersection of race, gender, sexuality and class in a liberalising, democratising South Africa: The reconstitution of ‘the Afrikaner woman’” (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2013), 29.

⁶⁵⁰ Brink, “Die Volksmoeder: ’n Beeld van ’n vrou”, 9.

⁶⁵¹ D. Welsh, “Urbanisation and the solidarity of Afrikaner Nationalism,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7 no. 2 (1969), 265.

⁶⁵² Blignaut, “Doing gender is unavoidable”, 7.

⁶⁵³ H.M. Ross, “A woman’s world at a time of war: An analysis of selected women’s diaries during the Anglo-Boer war 1899-1902” (MA diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2006), 9; E. van Heyningen, “The voices of women in the South African War,” *South African Historical Journal* 41 no. 1 (1999), 22-43; Cloete, “Afrikaner identity”, 49.

field, at the green thorn tree], Jan gets a flashback of Sarie, because that is “waar my Sarie woon” [where my Sarie lives], in the Transvaal, where she is waiting for him to return.⁶⁵⁴ This scene shows that Sarie is the reason Jan clings to his hope of returning to *volk en vaderland*, because he thinks of her the whole time, as we see in the letter he writes to her. The symbolic implication for Afrikaners living in the “evil city” and dealing with poverty is that there was hope, for example, in Hertzog’s help to assist those classified as poor Whites. Another example of a *volksmoeder* is Moedertjie in the film *Moedertjie* (1931), who shows how the *volksmoeder* holds the family together against the threats posed by the “evil city”.⁶⁵⁵

For many Afrikaner women, the *volksmoeder* trope had another side, which was used to oppress them. As McClintock explains, on the one hand the construct recognises “the power of [White] motherhood; on the other hand, it is a retrospective iconography of gender containment, containing women’s mutinous power within an iconography of domestic service”.⁶⁵⁶ Louise Vincent agrees with McClintock, noting that, on the one hand, the *volksmoeder* “conferred a mantle of legitimacy on women’s search for an independent voice in the 1920s”; on the other hand, it gave men the right to give “women different social roles and differential access to political power on the basis of assumed biological traits [which] meant that a return to a more conservative version of the ideology loomed as an ever-present possibility”.⁶⁵⁷ This was especially the case when it came to voting rights for women.

The campaign for women’s enfranchisement was first taken up in South African through the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in 1889.⁶⁵⁸ This was followed up by the Women’s Enfranchisement League in 1902 and Women’s Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa in 1911.⁶⁵⁹ The aim of these organisations was to demand rights for women “on the same terms as men”.⁶⁶⁰ These women claimed the image of the *volksmoeder* to legitimise their political role, while remaining within the framework of Afrikaner nationalism by arguing that they were responding to their historic destiny as mothers of the nation.⁶⁶¹ They claimed that even if they had the right to vote, they would still take care of the *volk*, as it is their duty

⁶⁵⁴ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁶⁵⁵ K. Tomaselli, *Encountering modernity: Twentieth century South African cinemas* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2006), 148.

⁶⁵⁶ A. McClintock, “Family feuds: Gender, nationalism and the family,” *Feminist Review* 44 (1993), 72.

⁶⁵⁷ L. Vincent, “The power behind the scenes: The Afrikaner Nationalist women’s parties, 1915 to 1931,” *South African Historical Journal* 40 no. 1 (1999), 54.

⁶⁵⁸ Vincent, “A cake of soap”, 2.

⁶⁵⁹ Vincent, “A cake of soap”, 2.

⁶⁶⁰ Vincent, “A cake of soap”, 3.

⁶⁶¹ Vincent, “The power behind the scenes”, 54-55; Vincent, “A cake of soap”, 54, 66.

as *volksmoeders*. However, there were many who were against allowing women to vote as they believed that if both men and women could vote, and if they voted for different parties, it would split families.⁶⁶² They also argued that women's physical disposition made them unsuited for political life. Furthermore, they considered the call for women's suffrage "foreign".⁶⁶³ Hence, the NP used the image of the *volksmoeder* to show that a woman's place is in the home. However, the NP did give Afrikaner women the vote in 1930, but only to make sure that there were more votes to dilute the votes of Black people, who still had a qualified franchise to elect representatives at that stage.⁶⁶⁴

Sarie in the 1931 film could therefore be appropriated as suitably submissive, as she stays behind so that Jan can fight in the SAW. The film deliberately creates an image of a Sarie who is highly patriotic and submissive to the ideals espoused by the patriarchy. The kind of Sarie depicted in the film would not encourage Afrikaner women as *volksmoeders* to campaign for votes; they have to be at home and remain submissive. Now that Afrikaner women had gained voting rights, their voice was no longer tolerated, and the *volksmoeder* ideology was used to justify the call for women to submit to male authority and return to the home.⁶⁶⁵ That may also be why Sarie in the 1949 film is shown to submit to Oom Hendrik's decrees. The film can thus be read as suggesting that Afrikaner women's voice was no longer needed, since the NP had received their votes, which helped the party to win the 1948 election, so that women could return home, be obedient to their men in their lives and be the *volksmoeders* they needed to be.

Women were also expected to stay at home during any armed conflict, both to protect them from danger and to ensure that there would always be someone who could produce the next generation. Men were afraid that if something happened to women, they would have no way to safeguard the nation from extinction, as there would be no one to produce the next generation. This explains why both films show the two Sarie figures staying behind to take care of the farms, while the men (Jan and Oom Hendrik) fight in the war. For example, the audience sees Sarie in the 1931 film waiting patiently at home in the Transvaal for Jan to return from the war. However, this made many women vulnerable to war crimes such as the destruction of homes, which is shown in *Sarie Marais* (1949), when Sarie has to stay behind while her husband fights

⁶⁶² Vincent, "A cake of soap", 5.

⁶⁶³ Vincent, "A cake of soap", 5.

⁶⁶⁴ C. van der Westhuizen, "(Un)sung heroines: The rise and fall and rise of the Afrikaner Nationalist *volksmoeder* in South Africa," *Matatu* 50 no. 2 (2020), 265.

⁶⁶⁵ Vincent, "The power behind the scenes", 54.

in a skirmish near their home. As a result of the event, she loses her eyesight, her home, and her husband, Chris.

Furthermore, women were expected to keep the race pure, so they were not allowed to marry or have an extramarital relationship with men from other races, as discussed in Chapter 2. It is then fitting that Sarie in the 1931 film loves Jan, a White Afrikaner man, implying that the Afrikaner *volk* will remain pure. Maingard also notes that the film uses this relationship to reaffirm its exclusive view of national identity and the “nation”,⁶⁶⁶ because it focuses on a White heterosexual relationship, implying that the Afrikaner *volk* is pure, as it consists of White men and women.

Women were also seen as transmitters of the nation’s cultural traditions, customs, songs, cuisine, and the mother tongue.⁶⁶⁷ Therefore, men preferred women, like the Sarie figures in the two films, to stay behind when war broke out, so that the women could teach their children the nation’s traditions and the *volk* would never die out.

Lastly, women, as symbols of the *volk* and its future, also participated in national events, but to a limited degree. Men promised women that they would address female issues (such as women’s suffrage) once the wars were over, but were not eager to keep their promises, and women ended back in the home, again taking care of their families.⁶⁶⁸ A well-known example of this is World War I: while men went to war, women took over men’s roles to keep the economy going, and at the same time, kept the men motivated; but when the war ended, most women lost their privileges and were sent back home. As mentioned above, both Sarie figures play an important role as they motivate their men to continue with the war, for example, through Sarie’s letter in the 1931 film.

Despite the important role women played in society, they were still silenced.⁶⁶⁹ For example, Sarie in the 1931 film is literally silenced, because none of the songs is sung by her; only the male voice is heard throughout the film. There are a few reasons for this. Firstly, nationalism is male-oriented. Joane Nagel notes that scripts in which these gender roles are embedded are written primarily by men, for men, and about men; this is why women were seen as supporting

⁶⁶⁶ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 47.

⁶⁶⁷ N. Yuval-Davis, “Gender and nation,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 no. 4 (1993), 622.

⁶⁶⁸ R.S. Herr, “The possibility of nationalist feminism”, *Hypatia* 18 no. 3 (2003), 137.

⁶⁶⁹ Yuval-Davis, “Gender and nation”, 627.

actors whose roles reflect masculinist notions of femininity and women's proper place.⁶⁷⁰ This implies that women were relegated to the background, as their proper place in society was to be behind men (and therefore silenced). With women at the back (and taking care of the household), men were seen as the important ones, as they were the providers. This is also the case in the 1931 and 1949 versions of *Sarie Marais*. The fact that the two Sarie figures stay behind (merely backing up their men) allows Jan and Oom Hendrik to fight in the SAW, making them heroes. Therefore, it can be argued that men's political power is heavily dependent on a naturalised but not accidental ideology of gender difference which gives them power over women.⁶⁷¹ Thus, if men see women as a threat to their power, what better way to prevent women from taking men's power than to exclude women by refusing to give them citizenship, voting rights (discussed above), and the right to participate in government as full members of the state.⁶⁷² Therefore, it is safer for their role to be subsumed symbolically into the national political body.⁶⁷³

There was another way in which men controlled the threat posed by women and that is through the patriarchal system. As long as men are the protectors and providers of their family (or the nation), it makes them important, and they hold more privileges than women, including power. This allows men to control women, as women are seen as property, so men can deprive women of their rights.⁶⁷⁴ This subordination of women places men and women in an "us vs them" position. Those who belong to the "us" group (in this case, men) have an identity and can therefore be seen as a separate group.⁶⁷⁵ Those who belong to the "them" group (in this case, women) do not have an identity, because they are stereotyped according to their gender, age, beliefs, and race.⁶⁷⁶ Therefore, those in the "us" group exclude those who belong in the "them" group.⁶⁷⁷ When women are the "them" group, they are subjected to categories and the practices of the dominant group, which in this context is men (the "us" group).⁶⁷⁸ Therefore, the women

⁶⁷⁰ J. Nagel, "Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 no. 2 (1998), 243.

⁶⁷¹ McClintock, "'No longer in a future heaven'", 105; A. Chapman, "Where gender meets nationalism," 2019, <https://berlinpolicyjournal.com/where-gender-meets-nationalism/>, accessed 9 April 2022; Blignaut, "Doing gender is unavoidable", 7; Bell, "Who makes a nation?".

⁶⁷² Chapman, "Where gender meets nationalism"; Blignaut, "Doing gender is unavoidable", 7; Bell, "Who makes a nation?".

⁶⁷³ McClintock, "'No longer in a future heaven'", 105.

⁶⁷⁴ A. Sultana, "Patriarchy and women's subordination: A theoretical analysis," *The Arts Faculty Journal* 4 (2010), 3, 18.

⁶⁷⁵ J. Staszak, "Other/otherness," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography: A 12-Volume Set*, eds. R. Kitchin and N. Thrift (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2009), 2.

⁶⁷⁶ Staszak, "Other/otherness", 2.

⁶⁷⁷ Staszak, "Other/otherness", 2.

⁶⁷⁸ Staszak, "Other/otherness", 2.

are subordinated and treated as inferior because they are culturally defined as inferior.⁶⁷⁹ Thus, men control them in every aspect of their lives, for example, in their reproductive process, the number of children they are supposed to bear, and the type of work women should do.⁶⁸⁰ Sarie in the 1931 film can be categorised as belonging to the “them” group, because she is relegated to the background by the focus on Jan. She only features a few times – when she reads Jan’s letter, when she makes herself ready to meet Jan, and when she kisses him. She also does not speak in the film. It is only Jan’s (“us”) voice that the audience hears, indicating this group’s importance in society.

The fact that men played such an important role in society made them a patriarchy, a term that literally means “the rule of the father or the patriarch”.⁶⁸¹ Feminists have defined the term as a system where a man has all the control over his family and is therefore the most important in a society, group, or household.⁶⁸² Sylvia Walby explains that the patriarchal system “is a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women”.⁶⁸³ Walby argues that the term refers to a system, rather than to individuals, because it helps to overcome the notion of determinism which implies that men and women are “naturally” different because of their biology or bodies, and they are therefore assigned different roles.⁶⁸⁴ In such a system, women and children are understood to be under the authority of their fathers, brothers, husbands, and even sons.⁶⁸⁵ Afrikaner women faced the same fate as other women around the world in this regard, as they were also subordinate in the patriarchal system, which was clearly visible in the Great Trek, when each trek group was structured as a family presided over by a single dominant man.⁶⁸⁶

Sarie Marais (1949) showcases the patriarchal system. After Sarie’s father dies, Oom Hendrik takes over as the patriarch of the family. To prevent Sarie from marrying Johann, whom he despises, Oom Hendrik tells her a lie (that Johann has died of a fever), which she believes without questioning him. She never asks anyone else whether Johann has really died of a fever.

⁶⁷⁹ T.J. Mudau and O.S. Obadire, “The role of patriarchy in family settings and its implications to girls and women in South Africa,” *Journal of Human Ecology* 58 nos. 1-2 (2017), 67.

⁶⁸⁰ Mudau and Obadire, “The role of patriarchy”, 67.

⁶⁸¹ Sultana, “Patriarchy”, 2.

⁶⁸² S.T. Kgatla, “‘The piety of Afrikaner women’: In conversation with Prof. Christina Landman on the piety of Afrikaner women”, *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 75 no. 1 (2019), 3.

⁶⁸³ S. Walby, “Theorising patriarchy,” *Sociology* 23 no. 2 (1989), 214.

⁶⁸⁴ Sultana, “Patriarchy”, 3.

⁶⁸⁵ V. Jagarnath, “South Africa: Student movement splinters as patriarchy muscles out diversity,” 2016, <https://theconversation.com/south-africa-student-movement-splinters-as-patriarchy-muscles-out-diversity-57855>, accessed 12 April 2022.

⁶⁸⁶ McClintock, “Family feuds”, 69.

This shows how important the patriarch is in Afrikaner households: he is second only to God, so “sy woord is wet” [his word is law]. Nobody is allowed to question him. For Afrikaner women, worshipping God entailed obedience to men and silence in public.⁶⁸⁷ This also explains why Sarie never questions Oom Hendrik’s lie, nor does she hate him for splitting up her and Johann. What also makes Oom Hendrik a patriarch is that the family goes to him for advice, for example, Sarie first has to ask Oom Hendrik if she can marry Johann, which upsets Johann, who believes this is not necessary, as he is not going to marry Oom Hendrik. Johann’s comment shows that not all Afrikaner men believed in the patriarchal system. However, they were in the minority, as most women still lived under the patriarchal system and had to live according to the standards entrenched in that system.

According to Hendrik P. van Coller and Anthea van Jaarsveld, this “worship” of the father figure (or in this case the uncle) as the patriarch touches on the concept of the woman as a “Serving Martha” within the patriarchal system.⁶⁸⁸ According to S. Thias Kgatla, Afrikaner men used this status to silence Afrikaner women.⁶⁸⁹ As a result of this, Afrikaner women were marginalised, because they were portrayed as “passive subjects” who were expected to stay behind and take care of the farm and family. In *Sarie Marais* (1931), Sarie is portrayed as a “passive object” who just waits for her beloved to return. She does not take up a weapon and fight in the war; she just sits and reads a love letter, while Jan fights in the war. In other words, the film places Afrikaner women in the “them” category. This is also the case with *Sarie Marais* (1949), where Sarie stays behind as is expected of a Boer woman⁶⁹⁰, which makes her vulnerable to British military tactics (the scorched-earth policy).

World War I and the Great Depression did temporarily change women’s place in society as it allowed them to work, which gave them some independence. Many workplaces hired women (but paid them less than men) to free up men for the war effort.⁶⁹¹ Many Afrikaner men felt

⁶⁸⁷ Van Westerhuizen, “Identities at the intersection”, 274.

⁶⁸⁸ H.P. van Coller and A. van Jaarsveld, “The indigenous Afrikaans film: Representation as a nationalistic endeavour,” *Literator* 39, no. 1 (2018), 11.

⁶⁸⁹ Kgatla, “The piety of Afrikaner women”, 3.

⁶⁹⁰ In reality, the Boer woman had a larger role than is portrayed in both films. It was the Boer woman who encouraged her menfolk to continue the war. Some took up arms themselves. For example, Helena Wagner of Zeerust disguised herself as a man and fought in the war for five months. There was even a group of spies consisting only of women, namely the Kappiekommando [Bonnet Commando], a secret organisation in Pretoria. Ross, “A woman’s world”, 32; Cape Rebel, “Anglo-Boer War spy – Maria Koopmans-De Wet,” (2014), <https://caperebel.com/blogs/news/14447129-anglo-boer-war-spy-maria-koopmans-de-wet>, accessed 14 July 2020.

⁶⁹¹ J. Hyslop, “White working-class women and the invention of Apartheid: ‘Purified’ Afrikaner Nationalist agitation for legislation against ‘mixed’ marriages, 1934-9,” *The Journal of African History* 36 no. 1 (1995), 62.

threatened by the fact that women were allowed to take paid work and, in some cases, became the breadwinners, because it threatened the patriarchal authority Afrikaner men had previously exercised.⁶⁹² Afrikaner men believed that those women who took jobs were sexually and socially out of control.⁶⁹³ For this reason, many Afrikaner men would not allow their wives or daughters to seek employment, as they felt humiliated if their names were connected to these women. Many despised Afrikaner women who took paid employment, because as *volksmoeders* these women's place was supposed to be at home.⁶⁹⁴ Arguably, *Sarie* (1931) is portrayed as submissive to indicate that a lovable real Afrikaner woman's place is not in the workplace, but at home. Jan fights in the war (representing the arena of action, the workplace), while Sarie stays behind (in the home).

Women have also functioned as objects of desire, in addition to bearers of tradition. Laura Mulvey notes that "in a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female".⁶⁹⁵ In films and other visual media, the "looking", especially with an element of sexual desire, is mostly done by men. This means that women are viewed through the lens of the "male gaze", a concept discussed by Mulvey, a British film theorist, in her article "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema".⁶⁹⁶ According to Mulvey, the "male gaze" "portrays its phantasy on the female figure which is styled accordingly".⁶⁹⁷ For Rachel Sampson, the "male gaze" implies that "women are viewed from the eyes of a heterosexual man, and these women are represented as passive objects of male desire".⁶⁹⁸ For Mulvey, women in film are often displayed and looked at by eroticising them, so that they can be said to connote "to-be-looked-at-ness". Women are portrayed as attractive and sexy, to feed the sexual interest or agenda of the male characters.⁶⁹⁹ Women are shown as erotic objects for both the film characters, and the (male) audience.⁷⁰⁰ *Sarie Marais* (1949) also caters for both Johann and the male audience in a scene where Sarie swims semi-naked in a dam.⁷⁰¹ The

⁶⁹² Hyslop, "White working-class women", 63.

⁶⁹³ Van der Westhuizen, "(Un)sung heroines", 264.

⁶⁹⁴ Blignaut, "Doing gender is unavoidable", 8.

⁶⁹⁵ L. Mulvey, "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema," in *Media and cultural studies: Key works*, eds. M.G. Durham and D.M. Kellner (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 346.

⁶⁹⁶ S. Vanbuskirk. "What is the male gaze?" 2021, <https://www.verywellmind.com/what-is-the-male-gaze-5118422>, accessed 29 April 2022.

⁶⁹⁷ Mulvey, "Visual pleasure", 346.

⁶⁹⁸ R. Sampson, "Film theory basics: Laura Mulvey Male Gaze theory," 2020, <https://www.filminquiry.com/film-theory-basics-laura-mulvey-male-gaze-theory/>, accessed 20 July 2020.

⁶⁹⁹ Vanbuskirk, "What is the male gaze?"; Sampson, "Film theory basics".

⁷⁰⁰ Sampson, "Film theory basics".

⁷⁰¹ According to Van Nierop, *Sarie Marais* (1949) is the first film with a semi-naked scene. Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 63.

camera focuses on Sarie's semi-naked body, thus inviting Johann and the audience to look at Sarie. This, for Janice Loreck, means that Johann's looking at Sarie in a sexual way while she is swimming empowers men and objectifies women, as discussed above.⁷⁰² In terms of Sampson's argument, this means that the audience is invited to view women from a male perspective.⁷⁰³ This can also be seen where Jan and Sarie reunite in the 1931 film. According to Maingard, the camera gazes over Jan's shoulder into Sarie's eyes, which are in turn gazing into Jan's eyes.⁷⁰⁴ This gaze shows Sarie as a sexual object who pleases the heterosexual man (Jan). This gaze also shows Sarie as a damsel in distress who waits for her prince (who in this case is Jan) to return home.

Many nations have been historically dominated by men, and, in some cases, remain dominated by men.⁷⁰⁵ Nagel notes that the "'microculture' of masculinity in everyday life articulates very well with the demands of nationalism, particularly its militaristic side".⁷⁰⁶ In other words, men join a war as it helps them to become "real men". Governments tell men that their manhood will be fully validated only if they perform as soldiers.⁷⁰⁷ Men also joined wars like the SAW to become men or be seen as men. This can explain why Jan in the 1931 film and Oom Hendrik in the 1949 film join the SAW, because they want not only to protect their families, but to prove that they are "man genoeg" [man enough] to protect their *volk en vaderland*. Men like Jan and Oom Hendrik are part of what scholars call hegemonic masculinity – the form of masculinity that is dominant.⁷⁰⁸ The hegemonic man sets a standard – whether reviled or revered – of how men should behave and how supposed "real men" do behave.⁷⁰⁹ That is why Oom Hendrik and Jan are hegemonic men, as they are willing to fight for the *volk's* freedom.

In Afrikaner families, it is the hegemonic man that dominates the family, Black people and *uitlanders*.⁷¹⁰ The ideal Afrikaner men could be found in the Afrikaner Broederbond – Afrikaner men who were financially independent, Protestant, over the age of 25, and committed to their fatherland, language, and culture. This, combined with heterosexuality and political

⁷⁰² J. Loreck, "Explainer: What does the 'male gaze' mean, and what about a female gaze?," 2021, <https://theconversation.com/explainer-what-does-the-male-gaze-mean-and-what-about-a-female-gaze-52486>, accessed 16 May 2021.

⁷⁰³ Sampson, "Film theory basics".

⁷⁰⁴ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 47.

⁷⁰⁵ Nagel, "Masculinity and nationalism", 248.

⁷⁰⁶ Nagel, "Masculinity and nationalism", 252.

⁷⁰⁷ J. Thompson, "Gender and nationalism," *Nationalities Papers* 48 no. 1 (2020), 5.

⁷⁰⁸ R. Morrell, "Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24 no. 4 (1998), 608.

⁷⁰⁹ Morrell, "Of boys and men", 617; Nagel, "Masculinity and nationalism", 247.

⁷¹⁰ Thompson, "Gender and nationalism", 5.

conservativeness, made them “ideal men”.⁷¹¹ In the films under discussion, the hegemonic men are Jan, who participates in the war (even though, as a result, he is exiled to Ceylon), and Oom Hendrik, who is willing to give his life for the *volk* (although he survives the war), and Johann (who does give his life, despite his earlier objection to war). As Du Pisani notes, masculinity played a role in shaping Afrikaner nationalism because the Broederbond believed that the creation of the nation is “man’s business” and took the initiative in this regard by rigorously enforcing their masculinity through authority, and with impunity.⁷¹² Hegemonic men like Oom Hendrik are shown in films to dominate, in his case over the Marais family, just like the NP dominated South Africa and Black people. Oom Hendrik makes all the decisions in the family, for example, about whom Sarie is allowed to marry. The NP government also used the hegemonic ideal as an inspirational image symbolising the nation, aimed at merging different perceptions of masculinities into a single hegemonic one to achieve the desired *volkseenheid* (nation unity).⁷¹³ According to Koen Slootmaecker, this was done by constructing Afrikaner masculinity in relation to the “other”, who in this case were Black people and White English-speaking South Africans, who were othered, for example, through references to the SAW, which Afrikaners claimed to have lost because the British used “methods of barbarism”, while Black men were portrayed as inferior compared to Afrikaner masculinity.⁷¹⁴ In *Sarie Marais* (1949), African men are shown as backward because they mostly wear little clothing, and only understand when their masters talk to them as if they are children.

Hegemonic men were also expected to be patriots, especially when it comes to war. War and masculinity are linked together, as war is constructed as masculine in all cultures and is reflected in widely held conceptions of masculinity.⁷¹⁵ As seen above, men joined the SAW to protect the “national family” from dangers. In this case, the “national family” was the two Boer Republics which the Boers felt were in danger of being taken from them by the British. So, they declared war and as a result, many Boers (of various ages) were called up to protect their Republics. According to Pretorius, about 54% to 65% of Boer men were called up to fight. In some cases, as with the *bittereinders*, they even fought until the bitter end.⁷¹⁶ In the films under

⁷¹¹ J.A. du Pisani, “Hegemonic masculinity in Afrikaner nationalist mobilisation, 1934-48,” in *Masculinities in politics and war: Gendering modern history*, eds. S. Dudink, K. Hagermann and J. Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 159.

⁷¹² Du Pisani, “Hegemonic masculinity”, 159.

⁷¹³ K. Slootmaecker, “Nationalism as competing masculinities: Homophobia as a technology of othering for hetero- and homonationalism,” *Theory and Society* 48 no. 239 (2019), 252.

⁷¹⁴ Slootmaecker, “Nationalism as competing masculinities”, 252.

⁷¹⁵ J. Nagel, “War,” in *International Encyclopedia of men and masculinities*, eds. M. Flood, J.K. Gardiner, B. Pease and K. Pringle (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 626.

⁷¹⁶ Pretorius, “Justifying the South African War”, 23.

discussion, the patriots are Jan and his fellow Boer prisoners, and Oom Hendrik, respectively, because they have bravery, strength and courage, making them fearless fighters, exceptional horsemen and marksmen, who would sacrifice everything, including their lives, for *volk en vaderland*, while maintaining a steadfast faith in God.⁷¹⁷ This kind of image is reflected in Jan's return, when the former Boer prisoners ride into the sunset at the end of the film, so that Jan can get to Sarie. This is a predecessor of what would become known as spaghetti western films, a popular genre of the 1960s, which also include romanticised representations of heroic figures.⁷¹⁸ According to Maingard, the presence of the Boer riders in *Sarie Marais* (1931) signals masculinity, because they are *bittereinders*, who had all the qualities mentioned above. According to Maingard, Albrecht cut between the "heroic images of Boers on horseback, riding across the frame in a low-angle shot silhouetted against the sunset sky" and also focuses on the speed with which the horses gallop across the scene, and the riders, which she notes creates a sense of power within the image.⁷¹⁹ This scene is patriotic, as it shows the Boers as heroes who enter a new land to rebuild it, even if it lies in ruins now – it is waiting for them to stand up from the ashes of the war.⁷²⁰ Maingard also notes that the frame "itself creates a sense of power within the image, extended by the speed at which the horses gallop across the frame and the number of riders (about four dozen)".⁷²¹

Similarly, Oom Hendrik not only wants to continue with the war but also thinks that the war is a good thing, as it allows Boer men to protect their family (their own and the "national family") and to show off their manliness. Oom Hendrik is also prepared to sacrifice his life for *volk en vaderland*. When the commandant sends Oom Hendrik on what is likely to be a suicide mission by ordering him to blow up British artillery weapons, he says willingly, "Ek is 'n vrywilliger" [I am a volunteer].⁷²² This scene may have been included to show the audience their historical mission towards the *volk*, to continue to fight for Afrikaner independence in the present, just

⁷¹⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, "The mythical Boer hero", 4; Britz, "Bosbok Ses films", 26; A. Jansen van Vuuren, 'Battling identities': Myths and allegory in post-modern Anglo Boer war short films', *International Symposium on Mythology Proceedings Book*, edited by I. O. A. Berivan, V. Tonguç Seferoğlu, E. Kaçar and N. Şenel (2019), 2; Wessels, "Afrikaners at war", 105.

⁷¹⁸ "Spaghetti westerns" were first made in the 1960s and got their name because many films were made by Italians, sometimes in collaboration with other European countries such as Spain and Germany. The name was given to foreign Westerns because they were seen as inferior to American Westerns, and many were made in Italy. The reason behind this was that many of these films were more violent (which was why many were banned in some cases) and some were operatic – they used songs as an illustrative ingredient of the narrative – just like *Sarie Marais* (1931). S. Gelten and "Lindberg", "Introduction", 2015, <https://www.spaghetti-western.net/index.php/Introduction>, accessed 3 May 2022.

⁷¹⁹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷²⁰ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die flik*, 31; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷²¹ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷²² *Sarie Marais*, directed by F. Coley (Unifilms, 1949), 00:19:55.

like the *bittereinders* (like Oom Hendrik) does at the end of the SAW.⁷²³ The audience must not give up on the cause of those who fought and that is to be independent of Britain. Another person from *Sarie Marais* (1949) who is a hegemonic man is Chris, Sarie's neighbour and later her husband, who at first may not look like a man (various people, including Sarie's mother, make fun of him by saying that he should have been a girl because he has pure white hair that resemble a girl), but he has the qualities of a man – he is strong and tough. Therefore, Oom Hendrik prefers him over Johann. Chris also shows that “real men” have inborn courtesy, and a sense of fairness, as he never has anything bad to say about Johann.

Many hegemonic men join a war, as Jan and Oom Hendrik do, because they are expected to defend the moral consciousness and the ego of the nation, because their identity and that of the nation are linked with one another; thus, the male ego is at stake in national conflicts.⁷²⁴ Another reason is that most men do not want to be known as “bangbroeke” [cowards], as they believe “only cowards shirk the call to duty, real men are not cowards”.⁷²⁵ Pacifists, derided as cowards, have been executed (for example, in both World Wars) for refusing to protect their country; in other cases they have been ignored, even though they were willing to risk their lives for their country (as is seen in *Verraaiers* in Chapter 6)

Some men challenge the idea of hegemonic masculinity, as they believe that there is more than one type of masculinity. Although he still fits into the picture of hegemonic masculinity, Johann, in the 1949 film, is such a man. When he hears that war has been declared he leaves the Marais farm and his family. According to R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, as well as Óscar Fernández-Álvarez, masculinity does not represent a certain type of man, but is instead a way in which men position themselves through discursive practices.⁷²⁶ Therefore, Fernández-Álvarez argues that there is no model of masculinity that is universal; instead masculinity refers to a diverse mix of male identities and ways of being men in various societies.⁷²⁷ Therefore, it can be argued that even though Johann is seen as a coward by many, he can still be regarded as a hegemonic man, because he places his *volk*'s needs before his own when he takes the explosives from Oom Hendrik and completes Oom Hendrik's mission.

⁷²³ Grundlingh, “The war in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 25.

⁷²⁴ T. Mayer, “Gender ironies of nationalism: Setting the stage”, in *Gender ironies of nationalism: Sexing the nation*, ed. T. Mayer (London: Routledge), 6.

⁷²⁵ Nagel, “Masculinity and nationalism”, 252.

⁷²⁶ R.W. Connell and J.W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept,” *Gender and Society* 19 no. 6 (2005), 841; Ó. Fernández-Álvarez, “Non-hegemonic masculinity against gender violence,” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 161 (2014), 49.

⁷²⁷ Fernández-Álvarez, “Non-hegemonic masculinity”, 49.

Some men challenge not just the idea of a hegemonic man, but also of war. According to Nagel, there are wars that men resist and there are men who resist all wars.⁷²⁸ Some even go to great lengths to avoid going to war. For example, in Western countries, some men cut their limbs off to prevent them having to go to war.⁷²⁹ These men had reasons for not participating in the war. For some, like Johann in the 1949 film, a complex man, it is against his beliefs to kill. The film shows that he has felt this way from a young age; for example, in an early scene where Chris and Benjamin, Sarie's brother, catch a crab to use it for bait, Johann releases it, as he sympathises with the crab. For some, like Johann, war is not the solution to get rid of the British. When he hears that war is about to be declared, he does not call it "good news" like Oom Hendrik. Men like Johann are pacifists because war leads to human suffering and material loss, which is universally recognised and deplored.⁷³⁰ Given Afrikaners' recent experience of World War II, which for some Afrikaners was the third or even fourth war in their memory, the film might have held an anti-war message, with Johann walking away, and there would potentially be members of the audience who were sympathetic to pacifists' ideals.⁷³¹

However, people often reproach pacifists because "in popular opinion the term is associated with a particular method for achieving peace, namely, that of individuals refusing to engage in war under any circumstances".⁷³² Some critics consider pacifists selfish for refusing to take up arms to defend their country. Therefore, many in the SAW regarded pacifists as cowards. Boers also felt this way when it came to those who were against their cause. This can be seen how Oom Hendrik treats Johann. Even when Johann saves a crab as a child, Chris pushes Johann into the water; when Oom Hendrik sees this, he says that Johann deserves it because of Johann's pacifist ways. Pacifists were often not seen as real men as they refused to fight in a war, which was why Oom Hendrik considers Johann a coward. However, pacifists can also be real men, as Annie, Johann's mother, notes: "Net omdat 'n man nie wil deelneem aan hierdie slagting nie, dink julle hy is 'n lafaard, maar julle vergeet dit vat 'n man om te veg vir sy oortuigings" [Just because a man does not want to participate in this massacre, you think he is a coward, but you forget that it takes a man to stand up for his beliefs].⁷³³ As mentioned above, Johann can be a hegemonic man as he stands up for his own beliefs, but he reconciles this own

⁷²⁸ Nagel, "War", 628.

⁷²⁹ B. Ehrenreich, "Men hate war too," *Foreign Affairs* 78 no. 1 (1999), 118.

⁷³⁰ R.C. Stevenson, "The evolution of pacifism," *International Journal of Ethics* 44 no. 4 (1934), 437.

⁷³¹ J.B. Bloom, "Pacifism and the military – a perspective," *South African Journal of Military Studies* 13 no. 3(1983), 2.

⁷³² Stevenson, "The evolution of pacifism", 437.

⁷³³ *Sarie Marais* (1949), 00:45:18.

desire to prevent some bloodshed with the needs of the *volk* when he takes the explosives from Oom Hendrik, and, in the process, gets killed. This impresses Oom Hendrik, who finally sees him as a man, because Johann's sacrifice helps the Boers to go through the "poort".

Nostalgia is an important aspect of both films, as is evident in the song "Sarie Marais" and the memorialisation of the SAW in these two films. In Afrikaner nationalist rhetoric, the past has often been used to remind Afrikaners of the sacrifices their ancestors made throughout history. The motif of remembrance of suffering and sacrifice was used by the NP as a "metaphor for their struggle to preserve the national identity of the White Afrikaans people, and a justification for their apartheid ideology".⁷³⁴ As Ekin Kiziltan notes, "by invoking the propaganda of the past and contrasting it with imagery of the present, political parties can prey on individuals' sense of nostalgia in order to associate themselves with a counterculture against mainstream political movements, thereby indicating a 'return to tradition'".⁷³⁵ Nationalist film-makers did this by producing films featuring the SAW, such as the two Sarie films and by using the song "Sarie Marais". *Sarie Marais* (1931) was used to show some of the Afrikaner losses during the SAW. For example, there is an old man in *Sarie Marais* (1931) who represents the past. The character is shown as a stereotypical Boer with a long beard, sitting on his own in a rocking chair, smoking a pipe, with bottom-up trousers, a shirt with rolled-up sleeves, and a large felt hat.⁷³⁶ When Jan tells them that the war is over, a close-up of the old man fills the frame in a low-angle medium shot, as he drops his head and eyes, remembering the losses he has suffered during the war.⁷³⁷

The scene also suggests that the SAW was not as glamorous as it was sometimes portrayed in films and in newspapers, as it resulted in many losses and much damage. The SAW war split up families and lovers. This visual, according to Gutsche, adds to the song's nostalgic tone.⁷³⁸ The war caused some Boers to leave their country, for example, those who refused to sign the oath had to stay on the islands used as sites for prisoner of war camps, such as St Helena. This led to a longing for their country, as can be seen in one of the lines of the song "Sarie Marais", "O bring my terug na die ou Transvaal,⁷³⁹ daar waar my Sarie woon" [Oh bring me back to

⁷³⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, "The mythical Boer hero", 4.

⁷³⁵ E. Kiziltan, "Nostalgia nationalism: Twisting the image of the past for the present," 2021, <https://www.mirrorline.ca/nostalgia-nationalism-twisting-the-image-of-the-past-for-the-present/>, accessed 21 April 2022.

⁷³⁶ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 47.

⁷³⁷ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 47.

⁷³⁸ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324.

⁷³⁹ The *ou Transvaal* refers to the time before the British annexed the ZAR in 1877.

the old Transvaal,/ where my Sarie lives].⁷⁴⁰ The song is also a reminder of the “good old days” before the war; their nostalgia for the “ou Transvaal”⁷⁴¹ reveals a longing for the good old years before the destruction of and displacement caused by the SAW.⁷⁴² Before the SAW, most Boers lived on their farms, free to pursue their traditional agrarian way of life.⁷⁴³ But after the war, many more Afrikaners lived in the cities or towns, and no longer farmed; they also lived near their enemies and faced a steady rise in the number of White English-speaking South Africans, whom many Afrikaners saw as their enemies and rivals for jobs. This implied a “diaspora from closed, small-scale, rural communities and their absorption in cosmopolitan where but scant respect paid to their traditions”.⁷⁴⁴

Music can also be a form of nostalgia, as it allows people to remember the past. It acts as a reminder of a certain event, person or place. Furthermore, music can also be regarded as a tool of nationalism, as it connects a nation through musical ideals, as discussed in Chapter 2. Each nation has its own folksongs which distinguish it from other nations. In this case, it is Afrikaner *volkliedere*. Some of these include “Siembamba”⁷⁴⁵ and “Afrikaners is plesierig” [Afrikaners are jolly].⁷⁴⁶ Most of these songs became popular during the 1930s to 1940s, when the Afrikaner political landscape changed as Hertzog’s party, the NP, came to power in 1924, and a year later Afrikaans was recognised as one of the Union of South Africa’s two official languages (the other was English).⁷⁴⁷ Songs such as “Sarie Marais” in Afrikaans have come to be seen as something that belongs to Afrikaners, and therefore, it gives them a reason to protect their cultural heritage. “Sarie Marais” became a very popular song among Afrikaners.⁷⁴⁸ The

⁷⁴⁰ M. Rice, “From Dolly Gray to Sarie Marais: The Boer War, a survey of fiction in English concerning the First and Second Anglo-Boer-Conflicts” (PhD thesis, University of Johannesburg, 1983), 3.

⁷⁴¹ C.H. Schutte, “Music and discourse archaeology: Critical studies of GDR ‘Rote Lieder’ and Afrikaans ‘volken Vaderlandsliedere’, as based on a model of interacting philosophical sub theories” (PhD thesis, University of the Free State, 2014), 140.

⁷⁴² C. Jeffery, “South African film music representation of racial, cultural and national identities, 1931-1969” (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2017), 82.

⁷⁴³ Welsh, “Urbanisation”, 266-267.

⁷⁴⁴ Welsh, “Urbanisation”, 267.

⁷⁴⁵ There are three interpretations of “Siembamba”: it is interpreted as a lullaby, as about children in the concentration camps of the SAW, or about a snake or something evil that is crushed. The song was published in the FAK’s first song book in 1937. FAK, “Siembamba,” <https://www.fak.org.za/2017/09/19/musiekgeskiedenis-waar-kom-siembamba-vandaan/>, accessed 27 June 2022.

⁷⁴⁶ “Afrikaners is plesierig” is also part of the FAK’s songbook and is played before every volkspele gathering (traditional Afrikaner games). In 2001, Karen Zoid released a remake of the song that helped to promote nationalism. FAK, “Afrikaners is plesierig,” 2022, <https://www.fak.org.za/2019/06/11/afrikaners-is-plesierig/>, accessed 27 June 2022.

⁷⁴⁷ S.D. van der Merwe, “Kruger’s lost voice: Nation and race in pre-World War 1 Afrikaans music records,” *Historia* 60 no. 1 (2015), 27.

⁷⁴⁸ A. van Vollenhoven, “Die kenmerke en herkoms van die volkslied, Sarie Marais,” *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 14 no. 1 (2000), 92.

song has also been performed in many countries and has been translated into different languages such as English, Dutch, German, French, Russian, and Italian.⁷⁴⁹ The folksong is so popular that there is even a book on it, *Sarie Marais: A Romance of the Anglo-Boer War* (1938) by Nathan Manfred.⁷⁵⁰ However, according to Louise Bethlehem, Manfred's Sarie is different from the figure in the folksong.⁷⁵¹ Manfred changed his Sarie from a passive woman who waits for her beloved into an "active Boer heroine who is caught up in such paradigmatically heroic exploits as delivering secret despatches to Louis Botha's commando in the dead of the night".⁷⁵² For Bethlehem, this version of Sarie's story was a way to oppose British cultural imperialism, as there were many British heroines and only a small number of Boer heroines.⁷⁵³

No one knows who the real Sarie Marais was,⁷⁵⁴ but there are a few theories about her identity. One theory is that Sarie Marais is based on Sarie Nel (née Maré), a mother of one of the commando members from the Greytown district, who told stories about her at a campfire during the SAW.⁷⁵⁵ Another more plausible theory is that Sarie Marais is based on Susara "Sarie" Margaretha Toerien (née Maré), the daughter of Jacob Maré after whom a street in Pretoria was named, Jacob Maré St (now Jeff Masemola St) in the centre of town.⁷⁵⁶ Susara married J.P. Toerien, a famous poet and journalist who wrote under the pseudonym Jepete, in 1884. Toerien wrote the first two verses of "Sarie Marais" during the SAW. He based the lyrics on an American song from the Civil war, *Ellie Rhee*, composed by American songwriter Septimus Winner.⁷⁵⁷ Whether there was a real Sarie or not, in 1937, the song was included in the first volume of Afrikaans folksongs published by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings [Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations] (FAK).⁷⁵⁸

The two films of 1931 and 1949 use the song as their basis and as a central motif, as it was a song that many knew. In *Sarie Marais* (1931), the song is sung by Jan and his fellow Boer

⁷⁴⁹ T. Westby-Nunn, *The tourist guide to the Anglo Boer War 1889-1902* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1988), 354.

⁷⁵⁰ L. Bethlehem, "Membership, dismemberment and the boundaries of the nation: Manfred Nathan's *Sarie Marais: A Romance of the Anglo-Boer War*," *African Studies* 63 no. 1 (2004), 99.

⁷⁵¹ Bethlehem, "Membership, dismemberment", 101.

⁷⁵² Bethlehem, "Membership, dismemberment", 101.

⁷⁵³ Bethlehem, "Membership, dismemberment", 101.

⁷⁵⁴ Schutte, "Music and discourse archaeology", 141; P. Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu. Een honderd jaar in oënskou* (Kaapstad: Struik, 2000), 13.

⁷⁵⁵ Van Vollenhoven, "Die kenmerke en herkoms", 102; Bethlehem, "Membership, dismemberment", 99.

⁷⁵⁶ Van Vollenhoven, "Die kenmerke en herkoms", 103; South African Medium, "Naspers," 2016, https://www.southafricanmedia.co.za/project_tag/naspers/, accessed 10 July 2020.

⁷⁵⁷ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, xxxii; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 31; M.C. Rice, *From Dolly Gray to Sarie Marais: The Boer War in Popular Memory* (Noordhoek: Fischer Press, 2004), xi; Westby-Nunn, *The tourist guide*, 354; Van Vollenhoven, "Die kenmerke en herkoms", 92; Bethlehem, "Membership, dismemberment", 99; Schutte, "Music and discourse archaeology", 141; South African Medium, "Naspers."

⁷⁵⁸ Steyn, "A new laager", 9, 73.

prisoners after they hear that the SAW had ended. According to Van Nierop, it was in this scene where “vaderlandsliefde” [love for the fatherland; patriotism] reached its peak as the Boers sang with gusto.⁷⁵⁹ This song was likely used to inspire nostalgia among Afrikaners, especially the refrain referring to the “ou Transvaal” [old Transvaal]. While the Boers sing this refrain in the 1931 film, the shot shows Sarie, who represents the generic *Boeremeisie* [Boer girl] and the Transvaal, inviting the audience to share in a longing for their once independent *vaderland*. In *Sarie Marais* (1949), the song is played by a Boereorkes (Boer orchestra). However, *Sarie Marais* (1931) takes it a step further with a flashcard that states that “‘Sarie Marais’ is the nearest approach to a National Anthem that South Africa possesses. At happy gatherings of our people in this sunny country, it is heartily sung by all Afrikaners (sic) whether [of] Dutch or of British descent”.⁷⁶⁰ Albrecht used this folksong because he knew or hoped that the 1930s would be a time when Afrikaners found their identity again. As Charla H. Schutte notes, the song describes the Boers’ suffering during the SAW and the joy and hope of going home, after being imprisoned or exiled by the British and finding their loved ones waiting.⁷⁶¹ This was the reminder Afrikaners needed, as they were dealing with the Great Depression, to see that like some of their forebears, they too would one day come out of this situation, as discussed later on.

In the eyes of the “imagined” community, there is always a villain who wants to destroy a nation. For many Afrikaners during those years, it was the British. Therefore, both films show strong anti-British sentiment, as well as sentiments of South Africanism, which can be defined as “a political movement or sentiment which sought to build a White nation by developing a broadly based and locally centred form of political patriotism capable of transcending intra-white ethnic division”.⁷⁶² The implication is that White English-speaking South Africans were framed as “the enemy”, but because Afrikaners wanted Whites to stay in power, they would later need the votes of English-speaking citizens, and so they made them part of South Africanism. According to Dubow, South Africanism only emerged as a full-fledged ideology after the SAW, due to Lord Milner and later on, Louis Botha’s and Jan Smuts’s efforts at

⁷⁵⁹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 31.

⁷⁶⁰ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 45; *Sarie Marais*, directed by J. Albrecht (African Film Productions, 1931). The “sic” is Maingard’s words.

⁷⁶¹ Schutte, “Music and discourse archaeology”, 141.

⁷⁶² S. Dubow, “‘Scientism, social research and the limits of ‘South Africanism’: The case of Ernst Gideon Malherbe,” *South African Historical Journal/Suid Afrikaanse Historiese Tydskrif* 44 (2001), 100; J.Lambert, “An identity threatened: White English-speaking South Africans, Britishness and Dominion South Africanism, 1934-1939,” *Kleio* 37 no. 1 (2005), 52.

unifying South Africa, even if that meant Afrikaners joining forces with the British.⁷⁶³ This union can be seen in the handshake between Jan and a British soldier in the 1931 film, after the soldier tells Jan that the war has ended. In this scene, Albrecht focuses especially on the handshake, as the camera provides a close-up of this moment.⁷⁶⁴ According to Maingard, this encounter between Afrikaners and the British shows the “juxtaposition of the two soldiers from two opposing sides in the war”.⁷⁶⁵ Maingard also notes that this encounter achieves the coupling of ordinary Boer and British soldiers through a handshake represented in a close-up.⁷⁶⁶ Maingard sees this handshake as important, as it serves to show common ground between Afrikaners and the British, as a precursor to cordial relations between Afrikaners and White English-speaking South Africans.⁷⁶⁷ This alliance between Boer and Brit is also used a theme in *De Voortrekkers* (1916) and *Symbol of Sacrifice* (1918).⁷⁶⁸ Director Jamie Uys would continue to use this theme in films such as *Hans en die Rooinek* [Hans and the Rooinek]⁷⁶⁹ (1961).⁷⁷⁰

Botha’s and Smuts’s efforts to bring Afrikaners and White English-speaking South Africans together were met with some resistance, especially by those Afrikaners that saw these two leaders as pro-British, despite their strong leadership in the SAW.⁷⁷¹ These Afrikaners did not want to share power with their “enemies”. They associated White English-speaking South Africans with their former enemy, Britain, as they were afraid that these compatriots would control them as Britain had done in the war. Despite the ending suggesting reconciliation, these feelings are also shown in *Sarie Marais* (1931), when Albrecht makes the British the “villains” of the film, as they were the ones who are responsible for sending Jan and the other Boer prisoners to Ceylon until 1902. Most of this is implied only, as the one soldier who is seen shakes hands with Jan, as discussed above. Albrecht portrays the British soldier shown in the scene with Jan as a stereotypical soldier with khaki clothes, carrying a gun with bayonet and a moustache turned up at the ends in colonial style.⁷⁷² His Britishness is highlighted by his (lower

⁷⁶³ Dubow, “Scientism”, 100.

⁷⁶⁴ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷⁶⁵ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷⁶⁶ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷⁶⁷ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷⁶⁸ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 79; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

⁷⁶⁹ Afrikaners used the term *rooinek* [red-necked] when they referred to White English-speaking South Africans. When the British first arrived in South Africa they were not prepared for the African sun. As a result, they were more easily sunburned than the Afrikaners.

⁷⁷⁰ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 47.

⁷⁷¹ Lee, *To the bitter end*, 208.

⁷⁷² Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46.

class) accent when he says “Eard the news mate?” dropping the “h”.⁷⁷³ Possibly, the intention is also to make fun of the British, as some Afrikaners did not support siding with the Britain during the First World War . There is a belief among certain Afrikaners that they as a nation are the only White nation that can claim South Africa as their country because it is the country of their birth, whereas many White English-speaking South Africans came from Britain, so they have no claim to the country. That is a sentiment that the NP used when they came to power in 1948, as seen above, and this may be one reason why no British soldiers were actually shown in the 1949 film, although their presence is implied, as they are the ones who keep Johann away from Sarie.

Despite the participation of Black people in the SAW, neither of these two films shows this. In *Sarie Marais* (1949), Blacks appear only briefly as farm labourers rather than as active participants in the war. This reflects the exclusion of Blacks from nationhood and citizenship as conceived by South Africanism. This exclusion is evident in the many ways in which Blacks were excluded through legislation such the Natives Land Act of 1913, which separated Blacks from White people and began the policy shift to move them to separate homelands.⁷⁷⁴ The government also reserved the best jobs for Whites, mainly Afrikaners, to solve the poor White situation of the 1930s.⁷⁷⁵ This meant that Blacks had to do lower-paid jobs, for example, working in the mines for longer periods for lower pay than White peers. Afrikaner nationalists feared that urbanised Afrikaners were being threatened by a vastly increased Black presence in the cities. Therefore, they felt that they needed to do something about it and so the idea of apartheid started to emerge.⁷⁷⁶ This all led to formation of South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912, which changed its name in 1923 to the African National Congress (ANC), to help Africans to obtain equal rights and freedom. They would become a threat to Afrikaner rule in later years. But *Sarie Marais* (1949) shows more friendly (if patronising) relations, as all the characters acknowledge their Black workers by calling them by their names when they greet them.

⁷⁷³ Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 46; *Sarie Marais* (1931).

⁷⁷⁴ Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 98.

⁷⁷⁵ G.M. Carter, “The Black experience in South Africa,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 1 no. 3 (1977), 53.

⁷⁷⁶ Dubow, “Afrikaner nationalism”, 215.

3.4 Reception

Around the time when these films were made and shown, national and international events influenced the making and reception of the films.

The 1931 film coincided with the continuing poor White situation, which was a result of the SAW, and which threatened the weakened Afrikaner *volk*. This situation was worsened by the global Great Depression that followed the collapse in 1929 of the Wall Street stock exchange. The Depression made it difficult for South Africa to export goods to other countries – worldwide, exports decreased as demand was reduced.⁷⁷⁷ These events forced farmers to leave their farms and find work in the cities.⁷⁷⁸ However, many did not have any skills to work in the cities, and did not have families who could support them.⁷⁷⁹ The release of *Sarie Marais* (1931) was intended in part to boost morale – if the Boers could overcome their hardships after the SAW, then they could also end the poor White situation. In *Sarie Marais* (1931), Jan survives both the war and being a Boer prisoner in Ceylon; Sarie also survives the hardships of the war, and as a result, they are able to reunite.

The poor White situation, along with the Great Depression, had a negative effect on the local film industry. Film companies built new theatres to attract people, such as the Colosseum in Johannesburg, the Capitol in Pretoria, and the Alhambra in Cape Town,⁷⁸⁰ but audiences remained small, as money for luxuries such as watching films was in limited supply among poorly paid workers or the unemployed.⁷⁸¹ As a result, not many people attended the screenings of *Sarie Marais* (1931) at Orpheum in Johannesburg.⁷⁸² Those who came to watch films such as *Sarie Marais* (1931) came because the film offered them a form of escapism from their current situation, but also because they were able to view their culture and hear their language in a film, and it focuses on the SAW, an important event for many.⁷⁸³

For many who watched the film, charming shots of South Africa, such as the maize fields, the mountains, and the Boers riding into the sunset, brought memories of the old days when there

⁷⁷⁷ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 283; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 317; Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 108.

⁷⁷⁸ Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 8; Steyn, “A new laager”, 7.

⁷⁷⁹ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 304; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 323.

⁷⁸⁰ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 26.

⁷⁸¹ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 232.

⁷⁸² Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 232.

⁷⁸³ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324; P. Whittington, “How the Great Depression inspired Hollywood’s golden age,” 2008, <https://www.independent.ie/entertainment/movies/how-the-great-depression-inspired-hollywoods-golden-age-26481978.html>, accessed 27 July 2020.

were heroes, and it celebrated their achievements over the years.⁷⁸⁴ Even the acting was generally well-received, for example, there was praise for Billy Matthew for the way he sang “Sarie Marais”, while Joan du Toit was regarded as taking a pioneering role in her portrayal of Sarie.⁷⁸⁵ Therefore, the South African Academy for Language, Literature, and Art awarded Albrecht, the director, a gold medal in March 1933 for his work “in adapting for the screen and directing the first talking picture made in South Africa”.⁷⁸⁶ It can be argued that the award also recognised his contribution to Afrikaner culture, the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner nationalism more broadly.

Not all who watched the film enjoyed it, however. According to Van Nierop, one outspoken critic of the 1931 film was Hans Rompel, the film pioneer who tried to promote Afrikaans-language films: when Rompel watched *Sarie Marais* (1931) a few years later, he castigated it as “‘n stuk prewelwerk, slegs ‘n verskoning om ‘n liedjie te sing” [a piece of (muttering) trash, a mere excuse to sing a song].⁷⁸⁷ For Rompel, an intellectual who considered the artistic and aesthetic merits of film, it was not the song itself that bothered him so much as the fact that he felt that Albrecht trivialised the song “Sarie Marais” and the war. It can be argued that there were other Afrikaners aside from Rompel who may have felt that the film trivialised a vital event like the SAW that played an important role for Afrikaners. Rompel also criticised the over-exaggerated acting and make-up.⁷⁸⁸ In this context, Van Nierop wonders what Rompel would think of films such as *As Jy Sing* [If you sing] (2013, Andre Odendaal).⁷⁸⁹

After World War II and the 1948 elections, things had shifted in some respects with the ascendancy of the NP, which fed on nostalgia and the imagined Afrikaner identity. Many viewers thus liked the 1949 film because it picked up motifs relating to the SAW, such as the song “Sarie Marais”.⁷⁹⁰ Of this film, one audience member remarked that it was “a sincere effort on their part to bring to the screen something of the country’s history and beauty”.⁷⁹¹ Audiences were moved by the fact that it shows what sacrifices some of them and their parents or grandparents or great grandparents made during the SAW, so that they could get to where

⁷⁸⁴ Anon., ““Sarie Marais” on the screen: Talkie from a South African Song,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 May 1931, 15.

⁷⁸⁵ Anon., “Films and film favorites – a weekly commentary by Treble Violl,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1931, 13; Anon., ““Sarie Marais” on the screen”, 15.

⁷⁸⁶ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 38; Maingard, *South African national cinema*, 48.

⁷⁸⁷ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 31-32.

⁷⁸⁸ Gutsche, *The history and social significance*, 324; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 81.

⁷⁸⁹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 32.

⁷⁹⁰ Anon., “M.P.s see preview of ‘Sarie Marais’”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 April 1949, 10.

⁷⁹¹ Anon., ““Premiere of *Sarie Marais*”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 May 1949, 9.

they were. For example, Johann blew up the British artillery despite his beliefs of peace. As a result, the Boer commando could enter the “poort” and continue with the war. This was done so that the audience can sympathise and identify with the Afrikaner heroes and their cause.⁷⁹²

However, not all the audience members thought that the 1949 *Sarie Marais* film was positive. One anonymous reporter from the *Rand Daily Mail* considered the acting poor, due to a lack of training.⁷⁹³ The same reporter also called the scenes unconvincing and stodgy.⁷⁹⁴ For example, the refrain of the song “Sarie Marais” is “O bring my terug na die ou Transvaal”, but Johann is “never encountered beyond the precincts of the badly-tended farm with the mealie land and green thorn trees for which the young burgher of the song longed so much while on commando”.⁷⁹⁵ The film was also criticised because the director, Coley, turned the song “Sarie Marais” into a tragic love story involving death, blindness, and brutality, topics that the author who wrote this song probably did not imagine when writing the words to comfort the Boers who were fighting during the war.⁷⁹⁶ In other words, the critic did not approve of the fact that Coley turned an important event like the SAW and a well-loved song into a dramatic sensationalist film.

3.5 Conclusion

The two versions of *Sarie Marais* (1931 and 1949) were made to encourage their audiences, who were facing a difficult time. Given the turmoil of the 1930s, with the Great Depression and the challenges of urbanisation and poverty, it can be argued that *Sarie Marais* (1931) provides escapism yet simultaneously preaches a message of recovering from difficulties. Furthermore, it can also be argued that *Sarie Marais* (1931) was used to show Afrikaners that if their ancestors could go through hardships, then they could also deal with their difficulties. For example, Jan and Sarie reunite after a long separation caused by the SAW. *Sarie Marais* (1949) was also made to boost morale among Afrikaners because they were tired of war and did not want to see any more destruction. Therefore, Johann is portrayed as a pacifist who initially refuses to participate in the war. For this reason, *Sarie Marais* (1949) has elements of an anti-war film.

⁷⁹² Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 34.

⁷⁹³ Anon., “Premiere of *Sarie Marais*”, 9; Van Staden and Sevenhuysen, “Drie vroeë Afrikaanse rolprente”, 158-159.

⁷⁹⁴ Anon., “Premiere of *Sarie Marais*”, 9.

⁷⁹⁵ Anon., “Premiere of *Sarie Marais*”, 9.

⁷⁹⁶ Anon., “Premiere of *Sarie Marais*”, 9.

The films are not very different in their approach to gender portrayals, as both show women, in the form of the two Sarie-figures, to be marginalised even though they are *volksmoeders*. For example, *Sarie Marais* (1931) could discourage women from entering politics, as men believed that was their domain, and Sarie is portrayed as submissive, and as staying behind while Jan fights in the war. *Sarie Marais* (1949) implies that, given that the NP had won the 1948 election, Afrikaner women should return to their restrictive role as *volksmoeders*, by showing Sarie as submissive towards Oom Hendrik. Therefore, it can be argued that the image of the *volksmoeder* remained the same in the 1930s and 1940s. The films showed the two Sarie-figures as submissive to the patriarchal system.

Furthermore, both Johann and Oom Hendrik can be considered hegemonic men because they fight for their country, although Johann has no choice but to sacrifice his life. Nevertheless, he steps in when he knows his action is needed to save Boer lives. His initial pacifism does not mean that he cannot be considered a hegemonic man. Even though he never wants to fight in the war, he still sacrifices his life for the *volk* when he takes over from Oom Hendrik. It can be argued that Johann does this, not to be accepted by the *volk*, but to be seen as a man, and a responsible and an honourable one. Seeing such characters is supposed to inspire Afrikaner men: if they want to be hegemonic men, then they need to stand up for the *volk*'s independence.

Sarie Marais (1949) was more of an anti-war film than *Sarie Marais* (1931), because of Johann, who is a pacifist. By the time this film was shown many Afrikaners of the 1930s to 1940s were already tired of war, as they had come out of the SAW, World War I and World War II. Furthermore, they had had to deal with challenges such as the poor White situation, then to fight in wars (such World War I and II) that many thought were not theirs to fight.

Folksongs and nostalgia go together in the two films, as they both use the song “Sarie Marais” to remind audiences of the days before the SAW, before many had to live in close proximity to their former “enemies” in the urban space. The nostalgia of those who missed their farms where they could live in isolation is addressed in the two films’ reference the “ou Transvaal”.

The 1949 film, as a full-length film, unlike the ten-minute 1931 version, could also be more nuanced, hinting that Afrikaners never were a homogenous *volk*, as they disagreed over many things, such as participation in war. Just as Johann and Oom Hendrik disagree about the SAW, Afrikaners were divided over whether they wanted to join World Wars I and II. Some Afrikaners wanted South Africa to join the Allies, but there were also some who were against it. Similar divisions split Afrikaners when they voted, and around the issue of apartheid.

Both films also construct an “other” that Afrikaners need to be on their guard against. In the SAW, as depicted in the two films, it was the British, but for many audience members, it was White English-speaking fellow South Africans and Black people, who, some Afrikaners believed, posed a risk to them as a nation.

4 Chapter 4: Films of the 1960s

4.1 Introduction

The 1960s was arguably the decade in which Afrikaner nationalism reached its peak, spurred on and underpinned by the proclamation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. The move towards independence signalled the most definitive break from British over-lordship. For Afrikaners, it felt like they finally recovered what they had lost through the SAW when they became independent from the British. Jansen van Vuuren argues that the films on the SAW reflect the joy of this achievement. Therefore, Jansen van Vuuren dubbed the 1960s the “decade of the mythical Boer hero”.⁷⁹⁷

The 1960s have been categorised as the period of “high apartheid”,⁷⁹⁸ which is when the apartheid ideology “evolved from the pronouncement of white domination to an elaborate and obfuscatory ideology of ‘multi-national’ development”.⁷⁹⁹ Whites experienced unprecedented growth in their material well-being because of the rapid economic expansion and rising employment.⁸⁰⁰ For this reason, the NP could argue that apartheid was right not only for Afrikaners but for all South Africans.⁸⁰¹ Saul Dubow points out that Verwoerd tried to make apartheid sound “positive” by insisting that “separate development” must replace the term “apartheid”, even though the cruelties of apartheid remained the same; Verwoerd wanted to “reduce everyday racial friction by normalizing separation and providing an outlet for political ambitions”, and did this through the promotion of the Bantu Self-government Act of 1959, which made provision for Blacks to be self-governing in Black territories or homelands.⁸⁰² However, the government did not want the homelands to be economically independent, which left many homelands in poor conditions, because they did not receive funds to improve the

⁷⁹⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 130.

⁷⁹⁸ The first time the term ‘Apartheid’ appeared in print was on a pamphlet issued at a conference on the missionary endeavours of the DRC in Kroonstad in 1929. D.M. Scher, “Consolidation of the apartheid state, 1948-1966”, in *A history of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 328-329.

⁷⁹⁹ S. Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948–1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 105.

⁸⁰⁰ Dubow, *Apartheid*, 99; S. Dubow, “New approaches to High Apartheid and Anti-Apartheid”, *South African Historical Journal* 69 no. 2 (2017), 309.

⁸⁰¹ H. Giliomee, ““Survival in justice”: An Afrikaner debate over Apartheid”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36 no. 30 (1994), 535.

⁸⁰² Dubow, *Apartheid*, 105-106.

living conditions.⁸⁰³ Other laws that were passed in the 1960s⁸⁰⁴ include the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960, which was a response to the events culminating in the Sharpeville Massacre⁸⁰⁵ in 1960, as it was used to ban parties such as the ANC and its leaders, once they were declared unlawful.⁸⁰⁶ Another piece of legislation was the Group Areas Act of 1966, which was an extension of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which divided the whole country into geographical areas based on race.⁸⁰⁷ With these laws, Verwoerd hoped that White South Africans could silence the country's external critics by mimicking decolonisation elsewhere in Africa.⁸⁰⁸

The NP believed that apartheid had placed the party in a powerful position, so no one could challenge it. This belief was bolstered by the events that took place after the Sharpeville Massacre, namely the banning of the ANC and PAC, which showed the country and the world that the NP was still in control, despite all the turmoil. But the claim that apartheid was “positive” did not deceive everyone.⁸⁰⁹ Countries around the world started to criticise the cruelty of the system and of colonialism, for example, the remarkable “Wind of change” speech by Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, on 3 February 1960, focused on decolonisation in Africa.⁸¹⁰ Liberals disagreed with Verwoerd's ideology because they considered apartheid a “sophisticated form of apologetics that served to revalidate Afrikaner

⁸⁰³ Dubow, *Apartheid*, 108.

⁸⁰⁴ Other laws were made long before the 1960s, such as the Land Act of 1913, which prevented Black people from obtaining any land.

⁸⁰⁵ The main reason for the events leading up to the Sharpeville Massacre was the pass laws, which stated that Black people should carry passes with them wherever they went. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) defied this law without violence by telling Black people to leave their pass at home and go to the nearest police station to be arrested. However, tensions between the police and Blacks started to develop as the day went on, and eventually the police opened fire, killing 69 people and wounding 180. The government declared a state of emergency by banning the ANC and PAC as illegal organisations and detained 11 500 people in consequence of the events. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 522; G.H.L. le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 220; J. Grobler, “Black resistance against Apartheid, 1950s-1980s”, in *A history of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 381-382; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 334; L. de Villiers, *Alles oor Suid-Afrika: Ons land, sy mense, geskiedenis, kulture, ekonomie en natuurlewe* (Cape Town: Struik Lifestyle, 2013), 47; A. Mager and M. Malaudzi, “Popular responses to Apartheid: 1948–c. 1975”, in *Cambridge history of South Africa*, eds. R. Ross, A. Kelk Mager and B. Nasson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 396; Berger, *South Africa in World History*, 122-123, Scher, “Consolidation”, 344; Ross, *A concise history*, 129, 344; N.L. Clark and W.H. Worger, *South Africa: The rise and fall of Apartheid* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), xxiv, 62; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 414; Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 139; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 50.

⁸⁰⁶ Clark and Worger, *South Africa: The rise*, 84.

⁸⁰⁷ Clark and Worger, *South Africa: The rise*, 49; Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 113; Berger, *South Africa in World History*, 116; Mager and Malaudzi, “Popular responses”, 385; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 505; Scher, “Consolidation”, 331.

⁸⁰⁸ Dubow, *Apartheid*, 106.

⁸⁰⁹ Giliomee, “Survival in justice”, 537; T. Simpson, *History of South Africa from 1902 to the present* (Cape Town: Penguin, 2021), 195.

⁸¹⁰ Simpson, *History of South Africa*, 163.

nationalism and the ethical basis of separate development.”⁸¹¹ Schalk Pienaar, the editor of the Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld*, had doubts about the practicality of the Homelands.⁸¹² Furthermore, he questioned Afrikaner traditions and encouraged an open-minded approach to race relationships in South Africa.⁸¹³

It is in this context that this chapter analyses three films made in the 1960s: *Voor Sononder* [Before Sunset] (1962), directed by Emil Nofal, *Die Kavaliere* (1966), directed by Elmo de Witt, and *Kruger Millions-Miljoene*⁸¹⁴ (1967), directed by Ivan Hall. It may be argued that these films support the view that Afrikanerdom and apartheid were strong and deeply entrenched by the 1960s, and would have liked to believe itself invincible, which it was not, as the Anti-Apartheid Movement around the world and in South Africa began to gain traction.

4.2 Summaries of the films

The first film on the SAW from the 1960s is *Voor Sononder* (1962), a 67-minute black-and-white film. The film was released by the Jamie Uys Film Production Company and was directed by Emil Nofal.⁸¹⁵ It is the third film made on the SAW, following on from the two *Sarie Marais* films (1931 and 1949), but it is the first “Western” on record in Afrikaans.⁸¹⁶ The protagonist, Flip Lourens (Dawid van der Walt) is a lone ranger figure who has just come back from the SAW. He is on his way to the mines, when he crosses a town, Vlakpoort, which has been occupied by the British since the war ended. There he meets Daan le Roux (Vonk de Ridder), also a Boer who fought in the SAW, and Martie (Marie du Toit), the town beauty. Along with other residents of Vlakpoort, they live under the tyranny of the villain, Coert Bester (Tromp Terre’blanche), a traitor who works with the British. Bester forces other Afrikaners to “sell” their farms to him for very little, and he controls the people in the town by threatening them. So, everyone is afraid of him, even the police. Bester does not allow Martie to talk to other men because he considers her “his girl” even though she has rejected him. Together, Flip Lourens, Daan le Roux and Martie defeat Bester by shooting him and his men. Bester’s death leaves the town free of Bester’s rule, and it also leaves Martie free to choose anyone she wants. Thus, she and Lourens end up together in Vlakpoort.

⁸¹¹ Dubow, *Apartheid*, 121.

⁸¹² M.P. Botha, “The cinema of Jans Rautenbach,” *Kinema: A Journal for Film and Audiovisual Media* (2015), 2.

⁸¹³ Botha, “The cinema of Jans Rautenbach”, 2.

⁸¹⁴ The correct term for the film is *Kruger Millions – Miljoene*, but in this study, I simply refer to *Krugermiljoene*.

⁸¹⁵ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 70; A.R.L. Petit, “Once upon a time in the veld: South African Westerns in context” (MA diss., University of Cape Town, 2015), 21; Steyn, “Die argivering”, 161.

⁸¹⁶ Petit, “Once upon a time”, 21.

The second film discussed in this chapter is *Die Kavaliers* (1966), a 90-minute film.⁸¹⁷ The film was made by Kavaliers Film Production (previously known as Jamie Uys Film Production Company).⁸¹⁸ The film is based on a story by Pierre Fourie⁸¹⁹ and it was directed by Elmo de Witt.⁸²⁰ It is about a group of Boers, under the leadership of Chris Botha (Leon le Roux), who are tasked with what is likely to be a suicide mission to steal ammunition from the British.⁸²¹ During this mission, General Christiaan de Wet asks Chris Botha to spy on the British to find out what they are planning, but Chris falls in love with the British General's daughter, Joan Grey (Brenda Bell), which almost destroys the mission, as he needs to choose between his country and the girl he loves. But ultimately nothing stands between Chris and his country, as he chooses it over Joan.⁸²²

Lastly, thanks to the success of *Die Kavaliers*, there was a sequel known as *Krugermiljoene* (1967), an 84-minute film. The film was directed by Ivan Hall and was also made by Kavalier Films.⁸²³ It was produced during a time when musicals were quite popular, so, five days before filming began, Tommy Meyer, the producer, decided to turn the film into a musical. The producer collaborated with Gé Korsten and Min Shaw.⁸²⁴ *Krugermiljoene* is based on the legend of the Kruger millions. In the film, Kruger asks a group of men (the Kavaliers, as an elite unit) to mint gold coins to buy ammunition in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo, Mozambique) to help the Boers, but the gold mine where they need to mine the gold to make the coins, is owned by a White English-speaking South African, Parker (Gerald Bellamy), who works with the British for his own selfish needs. Hence, the Kavaliers make the coins in a gorge, hidden away from the British. However, there is a traitor among the Kavaliers who tells the British where they are, which means that the Kavaliers are unable to take the coins out of the gorge. So, it is up to Dinah, Parker's stepdaughter, and Joan Grey, from the previous film, to put their differences aside and help Chris Botha to escape with the coins. However, some of

⁸¹⁷ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 70.

⁸¹⁸ Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 46.

⁸¹⁹ Pierre Fourie was a famous writer who wrote various historical and modern stories. He is well-known for his series on the *Kavaliers* and their adventures during the SAW. He was a sportsman, teacher, and farmer. He was also on the Publications Board. In his youth, he became friends with A.A. Pienaar and P.J. Schoeman (both famous Afrikaans writers), who probably influenced his work. He also wrote under other pen-names. D. Malan, "Dr. Pierre leef voort in sy avontuurstories," *Die Vaderland*, 23 December 1982.

⁸²⁰ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 70; Steyn, "Die argivering", 162.

⁸²¹ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 38; Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 70; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliëk*, 142.

⁸²² Steyn, "Die argivering", 162.

⁸²³ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 50.

⁸²⁴ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 70; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 126; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliëk*, 142.

the gold never makes it out because the traitor realises that he has been unmasked, and he throws the coins in a river, never to be seen again, which prevents the Boers from buying weapons.⁸²⁵

4.3 Comparative analysis of common themes

The 1960s were politically volatile and intellectually tumultuous, as people began to challenge established “truths” more. Globally, the counterculture movement shaped an intellectual and political climate of resistance and subversion.⁸²⁶ South Africa was not immune to this global trend, but tried to resist it, perhaps best illustrated by the events ending in the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. Further actions to thwart these influences included the banning of music bands such as the Beatles and rock music, and the repressive responses to political unrest. The government controlled SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), as the national broadcaster was also harnessed in service of Afrikaner nationalist interests.⁸²⁷ The SABC was only allowed to air music that was light and entertaining, and censorship was strictly applied. Songs that the SABC (or the apartheid government) deemed were rebellious (like rock music), too political, promoted political struggles, were blasphemous, religiously offensive, promoted drugs, had swear words, or mixed languages were not aired on the radio stations.⁸²⁸ As a result, many songs were never aired on South African radios, but people could buy them at stores which imported them from other countries.

In this global context of change and turmoil, conservative Afrikaners sought to limit what they considered subversive influences on Afrikaner youths, as well as Black people. The miniskirts women wore were seen as “shameless” (although women still wore them) and rock music was banned by the SABC radio service because it was seen as communist (which is ironic as the

⁸²⁵ Le Roux and Fourie, *Filmverlede*, 70,72; I. Ritzer, “Gunfight at the Transvaal Highveld: Locating the Boerewors Western in South Africa”, in *Critical Perspectives on the Western: From A Fistful of Dollars to Django*, edited by L. Broughton (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 51.

⁸²⁶ R.R. Bousalis, “The Counterculture generation: Idolized, appropriated, and misunderstood,” *The Councillor: A Journal of the Social Studies* 82 no.2 (2021), 1.

⁸²⁷ C. Hamm, “‘The Constant Companion of Man’: Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music”, *Popular Music* 10, no. 2 (1991), 148.

⁸²⁸ M. Drewett, “‘Stop this filth’: the censorship of Roger Lucey’s music in apartheid South Africa, *South African Journal of Musicology* 25, no. 1 (2005), 60.

Soviet Union also banned Western music).⁸²⁹ Conservative Afrikaners felt that they needed to protect Afrikaner youths from foreign influences in the interest of the *volk*.⁸³⁰

Nevertheless, there were Afrikaners who opposed government policies, notably the Sestigters [Sixties authors], Afrikaner authors such as Etienne Le Roux, Jan Rabie, Ingrid Jonker, and Breyten Breytenbach, who wrote about forbidden topics such as sexuality and racial tolerance, and who dared to question established religion.⁸³¹ Their controversial works challenged apartheid stereotypes of Afrikaners and their history.⁸³² They chose to be controversial because many of these authors and artists were swayed by counterculture movements while spending time in Europe.⁸³³ The NP government banned many of their works, claiming that these contained pornography and/or blasphemy and/or were a threat to state security.⁸³⁴ Books were also censored by the Publications and Entertainment Act, which meant that works that were in any way considered as oppositional or subversive to the apartheid government and its policies were banned. The Sestigters also included filmmakers such as Jans Rautenbach, who, along with Nofal, made “ground breaking films during a time when South African cinema hardly reflected the socio-political realities of the country”.⁸³⁵ When Rautenbach’s *Katrina* (1969) was released, he received death threats from conservatives and had to oppose the censors to release this film, which examines the impact apartheid had on people’s identities, together with White racism and the biases of the White Afrikaner nation.⁸³⁶ *Katrina*’s suicide at the end is implied to be the outcome of the cruelty of racial classification and its effects on Black people.⁸³⁷

Die Kavaliers reflects the difference between the more rebellious Afrikaner youths and those who supported the NP government, showing that Afrikaners were not a homogenous group during the 1960s. For example, in the film, Boetie (Errol Siepker), a *penkop* [youth], wants to join the war to fight the British, but Chris Botha refuses to allow him to join, as he is too young. By extension, it might suggest that adults want to protect children and the youth against danger

⁸²⁹ A. Klopper, “‘In wrede woede het ek die hand wat beheer gebyt’: Die opkoms van Afrikaanse (punk) rockmusiek”, in *Van Volksmoeder tot Fokofpolisiekar: Kritiese opstelle oor Afrikaanse herinneringsplekke*, eds. A. Grundlingh and S. Huigen (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2008), 209.

⁸³⁰ A. Grundlingh, “‘Are we Afrikaners getting too rich?’”, 153.

⁸³¹ Nel, “Myths of rebellion”, 74, B. Nasson, “Apartheid South Africa in 1968: Not quite business as usual,” in *1968 revisited: 40 years of protest movements*, ed. N. Farik (Brussels: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2008), 44.

⁸³² Nasson, “Apartheid South Africa in 1968”, 44.

⁸³³ Nel, “Myths of rebellion”, 74.

⁸³⁴ Nel, “Myths of rebellion”, 74.

⁸³⁵ Botha, “The cinema of Jans Rautenbach”, 1.

⁸³⁶ Botha, “The cinema of Jans Rautenbach”, 3.

⁸³⁷ Botha, “The cinema of Jans Rautenbach”, 3.

(like the patriarchal NP government wanted to protect Afrikaner youths from foreign influences in the interests of the *volk*). Despite this, there were still Afrikaner youths who sought out new experiences, for example, by listening to rock ‘n roll music even though the SABC refused to air it. In the film, Boetie joins the war despite Chris’s pleas. Boetie’s stubbornness may be argued to suggest that there were Afrikaner youths who went against their elders (and by extension, the NP, by joining movements such as the counterculture movement). It can then be argued that the reason Boetie is shown to be killed is to warn such hot-headed youths of the risk of ignoring their elders.

As seen in Chapter 3, Afrikaners were obsessed with the SAW, but this interest in the war started to decline by the start of the 1960s.⁸³⁸ According to Grundlingh and Cloete, there were three reasons.⁸³⁹ Firstly, memories of the SAW started to fade as time passed and personal memories of the SAW were no longer part of the community’s collective memory, as remembering it was not necessarily one of the priorities of growing numbers of Afrikaner suburban families enjoying the economic boom and consumer pleasures, and with high ambitions for their children.⁸⁴⁰ Secondly, the economy was at its highest point in history during the 1960s because the poor White situation had been resolved. Foreign investment in the country’s economy had not yet declined because of sanctions.⁸⁴¹ The ones who benefited the most were Afrikaners, especially the bourgeois class, because the government gave them the most financial support, and their education had improved.⁸⁴² Thirdly, since the NP came to power in 1948, Afrikaners could afford to be less reliant on events such as the SAW as rallying memories for ethnic mobilisation; having created a White Utopia, they no longer needed to reflect on a past marked by dislocation and suffering (as the SAW was), but looked forward to what they considered a bright and prosperous future.⁸⁴³

In 1960, H.F. Verwoerd, then the Prime Minister, announced that there would be a Whites-only referendum, which took place on 5 October 1960, to decide whether the country should break away from Britain and become a republic.⁸⁴⁴ He argued that a republic would bring unity

⁸³⁸ Grundlingh, “Die Anglo Boereoorlog in die bewussyn”, 250.

⁸³⁹ Grundlingh, “Die Anglo Boereoorlog in die bewussyn”, 250; Cloete, “Afrikaner identity”, 49.

⁸⁴⁰ R. Warwick, “The SADF and the militarisation of White South African Society”, in *In different times: The war for southern Africa 1966–1989*, ed. I. van der Waag and A. Grundlingh (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2019), 144.

⁸⁴¹ Giliomee, *The Afrikaner: Biography*, 525.

⁸⁴² Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 29.

⁸⁴³ Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 30.

⁸⁴⁴ G.E. Devenish, “The Republican Constitution of 1961 revisited: A re-evaluation after fifty years,” *Fundamina* 18 no. 1 (2012), 3; Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, 220; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 416.

among Whites, make South Africa independent from Britain, and provide the framework for a satisfactory solution to the racial question.⁸⁴⁵ Whites (of whom the majority were Afrikaners) voted for South Africa's becoming a republic.⁸⁴⁶ For those who voted for independence, it meant that they could finally break their ties with Britain.

Films such as *Voor Sononder* used the SAW as a theme to remind Afrikaners, who had shaken of the British yoke but increasingly had to deal with Black opposition, of the suffering their ancestors went through during the SAW so that they would protect themselves from being conquered again.⁸⁴⁷ For this reason, *Voor Sononder*⁸⁴⁸ focuses on the aftermath of the SAW to keep alive generalised memories of suffering by the Afrikaner nation. *Voor Sononder* also shows what life was like under British control. For example, the British, along with Bester, control the fictional town, Vlakpoort, where they make all the rules, and those who do not follow them are sent to jail. For many Afrikaners, such as Flip Lourens, Daan le Roux, and Martie, this is a bitter pill to swallow, because they are controlled by the British, who have defeated them in the SAW. Life under the British meant that English was made the official language, and, in terms of the rules and regulations, for example, all Boer weapons had to be surrendered to prevent the Boers from continuing the war.⁸⁴⁹ This created bitterness among the Boers, who valued their weapons, which they saw as all they had to defend themselves against their enemies. By taking their weapons away, the British made them feel vulnerable. Not having weapons made Afrikaner men feel less than men, as they were unable to protect their nation and families. Hence, Martie's father buries two of his rifles in silent protest, thinking that even though he has lost his son, he still has some power to support his nation when they need his weapons. This scene may have been included to show Afrikaners that they must not give up on their causes.

Not all Afrikaners supported apartheid. Some began to oppose it, and gave up their privileges because of a movement they believed in and a cause they had not been forced to commit to, given the whiteness of their skin.⁸⁵⁰ For example, Bram Fischer was an Afrikaner lawyer, and

⁸⁴⁵ Scher, "Consolidation", 341; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 336; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 525.

⁸⁴⁶ Devenish, "The Republican Constitution", 3.

⁸⁴⁷ A. Jansen van Vuuren, "'From 'Cavalier' to 'Traitor': Unmasking the hero in two Anglo-Boer War feature films", in *Now ever absent: Storytelling in arts, culture and identity formation*, eds. S. Moenandar and N.K. Miller (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2015), 59.

⁸⁴⁸ *Voor Sononder* is the only film in this study that focuses on the end of the war.

⁸⁴⁹ Pakenham, *The Boer War*, 571.

⁸⁵⁰ B.D. Saunders, "Conflict of color: White activists in the South African anti-Apartheid movement" (Hons diss, College of William and Mary, 2011), 9.

an anti-apartheid activist. Fischer came from a well-known Afrikaner family, but he gave it all up when he went against the Afrikaner government to defend Mandela and other ANC members at the Rivonia Trial. Nelson Mandela, who was later to become President, was part of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation or MK), an organisation created by the ANC as an armed wing. The government arrested many of ANC members, such as Walter Sisulu, Mandela, and Govan Mbeki on 11 July 1963, and sentenced them at the Rivonia trial, which lasted from November 1963 to June 1964, to life imprisonment on Robben Island on charges of sabotage.⁸⁵¹ After the Rivonia Trial, Fischer, their lawyer, was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment for breaking the *Communist Act*. He was only allowed to leave prison in the last weeks of his life, as he was dying of cancer, and died, still under house arrest, in 1975.⁸⁵² Another example is Breyten Breytenbach, a Sestiger, who not only opposed apartheid, but went against the Immorality Act when he married a woman of another race, Yolande, a French citizen of Vietnamese ancestry.⁸⁵³ Breytenbach was given two sentences because he went against the NP, first, in 1975, when he entered the country illegally with false documents, and then in 1977, because he was part of Okhela, a resistance group which saw itself as the “white wing of the ANC”.⁸⁵⁴ Breytenbach was released from prison in 1982.

This kind of division exacerbated the gaps between Afrikaners – Afrikaners as a nation were never a homogenous group, not even when they held all the power. This division is shown in *Voor Sononder* when Bester tells Martie’s father that if his son Stefaans (who died in the war) had been on the British side (the winning side), then he would still be alive. However, Martie’s father answers “dan is dit beter so” [then it is better that way],⁸⁵⁵ which shows that Martie’s father is proud that his son decided to defend his country, instead of being a traitor, even though it cost him his life. It can be argued that this scene was included to suggest to Afrikaners that it is better on the government’s side than to be a traitor to the *volk*. In other words, it was a warning to those who rebelled against the NP that they, like Bester, might be seen as traitors to the *volk*. Therefore, it can be argued that films such as *Voor Sononder* show *bittereinders* such as Flip Lourens and Daan le Roux to give many Afrikaners hope that there will always be some

⁸⁵¹ Berger, *South Africa in world history*, 124; Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, 227; Grobler, “Black resistance”, 384; Ross, *A concise history*, 131; Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 146; De Villiers, *Alles oor Suid-Afrika*, 47; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 50.

⁸⁵² L. Koorts, “Mandela’s lawyer Bram Fischer: A man who paid the ultimate price,” 2019, <https://theconversation.com/mandelas-lawyer-bram-fischer-a-man-who-paid-the-ultimate-price-116436>, accessed 24 June 2022.

⁸⁵³ E. Terblanche, “Breyten Breytenbach (1939–),” *Litnet*, 16 September 2019, <https://www.litnet.co.za/breyten-breytenbach-1939/>, accessed 24 June 2022.

⁸⁵⁴ Terblanche, “Breyten Breytenbach”.

⁸⁵⁵ *Voor Sononder*, directed by E. Nofal (Jamie Uys Film Productions, 1962), 00:18:57.

Afrikaners who will fight for their cause. This was done to show Afrikaners that they do not have to fear the *swart gevaar* [Black danger] as these heroes will protect them from Black people by banning or sentencing Black leaders who resist their control.

Those who went against the government and apartheid, like the Sestigers, were considered traitors by some, because they were a “voice of protest against the hegemony of apartheid that had reached its peak in the economic boom of the sixties”.⁸⁵⁶ That is why *Voor Sononder* and *Krugermiljoene* include the depiction of “joiners”, those who collaborate with the British, like Bester, to show how nationalists feel about traitors. For example, when Martie finds out that Bester is a traitor she leaves him, as she notes, “Verraad word nooit vergewe nie” [Betrayal is never forgiven].⁸⁵⁷ Afrikaners believed that joiners committed an arch-sin by opposing God’s plan for the Boere *volk* when they joined the other side.⁸⁵⁸ They argued that such traitors placed their own needs above those of their country. For example, Bester helps the British when the *volk* needs more men to fight; similarly, some Afrikaners saw the Sestigers as opposing the government at a time when Verwoerd was trying to unify Whites. Irrespective of whether the film has such a deeper meaning, the character of Bester reflects the fact that, in reality, Afrikaners were not a homogeneous nation, despite the idealised image held up by the nationalist government of a utopia where every White lived in harmony. These feelings can be seen in the film when Daan le Roux says, “Hulle [verraaiers, joiners] het witpootjie gesoek by die Engelse vir hulle eie belang, terwyl ons geveg het” [They [traitors] curried favour with the English for their own interests while we fought].⁸⁵⁹

All three films represent a gendered Afrikaner nationalism. The role of women had evolved somewhat by the 1960s, however, these films barely reflect these changes, although Second Wave feminism⁸⁶⁰ was another political and intellectual current shaping the 1960s. More women were entering the workforce than before, which gave them more independence.⁸⁶¹ Betty Friedan’s book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), claims that the “problem that has no name burst like a boil through the image of the happy American housewife”, a statement that captured

⁸⁵⁶ A. Coetzee, “Afrikaans literature in the service of ethnic politics?”, *Matatu* 15 no. 1 (1996), 107.

⁸⁵⁷ *Voor Sononder*, 00:44:33.

⁸⁵⁸ Du Pisani, “Volkshelde”, 92.

⁸⁵⁹ *Voor Sononder*, 00:12:23.

⁸⁶⁰ First Wave feminism is generally regarded as the 19th century demand for voting rights for women, the right to education, and the right to take up professions such as medicine. E. Pretorius, “Communicating feminism to the community: The continuing relevance of feminism fifty years after 9 August 1956,” *Communitas* 11 (2006), 3.

⁸⁶¹ K.T. Walsh, “The 1960s: A decade of change for women”, 2010, <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2010/03/12/the-1960s-a-decade-of-change-for-women>, accessed 11 May 2022.

women's rejection of assigned gender roles, such as women's relegation to the home.⁸⁶² Women were no longer fulfilled by a patriarchally enforced domesticity.⁸⁶³ Women criticised the patriarchal system they lived under, and they also challenged the gender roles allocated to them in workplaces and at home.⁸⁶⁴ They also demanded regulations against sexual harassment in the workplace as more women entered that space. Women also argued for a say over their bodies because they pointed out that they cannot be "fully liberated and free to control their lives without complete control over their reproductive futures".⁸⁶⁵ *Voor Sononder* assigns agency to Martie, who defends her self-esteem by slapping Flip Lourens for seeing her naked. However, she is quickly called to order by her father, who argues "dit is nie nodig om soos 'n tierwyfie aan te gaan nie" [it is unnecessary to behave like a wildcat (literally, a tigress)].⁸⁶⁶ This scene shows the tight control men had over women's bodies and why women wanted to break away from these systems. By comparing Martie to a tigress, her father is ascribing animal violence to her, which in his view is unbecoming to women. Furthermore, the feminist movement led to wide acceptance of the contraceptive pill (birth control pill or "the Pill"), which was approved for use in the 1960s.⁸⁶⁷ For many women, the Pill freed them from unwanted pregnancies and gave them more choices, and freedom in their personal lives.⁸⁶⁸ The Pill also allowed more women to leave their homes (their supposedly primal place) and go out to work for a living, because they were not occupied with childcare.⁸⁶⁹

The global spread of feminist ideals and principles also affected South Africa. One well-known adherent of the feminist movement is Ingrid Jonker – a famous Afrikaner poet in the Sestiger group. Jonker rebelled against the patriarchal system when she publicly "campaigns against the very censorship laws that her estranged father, Abraham, championed in parliament".⁸⁷⁰ Jonker is best known for her poem *Die kind (wat doodgeskiet is deur soldate by Nyanga)* [The Child (who was shot dead by soldiers at Nyanga)],⁸⁷¹ written in 1960, which commemorates the

⁸⁶² S. Oreffice, "The contraceptive pill was a revolution for women and men", 2015, <https://theconversation.com/the-contraceptive-pill-was-a-revolution-for-women-and-men-37193>, accessed 11 May 2022; Pretorius, "Communicating feminism", 4; L. Napikoski, "The Women's Movement and feminist activism in the 1960s", 2019, <https://www.thoughtco.com/1960s-feminist-activities-3529000>, accessed 13 May 2022.

⁸⁶³ Oreffice, "The contraceptive pill"; Pretorius, "Communicating feminism", 4; Napikoski, "The Women's Movement".

⁸⁶⁴ J. Pierceson, *Sexual minorities and politics: An introduction* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 49.

⁸⁶⁵ Pierceson, *Sexual minorities*, 49.

⁸⁶⁶ *Voor Sononder*, 00:17:55.

⁸⁶⁷ Walsh, "The 1960s".

⁸⁶⁸ Walsh, "The 1960s".

⁸⁶⁹ Oreffice, "The contraceptive pill".

⁸⁷⁰ Dubow, *Apartheid*, 106.

⁸⁷¹ The poem was read by Nelson Mandela at the opening of South Africa's first democratic parliament in 1994.

shooting of a child in Nyanga township after the Sharpeville massacre two weeks before.⁸⁷² The NP found the poem offensive and told her to remove it, if she wanted to publish her work, but she refused. The poem was published, but the name was changed to “The Child” and the poem was buried in a collection amongst poems she had written for her daughter.⁸⁷³ Jonker committed suicide by drowning herself on 19 July 1965.

Despite the increased prominence of women in the 1960s, the representation of women in the three films under discussion in this chapter reflects a very superficial influence of the larger context. While these women are given some agency, especially in their active contribution to the war, this agency is still restricted. *Voor Sononder* shows Martie as less submissive than the Sarie figures in the two *Sarie Marais* films of 1931 and 1949. She participates in the action because she is willing to be a lookout while Flip Lourens and Daan le Roux steal weapons. In *Die Kavaliers*, there is a woman, Louise (Petru Wessels), who is also not afraid to fight for her country when she joins the Kavaliers (she does not even wear a disguise and has her own rifle). Being part of the action gives such characters some agency, as they take up arms during war, but they return to their “proper” domestic sphere after the war.

This portrayal thus reflects the feminist movement of the 1960s in South Africa, which gave women superficial agency, but which remained limited. Nevertheless, the films hint at how important women were in society, despite being silenced. For example, during and after both World Wars, many Afrikaner women went to work to support their families, but were soon sent back home to be *volksmoeders*, as they were seen as “out of control”. Still, many women continued to campaign for their rights either silently or actively through protests. For example, Martie (who represents these women) is not afraid to voice her opinion, and when she sees Flip Lourens at her home, she slaps his face, indicating that she objects to his “male gaze” (as discussed in Chapter 3). The scene indirectly critiques the way women are shown in films, including Martie herself in this film. In many cases women were shown as simple or child-like to show that these women would not be able to handle these things that they demand. For this reason, Dinah, Parker’s stepdaughter, is portrayed as a character who merely needs a man to make her feel happy. This is a pre-emptive move against the possible influence of Western

K. Moolman, “Ingrid Jonker: Poet under Apartheid: Introducing Ingrid Jonker”, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41 no. 4 (2015), 935.

⁸⁷² Moolman, “Ingrid Jonker: Poet under Apartheid”, 935.

⁸⁷³ Anon, “Ingrid Jonker (1933-1965)”, n.d., <https://diesestigers.wordpress.com/ingrid-jonker/>, accessed 23 June 2022.

feminism.⁸⁷⁴ The reason why Afrikaner women of the 1960s were shown in this over-simplified way is because the government was afraid that headstrong Afrikaner women like Martie would give Afrikaner women a bad name, if their behaviour could be construed as “impure”. While Flip Lourens is on his way to Martie’s family farm, he sees her swimming naked. Instead of looking away, he gazes at her lustfully. The audience can see his desire for her. A reporter at the *Rand Daily Mail* pointed out that the audience does not see the background scenery, they only see Martie’s nakedness.⁸⁷⁵ The implication of this reporter’s observation is the clear sexualisation of Martie to the point where all other attributes are side-lined.

The apartheid government’s vision of Afrikaner women remained in line with the Afrikaner nationalist conflation of woman/wife-as-mother, and the government would have preferred to keep them confined to the home and to silence them.⁸⁷⁶ This image is depicted as being held by Afrikaner men about Afrikaner women in *Die Kavaliers* when Boetie asks Chris Botha if Boetie can join the *Kavaliers*. At first, Chris refuses, asking Boetie who will look after Boetie’s grandparents, but Boetie quickly replies that his sister, Louise, can stay behind to take care of them, because she is a girl. Similarly, when Chris Botha tells Dinah she is not allowed at the mines, she disobeys and as a result gets a hiding, which reinforces the message that Afrikaner women are still expected to stay at home (despite the freedom many Western women have).

It is contexts such as these that allow McClintock to argue that *volksmoeders* “continued the everyday production of apartheid through the intimate cruelties of the family as social institution, with the enculturation of children into heteropatriarchal whiteness, and the enforcement of inferiorisation against black people working in white spaces”.⁸⁷⁷ The implication is that the *volksmoeder*’s role was more important than ever, as she was not only expected to stay at home, but to support her menfolk in their time of need. McClintock notes that “white women were jealously and brutally denied any formal political power but were compensated by their limited authority in the household. Clutching this small power, they became complicit in the racism that suffuses Afrikaner nationalism”.⁸⁷⁸ What becomes apparent from these examples is that although the *volksmoeder* trope is continuous between these films and the two *Sarie Marais* films, there are some changes. These are superficial

⁸⁷⁴ Van der Westhuizen, “(Un)sung heroines”, 19.

⁸⁷⁵ Anon, “A film Western-local style”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October 1962, 6.

⁸⁷⁶ Van der Westhuizen, “(Un)sung heroines”, 19.

⁸⁷⁷ Van der Westhuizen, “(Un)sung heroines”, 19.

⁸⁷⁸ McClintock, “Family feuds”, 72.

changes that provide some voice and agency to Afrikaner women, but this agency is still within the limits of Afrikaner nationalist patriarchy.

As with representations of women, the representation of masculinity also reflects superficial changes. Unlike *Sarie Marais* of 1931, *Krugermiljoene* shows that the hegemonic man has a softer side, but because they were seen as “ideal men”, they did not always show this side in case people made fun of them. Chris Botha wears a locket on a chain around his neck with a photograph of Joan, which is seen by young Dinah as a “meisie ding” [a girly thing]. The inclusion of this item in the film and the attention drawn to it demonstrates that some men in the 1960s films were allowed to display characteristics that are associated with women, namely a softer and more romantic side. This shows that some men, including Afrikaner men, participated in the counterculture movement (as seen later on), although instead of openly defying the hegemonic trope, their shift in attitude was silent, as they were afraid of being mocked by others, just as a hero like Chris Botha is not expected to wear “meisie dinge”.

At first the ideal man had full control over women and over their family. This gave men power over their families (and the nation), and it contributed to feelings of male superiority, which left many women defenceless, as they were dependent on their husbands.⁸⁷⁹ Even when women had a chance to work during the two World Wars, these opportunities did not last long because when the wars ended, women were sent back home, because men felt that their pride would be wounded if women were seen as the same as men.⁸⁸⁰ But then came the counterculture movement along with Second Wave feminism, which

opened up and questioned amongst other things, masculine relations, practices and identities which either directly or indirectly gave rise to various religious and secular based men’s movements, father’s rights and support groups, profeminist and anti-feminist activists, gay and queer movements as well as a plethora of literature, both of an academic and popular nature dealing with issues such as, men’s emotions, relationships, work, parenting, media representations, power and crisis.⁸⁸¹

As a result of feminism, many men were no longer the only providers, as more women started to break the gender norm to fight for equality, as mentioned above.⁸⁸² This movement forced men to resort to less overt ways of patriarchal domination.⁸⁸³

⁸⁷⁹ R. Cure, “Gender roles for housing in 1950’s & 60’s,” n.d., <https://genderraceclassblog.wordpress.com/gender-roles-for-housing-in-1950s-60s/>, accessed 17 May 2022.

⁸⁸⁰ Cure, “Gender roles”.

⁸⁸¹ R. Howson, *Challenging hegemonic masculinity* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 1.

⁸⁸² Cure, “Gender roles”.

⁸⁸³ D.Z. Demetriou, “Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique,” *Theory and Society* 30 no. 3 (2001), 352.

However, it was not only women who broke away from the patriarchal system. The counterculture movement allowed men to break away from the patriarchal system too, because the counterculture's aversion to capitalism and the nuclear family provided them with some freedom from conventional gender roles.⁸⁸⁴ Because of the anti-capitalism movement, men could reconsider the imperative to find a job, which liberated some of them from their contemporary roles as full-time employees and reduced their responsibilities as sole financial providers.⁸⁸⁵ Young men were also taking longer to marry and have families.⁸⁸⁶ Furthermore, some young men rebelled against their father's constructions of their generation by wearing long hair, rejecting "suits", and opposing war.⁸⁸⁷ These members of the counterculture were known as hippies. In Crete, hippies swam naked in the sea and lived in ancient caves, which upset not only church members, but also archaeologists.⁸⁸⁸ These hippies claimed that they had no political convictions or interests in life, except philosophising.⁸⁸⁹ The counterculture gave rise to a degree of homosexual visibility.⁸⁹⁰ In one sense, some heterosexual men welcomed homosexual men, because, according to Demetriou, "the 1960s gay masculinities were closer to dominant forms of femininity rather than to traditional masculinities (they were almost as effeminate as the molly houses of the eighteenth century), a hegemonic bloc could appropriate some of their elements in order to make the gender division of patriarchy less visible and thus win women's consent."⁸⁹¹

In Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaner men were constructed as dominant defenders and leaders, and they were associated with symbols of war, hardship, and the struggle for survival.⁸⁹² Therefore, all three films use hegemonic Afrikaner men such as Flip Lourens and Daan le Roux (*Voor Sononder*) and Chris Botha (*Die Kavaliere* and *Krugermiljoene*) to show Afrikaner men what the NP and the *volk* expected of them. Jansen van Vuuren notes that mythical Boer heroes such as Botha (and in this case the others) are visual demonstrations of the NP's definition of a "true Afrikaner": they are conservative with an attachment to the pastoral past, hold ideals of

⁸⁸⁴ K.L. Conlon, "Countercultural communes: Rejection or reflection of conventional mainstream gender norms?" (MA diss., State University of New Jersey, 2017), 29.

⁸⁸⁵ Conlon, "Countercultural communes", 29.

⁸⁸⁶ Conlon, "Countercultural communes", 29.

⁸⁸⁷ S.M. Evans, "Sons, daughters, and patriarchy: Gender and the 1968 generation", *The American Historical Review* 114 no. 2 (2009), 335.

⁸⁸⁸ Anon, "Hippies bask on ancient Crete – Church frowns," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 October 1970, 2.

⁸⁸⁹ Anon, "Hippies bask", 2.

⁸⁹⁰ Demetriou, "Connell's concept", 352.

⁸⁹¹ Demetriou, "Connell's concept", 352.

⁸⁹² J.R. Boersema, "Afrikaner, nevertheless: Stigma, shame and the sociology of cultural trauma" (PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2013), 18.

linguistic and racial purity, and adhere to religious and moral norms.⁸⁹³ Furthermore, all three of these Boer protagonists are patriots. For example, Lourens and Le Roux fight in the SAW (even though the films do not show actual battles, their involvement is mentioned). According to Pretorius, men fought in the war because it was part of the struggle for independence and to protect the Afrikaner national identity.⁸⁹⁴ Another example includes Chris Botha's choice in *Die Kavaliers* when he chooses his country above his life or love. When General de Wet orders him to spy on the British, he agrees to do so for his country. Botha's willingness to work for his people is also shown in *Krugermiljoene*, when Kruger asks him to take the gold bullion out of the country to make coins. According to Jansen van Vuuren, the NP used the image of the willing hero to promote image of a glamorous and "holy" SAW, with of heroes like Botha. It portrays a positive image of the war to the audience, so that they are encouraged to do many things (for example, continue the Border War) as long as they have heroes like Chris Botha (and others, like Flip Lourens and Daan le Roux in *Voor Sononder*).⁸⁹⁵

Voor Sononder and *Krugermiljoene* also use two *verraaiers* to show Afrikaner men what happens to men who are not the "ideal" man. Firstly, Coert Bester is described as "die grootste Judas⁸⁹⁶ van hulle almal" [the biggest Judas of them all]⁸⁹⁷ because he comes from the Cape Colony, and therefore he supported the British during the SAW.⁸⁹⁸ He also buys up Afrikaners' farms and if they do not want to sell them, he threatens them.⁸⁹⁹ For example, when Daan le Roux's father refuses to sell the family farm, Bester hurts Daan. In the end, Daan le Roux's father has no choice but to sell the farm. Bester also controls the townspeople and Hannes, the town's police officer. In one scene he threatens Hannes to force him to give Bester weapons, which are prohibited to the townspeople.⁹⁰⁰ Secondly, in *Krugermiljoene*, Van Lindt (Dirk de Villiers), who is one of the Kavaliers,⁹⁰¹ is shown as greedy, as he betrays his comrades by giving their location to the British so that he can take the gold coins they are making. Just before he is caught, he throws the coins into a river, which prevents the Boers from buying

⁸⁹³ Jansen van Vuuren, "The mythical Boer hero", 5-6. She bases this argument on Botha's description of a 'true Afrikaner', Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 52.

⁸⁹⁴ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 4.

⁸⁹⁵ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaier", 53.

⁸⁹⁶ A "Judas" is a traitor. The New Testament describes the disciple Judas, who betrayed Jesus to the Romans, who captured him and later crucified him at the request of the Jewish community.

⁸⁹⁷ *Voor Sononder*, 00:05:45.

⁸⁹⁸ Petit, "Once upon a time", 23.

⁸⁹⁹ Petit, "Once upon a time", 21

⁹⁰⁰ Petit, "Once upon a time", 23.

⁹⁰¹ Van Lindt may be an allusion to Judas because he is also a Kavalier and betrays his comrades by giving away their location to the British.

more weapons to continue the war. These traitors are shown as mean and selfish compared with the protagonists (Flip Lourens, Daan le Roux (*Voor Sononder*) and Chris Botha (*Die Kavaliers* and *Krugermiljoene*), who are seen as compassionate towards others and who care more for others than for themselves. Bester threatens the community of Vlakpoort with his followers to show that he is more powerful than the community, unlike Flip Lourens, who uses his own ability to defeat Bester. Van Lindt threatens to kill anybody else who wants the coins, even his partner in crime, Parker, to prevent them from taking his gold, unlike Chris Botha, who is willing to give his life to get the gold out of the country. Furthermore, the traitors are shown as cowards, unlike the heroes, who were shown as brave. Therefore, neither traitor gets away; they are both killed. These details are included not only to show Afrikaners how the Boers felt about traitors, but also to show Afrikaner men that if they are like these traitors, they will be cast out by the *volk* (which is made clear in the deaths of both traitors), as Bester and Van Lindt are not living up to the *volk*'s standards.

Young people are important in nation-building, and represent the “future of the nation”.⁹⁰² The youth is supposed to labour and sacrifice for the nation (including in war), and they provide the rejuvenation of the nation.⁹⁰³ This can only happen if the education youths receive teaches them to love their nation and country.⁹⁰⁴ Afrikaner youths such as Boetie are expected to join in the war – many *penkoppes* like Boetie either fought in the SAW along with their fathers, or they took care of the horses and livestock maintained for food.⁹⁰⁵ Boetie is desperate to join the Kavaliers (as he wants to defend his nation), but Chris Botha hesitates. So, to convince him, Boetie tells Chris, “Ons mans se plek is hier in die veld. Ons moet die werf eers skoon maak van die Engelse” [The place of us men is here in the field. First, we must clear the yard of the English].⁹⁰⁶ With this statement, Boetie shows what he thinks is expected of a man.⁹⁰⁷ This attitude convinces Chris Botha, who tells Boetie that he can join the Kavaliers. (The inclusion of such young soldiers is not unique to the SAW, historically or in modern warfare – according

⁹⁰² N. Maksudyan, “Agents or pawns?: Nationalism and Ottoman children during the Great War,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3 no. 1 (2016), 139.

⁹⁰³ Maksudyan, “Agents or pawns?”, 140.

⁹⁰⁴ R. Gunawan, “The role of the family in forming nationalism”, *International Journal of History Education* 10 no. 2 (2009), 35.

⁹⁰⁵ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 319.

⁹⁰⁶ *Die Kavaliers*, directed by E. de Witt (Kavaliers Film, 1966), 00:15:51.

⁹⁰⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 67.

to Jessica Tassava, the phenomenon of child soldiers occurs all over the world.⁹⁰⁸ In World War I and World War II, boys as young as 16 were recruited to fight for their nation.)

In *Die Kavaliërs*, the practice is not condemned, but it raises the topic of child soldiers for the audience.⁹⁰⁹ It can be argued that the character of Boetie is included as an Afrikaner child soldier to draw sympathy for what the Boers went through during the SAW. Furthermore, the image of youths such as Boetie were used during the 1960s to promote nationalism because they were seen as innocent and pure – in other words, they are “true members” of the nation as they have not yet been corrupted by society. Therefore, the NP used the image of children to show what a “true Afrikaner” must look like. Boetie is used to show Afrikaner youths that their place is not in events that are part of the counterculture, but that they should rather be preparing themselves for the battlefield (in the Border War) protecting the volk against *swart gevaar* and communism (the South African National Defence Force did not recruit child soldiers, but it did train people from 18). This moral call was intended to oppose the countercultural youth movements around the world during the 1960s, as well as the call for women’s and gay rights. The NP were afraid that the counterculture would destroy Afrikaner nationalism, because it goes against Afrikaner norms, for example, it questions the Afrikaner patriarchal system by giving women a say. For this reason, it can be argued that the character of Boetie is used to motivate Afrikaner youth (mostly men) to support the Border War and accept conscription to the South African Defence Force.

As seen in Chapter 2, legends and nationalist myths have long been part of Afrikaners’ history. These myths were again important in the 1960s, now that Afrikaners were independent, to show them how far they as a nation had come, from being controlled by the British to being independent again. That is why myths about the SAW were picked up again and play such an important role during the 1960s, as they show how loyal Afrikaners are to their cause: they would not give up until they have reached their goal of being independent. By not giving up on their cause, Afrikaners became an economically strong nation in the 1960s. The government imposed controls on imports, foreign exchange, and hire-purchase agreements, and, because the government was in control, it attracted investors to the country, strengthening the economy.⁹¹⁰ The government did not want to repeat the poor White situation that lasted into

⁹⁰⁸ J. Tassava, “The portrayal of child soldiers in documentaries and Hollywood film,” *Butler Journal of Undergraduate Research* 3 no. 10 (2017), 158.

⁹⁰⁹ Tassava, “The portrayal of child soldiers”, 158.

⁹¹⁰ Grundlingh, ““Are we Afrikaners getting too rich?””, 144.

the 1940s, so they improved Afrikaners' education so that they could get the jobs with better pay, which improved the economy.⁹¹¹ In a way, one can argue that Afrikaners had found the Kruger millions – a legend from the SAW. The legend goes like this: during the SAW, Kruger and his Cabinet knew that the war was not going their way, so they decided to take the President to safety to Machadodorp (now eNtokozeni), in Mpumalanga, on a train and take the gold from the Pretoria Mint with them. From there they would flee to Portuguese-controlled Mozambique, as it was the only coastal area not occupied by the British, to go to Europe to buy more weapons and garner support for the Boer cause.⁹¹² In the film, the audience sees all the gold bullion next to Kruger, who asks Chris Botha to make gold coins from it. According to the legend, Kruger asked Fritz Duquesne, a Boer spy (just like Botha in the film), to transport the gold on a convoy of wagons to Mozambique to take it to Europe.⁹¹³ However, there was a disagreement between Duquesne and his fellow Boers, and according to the legend, Duquesne asked Blacks to bury the gold, which he would collect after the war. If the Boers were successful, then he would give it to the government, if not, he would take it for himself. However, he was captured during the war, sent to Bermuda, and never returned to South Africa.⁹¹⁴

Not all the gold went missing as all of it was used to help the Boers with the war,⁹¹⁵ according to Ben, a character in the *Die Kavaliers* it did help the Boers to buy some weapons, clothing, medicine, and food. Even though all the gold was used, there are still rumours that it is still out there.⁹¹⁶ Urban legend has it that it is buried somewhere in Mpumalanga, while others believe that it is somewhere in Europe, as some gold bullion made it to Germany during the war.⁹¹⁷ In the film, the traitor, Van Lindt throws the coins into the Blyde River Canyon in what is today Mpumalanga. The film thus makes the traitor responsible for the coins disappearing. The director wanted to illustrate traitors as greedy people who only think about themselves. The real-life Duquesne, for example, may be seen as a greedy traitor as he allegedly wanted to keep the coins for himself. The real Duquesne was known to make up stories, so it cannot be certain

⁹¹¹ Grundlingh, ““Are we Afrikaners getting too rich?””, 144.

⁹¹² Stein, P. “Myth hunters – Legend of the Kruger Millions”. Vimeo, uploaded by P. Stein, 08:09, n.d, 2016, <https://vimeo.com/101860728>, accessed 22 February 2021.

⁹¹³ Reprobate, “Fritz Duquesne – the spy who never came in from the cold”, 2013, <https://reprobate.co.za/fritz-duquesne-the-spy-who-never-came-in-from-the-cold/>, accessed 22 February 2021.

⁹¹⁴ Reprobate, “Fritz Duquesne”.

⁹¹⁵ R. Marsh, *Unsolved mysteries of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1994), 24.

⁹¹⁶ Anon, “In search of Kruger millions,” *News24*, 30 April 2012, <https://www.news24.com/news24/Travel/In-search-of-Krugers-millions-20120430>, accessed 22 February 2021.

⁹¹⁷ Anon, “In search of Kruger millions”.

if he even carried such coins.⁹¹⁸ Whether “the Kruger millions” actually existed or not, the legend still attracts people to find the treasure.⁹¹⁹

Hall wanted the audience to see his version of how the gold went missing. To add to the bitterness of the war, the audience may speculate that if the Boers had the gold, then they might have won the war, if they had been able to buy weapons. However, it can also be argued that *Krugermiljoene* used the Kruger millions myth to suggest to Afrikaners that they had found their own “millions” (their economic wealth) by building the economy. Therefore, they must protect it from their enemies (*verraaiers*, Black people, and the British) who want South Africa’s wealth for themselves. Kruger was important for Afrikaners as he was a revered figure in the construction of 20th century Afrikaner nationalism, as he participated in the Great Trek as a boy, and opposed the British during the SAW – both key events in the historical arsenal of Afrikaner nationalist propaganda.⁹²⁰ As a result of this, he was elected as President of the ZAR four times.⁹²¹ The film added a fiery “K” for Kruger at the beginning of the film to show Kruger’s importance. According to Christopher Jeffery, “the scene is shot by firelight at night; fire seems to take on a nationalist symbolism across the oeuvre of South African films”.⁹²²

Despite Kruger’s importance in Afrikaner history and nationalist rhetoric, *Krugermiljoene* shows very little of Kruger, the historical figure. The emphasis is on the myth of the missing millions. There are several myths that emerge in this film. One is the lost treasure, with the argument that had Afrikaners been able to buy the weapons, they could have won the war. The flip side is that the British won the war because of their superior numbers and military equipment (in addition to their scorched-earth tactics). This implies that the Afrikaner spirit, dedication, and loyalty to their cause was not enough to win a war. Another myth that emerges is that the Afrikaner cause was betrayed from within. In terms of the larger context of this chapter, the film seems to be saying that with sufficient finances (and a strong economy) the Afrikaners and apartheid can only fail if there is betrayal from within (which the NP claimed there was, in figures such as the Sestigers and men who opposed the NP like Bram Fischer). In

⁹¹⁸ Reprobate, “Fritz Duquesne”.

⁹¹⁹ Marsh, *Unsolved mysteries*, 27.

⁹²⁰ A. Grundlingh, “Paul Kruger”, in *Leaders of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, ed. G. Torlage (Johannesburg: Ravan, 2001), 1; Anon, “History of South Africa”, 2021, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/South-Africa-history.htm>, accessed 10 February 2021; P. du Toit, “Analysis: Race and remembrance: What to do about Paul Kruger statue in Tshwane”, *News24*, 25 June 2020, <https://www.news24.com/news24/analysis/analysis-race-and-remembrance-what-to-do-about-paul-krugers-statue-in-tshwane-20200625>, accessed 10 February 2021.

⁹²¹ C. Erasmus, “Kruger in crisis: An analysis of the telegrams of 1900” (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2016), 30.

⁹²² Jeffery, “South African film music” (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2017), 168.

this sense, this film acts as cautionary propaganda to Afrikaners, South Africans and supporters of apartheid that the success of the apartheid project required loyalty and dedication.

Films on the SAW such as *Voor Sononder* continued to evoke nostalgia among many Afrikaners of the 1960s as the war formed part of Afrikaners' origin story and it served as a basis for their national identity.⁹²³ This was important in the 1960s, as it showed Afrikaners all the sacrifices their forebears made so that they can be where they are in the present. Therefore, Afrikaners must not allow others (Black people and Communists) to take the freedom for which they had fought so long. The fear of such a potential loss played a role in the rise of apartheid. The topic of sacrifice is thus prominent in various scenes where Flip Lourens talks about the SAW. For example, after Lourens meets Daan le Roux, both of them talk about the SAW, and when Lourens meet Martie's parents they talk about the war and their son's sacrifice. Furthermore, the SAW reminds Afrikaners of farm life (the traditional way of life held up to Afrikaners), while rejecting urban life (as it led to new ideas).⁹²⁴ As mentioned above, Afrikaner nationalists were afraid that the counterculture, which seemed to have been established in the cities, would corrupt Afrikaner youths. Therefore, the film uses Flip Lourens to show Afrikaner youths that when you do not question the patriarchal system, the *volk* will consider you one of them. For example, because Flip Lourens talks about his past as a Boer soldier, the community sees him as a *Boereseun* [Boer boy or young man], associated with farm life.⁹²⁵ Those who do question the traditional way of life and undermine it are villainised in the film.

Nostalgia is not the only tool that was used to protect Afrikaner youths from the influences of the counterculture movement. Nationalists also focused on music. Most of the songs that were released could be classified as light music that would not "harm" Afrikaner youths. All three films gave the audience light music with a patriotic tone. These songs promoted nationalism. The first is "Trotse Kavaliers is wat die Kakies bang maak" [Proud Kavaliers are what frightens the British] in *Die Kavaliers*.⁹²⁶ The Kavaliers sing it every time there is a victory.⁹²⁷ It can be argued that this song reflects Afrikaners' sense of victory over Britain when South Africa became a republic in the 1960s. The second is "Die beesvellied" [The cowhide song], the theme

⁹²³ Jansen van Vuuren, "Battling identities", 112.

⁹²⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, "Battling identities", 112.

⁹²⁵ Petit, "Once upon a time", 22.

⁹²⁶ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 64; *Die Kavaliers*, 00:16:07.

⁹²⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 64.

song of *Krugermiljoene*, sung by Gé Korsten, a Dutch-born Afrikaner opera singer/actor⁹²⁸ This song also celebrates Afrikaner success, as the Kavaliers sing the song just after they make the first coin. Both songs suggest to Jansen van Vuuren that the songs allowed the Boers in the film to take on a type of fantasy character (they can do everything, even defeat the British) each time they sing the songs.⁹²⁹ This is because the song makes Afrikaners believe they can do everything, including the impossible, for example, the Kavaliers can even herd wild cattle away from a British camp (*Die Kavaliers*) or use elephants to drive the British away (*Krugermiljoene*). Arguably, this gives Afrikaner viewers a sense that once they are free of the British, they can achieve whatever they aim for.

A third song is “My hart verlang na die Boland” [My heart longs for the Boland], sung by Gé Korsten, in *Krugermiljoene*. The Boland is a region in the Western Cape. The Kavaliers sing the song while they are taking the gold to make coins. While the Kavaliers sing the song, the audience sees scenes of South Africa. The song is similar in its yearning for the South African landscape to parts of the 1930s version of “Sarie Marais” (discussed in Chapter 3) even though it does not deal directly with the SAW. It is also a nostalgic song about a man who misses his “nooientjie” [girl] and hometown in the Boland. Just like Afrikaners of the 1930s to 1940s who missed life before the SAW, so this man longs for the good old times. By the time when the film was released, South Africa was mostly isolated from numerous countries (as a result of the Sharpeville massacre and apartheid policy) and many young men were fighting in the Border War. Therefore, it can be argued that the song wants Afrikaners to remember the good times before Sharpeville, when the country still had some peace and things seemed simpler to Afrikaners.

Apart from religion and the Afrikaans language, the *platteland* [rural countryside] is an important element of Afrikaner identity. Many Afrikaners see themselves as *plattelandse mense* [farm people] because they regard the rural, agrarian and pastoral landscape as

⁹²⁸ Korsten was also chosen because he was a very popular singer of light music (in other words less serious music), which distracted people from some of the issues of Apartheid, and would be a box-office drawcard. Korsten also sang songs that featured nationalistic themes like Afrikaners as the chosen folk, for example, “Mooiste land” [Most beautiful country] and “Suid-Afrika” [South Africa], both about love for and pride in the *vaderland*. As a result, he became public property, and was hailed as the “star of the century” by an unknown magazine before he committed suicide on 29 September 1999. Therefore, Hall cast him as Du Toit, an accountant who helps the Kavaliers to produce gold coins. L. Lambrechts, “Afrikaanse vryheidslidjies as konfigurasie van identiteit: ’n Ideologie-kritiese perspektief,” (MMus diss., University of the Free State, 2008), 17; K. Jonker, “A.E.B. ‘betreur’ Gé Korsten se dood”, *Patriot*, 1 September 1999, 3.

⁹²⁹ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 64.

wholesome, simple, virtuous, and beneficial for physical and mental health.⁹³⁰ Furthermore, the *platteland* reminds Afrikaners of peace, kind-hearted neighbourliness, family values and security.⁹³¹ According to Petit, this is because it reminds Afrikaners of the time when it was just the Boer and his farm, but this changed after the SAW, when many fell into poverty and were forced into urban migration. Therefore, the city was seen as a horrible place, while the *platteland* was idealised as a kind of Eden. For this reason, Bester in *Voor Sononder* is shown as representative of the “evil” of the city,⁹³² while Flip Lourens represents the *platteland*, as he is willing to fight for it.

Many Afrikaners also regard the *platteland* as the mythical birthplace of Afrikaners because many Boers originally came from the *platteland* before the SAW. For Jacobus J. Bothma, that is the reason that “the *platteland* is given symbolic significance as the ‘ancestral’ home of the Afrikaner as a community imagined through Afrikaner nationalism”.⁹³³ Many Afrikaners see the *platteland* as both tangible (a physical environment) and intangible (ideas and norms associated with living outside of cities/and or densely populated areas), but this image of the *platteland* changed in the 1960s because many Afrikaners were wealthy and urbanised, far removed from their rural roots and traditional heritage in the *platteland* and content with their lives in the cities, and many no longer yearned for the *platteland*. Some Afrikaners began to associate the *platteland* with backwardness and underdevelopment.⁹³⁴ This is shown in *Voor Sononder* when Bester says to his men, after he has “bought” Daan le Roux’s father’s farm, that he will get fat from all the fresh meat and green maize, which Petit interprets as evidence that Bester sees land as “nothing more than a source of leisure, a direct contrast to Le Roux and Martie’s parents, who see the land as their most treasured possession and are willing to die to protect it”.⁹³⁵

However, this image of the *platteland* changes once more after Sharpeville, because nationalists realised that “their *platteland*” and its way of life was threatened, as they might lose the country to Blacks. That is why all three films create heroes who will sacrifice their lives to make Afrikaners feel safe, knowing that there are heroes (for example, those fighting in the Border war) who are not afraid to defend what Afrikaner’s thought the *platteland* stood

⁹³⁰ D. van Zyl, “‘O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!’ Afrikaner nostalgia and the romanticisation of the *platteland* in post-1994 South Africa,” *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 22 no. 2 (2008), 128.

⁹³¹ Van Zyl, “‘O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!’”, 128.

⁹³² Petit, “Once upon a time”, 23.

⁹³³ Bothma, “Hemel of die *platteland*”, 7.

⁹³⁴ Van Zyl, “‘O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!’”, 135.

⁹³⁵ Petit, “Once upon a time”, 24.

for. For example, when Chris Botha (*Die Kavaliers*) receives his orders, he replies “Ek sal dit doen vir my land, Generaal”.⁹³⁶ His country is so important to him that he chooses it over his love for Joan when he says, “In tye van oorlog, het ’n soldaat nie tyd vir persoonlike gevoelens nie. Hy kan slegs dink oor wat die beste vir sy land sal wees” [In times of war, a soldier does not have time for personal feelings. He can only think about what will be best for his country].⁹³⁷

There was still a lingering hatred between Afrikaners and the British because Afrikaners defied being subjected to Britain, which was for them more directly represented by hegemonic White English-speaking South Africans.⁹³⁸ This was mostly because of what the British did to the civilian population during the SAW. The British not only defeated the Boers, but they also came to control the country’s financial sector. By the 1960s, some of this hatred had subsided, however, because some Afrikaners were wealthy and the NP government controlled the economic sector and country. Therefore, the government no longer considered White English-speaking South Africans a threat to its power. But more Black people were resisting Afrikaner domination, especially after Harold Macmillan’s “Wind of change”⁹³⁹ speech in 1960, which was a key moment in the struggle for African nationalism, as it was a harbinger of the eventual ending of apartheid.⁹⁴⁰

After the Sharpeville Massacre many countries decided to boycott South Africa to put pressure on the country to end apartheid. Therefore, the government needed to work along with White English-speaking South Africans to make sure apartheid continued, so that Whites could retain political power. The government needed votes from White English-speaking South Africans to create White unity, making sure that “offence should not be given to White English-speakers by introducing too radical a change in the form of a constitution”.⁹⁴¹ Verwoerd also persuaded two White English-speaking South Africans to join the NP and Cabinet.⁹⁴² These strategies appear to have been effective, as the NP’s popularity among Afrikaners and White English-

⁹³⁶ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 54.

⁹³⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 68.

⁹³⁸ C. van der Westhuizen, “Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa remains stuck in whiteness,” 2018, <https://theconversation.com/afrikaner-identity-in-post-apartheid-south-africa-remains-stuck-in-whiteness-87471>, accessed 10 December 2021.

⁹³⁹ According to Macmillan, a “wind of change” was blowing around the world as more nations began fighting for their independence. Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 409; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 325; Scher, “Consolidation”, 338-339.

⁹⁴⁰ S. Dubow, “Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 1960 ‘Wind of Change’ speech”, *The Historical Journal* 54 no. 4 (2011), 1088.

⁹⁴¹ Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 418; Jeffery, “South African film music”, 159.

⁹⁴² Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 418.

speaking South Africans increased in the 1960s. This signalled the extent to which some White English-speaking South Africans voters endorsed the ideological and political shifts.⁹⁴³ In view of the need to entice White English-speaking South Africans to vote for a republic and the NP, it can be argued that *Die Kavaliers* and *Krugermiljoene* showed the British in a more sympathetic light. For example, when Chris Botha in *Die Kavaliers* leaves to continue with his mission, Joan⁹⁴⁴ tells him that she will wait for him. Furthermore, when Chris Botha is injured saving the British camp from the danger posed by a herd of wild cattle moving towards their camp, Joan, along with a British doctor, helps him to get better. After Chris Botha saves the British camp from danger, he is warned by Captain Ronald Rodgers (Brian O'Shaughnessy), that the British are after him. In *Krugermiljoene* there is also a temporary alliance between Dinah and Joan, who are competing for Chris Botha's attention. However, in the end, they work together to warn him against the approaching British army.

Notwithstanding, Afrikaners still made sure that they were the ones holding most of the power. Thus, the British are sometimes portrayed as greedy in these films. For example, in *Krugermiljoene*, Parker, Dinah's English stepfather, is so desperate to get the Kruger pounds that he locks Dinah in a room to prevent her from warning the Kavaliers. The SAW arguably started because of British greed, as they wanted the gold of the Witwatersrand.⁹⁴⁵

Similar to African-Americans in the United States, Blacks in South Africa had to deal with inequality, which in South Africa took the form of apartheid – a system created by Whites because of their fear of the *swart gevaar*. This system relied on laws to control Black people, their movements in the country and labour relations, and to separate them from Whites.⁹⁴⁶ These laws controlled Black people's daily activities, such as whom they could marry, where they were allowed to go to school, which universities they were allowed to attend, which people

⁹⁴³ Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 418, D. Posel, "The Apartheid project, 1948–1970," in *Cambridge history of South Africa*, eds. R. Ross, A. Kelk Mager and B. Nasson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 328.

⁹⁴⁴ Joan Grey comes to South Africa while the country is at war because she wants to be a nurse. Chris Schoeman notes that foreign women came to South Africa to help with the war effort, for the adventure, or to do good by helping victims of the war. C. Schoeman, *Angels of mercy: Foreign women in the Anglo-Boer War* (Cape Town: Zebra Press), 1, 8.

⁹⁴⁵ A. Porter, "The South African War (1899-1902): Context and motive reconsidered", *The Journal of African History* 31 no. 1 (1990), 47.

⁹⁴⁶ Clark and Worger, *South Africa: The Rise*, 49; J.H. Bentley and H. F. Ziegler, *Traditions and encounters: A global perspective on the past* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 2011), 1125.

they were allowed to play sport with, where they were allowed to live, what rights they could enjoy, the jobs they were allowed to apply for, and where they were allowed to be buried.⁹⁴⁷

There are no Blacks in *Krugermiljoene*, possibly because protests such as those at Sharpeville added to Afrikaners' fear of the *swart gevaar*, which worsened with the years (see Chapter 6). In reality, there would have been Black people among the Boer commandos such as the Kavaliers. These Black people cooked and took care of the horses.⁹⁴⁸ Given Afrikaners' fear of *swartgevaar*, which led to apartheid, and to and Sharpeville Massacre, the role of Blacks in the films is very limited or they are absent from the films altogether. Therefore, Blacks are shown as servants in films like *Voor Sononder* (Jafta) and *Die Kavaliers* (with a group of Blacks transporting British weapons). These images of servants implied that Blacks remained in an inferior position. Thus, their role is as a short and in most cases silent, compared to Afrikaners' role. For example, Jafta, a farm worker that works for Martie's parents in *Voor Sononder*, has such a small role that he is not even credited in the film, whereas his master, Martie's father, has a larger role than Jafta, even though he is not the main character. The only time the audience sees Jafta is when Martie's father orders him to give Flip's Lourens's horse some water. The only response Jafta gives is "Ja" [yes].⁹⁴⁹ As the critic Martin Botha notes, the fact that Blacks were portrayed as servants is a visual symbol of the deep-seated apartheid ideology.⁹⁵⁰ This is because servants were usually shown as inferior to their masters, who in this case are Afrikaners. However, it was not only Afrikaners who saw Blacks as inferior, some White English-speaking South Africans also regarded Blacks as a lower class. This is suggested in *Die Kavaliers* where the British soldiers shout "shut up, bastards"⁹⁵¹ when all the Black people talk at the same time. Furthermore, the British blame the Blacks for "allowing" the Kavaliers to steal weapons, even though the Blacks had no choice as the Kavaliers threatened to kill them if the Blacks opposed the Kavaliers.

4.4 Reception

Most of the people who watched these films were Afrikaners, who were economically strong when these films were released in the 1960s. Martin Botha notes that this audience was large and stable, which meant that the films stayed on circuit longer and could break even or make a

⁹⁴⁷ Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography*, 504; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 316; Clark and Worger, *South Africa: The Rise*, 51.

⁹⁴⁸ Pretorius, "Everyone's war", 257.

⁹⁴⁹ *Voor Sononder*, 00:16:33.

⁹⁵⁰ Botha, "South African Cinema (1)", 5.

⁹⁵¹ *Die Kavaliers*, 00:07:36.

profit as long as they provided light entertainment and dealt with Afrikaner reality and beliefs, which all three films discussed in this chapter did.⁹⁵² For example, *Voor Sononder* provides viewers with an idealised image of the *platteland*, while portraying the city as a negative place. Furthermore, both *Die Kavaliere* and *Krugermiljoene* depict Afrikaners as heroes who could do the impossible.

Voor Sononder received mixed reviews. For example, one reviewer at the *Rand Daily Mail*, compliments Marie du Toit for her acting as Martie, but argues that Nofal does not do much with all the elements at his disposal, because in the scene where Martie swims semi-naked, the only thing the film focuses on is her nakedness.⁹⁵³ Furthermore, the reviewer makes a snide remark about the inclusion of the phrase, the “Second Freedom War”, asking if its inclusion was necessary.⁹⁵⁴ I would argue that it was necessary because it reminds Afrikaners of what their forebears lost as a result of the SAW, and why, for example, Martie loses her brother in this quest for independence. This was done to prevent Afrikaners from repeating the past. Therefore, it can be argued that the film was trying to say that apartheid was in a way good because it helped Afrikaners to achieve their goal, namely their independence, while at the same time it prevented them from being controlled again as it stopped Africans from gaining control. Secondly, now that Afrikaners were in charge, they can rewrite the history of the SAW from their perspective to set the record straight.⁹⁵⁵ Lastly, it reminds Afrikaners that they have something to celebrate, namely they finally broke free from the British in 1961.⁹⁵⁶ On the other hand, it may not have been necessary to include the phrase “Second Freedom War” because the SAW no longer played an important part in Afrikaners’ life now that that they were independent. The same *Rand Daily Mail* reviewer noted that luckily the film featured excellent actors such as Dawid van der Walt as the hero, Flip Lourens, and Tromp Terre’blanche as the villain, Coert Bester, and a first-rate fight at the end of the film to make up for the “unimaginative direction at the beginning of the film”.⁹⁵⁷

Another reason critics may have criticised the quality of the film may have been that it was a relatively low budget film, at R14 000.⁹⁵⁸ This was very low compared to *The Hellions* (1961,

⁹⁵² Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 51.

⁹⁵³ Anon, “A film Western-local style”, 6.

⁹⁵⁴ Anon, “A film Western-local style”, 6.

⁹⁵⁵ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 512.

⁹⁵⁶ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 512.

⁹⁵⁷ Anon, “A film Western-local style”, 6.

⁹⁵⁸ R. Daniel, “Where he belongs”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November 1983, 3.

Ken Annakin, produced by Jamie Uys Film Productions⁹⁵⁹) – a Western – which was made a year before and cost R42 000.⁹⁶⁰ On the other hand, the criticism could be simply because the film was on the SAW. As mentioned above, interest in the war declined in the 1960s despite the importance of the war for many Afrikaners. Therefore, Nofal only spent R14 000 on the film – one critic noted that Nofal used local actors to “make a better Western for less than the tea money spent on that production [*Hellions*]”⁹⁶¹, whereas *The Hellions* had international actors and a British director (Annakin), which added to the production cost. With *Voor Sononder*, Nofal did indeed prove that Afrikaans-language Westerns could be just as great as international Westerns, despite their low cost, according to two reviewers. One critic noted that especially the fight scenes are comparable to those in Hollywood films.⁹⁶²

The première of the second film, *Die Kavaliers*, was supposed to be held by Ster Films on 10 September 1966 at the Voortrekker Monument, but the release had to be postponed.⁹⁶³ They expected approximately 40 000 people to come and watch the film.⁹⁶⁴ The première was postponed because of Verwoerd’s assassination on 6 September 1966. Verwoerd was assassinated by Dimitri Tsafendas in Parliament on 6 September 1966.⁹⁶⁵ The funeral took place on 10 September. All businesses and schools were closed, so that as many people as possible could attend Verwoerd’s funeral.⁹⁶⁶ Verwoerd had played an important role in many Afrikaners’ lives. Therefore, about a quarter of a million people attended his funeral.⁹⁶⁷ This was because Verwoerd freed Afrikaners from the British in 1961 when he not only declared South Africa a republic, but also left the Commonwealth. Verwoerd also played an important part in the campaign against Afrikaner poverty in the 1930s and made an attempt to unite White English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners.⁹⁶⁸ When Verwoerd, died many Afrikaners’

⁹⁵⁹ The same film company was also responsible for *Voor Sononder*.

⁹⁶⁰ Daniel, “Where he belongs”, 3.

⁹⁶¹ Daniel, “Where he belongs”, 3.

⁹⁶² Daniel, “Where he belongs”, 3; Anon, “A film Western-local style”, 6.

⁹⁶³ Anon, “Schools close early after services tomorrow,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 September 1966, 5; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 62; Ritzer, “Gunfight”, 51.

⁹⁶⁴ Anon, “Schools close early”, 5.

⁹⁶⁵ R. Tabane, ““The man who assassinated Verwoerd was not mad””, *News24*, 22 November 2018, <https://www.news24.com/citypress/trending/books/the-man-who-assassinated-verwoerd-was-not-mad-20181122>, accessed 2 March 2021; R. Ross, *A concise history*, 139; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 423; Le May, *The Afrikaners: An historical interpretation*, 230; K. du Pisani, “B.J. Vorster and separate development,” in *A history of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 349; Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 153.

⁹⁶⁶ Anon, “Schools close early”, 5.

⁹⁶⁷ D.A. Gross, “How should South Africa remember the architect of Apartheid?”, 2016, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-should-south-africa-remember-architect-apartheid-180960449/>, accessed 3 March 2021.

⁹⁶⁸ R.B. Miller, “Science and society in the early career of H.F. Verwoerd,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19 no. 4 (1993), 634.

fear of the *swart gevaar* increased, as they wondered if apartheid would continue, but nothing changed, as John Vorster, who followed Verwoerd, continued with the system.

Despite the postponement, *Die Kavaliers* was released on 24 September 1966 at the Voortrekker Monument. The venue was chosen to promote Afrikaner nationalism because the Voortrekker Monument celebrates the Great Trek and the Battle of Blood River through high relief friezes displayed in the monument.⁹⁶⁹ Furthermore, the monument seems to protect the construct of Afrikanerdom through its fort-like building style.⁹⁷⁰ Therefore, it can be argued that the place was used to remind Afrikaners of how far the *volk* had come to be independent from Britain.

The film had mixed reviews. On the one hand, the film portrayed the war as an ideological war, but on the other, it has a light-heartedness and a zest for life that never allows the horrors of war get too uncomfortably close to home.⁹⁷¹ Van Nierop claims that the film is too predictable and does not have a strong line of tension. Van Nierop notes that “vir waarskynlikheid sal die storie waarskynlik ook nie 'n predikaat kry nie” [in terms of probability, the story is also unlikely to get much credence],⁹⁷² but he acknowledges that probability is not something an action film has to worry much about. The dialogue is loose, easy to follow, and convincing.⁹⁷³ Based on these popular strategies, it seems that Van Nierop is affronted by the fact that the war is shown in a light-hearted manner (where everyone is cheerful about the war). However, it may be argued that many filmmakers had no choice but to make light-hearted films if they wanted a subsidy (as discussed in Chapter 2).

The last film, *Krugermiljoene*, was not as successful as *Die Kavaliers*, despite its being a sequel to *Die Kavaliers*.⁹⁷⁴ A reporter of the *Rand Daily Mail* who watched the film a few years later on SABC’s TV1⁹⁷⁵ agreed that the film was “one of the most self-conscious flops the local

⁹⁶⁹ A. M. Grundlingh, “A cultural conundrum? Old monuments and new regimes: The Voortrekker Monument as symbol of Afrikaner power in a postapartheid South Africa,” *Radical History Review* 81 no. 1 (2001), 95; A. Lichtenstein, “The Voortrekker Monument and the many mistakes of the Afrikaner past,” March 2019, <https://africasacountry.com/2013/03/the-voortrekker-monument-and-the-many-mistakes-of-the-afrikaner-past>, accessed 6 May 2020.

⁹⁷⁰ Grundlingh, “A cultural conundrum?”, 97.

⁹⁷¹ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 142.

⁹⁷² Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 142.

⁹⁷³ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 142.

⁹⁷⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 50.

⁹⁷⁵ *Krugermiljoene* was shown on SABC’s TV 1 during the 1980s to promote Afrikaner culture, possibly because the 1980s remained a turbulent time in South Africa, as discussed in Chapter 5. However, some South Africans regarded the Afrikaans-language films that were released every second Sunday as being in poor taste. Anon, “Glenn’s pearls have faded,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March 1984, 8.

industry has ever produced”.⁹⁷⁶ A reason for this was that the team encountered problems with the script, which was not as good as that of *Die Kavaliers*.⁹⁷⁷ Another reason could be that the film was released in 1967, a year after the Border War started. The Border War replaced the SAW in the public consciousness for a while. There was a new war, only now the enemies were no longer the British, but Black people (the *swart gevaar*) and communists (the *rooi gevaar* [red threat]). Another possible reason why this film failed was that Afrikaners were simply tired of war and Afrikaner disagreement. Rodney Warwick notes that this is because “thousands living, remembered the traumatic Second World War intra-Afrikaner disputes”.⁹⁷⁸

4.5 Conclusion

By the 1960s, Afrikaners no longer felt that it was necessary to focus on the SAW in their films as much as they had in the 1930s to 1940s, because they were not only financially strong, but they were also independent of Britain when the country became a republic in 1961. However, the war still played a part in Afrikaners’ life as it reminded them of how far they had come and the sacrifices their forebears had made so that they can get their independence. Films on the SAW could inspire Afrikaners to try to avoid repeating the past and not to allow other nations to control them again. The memory of bitterness, which was exploited by films on the SAW, caused fear among Afrikaners of being controlled again.

Afrikaners were still not a homogenous nation, not even in the 1960s. They were still divided over political issues, just like they were in the 1930s to 1940s. These groups clashed in ways reflected in the scene between Bester and Martie’s father. The counterculture movement of the 1960s widened the fissures between Afrikaners even further, and the decade was marked by a stronger demand for giving a voice to the voiceless (Black people). On the one hand, there were Afrikaners such as the Sestigers (who were inspired by the counterculture and who opposed apartheid), while on the other hand there were Afrikaners who supported apartheid and the apartheid government (who were highly conservative). The government had the upper hand, because it banned many of the Sestigers’ work, branding them traitors. The scenes showing what happens to traitors in *Voor Sononder* (Bester) and *Krugermiljoene* (Van Lindt) thus hold an implicit threat.

⁹⁷⁶ Anon, “Glenn’s pearls”, 8.

⁹⁷⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 50.

⁹⁷⁸ Warwick, “The SADF”, 142.

The portrayal of the *volksmoeder*, the Afrikaner man, and the SAW in the films from the 1960s is slightly different from that in the 1930s to 1940s. This may be mostly ascribed to the countercultural shifts that took place in the 1960s, which included various movements such as Women's Rights movement. Women of the 1960s demanded a say not only in politics but also over their bodies, as they no longer want to be seen as only "mother figures". Afrikaner women were discouraged from participating in this movement, which was portrayed as a threat to the Afrikaner *volk*. The apartheid government did not want Afrikaner women to question the Afrikaner patriarchal system that kept them in their place. As in the two *Sarie Marais* films of 1931 and 1949, which used the image of the *volksmoeders* to show Afrikaner women that their place is at home, the *volksmoeder* image was still used during the 1960s to show Afrikaner women that their place was at home. For example, Dinah was shown as submissive. However, unlike the two *Sarie Marais* films, *Voor Sononder* starts to question Afrikaner women's place in society as it also portrays Martie as a *volksmoeder* who is more active than submissive. However, the government did not necessarily approve of active women, so the film could also have used Martie, who slaps a man, which is considered as unladylike, to show that Afrikaner women must not behave like Martie if they wanted to be part of the *volk*.

The counterculture also influenced the portrayal of men in these films, as men started questioning what it was to be a man. Even the image of the Afrikaner hegemonic man changed to some degree as a result of the 1960s counterculture. For example, Chris Botha is shown wearing an item of jewellery, the locket, which indicates that some Afrikaner men were starting to question what constitutes the hegemonic man and it showed that hegemonic men had a softer side, but they were afraid to show it because they were afraid that they would be mocked. However, like the two *Sarie Marais* films, the three films still had to portray their heroes as hegemonic men, if they wanted a subsidy. Furthermore, the government needed the films to show hegemonic men (without significant faults), as they needed Afrikaner men to fight for their country when they need them the most.

The counterculture also gave a voice to Blacks because of Macmillan's speech and the Civil Right movement. However, Blacks in South Africa's voices are silenced in these films, because of apartheid, just like their counterparts in the two *Sarie Marais* films. For example, Jafta's role is minute; his only line in the film is "ja". Thus, Afrikaners oppressed Blacks through apartheid laws to keep them "in their place". Unlike *Sarie Marais* (1949), which shows at least courteous relations between some Afrikaners and Black people, none of the films from the 1960s show White people being sympathetic towards Blacks. Take for example, the scene

where the British threaten them by calling them “bastards”. The current events added to Whites fear of the *swart gevaar*. For this reason, there were no Blacks in *Krugermiljoene*, suggesting a White world without any Black threat.

During the 1930s to 1940s, White English-speaking South Africans were seen as the “enemies” because of what the British did to Afrikaners during the SAW. By the 1960s, White English-speaking South Africans had become more integrated in the South African community and the government was more conciliatory towards them.

5 Chapter 5: The 1980s

5.1 Introduction

The 1980s was a turbulent time for South Africa, because of increasing local and international pressure to end apartheid, especially after the Soweto Uprisings of 1976. As a result of its refusal to dismantle apartheid, South Africa had come to be regarded as a pariah state.⁹⁷⁹ To put pressure on the government, economic, cultural, sport, academic, and political sanctions against the apartheid state increased. The global community isolated the country; its businesses were subject to a growing number of international sanctions and its sportspeople were shunned.⁹⁸⁰ Foreign investments dried up and unrest in the country increased, which caused the entire apartheid structure to crack at the seams.⁹⁸¹ These actions had a negative impact on the country's economy. By the late 1980s, a meeting between Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party and Thabo Mbeki from the ANC, took place in Dakar, Senegal, between 9 and 12 July 1987, to talk about how to end apartheid peacefully.

While South Africans were learning to “adapt or die”,⁹⁸² three films on the SAW were released during the 1980s: *Gideon Schempers* (1982, Henk Hugo), *Danie Theron* (1983, Fred Nel), and *Torn Allegiance* (1984, Alan Nathanson). This chapter analyses these three films in the context of the apartheid state under siege. The chapter suggests that these films can be viewed as propaganda aimed at bolstering Afrikaner morale. It can be argued that during a period of intense global and local criticism and pressure and a sense of being besieged, these films sought to remind Afrikaners that they had survived far worse challenges in their past. Furthermore, despite the atrocities and defeat of the SAW, Afrikaners had not only survived but flourished. These films recalled the bitter and traumatic past of the SAW as both a reminder and a metaphor for ultimate triumph.

⁹⁷⁹ P. Joyce, *The making of a nation: South Africa's road to freedom* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2007), 155.

⁹⁸⁰ Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 155.

⁹⁸¹ Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 155.

⁹⁸² This phrase was part of a speech by P.W. Botha, then Prime Minister (1979), a result of all the turmoil taking place in the background. In Botha's speech, he warned that “We must make adaptations, otherwise we will die”. Simpson, *History of South Africa*, 195.

5.2 Summaries of the films

The first film that was made in the 1980s was *Gideon Scheepers* (1982) – a one hour and 48-minute television film – which was directed by Henk Hugo and produced by the SABC.⁹⁸³ It is a biographical film⁹⁸⁴ based on Gideon Jacobus Scheepers, a Boer commandant during the SAW. More specifically, it is a biographical sketch of his participation in the war, his capture, detention, trial, and execution, rather than a comprehensive biography tracing all of his life. Hence, the film does not address his childhood or formative years and experiences, nor does it address his motivations for participation in the war. In this sense, the film implies that fighting in the war was an inevitability for Afrikaner men. In the film, Gideon Scheepers (Danie Joubert), leads his commando to the Cape to get help for the Boers. While he is there, he burns the homes of supporters of the British, destroys railway lines, and punishes Black spies. However, he gets ill and has to be left behind. He is then captured by the British who take him to Graaff-Reinet, where he has to face 16 charges for the above-mentioned actions because the British consider them as treason. Thus, they sentence him to death by shooting him. When Scheepers hears that he would die, he is proud that he will die as a martyr for his *volk*'s independence.

Danie Theron (1983) was released a year after *Gideon Scheepers* by Scholtz Films. The film was directed by Fred Nel.⁹⁸⁵ The film is also a biographical film. It follows Daniël Johannes Stephanus or Danie Theron (Hans Strydom), a Boer “verkenner” (scout), and his career during the SAW. After Danie Theron’s fiancée, Hannie Neethling, dies, he realises that the Boers need him to win the war. He comes up with ideas such as using bicycles and creating a spy network, which proves to be successful. Theron is a stubborn man who refuses to say no. Thus, when he receives an order to send a message to General Piet Cronjé, he does not hesitate to fulfil this order. However, he was killed during the Battle of Gatsrand, near Johannesburg, in the then Transvaal.

⁹⁸³ IMDb, “Henk Hugo,” 2021, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm1450153/?ref=tt_ov_dr, accessed 29 September 2021.

⁹⁸⁴ A biographical film or biopic is a film about real people who lived in the past. Rosenstone describes a biopic as a film where individuals are at the centre of the historical process or are worth studying as exemplars of lives, actions, and individual values we either admire or dislike. According to Burgoyne, a biopic can illuminate the trauma of the past by focusing on an individual life. Rosenstone, *History on Film*, 40; Burgoyne, *The Hollywood historical film*, 103.

⁹⁸⁵ IMDb, “Fred Nel: Biography,” 2021, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm1272625/bio?ref=nm_ov_bio_sm, accessed 9 October 2021.

The last SAW film that was released and shown in the 1980s is *Torn Allegiance* (1984). The film was directed by Alan Nathanson and was released by Mandalay/Progear and the SABC.⁹⁸⁶ The story takes place during the SAW. It is about a family whose loyalties are split, with men fighting in the war and women caught in the backlash of a war.⁹⁸⁷ The story is about how the war influences the lives of Boer women such as Ma van Erst (Shelagh Holliday), an Englishwoman, who marries a Boer before the SAW, her daughter-in-law Maria (Ilse Schmidt) and daughter Sanna (Trevyn McDowell) and how they have to cope with the war and the horrors of it, such as rape. The Van Erst family also lose their home due to the scorched-earth policy, just like many other Boer families, because they assist a Boer commando which includes Sanna's brother and Henk (Marius Weyers), a family friend. Lieutenant Harry Wyckham (Jonathon Morris) is a British officer who is divided over his duty to his country and his compassion for the Boers. He is unwilling to destroy the Van Ersts' home, as he knows it is all that they have. He is prepared to look for another household that is assisting Boer commandos, but his men are tired, and the Van Ersts' home is closer. Wyckham does not know that Ma is related to Wyckham's officer-in-charge, Duncan Grey (Joe Stewardson), who in turn does not know that her home has been destroyed or that she supports the commando. The film also focuses on the hardship many Boer women had to deal with during the SAW, such as rape as some British could not always control their lust they had for women (in this case Boer women). This presents a threat to the volk as it can lead to rape. When the women are ordered to leave the house (so that the British can destroy their home) Stan Archer (Ron Smerczak) torments Sanna by holding her doll out of reach. Every time she jumps to get the doll, her breasts bounce, which arouses him, posing a threat to Sanna, despite her young age. Just like many Boer families, the Van Ersts are supposed to be taken to the camps, but on the way to the camps, Ma asks Wyckham, if she, Maria, and Sanna can return home, even though it is in ruins. Wyckham agrees, but only because he wants to use the Van Erst women as bait to capture the Boer commando. As their house has been destroyed, they live in the barn and continue to feed the Boer commando. When Ma's brother finds out that her home has been destroyed, he visits her, but the visit does not last long; when she realises it was he who ordered the destruction of the Boer homes, she rejects him. One night the commando comes to eat some food and rest. While they are there, Henk and Sanna go out to get water and they kiss, but Henk realises that

⁹⁸⁶ IMDb, "*Torn Allegiance*," 2021, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0265881/?ref=ttfc_fc_tt, accessed 18 October 2021; IMDb, "Alan Nathanson," 2021, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0622276/?ref=tt_ov_dr, accessed 18 October 2021.

⁹⁸⁷ "D. Jamie", "*Torn Allegiance*," 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mKQcnPFusU>, accessed 14 March 2022.

he is too old for her and he stops kissing her, which upsets Sanna, who believes that she is a woman. The next day the commando leaves to capture some food and weapons from a British camp to replenish their weapons and ammunition. When they are seen by the British, a skirmish breaks out between the Boer commando and the British. Many men are killed during the skirmish, including British soldiers, which makes Wyckham angry, so he takes a few men, including Archer, to find the remaining Boers. While they are looking for the commando, Archer and a friend come across Sanna swimming naked, so they try to lure her to the shore by throwing things in the water. When Maria sees this, she runs to Ma, who is being questioned by Wyckham about the whereabouts of the Boer commando. When they hear what Maria says, Ma and Wyckham both run to help Sanna. A fist fight between Archer and Wyckham breaks out, which the latter wins. Thus, Archer is sentenced and taken away. The film ends with Wyckham asking when he can see Sanna again.

5.3 Comparative analysis of common themes

The Sharpeville Massacre (1960) and the Soweto Uprising (1976) shaped the course of the 1980s, as these events led to boycotts and sanctions, which threatened the apartheid government's position. Moreover, the 1980s witnessed increasingly vocal and violent anti-apartheid resistance, at the international and local levels. At the international level, resistance took the form of a global network that can be broadly categorised as the Anti-Apartheid Movement, with a strong presence in Britain, the United States, as well as numerous European countries. In Britain, for example, the movement was supported by a network of organisations including churches, student bodies and political parties across Britain.⁹⁸⁸ The Anti-Apartheid Movement was created by South African activists in exile in Britain in the form of the Boycott Movement in 1959, which grew out of mounting opposition to colonialism.⁹⁸⁹ The aim of the movement was to persuade the British public not to buy South African products.⁹⁹⁰ The name was changed to the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the 1960s after international outrage following the events in Sharpeville.⁹⁹¹ The Anti-Apartheid Movement had the following aims: to “shun Verwoerd’s South Africa” by demanding the withdrawal of British diplomatic

⁹⁸⁸ C. Gurney, “‘A Great Cause’: The origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26 no. 1 (2000), 128.

⁹⁸⁹ M. Graham and C. Fevre, “Boycotts, rallies and Free Mandela: UK Anti-Apartheid Movement created a blueprint for activists today,” 2020, <https://theconversation.com/boycotts-rallies-and-free-mandela-uk-anti-apartheid-movement-created-a-blueprint-for-activists-today-134857>, accessed 29 June 2022.

⁹⁹⁰ Graham and Fevre, “Boycotts”; Gurney, “‘A Great Cause’”, 123; G. Klein, “The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and political prisoner campaigns, 1973-1980,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35 no. 2 (2009), 455.

⁹⁹¹ Graham and Fevre, “Boycotts”; Gurney, “‘A Great Cause’”, 123.

representation in South Africa and asking the United Nations (UN) to impose sanctions and boycotts against South Africa.⁹⁹² The UN, which believed that apartheid was a threat to international peace, instituted sanctions to end apartheid by isolating the country.⁹⁹³ These sanctions included cultural, sport, and financial sanctions.

The UN called for artists to refuse to play at any cultural events in South Africa, to “communicate the message that there can be no normal cultural and intellectual exchanges, in an abnormal society, and that the government concerned is considered a pariah”.⁹⁹⁴ The government’s response to the cultural boycotts was to offer artists large sums to entice them to tour the country. An example of this was the Sun City project, where the government “bought” artists to come and play at Sun City, a gambling and entertainment resort in what was then the homeland of Bophuthatswana. Many artists adhered to the UN boycott by refusing such invitations. For example, Roberta Flack, an American singer, refused to take the money offered.⁹⁹⁵ Some artists, such as Elton John, Frank Sinatra,⁹⁹⁶ Rod Stewart, and Queen ignored the UN ban and played at Sun City, attracted by the vast sums offered.⁹⁹⁷ They paid a high price for their decision, however, as they were condemned by their countries when they returned. The band Queen was fined by the British Musicians’ Union and became a music press pariah for a while as a punishment for performing at Sun City.⁹⁹⁸

The world also boycotted sports events, because the country’s “national” teams were racially exclusive, so their presence in the international arena raised profound questions about the representativeness of the country.⁹⁹⁹ As with the Sun City project, the UN banned international teams from participating in South Africa due to apartheid, and from playing against touring South African teams. Under the UN Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, 27 countries

⁹⁹² Gurney, ““A Great Cause””, 144.

⁹⁹³ E.S. Reddy, “The struggle against Apartheid: Lessons for today’s world,” n.d., <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/struggle-against-apartheid-lessons-todays-world>, access 27 November 2021; A.M. Mangu, “The historic contribution of the United Nations to the resolution of conflicts in Southern Africa,” 2011/3, <https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/the-historic-contribution-of-the-united-nations-to-the-resolution-of-conflicts-in-southern-africa/>, accessed 27 November 2021.

⁹⁹⁴ J. Duncan, “Cultural boycotts as tools for social change: Lessons from South Africa,” *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 92 no. 1 (2016), 60.

⁹⁹⁵ M.C. Beaubien, “The cultural boycott of South Africa,” *Africa Today* 29 no. 4 (1982), 12.

⁹⁹⁶ Sinatra was offered \$1.79 million to play in a series of nine concerts at Sun City. Sinatra did not hesitate to take the money despite the world’s outcry to end Apartheid. Beaubien, “The cultural boycott”, 6.

⁹⁹⁷ Anon., “Elton John South Africa tour jogs memories of Sun City gigs,” 2013, <https://web.archive.org/web/20131219073038/http://www.nationmultimedia.com/home/Elton-John-South-Africa-tour-jogs-memories-of-Sun--30061905.html>, accessed 27 November 2021.

⁹⁹⁸ J. Harris, “The sins of St Freddie,” *The Guardian*, 14 January 2005, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2005/jan/14/2>, accessed 26 July 2022.

⁹⁹⁹ R. Nixon, “Apartheid on the run: The South African sports boycott,” *Transition* 58 (1992), 70.

agreed to bar entry to athletes from other countries who had played in South Africa.¹⁰⁰⁰ Yet there were also sports stars who ignored the UN and accepted “blood money” to play in South Africa. When they returned to their countries, they lost their stardom, as they were seen as supporters of apartheid, and as a result, they were often socially ostracized.¹⁰⁰¹

Lastly, the world boycotted the financial sector. Many countries withdrew investments from South Africa because of UN pressure to end apartheid.¹⁰⁰² Furthermore, foreign banks called in the country’s loans, and they refused to give the country new loans, which made the country financially vulnerable.¹⁰⁰³ However, as with the sport and cultural events, some banks still supported South Africa financially. One of these was the World Bank, which still provided loans to South Africa. The World Bank argued that they were not legally bound to follow UN resolutions.¹⁰⁰⁴ The Anti-Apartheid Movement boycotted Barclays Bank and Shell for continued operations in South Africa. The movement’s “Free Nelson Mandela” Campaign, held at Wembley Stadium in 1988, took the Anti-Apartheid Movement to the next level.¹⁰⁰⁵ Mandela was used to personalise the struggle for freedom and to make more people aware of the negative impact of apartheid.¹⁰⁰⁶

This movement also spread to South Africa as more Black people came to the cities for work and Black unions started to agitate for the gap between Black people and Whites to be closed.¹⁰⁰⁷ Furthermore, organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), established in 1983 by Allan Boesak,¹⁰⁰⁸ opposed apartheid by encouraging people inside South Africa to boycott consumer goods, as well as to implement bus and rent boycotts, which crippled

¹⁰⁰⁰ B. Kidd, “The campaign against sport in South Africa,” *International Journal* 43 no. 4 (1988), 643.

¹⁰⁰¹ Nixon, “Apartheid on the run”, 79; Kidd, “The campaign against sport”, 646.

¹⁰⁰² P.I. Levy, “Sanctions on South Africa: What did they do?” *The American Economic Review* 89 no. 2 (1999), 415-416.

¹⁰⁰³ H. Giliomee, “Uprising, war and transition, 1984-1994,” in *A history of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 414; Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 158; C. McGreal, “Boycotts and sanctions helped rid South Africa of apartheid – is Israel next in line?,” *The Guardian*, 23 May 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/23/israel-apartheid-boycotts-sanctions-south-africa>, accessed 27 November 2021.

¹⁰⁰⁴ E. Toussaint and P. Bond, “South Africa: The support of the World Bank and the IMF to the Apartheid regime,” 2019, <https://www.cadtm.org/South-Africa-The-support-of-the-World-Bank-and-the-IMF-to-the-Apartheid-regime>, accessed 27 November 2021.

¹⁰⁰⁵ M. Graham and F. Christopher, “‘Mandela’s out so Apartheid has finished’: The British Anti-Apartheid Movement and South Africa’s transition to majority rule, 1990-1994,” *Contemporary British History* 36 no. 3 (2022), 1-2.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Graham and Christopher, “‘Mandela’s out”, 5, 7.

¹⁰⁰⁷ H. Giliomee, “‘Adapt or die’, 1978-1984,” in *A History of South African from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 408.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Allan Boesak was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, a politician and anti-Apartheid activist, and a somewhat controversial figure. M. Plaatjies-Van Huffel, “The unsettling story about Allan Boesak’s involvement in the struggle against apartheid,” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 44 no. 1 (2018), 2.

Afrikaner businesses as they depended on these people's custom.¹⁰⁰⁹ For some people, the UDF become a symbol and a mechanism of nationwide co-ordination.¹⁰¹⁰ The UDF aimed to unite all who were against apartheid and it adopted the 1955 Freedom Charter "as its directive and rejected all apartheid structures".¹⁰¹¹ The UDF's campaigns were intended to make the country ungovernable, which led to a chain of events that would end apartheid (these events included the Dakar meeting). As a result, the government saw them as a threat which led to a declaration of a state of emergency which banned organisations such as the UDF.¹⁰¹² The ANC at first did not welcome the UDF.¹⁰¹³ This changed during the 1980s, as the UDF was at the forefront in supporting the ANC, keeping the spirit of resistance alive, while the leaders of the ANC were in exile or in detention.¹⁰¹⁴ According to Raymond Suttner, many UDF members "saw themselves as carrying out the mandates of the ANC". The ANC did not instigate the UDF, and the UDF was not a surrogate for the ANC, but much of the UDF's success was connected to its close relationship with the ANC.¹⁰¹⁵ Although many UDF leaders were connected to ANC, the ANC showed "an increasing intolerance for the values upheld by the UDF" despite the fact that the UDF helped to bring the ANC back from the "semi-periphery to the Centre of South African politics".¹⁰¹⁶ The UDF dissolved in 1991 on the eighth anniversary of its establishment, but its legacy lives on in the unbanned ANC.¹⁰¹⁷

The organisations had some differences. The UDF criticised the use of violence, while the ANC made the decision to use it, as the ANC believed that doing so was the only way to end apartheid. The ANC's armed struggle was predominantly carried out by MK, its armed military wing, which was established in 1960.¹⁰¹⁸ At first the ANC did not use violence, but after decades of nonviolent opposition failed to budge White rule, and after the Rivonia trial, and

¹⁰⁰⁹ Grobler, "Black resistance", 391-392; Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 159; J. Seekings, *The UDF: A history of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2000), 2.

¹⁰¹⁰ Seekings, *The UDF*, 3.

¹⁰¹¹ Plaatjies-Van Huffel, "The unsettling story", 13; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 379; K. du Pisani, "On the threshold of freedom: The United Democratic Front and South Africa's transition to democracy," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 36 no. 1 (2002), 124; Grobler, "Black resistance", 391; Ross, *A concise history*, 170; Berger, *South Africa in World History*, 142.

¹⁰¹² Grobler, "Black resistance", 392, 395; P. Bond, "South African people power since the mid-1980s: Two steps forward, one back," *Third World Quarterly* 33 no. 2 (2012), 247.

¹⁰¹³ Du Pisani, "On the threshold", 125.

¹⁰¹⁴ Du Pisani, "On the threshold", 124.

¹⁰¹⁵ Du Pisani, "On the threshold", 124; R. Suttner, "The UDF period and its meaning for contemporary South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30 no. 3(2004), 698.

¹⁰¹⁶ Du Pisani, "On the threshold", 127; G. Kenneth, "The capacities of the people versus a predominant, militarist, ethno-nationalist elite: Democratisation in South Africa c. 1973-97," *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 3 no. 2 (2011), 311; Seekings, *The UDF*, x.

¹⁰¹⁷ Du Pisani, "On the threshold", 125.

¹⁰¹⁸ Kenneth, "The capacities", 322.

the banning of the ANC, MK carried out the ANC's change in strategy.¹⁰¹⁹ The ANC came to consider armed struggle as the only means to rebuild its internal political presence and challenge apartheid.¹⁰²⁰ Therefore, from 1976 to 1978, many MK members trained in various countries such as Angola, Algeria, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the Soviet Union, which sponsored many of the ANC's weapons.¹⁰²¹ The 1980s saw an increase in the armed struggle as MK stepped up its acts of violence. The apartheid government was not as strong as it was in the 1960s, as it was losing control over the homelands, which tilted the balance in favour of insurgency.¹⁰²² As the government stepped up its attempt to control the situation, MK became more violent, which led to various attacks and bombings during the 1980s around the country. In 1980, MK hit the Sasol oil refinery complex, causing damage estimated at R66 million, which showed their capability to move beyond simpler acts of sabotage.¹⁰²³ The following year, MK sabotaged an Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) power plant in the then Transvaal as part of the nationwide protests against Republic Day on 31 May.¹⁰²⁴ The following year saw two attacks, namely a rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte, the military's main base in Pretoria, and the explosion at the Koeberg nuclear station, Cape Town.¹⁰²⁵ Then came the Church Street bombing (in what is now Stanza Bopape Street) in Pretoria in 1983. MK bombed the South African Defence Force head office, located in Nedbank Square on 20 May 1983, killing approximately 19 (including the two bombers) and injuring 217, mostly civilians. This bomb became known as "the largest act of bombing terrorism in Pretoria's history".¹⁰²⁶

The government's response to the armed struggle was to try to prove that its control over security and "law and order" was absolute.¹⁰²⁷ Therefore, the government declared two States of Emergency in 1985 and 1986, and hanged a number of MK members who had been captured to crush Black resistance. Despite this, MK's actions helped Blacks to achieve their freedom.

¹⁰¹⁹ Kenneth, "The capacities", 327; J. Goodwin, "'The Struggle made me a nonracialist': Why there was so little terrorism in the Antiapartheid struggle," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 no. 2 (2007), 194.

¹⁰²⁰ Kenneth, "The capacities", 327.

¹⁰²¹ J-A. Van Wyk, "Nuclear terrorism in Africa: The ANC's Operation Mac and the attack on the Koeberg nuclear power station in South Africa," *Historia* 60 no. 2 (2015), 58.

¹⁰²² R. Kasrils, "Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK): How the armed struggle succeeded," *Daily Maverick*, 5 December 2016, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-12-05-umkhonto-we-sizwe-mk-how-the-armed-struggle-succeeded/>, accessed 27 July 2022.

¹⁰²³ R. Williams, "The other armies: A brief historical overview of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK), 1961-1994," 2000, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol115rw.html>, accessed 27 July 2022; Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, 214.

¹⁰²⁴ Williams, "The other armies".

¹⁰²⁵ Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, 214.

¹⁰²⁶ Dickens, P. "The ANC's use of the death penalty!," n.d., <https://samihistory.com/tag/mk/>, accessed 28 July 2022; BBC, "1983: Car bomb in South Africa kills 16," 20 May 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/20/newsid_4326000/4326975.stm, accessed 28 July 2022.

¹⁰²⁷ Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, 215.

After the first democratic elections in 1994, many MK soldiers were integrated into what became known as South African National Defence Force, formerly known as the South African Defence Force. Many MK members were included in a jointly composed force that safeguarded the elections.¹⁰²⁸

Many Afrikaners in the 1960s may have lost interest in the SAW, but by the 1980s, there was a renewed interest in it, as the Anti-Apartheid Movement, boycotts, and sanctions left the NP beleaguered, with a weakened economy.¹⁰²⁹ Grundlingh points out that for many Afrikaners, this made them feel as though they were experiencing the same feelings their forebears did after the SAW. They feared being “marginalized in their own country; they would have to give up their material culture, forfeit their political power and status, sacrifice their ‘own’ schools and lose their own cultural identity to face an uncertain future”. Furthermore, many Afrikaners compared themselves to the Kruger government before the outbreak of the SAW, facing *uitlanders* who demanded voting rights. Just like the *uitlanders*, Blacks also demanded political rights. Like the *uitlanders* before them, the political position of urban Blacks also attracted the attention of outside powers, which, in the *uitlanders’* case, was Britain.¹⁰³⁰ As a result of these fears, the SAW became an important factor in Afrikaner ideology again. As Grundlingh notes, comparison to the SAW was “certainly apt for much of the 1980s as an embattled state tried to quell insurrectionary violence, conducted cross-border raids against the African National Congress and others seen to be the enemy, and attempted to deal with the deleterious effects of economic sanctions”.¹⁰³¹

The turmoil made many Afrikaners afraid, as they knew it meant that their place “on top” was under siege. They needed Afrikaner heroes who could lead them out of this situation, while at the same time defending the imagined *volk*. According to Zuern and James, heroes demonstrate the nation’s strengths at challenging moments, as their courage and abilities in fighting for their people help to establish a nation as a collective, which inspires a nation into being after the fighting stops.¹⁰³²

¹⁰²⁸ S.R. Davis, *The ANC’s war against Apartheid: Umkhonto We Sizwe and the liberation of South Africa* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2018), 22.

¹⁰²⁹ Du Pisani, “‘Volkshelde’”, *Literator* 20 no. 3 (1999), 100.

¹⁰³⁰ Grundlingh, “The war in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 30.

¹⁰³¹ Grundlingh, “The war in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 30.

¹⁰³² E. Zuern and J.M. James, “Heroes and victims in divided nationalism: The case of Namibia,” *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics* 14 no. 1 (2020): 1-2.

Du Pisani further notes that heroes support the value system underlying a particular culture. Images of heroes in a cultural group's collective consciousness are visible figures that can only be interpreted from within by members of the nation.¹⁰³³ This made the films *Gideon Scheepers* and *Danie Theron* vital because they gave the volk these heroes in the form of Gideon Scheepers and Danie Theron. Both men played a vital role in the war for which they will be remembered for generations to come, "because there is something meaningful in the story that appeals anew to each generation".¹⁰³⁴

Gideon Scheepers, born in 1878 in Middelburg in the then eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga), joined the State Artillery at the age of sixteen when he enrolled as a heliographer.¹⁰³⁵ Afterwards, he was transferred to another artillery unit in the Orange Free State to establish field heliography in that area.¹⁰³⁶ Scheepers contributed to the SAW by entering the Cape, under the leadership of Pieter Kritzinger, a Boer general, to enlist more Boers to fight in the war as they needed more help to extend the operational area for the Boers.¹⁰³⁷ However, it was his trial on 17 December 1901 and eventual execution that made him a hero to the *volk*. According to Kleijn, many questioned whether it was fair to condemn a person when the war was still going on.¹⁰³⁸ It can be argued that the film specifically highlights Scheepers's trial as a way of suggesting that to some viewers it may have appeared that, like the British who condemned an innocent man, so the world was condemning "innocent" nationalists Afrikaners when they placed sanctions on the country. Many Afrikaners believed that, just as with Scheepers, whose charges¹⁰³⁹ may have been fabricated by the British, the charges laid at their door were also made up. Like Scheepers (in the film and in real life) who pleaded not guilty to the entire indictment,¹⁰⁴⁰ they too pleaded not guilty, as they believed in their way of ensuring their survival both physically and racially. According to

¹⁰³³ Du Pisani, "Volkshelde", 87.

¹⁰³⁴ H.A. Shearing, "The Cape Rebel of the South African War, 1899-1902" (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2005), 4.

¹⁰³⁵ Harrison, *The White tribe*, 42; Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 405.

¹⁰³⁶ Harrison, *The White tribe*, 405.

¹⁰³⁷ G. Jooste, and A. Oosthuizen, *So het hulle gesterf: Gedenkboek van teregstellings van Kaapse rebelle en Republikeinse burgers tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902* (Pretoria: P. Van der Walt, 1998), 67.

¹⁰³⁸ A. Kleijn, "News – Toeka se dae," 2013, http://www.bronberger.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2113:tereggestelde-oorlogsheld-se-graf-n-eeu-steeds-soek&catid=50:toeka-se-dae&Itemid=76, accessed 13 December 2021.

¹⁰³⁹ Charges against Scheepers included murder, attempted murder, ill-treatment of prisoners, abusing prisoners, three charges for hitting people with a sjambok, two for damaging property, and one for arson. J. Greyling, "Die smarte van Sophie Scheepers," 2018, <https://eensgesind.com/die-smarte-van-sophie-scheepers/>, accessed 26 October 2021.

¹⁰⁴⁰ S. Watt, "Commandant Gideon Scheepers in the Cape Colony," 2019, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/jnl2/vol185gs.html>, accessed 5 October 2021.

Scheepers, he only executed commands from his superiors, who in this case was General Christiaan de Wet.¹⁰⁴¹ Scheepers further claimed that he only destroyed British homes because the Boers had issued a proclamation to Kitchener to tell him that the Cape Rebels would receive orders to destroy British homes as a counterattack to the scorched-earth policy.¹⁰⁴² Despite the claims in his defence, he was still executed by a firing squad on 18 January 1902.¹⁰⁴³ Some nationalist Afrikaners believed that they were being “executed” by the world, like Scheepers.

The effect of the film, which the director Henk Hugo may have used to manipulate audiences into thinking that their situation was the same as Scheepers’s, may be explained in terms of the Hypodermic Syringe Theory. The Hypodermic Syringe Theory, bullet theory, or magic bullet Theory “sees the mass media as having a direct, immediate and powerful effect on its audience”.¹⁰⁴⁴ In other words, the message of the film is directly received and wholly accepted by the receiver.¹⁰⁴⁵ Isaac Nahon-Serfaty agrees that the theory suggests that an audience falls “victim” to powerful media that can manipulate their emotions and shape their understanding of the world.¹⁰⁴⁶ A similar definition is that the media fires (like a gun) a message into the audience’s heads without their knowledge. This message causes an instant reaction in the audience’s mind.¹⁰⁴⁷ In a moment, the audience’s behaviour changes and they cannot resist the message.¹⁰⁴⁸ According to this theory, the audience is seen as a “‘homogeneous mass’ [...], as passive and believing what they see in the media without questioning the content”.¹⁰⁴⁹ Therefore, it is easy to manipulate the audience.¹⁰⁵⁰

The second film under discussion here is *Danie Theron*, based on the events surrounding the last years of Danie Theron, a lawyer born in Tulbagh in 1872, who was well-known for creating the Wielrijders Rapportgangers Corps [Cyclist’s report riders’ corps], which he and Koos Jooste, a champion cyclist, established in 1899, and the Theron Verkenningkorps [Theron

¹⁰⁴¹ Jooste and Oosthuizen, *So het hulle gesterf*, 162.

¹⁰⁴² Jooste and Oosthuizen, *So het hulle gesterf*, 162.

¹⁰⁴³ Kleijn, “News – Toeka se dae”.

¹⁰⁴⁴ C. Nwabueze, and E. Okonkwo, “Rethinking the bullet theory in the digital age,” *International Journal of Media, Journalism and Mass Communications* 4 no. 2 (2018), 1.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Nwabueze and Okonkwo, “Rethinking the bullet theory”, 1.

¹⁰⁴⁶ I. Nahon-Serfaty, “The hypodermic effect: How propaganda manipulates our emotions,” 2021, <https://theconversation.com/the-hypodermic-effect-how-propaganda-manipulates-our-emotions-94966>, accessed 10 December 2021.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Communication Theory, “Magic bullet or hypodermic needle theory of communication,” n.d., <https://www.communicationtheory.org/magic-bullet-or-hypodermic-needle-theory-of-communication>, accessed 10 December 2021.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Communication Theory, “Magic bullet”; Nwabueze and Okonkwo, “Rethinking the bullet theory”, 2.

¹⁰⁴⁹ K. Thompson, “The hypodermic syringe model of audience effects,” 2016, <https://revisesociology.com/2019/09/04/the-hypodermic-syringe-model-of-audience-effects/>, accessed 10 December 2021.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Nahon-Serfaty, “The hypodermic effect”.

Reconnaissance Corps], a spy network, which was established in 1900.¹⁰⁵¹ Furthermore, Theron never said no to an order, which the film specifically focused on to show that there were still Afrikaners who were willing to fight for the Afrikaner cause. These included those fighting in the Border War, which was something almost every White family was connected to. Theron's bravery was shown when he was ordered by De Wet to get a message to Cronjé, who was surrounded by Roberts's army, that De Wet would try to relieve him, but Cronjé needed to cross the Modder River to meet De Wet on the other side, where they would defeat Roberts's army.¹⁰⁵² This scene is shown in the film, not only to focus on Theron's bravery, but to show that Cronjé had no choice but to surrender, as his people had lost hope of ever getting out. Pretorius agrees that Cronjé was prepared to cross the river, but that his *krygraad* (council of war), which consisted of his officers refused, and as a result they surrendered on 27 February 1900.¹⁰⁵³ To add to the sense of bitterness, the camera captures close-ups of Boer faces, showing men grieving over their hopeless situation. They have no more food or water to drink, and they are surrounded by dead people. The women are in black to show that they are mourning the dead, and they realise that they will not be able to win the war. This is also another example of the Hypodermic Syringe Theory. Many Afrikaners of the 1980s could relate to Cronjé's situation, as they also had no place to escape to in the face of all the pressure to end apartheid. Therefore, it can be argued that this scene is the film's way of saying that like Cronjé, Afrikaners had no choice but to meet with the ANC to find a way to end apartheid.

This meeting with the ANC was known as the Dakar meeting, between the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (IDASA) and the ANC, and it was held in 1987.¹⁰⁵⁴ The meeting was essential, given all the political unrest in South Africa. The two States of Emergency in 1985 and 1986 had led to an increasing sense of anxiety and there was a strong possibility of civil war.¹⁰⁵⁵ Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, the official parliamentary opposition, who saw the absurdity in a parliament that ignored

¹⁰⁵¹ M. Swart, "Die stigting van Danie Theron se Wielrijders Rapportgangers Corps 1899," *Historia* 6 no. 4 (1961), 298-300; F. Pretorius, "Kan Danie Theron as heldsimbool só gered word?," *Die Burger*, 15 Maart 2003, 4.

¹⁰⁵² Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 24-25.

¹⁰⁵³ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 314.

¹⁰⁵⁴ H. Giliomee, "True confessions, end papers and the Dakar Conference: A review of the political arguments," *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 46 no. 2 (2009), 33; A. Nel, "Nonconformist journalism: The *Vrye Weekblad* as a form of Afrikaans resistance press in 1980s South Africa," *International Conference on Language, Medias and Culture, International Proceedings of Economics and Development Research* 33 (2012), 145.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Nel, "Nonconformist journalism", 145; C. Pienaar, "Voëlvy and the 'outlawed' Afrikaners: An analysis of 'the alternative Afrikaans music movement' and Afrikaner identity" (MA diss., University of Johannesburg, 2012), 23.

the conflict-ridden situation of the country, was one of the prominent delegates at the meeting.¹⁰⁵⁶ On the ANC side, a prominent delegate was Thabo Mbeki, who was to become the second president of the democratic South Africa.¹⁰⁵⁷ The meeting received wide publicity and was seen by some as the catalyst that broke the ice for the negotiations between the government and the ANC two and a half years later.¹⁰⁵⁸ The topics discussed included the violence in Black townships, a request for a democratic alternative, the ANC's commitment to an equitable non-racial future, economic policy in a post-apartheid South Africa, and cultural and language rights, with a particular emphasis on the future position of the Afrikaans language.¹⁰⁵⁹

Historically, Afrikaners have disagreed over various things such as whether to end apartheid or not. Therefore, it can be argued that the effect explained by the Hypodermic Syringe Theory may not have worked on all Afrikaners of the 1980s, as they were not a homogeneous group, just as their forebears were not a homogenous group in the 1800s or the 1900s to 1960s either. Liberal Afrikaners who went against the NP's ideology of the "Afrikaner first" included Beyers Naudé, a *dominee* [minister] of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and member of the Broederbond. At first, he followed the political philosophy of the NP, but the events that took place at Sharpeville changed his perspective.¹⁰⁶⁰ After that, he and some Cottesloe delegates from English-speaking churches formed the Christian Institute, to provide an ecumenical platform for those who were against apartheid.¹⁰⁶¹ Furthermore, he also refused to testify before the Schlebusch Commission. Therefore, he came into direct conflict with the government, who saw him as a threat, over the principle of justice and the rule of law.¹⁰⁶² This and the fact that he left the Broederbond led to his being branded a traitor to the *volk*. As a result, he not only faced fierce pro-apartheid attacks from the DRC, but was forced to resign his ministry.¹⁰⁶³

André P. Brink, a Sestiger, also continued his fight into the 1980s. Brink's work focused on social and political inequalities and chaotic conditions in South Africa created by the apartheid

¹⁰⁵⁶ F.A. Mouton, "'Had it too easy?' Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's resignation as leader of the official parliamentary opposition, 7 February 1986," *Historia* 60 no. 2 (2015), 68.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Pienaar, "Voëlvrý", 27;

¹⁰⁵⁸ Giliomee, "True confessions", 28.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Giliomee, "True confessions", 33.

¹⁰⁶⁰ P. Mnyaka, "Beyers Naudé – from pariah to national hero," 2022, <https://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/beyers-naude-pariah-national-hero>, accessed 28 July 2022.

¹⁰⁶¹ J.W. Hofmeyer and J.A. Millard, "The South African churches and apartheid," in *A history of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 620.

¹⁰⁶² Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948–1994*, 167.

¹⁰⁶³ Hofmeyer and Millard, "The South African churches", 620.

ideology.¹⁰⁶⁴ Furthermore, Brink's work debunks myths created by the apartheid regime aimed at legitimating and perpetuating White privileges and Black marginalisation.¹⁰⁶⁵ Therefore, the government banned two of his books, as they saw him as a *verraaier* who used the Afrikaans language to oppose apartheid. For example, *Kennis van die Aand* (1973), later translated as *Looking on Darkness* (1974) to escape the censorship and to reach a wider community, is a book about a Cape Coloured who kills his White lover, was the first novel in Afrikaans that was banned by the censors.¹⁰⁶⁶ Another book that was banned was *A Dry White Season* (1978) because Brink depicts and denounces arbitrary arrest, ill-treatment and discrimination that Black people had to deal with.¹⁰⁶⁷

In the film *Torn Allegiance*, there is also a liberal Afrikaner, Henk, a Boer, who questions the point of war. This can be a reflection of how liberal Afrikaners felt about their current situation, which was created by the campaigns against apartheid. These liberals included Afrikaners from the Voëlvry Movement and the newspaper *Vrye Weekblad*.

The Voëlvry Movement, which started in places such as the Black Sun Theatre and Jameson, both in Johannesburg, was a counterculture movement "that articulated political and cultural protest from younger musicians who challenged the Afrikaner nationalist establishment of their parents and grandparents' generations".¹⁰⁶⁸ Therefore, these young people broke away from conservative lifestyles and the hegemonic Afrikaner identity through rock-punk music known as "Boerepunk" (Boer punk) or the "Alterative Afrikaans Music Movement".¹⁰⁶⁹ These young Afrikaners criticised apartheid and Afrikanerdom through their lyrics, dress style, and even their stage names (such as Koos Kombuis or André Le Roux de Toit) to mock the NP, the DRC and South African Defence Force and other institutions and symbols that Afrikaner nationalists held sacred.¹⁰⁷⁰ Despite this, none of these youths rejected Afrikaner identity in its entirety.¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁶⁴ D. Emir, "Torture, violence and Apartheid in André P. Brink's *A Dry White Season*," *International Journal of Social Sciences and Education Research* 1 no. 4 (2015), 1070.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Diala, I. "André Brink: An aesthetics of response," *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 42 no. 1(2005), 5.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Emir, "Torture", 1071.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Emir, "Torture", 1071.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Van der Waal and Robins, "'De la Rey' and the revival", 764; A. Grundlingh, "'Rocking the boat' in South Africa? Voëlvry music and Afrikaans anti-Apartheid social protest in the 1980s," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 37 no. 3(2004), 487; A. Bezuidenhout, "From Voëlvry to De La Rey: Popular music, Afrikaner Nationalism and lost irony," *Litnet* 2007, <https://www.litnet.co.za/from-voelvry-to-de-la-rey-popular-music-afrikaner-nationalism/>, accessed 9 November 2021..

¹⁰⁶⁹ M. Suriano and C. Lewis, "Afrikaners is plesierig! Voëlvry music, anti-apartheid identities and Rockey Street nightclubs in Yeoville (Johannesburg), 1980s-90s," *African Studies* 74 no. 3(2015), 404; Grundlingh, "'Rocking the boat'", 487; Pienaar, "Voëlvry", 11-12; R. Truscott, "The afterlife of Voëlvry in post-Apartheid South Africa," *PINS* 40(2010), 108.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Pienaar, "Voëlvry", 5-6; Grundlingh, "'Rocking the boat'", 485.

¹⁰⁷¹ Pienaar, "Voëlvry", 39.

“Instead of destroying the symbols of Afrikaner nationalism, irony was used to expropriate them from another project”.¹⁰⁷² For example, “where the oxwagon was usually associated with closed, inward-looking worldviews (often referred to as the laager mentality), the new revamped oxwagon was to lead Afrikaners out of their political and cultural impasse into a brighter future”.¹⁰⁷³ This time the oxwagon would be a “funky new rock ‘n roll oxwagon”.¹⁰⁷⁴ It can be argued that, even though these singers rebelled against their parents, they still wanted to keep their identity to show other Afrikaners that they can still be classified as Afrikaners, even though they did not agree with the government (who believed that those who disagreed with them were not part of the *volk*).

In 1989 the *Voëlrvy* Movement, which included Koos Kombuis, together with his manager, Dagga-Dirk Uys and musicians Bernoldus Niemand (James Phillips), Johannes Kerkorrel (Ralph Rabie), Piet Pers (Gary Herselman), Hanepoort van Tonder (Jannie van Tonder), Karla Krimpelien (Tonia Selley) and Willem Moller, went on a tour where they mostly played to young Afrikaners at university campuses and in town halls, taking a stand against the insanity of apartheid.¹⁰⁷⁵ The tour was sponsored by the *Vrye Weekblad* and Shifty Records, an independent South African recording company.¹⁰⁷⁶ According to Wendy D. Nell, the tour helped young Afrikaners to express their feelings in their own language without being censored by the government.¹⁰⁷⁷ However, it did not take long for the government to react to the tour by prohibiting the musicians from playing at universities.¹⁰⁷⁸ As a result of this, the movement did not last long, as it never penetrated the working class and it stayed out of townships, where most of the resisters lived.¹⁰⁷⁹

The *Vrye Weekblad*, established by Max du Preez in November 1988, was an anti-apartheid Afrikaans-language newspaper that catered for Afrikaners who were opposed to apartheid.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷² A. Bezuidenhout, “From Voëlrvy to De La Rey: popular music, Afrikaner nationalism and lost irony”, *Bezuidenhout*, Department of History Seminar, University of Stellenbosch (5), 2007, 6.

¹⁰⁷³ Grundlingh, “Rocking the boat”, 500.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Bezuidenhout, “From Voëlrvy to De La Rey”, 6; Grundlingh, “Rocking the boat”, 499.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Truscott, “The afterlife”, 108.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Truscott, “The afterlife”, 108; Grundlingh, “Rocking the boat”, 486; Anon., “The Voëlrvy tour,” 2021, <https://johanneskerkorrel.com/the-voelvry-tour/>, accessed 29 November 2021.

¹⁰⁷⁷ W.D. Nell, “Afrikaanse liedtekste in konteks: Die liedtekste van Bok van Blerk, Fokofpolisiekar, the Buckfever Underground en Karen Zoid” (MA diss., University of South Africa, 2014), 14.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Anon, “The Voëlrvy tour”.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Bezuidenhout, “From Voëlrvy to De La Rey”; Grundlingh, “Rocking the boat”, 485.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Truscott, “The afterlife”, 108; Grundlingh, “Rocking the boat”, 485; Suriano and Lewis, “Afrikaners is Plesierig!”, 411; H. Wasserman, “Revival of Afrikaans anti-apartheid paper is good news. But change is in order,” 2019, <https://theconversation.com/revival-of-afrikaans-anti-apartheid-paper-is-good-news-but-change-is-in-order-112538>, accessed 12 November 2021.

Most Afrikaans-language newspapers were being used by the government for propaganda purposes, and they rarely reported any news that might have placed the government and its activities in a negative light.¹⁰⁸¹ Some Afrikaners were tired of seeing what the government wanted them to see, they wanted the truth.¹⁰⁸² This made the *Vrye Weekblad* unique, as it gave liberal Afrikaners a chance to see what was really going on behind the propaganda and censored news. For example, The *Vrye Weekblad* exposed the police death squads who were hired by the NP to kidnap, torture and kill anti-apartheid activists and those who opposed the NP government, on Vlakplaas in Pretoria; the newspaper used emotive language and published photographs of Captain Dirk Coetzee, one of the creators of the squad.¹⁰⁸³ Furthermore, the newspaper also exposed Afrikaner mythologies prevalent in its nationalist ideology.¹⁰⁸⁴ By doing this, the *Vrye Weekblad* was able to “negotiate some of the nationalist claims to superiority”.¹⁰⁸⁵

This made the newspaper a threat to the NP government, who put pressure on liberal newspapers such as the *Vrye Weekblad* by threatening it with expensive court cases if would it continued. These expensive court cases would leave liberal newspapers with financial problems because they would be unable to pay the expenses.¹⁰⁸⁶ The government’s targeting of the *Vrye Weekblad* had a negative impact on the newspaper, which lost its court case. As a result, the newspaper went bankrupt and closed in 1994.¹⁰⁸⁷ Despite the fact that the newspaper criticised Afrikaners, it never disregarded their Afrikanerness.¹⁰⁸⁸ It can be argued that many at the *Vrye Weekblad* believed that, even though they were more liberal than the apartheid regime, they were still Afrikaners, because they mostly catered for Afrikaners by publishing in Afrikaans. The newspaper did this deliberately to show that even liberal Afrikaners could be classified as “Afrikaners”. It also made it easier to communicate with its audience, who wanted independent news in their own language, which many newspapers could not give them.¹⁰⁸⁹ The newspaper was relaunched in 2019, not only for nostalgic reasons but also to provide the kind

¹⁰⁸¹ Nel, “Nonconformist journalism”, 144.

¹⁰⁸² Nel, “Nonconformist journalism”, 145.

¹⁰⁸³ M. van Niekerk, “*Vrye Weekblad*: An analysis of the visual strategies in a South African newspaper” Phd Thesis, (Stellenbosch University, 2021), 76.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Van Niekerk, “*Vrye Weekblad*: An analysis”, 76.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Van Niekerk, “*Vrye Weekblad*: An analysis”, 76.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Nel, “Nonconformist journalism”, 144; K. Tomaselli and E. Louw, “*Vrye Weekblad* and post-Apartheid mania: What to do with the press?” *Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa* 9 no. 1 (1990), 89.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Nel, “Nonconformist journalism”, 144; Wasserman, “Revival”.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Nel, “Nonconformist journalism”, 146.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Wasserman, “Revival”.

of journalism that many news consumers today in a time of shrinking budgets, receding arts coverage, and a reduction in investigative journalism still relish.¹⁰⁹⁰

Torn Allegiance suggests that division among the Boers could have been one reason the Boers lost the SAW. In the film, Henk continually points out that if only the Boers could stand together, they would have a chance to defeat the British, but they cannot. Pretorius points out that tensions arose between, and within, the Boer commandos, because each man used to be the master of his own farm, but the war forced them to work together and required them to follow orders.¹⁰⁹¹ Henk's opinion could also be read as the film's way of saying that if only Afrikaners could stand together, they would be able to defeat their enemies, but like their forebears, they too are divided.

Something that divided the Afrikaner *volk* was the terms "Total Onslaught" and "Total Strategy" used by the government. The "Total Onslaught" was a term used to incite fear by P.W. Botha's government, which claimed that South Africa's problems did not stem from apartheid, but from Communists.¹⁰⁹² In the government's view, South Africa (and thus the *volk*) was facing a Communist "Total Onslaught", which could lead to a "Second Cold War".¹⁰⁹³ According to Mbenga and Giliomee, this fear originated from the fact that organisations with Marxist leanings were coming to power in neighbouring states.¹⁰⁹⁴ This was a blow for the government because these states once helped them to maintain apartheid, but now they supported the Anti-Apartheid Movement.¹⁰⁹⁵ The government used this term in its propaganda to promote fear, along with fear of the *swart gevaar* – a fear many Afrikaners had had since the events in Sharpeville in 1960, by claiming that the ANC was part of a Communist takeover.¹⁰⁹⁶ Furthermore, the government purposefully argued that it was alone in this onslaught, as apartheid was a barrier, and this prevented South Africa from forming alliances with surrounding states.¹⁰⁹⁷ Therefore, the government needed to generate a "counter ideology"

¹⁰⁹⁰ Wasserman, "Revival".

¹⁰⁹¹ Pretorius, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, 47.

¹⁰⁹² I. van der Waag, "A military history of modern South Africa," *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 43 no. 2 (2015), 202.

¹⁰⁹³ Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, 200.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 367; Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 154.

¹⁰⁹⁵ N. Paltiel, "Apartheid South Africa's 'Total Strategy': A policy analysis," n.d., <https://drmjournal.org/2021/07/25/apartheid-south-africastotal-strategy-a-policy-analysis/>, accessed 11 July 2022.

¹⁰⁹⁶ A. Seegers, "Towards an understanding of the Afrikanerisation of the South African state," *Africa* 63 no. 4 (1993), 486.

¹⁰⁹⁷ R. Davies and D. O'Meara, "Total Strategy in Southern Africa: An analysis of South African regional policy since 1978," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11 no. 2 (1985), 189.

against communism, the increase in pressure to end apartheid, and the attacks taking place in South Africa.¹⁰⁹⁸

This counter-strategy was known as the “Total Strategy”, which was based on “General Andre Beaufre’s interpretation of the Soviet Union’s approach to its relations with the ‘free world’ in pursuit of the policy of ensuring the USSR’s own security and perhaps eventually exporting communism to all countries”.¹⁰⁹⁹ The “Total Strategy” was a method to get Black people as allies and to win the West over by showing that apartheid was not as horrible as it was shown to be on television, documentaries, films, and news reports. Therefore, the government promised to give Blacks the ability to control land in the townships on 99-year leases, to support their businesses and to grant greater power to Homeland rulers and the government promised to give Blacks the right to form legally recognised trade unions for the first time, and to end pass laws; it would also scrap some laws, such as the Mixed Marriage Act and the Immorality Act, that for some represented the entirety of apartheid.¹¹⁰⁰ However, as Niall Paltiel notes, “ultimately, pressure from more extreme elements within the apartheid regime prevented either of these laws being completely removed and instead only minimal concessions were given”.¹¹⁰¹ Lastly, there was a promise to create a new Indian and Coloured Parliament, separate from the White Parliament, in what became known as the Tricameral Parliament, but as with the other reforms, the NP only did this to promote its own goals, in this case, to convince Indians and Coloureds and external critics that each racial and ethnic community had its own democratic representation; when, in fact, the government only gave them limited power.¹¹⁰² Furthermore, these strategies “alienated the right wing, who saw them as selling out White privileges”.¹¹⁰³

Blacks were still excluded from this reform, as they were considered citizens of their Homelands and not of South Africa. As a result of this, they, along with the UDF, warned the NP that they would protest against the reform, but the government ignored them and branded the warning “the utterings of desperate radicals who could not afford to allow successful evolutionary change because their aim was to destabilise the society and bring about violent revolution”.¹¹⁰⁴ This did not stop Blacks because from 1984 to 1985 they protested against

¹⁰⁹⁸ Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 140.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Van der Waag, “A military history”, 201.

¹¹⁰⁰ Paltiel, “Apartheid South Africa’s ‘Total Strategy’”.

¹¹⁰¹ Paltiel, “Apartheid South Africa’s ‘Total Strategy’”.

¹¹⁰² Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 141.

¹¹⁰³ P. O’Malley, “South Africa - Total Strategy,” n.d., <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/031v02424/041v02730/051v02918/061v02972>, accessed 11 July 2022.

¹¹⁰⁴ S. Vollenhoven, “South Africa at the crossroads,” *Third World Quarterly* 8 no. 2 (1986), 494.

Botha's reform, which led to the first State of Emergency in 1985.¹¹⁰⁵ The reform also divided the NP between those who deemed themselves *verligtes* (enlightened people) and those regarded as the *verkramptes* (narrow reactionaries), who left and followed Cabinet member Andries Treurnicht into the newly formed Conservative Party in 1982.¹¹⁰⁶

Due to all this turmoil inside the NP and all protests against Botha's reforms, the *volksmoeder* again became vital as the beacon of hope, as the *volk* needed a mother figure to comfort them, as well as defend the household. Deborah Gaitskell and Elaine Unterhalter argue that the *volksmoeder* would have to help defend the *volk* against the NP's belief of a Communist "total onslaught" against South Africa, while at the same time she had to "try to establish contact with co-optable members of other racial groups".¹¹⁰⁷ These authors further note that the image of motherhood is twofold, as mothers have to be defenders of the nation, while identifying with other mothers in the nation to help preserve a disappearing status quo.¹¹⁰⁸ In a pamphlet that was handed out in the 1970s, the NP pointed out that Afrikaner women were just as important as the soldiers who were fighting in the Border War.¹¹⁰⁹ Therefore, women were urged to make Afrikaner homes, and to defend them from hostile forces by taking care of the family so that the men could play their part in the military struggle.¹¹¹⁰

In *Torn Allegiance* there are several characters who can be considered *volksmoeders*. Mevrouw Potgieter, a camp internee, plays an important role as a supporter of the cause and as morale booster. More importantly, Ma, an Englishwoman married to an Afrikaner man, is also a *volksmoeder*. This extension of *volksmoeder* status and role to an Englishwoman is unlikely to have occurred in previous decades. It can be argued that the turbulent context of the 1980s informed this more inclusive approach to the *volksmoeder* trope. An increasingly beleaguered apartheid state sought support from all White South Africans by arguing that Western values, civilisation and ways of life were under threat from the "Total Onslaught". This arguably represents a shift in the *volksmoeder* trope from earlier representations.

¹¹⁰⁵ Vollenhoven, "South Africa at the crossroads," 494.

¹¹⁰⁶ Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, 141; C.D. Shearing, "Policing South Africa: Reflections on Botha's reforms," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie* 11 no. 3 (1986), 299.

¹¹⁰⁷ D. Gaitskell and E. Unterhalter, "Mothers of the nation: A comparative analysis of nation, race and motherhood in Afrikaner Nationalism and the African National Congress," in *Woman-Nation-State*, eds. N. Yuval-Davis, F. Anthias and J. Campling (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), 65.

¹¹⁰⁸ Gaitskell and Unterhalter, "Mothers of the nation", 65.

¹¹⁰⁹ Gaitskell and Unterhalter, "Mothers of the nation", 65.

¹¹¹⁰ Gaitskell and Unterhalter, "Mothers of the nation", 65.

The Second Wave of feminism of the 1960s had an impact on women of the 1980s, as it gave them more freedom than their forebears had until the 1960s. One such freedom enjoyed by women was tertiary education, something many of their forebears were not allowed to have because there was concern “for the health of the reproducing female and the importance of her nurturing and morality to the home”.¹¹¹¹ Conservatives believed that it would destroy “the role of women in the household as homemakers, wives and mothers.”¹¹¹² Second wave feminism, however, changed gender roles, as women demanded the same rights as men, especially in the higher education sector, and in the workforce. Liberals argued that if women went to university or had other tertiary training, they would be *better* homemakers, wives, and mothers.¹¹¹³ Tertiary education allowed more women to work while taking care of their families.¹¹¹⁴ These women become “new women”. A “new woman” is depicted as “seamlessly balancing tensions between career and motherhood, her identity far removed from the traditional, cloistered housewife role that belonged to her mother”.¹¹¹⁵ Tertiary education gave women opportunities to get jobs in “the male-dominated occupations” such as management, accounting, and science.¹¹¹⁶ This led to an increase in women going to university in the 1980s, and soon half of all bachelor’s degrees and master’s degrees and one third of all doctorates were awarded to women.¹¹¹⁷ This shift led educated women to demand the same pay as men. Before the counterculture movement, the ratio of women to men’s earnings was approximately 60%, but by the 1980s, this ratio began to increase to approximately 72%.¹¹¹⁸ Furthermore, there was less discrimination against women in the workplace, which eventually led to equal pay for equal work.¹¹¹⁹ Lastly, many women delayed both marriage and childbearing to work.¹¹²⁰

Some Afrikaner women defied the patriarchal system by working and going to university, but in most cases, it was not approved, especially for Afrikaner women who still shared the same

¹¹¹¹ R.S. Saslaw, “A new student for the eighties: The mature woman,” *Educational Horizons* 60 no. 1 (1981), 43.

¹¹¹² P. Parker, “The historical role of women in higher education,” *Administrative Issues Journal* 5 no. (2015), 6.

¹¹¹³ Parker, “The historical role of women in higher education,” 59.

¹¹¹⁴ L.L. Novack, and D.R. Novack. “Being female in the eighties and nineties: Conflicts between new opportunities and traditional expectations among White, middle class, heterosexual college women,” *Sex Roles* 35 no. 1 (1996), 61.

¹¹¹⁵ A. Singleton and J.M. Maher, “The “new man” is in the house: Young men, social change, and housework,” *The Journal of Men’s Studies* 12 no. 3(2004), 228.

¹¹¹⁶ Novack and Novack, “Being female”, 59; P. England, A. Levine and E. Mishel, “Progress toward gender equality in the United States has slowed or stalled,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117 no. 13 (2020), 6990.

¹¹¹⁷ Parker, “The historical role of women in higher education”, 5.

¹¹¹⁸ J. O’Neill and S. Polachek, “Why the gender gap in wages narrowed in the 1980s,” *Journal of Labor Economics* 11 no. 1, Part 1 (1993), 205-206; G. Upright, “The converging gender wage gap, 1980–2012,” 2016, <https://contexts.org/blog/the-converging-gender-wage-gap-1980-2012/>, accessed 9 July 2022..

¹¹¹⁹ O’Neill and Polachek, “Why the gender gap”, 207.

¹¹²⁰ Upright, “The converging gender wage gap”.

fate as their mothers and grandmothers and great-grandmothers, namely, to be *volksmoeders*. Gaitskell and Unterhalter agree that nothing changed for Afrikaner women from the 1930s to the 1960s, as “it was still within the home that their service to country and nation were primarily to be performed”.¹¹²¹

Girls also play an important role in building a nation, as they are the next generation of mothers. In Afrikaner ideology, Afrikaner girls are represented as the *Boeredogter* [Boer girl]. As Keyan Tomaselli and Mikki van Zyl note, the *Boeredogter* as an icon stands for the idea of a young girl, as representation she stands for severe cultural trauma, and as a symbol, she stands for first alienation, but later repurified Afrikaner dominated capital.¹¹²² Therefore, Tomaselli argues that Afrikaner girls can be classified as *volksmoeders* once they reach maturity.¹¹²³ To be a *volksmoeder*, Afrikaner girls were trained and groomed from a young age to be modest, tidy and calm. Those who did not have these characteristics experienced various forms of punishment and ostracization to turn them into proper Afrikaner women.¹¹²⁴

Torn Allegiance shows how a Boer girl, Sanna, is trained to become a *volksmoeder*. Sanna is shown as a typical Afrikaner girl who is interested in boys, but when her nation needs her, she does not hesitate to feed the commando, even though she, Ma, and Maria have hardly anything to live on after their home is destroyed. Furthermore, she also motivates Henk, who along with other Boer men on commandos, have visited the Van Erst women to rest. While Sanna and Henk are getting water he notes how hopeless the Boers’ situation is, as the men cannot agree with each other and the women are in the camps, but then she notes that the women support the men, no matter what the consequences are. This makes her a budding *volksmoeder*, as she supports the Boers. In a way, it can be argued that Sanna is used to tell Afrikaner girls that if they want to be *volksmoeders*, they must help the *volk* survive its turbulent time by doing what Sanna does during the SAW. Despite the important role women and girls played, they were still considered in a very limited domestic role, united in a concern for their children.¹¹²⁵ Therefore, just like Afrikaners of the 1960s, they too were seen as unimportant and silenced. For example, in *Danie Theron*, there is a woman whom the Theron Verkenningkorps saves after the British burn her house, but she has no speaking role, and is never named, which

¹¹²¹ Gaitskell and Unterhalter, “Mothers of the nation”, 66.

¹¹²² Tomaselli and Van Zyl, “Themes, myths”, 419.

¹¹²³ Tomaselli, *Encountering modernity*, 147.

¹¹²⁴ Y. Woest, ““Better a barefoot than none”: Influences of Nationalist ideologies on girlhood in the history classroom,” *Yesterday and Today* 26 (2021), 97, 104.

¹¹²⁵ Gaitskell and Unterhalter, “Mothers of the nation”, 67.

suggests that women's place is still at home, silently obeying her husband so that he is free to fight for the *volk*.

Second Wave feminism of the 1960s also had an impact on men of the 1980s; it led to a small "Men's liberation" movement which started in the 1970s.¹¹²⁶ This movement also caused men to question the conventional understanding of what it is to be a man.¹¹²⁷ Furthermore, it transformed housework, with men doing more housework, and women doing less, as more women entered the workplace.¹¹²⁸ As a result, a new form of masculinity emerged that included more emotional traits, previously thought of as feminine, including an appreciation for intimacy, nurturing, and caring.¹¹²⁹ This meant that the earlier forms of hegemonic masculinity were no longer the dominant form of masculinity. Nor was it the "hippy" who rebelled against the ideals of hegemonic men. The dominant form of masculinity in the 1980s was called the "new man" or metrosexual, a completely different form of masculinity. The "new man" was emotionally expressive and sensitive, respectful of women and egalitarian, but on the other hand he could be narcissistic and highly invested in his physical appearance.¹¹³⁰ It is uncertain when the term "new man" emerged, but what is known is that it was the product of the counterculture movement.¹¹³¹ Gill agrees that the "new man" image came from style magazines in the 1980s.¹¹³² For many years people in fashion, magazines, and advertising wanted to cater for men, but it was an impossible dream because men "did not define themselves as men, in the same way that women defined themselves as women. Men lacked self-consciousness about their sex (the 'male as norm' problem, identified by feminists),...".¹¹³³ This changed in the 1980s as more magazines catered for men, which led to more men doing their own shopping.¹¹³⁴ However, the "new man" was controversial. According to Morrell, some male authors reject what the "new man" is and stands for.¹¹³⁵ They are blaming feminists for what

¹¹²⁶ T. Carrigan, B. Connell and J. Lee, "Toward a new sociology of masculinity," *Theory and Society* 14 no. 5 (1985), 551.

¹¹²⁷ Carrigan *et al.* "Toward a new sociology", 551.

¹¹²⁸ Singleton and Maher, "The 'new man'", 7.

¹¹²⁹ R. Gill, "Power and the production of subjects: A genealogy of the new man and the new lad," *The Sociological Review* 51 (Suppl 1) no. 1 (2003), 41.

¹¹³⁰ T. Macdonald, "New man," in *International Encyclopedia of men and masculinities*, eds. M. Flood, J.K. Gardiner, B. Pease and K. Pringle (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 455; J. Olsson and J. Lauri, "The fantasy of the new man: Norm-critique, vulnerability and victimhood," *Norma* (2022), 3; Gill, "Power and the production of subjects", 37; Singleton and Maher, "The 'new man'", 228; R. Morrell, "The new man?," *Agenda* 14 no. 37 (1998), 7.

¹¹³¹ Macdonald, "New man", 455.

¹¹³² Gill, "Power and the production of subjects", 43.

¹¹³³ Gill, "Power and the production of subjects", 43.

¹¹³⁴ Gill, "Power and the production of subjects", 44.

¹¹³⁵ Morrell, "The new man?," 7.

they see as an aberration, and they are calling for men to return to their roots and become hegemonic men again.¹¹³⁶

Torn Allegiance shows that some Afrikaner men in the film could have been classified as “new men” as they also show their emotional side and are willing to help with housework. For example, while Sanna and Henk get water, he tells her that he feels sorry for the women who are facing the worst of the war.¹¹³⁷ Henk even states that Sanna, Maria, and Ma should have gone to the camps so that the men did not have to worry about them. Even Boer hegemonic men like Gideon Scheepers in *Gideon Scheepers* have a soft side: he feels sorry for his mother who would lose her son the day after her birthday. Many Afrikaners did not want emotional men, especially when things were difficult. They needed hegemonic men like Gideon Scheepers and Danie Theron to lead them in their difficult situation, which was similar to Afrikaners of the 2000s who looked for a leader in De La Rey (discussed in Chapter 2). This made *Gideon Scheepers* and *Danie Theron* important as they gave Afrikaners examples of Afrikaner men who were not afraid to sacrifice their lives for *volk* and *vaderland*.

Furthermore, both films also portray these heroes as patriots. Scheepers is shown as a patriot, wearing his Orange Free State uniform at his first court case. A uniform is appropriate, as he is a leader of a Boer commando, but the court sees him as criminal. As Alexander Maxwell points out, nationalised clothing such as uniforms are “clothes consciously designed or worn primarily to signify membership in some imagined national community”.¹¹³⁸ Therefore, it can be argued that the film uses Scheepers’s uniform to show that he is the kind of leader the *volk* needs, because in the SAW, it was mostly officers or commandants who wore military uniforms. Scheepers was promoted to commandant in 1901, when he led twenty men to help him destroy British homes in the Cape. Furthermore, Scheepers shows that he is not afraid to die for the *volk*. When Scheepers hears that he will be executed, he tells his mother, in a letter, that he is proud to be counted as a Boer martyr when he notes “Ek is voorbereid vir enige straf vir my land en my dierbare dapper en edel volk” [I am prepared for any punishment for my country and my dear brave and noble nation].¹¹³⁹ Scheepers hoped that his death would lead

¹¹³⁶ Morrell, “The new man?,” 7.

¹¹³⁷ *Torn Allegiance*, directed by A. Nathanson (Mandalay/Progear and SABC, 1984), 00:44:15.

¹¹³⁸ A. Maxwell, “Analyzing nationalized clothing: Nationalism theory meets fashion studies,” *National Identities* 23 no. 1 (2021), 1.

¹¹³⁹ *Gideon Scheepers*, directed by H. Hugo (SABC, 1982), 01:36:21; G.J. Scheepers and G.S. Preller, *Scheepers se dagboek en die stryd in Kaapland: (1 Okt. 1901-18 Jan 1902)* (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers, 1938), 99.

commandants and officers to take revenge for his death and that they would follow in his footsteps to sacrifice their life for *volk* and *vaderland*.¹¹⁴⁰ This makes him a *volks*hero.

Another factor that has led to the mythologising of him as a hero is that no one knows where he was buried, which has led to rumours that he was never killed and that he was alive, because no one has ever found his body. The Coldstream Guards reburied him a few hours after his burial in an unknown place; it is unclear who ordered this, as everyone denied their role in the event.¹¹⁴¹ Since then, people have searched for his body, including his parents, but no one has found it yet.¹¹⁴² This disappearance has amplified his hero status and contributed to the mythology of the Boer War hero, as discussed in Chapter 2. The film *Gideon Scheepers* adds to this mystery by ending before he is shot, so it is up to the audience's imagination to guess whether he dies or not. Due to his importance as a hero and his unfair trial, he has been immortalised through a memorial erected in 1978, in the National Camdeboo Park, close to where he was executed. A hundred years after his death, on 31 May 1999, a new monument was unveiled in Langkloof at the site of Scheepers's last great battle.¹¹⁴³ Scheepers was also commemorated through poems such as "The Cry of South Africa" by Olive Schreiner and "Gebed om die gebeente" [Prayer for/around the bones] by D.J. Opperman, which is about a mother who mourns the death of her son who went to war and whose body is not to be found.¹¹⁴⁴

Similarly, Danie Theron in the film by the same name is also shown as a patriot who does not tolerate any discrimination against his *volk*.¹¹⁴⁵ An example of this is where Theron hits W. F. Money Penny, the editor of the *The Star*, an English-language newspaper based in Johannesburg.¹¹⁴⁶ Money Penny published defamatory articles about the Boers and the Republics, calling Boer women unhygienic, uneducated and backward, which had angered Theron.¹¹⁴⁷ The film does not show this confrontation between Theron and Money Penny, but there is a photograph¹¹⁴⁸ of Theron aiming to hit Money Penny which is shown before the film

¹¹⁴⁰ G.J. Scheepers and G.S. Preller, *Scheepers se dagboek en die stryd in Kaapland: (1 Okt. 1901-18 Jan 1902)* (Cape Town: Nasionale Pers, 1938), 108.

¹¹⁴¹ R. Koch, "Die verdwyning van Gideon Scheepers se liggaam," *Die Burger*, 11 March 2002, 54.

¹¹⁴² M. Burgess, "The Karoo's eternal Commandant: Rural insight," *Farmers Weekly* 32 no. 99039 (2009), 41.

¹¹⁴³ Kleijn, "News – Toeka se dae".

¹¹⁴⁴ M. Keuris, "Nicola Hanekom's *Land van skedels* – a remembrance of things past and present," *Journal of Literary Studies* 34 no. 3 (2018), 7-8.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Danie Theron*, directed by F. Nel (Scholtz Films, 1983), 00:04:17.

¹¹⁴⁶ P. Möller, "Danie Theron as Boereheld," *Afrikaner* 23 October 2003, 7.

¹¹⁴⁷ P. Mulder, "Danie Theron – Boere-‘celebrity’," *Die Burger*, 21 February 2009, 20; Möller, "Danie Theron as Boereheld," 7.

¹¹⁴⁸ The "photograph" was possibly based on a description of how Theron hit Money Penny, as no historical photograph of this moment exists.

starts. It can be argued that the photograph was used to motivate Afrikaner men (and women) that like Theron they must defend the *volk* against threats of any kind. Furthermore, Theron was patriotic and worked for his people. For example, the Theron Verkenningskorps was responsible for damaging many railway lines, disrupting the British supply line.

Theron was killed on 5 September 1900 at Gatstrand at the age of 28.¹¹⁴⁹ Due to all the sacrifices he made during the war, his men exhumed his body and reburied him on his family farm in Elandsfontein.¹¹⁵⁰ His wish to be buried next to Hannie Neethling, his fiancée, could only be honoured in 1903, but in 2003 unidentified people exhumed his body again and reburied him in an unknown place.¹¹⁵¹ In *Danie Theron*, the *volk* place a flag on his coffin at his funeral to show that he has earned their respect. A monument was erected for Theron in 1950, commemorating Theron, at the place where he died, near the N12 from Johannesburg to Potchefstroom. The Theron monument is an obelisk with a fire symbol on top to commemorate the fire of patriotism that never died out in Theron. The emblem represents an eternal flame which functions as an allegory for Theron's immortality. Theron is thus doubly memorialised by the monument and the eternal flame of remembrance which gives him immortality. The Theron monument is shown at the end of the film *Danie Theron* to show Afrikaners that even though Theron died, he still lives on in Afrikaners' memory. Afrikaners also built a statue of him kneeling ready to shoot, which stood at the Danie Theron combat school, in Kimberley, but the school no longer exists, and the statue was moved to the Fort Schanskop, located on the same terrain as the Voortrekker Monument, where it stands as a symbol of protection.¹¹⁵²

Flags play an important part in nationalism; a country's history, geography, people, and values are symbolised in its cloth, its shape, and colours.¹¹⁵³ Flags also shape how people must feel. For instance, when people are exposed to a flag they are supposed to think and behave in ways consistent with the worldviews and values that the national symbol is associated with.¹¹⁵⁴ Flags can also be used to encourage a nation by showing what they are fighting for, so they must not give up. In some cases, especially in war, these sentiments were so strong that some people will even follow their flag into gunfire and die for what it symbolises.¹¹⁵⁵ In the film, while

¹¹⁴⁹ Mulder, "Danie Theron – Boere-‘celebrity’", 20.

¹¹⁵⁰ Pretorius, "Kan Danie Theron", 4.

¹¹⁵¹ Pretorius, "Kan Danie Theron", 4.

¹¹⁵² A. Rademeyer, "Beeld van Danie Theron by Monument," *Die Burger*, 8 December 2001, 2.

¹¹⁵³ T. Marshall, *Worth dying for: The power of politics and flags* (London: Elliott and Thompson, 2016), 1.

¹¹⁵⁴ M. Kimmelmeier and D.G. Winter, "Sowing patriotism, but reaping nationalism? Consequences of exposure to the American flag," *Political Psychology* 29, no. 6 (2008), 861.

¹¹⁵⁵ Marshall, *Worth dying for*, 10.

Theron's coffin is lowered into the grave, his men fire a salute to show their respect for their fallen leader. At the same time, the audience see a close-up of the faces of the mourners, who are shown as sad as they mourn over a hero who has sacrificed his life for them. The women cry over the fact that South Africa will never be the same without Theron. When Theron died, De Wet stated: "A more brave and faithful commander I have never seen. Not only had he the heart of a lion but he also possessed consummate tact and the greatest energy."¹¹⁵⁶

At the funeral scene, the narrator reads a Bible verse, II Samuel 1 verse 25 of the 1953 Afrikaans version called *Hoe het die helde geval diep in die geveg* [How the mighty have fallen in battle].¹¹⁵⁷ The Bible verse fits in with the funeral scene as it shows that an Afrikaner hero has fallen and it also shows how many felt about his death. In one of the verses it states "Die sieraad, o Israel -- op jou hoogtes lê dit verslaan. Hoe het die helde geval" [The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places: how are the mighty fallen]. Furthermore, it can also be a representation of how the DRC, whom many Afrikaners saw as "heroes" (just like Theron and Scheepers) because of what the church did to uphold Afrikaner identity throughout history such as telling them that they are God's chosen *volk* and supporting apartheid, fell from grace when they stopped supporting apartheid. First, the DRC supported apartheid as they considered it God's way to keep the Afrikaner race pure.¹¹⁵⁸ However, other Reformed churches placed pressure on the DRC to reform by isolating the DRC.¹¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, organisations such as the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, as well as the World Communion of Reformed Churches expelled the DRC, as the other churches regarded apartheid a sin.¹¹⁶⁰ The DRC's response was *Kerk en Samelewing* [Church and Society] of 1986 and *Kerk en Samelewing* of 1990, which ended their support for apartheid.¹¹⁶¹ With *Kerk en Samelewing* the DRC declared that membership is "open", meaning all people regardless of their race are allowed to worship in the DRC.¹¹⁶² This was a blow for apartheid ideology, which

¹¹⁵⁶ M.M. Evans, *Encyclopaedia of the Boer War 1899-1902* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 250.

¹¹⁵⁷ The Bible verse refers to David, hearing that King Saul and his son, Jonathan, David's friend, had been killed.

¹¹⁵⁸ S. R. Ritner, 'The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid', *Journal of Contemporary History* 2(4), 1967, 17; Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*, 183; Giliomee, "Uprising, war and transition", 414.

¹¹⁵⁹ B. van der Merwe and M. Oelofse, "Mediation by means of isolation: Resistance against the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa (DRC) during the 1980s," *Journal for Contemporary History* 38 no. 2 (2013), 106.

¹¹⁶⁰ Van der Merwe and Oelofse, "Mediation", 108; T.D. Moodie, "Confessing responsibility for the evils of Apartheid: The Dutch Reformed Church in the 1980s," *South African Historical Journal* 72, no. 4 (2020), 638; P.J. Strauss, "Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk se afskeid van Apartheid: Cottesloe (1960) –'n voorloper van 'Kerk en samelewing' (1986; 1990)?" *In die Skriflig* 54 no. 1 (2020), 2.

¹¹⁶¹ P.J. Strauss, "Johan Heyns and critique in the Dutch Reformed Church against Apartheid: The moderator a prophet?," *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 74 no. 3 (2018), 1; P. Strauss, "Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk en die Afrikanervolk kerkordelik verwoord," *STJ–Stellenbosch Theological Journal* 2 no. 2 (2016), 447.

¹¹⁶² Moodie, "Confessing responsibility", 628; Giliomee, "Uprising, war and transition", 417.

was dependent on the ideological cohesion between religion and Afrikaner nationalism in that Christian nationalism helped to disguise notions of racial superiority in terms of divine destiny.¹¹⁶³ Therefore, many¹¹⁶⁴ conservatives broke away from the DRC in 1987 to form the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk [Afrikaans Protestant Church].¹¹⁶⁵ Thus, it can be argued that this is the film's way of questioning whether Afrikaners are God's chosen people because their church has left them when the *volk* needed the church the most.¹¹⁶⁶

Gideon Scheepers and *Danie Theron* also evoked nostalgia among Afrikaners of the 1980s by using flashbacks. According to Maureen C. Turim, memory is one of the concepts inscribed in flashbacks, as it gives the audience images of memory, the personal archives of the past, and images of history.¹¹⁶⁷ In a film, the flashback often merges the two levels of remembering the past and a large scale social and political history of an individual's remembered experience.¹¹⁶⁸ Turim calls this process "subjective memory" which "has the double sense of the rendering of history as a subjective experience of a character in the fiction, and the formation of the Subject in history as the viewer of the film identifying with fictional character's positioned in a fictive social reality".¹¹⁶⁹ The flashbacks in *Danie Theron* and *Gideon Scheepers* provoke strong emotions, and may have been added in these two films to remind Afrikaners of the 1980s that their forebears also dealt with hardships during the SAW, but they still rose from the ashes, so they too will also rise from this situation. In *Danie Theron*, the flashback for Theron reflects on the days when Hannie¹¹⁷⁰ was still alive. Scheepers also has a flashback of his beloved, on the way to Graaff-Reinet. These flashbacks give Scheepers and Theron respectively a backstory to show why they joined the war, namely for their loved ones.

In Theron's case, the flashback shows his grief over the loss of Hannie, who was his whole world. When Theron heard that Hannie died, he was devastated, and after her funeral, he just

¹¹⁶³ Bothma, "Hemel of die platteland", 63.

¹¹⁶⁴ The DRC has since the 1980s lost about 20 000 members because of what they did during apartheid. The DRC discriminated against women and chased Blacks and homosexuals away. Anon, "The slow and steady death of the Dutch Reformed Church", 2012, <https://mg.co.za/article/2012-04-05-the-slow-and-steady-death-of-dutch-reformed-church/>, accessed: 6 May 2023.

¹¹⁶⁵ W.A. Munro, "Revisiting tradition, reconstructing identity? Afrikaner nationalism and political transition in South Africa," *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 22 no. 2 (1995), 16.

¹¹⁶⁶ Bothma, "Hemel of die platteland", 63.

¹¹⁶⁷ M. Turim, *Flashbacks in film: Memory and history* (London: Routledge, 2013), 2.

¹¹⁶⁸ Turim, *Flashbacks in film*, 2.

¹¹⁶⁹ Turim, *Flashbacks in film*, 2.

¹¹⁷⁰ One day in 1898, Hannie came back from a tennis game and soon afterward she felt ill. At first, no one took it seriously, but then she became so ill that she had to cancel her meeting with Theron. Soon afterward her sister also became ill. Nine days later she and her sister, Etta, both died of double pneumonia. Mulder, "Danie Theron – Boere-‘celebrity’", 20.

walked away into the veld.¹¹⁷¹ According to Pets Marais, there was a rumour that Hannie's death influenced Theron's diehard actions during the war, as his country was all that he had after she died.¹¹⁷² However, many historians reject this perspective, as they argue that his religion and patriotism would go against these feelings.¹¹⁷³

In Scheepers's case, the flashback shows that he had a life before the SAW which was cheerful and happy, as it shows his beloved giving him a pendant with the word "liefde" [love] on it. Another flashback is to Scheepers's diary. Most of the film was based on his diary, to make it as accurate as possible. However, Scheepers's diary can also itself have been co-opted by nationalism, as it was edited by Gustav Preller, who supported the nationalist cause, and it was published by Nasionale Pers, which was also a supporter of Afrikaner nationalism. Pretorius agrees that Scheepers's diary gives enough information on Scheepers's life to evoke strong emotions among Afrikaners.¹¹⁷⁴ For example, in his diary, he writes that the enemy may rejoice at Afrikaners' defeat, but the Afrikaner *volk* will never die out.¹¹⁷⁵ Therefore, it can be argued that the diary helped to make Scheepers a martyr among Afrikaner heroes, as people could read about his death sentence and his claim of innocence in what some considered an unfair trial.¹¹⁷⁶

Memories of the SAW also made many Afrikaners long for the time when it was just the Boer and his farm. That is why Scheepers and Theron have flashbacks of their lives before the SAW to remind Afrikaners of the 1980s that they once had a peaceful place before all the turmoil, namely the *platteland*.

Despite the fact that many White English-speaking South Africans lost their connection to Britain when South Africa became a republic in the 1960s, they still kept their language rights.¹¹⁷⁷ Some White English-speaking South Africans supported the Anti-Apartheid Movement in its quest to end apartheid. This changed in the 1980s because of the turmoil, which alienated some of them from the source of their cultural heritage and from their cultural association, which meant that they found themselves locked into a situation of intense

¹¹⁷¹ B. Retief, *Sieketroosters* (Midrand-Kagiso: Perskor, 1998), 16.

¹¹⁷² P. Marais, *Die vrou in die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902* (Pretoria: J.P. van der Walt en Seun, 1999), 245.

¹¹⁷³ Marais, *Die vrou in die Anglo-Boereoorlog*, 245.

¹¹⁷⁴ F. Pretorius, "Mag ons vergeet: 'n Geskiedenis-serie en Afrikanernasionalisme 1937-1948," *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 54 no. 2 (2014), 194.

¹¹⁷⁵ Pretorius, "Mag ons vergeet", 194.

¹¹⁷⁶ Pretorius, "Mag ons vergeet", 194.

¹¹⁷⁷ J. Lambert, "English-speaking South Africans: Uncertain of their identity," in *A History of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 608.

intergroup tension and violence.¹¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the threat of African nationalism divided White English-speaking South Africans too. Some White English-speaking South Africans identified with Afrikaners in their fight against Black African nationalism, as they believed that their way of life was under threat from a strong Black majority, despite the fact that Afrikaners mostly excluded them from official positions of power, and the imposition of Afrikaner values and norms.¹¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, many chose what they perceived to be security and the preservation of their privileged way of life.¹¹⁸⁰ Therefore, some White English-speaking South Africans accepted an implicit racist consensus with Afrikaner nationalism.¹¹⁸¹ *Gideon Scheepers* focuses on this with Captain Simons, who arrests Scheepers while he is recovering from his illness after his capture and who holds the Boer fighters in high regard, when he tells Scheepers that it is an honour to meet him. The film thus suggests that there were some White English-speaking South Africans who sympathise with the Afrikaner cause. According to Andrew Foley, those who supported apartheid were divided into different groups: “those who are overt and forceful proponents of apartheid; those who covertly, but nonetheless deliberately, supported apartheid; and those who may feel genuinely apathetic towards political issues but whose very apathy, nonetheless, implicitly serves to perpetuate the apartheid order”.¹¹⁸²

Ma in *Torn Allegiance* marries a Boer man before the SAW. Due to her loyalty to the Boer cause, her house is destroyed. Yet, she refuses to give up on their cause by asking Lieutenant Harry Wyckham to let her return to her home even though it is in ruins, a request which he grants only because he wants to capture the Boer commando. She still manages to feed the commando despite not having much herself. Thus, it can be argued that Ma is used to show White English-speaking South Africans that the NP needed their support, because just as Ma supported the Boer government, they too must vote for the NP to keep White people in control. This English-Afrikaner alliance recalls Smuts’s project of South Africanism, discussed in Chapter 3, which sought to reconcile Boer and Brit after the SAW. This is ironic, because in the 1930s to 1940s the NP refused to accept Smuts’s South Africanism as they believed in the concept “Afrikaners first”, but then when things no longer went their way, they realised that

¹¹⁷⁸ A. Foley, “The White English-speaking South Africans: ‘Bastards’, ‘Wimps’, ‘Ghosts with ears’, or something else again?,” *The English Academy Review* 8 no. 1 (1991), 18.

¹¹⁷⁹ Lambert, “English-speaking South Africans”, 608; J. Lambert, “‘An unknown people’: Reconstructing British South African identity,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37 no. 4 (2009), 611.

¹¹⁸⁰ Lambert, “‘An unknown people’”, 611.

¹¹⁸¹ Lambert, “‘An unknown people’”, 611.

¹¹⁸² Foley, “The White English-speaking South Africans”, 18.

they needed to reconcile with White English-speaking South Africans if they wanted to stay in power, so they had no choice, but to practise a form of South Africanism.

Many Afrikaners felt betrayed by the NP after P.W. Botha's reforms, so they voted for the Conservative Party, which presented itself as the voice of the *volk*.¹¹⁸³ Furthermore, the Conservative Party "maintained its allegiance to the Verwoerdian vision, and demanded a return to the pre-1984 political dispensation".¹¹⁸⁴ For the first time in the NP's rule, the government found itself standing to the left of the official parliamentary opposition.¹¹⁸⁵ Now that the NP could not rely on this faction of Afrikaners any longer, they were dependent on the votes of more White English-speaking South Africans, who at the time formed about one third of the NP's supporters.¹¹⁸⁶ Craig Charney notes that, at that point, the White English-speaking South Africans represented one in every four NP votes, compared to one in seven in 1974.¹¹⁸⁷ Thus, it can be argued that *Torn Allegiance* uses the following scene to help get White English-speaking South Africans to vote for the NP: seeing the ruins of their home upsets Maria, who asks Ma what kind of people destroy Boer homes. This in turn upsets Ma, because of her English origins, who slaps Maria and tells her that the British "are [her] people too".¹¹⁸⁸ The apartheid government was able to win increasing support from White English-speaking South Africans by framing the apartheid project as a bulwark against the encroaching chaos and atheism of communism, and as the only way to preserve a materially comfortable lifestyle.

On the other side, there were White English-speaking South Africans who did not support the Afrikaners' cause and apartheid as they aligned themselves fully and unequivocally with the Black African nationalists – Albie Sachs, Joe Slovo, Ruth First, and Jeremy Cronin, among others.¹¹⁸⁹ Therefore, the NP considered them traitors to the country. Thus, it may be argued that those who threaten the *volk* or members of it are villainised in the film. For example, Archer, a British soldier, who does not support the Boer cause, is shown as a rapist, as he tries to rape Sanna, who represents the *Boeredogter*, and thus the *volk*, while she is swimming naked. Furthermore, in a throw-back to the South Africanism of the early twentieth century, the film also uses Ma in the hope that White English-speaking South Africans will see the advantages

¹¹⁸³ Munro, "Revisiting tradition", 17.

¹¹⁸⁴ Munro, "Revisiting tradition", 17.

¹¹⁸⁵ Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 155.

¹¹⁸⁶ C. Charney, "Class conflict and the National Party split," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10 no. 2 (1984), 275.

¹¹⁸⁷ Charney, "Class conflict", 274.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Torn Allegiance*, 00:33:13.

¹¹⁸⁹ Foley, "The white English-speaking South Africans", 20.

of allying with Afrikaners and thus distance themselves from the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the struggle in general, and to support the NP instead. When Ma realises that Duncan Grey, her brother, is the one who has destroyed the Boer homes, she feels ashamed of her brother and the British. Ma even calls them animals. To refer to people as animals “is therefore to demote them to a lower rung of existence, a more primitive state of being where they lack human virtues”.¹¹⁹⁰

In the 1980s, as in earlier periods, Afrikaners are still presented in films as “God fearing colonists whose servants (black, and coloured) ‘know their place’”.¹¹⁹¹ As in earlier films, it is rare for Black people to have speaking roles.¹¹⁹² In the 1980s, however, Blacks placed more pressure on the government to end apartheid. Blacks were tired of being excluded from institutions such as the Tricameral Parliament and from events such as sport. They were also frustrated at many being restricted to their homelands, which were located far from work opportunities. Lastly, they wanted the NP government and its laws to go. This resulted in various protests, from those initiated by the UDF to township unrests, which the ANC encouraged to make “South Africa ungovernable”.¹¹⁹³ All these protests added to many Afrikaners’ fear of the *swart gevaar*, which continued into the 1980s.

That is why it can be argued that there are no Blacks in *Danie Theron*, silencing the debate. In *Gideon Scheepers*, this fear is exacerbated by portraying Blacks as aggressive. While Scheepers is recovering from his illness, two British soldiers (one Black and one White British soldier) enter the room where he is resting. The Black soldier kicks at the door and shouts at everyone, which upsets the woman in whose house Scheepers has been lodged. It can be argued that this Black man represents Blacks, like the ANC, who opposed the NP government and the apartheid policy.

Fear is also a reason why Blacks are shown in the film as servants because nationalists wanted to show Afrikaners that they still controlled Blacks despite the turmoil taking place in the country. There are two Blacks in the films under discussion in this chapter that fall into this category, namely Hendrik, Scheepers’s *agterryer* [mounted groom and helper], and Jan, a farm worker who works on the Van Ersts’ farm in *Torn Allegiance*. Numerous *agterryers*

¹¹⁹⁰ N. Haslam, “Why it’s so offensive when we call people animals” 2017, <https://theconversation.com/why-its-so-offensive-when-we-call-people-animals-76295>, accessed 16 December 2021.

¹¹⁹¹ W. Pretorius, “Afrikaans cinema in the eighties. Soothing images,” in *Movies, moguls, mavericks: South African cinema 1979-1991*, eds. J. Blignaut and M. Botha (Cape Town: Showdata, 1992), 378.

¹¹⁹² Pretorius, “Afrikaans cinema in the eighties”, 378.

¹¹⁹³ Joyce, *The making of a nation*, 165.

accompanied the Boer commandos during the SAW. In some cases, *agterryers* even saved their Boer masters from danger, like Hendrik, who saves Scheepers many times. Therefore, Scheepers calls Hendrik, in his diary, the bravest Black he has seen.¹¹⁹⁴ Thus, Hendrik earns Scheepers's respect, which *Gideon Scheepers* focuses on. When Scheepers's men have to leave him behind, Hendrik tells Scheepers that he wants to stay, but Scheepers tells him he must leave and take care of his horse, to get Hendrik out of danger. In *Torn Allegiance*, there is Jan who warns Ma that the British are on their way to their farm. After their home is destroyed. Jan tells Ma that he will go with them, but she tells him to go to the British, as they will feed him. In a way, it can be argued that both of these Blacks are used in the films to reassure Afrikaners that there were still Blacks who were loyal and knew their place in the apartheid order.

There was a significant anti-apartheid film tradition which was censored inside South Africa.¹¹⁹⁵ As Gilbert Motsaathebe notes, films that challenged the government were banned and the filmmakers were harassed or exiled.¹¹⁹⁶ For example, *Mapantsula* (1988, Oliver Schmitz), a South African crime film about apartheid, was banned, because it was thought that it might encourage Blacks to join the Struggle in opposition to the government.¹¹⁹⁷

5.4 Reception

Despite the turmoil, Afrikaners were still in a comfortable position of political and economic power.¹¹⁹⁸ As Jacobus J. Bothma notes, unlike their forebears after the SAW and in the 1930s, Afrikaners of the 1980s were well established because they received good wages and good jobs.¹¹⁹⁹ Therefore, Bothma argues that “it seems as if Afrikaner appeal towards Afrikaner nationalism had entered a period that was less concerned with establishing power and privilege and more with maintaining it.”¹²⁰⁰ Thus, it created an audience that was less interested in narratives that legitimised their place and role in South Africa and found it less urgent to propagate certain elements of the Afrikaner nationalist imaginary.¹²⁰¹ As a result, many Afrikaners released films which did not focus on these topics.¹²⁰² This all changed after NP

¹¹⁹⁴ Scheepers and Preller, *Scheepers se dagboek*, 75.

¹¹⁹⁵ G. Motsaathebe, “South African cinema and its depiction of race, gender, and class: Portrayals of black women in post-Apartheid South African films,” *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 45 no. 3 (2018), 381.

¹¹⁹⁶ Motsaathebe, “South African cinema”, 381.

¹¹⁹⁷ J. Maingard, “New South African cinema: *Mapantsula* and *Sarafinal!*,” *Screen* 35 no. 3 (1994), 237.

¹¹⁹⁸ Bothma, “Hemel of die platteland”, 49.

¹¹⁹⁹ Bothma, “Hemel of die platteland”, 50.

¹²⁰⁰ Bothma, “Hemel of die platteland”, 50.

¹²⁰¹ Bothma, “Hemel of die platteland”, 50.

¹²⁰² J. Michell, “SATV develops its character”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 April 1982, 11.

rule started to crumble – a blow for many Afrikaners because they relied on the party to make sure that the *volk*'s legacy continued and that the Afrikaner race stayed pure. Now that the NP was losing its grip on the country, many feared that the *volk* might be at risk. Therefore, they yearned to see heroes, even those they only saw on films and television, such as Scheepers and Theron. However, not many such films were being produced, because television meant that fewer films were made overall. Thus, they had to rely on television films such as *Gideon Scheepers*, *Danie Theron*, and *Torn Allegiance*, which were aired on SABC.

The fact that all three films were shown on TV1 indicates that most of the audience was White, because TV1 at that time aired programmes in Afrikaans and English.¹²⁰³ Those who watched *Gideon Scheepers*, which first aired on TV1 on 15 April 1982 at 9:12 pm,¹²⁰⁴ suggest that many Afrikaners of the early 1980s yearned for an Afrikaner hero. A contemporary reviewer states that the film is “a beautifully filmed and precisely executed episode in the series on South African heroes”.¹²⁰⁵ Many viewers who watched the film, then and later, for example on YouTube, were depressed by the contrast between the film and their current situation. For example, in 2015, “Noordman” asks, “Ons dapper volk, wat het van hulle geword?” [Our brave people, what has become of them].¹²⁰⁶ In a way, it can be argued that “Noordman” wrote this comment on YouTube to show Afrikaners that they were not the strong volk they once were, because the split between conservatives and nationalists and the Anti-Apartheid Movement arguably led to the *volk*'s downfall, as it opened the door for the ANC who took control of the country in the 1990s.

Gideon Scheepers also had some negative reviews, especially when it comes to the language in the film. All the characters speak Afrikaans, even the British soldiers, which was historically incorrect. One viewer on YouTube sarcastically remarked: “I didn't know that Afrikaans was the standard language of communication within the British Army at the time.”¹²⁰⁷ People in South Africa who did not speak Afrikaans and obviously international audience members who watched the upload on YouTube later found it difficult to follow the film. Arguably, since the audience understood English, the British characters could have been allowed to speak English in a bilingual film. However, it can be argued that the reason that the film used only Afrikaans was to promote Afrikaans and Afrikaner patriotism, and thus indirectly to promote support the

¹²⁰³ Steyn, “A new laager”, 54.

¹²⁰⁴ I. Reid, “Another Boer martyr”, *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 April 1982, 7.

¹²⁰⁵ Michell, “SATV develops its character”, 11.

¹²⁰⁶ “Noordman”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bxms7v2kcEc&t=5s>.

¹²⁰⁷ “Arkuis”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bxms7v2kcEc&t=5s>, accessed 7 October 2022.

aims of the NP, which was trying to maintain Afrikaner power. It could also have been because the film wanted to show the importance of the Afrikaans language, as many Afrikaners feared that the turmoil could destroy their language. As Giliomee notes, Afrikaners had good reason to be concerned as Afrikaans was seen as “the language of the oppressor” after the Soweto Uprisings.¹²⁰⁸ Therefore, films like *Gideon Scheepers* play an important role in promoting the language.

Danie Theron, aired on 16 December 1983 at 8:25 pm on TV1, also caters to Afrikaners of the 1980s who yearned for the “good old days”.¹²⁰⁹ It can be argued that the film was specifically released on 16 December to remind Afrikaners of the “good old days” before the turmoil took place, as it focuses on Afrikaners’ victory over the Zulus to show them that if their ancestors could defeat their enemies then so can they, if they stand together. That is why “Boerevriend”, a Dutch reviewer, who watched the film on YouTube in 2015, notes that if Afrikaners had stood together as they did during the Battle of Blood River, then they would have been able to defeat Blacks.¹²¹⁰ The release date could have been chosen to show Afrikaners that someone like Andries Pretorius, who led the Voortrekkers at Bloedrivier, might lead them in future. “Ludwig Felix”, a YouTube commentator, asks “Where are you pal [Theron]? Will you come back?”,¹²¹¹ calling for someone like Theron to emerge, which was similar to the call of the De La Rey movement of the 2000s. Furthermore, these reviewers also show that they need heroes. “Rebelwith Acause”, a YouTube commentator, believes that the NP betrayed the people of South Africa (most likely a reference to Afrikaners).¹²¹² The betrayal that “Rebelwith Acause” refers to can be the negotiations between the ANC and NP, which took place in the 1990s, and he/she complains that in 2015 the country is “an impoverished and crime ridden dystopia ruled by a corrupt communist regime”.¹²¹³

Unlike *Gideon Scheepers* and *Danie Theron*, which were shown to South Africans, *Torn Allegiance* was not. Mandalay/Progear, the producer, held the right to the film, which meant that the film was first shown at the American Film Market in Los Angeles and the Cannes Film

¹²⁰⁸ H. Giliomee, *The rise and possible demise of Afrikaans as a public language* (Cape Town: PRAESA, 2003), 16.

¹²⁰⁹ J.M. Correia, “Television,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1983, 11; Anon, “Weekend Highlights,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1983, 7.

¹²¹⁰ “Boerevriend”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3AkJkoTOrM>, accessed 7 October 2022.

¹²¹¹ “Ludwig Felix”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3AkJkoTOrM>, accessed 7 October 2022.

¹²¹² “Rebelwith Acause”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3AkJkoTOrM>, accessed 7 October 2022.

¹²¹³ “Rebelwith Acause”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3AkJkoTOrM>, accessed 7 October 2022.

Festival in 1984.¹²¹⁴ Afterwards, it was sold to countries in Scandinavia and in the Middle East, and to Australia, Portugal and West Germany.¹²¹⁵ To cater for the international market, the title of the film was changed from *Sanna* (which is a series that the SABC owns) to *Torn Allegiance*.¹²¹⁶

South Africans were finally able to watch the film in March 1985 at Pretoria's Village Theatre for a limited time, as it lacked a subsidy.¹²¹⁷ The film did not qualify for a subsidy scheme because it was a SABC co-production.¹²¹⁸ South Africans were able to watch these films because CIC (Cinema International Corporation)¹²¹⁹ Warner was prepared to release the film on TV4.¹²²⁰ Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), which began to lose penetration in the all-important United States market, joined forces with CIC in the mid-1970s to form CIC-Warner. International films were released in South Africa through Ster and CIC-Metro, which distributed films by means of agreements with independents, allowing the companies to cross-play films in each other's venues.¹²²¹ Once the international world lost interest in the film, it was allowed to be aired on television. SABC did remove one nudity scene, but it is unclear which scene they removed.¹²²² Today the film is available on YouTube.

As with the two other films, the YouTube viewers were excited to be able to watch the film as it reminded them of all the heroes who sacrificed their lives for the country. There were two sets of reviewers: those who supported the Anti-Apartheid Movement's view on the apartheid government and those who supported the Afrikaners' cause. "Sturgeon547" fits into the first category when he/she notes that film portrays White people as the heroes, while both sides were villains as they terrorised one another during the war.¹²²³ The British only used South Africa as a resource to be exploited and the Boers employed ruthless terrorism on the

¹²¹⁴ N.J. Herrington, "The English language television single play in South Africa: A threatened genre, 1976-1991" (PhD thesis, University of Natal, 1993), 375.

¹²¹⁵ J.M. Correia, "SABC film for local cinemas," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 December 1984, 1.

¹²¹⁶ Correia, "SABC film for local cinemas", 1.

¹²¹⁷ Anon, "Sanna's at the cinema", *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 June 1985, 3.

¹²¹⁸ Correia, "SABC film for local cinemas", 1.

¹²¹⁹ CIC is the result of two major United States film companies, Paramount and Universal, coming together to cut the costs of distributing films to other countries. Tomaselli, *The cinema of apartheid*, 167.

¹²²⁰ TV4 was launched in 1985 to accommodate the growing audience. TV4 was broadcast after nine o'clock in the evening on the TV2/3 (channels which catered for Blacks). TV4 aired sport, sport, documentaries, and imported programmes. C. Bevan, "Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976" (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2008), 170; R.B. Horwitz, *Communication and democratic reform in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 68, Correia, "SABC film for local cinemas", 1.

¹²²¹ A. Shepperson and K. Tomaselli, "South Africa," in *The international movie industry*, ed. G. Kindem (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 146.

¹²²² Anon, "Sanna's at the cinema", 3.

¹²²³ "Sturgeon547", 2005, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0265881/reviews?ref=tt_ury, accessed 24 October 2021.

British.¹²²⁴ “Kevin Waters” belongs to the second category; he criticises the depiction: “Carrying on like a family picnic, hours after the British have made contact. Real fighters, my foot”.¹²²⁵

5.5 Conclusion

The 1980s was a difficult period. International and local campaigns to end apartheid isolated the country. As a result, the NP’s hold on apartheid and the country was starting to show some cracks. Many knew that they would not be able to recover power, as the NP no longer had the grip it once had. Therefore, many Afrikaners’ interest in the SAW flared up again, as it reminded them of a time before all the turmoil and it showed them that their forebears also dealt with hardships and still overcame them, as seen with Ma who still feeds the commando despite not having much to feed herself, Maria, and Sanna. Furthermore, many Afrikaners desperately needed heroes who could lead them, since the NP was no longer strong. Therefore, they looked for heroes who were willing to fight for their cause. For this reason, films gave Afrikaners such heroes in the form of Scheepers and Theron, who both were shown as strong and willing to fight for their cause.

Afrikaners were still not a homogenous nation, not even in the 1980s. There were two camps in Afrikaner circles – some supported one thing and others opposed it. As with the Sestigers, who critiqued apartheid, many Afrikaners in the 1980s also criticised apartheid. For example, the *Voëlvry* movement criticised apartheid through their work. The opponents of apartheid were eventually successful in their mission to end apartheid, with help from the media and the international community. It can be argued that Henk in *Torn Allegiance* is used to show that if only the Boers can stand together, then they will be able to defeat their enemies. This suggests that it is Afrikaners’ own fault that they are in this situation, because they cannot stand together. Their situation is similar to the Boers’ in the film because they too could not stand together. Thus, it was one of the reasons they lost the war. Those who participated in the *Voëlvry* movement still kept their Afrikanerness so that the *volk* do not consider them traitors. That is why Henk still fights for the Boer cause, despite his reservations concerning the war.

The image of women in the 1980s changed to a large degree thanks to the counterculture movement and the Second Wave of feminism of the 1960s. More women entered the workforce

¹²²⁴ “Sturgeon547”, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0265881/reviews?ref_=tt_ury.

¹²²⁵ “Kevin Waters”, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mKQcnPFusU&t=869s>, accessed 7 October 2022.

while being mothers and getting a tertiary education, something that was not common in the 1930s to 1940s. Despite this shift, the *volksmoeder* trope was the same as it was until the early 1960s, as Afrikaner women were still expected to stay at home. However, the image of the *volksmoeder* was never so important as it was in the 1980s, because of the need to resist what P. W. Botha called a “Total Onslaught”. Afrikaners needed a mother figure at home who could not only motivate them, but also defend their home from destruction. Therefore, in *Torn Allegiance*, Mev. Potgieter, a Boer woman the Van Erst women meet on their way to the camps, was used to motivate Afrikaner women because she encourages other women by saying that they must not give up on their cause, and that no matter what the British do to the Boers, they will rise again. The *volksmoeder* trope had become much more inclusive in that it allowed Ma, an Englishwoman by birth, to take *volksmoeder* status by virtue of her marriage to a Boer and her unwavering support for the Boer cause.

Another woman figure that started to appear in the 1930s and continued into the 1980s in films of the SAW was the *Boeredogter* trope. The *Boeredogter* especially played an important role in the 1980s because some Afrikaner women went to work, which meant that they were unable to be *volksmoeders*, so it was up to Afrikaner girls to keep the *volk* motivated. In *Torn Allegiance*, Sanna motivates Henk by telling him that the Boer men are not alone in their fight as Boer women stand behind them.

The counterculture movement of the 1960s influenced the form of masculinity of the 1980s, as it led to a new form of masculinity, namely the “New Man”, who had the same responsibilities as women. It led to some change in Afrikaner masculinity, as there were some Afrikaner men who could be classified as “New Men”, such as Henk in *Torn Allegiance*, who feels sorry for the women who are suffering because the men cannot stand together. However, the hegemonic man was still the main form of Afrikaner masculinity in the 1980s. Unlike in previous decades, many Afrikaners of the 1980s were not complaining about the hegemonic man as Afrikaners needed hegemonic men who were willing to fight for their cause, not men who preferred to stay behind to take care of the household. These men were depicted in the form of Scheepers in *Gideon Scheepers* and Theron in *Danie Theron* who fought for the *volk*’s freedom.

In the 1980s films, Blacks were still largely silenced, just like their counterparts in previous films. Black people were long portrayed as servants to show that Whites (in line with the NP’s policy) had control over them. This was also the case with Black people in the films in the 1980s, who were shown as loyal and submissive, with only a small role. For example, Hendrik

in *Gideon Scheepers* and Jan in *Torn Allegiance* are submissive and do what they were told. They are loyal as they do not question their masters' orders. As long as they behave in this manner, they are shown in a good light, as seen with Hendrik. In reality, the government lost its control over Blacks due to the Anti-Apartheid Movement, protests, and boycotts. Therefore, some Blacks are also portrayed as the enemy, aggressive and loud like the Black soldier in *Gideon Scheepers*.

There was a slight difference in how the British were shown in films from the 1930s to the 1960s. In the 1930s to 1940s the British were depicted as the enemy, with the emphasis on what the British did to the *volk* in the SAW. This image changed in the 1960s, as the government realised that they needed the votes of White English-speaking South Africans. By the 1980s, the image of the English characters had changed somewhat, to be more conciliating to White English-speaking South Africans, because the NP had lost the votes of Afrikaners who had shifted further to the left (to the Progressive Federal Party) or the right (to the Conservative Party). Therefore, the NP relied more on White English-speaking South Africans than in previous years to keep them in power. Some White English-speaking South Africans supported the NP. That is possibly why Ma is shown as a *volksmoeder* to motivate English speakers to vote for the NP, as not all White English-speaking South Africans supported the NP.

6 Chapter 6: The 1990s-2000s

6.1 Introduction

By the 1990s, local and international pressure came to a boiling point. The sanctions and protests of the 1980s had left the country in a financial crisis, which was a major factor in pushing the NP towards a negotiated settlement. One of the characteristics of this period of negotiations was the emergence and escalation of what was termed “Black-on-Black” violence. Members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) clashed in violent confrontations, which were sometimes fuelled by what was referred to as a “third force”, allegedly apartheid security forces. At the far-right end of the spectrum, there was violence by the para-military group the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] (AWB), under the leadership of Eugene Terre’blanche. As a result of both domestic and international events, the NP had no choice but to enter the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations on 4 May 1990, with the ANC and other political formations, to discuss ways to end apartheid.

The outcome of these negotiations was that all South Africans could vote in the 1994 elections. Mandela became the first Black President of a democratic South Africa. For some Afrikaners, the removal of the NP as the governing party was a blow, as it made them feel vulnerable, because they no longer had the NP or apartheid to safeguard them, their culture and their way of life. Some found it difficult to deal with the “new” South Africa, because they felt unwelcome in their own country, despite the new government’s efforts to include them. As a result, some Afrikaners either left the country and some established and moved to towns such as Orania and Kleinfontein, Afrikaner enclaves.

One can argue that one response among some Afrikaners to this loss of political power was an increasing nostalgia for specific aspects of their past. In this context, the production and release of a number of Afrikaans-language films on the SAW can be read and analysed as post-1994 Afrikaner nostalgia focused on historical trauma, which arguably paralleled the contemporary trauma of the 1990s and the loss of political power and privilege. Therefore, I propose that the following films and television series (discussed in this chapter) were used to boost Afrikaners’ morale by reminding them that their forebears also faced hardships and still overcame them: *Arende* [Eagles] (1994, Dirk de Villiers), *Verraaiers* [Traitors] (2013, Paul Eilers), and *Modder*

en Bloed [Mud and Glory) (2016, Sean Else) and the series *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* (2008, Katinka Heyns) and *Donkerland* (2013, Deon Opperman). These films are read here as expressions of Afrikaner nostalgia for the certainties of the past in the context of an uncertain present and future. The chapter analyses these films and television series in the context of post-1994 South Africa by arguing that, just as in the previous decade, these films and television series were released to remind Afrikaners that their continued perseverance was bound to help them survive their current situation in the “new” South Africa, which made many feel vulnerable as they felt that they had lost their identity when the ANC took over from the NP, and as the new government replaced Afrikaners’ version of history with a more inclusive history which included the Black point of view. The films are also analysed as expressions of a lingering Afrikaner nationalism that had to reconfigure itself in relation to a stronger and more confident Black nationalism. This implied, and evidently found expression in, the inclusion of more Black people in these films, as well as new iterations of Afrikaner nationalist tropes such as the *volksmoeder* and *Boeredogter*, among others.

Important themes that are discernible and discussed in this chapter include nostalgia for the past in the context of a loss of political power, the recurring figures of the *volksmoeder* and *Boeredogter*, and Afrikaner masculinity.

6.2 Summaries of the films and television series

The first film on the SAW that was released after 1994 was *Arende* (1994). The film was one hour and forty minutes long. It is based on the series with the same title (1989). The film was released by C-films and directed by Dirk de Villiers.¹²²⁶ The script was written by Paul C. Venter, a well-known writer.¹²²⁷ The film starts with Sloet Steenkamp (the protagonist, who is a Cape Rebel and who has been captured by the British) sitting in a chair awaiting his execution by a British firing squad for betraying Britain. As a citizen of the British-governed Cape Colony, his support for the Boers is treasonous to the British crown. In the nick of time, Sloet hears that he will not be executed, but will instead be transported to St Helena, an island in the Atlantic Ocean, as a prisoner of war. Sloet would rather be executed than imprisoned, but his wife Aletta tells him that it is good that he will be going to St Helena, as he will live. Sloet and other Boer prisoners are taken to St Helena, where they are interned in Deadwood camp. The

¹²²⁶ IMDb, “Arende”, 2022, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2156657/>, accessed 14 January 2022.

¹²²⁷ Venter has written various films and series such as *Jewel of the Gods* (1989), *Konings* (Kings, 1992), *Arende* (1994), and *Knapsekêrels* (2018). IMDb, “Paul C. Venter”, 2022, <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0893235/>, accessed 1 March 2022.

camp commander is James Kerwin, who despises the Boers. Sloet refuses to be trapped in a cage (the island), so he makes plans to escape. He agrees to run a race with Kerwin around the island, which allows Sloet to look for escape routes. He identifies a likely place on a cliff. On the day when the Governor of the island does his inspection of the camp, Sloet escapes. However, he is injured at the cliff. He is then assisted by Sam, an islander, who helps him while he recovers from his leg injury. While Sloet is recovering, Princess, Sam's daughter, tells the British where to find him, as they are looking for him. As a result, Sloet is taken to the Fort as punishment for his escape attempt, and he has to cut rock. While Sloet is in the Fort, he becomes a hero among the Boer men for his determination not to give up. To break Sloet's morale, Kerwin challenges him to run a marathon against him, promising Sloet that if he wins then he will be free, but stating that if Sloet loses, he will be sent to the Fort. Sloet accepts the offer and defeats Kerwin. But Kerwin breaks his word. He is about to take Sloet to the Fort when the Boers stand together to resist. The film ends with Sloet holding a young Boer, who is shot by accident by a soldier. Sloet tells the boy that the boy will finally be free, as they all hear that the war has finally ended.

The second film¹²²⁸ on the SAW that was released in this period was *Verraaiers*, a two-hour film, produced by Bosbok Ses Films in collaboration with Spier Films, White Heron Pictures and Film Factory and directed by Paul Eilers.¹²²⁹ The film is based on Albert Blake's book, *Boere verraaiers: Teregstellings tydens die Anglo-Boere-oorlog* [Boer traitors: Executions during the Anglo-Boer War] (2010), which is about Boer treason during the SAW. The film focuses on Jacobus van Aswegen, who hears that Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener want to use a scorched-earth policy to force the Boers to surrender.¹²³⁰ The homes of those who sign the Oath of Neutrality will be spared to some degree (some still lose their homes), but they are not allowed to fight. Van Aswegen, along with his son, Carel-Jan, and his two sons-in-law, Henry Ahrens, and Robert Maclachlan, surrender their weapons and declare themselves neutral and return home.¹²³¹ The day they sign the oath, a group of women call them traitors. The Van Aswegen house is safe for a while, but when more Boers sign the oath, too few Boers remain to fight, so the Boer generals decide to force all Boer men, even those who have signed the oath, to return to war. Those who refuse are sentenced to death as they were seen as traitors to

¹²²⁸ Jansen Van Vuuren calls this the first film released after Apartheid, but as this chapter shows, this is incorrect.

¹²²⁹ R. Browne, "Verraaiers: A reflection", *Critical Arts* 27 no. 4 (2013), 449; Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliek*, 330.

¹²³⁰ Browne, "Verraaiers: A reflection", 449- 450.

¹²³¹ Browne, "Verraaiers: A reflection", 449- 450.

the Republics. As a result, Van Aswegen, Henry Ahrens, Carel-Jan and Robert Maclachlan, a Scottish trader, are sentenced to death. When Van Aswegen's wife, Gerda, hears this, she strips and walks out naked into the veld in her sorrow. Martha, his daughter, loses her unborn child. On the day they are to be executed, General De la Rey has a change of heart and decides to give these men a second chance, so he sends his advisor, Gerrie, to prevent the execution, but Gerrie is too late, as Van Aswegen, Henry and Robert have already been shot. The only one spared is Carel-Jan, who lives to tell the story to his grandson.

The last film that released was *Modder en Bloed*, which is two hours and 16 minutes long. It was directed by Sean Else, a famous musician and songwriter, and produced by Collective Dream Films (South Africa) and Dark Matter Studio (United Kingdom). The film follows Willem Morkel (Stian Bam), a Boer family father and Cape Rebel. Morkel's wife dies in a concentration camp. When Morkel tries to rescue his son, he fails, and he is taken to St Helena, where he meets Boers from the Transvaal, for example, Daniel Malherbe (a former rugby player), and from the Orange Free State, for example, Phil Blignaut. There he sees that the prisoners from the two republics are divided. Furthermore, he has to deal with the elements, as well as the British officer, Colonel Swannel, who despises the Boers, and who enjoys torturing them by placing them in a coffin. One day, a young *penkop* (Marius Prinsloo) decides to try to escape, but his plan fails as his comrade betrays him to the British. Swannel wants to shoot Marius, as a punishment, but then Morkel stands up for the boy, by challenging Swannel's rugby team to a game. If the Boers lose, Swannel can shoot Morkel and the boy, and if they win, he can still shoot Morkel, but not the boy. However, only a few have played the game and Swannel only allows the men to practice at night after their day chores are done. So, Patrick Kelly, an Irish prisoner, decides to help Morkel find and train suitable men for his team. Morkel and his team get better over time. When Swannel realises that he might be defeated by the "uncivilised" Boers, he orders that a Boer be killed. Katherine Sterndale (Charlotte Salt), the daughter of the governor of St Helena, tries to make Swannel end his torture. She also supports the Boers' cause by standing up for them and giving them some hope. Each night she reads the Bible and prays for them, which Morkel finds ironic as she is part of a nation who have killed his family. On the day of the game, Morkel hands out rugby vests with the name "Springbokken" sewed on to them to his men to show that they are no longer two divided groups, but one team. At first the Boers do badly, but then Morkel tells them that they must play it the "Boer way" by picking up the ball instead of just kicking it. As a result, they win the game. Afterwards, Swannel wants to shoot Morkel as they agreed, but the other Boers stand in

front of him to shield him, and Swannel is removed from his position before he can shoot anybody, as the governor has made a complaint against him. At the end, they hear that the war is over and that they are one team.

The first series on the SAW that I discuss in this chapter is *Fees van die Ongenooides* (2008), a 350-minute television series produced by André Scholtz and commissioned by the pay channel mNet.¹²³² Katinka Heyns, who is known for films such as *Fiela se kind* (1988) and *Paljas* (1997) among others, directed the series.¹²³³ The storyline was written by the well-known playwright P.G. du Plessis (who died in 2017 at the age of 82).¹²³⁴ The series is about two families, namely the wealthy Van Wyk family and the *bywoner*¹²³⁵ De Winter family. The Van Wyks are Danie (the patriarch), Dorothea (Danie's wife), Daantjie (his spoiled son), Magrieta (Daantjie's wife), Daniel (the grandfather), Gezina (a spinster, Danie's sister), Nellie (Danie's daughter), Wynand (Danie's brother) and Martie (Wynand's wife). The De Winter family are Jakob (the patriarch), Sannie (Jakob's wife), Petrus (Jakob's son) and Fienatjie (Jakob's daughter). The series shows how they cope with the war, rape, abortion, and division among family members, the scorched-earth policy and the camps. The series also deals with how Black people, like Soldaat (*agterryer* to Daantjie) and Siena (Martie's servant and confidante) deal with the war and camps.

The second series discussed here is *Donkerland* (2013), a 13-hour series, produced by Soné Combrinck, Deon Opperman, and Lucia Meyer-Marais.¹²³⁶ The series was directed by Jozua Malherbe and produced by Bottle Bottom Line Entertainment, and distributed by Kyknet.¹²³⁷ The series is based on the celebrated theatre production of the same name written by Hertzog prize winner Deon Opperman.¹²³⁸ The series' thematic slogan is "Een plaas. Een familie. Een bloedlyn. Sewe geslagte. 158 jaar" [One farm. One family. One bloodline. Seven generations. 158 years].¹²³⁹ The series tells the story of seven generations of the De Witt family and their

¹²³² Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 105; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 216.

¹²³³ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 105.

¹²³⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 105; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 214; Anon, "PG du Plessis se woorde bly vloei", *rooi rose*, 22 June 2017, <https://www.rooirose.co.za/pg-du-plessis-se-woorde-bly-vloei/>, accessed 23 September 2020.

¹²³⁵ A *bywoner* is a person who lived on another Boer's farm in an inferior position.

¹²³⁶ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 105.

¹²³⁷ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaiër", 105; P. Mphela, "South African period drama *Donkerland* debuts tonight," August 2013, <http://www.philmphelablog.com/2013/08/south-african-period-drama-donkerland.html>, accessed 7 September 2020.

¹²³⁸ P. Mphela, "South African period drama".

¹²³⁹ *Donkerland*, directed by J. Malherbe (Kyknet, 2013); L. Welgemoed, "Verset in dramas deur Deon Opperman: *Donkerland*, *Kruispad*, *Ons vir jou en Kaburu*" (MA diss., University of South Africa, 2013), 57.

Black farm workers on the farm Donkerland, in the Wenen district, in KwaZulu-Natal, against the background of the changing socio-political landscape of South Africa over a period of 158 years (from the Great Trek in 1838 to the New South Africa in 1996).¹²⁴⁰ Key characters are Oubaas Pieter de Witt (the patriarch), Anna (Pieter's granddaughter), Klein Piet (Pieter's grandson), Eerste (a servant and caretaker of the farm), Bongani (Klein Piet's *agterryer*), John Walsh (Anna's English fiancé), and Gerrie Maritz (the traitor).

6.3 Comparative analysis of common themes

Due to the convergence of domestic and international pressures, including a financial crisis coupled with international calls for sanctions and boycotts of South African goods, as well as increased internal resistance in the volatile 1980s, F.W. de Klerk, the last NP President of South Africa (1989 to 1994) had no choice but to support the CODESA negotiations with the ANC.¹²⁴¹ Numerous people, organisations, and political parties joined the negotiations, including the ANC and NP. All the parties and groups represented who attended the meeting, with the exception of Bophutatswana, then an "independent" homeland, signed the Declaration of Intent, a document which the members at the convention hoped would bring South Africans together by healing the divisions of the past, improving the quality of the life of the people and creating a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional change.¹²⁴²

Tensions between the ANC and the NP, in particular disagreement regarding power-sharing, posed a risk to the negotiations.¹²⁴³ The Sunset Clause, as it was described by Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party, was a compromise which "called for power-sharing between the two sides, retention of the old bureaucracy (and presumably other organs of the state: police, military and the intelligence services) and, finally, a general amnesty in return for full disclosure".¹²⁴⁴ According to Bill Freund and Vishnu Padayachee, the Sunset Clause "gave

¹²⁴⁰ IMDb, "Donkerland", 2020, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2908240/>, accessed 7 September 2020; Donkerland; M. Keuris, "Deon Opperman's *Donkerland*: The rise and fall of Afrikaner nationalism", *Acta Academica* 41 no. 3 (2009), 1; V.C. Milton, "Histories of becoming: *Donkerland* re-members South Africa," *Communicatio* 40 no. 4 (2014), 323.

¹²⁴¹ A. Ruiz Benedicto, M. Akkerman and P. Brunet, "A walled world", 2020, https://www.tni.org/en/walledworld?fbclid=IwAR366LgLKuT14mFgm0Gciu_XFJeb7mFIPRJm4oruET2h3J5dtmtYf52zZEY, accessed 26 February 2022.

¹²⁴² H. Corder, "Towards a South African Constitution," *The Modern Law Review* 57 no. 4 (1994), 497.

¹²⁴³ Van der Westhuizen writes "power sharing involved building a 'white veto' into parliamentary representation, as a counterweight to the enfranchisement of the black majority". C. van der Westhuizen, "FW de Klerk: The last apartheid president was driven by pragmatism, not idealism", 2021, <https://theconversation.com/fw-de-klerk-the-last-apartheid-president-was-driven-by-pragmatism-not-idealism-164026>, accessed 11 August 2022.

¹²⁴⁴ M. Mamdani, "Beyond Nuremberg: The historical significance of the post-apartheid transition in South Africa," *Politics and Society* 43 no. 1 (2015), 12.

minority parties that captured more than 5 per cent of the vote [in the 1994 elections] membership in a government of National Unity [for five years] and guaranteed security of tenure in posts for civil servants”.¹²⁴⁵ According to Mbeki, the intention was to “avoid a winner-takes-all situation, and to ease the NP’s loss of power”.¹²⁴⁶ Another condition of the Sunset Clause was “to make sure that the Afrikaner civil servants who were perceived to be loyal to the National Party were not dismissed from their jobs for at least the first five years of the new administration”.¹²⁴⁷ In terms of this clause, De Klerk was to be appointed as Deputy President after the 1994 elections, which it was clear the ANC would win. As a result of this, many argued that the clause mostly benefited Whites – as late as 2011, Morgan Phaahla wrote that the White population “still dominates with 73.1% at top management level”, which is high compared to other races such as Blacks, coloureds and Indians combined at this level. “This does not bode well for transformation”.¹²⁴⁸ Lastly, the Sunset Clause stated that a new President would be elected every five years.¹²⁴⁹ Negotiation did not cover all issues, as neither party could agree about what kind of constitution the new South Africa should have.¹²⁵⁰ Despite this, the CODESA negotiations were still seen as positive as they “enabled change that built one South Africa for all”.¹²⁵¹

In 1992, De Klerk held a Whites-only referendum on whether the negotiations should continue, resulting in a “yes” vote for change of almost 69%.¹²⁵² Giliomee claims that many Afrikaners only voted “yes” because they believed that they were being asked to endorse the transfer of power to the Black majority, while others believed that the NP would accept nothing less than power sharing.¹²⁵³ Furthermore, many Whites also feared that a “no” vote could escalate violence.¹²⁵⁴ This led to the second CODESA meeting. However, the meeting was curtailed

¹²⁴⁵ B. Freund and V. Padayachee, “Post-Apartheid South Africa: The key patterns emerge,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 33 no. 20 (1998), 1173.

¹²⁴⁶ Anon, “Mbeki: ANC offered National Party sunset clause without it asking”, *News24*, 7 July 2015, <https://www.news24.com/News24/Mbeki-ANC-offered-National-Party-sunset-clause-without-asking-20150707>, accessed 17 October 2022.

¹²⁴⁷ Anon, “Mbeki: ANC offered”.

¹²⁴⁸ M. Phaahla, “Sunset clause benefited Whites greatly,” *The Star*, 19 August 2011, <https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/sunset-clause-benefited-whites-greatly-1121021>, accessed 17 October 2022.

¹²⁴⁹ C. Jung and I. Shapiro, “Power sharing democracy,” *Indicator South Africa* 12 no. 3 (1995), 18.

¹²⁵⁰ T. Nutall, N. Sishi and S. Khandlhela, “The whirlwind: Struggles on the road to democracy, 1976-1994,” in *From Apartheid to Democracy, South Africa 1948-1994*, eds. T. Nutell, J. Wright, J. Hoffman, N. Sishi and S. Khandlhela (Polokwane: Shuter and Shooter, 1998), 123.

¹²⁵¹ Anon, “Our unity trumps divisions,” *Cape Times*, 25 September 2018, 7.

¹²⁵² A. Strauss, “The 1992 Referendum in South Africa”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 31 no. 2 (1993), 341; Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 185; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 403-404.

¹²⁵³ Giliomee, “Uprising”, 424.

¹²⁵⁴ B. Seery, “White SA’s finest hour,” *The Citizen*, 15 November 2021, 12.

when, on 17 June 1992, the Boipatong Massacre occurred.¹²⁵⁵ IFP supporters killed 39 people and injured many more. Negotiations were suspended. Mandela thought it “unacceptable” that the police, who were an alleged party to the violence, should be in charge of the investigations.¹²⁵⁶ There were rumours that the police had supplied the IFP with weapons. Conversely, some claimed that it was an ANC conspiracy, as there was no clear evidence of police involvement in the massacre.¹²⁵⁷ Steven Robins agrees that the individuals on both sides should be blamed for the events, but he also notes that it does not necessarily mean that the police were not involved.¹²⁵⁸ Allegations of a “Third Force”, to use a term coined by Mandela in 1990, were rife.¹²⁵⁹ According to Erik Melander, the term refers to Black-on-Black violence as a consequence of manipulation by security agencies of the regime, the clandestine, so-called “Third Force”.¹²⁶⁰

De Klerk, who was regarded as a racist after the Boipatong Massacre, tried to get the negotiations back on track by “abandoning all hope of federalism and eventually settling for vastly diluted constitutional protections for minorities”.¹²⁶¹ But it was Cyril Ramaphosa (who was to become president of the country later in 2018), and Roelf Meyer, a member of the NP, who brought the negotiations back on track again.¹²⁶² According to Annette Strauss, Ramaphosa and Meyer opened up what became known as “the Channel”, a series of unpublished meetings that eventually produced a Record of Understanding.¹²⁶³ The aim was to curb the violence that was taking place and to work towards democratic change.¹²⁶⁴ The name CODESA was changed to Multi-Party Negotiation Process, as the former name was associated with failure.¹²⁶⁵ The Multi-Party Negotiation Process followed the same path as its predecessor, as it failed due to the assassination in 1993 of Chris Hani,¹²⁶⁶ a freedom fighter and leader of

¹²⁵⁵ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 405.

¹²⁵⁶ Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 185; Anon, “Remembering Boipatong”, *Cape Times*, 18 June 2012, 6.

¹²⁵⁷ P. Pigou, “Boipatong Massacre: Still no real answers”, *Mail & Guardian*, 6-12 October 2000, 14; J. Rantao, “The horrors of a forgotten massacre”, *The Star*, 20 June 2003, 14.

¹²⁵⁸ S. Robison, “Don’t blame all on third force”, *Cape Times*, 10 June 1997, 6.

¹²⁵⁹ Anon, “We must never forget the Boipatong Massacre”, *Sunday Independent*, 19 June 2022, 9.

¹²⁶⁰ E. Melander, “The limits of Manipulation Theory: The Apartheid Third Force and the ANC-Inkatha conflict in South Africa,” *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 8 no. 4 (2002), 1.

¹²⁶¹ Anon, “The TRC wrong on Boipatong: Rian Malan”, *The Citizen*, 22 April 1999, 8.

¹²⁶² Strauss, “The 1992 Referendum”, 357; Nutall *et al.*, “The whirlwind”, 124; S. Mavuso, “Secret deal ‘rubber stamped’”, *The Star*, 10 December 2019, 10.

¹²⁶³ The Record of Understanding was signed on 26 September 1992 and states that every five years a new President will be chosen. Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 406; J.S. Saul, “The Apartheid Endgame, 1990–1994”, in *South Africa– The present as history from Mrs Ples to Mandela and Marikana*, eds. J.S. Saul and P. Bond, (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2014), 134; Nutall *et al.*, “The whirlwind”, 124.

¹²⁶⁴ Strauss, “The 1992 Referendum”, 357.

¹²⁶⁵ Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 406.

¹²⁶⁶ Hani was assassinated on 10 April 1993 outside his Dawn Park home in the East Rand town, Boksburg. Hani was popular among Blacks as he helped to build a culture of internal criticism in the ANC. Hani also fought for

the South African Communist Party.¹²⁶⁷ Hani's death sparked violent protests. Mandela stepped in to calm the situation by telling the country on SABC not to honour Hani's death with more death, but to ensure a date for the election so that the majority could have a government of their choice.¹²⁶⁸

Not all Afrikaners agreed with De Klerk's reforms or wanted him to negotiate with Blacks, as many believed that it would mean the end of their privileged positions. They believed that the move from apartheid to democracy would rob them of their freedom.¹²⁶⁹ Therefore several groups tried to prevent the negotiations from taking place. One such group was the Volksfront [National Front], a group of Afrikaner hardliners, under the leadership of Constand L. Viljoen, who opposed the negotiations. Viljoen wanted to boycott the 1994 elections, but then decided to register his own party, the Freedom Front (now the Freedom Front Plus).¹²⁷⁰ The party was established by Viljoen, a South African military commander and politician, to represent those who felt that De Klerk had not acted in the best interests of the *volk*.¹²⁷¹ Another group was the AWB, under the leadership of Eugene Terre'blanche, who did not want South Africa to be ruled by Blacks. The AWB believed that the country belonged to the White man; the group threatened to take over the country with violence the day that the ANC and "the communists" took power.¹²⁷² Burger Senekal writes that, in the last months before the elections, the AWB detonated bombs at taxi ranks, bus stops, NP and ANC offices and the former Jan Smuts Airport (now the OR Tambo Airport).¹²⁷³ Their aim was to create a *volkstaat* [national state] to protect the Afrikaner identity and ethnicity or "eiesoortigheid" [distinctiveness], Afrikaner history, and the Afrikaans language.¹²⁷⁴

the freedom of Blacks. A. Lissoni, "Remembering South African struggle hero Chris Hani: Lessons for today," 2017, <https://theconversation.com/remembering-south-african-struggle-hero-chris-hani-lessons-for-today-64715>, accessed 31 January 2022.

¹²⁶⁷ Le May, *The Afrikaners*, 256; Nutall *et al.*, "The whirlwind", 124; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 406.

¹²⁶⁸ S. Venter, "Chris Hani's death, a nail-biting birth of a hopeful nation", 2018, <https://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/chris-hanis-death-a-nail-biting-birth-of-a-hopeful-nation>, accessed 1 February 2022.

Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 406.

¹²⁶⁹ Jung, "After apartheid", 13.

¹²⁷⁰ Jung, "After apartheid", 14.

¹²⁷¹ K. Gottschalk and D. Kotze, "The who, why and what of South Africa's minority Afrikaner party", 2019, <https://theconversation.com/the-who-why-and-what-of-south-africas-minority-afrikaner-party-116913>, accessed 15 August 2022.

¹²⁷² H. Serfontein, "Terreblanche's big mouth won't resuscitate AWB," *New Nation*, 12 April 1996, 5; M. Waldner, "AWB chief threatens to use violence," *Pretoria News*, 3 February 1983, 1.

¹²⁷³ B.A. Senekal, "An ark without a flood: White South Africans' preparations for the end of white-ruled South Africa," *Journal for Contemporary History* 39 no. 2 (2014), 185.

¹²⁷⁴ Y.G. Muthien and M.M. Khosa, "'The kingdom, the volkstaat and the new South Africa': Drawing South Africa's new regional boundaries," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21 no. 2 (1995), 308.

Right-wing Afrikaners considered De Klerk's actions treasonous, especially when he unbanned the ANC and PAC in 1990.¹²⁷⁵ As a result, rallies were held to mobilise resistance to what they saw as a threat to the survival of the Afrikaner *volk*.¹²⁷⁶ During these rallies Nazi flags were flown, and there were posters with slogans such as "National socialism is the only solution" and "Racial mixing means racial death".¹²⁷⁷ Some Afrikaners considered De Klerk a "volksverraaier" [national traitor] who had sold out his *volk*. One Afrikaner celebrity who felt this way was (somewhat notorious) Afrikaans singer and activist, Steve Hofmeyr, who in an interview stated that De Klerk's actions had led to the "demise of 'my people'" as there was no protection for the *volk*.¹²⁷⁸ According to Allister Sparks, the Afrikaners who thought this way felt cheated by the NP, which had previously called anyone who negotiated with the ANC a traitor, but was now engaging in such actions itself, as it had released Mandela and unbanned the ANC and PAC.¹²⁷⁹ The "De Klerk as "volksverraaier" narrative hinged on De Klerk's perceived self-interest, which framed him as a Judas figure for some Afrikaners.

The Judas figure is apparent in *Donkerland*, in the character of Gerrie Maritz, who is shown in the beginning of Episode 5, where he looks on at how one of his own people, whom he betrayed to the British, is shot by a British firing squad. Afterwards, he greedily takes the money which the British soldier gives him, despite the soldier's doubts when it comes to traitors. After the event, Gerrie Maritz sees Anna (Jenna Dunster), who is walking from the concentration camp to her home and asks if he can join her. She agrees, as she is unaware of what he has done. The next morning Anna becomes suspicious of him when she finds the money. When he realises this, he tries to kill her, but she is faster than he, and manages to kill him. There were Afrikaners who believed that De Klerk chose to help dig the grave of White political rule rather than to lead the country out of a potential bloodbath.¹²⁸⁰ His betrayal also set the tone for a confrontational approach by Afrikaners in their dealings with the new political elite.¹²⁸¹

¹²⁷⁵ F. Antonie, "Press release: Obituary for Frederik Willem De Klerk", 2021, <https://hsf.org.za/news/press-releases/press-release-obituary-for-frederik-willem-de-klerk>, accessed 30 September 2022.

¹²⁷⁶ A. Sparks, "20,000 Whites march in Pretoria to protest De Klerk's initiatives," *Washington Post*, 16 February 1990, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/02/16/20000-whites-march-in-pretoria-to-protest-de-klerks-initiatives/75b0820a-5a36-4e60-8b7b-5f719e45b4d0/>, accessed 18 October 2022.

¹²⁷⁷ Sparks, "20,000 Whites march".

¹²⁷⁸ Anon, "Steve Hofmeyr moans that De Klerk sold out 'volk' to 'swart gevaar'", *The Citizen*, 12 November 2021, <https://www.citizen.co.za/news/steve-hofmeyr-moans-that-de-klerk-sold-out-volk-to-swart-gevaar/>, accessed 30 September 2022.

¹²⁷⁹ Sparks, "20,000 Whites march".

¹²⁸⁰ B. Wyngaard, "FW – die einde van 'n era," *Litnet*, 11 November 2021, <https://www.litnet.co.za/fw-die-einde-van-n-era/>, accessed 23 February 2022.

¹²⁸¹ T. du Plessis, "The Afrikaner and the volkstaat quest," *Business Day*, 9 July 1998, 14.

Verraaiers also portrays a Judas character who places his own interests before those of his volk with Gert Coetsee, a crippled Boer, who switches sides depending on which side is winning. First, Coetsee warns the British, who are on the Prinsloo farm, which the Boers later use to hold their court cases, so that the British can escape, but when the Boers get to the farm, he changes this story by saying that someone warned the British that the Boers are coming. He gets away with his disloyalty to his people. In her discussion of the film, Danielle Britz finds it ironic that Coetsee emerges unscathed, but the protagonist (Van Aswegen) who has fought in the war is seen as a traitor, while Coetsee, who has never fought in a war, is praised for his hard work and loyalty by both the British and the Boers.¹²⁸² It can be argued that the film depicts Coetsee in this way to warn Afrikaners that they must avoid people who are two-faced and is willing to betray the *volk* for their own interests. Many Afrikaners believed that De Klerk, for example, had turned his back on them, their heritage and their shared belief that God ordained Whites to have their own nation in South Africa in order to save his image as the struggle closed in on the old order.¹²⁸³

Another form of betrayal is surrender, which many believed was humiliating, as it showed the nation as weak. According to Todd Lehmann and Yuri Zhukov, this form of betrayal leads to a loss of territory and a shift in the local balance of power. Thus, many consider it high treason.¹²⁸⁴ Those who surrendered were dubbed “traitors”. Traitors who surrendered in the SAW were excluded from political circles and even church services, as they were seen as traitors to their country and God.¹²⁸⁵ That is why the Van Aswegen family in *Verraaiers* are treated so poorly by the *volk*, because Van Aswegen wants to protect his family from destruction and surrenders in order to do so. As seen later on, none of the Boers has any

¹²⁸² Britz, *Bosbok Ses films*, 106.

¹²⁸³ R. Hartley, “Apartheid-era’s last president, FW de Klerk, was a man at war with his history,” *Daily Maverick*, 11 November 2021, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-11-11-apartheid-eras-last-president-fw-de-klerk-was-a-man-at-war-with-his-history/>, accessed 22 February 2022; P. Popham, “Outrage at De Klerk’s defiance on apartheid,” *Independent*, 12 May 2012, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/outrage-at-de-klerk-s-defiance-on-apartheid-7737806.html>, accessed 23 September 2022; J.B. Spector, “The complex legacy of FW de Klerk, the South African president who straddled apartheid and democracy,” *Daily Maverick*, 11 November 2021, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-11-11-the-complex-legacy-of-fw-de-klerk-the-south-african-president-who-straddled-apartheid-and-democracy/>, accessed 23 September 2022; D.B. Ottaway, “Afrikaners feel betrayed by De Klerk,” *Washington Post*, 24 February 1990, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1990/02/24/afrikaners-feel-betrayed-by-de-klerk/308916a4-2d7e-4dd1-8d2a-36c29a371ea9/>, accessed 23 September 2022; P. du Toit, “Pieter du Toit: Apartheid, democracy and FW de Klerk’s options for a new South Africa,” *News24*, 6 February 2020, <https://www.news24.com/news24/opinions/analysis/pieter-du-toit-apartheid-democracy-and-fw-de-klerks-options-for-a-new-south-africa-20200206>, accessed 23 September 2022.

¹²⁸⁴ T.C. Lehmann and Y.M. Zhukov, “Until the bitter end? The diffusion of surrender across battles,” *International Organization* 73, no. 1 (2017), 2.

¹²⁸⁵ Pretorius, “Everyone’s war”, 252; Lee, *To the bitter end*, 172; Pretorius, *Die Anglo Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 90.

sympathy with the Van Aswegen family, arguing that they themselves (and their families) are also dealing with hardships, yet none of them have surrendered.

The character of Wynand in *Fees van die Ongenooides* also surrenders because he believes that the women are suffering in the camps and there is nothing left of the land as a result of the scorched-earth policy. As the community rejects Wynand and the Van Aswegen family, some Afrikaners also rejected De Klerk for “surrendering”. For this reason, there were calls for De Klerk to step down as leader of the NP.¹²⁸⁶ Some Afrikaners believed that De Klerk relented too quickly, thus they were unable to safeguard the rights of Afrikaners and he did not go far enough in curtailing the powers and reach of the new government.¹²⁸⁷ *Verraaiers* also shows how many Boers felt about traitors. While the Van Aswegen men are standing in the queue to sign the Oath of Neutrality, which states that they lay down their weapons, a group of Boer women enter, then one of them comes to the front and asks, “whether this was why her husband has died, so that they can surrender to the British?”. She is so angry at these traitors that she curses them, expressing the hope that they will be punished for deserting the Boer cause. This curse comes true as the Van Aswegen family loses most of the family’s men due to their decision. Some Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s believed that like their ancestors who lost the SAW because of traitors, so have they lost their independence because of the De Klerk’s betrayal. Some Afrikaners found his betrayal difficult to deal with because they believe that he just gave up like Wynand (*Fees van die ongenooïdes*) and the van Aswegen men (*Verraaiers*) without fighting for the Afrikaners’ independence. These Afrikaners believe that these traitors deserved to be punished for putting themselves before the volk. Therefore, *Fees van die ongenooïdes* and *Verraaiers* focused on traitors being punished as a warning to other Afrikaners not to betray the volk.

This bitter feeling towards *verraaiers* goes back to the SAW, because some Boers believed that the *verraaiers* were the reason they lost the war. What added to this bitterness was that the traitors were Afrikaners, their own people, which humiliated them as they could not believe that their own people would betray them.¹²⁸⁸ While recruiting men for his team, Morkel, in *Modder en Bloed*, asks Phil Blignaut (Jacques Bessenger) why one of the Boers, Daniel Malherbe (Altus Theart), refuses to join the team even though he has played rugby before.

¹²⁸⁶ P. Laurence, “De Klerk faces influential foes in Afrikaner establishment”, *Irish Times*, 18 February 1997, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/de-klerk-faces-influential-foes-in-afrikaner-establishment-1.43952>, accessed 19 October 2022.

¹²⁸⁷ Du Toit, “Pieter du Toit”.

¹²⁸⁸ A. Blake, *Boereverraaiers teregstellings tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog* (Cape Town: Tafelberg 2010), 15.

Blignault replies that Malherbe's own brother has betrayed him to the British and as a result his sons have been executed. Blignault then states "jy kan 'n vyand veg, maar nie jou eie mense nie" [you can fight an enemy, but not your own people], which reflects the humiliation Afrikaners experienced when their own people betrayed them.¹²⁸⁹ For example, when Danie in *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* finds out that his own brother, Wynand (Albert Maritz), is a traitor, he tells Wynand that Wynand is an insult to his nation. Even Wynand's wife, Martie (Anna-Mart van der Merwe) refuses to allow him to bury his daughter who died in the concentration camp when she realises that he is a traitor.

However, other Afrikaners argued that De Klerk was not necessarily betraying his people, but was protecting them from a potential racial civil war. By the early 1990s, the country was also suffering from a financial crisis, which was mostly due to the boycotts and sanctions.¹²⁹⁰ The country had become almost completely isolated. Furthermore, the townships become "ungovernable", as Black-on-Black violence increased. The media exposed the brutality of the state, which led to more opposition towards Whites, especially Afrikaners. The only way out was to lead the country through a transition into a constitutional democracy.¹²⁹¹ Christi van der Westhuizen agrees that De Klerk took "a strategic risk to regain the initiative, in a situation where the options beyond intensified military repression were rapidly shrinking".¹²⁹² Therefore, it can be debated whether De Klerk can be considered a traitor if his main aim was to protect his people from violence. This is difficult to say because the definition of a "traitor" means different things to different people. For example, Gerrie Jacobs (Stian Bam) in *Verraaiers* argues that, given his origin in the Cape, his position as De la Rey's right-hand man is a betrayal of the British. Yet, the Boers respect him because he has taken up this role. It can be argued that through this, the film is suggesting that the label of traitor is relative, which some viewers might have extrapolated to De Klerk, who may have been a traitor to nationalist Afrikaners, but also may have been admirable to liberal Afrikaners¹²⁹³ because he helped to end apartheid.

¹²⁸⁹ *Modder en Bloed*, directed by S. Else (Dark Matter Studios and Collective Dream Studios, 2016), 00:38:59.

¹²⁹⁰ Du Toit, "Pieter du Toit".

¹²⁹¹ Du Toit, "Pieter du Toit".

¹²⁹² Van Der Westhuizen, "FW de Klerk".

¹²⁹³ Note that De Klerk did, in some cases, support Apartheid. De Klerk once stated that Apartheid was not a crime but he has since apologised for the statement. As Van der Westhuizen notes, De Klerk was not a securocrat as he believed that "power sharing could *not* ultimately be imposed through state violence". Therefore, I decided to classify him as a liberal Afrikaner. Van Der Westhuizen, "FW de Klerk"; R. Southall, "Why South Africa's White leaders shouldn't get into comparative politics of sin", 2020, <https://theconversation.com/why-south-africas-white-leaders-shouldnt-get-into-comparative-politics-of-sin-132131>, accessed 15 August 2022.

Just like their forebears after the SAW, Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s experienced a loss of political power. As a result, many felt lost and did not know where they belonged in the “new” South Africa. *Modder en Bloed* shows how many Afrikaners felt after they lost their political power in the wake of the SAW. The night before the rugby game on St Helena, Morkel tells Finn Kelly (Patrick Connolly) that he is afraid of the outcome of the game. Finn Kelly is an Irish prisoner who has also fought on the Boer side (as Kelly feels the same way about the British as the Boers do, because of the Irish and British animosity throughout the centuries).¹²⁹⁴ According to Marais-Botha, the conversation between Morkel and Kelly is not just about rugby, but about the current position of Afrikaners who were afraid of the outcome of their new position.¹²⁹⁵ It can be argued that the 1994 elections were the reason why some Afrikaners felt vulnerable, because for them it must have felt like all the sacrifices their forebears made for their cause were in vain, as they were back where their forebears has been after the SAW: politically vulnerable. According to Tim du Plessis, many Afrikaners were “programmed” to believe that they would rule forever, but then it all changed in the 1994 elections.¹²⁹⁶ It was on this day that Afrikaners lost their political power to the ANC, who won the elections by 62%, compared to the 20% that voted for the NP. This election made Nelson Mandela the first Black President of a newly democratic South Africa.¹²⁹⁷

The 1994 elections was a blow for some Afrikaners, especially the youth as they found “it difficult to connect their understanding of the past, and the war in particular, with developments during the 1990s”.¹²⁹⁸ Grundlingh notes that “such a sense of loss can be related to a narrow education system that left many Afrikaner youth ill-equipped to deal with the ideological challenges of the future South Africa”, leaving this new generation to cope with a fractured past.¹²⁹⁹ Some Afrikaner youths considered the SAW unimportant to them, because the war took place a hundred years before many of them were born,¹³⁰⁰ while others considered the SAW important, including the “De la Rey generation” (discussed in Chapter 2). According to Grundlingh, some youths did not focus on how the SAW influenced Afrikaner nationalism, but

¹²⁹⁴ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 84.

¹²⁹⁵ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 84

¹²⁹⁶ Du Plessis, “The Afrikaner and the volkstaat quest”, 14.

¹²⁹⁷ J. Brits, “South Africa after Apartheid, 1994-2004,” in *A History of South African from the distant past to the present day*, ed. F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 493; Joyce, *Suid-Afrika in die 20ste eeu*, 189; H. Giliomee, “Surrender without defeat: Afrikaners and the South African “Miracle””, *Daedalus* 126 no. 2 (1997), 116.

¹²⁹⁸ Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 31.

¹²⁹⁹ Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 31.

¹³⁰⁰ Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 31.

on how the war affected other races.¹³⁰¹ For example, during the Centenary commemoration of the SAW (1999-2002), there were Afrikaners who called for the SAW to remain part of battlefield tourism, in part to acknowledge that the war did not affect only Whites, but also Black people.¹³⁰² This inclusive narrative on the SAW is a reflection of the changed political circumstances in the country.

The demise of political apartheid left many Afrikaners feeling vulnerable because the end of the apartheid government meant the end of a state that had privileged and protected Afrikaner interests above all others. Afrikaners now needed to fend for themselves in a political dispensation that did not have much patience for historically privileged subnational identities.¹³⁰³ Therefore, it can be argued that many Afrikaners felt as if they had lost everything, just like their forebears, who had also lost all of their belongings as a result of the scorched-earth policy. But the SAW did not stop the Boers. Their losses motivated them to rebuild their homes from scratch. *Donkerland* in particular focuses on the Boers' determination to rebuild their lives after the war. When Klein Piet (Francois Jacobs) and Bongani (Thapelo Sebogodi), his *agterryer*, return to the farm Donkerland, they see the ruins left by the scorched-earth policy. When Bongani asks Klein Piet what they should do next, Klein Piet answers "Ons gaan Donkerland klip vir klip weer bou. Met ons kaal hande as ons moet. Net soos wat hy was" [We are going to build Donkerland again, stone by stone. With our bare hands if we must. Just like it was before].¹³⁰⁴ It can be argued that this scene would boost some Afrikaner viewers' morale, because it shows them that despite near destruction, they can go on and survive.

However, what is notably different from earlier films is the idea that restoration of Afrikaner privilege and power lies in cooperation with particularly Black South Africans, rather than in intra-volk mutuality. This scene speaks more directly to a changed political and social order; it implies that Afrikaners and Blacks can build a "new" South Africa together. Some Afrikaners faced a similar situation as Bongani and Klein Piet after the SAW. They felt that they also faced a loss of identity just like their forebears did after the SAW, and they too need to find their place in the "new" South Africa. The relationship between Blacks and Afrikaners was complex, as many Afrikaners still saw themselves as superior and Blacks as inferior. This relationship

¹³⁰¹ Grundlingh, "The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness", 32.

¹³⁰² A. Wessels, "The Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902) and its traumatic consequences," in *Breaking Inter-generational Cycles of Repetition*, ed. P. Gobodo-Madikizela (Berlin, Toronto: Barbara Budrich, 2016), 161.

¹³⁰³ Giliomee, "Surrender without defeat, 119, 141; H. Giliomee, *The rise and demise of the Afrikaners* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2019), 270.

¹³⁰⁴ *Donkerland*, 00:14:44.

had worsened during apartheid. Therefore, it can be argued that this scene wanted to improve this relationship since apartheid had ended, by showing that both groups need each other if they want the country to recover.

The *volksmoeder* trope is a thematic continuity in films spanning the period selected for the focus of this study. However, the *volksmoeder* discourse underwent significant changes over the years, as is apparent in the films of this period. Van Der Westhuizen agrees that the *volksmoeder* trope continued its hold on Afrikaner women in the democratic era, “but with contradictory effects that reflect its varied and incongruous uses in the past”.¹³⁰⁵ The *volksmoeder* became a floating signifier after 1994, flexible and filled with divergent and clashing content now that Afrikaners had “lost” their identity.¹³⁰⁶ The post-1994 *volksmoeder* has multiple meanings and roles. One of these roles is to promote reconciliation by lending herself to interracial ventures with an emphasis on the common experience of motherhood across racial divides.¹³⁰⁷ However, contrary to the larger discourse of multiple roles embodied by the *volksmoeder*, *Fees van die Ongenooides* represents the *volksmoeder*, in Martie, as someone unwilling to reconcile. Martie is deeply suspicious and berates her family for putting up a feast for Brooks, a British captain, in the vain hope that he will respond with kindness and not destroy their home.¹³⁰⁸

The *volksmoeder* trope has been challenged by resistant or dissident femininities.¹³⁰⁹ Afrikaner women have also challenged the *volksmoeder* trope by choosing to be a natural nurturer or not.¹³¹⁰ In *Fees van die Ongenooides*, both Martie and Magrieta challenge the *volksmoeder* trope. Magrieta (Lika van den Bergh), the most beautiful Boer woman in the area, is raped by her own husband Daantjie (Neil Sandilands), who, she believed, has died. After Daantjie wets himself during a battle, he decides to “fake his death” to make people believe he has died a hero’s death, and roams his family’s farm without their knowing. While he is there, he sees Magrieta sleeping, and his lust for her overcomes him and he rapes her. As a result, Magrieta becomes pregnant.¹³¹¹ Instead of keeping the baby, she decides to go for an abortion so that she

¹³⁰⁵ Van der Westhuizen, “(Un)sung heroines”, 269.

¹³⁰⁶ C. van der Westhuizen, *Sitting pretty: White Afrikaans women in Postapartheid South Africa*, (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018), 113.

¹³⁰⁷ Gaitskell and Unterhalter, “Mothers of the nation”, 66.

¹³⁰⁸ S. de Jager, “Die gemarginaliseerde “Ander” in P.G. du Plessis se *Fees van die Ongenooides*,” *Stilet: Tydskrif van die Afrikaanse Letterkundevereniging* 24 no. 1 (2012), 27.

¹³⁰⁹ Van der Westhuizen, “Identities at the intersection”, 99.

¹³¹⁰ Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting pretty*, 139.

¹³¹¹ See A. Jansen van Vuuren’s article “Penetrating trauma: Representing rape in the historical drama series *Feast of the Uninvited*” for an in-depth discussion on the rape scene.

does not have to live with the consequences of this rape.¹³¹² For Marais-Botha, Magrieta's decision is the opposite of that of a nurturing mother, which implies that the *volksmoeder* trope is no longer exclusively focused on motherhood and the regeneration of the nation for the future. Martie, who is shown as an otherwise typical *volksmoeder*, not only refuses to entertain Brooks, she also poisons a British soldier and refuses to forgive her husband for his betrayal, challenging the image of the *volksmoeder* because of her lust for revenge and the joy she gets from the British soldier's suffering.¹³¹³ Therefore, it can be argued that this is the series' way of supporting Afrikaner women's freedom in the new democratic South Africa by showing them that they can choose the kind of *volksmoeders* they want to be, even if it does not match the quiet and subservient image of the traditional *volksmoeder*.

A concurrent discourse is that of *ordentlikheid*, which combines respectability, courtesy and decency. Many Afrikaner women choose to be *ordentelik*.¹³¹⁴ The two discourses of *ordentlikheid* and the *volksmoeder* were inextricably by the continued virtue embodied by the *volksmoeder*, despite the choice of the kinds of *volksmoeder* available to Afrikaner women. Anna in *Donkerland* has a chance to escape the war when her English fiancé offers her a place at his parents' house, but she chooses to be a *volksmoeder* by saying that even though Boer women cannot physically fight in the SAW they can still take care of the household. As Van der Westhuizen notes, true Afrikaner womanhood means to still be in the service of others – a self-for-others.¹³¹⁵ Furthermore, despite the changed circumstances and consequent change in discourse, *volksmoeders* were long expected to work towards the racially pure regeneration of the Afrikaner nation. Van der Westhuizen agrees that it is thought to be up to Afrikaner women to keep the race pure now that apartheid has ended.¹³¹⁶

Even though Afrikaner women could choose to be mothers, many had little choice but to become “good” *volksmoeders*, otherwise the *volk* would ostracise them. For example, Gerda van Aswegen (Rika Sennett), Van Aswegen's wife, is in all senses a true *volksmoeder* as she reminds the men that Afrikaners are God's chosen *volk*, so the *volk* must prevail.¹³¹⁷ Even when the men tell her that they are surrendering, she tells them that they must leave it to God to decide when the war is over; in other words, she urges the men to go back to the war.¹³¹⁸ But

¹³¹² Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 137.

¹³¹³ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 137.

¹³¹⁴ Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting pretty* 4.

¹³¹⁵ Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting pretty*, 103.

¹³¹⁶ Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting pretty*, 142.

¹³¹⁷ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 108.

¹³¹⁸ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 140

they never go back to the commandos and, as a result, she fails in her hope “to be a moral beacon of unification through her self-imposed isolation, despite her active efforts to forge cohesion amongst the community”.¹³¹⁹ Due to her failure, she loses both her husband and sons-in-law as they are executed because they betray the volk. When she hears that her husband has been shot, she takes off her clothes and walks naked into the veld leaving the viewers to guess what happens to her. It can be argued that this scene shows how some Afrikaner women felt when they failed at being “good” *volksmoeders*: they would rather walk away from the *volk* than face the consequences of their failure.

Third and Fourth Wave feminism were strong in the period on which this chapter focuses. Scholars are unsure about when the Third Wave of feminism started. Some argue that it was only an extension of Second Wave of feminism, while others suggest that it started in the 1990s.¹³²⁰ The term “Third Wave feminism” was coined by Rebecca Walker in 1992 in an essay for *Ms. Magazine* entitled “Becoming the Third Wave.”¹³²¹ This wave of feminism has come to stand for a feminism defined primarily in opposition to its historic predecessors.¹³²² Women who espouse the Third Wave of feminism challenged earlier feminism, body, gender and heteronormativity by interacting with men as equals; they claim sexual pleasure, as they desire and actively play with femininity.¹³²³ Cultural expressions of this movement appeared in music and journalism, along with the creation of punk groups such as Riot Grrrls and “zines” magazines such as *Bust* and *Bitch*, among others.¹³²⁴ Bands such as Riot Grrrls motivated young women to reject earlier forms of feminism and were culturally induced to find empowerment by looking and acting like porn stars, hence the grrrl.¹³²⁵ Grady notes that this was mostly a reaction to the image some people had of women in the Second Wave of

¹³¹⁹ Britz, “Bosbok Ses films”, 109.

¹³²⁰ C. Grady, “The waves of feminism, and why people keep fighting over them, explained”, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/2018/3/20/16955588/feminism-waves-explained-first-second-third-fourth>, accessed 22 August 2022; S. Budgeon, *Third Wave feminism and the politics of gender in late modernity* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011), 3.

¹³²¹ Jewish Women's Archive, “Rebecca Walker is born”, n.d, <https://jwa.org/thisweek/nov/17/1969/rebecca-walker-born>, accessed 22 August 2022.

¹³²² B.J. Crawford, “The third wave’s break from feminism”, *International Journal of Law in Context* 6 no. 1 (2010), 101; Budgeon, *Third Wave feminism*, 3.

¹³²³ M. Rampton, “Four Waves of Feminism”, 2015, <https://www.pacificu.edu/magazine/four-waves-feminism>, accessed 22 August 2022; C.R. Snyder, “What is third-wave feminism? A new directions essay,” *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 34 no. 1 (2008), 180.

¹³²⁴ K.P. Iannello, “Women’s Leadership and Third-Wave Feminism”, in *Gender and Women's Leadership: A Reference Handbook*, ed. K. O’Connor (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2010), 71.

¹³²⁵ Grady, “The waves of feminism”; H. Brunskell-Evans, “A third wave of feminism is rising – and here’s why we need to surf it now”, 2015, <https://theconversation.com/a-third-wave-of-feminism-is-rising-and-heres-why-we-need-to-surf-it-now-50432>, accessed 22 August 2022.

feminism, as hairy man-haters.¹³²⁶ Women of the Third Wave also criticised the Second Wave of feminism because it was perceived as being led mostly by affluent White women. Therefore, this movement was multicultural in nature and sexually diverse, including gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual perspectives.¹³²⁷ According to Marni Bonthuys, these feminists rejected gender roles assigned to men and women.¹³²⁸ Despite this, there were many who considered the Third Wave of feminism as not “really” feminist or not feminist “enough”.¹³²⁹ According to Ann Braithwaite, women of the Third Wave of feminism were “often labelled as ‘postfeminist’ and seen as both ignorant of earlier feminist movements and as making a mockery of second-wave feminism’s activism and goals of social and political change in favour of ‘groovier’ alternatives”.¹³³⁰

The Fourth Wave of feminism started because important topics such as the gender gap and sexual harassment were largely ignored in the previous feminist movements. As with the previous feminist wave, there is some debate about when Fourth Wave feminism started and about whether it even exists. As Negar Shiva and Zohreh Nosrat Kharazmi note, there are some scholars who refuse to accept that the Fourth Wave exists, while others maintain that it does exist.¹³³¹ There is some consensus that Fourth Wave feminism is characterised by its global connection and its capacity for analytical, practical and symbolic elaboration, which is made possible due to the internet or worldwide web, especially social media.¹³³² Ealasaid Munro points out that the internet has created a “call-out” culture, in which sexism or misogyny can be “called-out” or challenged.¹³³³ As Prudence Chamberlain notes, this has led to multiple feminist campaigns on the internet, including Everyday Sexism (2013) and No More Page 3 (2012 to 2015).¹³³⁴ As with previous feminist movements, Fourth Wave feminism also focused on intersectionality, pregnancy leave and the gender pay gap, and neoliberal policies.¹³³⁵ Yet there are also some criticisms. Munro believes that increased usage of the internet is not enough

¹³²⁶ Grady, “The waves of feminism”.

¹³²⁷ K.P. Iannello, “Women’s leadership and Third-Wave feminism”, 71

¹³²⁸ M. Bonthuys, “Postkoloniale feminisme in die Afrikaanse poësie: Die debute van Ronelda S. Kamfer, Shirmoney Rhode en Jolyn Phillips,” *LitNet Akademies* 17 no. 1 (2020), 241.

¹³²⁹ A. Braithwaite, “The personal, the political, Third-Wave and postfeminisms,” *Feminist Theory* 3 no. 3 (2002), 336.

¹³³⁰ A. Braithwaite, “The personal”, 336.

¹³³¹ N. Shiva and Z.N. Kharazmi, “The Fourth Wave of feminism and the lack of social realism in cyberspace,” *Journal of Cyberspace Studies* 3 no. 2 (2019), 130.

¹³³² C. Peroni and L. Rodak, “Introduction. The Fourth Wave of feminism: From social networking and self-determination to sisterhood”, *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* 10 no. 1S (2020), 5S.

¹³³³ E. Munro, “Feminism: A Fourth Wave?,” *Political Insight* 4 no. 2 (2013), 23.

¹³³⁴ P. Chamberlain, *The Feminist Fourth Wave Affective Temporality* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 3.

¹³³⁵ Shiva and Kharazmi, “The Fourth Wave of feminism”, 133.

to delineate a new era.¹³³⁶ Despite increased online presence, women were still under-represented in Western democracies, as only a small percentage of seats in various governments around the world belonged to women.¹³³⁷

Both Third and Fourth Wave feminism has had an impact on Afrikaner women. As seen with Martie and Magrieta, mentioned above in the section on the *volksmoeder*, many Afrikaner women participated in Third Wave feminism by challenging the patriarchal system. According to Bonthuys, one of these Afrikaner women is Antjie Krog, Afrikaans writer and poet, because her work creates a strong awareness of “the women as women”.¹³³⁸ H.M. Olivier agrees that Krog’s work rejects “the marginal position of women in a phallogocentric world as it shows the conflict of women caught up in a quagmire of phallogocentricity”.¹³³⁹ In *Fees van die Ongenooides*, Magrieta also stands up for herself after Daantjie has raped her a second time.¹³⁴⁰ After raping her, Daantjie flees, and Magrieta’s scream is heard by her mother-in-law, Dorothea (Rika Sennett), who enters the room and says “hierdie ding het nie gebeur nie” [this thing did not happen].¹³⁴¹ Since Dorothea and Magriet believe that Daantjie is dead, they do not realise it is he who has done this. What is pertinent is Dorothea’s declaration that this did not happen. This suggests that in the historical context of that period, a raped woman was a dishonoured woman. The discourse on rape has not changed significantly, as women continue to be doubly victimised, by the rapist and by society, and, in many cases, are blamed for what has happened. According to Michelle Kim Hoffman, it could also have been because Afrikaner women never alluded to topics of immorality or matters of a sexual nature.¹³⁴²

There are other Afrikaner women who shared Magrieta’s fate, as they too were raped by their spouses, or by enemy soldiers. Just like Magrieta they too were silenced. According to Boje, in many cases this was because their culture prevented them from speaking of these things, and if they were raped or sexually harassed by enemy soldiers (or in this case by their husbands), they did not have anybody in authority to whom they could turn for redress, other than enemy males.¹³⁴³ However, *Fees van die Ongenooides* challenges the mythical Boer hero image by

¹³³⁶ Munro, “Feminism”, 23.

¹³³⁷ Chamberlain, *The Feminist Fourth Wave*, 4.

¹³³⁸ Bonthuys, “Postkoloniale feminisme”, 249.

¹³³⁹ H.M. Olivier, “Dissonansie in die digkuns van Antjie Krog” (MA diss., University of Cape Town, 2000), 1.

¹³⁴⁰ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 137.

¹³⁴¹ *Fees van die Ongenooides* directed by K. Heyns (M-Net and Sonneblom Films, 2018): 01:09:43.

¹³⁴² M.K. Hoffman, “Emblematic features of fictional female Afrikaner characters in selected South African television and theatre productions” (MA diss., University of the Free State, 2018), 37.

¹³⁴³ J. Boje, “Sexual relations between British soldiers and Boer women: A methodological approach,” *South African Historical Journal* 68 no. 2 (2006), 195.

making the Boer the villain who commits the rape, and against his own wife, while he is in disguise.¹³⁴⁴ Daantjie wears a sack, with only one eye uncovered, to hide his identity, so that his family does not know it is he who attacks Magrieta, as he is meant to be “dead”. This, for Jansen van Vuuren, paints Daantjie as a monster.¹³⁴⁵ It can be argued that these scenes show Afrikaner women that not all Afrikaner men were Boer heroes, and that they were not isolated when it came to rape. Rape has become common in Afrikaner culture, even though Afrikaners were considered conservative, because many Afrikaner women still live in a patriarchal system where women’s place is at home and men are the leaders, who can do what they want.¹³⁴⁶ This has allowed many Afrikaner men to turn their home into sites of “paternal despotism”, where Afrikaner women, although allegedly elevated as *volksmoeders*, have been obliged to obey their husband’s demands.¹³⁴⁷ This has given Afrikaner men the freedom to rape their wives in the privacy of the marriage as seen in *Fees van die Ongenooides*. However, Daantjie’s *agterryer* Soldaat (Maurice Carpede) speaks up against Daantjie for raping his wife (suggesting that this behaviour is not acceptable after all). Daantjie tells him that he has not raped Magrieta, as she is his wife, implying that marital rape is an unknown concept at the time of the SAW. In highly patriarchal cultures, the existence marital rape is still unacknowledged. Afrikaner wives have been unable legitimately to refuse sex with their husbands to the extent that sexual coercion by an intimate partner has often been regarded as “not rape”.¹³⁴⁸ Furthermore, consent was an irrevocable part of marriage, which meant that a man could not be found guilty of raping his wife by reason of consent.¹³⁴⁹ As seen in Chapter 3, this was also the case in Afrikaner culture where men “owned” their wives’ bodies, so they could have sex with their wives even if the wives did not give their consent. Thus, in Daantjie’s eyes, he has not raped Magrieta, but has slept with his wife.

As part of the nostalgic turn to a revered, if traumatic, past, the films also recall the trope of the *Boeredogter*. As discussed in the previous chapter, the *Boeredogter* played a vital role in Afrikaner nationalism as she was to form the next generation of *volksmoeders*. As Tomaselli

¹³⁴⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, “Penetrating trauma”, 76.

¹³⁴⁵ Jansen van Vuuren, “Penetrating trauma”, 82.

¹³⁴⁶ M. Turner, “Speak out: An in-depth look at rape in South Africa”, 2015, <https://news.medill.northwestern.edu/chicago/speak-out-an-in-depth-look-at-rape-in-south-africa/>, accessed 24 September 2022; S.M. Klausen, ““Reclaiming the white daughter’s purity”: Afrikaner nationalism, racialized sexuality, and the 1975 *Abortion and Sterilization Act* in Apartheid South Africa,” *Journal of Women’s History* 22 no. 3 (2010), 43.

¹³⁴⁷ Klausen, ““Reclaiming””, 43.

¹³⁴⁸ K. Gqibitole, “The quiet violence of rape: Unnamed survivors, unnameable scars,” *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 8 (2020), 95.

¹³⁴⁹ L. Mwambene and H. Kruuse, “Marital rape and the cultural defence in South Africa,” *Stellenbosch Law Review* 29 no. 1 (2018), 30.

and Van Zyl note, the *Boeredogter* and the *Boereseun* both preserve the mythical values of the Edenic farm.¹³⁵⁰ When the *Boeredogter* meets the *uitlander* (foreigner) in any Afrikaans-language film that includes an unmarried daughter, he brings her into contact with the culturally alienating influences of imperial and international capital.¹³⁵¹ Cultural contact with the “other” is seen as corrupting to the idea of the *Boeredogter*, especially if it could lead to intimacy with the “other” and forsaking the *volk*.¹³⁵² Thus, she is cut off from her people, because her alliance with the *uitlander* creates a new challenge which threatens the integrity of the idealised Afrikaner pastoral culture.¹³⁵³ Anna in *Donkerland* can be regarded as the *Boeredogter* who forsakes her family when she chooses John Walsh (Lyal Ramsden), her British fiancé, over the family. When her brother Klein Piet tries to shoot John, she stands up against Klein Piet. When the SAW ends, she chooses to go with John instead of being with her brother Klein Piet. As a result, she is cut off by the family and can no longer live at the farm Donkerland. One can argue that this representation of the *Boeredogter* may be read as a cautionary tale for post-1994 Afrikaner young women to preserve cultural “purity”. This is possible even in the new climate of reconciliation, because reconciliation was not intended to extend to large-scale cultural mixing.

The “new man” was no longer the dominant form of masculinity in the 1990s to 2000s, because a new generation of men did not want to be sensitive, understanding, and pro-feminist, as they regarded these qualities as weak.¹³⁵⁴ Therefore, they became part of the “lad culture” which was popularised in the 1990s in British and Irish media, such as the men’s magazine *Loaded* and the series *Men behaving badly* (directed by Martin Dennis), which ran from 1994 to 1998, with a special in 2014.¹³⁵⁵ According to Pattman, the media promoted the “lad culture”, which was aimed at heterosexual men. These media adopted a “laddish” tone and addressed readers as “mates” (friends).¹³⁵⁶

¹³⁵⁰ Tomaselli and Van Zyl, “Themes, myths”, 419.

¹³⁵¹ Tomaselli and Van Zyl, “Themes, myths”, 419.

¹³⁵² Tomaselli and Van Zyl, “Themes, myths”, 419.

¹³⁵³ Tomaselli and Van Zyl, “Themes, myths”, 420.

¹³⁵⁴ A.M. Elmore, “The New Man and the New Lad: Hegemonic masculinities in men’s lifestyle magazines” (MA diss., University of Central Florida, 2004), 23.

¹³⁵⁵ R. Pattman, “Laddism”, in *International encyclopedia of men and masculinities*, eds. M. Flood, J.K. Gardiner, B. Pease and K. Pringle (New York: Routledge, 2007), 358; B. Francis, “Lads, lasses and (new) labour: 14-16-year-old students’ responses to the ‘laddish behaviour and boys’ underachievement’ debate”, *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20 no. 3 (1999), 357.

¹³⁵⁶ Pattman, “Laddism”, 358.

“New lads”, young boys from the White working-classes, were completely different from the “new man” of the 1980s. They were depicted as hedonistic, post- and anti-feminist and as pre-eminently concerned with beer, football and “shagging” women.¹³⁵⁷ Scholars note that the “new lad” was a reaction not only to the “new man”, but against the feminists that gave birth to him.¹³⁵⁸ According to Phipps and Young, “new lads” held a misconception that young women were winning the battle of the sexes.¹³⁵⁹ Viewed from this perspective, the “new lad” was constructed around “knowing misogynist and predatory attitudes to women” and “represents a refusal to acknowledge the changes in gender relations produced by feminism, and an attack upon it”.¹³⁶⁰ Pattman points out that “new lads” were “also against male responsibilities linked with traditional breadwinning roles”.¹³⁶¹ In short, adopting the “new lad” attitude offered a refuge from the constraints and demands of marriage and nuclear family because he opened up space for fun, consumption and sexual freedom for men, unfettered by traditional adult male responsibilities.¹³⁶² Based on this, it can be argued that the “new lad” was many men’s answer to becoming hegemonic men again (as discussed in Chapter 3). Therefore, it can be argued that the “new lad” was a more relaxed form of the hegemonic man of the pre-1970s, who also believed that men’s place was above women and who rejected traditional men’s roles.

The aftermath of apartheid changed Afrikaner masculinity because many men who associated themselves with the NP lost their privileged places and the new generation of men felt threatened by affirmative action and gender equality.¹³⁶³ Therefore, they needed hegemonic men such as Morkel in *Modder en Bloed*, Sloet Steenkamp in *Arende* and Klein Piet in *Donkerland*. These men had the qualities to help the *volk* to overcome their difficult situations as they believe that they could lead them back to the fictional world before apartheid took place just like they lead their comrades to victory as seen in the rugby game in *Modder en Bloed*. As noted in *Donkerland* they washed their “assegaai met bloed” [spear with blood] to be men.¹³⁶⁴

¹³⁵⁷ Gill, “Power and the production”, 37; B. Francis, “Lads, lasses”, 357.

¹³⁵⁸ Pattman, “Laddism”, 358; Gill, “Power and the production”, 37; A. Phipps and I. Young, “Neoliberalisation and ‘Lad Cultures’ in Higher Education,” *Sociology* 49 no. 2 (2015), 307.

¹³⁵⁹ Phipps and Young, “Neoliberalisation”, 307.

¹³⁶⁰ Gill, “Power and the production”, 47.

¹³⁶¹ Pattman, “Laddism”, 358.

¹³⁶² Gill, “Power and the production”, 47.

¹³⁶³ K. du Pisani, “Puritanism transformed: Afrikaner masculinities in the Apartheid and Post-Apartheid period”, in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, ed. R. Morrell (Pietermaritzburg/London: University of Natal Press/Zed Books, 2001), 171.

¹³⁶⁴ M.L. Crous, “presentations of masculinity in a selection of male-authored post-apartheid novels” (MA diss., University of Stellenbosh, 2005), 6.

Masculinity is thus linked to notions of courage, the willingness to be brutal when necessity demands, and to sacrifice, of others and of oneself. For example, Klein Piet is not afraid to shoot Walsh for what his nation has done to the Afrikaner people during the SAW when he notes, “Die mure van my huis, en duisende ander nes myne is deurdrenk met Afrikanerbloed. Nou sal jou bloed ’n bietjie daarvan afwas.” [The walls of my house, and thousands of others like mine, are soaked with Afrikaner blood. Now your blood will wash off a bit of it].¹³⁶⁵ Many Afrikaner men could relate to Klein Piet because the number of Afrikaner men in positions of public power were declining and men were no longer seen as dominant in the domestic sphere.¹³⁶⁶ Therefore, it can be argued that Klein Piet is depicted in this way to boost these men’s morale by showing Afrikaner men that they must not give up on what they believe in.

William Morkel, who is based on the real-life William Morkel, a rugby player, is also the kind of hero called for by the period, because he is loyal and has a strong faith. Therefore, the Boer prisoners need Morkel to stand up against Col. Swannel (Grant Swanby) by being prepared to sacrifice his life for a *penkop*, Marius Prinsloo (Edwin van der Walt). He also motivates his team by reminding them that even though they are not professional soldiers they still did not think twice before going up against the biggest army in the world. As a result, he unifies his team, which allows them to win the rugby game.

This is also the case with Sloet, a Cape Rebel, who is taken to St Helena after being captured. He vows to come back to his country no matter what.¹³⁶⁷ Sloet’s determination also gives other Boer prisoners hope, as they consider him a hero who will find a way to escape. Many Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s could relate to the Boer prisoners’ situation as they too abandoned all hope after the NP lost the 1994 election. Therefore, they needed heroes such as Morkel and Sloet, which is similar to the “De la Rey generation”, discussed in Chapter 2.

Van der Westhuizen notes that since the 1994 elections, Afrikaner men have been constructed as humiliated, broken and “down and out” due to their loss of political power.¹³⁶⁸ Liz Walker believes that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996, which rectified “the injustices of the past and eliminated the various forms of discrimination that were the

¹³⁶⁵ *Donkerland*: 00:42:26.

¹³⁶⁶ K. du Pisani, “Puritanism transformed”, 172.

¹³⁶⁷ A.L. Hall, “The representation of aspects of Afrikaner and British masculinity in the first season of *Arende* (1988) by Paul C. Venter and Dirk de Villiers: A critical analysis” (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2013), 98.

¹³⁶⁸ Van der Westhuizen, “Identities at the intersection”, 210.

hallmarks of an apartheid State”, may have played a role.¹³⁶⁹ The Constitution stresses giving equal rights to women, which does not suit all men. Despite such depictions, it is understandable that Afrikaner men would not want to be seen as weak men like those in *Verraaiers*. In that film, Van Aswegen is worried about his family, who would be alone on the farm, but then Johan Kruger (Altus Theart) answers, “Almal se vrou en kinders is alleen op die plaas. My vrou is alleen op my plaas en elders is ons burgers se vrouens besig om te vergaan in die kampe as gevolg van lafaards soos jy wat by die huis bly en kamtig jou vrou en kinders beskerm.” [Everyone’s wife and children are alone on the farm. My wife is alone on my farm and elsewhere our citizens’ wives are perishing in the camps because of cowards like you who stay at home and pretend to protect your wife and children].¹³⁷⁰

Men who attempted to stay out of the war in order to protect their families and homes are represented in these films as weak and cowardly. For example, Daantjie (*Fees van die Ongenooïdes*) is at first portrayed as a willing hero, but then becomes a traitor to his *volk* when he deserts. After seeing a Boer man next to him get killed, Daantjie wets himself and passes out, leaving his *agterryer*, Soldaat, to fight in his place. The scholar Shaun de Jager argues that when Soldaat takes over, it makes Daantjie the “other”, because he is the weak one, not the Black, Soldaat.¹³⁷¹ When Danie, Daantjie’s father sees that his son has wet himself, he exclaims, “My seun het homself nat gepis...lafaard” [My son has pissed himself...coward] for all to hear.¹³⁷² In the face of such ridicule, Daantjie decides to fake his death, telling Soldaat to lie to Daantjie’s father, saying that Daantjie died a hero’s death.¹³⁷³ When Danie realises that Daantjie is a coward, he disowns him. Therefore, it can be argued that *Verraaiers* and *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* show Afrikaner men that if they fail in their duty towards the ideals of their people, they deserve to be cast out, like Van Aswegen and Daantjie.

To show weak Afrikaner men what they will face if they fail in their duty of protecting their family or *volk*, *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* turns Petrus Minter (Stian Bam) into a tragic hero. Petrus, from a poor *bywoner* family, is elevated from his poverty and lowly status when he saves Danie during a battle.¹³⁷⁴ As a reward, Danie allows him to marry his daughter, Nellie.

¹³⁶⁹ L. Walker, “Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994”, *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7 no. 3 (2005), 227; also see C. Rustin, “What gender legislative reforms have meant for women in South Africa,” *Law, Democracy and Development* 25 spe (2021), 48.

¹³⁷⁰ *Verraaiers*, directed by S. de Jager (Bosbok Ses Films, Spier Films, The Film Factory, White Heron Pictures, 2013): 00:49:32.

¹³⁷¹ De Jager, “Die marginaliseerde ‘ander’”, 22.

¹³⁷² *Fees van die Ongenooïdes*: 00:27:05.

¹³⁷³ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 104.

¹³⁷⁴ De Jager, “Die marginaliseerde ‘ander’” 25.

After her death, however, Petrus changes from a willing hero into a tragic hero, when he digs a grave for himself next to Nellie and their child because he allows his demons to control him, which leads to his death.¹³⁷⁵ De Jager directed this to suggest that Petrus never really escapes his marginalised position, as he literally digs his own grave.¹³⁷⁶

One way in which Afrikaner men such as Morkel (*Donkerland*) can prove that they are hegemonic men is through rugby, a sport known to “make men”, because men are expected to play despite any injury, illness or weakness.¹³⁷⁷ Withstanding pain and injuries is a sign of machismo and it shows other men that players are physically strong.¹³⁷⁸ Rugby has been read as a symbolic representation of warfare, reproduced through “warrior” narratives.¹³⁷⁹ Therefore, it can be argued that *Modder en Bloed* uses rugby to show Afrikaner men what “real warriors” look like. John Nauright and David Black note that as a “a vital symbol of Afrikaner society, and a source of high status in Afrikaner society, rugby reinforced its essential maleness”.¹³⁸⁰ P.A.H Labuschagne agrees that rugby is “an important role player, because it serves as an outlet of Afrikaner masculinity; a physical demonstration of Afrikaner prowess in sport and in politics”.¹³⁸¹ According to Grundlingh, rugby is classified as being pre-eminently a “man’s game”¹³⁸² because of the rough, physical nature of the game.¹³⁸³

Although this is changing, in South Africa, rugby has long been known as the “Afrikaners’ game”.¹³⁸⁴ *Modder en Bloed* shows how Afrikaners, whether they are Transvalers or Free Staters, who in the film are divided into different camps on the island and by their opinions concerning whether they should continue with the SAW, are joined in a single purpose, namely to defeat the British.¹³⁸⁵ Therefore, it can be argued that *Modder en Bloed* focuses on rugby to

¹³⁷⁵ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 105; Botha, *South African cinema 1896-2010*, 116.

¹³⁷⁶ De Jager, “Die marginaliseerde ‘ander’”, 26.

¹³⁷⁷ K. Parry, A.J. White, J. Cleland, J. Hardwicke, J. Batten, J. Piggin and N. Howarth, “Masculinities, media and the rugby mind: An analysis of stakeholder views on the relationship between rugby union, the media, masculine-influenced views on injury, and concussion,” *Communication & Sport* 10 no. 3 (2022), 567.

¹³⁷⁸ Parry *et al.*, “Masculinities, media”, 567.

¹³⁷⁹ Parry *et al.*, “Masculinities, media”, 567.

¹³⁸⁰ J. Nauright and D.R. Black, “Sport at the center of power: Rugby in South Africa during apartheid,” *Sport History Review* 29 no. 2 (1998), 202.

¹³⁸¹ P.A.H. Labuschagne, “An analytical perspective of Afrikaner ideological hegemony (1961-1980): The role of politics and rugby,” *Journal for Contemporary History* 40 no. 1 (2015), 128.

¹³⁸² Women’s rugby has been neglected in most scholarship thus far.

¹³⁸³ A. Grundlingh, “Playing for power? Rugby, Afrikaner nationalism and masculinity in South Africa, c.1900-70,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11 no. 3 (1994), 423.

¹³⁸⁴ F.J.G. van der Merwe, “Sportontwikkeling onder Boerekrygsgevangenes tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902),” *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 12 no. 1 (1998), 48; D. Allen, “Beating them at their own game: Rugby, the Anglo-Boer War and Afrikaner nationalism, 1899-1948,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20 no. 3 (2003), 47.

¹³⁸⁵ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 97. Natal and the Cape Rebels are not discussed here.

unify a divergent *volk* by showing them that if they put differences aside, they are able to overcome many hardships, as Morkel and his team do in the rugby game. To show Afrikaners what a unified *volk* look like, Morkel hands out jerseys with the word “Springbokken”¹³⁸⁶ [Springbuck], which represents Afrikaners’ loyalty to their country, because in the film Morkel tells an allegorical story of a springbuck who refuses to leave his mother’s side, which represents his loyalty to his mother (the *volk*).

Most Afrikaners love rugby because of the perceived similarities between the game and the Afrikaner’s pioneering spirit.¹³⁸⁷ For example, “both value physical endurance, strength and ability, the virtues of a warrior in terms of his manliness and fighting spirit; camaraderie and suffering; a fighting and conquering activity for pioneers”.¹³⁸⁸ Ironically, most Boers only came across rugby – a game that is British in origin – due to the SAW, because many of them were living on farms where they had little time for pleasures such as sport.¹³⁸⁹ Many of these Boers brought this new sport with them to South Africa when they returned from the prisoner of war camps.¹³⁹⁰ As a result, the country’s love for rugby was born. Rugby was “Afrikanerised” by adapting and reshaping the existing game to create a separate form of sport to be free of Britain and to be able to beat them at their own game.¹³⁹¹ This was especially the case when it came to the British rugby tour to South Africa in 1903, in which South Africa came out victorious. According to Floris J.G. van der Merwe, the British saw the game as an attempt to reconcile White races under the imperial standard, but Afrikaners came to consider the game as the start of their international domination in rugby, as they would only lose a test series in 1956.¹³⁹² This nationalistic feeling is shown in *Modder en Bloed* in the final rugby game between the Boer prisoners and their British guards. At first the Boers are losing, but then the Boers decided that they needed to change their tactics if they want to win, so instead of playing like the British team (who just kick the ball) they pick it up and run towards to their goal to score a try. At first Swannel argues that what the Boers have done is against the rules, but the referee states that there is nothing in the rule book about this, so technically the Boers have not disobeyed the

¹³⁸⁶ The name Springboks (then the *Springbokken*) originated during the 1906-1907 rugby tour to Britain and France, under the leadership of Paul Roos. The British media were not sure what to call this new team, so they called them after South Africa’s national animal, namely the *springbok* (springbuck, *Antidorcas marsupialis*) – a smallish antelope that lives in the grasslands of southern Africa.

¹³⁸⁷ F.J.G. van der Merwe, “Sports heroes and national identity: The role of Paul Roos in Springbok rugby,” *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 17 no. 2 (2011), 220.

¹³⁸⁸ Van der Merwe, “Sports heroes”, 221.

¹³⁸⁹ Van der Merwe, “Sportontwikkeling”, 55; Allen, “Beating them”, 47-49.

¹³⁹⁰ Allen, “Beating them”, 50.

¹³⁹¹ Allen, “Beating them”, 51, 54; Grundlingh, “Playing for power?”, 413.

¹³⁹² Van der Merwe, “Sports heroes”, 221.

rules. With this change of tactics the Boers are able to defeat the Swannel's team. As George Orwell notes, sport is competitive, which means "as soon as the question of prestige arises, as soon as you feel that you and some larger unit will be disgraced if you lose, the most savage combative instincts are aroused".¹³⁹³ It can be argued *Modder en Bloed* draws on Afrikaners' "combative instincts", encouraging them to be courageous even if it is on the sports field.

Since the SAW, rugby has become a "national" sport, which, like the nation itself, was racialised. Segregated sport resulted in all-White sports teams, especially in rugby and cricket. According to Douglas Booth, the Springboks even refused to play against Black teams and in some cases, they even insisted that foreign opponents exclude individual Black players.¹³⁹⁴ Therefore, some Black people still see the Springbok emblem as a symbol of racial division and White exclusiveness and superiority.¹³⁹⁵ Marc Keech agrees that rugby has held a position of prominence and symbolic importance for Whites, especially Afrikaners, when they dominated society.¹³⁹⁶

An important initiative of the post-1994 government was to unify and transform previously segregated sporting codes. According to Keech, the government realised that sport had to "undergo its own form of reconciliation, a process which was epitomised with fraught negotiation as the establishment clung grimly to the legacy of its mythical sporting supremacy".¹³⁹⁷ Rugby became the site of one of these changes. For example, in 1996, Booth reported that Nationalist Afrikaners argued that the Springboks dated to before apartheid even existed, while some Black people demanded that the new government replace the name and emblem and to stop only Whites to be allowed to be part of the team.¹³⁹⁸ The watershed was the 1995 World Cup series, which South Africa won, endorsed by Mandela himself, who wore a Springbok jersey at the final game and brought the entire country into a euphoric moment. The game reunited Black people and Whites, together as one nation, especially when the Springbok team (which also included a Black player) won the game against New Zealand. It showed Blacks and Whites, who at the time were still recovering from apartheid, that if they

¹³⁹³ G. Orwell, "The Sporting Spirit", 1945, https://orwell.ru/library/articles/spirit/english/e_spirit, accessed 8 October 2022.

¹³⁹⁴ D.G. Booth, "Mandela and Amabokoboko: The political and linguistic nationalisation of South Africa?," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34 no. 3 (1996), 462.

¹³⁹⁵ Booth, "Mandela and Amabokoboko", 460.

¹³⁹⁶ M. Keech, "One nation, one soul, one dream, one goal?" Sport and national identity in South Africa," in *Sport and National Identity in the Post-War World*, eds. D. Porter and A. Smith (London & New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 108.

¹³⁹⁷ Keech, "One nation", 116.

¹³⁹⁸ Booth, "Mandela and Amabokoboko", 462.

stand as one they can defeat their “enemy”, as seen later on. The event was memorialised in the 2009 film *Invictus*.¹³⁹⁹ One of the first Black players to play for the Springboks was Chester Williams, who was in the 1995 Rugby World Cup team. Since then, more Black players joined the team, and the first Black team captain was Siya Kolisi, who led the Springboks to victory in the 2019 Rugby World Cup in Japan. The name of South Africa’s national rugby team has remained, but has taken on a translated affectionate form “Amabokoboko”, although many people still refer to them as the *Bokke* (Boks).¹⁴⁰⁰ The rugby game in *Modder en Bloed* capitalises on the national love for the game, and makes the game in the camp a symbol of the SAW, but instead making the British the victors, Else made Afrikaners the winners, which boosts the morale of Afrikaner viewers.

Religion and the idea that God bestowed a sacred duty on Afrikaners has been crucial to Afrikaner nationalism. The memory of the Battle of Blood River has been nurtured for that reason. *Donkerland* emphasises this by using a flashcard with Exodus 6 verse 7¹⁴⁰¹ to reinforce the claim that Afrikaners are God’s *volk*.¹⁴⁰² As God’s *volk*, Afrikaners believed it was their sacred duty to bring Christianity to “uncivilised nations”. This is shown through the family Bible that Pieter de Witt, the patriarch of the De Witt family, has brought with him from Wenen to the farm Donkerland (literally a reference to Africa as the “Dark continent”) and which is a recurring motif in the series.¹⁴⁰³ Furthermore, as God’s *volk*, they had nothing to fear. For example, in *Fees van die Ongenooides*, Oupa [grandpa] Daniel (Louis van Niekerk) tells his daughter Gezina, while the Van Wyk family are having their family dinner, when she asks whether the Boers are strong enough to defeat the British: “Ons God sal sy rug keer op ongeregthede. Wie ook al teen ons is kan nie magtiger wees as ons God nie” [Our God will turn his back on injustices. Whoever is against us cannot be mightier than our God].¹⁴⁰⁴ Gerda van Aswegen (*Verraaiers*) expresses a similar sense of trust in divine providence when she says, “Gaan en maak seker die seuns is veilig. [...] die goeie Vader sal voorsien [Go and make sure the boy are safe. [...] the good Father will provide].¹⁴⁰⁵

¹³⁹⁹ *Invictus*, directed by Clint Eastwood (Spyglass Entertainment, Malpasso Productions, Revelations Entertainment, Mace Neufeld Productions, Liberty Pictures, 2009).

¹⁴⁰⁰ S. Swart, “The other citizens: Nationalism and animals,” in *The Routledge companion to animal-human history*, eds. H. Kean and P. Howell (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 37.

¹⁴⁰¹ In this verse God tells the Israelites that he will give them land and that he is their God.

¹⁴⁰² Keuris, “Deon Opperman’s *Donkerland*”, 5.

¹⁴⁰³ Keuris, “Deon Opperman’s *Donkerland*”, 3, 5; Milton, “Histories of becoming”, 333.

¹⁴⁰⁴ *Fees van die Ongenooides*: 00:20:31.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *Verraaiers*.: 00:49:51; Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 170.

Since the 1980s, the belief that they were God's *volk* still held by some Afrikaners who supported apartheid began to falter, because the largest church among Afrikaners, the DRC, no longer supported apartheid. This shift in policy not only opened doors for the DRC, but also gave the church back a certain amount of international and local credibility that it had lost during its support of apartheid.¹⁴⁰⁶ For example, the General Synod of the DRC became known as the "Synod of Reconsolidation" in 1994.¹⁴⁰⁷ This meant that the church not only reconciled with people who were marginalised during apartheid, but also with some in the DRC who had been rejected by the NP for standing up against the inhumane system, such as Beyers Naudé (discussed in Chapter 5).¹⁴⁰⁸ As a result, the DRC was also welcomed back as a full member in the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1998, when it admitted that apartheid was a sin.¹⁴⁰⁹ Arguably, some Afrikaners not only lost their faith in God, but also their belief that they were God's *volk*, because they felt that their church had let them down when they needed the church's support the most. They saw this as a betrayal. *Modder en Bloed* hints at a religious crisis when Morkel loses his wife and son. He loses his faith in God (which in this case may represent the DRC), just like Afrikaners who felt that the church had betrayed them. Similarly, Oupa Daniel (*Fees van die Ongenooides*) loses his faith after seeing all the deaths in the camp when he says, "U is nie daar nie. Vir wat was ek so dwaas?" [You are not there. Why was I so foolish?].¹⁴¹⁰ It can be argued that some Afrikaners could relate to Oupa Daniel's situation, as they lost their political power. Therefore, it can be argued that, as with films of the 1980s, these films and series also question whether Afrikaners were indeed God's chosen *volk*.

After 1994, South Africans were faced with the task of dealing with their past, as well as with the need to take action to deal with structural social injustice.¹⁴¹¹ This is where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), established in 1995, came into the picture. It attempted to deal with the past through public hearings, listening to victims and perpetrators.¹⁴¹² The TRC recorded all the violations of human rights from the 1960s to the end of apartheid.¹⁴¹³ The TRC was relatively successful, as it uncovered what occurred under specific circumstances, such as

¹⁴⁰⁶ J.M. van der Merwe, "Die rol van die NGK-leierskap in die aanloop tot die eerste demokratiese verkiesing in Suid Afrika: 1990-1994", *Acta Theologica* 36 no. 2 (2016), 165.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Hofmeyer and Millard, "The South African churches", 631.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Hofmeyer and Millard, "The South African churches", 631.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Hofmeyer and Millard, "The South African churches", 632.

¹⁴¹⁰ *Fees van die Ongenooides*: 00:54:31.

¹⁴¹¹ E. Stanley, "Evaluating the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39 no. 3 (2001), 526.

¹⁴¹² Stanley, "Evaluating", 526.

¹⁴¹³ Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, 275; J. L. Gibson, "The truth about truth and reconciliation in South Africa," *International Political Science Review* 26 no. 4 (2005), 343-344; Mbenga and Giliomee, *New history*, 413.

what happened to the “Cradock Four”.¹⁴¹⁴ The Commission had some weaknesses too, as it was careful not to “rock the structural boat” now that South Africa moved into a democracy. Instead of pursuing truth and justice fully, the Commission maintained an agenda that avoided challenges to the status quo.¹⁴¹⁵ The TRC did not have an impact on ordinary Afrikaners because the organisation mostly focused the apartheid government and DRC’s¹⁴¹⁶ actions during apartheid. This however, does not mean that ordinary Afrikaners were unaffected by the testimonies heard at the TRC, as many felt that the TRC was a witch hunt and therefore it created significant controversy amongst both Black and White. As a result of the TRC acts like the tortures at Vlakplaas were exposed to the world.¹⁴¹⁷ Vlakplaas was the government’s response to end the boycotts of the 1980s and it was also where many anti-apartheid fighters met their end at the hands of the police death squad who tortured them for hours or days.

Some young Afrikaners yearn(ed) for a past where they did not have to apologise for apartheid, which took place long before many of them were born. Baines agrees that they were tired of being blamed for apartheid, which some of their forebears had institutionalised.¹⁴¹⁸ Some of them were still troubled by the uncertainties and “ruptures produced by the lack of continuity between the symbols and narratives of Afrikaner ethnic pride into which they had been socialised and their actual experiences and perceptions of Afrikaner marginalisation.”¹⁴¹⁹ Thus, they felt that the past was the only “safe haven” now that they had no political power and they could not rely on the new government to help them maintain and protect exclusive cultural identity.¹⁴²⁰ According to Kees C. S. van der Waal and Steven Robins, “given that this recent past had become contaminated as a result of apartheid’s legacy of racism, it generated feelings of ambivalence, especially among younger Afrikaners”¹⁴²¹ Thus, some were nostalgic for a pre-apartheid past, when it was just the Boer and his farm.

Therefore, it can be argued that songs such as “Sarie Marais” and “Modder en Bloed” were used to boost these Afrikaners’ morale. The song “Sarie Marais” in *Donkerland* was played to

¹⁴¹⁴ Gibson, “The truth”, 344.

¹⁴¹⁵ Stanley, “Evaluating”, 526.

¹⁴¹⁶ The DRC along with other faith communities in South Africa appeared before the TRC in 1997 at the Faith Community Hearing, where it explained its role during Apartheid and its commitment to future reconciliation. P. Meiring, “The Dutch Reformed Church and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, *Scriptura* 83 (2003), 250.

¹⁴¹⁷ Grundlingh, “Reframing remembrance”, 371.

¹⁴¹⁸ G. Baines, “De La Rey rides (yet) again: Afrikaner identity politics and nostalgia in post-apartheid South Africa,” paper presented at 15th Biennial IASPM International Conference, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom (2009), 5.

¹⁴¹⁹ Van der Waal and Robins, “‘De la Rey’ and the revival”, 774.

¹⁴²⁰ Lambrechts and Visagie, “De la Rey, De la Rey”, 95.

¹⁴²¹ Van der Waal and Robins, “‘De la Rey’ and the revival”, 774.

encourage Afrikaners who feel alienated in the new South Africa to proudly join a noble struggle in which they are not the oppressors.¹⁴²² The song “Modder en Bloed”¹⁴²³ in *Modder en Bloed* follows the same path as “Sarie Marais”, as it reminds Afrikaners that although their forebears also lost everything, they rose from the ashes and adapted. Marais-Botha agrees that the song deals with Boer suffering during the war and how they came together to defeat their enemies.¹⁴²⁴ Based on this, it can be argued that *Modder en Bloed* used this song to tell Afrikaners that they must *staan saam* [stand together] if they want to rise again. Marais-Botha refers in particular to the lines “Lig jouself soos een man uit die stof en die sand” [Lift yourself like one man from the dust and the sand].¹⁴²⁵

The *platteland* is also part of nostalgia, as it reminds many Afrikaners of a life connoting dreams of plenitude, security and values such as simplicity, virtuousness and righteousness.¹⁴²⁶ Thus, when apartheid ended, some Afrikaners felt marginalised in a country they had recently ruled.¹⁴²⁷ As a result, the city became a place which reminded them of their anxieties and the challenges they were confronted with, while the *platteland* represented the simplicity, contentment and continuity for which they yearned in the midst of societal change.¹⁴²⁸ Therefore, Danelle van Zyl argues that the *platteland* serves as the glue of the so-called imagined community of Afrikaners, “who share collective nostalgia even though they no longer share other elements of their identity such as territory, values, culture or position”: as a result, some Afrikaners have romanticised the *platteland* into a place of paradise, as the *platteland* became “the object of Afrikaner affection, providing comforting feelings of rootedness and belonging, familiarity, morality and virtue, security and contentment”.¹⁴²⁹

One of the things that threaten to destroy Afrikaners’ *platteland* is the so-called “land question”. According to Wandile Sihlobo, the land debate is a sensitive topic in South Africa because land lies at the heart of the dispossession of Blacks by colonial settlers.¹⁴³⁰ This was

¹⁴²² Nel, “Myths of rebellion”, 123.

¹⁴²³ *Modder en bloed* is a reference to the hardships the Boers dealt with during the SAW because sometimes the Boers fought in wet conditions; the blood refers to the wounded and dead. Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 82.

¹⁴²⁴ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 82.

¹⁴²⁵ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 89.

¹⁴²⁶ H. Marx Knoetze, “Romanticising the ‘Boer’: Narratives of White victimhood in South African popular culture,” *Journal of Literary Studies* 36 no. 4 (2020), 50; Van Zyl, “O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!”, 127.

¹⁴²⁷ Van Zyl, “O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!”, 137.

¹⁴²⁸ Van Zyl, “O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!”, 137.

¹⁴²⁹ Van Zyl, “O, Boereplaas, geboortegrond!”, 141.

¹⁴³⁰ W. Sihlobo, “Land reform in South Africa: What the real debate should be about,” 2022. <https://theconversation.com/land-reform-in-south-africa-what-the-real-debate-should-be-about-182277>, accessed 24 September 2022.

made worse by the 1913 *Native Land Act* (see Chapter 3) and the *Group Areas Act* of 1950 (see Chapter 4) because under these laws, Blacks lost their land to make place for Whites. This situation was aggravated by the apartheid government's policy of "grand apartheid", "a central pillar of which was the legislated division of the country into a White heartland, encompassing some 87 per cent of the country's land and most of its wealth, and ten ethnically based black 'homelands' in the remaining 13 per cent".¹⁴³¹ Thus, most of the land belonged to Whites, who accounted for fewer than 10 per cent of the total population.¹⁴³² When the ANC came to power in 1994, one of its undertakings was to relieve this disparity by adopting a land reform programme.¹⁴³³ This was part of the Land Restitution Act of 1996 – an Act where the government allows Black people who lost their land due to the above-mentioned laws to institute land claims to get the land back or be compensated.¹⁴³⁴ However, the reform has failed because by 2012 only 30% of White-owned land had been given to Black people in terms of such claims.¹⁴³⁵

Ownership of land is at the heart of the question of belonging in a nation. This debate started in South Africa with the arrival of White settlers such as Jan van Riebeeck, who arrived in 1652, and it continues beyond apartheid. According to Viola Candice Milton, as *Donkerland* shows, since the beginning,

the sentiment of national belonging which has been emphasised and reinforced through cultural socialisation, education and the taking up of arms, meant that South Africa has always been in the grips of conflicting relationships – first due to threats of land dispossession posed from outside (i.e., depicted in the series via the different eras of British colonisation), and later conflicts that have largely turned inwards (seen towards the end of the series when Eerste's great-great-grandson, Mtonga, lays claims to the farm, Donkerland, under the auspices of the Land Restitution Act of the new South Africa).¹⁴³⁶

According to Milton, two main sides claim that land in South Africa belongs or belonged to them, namely Blacks and Afrikaners. Bongani, the *agtterryer* in *Donkerland*, claims that the country belongs to his ancestors, because they were here long before the Voortrekkers arrived in the 1830s. The Bantu-speaking indigenous Blacks, who "are historically identified

¹⁴³¹ C. Walker, "Finite land: Challenges institutionalising land restitution in South Africa, 1995–2000," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38 no. 4 (2012), 811.

¹⁴³² C. Clark, "South Africa confronts a legacy of Apartheid", *The Atlantic*, 3 May 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/05/land-reform-south-africa-election/586900/>, accessed 24 September 2022.

¹⁴³³ Clark, "South Africa confronts a legacy".

¹⁴³⁴ Only people or a community who lost their land due to past racially discriminatory laws or practices after 19 June 1913 are entitled to claim land.

¹⁴³⁵ Walker, "Finite land", 809.

¹⁴³⁶ Milton, "Histories of becoming", 333.

collectively, on grounds of their language, as the south-eastern Bantu-speakers¹⁴³⁷ have been proven to have been present in South Africa in the Early Iron Age (approximately 1 800 years ago).¹⁴³⁸ Thus, Blacks have a claim to South Africa. This changed when Europeans came to South Africa in the 1600s, because they took much of the land for themselves. Therefore, many Afrikaners believe that South Africa belongs to them as many of them are descendants of these first White settlers. For example, the De Witt family, who symbolise Afrikaners, as their surname literally means “the White”, claim that they own the land on which they live, as they paid for it with their blood.¹⁴³⁹ The young Pieter De Witt, in the first episode, proclaims, “Ek het niemand se land gesteel nie! My mense het met bloed vir hulle geboortereg betaal” [I did not steal anybody’s land! My people paid with their blood for their birth-right].¹⁴⁴⁰ De Witt further notes that his forebears built what they have stone for stone as they worked to make a living in this Dark continent (Africa).¹⁴⁴¹ *Donkerland* portrays the argument that South Africa belonged to Afrikaners because their forebears fought against Blacks and the British so that they could claim the land as theirs.

Now that the new government has taken over, many Afrikaners fear that they may lose their land, which their forebears fought so hard for. Morkel in *Modder en Bloed* also feels this way before the game, as seen above. It can be argued that *Modder en Bloed* tries to motivate these Afrikaners not to give up hope of a solution that will allow them to keep some land when Morkel says, “It is my people’s blood that has been spilled on that land, building what we have. And I will defend it with the last blood in my veins.”¹⁴⁴² The film shows empathy with the desire of Afrikaners to fight for their land in the face of loss of political power and privilege because their forebears spilled their blood for it.

Even though after 1994, many English-speaking White South Africans still enjoyed many of the privileges they had before and during apartheid, they seemed wary of accepting the new dispensation.¹⁴⁴³ As seen in Chapter 5, some believed that their privileges were under threat

¹⁴³⁷ Bantu-speakers can be sub-divided into speakers of Nguni, Sotho-Tswana, Tsonga, Shona, Venda, and Lemba. A. Meyer, “South Africa’s primeval past”, in *A History of South Africa from the distant past to the present day*, ed F. Pretorius (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 38.

¹⁴³⁸ O. Marbot, “New research pokes holes in idea of ‘Bantu expansion’ in West Africa,” *The Africa Report*, 13 April 2021, <https://www.theafricareport.com/79560/new-research-pokes-holes-in-idea-of-bantu-expansion-in-west-africa/>, accessed 31 August 2022; Meyer, “South Africa’s primeval past”, 38.

¹⁴³⁹ Milton, “Histories of becoming”, 2014, 330; A. MacKinnon, *The making of South Africa: Culture and politics*. 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2012), 11.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *Donkerland*: 00:18:26; Milton, “Histories of becoming”, 331.

¹⁴⁴¹ Milton, “Histories of becoming”, 331.

¹⁴⁴² *Modder en Bloed*: 01:42:29; Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 84.

¹⁴⁴³ Lambert, “‘An Unknown People’”, 612.

from a resurgent Black majority, so they sympathised with the Afrikaner cause to keep Blacks at bay. Being more sensitive to their feelings may be one reason that British characters such as Katherine Sterndale, who in this case arguably represents English-speaking White South Africans of the 1990s to 2000s rather than imperial Britain, are represented more sympathetically when it comes to the Afrikaner cause than in earlier films. For example, in *Modder en Bloed*, Katherine Sterndale, the daughter of the governor of St Helena, sympathises with the Boers on the Island.¹⁴⁴⁴ When she finds out that Swannel still tortures the Boer prisoners, she states that she will write a letter to the British government demanding that they remove Swannel. Furthermore, Katherine supports the Boer rugby team instead of Swannel's team. In *Modder en Bloed*, English-speaking White South Africans are also represented by Kelly, the Irishman, who also sympathises with the Boers, as he has fought on their side during the war. Furthermore, Kelly teaches the Boer men to play rugby. In *Donkerland*, even Anna's fiancé, John Walsh, sympathises with the Boers when he notes that his family (English-speaking White South Africans) and the De Witt family (Afrikaners) are practically "neighbours". It can be argued that these English-speaking White South Africans are included to show Afrikaners that they there are also English-speaking White South Africans who feel the same way about their situation as they do, or understand their position.

According to Lambert, some English-speaking White South Africans feels insecure about their identity as South Africans, because "just like Afrikaners accused them in the past, so now do Blacks of being un-South African with roots in what is now a foreign land".¹⁴⁴⁵ Some English-speaking White South Africans have chosen to migrate to other English-speaking countries, while others have taken refuge in a cynical Afro-pessimism.¹⁴⁴⁶ Miriam Aurora Hammeren Pedersen posits that they wish to attain a stronger sense of belonging to the country, but also have a sense of not being truly welcomed by their compatriots.¹⁴⁴⁷ Therefore, it can be argued that *Modder en Bloed* and *Donkerland* include some attempts to unify Afrikaners with English-speaking White South Africans by showing them that the two White groups can achieve more if they stand together.

Since 1994, when that Afrikaners no longer held any political power, some Afrikaners' perspectives on English-speaking White South Africans have changed. Until the 1950s, many

¹⁴⁴⁴ Marais-Botha, "Die representasie", 140.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Lambert, "English-speaking South Africans", 609.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Lambert, "English-speaking South Africans", 609.

¹⁴⁴⁷ M.A.H. Pedersen, "Being and belonging among White English-speaking South Africans" (PhD thesis., University of Cape Town, 2020), 176.

saw English-speaking White South Africans as the enemies (irrespective of their actual origins) on the basis of what the British did to the *volk* during the SAW, but by the 1960s to 1980s many Afrikaners' relationship with them improved to some degree, though they still kept them at a distance. By the 1990s to 2000s, most Afrikaners' rejection of English-speaking White South Africans was replaced with greater warmth, as they allowed them in their circle.¹⁴⁴⁸ This kind of acceptance is suggested in *Verraaiers* when Martha, Van Aswegen's daughter, marries Robert Maclachlan (Jacques Bessenger), a Scottish trader, during the SAW. Maclachlan is accepted not only by the *volk*, but also by the Van Aswegen family because he "speaks such beautiful Afrikaans".¹⁴⁴⁹ The film does not mention when or how Maclachlan learned to speak Afrikaans, but Maclachlan's accent is so good that the community speak highly of him and they barely notice his "Scottish" accent when he speaks the language,¹⁴⁵⁰ although, when the community wants Boer men to return to the commandos, Maclachlan refuses, and as a result, he is executed, like other *verraaiers*.

It can be argued that some Afrikaners came to realise that English-speaking White South Africans are not that different from Afrikaners, and are in the same boat now that Whites no longer have power. A similar insight is seen in *Verraaiers* when Carel-Jan (Viljé Maritz), Van Aswegen's son, tells his mother while the family is eating dinner, "Ma, voor elke veldslag bid ons in Afrikaans en hulle in Engels vir dieselfde God en dieselfde Verlosser ..." [Mother, before every battle we pray in Afrikaans, and they pray in English to the same God and the same Saviour ...].¹⁴⁵¹ *Donkerland* also shows the connectedness when Anna tells her brother that Walsh is also a "victim" "van die mense wat die goud wou hê, nes ek en jy en Ma en Pa en almal" [of the people who wanted the gold, just like me and you and Mother and Father and everyone].¹⁴⁵² It can be argued that Anna, Maclachlan, and Carel-Jan are used to voice Afrikaners' and English-speaking White South Africans' joint fate by showing the common humanity of both groups.

In the declining years of apartheid, English-speaking White South Africans who refused to help the *volk* stay in power have been seen as traitors and as letting the Whites down. Swannel in *Modder en Bloed* is shown as enjoying torturing and killing the Boers to break their spirits and

¹⁴⁴⁸ Van der Westhuizen, "Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa", 4.

¹⁴⁴⁹ *Verraaiers*: 00:09:27.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Jacques Bessenger is an Afrikaans actor, but plays his role as Maclachlan very well, down to the Scottish accent, but of course knows Afrikaans well.

¹⁴⁵¹ *Verraaiers*: 00:36:48; Britz, "Bosbok Ses films", 108.

¹⁴⁵² *Donkerland*: 00:43:00.

to prevent them from defeating his team. Captain Kerwin in *Arende* also betrays Sloet after Sloet wins their marathon around St Helena, going against his word. When the rest of the Boers see this, they stand together to stop Kerwin. One of the Boers says that the British are not “humans” as they only understand the language of the rifle (or war).¹⁴⁵³ Lastly, Captain Brooks in *Fees van die Ongenooides*, who after being invited by the Van Wyk women to eat a specially prepared meal to prevent him from having their home burnt down, still does order the house to be burnt down in the end. It can be argued that *Arende*, *Modder en Bloed*, and *Fees van die Ongenooides* warn that even though many Afrikaners and English-speaking White South Africans share the same space and perhaps the same fate, the possibility of betrayal continues to exist.

The 1994 elections gave Blacks a political voice. Blacks now have the opportunity to tell their history. As a result, new information has emerged on the SAW, and it has become better known that Blacks not only participated in the SAW, but that many were also sent to concentration camps.¹⁴⁵⁴ At first the British and the Boers made a tacit agreement not to involve Blacks, as both sides believed that the war would be over soon, so they did not feel that it was necessary to involve Blacks in their war.¹⁴⁵⁵ Britain also felt that they had enough soldiers to overrun the Boer commandos.¹⁴⁵⁶ As the war continued, both sides realised that it was impossible to win the war quickly, so they involved Blacks. According to Warwick, at least 100 000 Blacks participated in the war as scouts, spies, guards, servants and messengers for the Boers and the British armies.¹⁴⁵⁷ Many supported the British during the war, as they hoped that that they would bring political benefits and economic advancement to Blacks, but their hopes were disappointed, as they never received the promised voting rights from Britain.¹⁴⁵⁸

Furthermore, Black women and children were also sent to British concentration camps, where approximately 155 700 Black people were housed in at least 70 camps.¹⁴⁵⁹ Black concentration camps were created because Lord Kitchener wanted to prevent both Whites and Black people from assisting Boer commandos.¹⁴⁶⁰ As a result, many Blacks lost their homes due to the

¹⁴⁵³ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaiër”, 112.

¹⁴⁵⁴ This chapter only briefly discusses Black participation and camps, which are beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 42.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Warwick, *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*, 15.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Warwick, *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*, 4.

¹⁴⁵⁸ P. Maylam, *A history of the African people of South Africa: From the Early Iron Age to the 1970s* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 75; Pretorius, *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902*, 75.

¹⁴⁵⁹ B.E. Mongalo and K. du Pisani, “Victims of a white man’s war: Blacks in concentration camps during the South African War (1899-1902),” *Historia* 44 no. 1 (1999), 149.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Mongalo and Du Pisani, “Victims”, 154; Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 102.

scorched-earth policy.¹⁴⁶¹ Even during the guerrilla phase of the war, the British needed labour to work in the mines, which they opened again in 1901. Most of these labourers came from Black concentration camps.¹⁴⁶² Thousands of Black women and children died in these camps, just as women and children in the Boer camps did. According to the available death records, 14 154 Blacks died in these camps, but new research suggests that more than 20 000 may have died.¹⁴⁶³ These deaths were due to poor shelter, a shortage of fuel, diseases, starvation, overcrowding and inadequate medical care.¹⁴⁶⁴ Black concentration camps only improved in 1902 when larger camps were divided into smaller sections and spread over a larger area, which were, however, still located close to the railway lines, as the initial camps were.¹⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, Blacks' diets were then also improved by supplying them with fresh milk on a regular basis and allowing them access to "luxuries" such as soap, flour, and blankets.¹⁴⁶⁶

On the basis of these facts historians could no longer claim that the SAW was a "White man's war".¹⁴⁶⁷ It can be argued that *Verraiers*, *Fees van die Ongenooïdes*, *Donkerland* include Black characters to show Afrikaners that they were not the only ones who suffered in the camps and war. One of the producers of *Verraiers*, Themba Sibeko, is the son of former PAC representative at the United Nations, David Sibeko,¹⁴⁶⁸ so such inclusions are not surprising. Van Aswegen in *Verraiers* tells his Black farmworker, Petrus, and his family to return to their home due to the scorched-earth policy. Moreover, *Verraiers* acknowledges the existence of Black camps when the narrator tells the audience that Blacks also died in the camps.¹⁴⁶⁹

Fees van die Ongenooïdes and *Donkerland* go a step further as they give a glimpse of how Blacks experienced these camps. Siena (Tinah Mnumzana) in *Fees van die Ongenooïdes*, Martie's maid and close confidante, is raped by a soldier, but unlike with Magrieta's rape in the same series, which is shown, the audience only hears about Siena's rape in a short scene. After the war ends, Siena is seen going to Martie. They talk about the war, and then Siena tells Martie and the audience, "We were so hungry in our camp, Madam. The soldiers... they paid

¹⁴⁶¹ Spies, *Methods of barbarism*, 227; Warwick, *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*, 147.

¹⁴⁶² Mongalo and Du Pisani, "Victims", 154.

¹⁴⁶³ B. Nasson, "Swart mense en die kamp," in *Die oorlog kom huis toe*, ed. A. Grundlingh and B. Nasson (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2013), 176; P. Warwick, "Black people and the War", in *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*, ed. P. Warwick (Harlow: Longman, 1980), 205.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Nasson, "Swart mense en die kamp", 176; Pretorius, *The A to Z*, 103.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Warwick, *Black people and the South African War 1899-1902*, 153; Nasson, "Swart mense en die kamp", 181.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Warwick, "Black people and the War", 205.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Pakenham, "Review: Africans in the Boer War", 573.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Jansen van Vuuren, "Van Kavalier tot verraaier", 51.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Marais-Botha, "Die representasie", 154.

me food for my body. I would have died. I was too hungry to say no.”¹⁴⁷⁰ However, Siena’s story is cut short, as Wynand comes to make peace with Martie.

The story of Eerste in *Donkerland* is also interrupted. She tells Anna, “Die Engelse het ons gevat by die kamp vir die swart volk” [The English took us to the camp for the Black people].¹⁴⁷¹ Eerste’s story ends quickly as she asks Anna about her mother. Nevertheless, these glimpses show the pain Blacks experienced in these camps.¹⁴⁷² It can be argued that Siena and Eerste are used to show Afrikaners that Afrikaners were not the only ones who suffered in the war, calling on their shared suffering to build empathy. However, because much of their history is still suppressed or side-lined in these cases, it can be argued that both series made sure that Afrikaners were still the focal point by cutting Siena and Eerste’s scenes short.

The inclusion of Blacks in these films and series is a strong indicator of the changed political context after 1994. Earlier films made from the 1930s to 1980s would not have given Blacks a voice. For example, in *Sarie Marais* (1949) and *Gideon Scheepers* (1982), Blacks are only shown briefly. Unlike Siena and Eerste, who are shown talking about their experiences in the camps, Blacks in films made in the 1960s only said “yes”. It was only in the 1990s that Black characters in films have more of a voice.

These shifts toward building a sense of shared human suffering follow on from Mandela’s attempts to serve as a bridge between Afrikaners and Blacks. When Afrikaners understood that someone who had been imprisoned by the NP as a Black “terrorist” would be the next President, many were scared. This fear was exacerbated by the severity of Black-on-Black violence, including the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters which played a role in the Boipatong Massacre. In KwaZulu-Natal in particular, the conflict between the two parties led to numerous deaths and many were forced to flee from their homes.¹⁴⁷³ This incited fear of the *swart gevaar*, the term used in NP propaganda, claiming Blacks to be violent.

This fear of the *swart gevaar* was strengthened by rumours of an imminent “night of the long knives” – where Whites would be wiped out for their role in apartheid.¹⁴⁷⁴ Some Afrikaners

¹⁴⁷⁰ Jansen van Vuuren, “Penetrating trauma, 83.

¹⁴⁷¹ *Donkerland*: 00:35:34.

¹⁴⁷² Jansen van Vuuren, “Penetrating trauma”, 83.

¹⁴⁷³ S. Khumalo, “ANC urged to hold talks with UDM”, *Daily News*, 26 June 1998, 8.

¹⁴⁷⁴ J. Meyer, “Mandela SMS sends Afrikaners running”, 2007, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mandela-sms-sends-afrikaners-running-319319>, accessed 17 September 2020; Y. Groenewald and P. Joubert, “Not yet uhuru,” *Mail and Guardian*, 8 March 2007, 8; E. Conway-Smith, “Leader, savior, terrorist: How White South Africans remember Nelson Mandela”, 2013, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-12-10/leader-savior-terrorist-how-white-south-africans-remember-mandela>, accessed 17 September 2020; D. Smith, “Nelson Mandela's death leaves South

underwent “military training to defend themselves and have even stockpiled cans of food in bunkers”,¹⁴⁷⁵ when they heard that a Black President would take over in 1994. It can be argued that *Donkerland* adds to this fear when Oubaas Pieter says in Episode 3: “[D]it is genoeg dat hulle [swartmense] nie meer hulle land het nie, moenie hulle waardigheid ook ontnem nie. Die dag as dit gebeur is ons verlore” [it is enough that they [Black people] no longer have their land, don’t take away their dignity too. The day that happens we are lost].¹⁴⁷⁶ But no such massacre happened, as Mandela succeeded in sufficiently unifying South Africa by promoting a unified Afrikaner and Black identity through his vision of a “rainbow nation”¹⁴⁷⁷ (a phrase coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu) – where all races can live together despite their differences. Tutu, along with Mandela, used the “rainbow nation” metaphor, not only to bring the nation together, but also to change the concept of nationhood “from a primordial one predicated on shared ‘blood’ culture and language (as was the case under Afrikaner nationalism) to one that could accommodate a variety of cultures, races and languages.”¹⁴⁷⁸

In the early days after the 1994 election, Mandela encouraged the ritual celebration of the “rainbow nation” at international sports events such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup.¹⁴⁷⁹ According to Louise Vincent and Sasha Stevenson, Mandela used rugby as a vehicle to meet the challenge of balancing Black aspirations with White fears in the immediate aftermath of apartheid by walking to the winning Springbok team wearing the Springbok jersey to congratulate them on their victory.¹⁴⁸⁰ According to Maingard, the image of Mandela in a Springbok jersey – once an emblem of apartheid – is the picture of racial harmony.¹⁴⁸¹ What also showed South Africa as a “rainbow nation” was the iconic sight of Mandela and François Pienaar, the Captain of the 1995 Springbok team, holding up the trophy.¹⁴⁸² This image of Mandela and Pienaar showed the world that a “rainbow nation” can work together.

Africa wondering where to go next”, *The Guardian*, 6 December 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/06/nelson-mandela-death-what-now-south-africa>, accessed 17 September 2020.

¹⁴⁷⁵ D. Smith, “Anxious and conflicted: Afrikaners await a post-Mandela world”, *The Guardian*, 7 December 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/07/afrikaners-nelson-mandela-south-africa>, accessed 7 September 2022; Groenewald and Joubert, “Not yet uhuru”, 8.

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Donkerland*: 00:15:13.

¹⁴⁷⁷ According to Evans, the term “rainbow” is a reference to the Biblical story of Noah and the flood, in which the rainbow served as a sign of God’s oath to never wreak vengeance on humanity by a flood again. M. Evans, “Mandela and the televised birth of the rainbow nation”, *National Identities* 12 no. 3 (2010), 309.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Evans, “Mandela and the televised birth”, 309.

¹⁴⁷⁹ G. Baines, “The rainbow nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Mots Pluriels* 7 no. 1998 (1998), 1; Evans, “Mandela and the televised birth”, 319.

¹⁴⁸⁰ L. Vincent and S. Stevenson, “Rethinking rugby and the rainbow nation,” *Journal of African Media Studies* 2 no. 3 (2010), 288.

¹⁴⁸¹ Maingard, “Imag(in)ing”, 16.

¹⁴⁸² Vincent and Stevenson, “Rethinking rugby”, 288.

International television coverage of the event showed the world how two nations could come together, “encourage[ing] the perception of simultaneous participation in a national community, where viewers imagine themselves as members of the nation whose representatives are displayed on screen.”¹⁴⁸³

Not everyone agrees that Mandela’s “rainbow nation” can work. For example, by 2015, two years after Mandela’s death, Wonke Buqa sees the “rainbow nation” as an empty term in terms of the promises made, as there are still people who have no water to drink.¹⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, South Africans also do not trust each other, which makes it difficult to present themselves as a “rainbow nation”.¹⁴⁸⁵ As Buqa notes, “there is nostalgia for the security in the womb of a safe sameness, and so, we shut out the stranger and the alien”.¹⁴⁸⁶ Vishanthie Sewpaul suggests that the so-called “rainbow nation” trope is derived from essentially racist discourse and denies diversity by ignoring debates on the relationships between criteria such as race, class, gender and sexual orientation and power, status, privilege and resources.¹⁴⁸⁷

6.4 Reception

Many Afrikaners who watched *Arende*, *Verraaiers*, *Modder en Bloed* and the series *Fees van die Ongenooides* and *Donkerland* were experiencing an identity crisis of sorts, as they had lost their political power along with their privileges. As seen above, some Afrikaners accepted their new situation and adapted, while others tried to resist it. Those who tried to resist felt that they needed a hero to lead them, and at the same time to remind them of the “good old days” when they were still in power. According to Emily Milstein, this was necessary to help South Africans actively reimagine their country as a multiracial nation, and film gave them a platform on which to air and address the grievances of South Africans in a democratic fashion.¹⁴⁸⁸

Not all Afrikaners wanted to watch a multiracial film, as it reminded them of their loss. For example, one IMDb viewer of *Arende* in 2020 notes that the film “is a wonderful example of a film untouched by politics and well before today’s racial criteria for the South African industry”,¹⁴⁸⁹ possibly because there are no Blacks in the film version of *Arende* (which is set

¹⁴⁸³ Maingard, “Imag(in)ing”, 16.

¹⁴⁸⁴ W. Buqa, “Storying Ubuntu as a rainbow nation,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 36 no. 2 (2015), 1.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Buqa, “Storying Ubuntu”, 6.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Buqa, “Storying Ubuntu”, 6.

¹⁴⁸⁷ V. Sewpaul, “On national identity, nationalism and Soccer 2010: Should social work be concerned?,” *International Social Work* 52, no. 2 (2009), 144.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Milstein, “Nation-building”, 178.

¹⁴⁸⁹ IMDb, “Arende (1994): User reviews”, 2020 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2156657/reviews?ref=tt_ury , accessed 19 February 2022.

mostly on St Helena, not in South Africa). Furthermore, these Afrikaners yearned for the kind of hero who could inspire them as they no longer had the NP.¹⁴⁹⁰ For one IMDb viewer in 2020, Steenkamp is such a hero, because he is portrayed as a determined and strong character, while at the same time he also showed his emotions, which this viewer found “endearing”.¹⁴⁹¹ For another IMDb viewer, the film also reminded them of the “good old days of filmmaking in South Africa when a captivating story was regarded high above all other elements”.¹⁴⁹² Despite this, film critic Diane de Beer did not like the idea of turning the series into a film as she felt the story lost “something in this condensed version”.¹⁴⁹³

Even though some Afrikaners were not keen to watch multiracial films, Afrikaans filmmakers had no choice but to adapt to the drastic changes in the industry or else they would become totally irrelevant when their themes are measured against the viewers’ own experience.¹⁴⁹⁴ One post-1994 film to make this leap was *Verraaiers*, which was highly praised by two eminent film critics, Leon van Nierop and Barry Ronge. Van Nierop regards the acting as excellent, especially that of Jacques Bessener in his role as Maclachlan, which in Van Nierop’s opinion made *Verraaiers* the best film of its kind since *Die kandidaat*.¹⁴⁹⁵ Ronge praised the film’s honesty, writing, “at long last an Afrikaans film about the SAW that is honest, powerful and fascinating”.¹⁴⁹⁶ Rachel Browne agrees with Van Nierop and Ronge when she notes that *Verraaiers* changed her perception of the Afrikaner, which had previously “been shaped by faceless apartheid shepherds”, as it “cut a deep gorge through hardened and concretised ‘official’ version of Boers on commando and from my ‘perch’ on the outside looking in, the allegory began to take on meaning much greater than a family suffering”.¹⁴⁹⁷

The general public also praised the film. For example, one 2012 YouTube viewer highly doubts the film is a “monument” for traitors.¹⁴⁹⁸ Another, who recommends it highly, says “it’s a must see for all South Africans, especially those who share an interest in the history of the two South

¹⁴⁹⁰ A. Villet, “Reviews”, 2013, <http://slipnet.co.za/view/reviews/anneke-villet-resenseer-verraaiers/?fbclid=IwAR0zUaKr69-lbnzrik4U6r4xhVlamlIeXSRDbsm-FGu7IKpo7HEDbVpxaq4>, accessed 7 July 2020.

¹⁴⁹¹ IMDb, “Arende (1994): User reviews”.

¹⁴⁹² IMDb, “Arende (1994): User reviews”.

¹⁴⁹³ D. de Beer, “DVD review: *Arende*”, 2009, <https://www.iol.co.za/entertainment/movies/reviews/dvd-review-arende-972827>, accessed 19 February 2022.

¹⁴⁹⁴ M. Botha, “The South African film industry: Fragmentation, identity crisis and unification,” *Kinema 3* (1995), 7-19.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 330.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Expresso show, “Die Verraaiers”, n.d., <https://www.expressoshow.com/articles/Die-Verraaiers?articleID=4000>, accessed 1 July 2020.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Browne, “Verraaiers: A reflection”, 450.

¹⁴⁹⁸ “Tommie le Roux”, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1V83vSIXOY&t=8s>, accessed 9 September 2022.

African Wars”.¹⁴⁹⁹ Along with much praise, the film won several awards: the Best Film at the Indian International Festival of South Africa, and the Audience Choice Award, Best Cinematography, Best Actor (Gys de Villiers), Best Supporting Actor (Jacques Bessenger), and Special Jury (Vilje Maritz) at KykNet’s Silverskerm Fees (2012).¹⁵⁰⁰ These accolades indicate that many Afrikaners and other South African viewers wanted something new, where the protagonists show more of their emotions. For example, one 2012 viewer on YouTube noted that it was high time there were Afrikaans films that do not centre on the music industry or vulgarity.¹⁵⁰¹

Despite the praise and awards, the film failed at the box office as it only generated R2.7 million, which was R10 million less than *Semi-Soet* (Semi-Sweet) (2012, Joshua Rous), which was made at the same time.¹⁵⁰² Jansen van Vuuren ascribes the box office figures to the fact that Afrikaners are still looking for a hero or leader (as was the case with the De la Rey phenomenon and with earlier films, for example, Chris Botha in *Die Kavaliers*) to lead them out of their current identity crisis.¹⁵⁰³ But, instead of giving them the hero they needed, Eilers gave them an alternative hero, someone who questioned the Boer cause. Some viewers were displeased, as seen with “Piet Potlood” who complained, “nie net word die *verraaiers* as helde uitgebeeld nie, maar die Bittereinders word voorgehou as wreed en onmenslik. Die geskiedenis word dus skeef getrek” [Not only are the traitors portrayed as heroes, but the Bitter Enders are portrayed as cruel and inhuman. History is therefore skewed].¹⁵⁰⁴ As a result, “Mywereldza” never bothered to watch *Verraaiers* as he/she did not like the idea that the film made the Boers the villains.¹⁵⁰⁵ Some Afrikaners found it difficult to watch *Verraaiers*, as it gives Afrikaners a glimpse of grey areas in their “honourable” war and by doing so shows contemporary Afrikaners their own fallibility.¹⁵⁰⁶ Therefore, “Piet Potlood” sees the film as a historical fraud, as it is not based on historical “facts”.¹⁵⁰⁷ According to “Piet Potlood”, this is because the Boers

¹⁴⁹⁹ “Sailor Malan”, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1V83vSIXOY&t=8s>, accessed 9 September 2022.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 73; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 48; IMDb, “Verraaiers (2012) Awards”, 2022, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2247109/awards?ref=tturv_q1_1, accessed 19 February 2022; Expresso show, “Die Verraaiers”.

¹⁵⁰¹ “Marnus Breed”, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1V83vSIXOY&t=8s>, accessed 9 September 2022.

¹⁵⁰² Jansen van Vuuren, “From ‘Cavalier’ to ‘Traitor’”, 58; Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 48.

¹⁵⁰³ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 71; Jansen van Vuuren, “From ‘Cavalier’ to ‘Traitor’”, 58; Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 74.

¹⁵⁰⁴ “Piet Potlood”, “Verraaiers,” *Die Vryburger*, March 2013, <http://www.dievryburger.co.za/2013/03/verraaiers/>, accessed 25 January 2022.

¹⁵⁰⁵ “Mywereldza”, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1V83vSIXOY>, accessed 19 February 2022.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Villet, “Reviews”; Jansen van Vuuren, “From ‘Cavalier’ to ‘Traitor’”, 58.

¹⁵⁰⁷ “Piet Potlood”, “Verraaiers”.

are made the villains in respect of those executed for their “cowardice”. However, Anneke Villet disagrees with rejection of the film on such grounds when she notes that the film does focus on historical and cultural accuracy to ensure that it is both historically and emotionally real.¹⁵⁰⁸

Most of the people who came to watch *Modder en Bloed* were Afrikaners, as the film spoke to their ideals, by showing them how their forebears, as underdogs, defeated the British at their own game, rugby, in the SAW setting.¹⁵⁰⁹ The intended effect is to boost their morale in a situation of diminished political power. One viewer notes, “defeating the British is always something we like to see”.¹⁵¹⁰ One viewer was inspired to write: “Staan op Suid-Afrika” [Stand up South Africa].¹⁵¹¹ The film won the Sedona International Film Festival award (2017) for Best Feature Film (Drama), and the Golden Horn Award (a South African award) for Best Achievement in Cinematography in a Feature film (2017), and the Golden Horn Award for Best Achievement in Sound Design in a Feature Film.¹⁵¹²

Modder en Bloed made more at the box office than *Veraaiers*, as it received R6 million.¹⁵¹³ It might seem that the film mostly caters for men, as it focuses on violence, war, and rugby, but in an interview, Else reported that it was mostly women who watched the film, although some said the violence put them off. The film may be said to overemphasise the role that rugby plays in Afrikaners’ lives. Some viewers are critical of this – one YouTube viewer in 2016 asks sarcastically, “so as ek gevang raak sal ek seker rugby speel en uitkom” [so if I get caught, I will probably play rugby and get out].¹⁵¹⁴ “Splicing” agrees when he/she complains that the rugby game does leave the film off-balance, as it is difficult to believe in the over-the-top “Last Big Push” score tries, and argues that the film would have done well to keep things simple.¹⁵¹⁵ Some reactions suggest some Afrikaners are tired of watching films containing a lot of violence

¹⁵⁰⁸ A. Villet, “Reviews”.

¹⁵⁰⁹ D. Verkerk (student at University of Pretoria), interview with S. Else. 30 September 2020; Smith, “The Boipatong massacre”; “Cyril-Klopper”, “Blood and Glory (2016): User Reviews”, 2016, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt4700248/reviews?ref=tt_ov_rt, accessed 19 February 2022.

¹⁵¹⁰ “Hollydogfarms”, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vxw8IeqY3IM>, accessed 9 September 2022.

¹⁵¹¹ “Afrikaanse Boer”, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vxw8IeqY3IM&lc=Ugj7ftT8AujtWngCoAEC>, accessed 14 March 2022.

¹⁵¹² Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 78; IMDb, “Blood and Glory (2016): Awards”, 2022, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt4700248/awards/?ref=tt_awd, accessed 19 February 2022.

¹⁵¹³ Verkerk, interview with S. Else.

¹⁵¹⁴ “Robert Timmins”, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vxw8IeqY3IM&lc=Ugj7ftT8AujtWngCoAEC>, accessed 14 March 2022.

¹⁵¹⁵ Splicing, “Movie Review: Modder en Bloed”, 2016, <http://www.splicing.co.za/movie-reviews-trailers/movie-review-modder-en-bloed>, accessed 21 February 2022.

as they deal with violence too much because of crime in South Africa. Some might prefer lighter old-school entertainment such as *Die Kavaliers*.

Some viewers of *Fees van die Ongenooides* felt that it boosted their morale, as it focused on Afrikaner events such as the SAW, which showed them their forebears' endurance and resilience.¹⁵¹⁶ The series is unique as it offers new insights into the SAW by showing how some Boer women and Blacks experienced the conflict.¹⁵¹⁷ The series also features everyday aspects that Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s deal with, namely the bitterness between Afrikaners (who remain divided), and betrayal at a political and personal level. Du Plooy feels that the series followed the same rhythm and plot as most Afrikaans-language films on the SAW: the grandfather stays at home, son and father go to war, the farmhouse is burned down, the women and grandfather are sent to the camps and the rich man's son does not do so well in the war.¹⁵¹⁸ This film could also have focused more on women's and Blacks' voices, which are more prominent in the new reality.¹⁵¹⁹

According to Milton, the audience who watched *Donkerland* were mainly Afrikaners, because it deals with issues with which they could identify, such as the longing for a place to belong, loss of identity, and what it is to be an Afrikaner in post-apartheid South Africa.¹⁵²⁰ This is something that is close to many Afrikaner's hearts, especially now that many feel unwelcome. The series focuses on Afrikaners' history and language, both of which feature in the settings. Again, an Afrikaner family is depicted as resilient and as surviving. Milton maintains that the series evokes powerful emotions, "as is illustrated by the expression of anxieties around notions of self and community in audience comment-threads on the *Donkerland* website".¹⁵²¹

The series won many awards at the South African Film and Television Awards (SAFTAs) in 2015, for Best Achievement in Costume Design for a TV Drama, Best Supporting Actor for a TV Drama (Felize Mpela), and Best Achievements in Make-up and Hairstyles for a TV Drama. However, it still provoked criticism among some audience members. For many the series was

¹⁵¹⁶ H. du Plooy, "Die energie en die chaos van die lewe treffend vervat in PG du Plessis se *Fees van die Ongenooides*", *Litnet*, 15 April 2009, <https://www.litnet.co.za/die-energie-en-die-chaos-van-die-lewe-treffend-vervat-in-pg-du-plessis/>, accessed 1 September 2020.

¹⁵¹⁷ Du Plooy, "Die energie".

¹⁵¹⁸ Du Plooy, "Die energie".

¹⁵¹⁹ Marais-Botha, "Die representasie", 51.

¹⁵²⁰ Milton, "Histories of becoming", 340-341.

¹⁵²¹ Milton, "Histories of becoming", 340-341.

not historically accurate.¹⁵²² Even though it is as historically accurate as *Verraiers* and *Modder en Bloed*, it still seems that some critics were not in favour of series that show Afrikaners' conservative way of life. Many Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s have moved away from their conservative lifestyles and are looking for something more liberal, as they resist always being reminded of their role in apartheid. One viewer snipes that it feels as though Eugene Terre'blanche wrote the storyline, as the characters speak in aggressive tones as he would have spoken, as can be seen in Oubaas Pieter's frequent comment "Hier praat bloed" [blood is talking here], or "As die baas terug kom, praat jy Boeretaal" [When the boss returns, you must speak the Boer language], and "Ja baas" [Yes boss].¹⁵²³ "Leonard" expresses some relief (probably with some sarcasm) that the series is in Afrikaans, because then other people cannot see and think all Afrikaners are like that.¹⁵²⁴

6.5 Conclusion

By the early 1990s, South Africa was increasingly feeling the financial constraints resulting from local and international pressure from the 1980s. The NP government was also dealing with an increase of Black-on-Black violence, along with right-wing Afrikaner groups. There was division among Afrikaners, and White South Africans, more generally. There was little doubt that apartheid had to end, and the majority of White South Africans signified their agreement to this in the 1992 referendum. The CODESA negotiations prepared the way for the 1994 elections, where the first Black President, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, was elected. For many Afrikaners, this was a blow, as they believed that it would end their privileges. Therefore, their interest in the SAW flared up again, as it reminded them of their resistance to a threat to their position. Furthermore, revisiting the SAW reminded them of all the sacrifices their forebears made, as seen with the films and series mentioned in this study, as well as their forebears' resilience and ability to survive hardship. Unlike in the 1980s, however, some Afrikaners' interest in the SAW had faded, as the last survivors of the SAW passed away. Most living Afrikaners were born long after the SAW took place. Those who were interested in the SAW wanted to see idealised heroes such as Morkel in *Modder en Bloed*, Klein Piet in *Donkerland*, and Sloet in *Arende* – men who were willing to sacrifice their lives of the *volk*.

¹⁵²² J.D. McLachlan, "Helder blomme, sterk Tugela in droogtettyd oortuig nie," *Die Burger*, 9 November 2013, 2; IMDb, "South African film and television awards", 2020, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2908240/awards?ref=tt_awd, accessed 19 September 2020.

¹⁵²³ C. Leonard, "Hoekom is die ooms so kwaad?", *Rapport*, 25 Augustus 2013, 8.

¹⁵²⁴ Leonard, "Hoekom is die ooms", 8.

Afrikaners were still not a homogenous nation, even in the 1990s to 2000s. There were always two or more camps in Afrikaner circles. Some would support one thing, while others opposed it. In the run-up to 1994, and in post-1994 South Africa, some Afrikaners accepted their situation and adapted, while others refused to accept living under a new government. Some supported CODESA and De Klerk's initiatives, others opposed them and saw them as a form of betrayal, seeing De Klerk as a *volksverraaiër* who just gave away their power, which their forebears had fought so hard to get, without fighting for it as previous NP leaders had done in the past. The trope of betrayal was in the air, and this may be one reason that betrayal features in all the films and series of this period. For example, Coetsee in *Verraaiers* betrays his *volk* by helping the British, and Maritz in *Donkerland*, betrays one of his own for money.

Unlike in the 1980s, Afrikaner women in the 1990s or 2000s could make more reproductive choices, and could reject the pressure to be a *volksmoeder* or not. For example, Magrieta in *Fees van die Ongenooïdes* chooses not to be a mother when she decides to have an abortion after being raped. The Third and Fourth wave of feminism gave women more freedom than their predecessors had enjoyed in the past. However, it seemed as if many Afrikaner women of the 1990s to 2000s were still choosing to be *volksmoeders*. For example, Anna has the choice to flee, but she instead decides to stay behind. Unlike in the 1980s, when the *Boeredogter* was shown as pure, the 1990s to 2000s films show that the some *Boeredogters* might choose the *uitlander* above her *volk* as a way to rebel against the pressures placed on them to be *volksmoeders*, as Anna does in *Donkerland* when she chooses Walsh over her brother, even if it cuts her off from her own people.

The loss of political power created loss on several levels, and was compounded by shifting cultural and gender identity. This was especially the case for many Afrikaner men, whose masculinity was challenged in different ways. One of the significant challenges for them was a loss of power, in their public and private lives, which was seen as weakening them. The sense of weakening is typified in Daantjie in *Fees van die Ongenooïdes*, who wets himself during a battle, and in Van Aswegen in *Verraaiers*, who signs the oath. As in the 1980s, the *volk* of the 1990s to 2000s rejected “weaklings”, especially because the *volk* itself was not in power. What the *volk* of the 1990s to 2000s wanted to see in film was hegemonic men such as Sloet in *Arende*, Klein Piet in *Donkerland*, and Morkel in *Modder en Bloed*, who are willing to sacrifice their lives for the *volk*.

Unlike in the films of the 1930s to 1980s, Blacks in the SAW films of the 1990s to 2000s are no longer silenced. As scholars realised that the SAW was not a “White man’s war”, more Blacks are shown in films to participate in the war, as can be seen with seen with Soldaat in *Fees van die Ongenooides* and Bongani in *Donkerland*. Boer women and children were not the only ones who were sent to concentration camps – Black women and children were also sent to camps, as is seen with Siena in *Fees van die Ongenooides* and Eerste in *Donkerland*. However, Blacks are still largely depicted as inferiors even in films and series such as *Fees van die Ongenooides* and *Donkerland*. Under apartheid, much Black history has been lost or was unknown, so people do not always know that Black camps also existed or how Blacks experienced the war. This is reflected in *Verraaiers*, in that, for example, no one knows what happens to Petrus’s family after Van Aswegen orders them to leave. However, things were slowly improving due to Mandela’s efforts to unite South Africa as a “rainbow nation”.

English-speaking White South Africans also lost their White privileges when the NP lost its political power. Therefore, some English characters are shown as sympathising with Afrikaners. For example, Katherine Sterndale in *Modder en Bloed* supports the Boer rugby team. As a result of such depictions, many Afrikaners have realised that some English-speaking White South Africans are no different from them. This is also seen with Anna who tells her brother Klein Piet that Walsh also suffered in the war, just like the Boers. This indicates that since the 1994 elections, there is more empathy between some White English-speakers South Africans and some Afrikaners.

7 Chapter 7: Conclusion

The SAW may have taken place more than a hundred years ago, but for many Afrikaners it is still an important event. It has become an integral part of Afrikaner cultural identity, and it has been memorialised in numerous Afrikaans-language works on the war such as short stories, poems and other literature, songs and film.¹⁵²⁵ Marais-Botha believes that there will always be new Afrikaans works on the SAW.¹⁵²⁶ For many Afrikaners, the SAW has left its mark, and they will never forget the sacrifices their forebears made in their bid for their independence. On the other hand, the SAW has also created bitterness among some Afrikaners, because the Boers lost the war, which they believed they would win as they saw themselves as God's chosen *volk*.

Afrikaner nationalism emerged in the context of this defeat and the subsequent, unquelled desire for independence from British control, a desire which the films and series examined in this study helped to promote. The aim of this study was to investigate how changing representations of the SAW and characters' responses to the war in the selected films and series on the SAW may have played a role in or shaped Afrikaner memory of the war, Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner cultural identity from the 1930s to 2000s. Furthermore, the study has also discussed how the films and series of the 1930s to 2000s reflect important events of the 1930s to 1960s to give an insight of what these events meant to Afrikaners. All the films were made when Afrikaners were dealing with hardships such as the Great Depression and World War II (1930s to 1940s) and protests against apartheid (1960s to 1980s), which left many Afrikaners feel demoralised, as it made them feel like they were failing to reach their ultimate goal, namely their independence. Thus, these films of the 1930s to 1960s were used to boost these Afrikaners' morale as it showed them that if their forebears could overcome their difficulties, then they too can they overcome their hardships. They appeared to have reached their goal when the NP came to power as it led to the country becoming a republic. The 1980s films also encouraged Afrikaners not to give up on their cause despite the turbulent time they were dealing with, through the release of films of heroes, such as Danie Theron and Gideon Scheepers, who do not give up, despite the hardships they face. This was also the case in the 1990s and 2000s when filmmakers released films featuring heroes willing to sacrifice their

¹⁵²⁵ Marais-Botha, "Die representasie", 187.

¹⁵²⁶ Marais-Botha, "Die representasie", 187.

lives (like Morkel in *Modder en Bloed*). Unlike in the previous decade, the films of the 1980s to 2000s were unable to stem the tide, as there are some Afrikaners who fled the country, which can be arguably seen as betrayal as they are not willing to fight for their *volk*, while others moved to places like Orania and Kleinfontein. Those who turn away from their duty to the *volk* are represented in films such as *Verraaiers*. Afrikaners who have stayed behind no longer want to be reminded of the recent past, as they are always being reminded of what their forebears did to Black people during apartheid. Thus, films of the 1990s to 2000s also focused on events that took place before the SAW to remind Afrikaners in the 1990s to 2000s of a time when it was the Boer and his farm to give them a glimpse of how life was before all this turbulence. Furthermore, the series *Fees van die Ongenooides* and *Donkerland* give some glimpse of how Black people experienced the war to right a wrong version of history, and to begin reconcile Afrikaners and Black people, who have been divided for so long.

The research objectives were addressed through critical analyses of select Afrikaans-language films and television series that feature the SAW as their central narrative focus. Several key themes were identified as recurring in most of the films and two television series. However, the representation of these thematic elements, and the meanings they generate, have not remained consistent, but have rather been shaped by the historical context of the films or series and contingency. Some of these recurring themes include, but are not limited to, memories of the war, gender (especially as it is represented in the trope of the *volksmoeder*, the *Boeredogter* and Afrikaner masculinity), nostalgia, *verraaiers* and the portrayals of the “other” (the British, English-speaking White South Africans and Blacks).

The rise or decline of Afrikaner nationalism is central to all these films, and arguably all the above thematic elements converge in the creation of an Afrikaner nationalist identity and ideology. For scholars such as Gellner, Anderson, and Hobsbawm, nationalism is “imaginary”. Erik Ringmar argues that nationalism can be regarded as “imagined”, since nations only exist because we imagine them to exist: “No one has ever seen a nation except ‘in their mind’s eye’”.¹⁵²⁷ Chapter 2 has argued that Afrikaner nationalism can be classified as “imagined” as it matches Anderson’s four criteria, namely that nationalism is imagined (the concept of nationalism is made up by a nation, which in this case is the *volk*), it implies sovereignty (they

¹⁵²⁷ E. Ringmar, 2021, “What Benedict Anderson doesn’t understand about the imagination”, 2021, <https://www.e-ir.info/2021/03/16/what-benedict-anderson-doesnt-understand-about-the-imagination/#:~:text=The%20problem%20with%20Anderson's%20account,to%20be%20%E2%80%9Ca%20te xt%E2%80%9D>, accessed 31 October 2022.

are independent), they are limited (borders that divide “us” from “them”), and they involve community (the all for one and one for all concept). Firstly, Afrikaners fit into Anderson’s first criteria namely imagined. Afrikaners may not all know each other, but as Anderson points out, “in the minds of each live[s] the image of their communion”,¹⁵²⁸ because they share the same language (in this case, Afrikaans), and religion. The Afrikaans language as an important element of Afrikaner cultural nationalism and identity was promoted vigorously in the late 1920s and 1930s, and it was elevated to the status of a national language along with English in 1925. After 1948, and especially with the introduction of apartheid in 1948 and Bantu Education in 1953, Afrikaans was further elevated as a language of instruction in schools. This had disastrous consequences, as it led to the Soweto Uprisings, where many Black youths died. As a result, many Black people consider Afrikaans the “language of the oppressor”.¹⁵²⁹ This has led to movements such as #Afrikaans-must-fall movement, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Another important characteristic of Afrikaner nationalism is religion and the discourse of “God’s chosen people”. For a long time, many Afrikaners believed that they were God’s chosen *volk*, a view strengthened by the DRC. This view instilled an unwavering belief in the rightness of Afrikaner endeavours, whether these endeavours entailed conflict, such as war, or political domination of “lesser” beings such as Black South Africans. Religion, sometimes explicitly and at other times more implicitly, features in all the selected films, but *Verraaiers* and *Fees van die Ongenooides* can be singled out as explicitly voicing Afrikaners’ belief in the divine rightness of the Afrikaner cause. In *Verraaiers*, Gerda van Aswegen says that God will be on their side. This is also the case in *Fees van die Ongenooides*, where Oupa Daniel says that God will protect the *volk*. But when they lost the SAW, many felt betrayed by their church and God, as can be seen in *Fees van die Ongenooides*, where Oupa Daniel says that he was foolish to believe that God would protect his *volk*. *Danie Theron* uses the Biblical verse, “Hoe het die helde geval diep in die geveg” in the opening scene where Danie Theron is reinterred, to mourn the fall of a hero.

A third element of nationalism in general, and of Afrikaner nationalism in particular, is exclusivity. National identity creates a binary of “us” and “them”, premised on a number of characteristics of belonging. An important difference with Afrikaner nationalism is that the Afrikaans language occupied a complex place as a marker of national belonging, as Afrikaner

¹⁵²⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

¹⁵²⁹ Willemse, “More than an oppressor’s language”.

nationalism excluded all Afrikaans-speaking Black people. Thus, Afrikaner nationalism was distinctly racialised. This is evident in most of the films and series, which show Blacks as inferior and Afrikaners as superior. For example, no Black people are shown in *Sarie Marais* (1931), *Krugermiljoene* or *Danie Theron*, which indicate that many Afrikaners of the 1930s to 1980s did not bother to think of Black people and their experiences. This is still the case in some instances. For example, there are no Blacks in *Arende* and *Modder en Bloed*, although Black people also went to prisoner of war camps like St Helena. Where Black people are included, they are marginal characters without much screen time or dialogue. For example, *Donkerland* and *Fees van die Ongenooides* show how Blacks experienced the war, but the focus quickly shifts back to the suffering of Afrikaners. Furthermore, Daantjie in *Fees van die Ongenooides* refuses to treat Soldaat's toe, which Daantjie breaks when he drops a piano on it, because Soldaat is Black, and Daantjie also threatens him, even though Soldaat helps Daantjie, suggesting that Daantjie fake his death in order to reclaim his lost honour by apparently dying a hero's death. This silencing of Blacks' voices in the films reflects the fact that despite the new government's efforts to reunite Afrikaners with Black people, there are still Afrikaners who regard Blacks as inferior.

The idea of community, of a united nation, has been crucial for Afrikaner nationalism, as it is for nationalism in general. However, in the South African context, the Afrikaner idea of community, nation or *volk* became a powerful unifier in the cause of survival, first in the Afrikaner ventures into the interior on the Great Trek, then later, in the conflict with the English. Sovereignty and racial purity were important features of this community, and individuals who forged relations outside this community were rejected. Anna in *Donkerland* sins doubly by falling in love with a non-Afrikaner, and, to make it worse, with an Englishman. In consequence, her family casts her off. When Afrikaner men and women forge relationships with the English "other" as in *Torn Allegiance* where an Englishwoman marries a Boer, it is framed as less problematic, because in the highly patriarchal society of the time, an outsider assimilating *into* the *volk* is better than a member of the *volk* assimilating into another culture and community.

For many Afrikaners, the SAW played a vital role in the construction of a cultural and political identity, nationalism and the mythology of the *volk*'s redemption through suffering. The redemption for the suffering of the SAW came in 1948 when the *volk* assumed a triumphant position of power. This narrative is present in all the films, even those films in which the protagonist dies, for example, in *Danie Theron* and *Gideon Scheepers*. In these instances, death

is a heroic and worthy outcome, rather than giving up. It functions as a testament to the spirit of Afrikanerdom. This is best captured in the *bittereinders*, those who refused to concede defeat and fought to the bitter end. The *bittereinders* have long been held up as epitomising the die-hard Afrikaner spirit, and surrender has long been framed as treason. Thus, films and series used in this study all showed that Afrikaners must be willing to sacrifice their lives for the Afrikaner cause. Those who did sacrifice their lives are seen as heroes, as seen with Gideon Scheepers and Danie Theron, who both willingly gave their lives for the *volk*. Monuments were erected (and films were made) in their name as a result of their sacrifice.

In the films and series under discussion, treason occurs in different forms: surrender, refusal to fight in the war (for example, Johann in the 1949 version of *Sarie Marais*), the display of any sympathy towards the enemy English, and of course switching allegiance. *Verraaiers*, or traitors, are severely dealt with, often meeting a shameful end by execution, as in the film *Verraaiers*. They are shunned, as in *Fees van die Ongenooides*, or killed, as in *Voor Sononder*.

The earlier films of the 1930s to the 1960s frame the *verraaiers* figures unambiguously as traitors, placing a significant portion of the blame for losing the war on their internal betrayal. However, later films from the 1980s onwards represent traitors as more complex figures. For example, *Danie Theron* questions whether General Cronjé, who surrendered on 27 February 1900, was indeed a traitor, by showing that he had no choice but to surrender. *Verraaiers* also questions what it means to be a traitor, as it shows that some, like Van Aswegen, only “betray” their *volk* to save their family.

Gender discourses and representations in the selected films also change over time. Afrikaner men (and men in general) enjoyed more freedom than Afrikaner women, as they were considered the protectors and providers of their family (and the nation). The hegemonic man, and hegemonic masculinity, was the dominant form of masculinity in the 1930s to 1940s, as can be seen in both *Sarie Marais* films (1931 and 1949). For example, in *Sarie Marais* (1949) Oom Hendrik makes all the decisions in the Marais family. Jan in *Sarie Marais* (1931) and Oom Hendrik in *Sarie Marais* (1949) fight in the war to prove that they are “real” (hegemonic) men as only men fight in a war. The hegemonic man is still the dominant form of masculinity in the 1960s film, as can be seen with Daan le Roux and Flip Lourens in *Voor Sononder*, and Chris Botha in *Die Kavaliers* and *Krugermiljoene*. However, some Afrikaner men of the 1960s began to question the construct of the hegemonic man as a result of the counterculture or

“hippie” culture. As a result, in *Krugermiljoene* Chris Botha is shown to wear a chain and locket, and is mocked by Dinah for wearing a *meisie ding* [girly thing].

By the 1980s, the hegemonic man is no longer the dominant form of masculinity in the films, as he is replaced by the “new man”, who is more caring and more willing to undertake domestic tasks. For example, Henk in *Torn Allegiance* worries about Boer women, who, he believes, face the worst of the war. However, the trope of the hegemonic man continues with Gideon Scheepers and Danie Theron, in parallel with the trope of the “new man” because more men rejected the concept of “new man” and most Afrikaners did not want men who were emotional, as they needed strong men who could help them deal with their turbulent time. Later films such as *Modder en Bloed* continue to depict hegemonic masculinity, this time linked explicitly to the supposedly most masculine of sports, rugby. Men who refuse to fight or who surrender are treated as cowards or as not real men, for example, Johann in the 1949 *Sarie Marais*, who is called a *lafaard* [coward] for his pacifist attitude. Moreover, Daantjie in *Fees van die Ongenooides* is at first seen as heroic, but then he becomes a coward when he refuses to fight.

Femininity is linked to two specific roles assigned to Afrikaner women: *volksmoeder* or *Boeredogter*. Afrikaner women are not only expected to be mothers of the household, but also to be the *volksmoeder*, a mother to the nation by virtue of her reproductive function. As mothers of the nation, Afrikaner women’s primary function is seen as nurturing the family, as the nucleus of the larger nation. This means not only producing the next generation of Afrikaners, but also providing this younger generation with the requisite knowledge to sustain the nation into the future. In *Sarie Marais* (1931 and 1949), Sarie as the *volksmoeder* is portrayed as submissive to show Afrikaner women that their place is at home – a topical point in the 1930s when Afrikaner (and other White) women were demanding the right to vote. The NP and many men did not want to give women the right to vote, as they believed that women’s place was at home. However, the NP needed more votes, so they gave Afrikaner (and other White women) rights to vote, but then women were told that they are no longer needed so they can continue being housewives.

Despite significant shifts in gender discourses in the 1960s, in particular due to Second Wave feminism, the film *Krugermiljoene* portrays the character Dinah as entirely confined to the domestic sphere as her “natural” sphere of influence. Transgressive women such as Martie in *Voor Sononder* are used as cautionary tales, warning Afrikaner women that if they behave as violently as Martie does, they will be considered as “undesirable”, difficult and subject to

animal instinct (in the film, her father refers to her as a *tierwyfie* [tigress] because she slaps a man). Such behaviour embarrasses Afrikaner families.

As in previous decades, Afrikaner women of the 1980s were also expected to stay at home. However, thanks to the Second wave of feminism, many Afrikaner women were moving away from being *volksmoeders* to embark on tertiary education. Furthermore, there were increasing numbers of protests and opposition to NP policies. In this context, there was fear regarding the survival of the *volk* in particular, and Whites in general in South Africa. Hence, government propaganda extended the *volksmoeder* trope to all White South African women, including English-speaking ones, to elicit support from all White South Africans by arguing that Western values, civilisation, and ways of life were under threat from a “total onslaught”. This arguably represents a shift in the *volksmoeder* trope from earlier representations. For example, Ma in *Torn Allegiance* represents a cross-over figure signifying that White English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners can work together. The government also placed more pressure on the *Boeredogters* to become “proper” *volksmoeders*, as girls were seen as the next generation of mothers. Characters like Sanna in *Torn Allegiance* represents this type of Afrikaner girl, who will become an ideal *volksmoeder* as she is willing to help the commandos with food.

Unlike in the 1960s to 1980s, Afrikaner women in the 1990s to 2000s had marginally more freedom of choice as *volksmoeders* and about their reproductive lives. The figure of Magrieta in *Fees van die Ongenooides* represents a sharp break with earlier representations of the *volksmoeder* because she chooses to have an abortion (when she is pregnant from being raped), something that was virtually unthinkable in earlier decades. For Marais-Botha, Magrieta’s choice shows her to be the opposite of the loving mother, the *volksmoeder* trope, which focuses on nurturing motherhood and regeneration for the future.¹⁵³⁰ Arguably, Afrikaner women like Anna in *Donkerland* are shown to choose to be *volksmoeders* because when Afrikaners lost their political power after 1994, it was up to women to keep the race pure, since apartheid had ended.¹⁵³¹ Those female characters who choose not to be *volksmoeders* face the kind of consequences to which Gerda van Aswegen in *Verraaiers* is subjected – she is seen as an outcast. This implies that Afrikaner women still have a duty to be *volksmoeders*. When a *Boeredogter* like Anna in *Donkerland* chooses to marry an *uitlander* (as a young woman in

¹⁵³⁰ Marais-Botha, “Die representasie”, 137.

¹⁵³¹ Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting pretty*, 142.

post-apartheid South Africa might do), she pays the price of being cut off by her family for failing in her duty to marry an Afrikaner and to become a *volksmoeder*.

Folk songs occupy a significant place in Afrikaner mythology, acting as framing devices for cultural identity in films on the SAW. Afrikaners have created myths and songs to promote the SAW and the bitter memories of it. The most popular song about the SAW is “Sarie Marais”, which is used in *Sarie Marais* (1931) and *Sarie Marais* (1949). In the two *Sarie Marais* films of 1931 and 1949, the song reminds Afrikaner audiences of a time before the SAW. Most such viewers were already living in cities, which are represented as places of decadence and corruption. Songs such as “Sarie Marais” eulogise the farm or *platteland* – an idealised world or Eden.

By the 1960s, many Afrikaners no longer considered the *platteland* as the idealised world as they were wealthy and content in the cities, as is suggested in *Voor Sononder*, where Bester sees the *platteland* as backward. This changed when the counterculture movement took place, which mostly took place in the cities. The *platteland* was promoted in the rhetoric of the day again, because the government was afraid that the “imported” counterculture movement which was flourishing in the cities might have a negative impact on Afrikaner youth. Therefore, in *Voor Sononder*, partly because Bester is one of the villains of the film, the *platteland* is shown as the most important treasure for Afrikaners. The *platteland* was especially important as an idealised space for Afrikaners who lived in the 1980s, as they were being told that it was threatened by Black people and communists. Therefore, films of the 1980s such as *Gideon Scheepers* and *Danie Theron* focused on the *platteland* to remind Afrikaners of the 1980s of a time before all this turmoil took place. By the 1990s to 2000s, Afrikaners’ interest in the past increased because they no longer had political power. Therefore, they reflect back to the *platteland*, as it reminds them of the “good old days” before they become the villains of apartheid.

When the British colonial government arrived in the 1800s, it imposed laws to end slavery in line with Britain’s policy; Afrikaner opposition to this was an important factor in the Great Trek. Two war-time strategies in the SAW that engendered enormous bitterness amongst Afrikaners against anyone even speaking English, were the scorched-earth policy and the concentration camps. Both were destructive to two beloved elements of Afrikaner identity and belonging: the land or Boer farms and the Afrikaner family. In consequence, the British (and

many White English-speaking South Africans, who were not from Britain) are portrayed as the main antagonists and villains in all the films.

However, some films, such as the 1931 *Sarie Marais*, arguably influenced by the South Africanism of the time, has a British soldier shaking hands with the Boer prisoners of war at the end, when peace comes show that not all Afrikaners hated the British or White English-speaking South Africans. Likewise, in *Die Kavaliers*, Chris Botha finds an ally in Captain Ronald Rodgers, who helps him to escape. The context of the 1960s, especially after Sharpeville and the banning of anti-apartheid movements such as the ANC and PAC, also undoubtedly had an impact on how Afrikaners saw the British and White English-speaking South Africans as they realised that if they want to be in power, then they needed to live together. Thus, *Die Kavaliers* show Afrikaners that they can work along with other Whites. This is also the case in the 1980s as the NP needed English-speaking White South Africans' votes as only a few Afrikaners still supported them during that period. Thus, the films of the 1980s show some of the British as sympathetic towards the Afrikaner cause. For example, Captain Simons in *Gideon Scheepers* holds the Boer heroes in high regard. Similarly, Wyckham in *Torn Allegiance* considers the scorched-earth policy wrong as their homes are all that the Boers have to survive. Ma in *Torn Allegiance*, although she is originally English, is loyal to the Boers and helps the Boer commando. The films of the 1990s to 2000s also showed the British as more sympathetic towards the Boer cause. For example, both Katherine Sterndale in *Modder en Bloed* and John Walsh in *Donkerland* support the Boer cause. Katherine opposes the harsh treatment of the Boer prisoners and Walsh notes several times that not all the British wanted the SAW to take place. This shift in portrayal arguably helped to bring together Afrikaners and English-speaking White South Africans, who had long been divided. Thus, unlike films made in previous decades, films of the 1990s and 2000s showed how Afrikaners accepted some English-speaking White South Africans into their circle as they realised that they were in the same boat. For example, Robert Maclachlan in *Verraaiers* is accepted by the Van Aswegen family.

Black people have also been classified as the “other”, just like English-speaking White South Africans. Like English-speaking White South Africans, Blacks were “othered” because of the SAW and earlier historical conflicts, but unlike with English-speaking White South Africans, they were also “othered” because they were deemed a lesser people. It can be argued that the *Sarie Marais* films of 1931 and 1949 reflected the exclusion of Black people from nationhood and citizenship as conceived by South Africanism by omitting them, or showing by them as

farm labourers or servants instead of as active participants in the SAW. Driven by the idea of the *swart gevaar*, nationalist Afrikaners also believed that if they controlled Black people, they would not only keep the *volk* pure, but they would also prevent Blacks from taking over. This fear increased during the 1960s, as the government sometimes used it in propaganda to gain more support from Afrikaners. Therefore, SAW films of the 1960s either had no Blacks in them, like *Krugermiljoene*, or Blacks were portrayed as servants, such as Jafta, in *Voor Sononder*. Films of the 1980s also portrayed Black people as servants, as can be seen with Hendrik in *Gideon Scheepers* and Jan in *Torn Allegiance*, which depicts them in a “safe” way with Whites in control of the situation. Films on the SAW of the 1990s to 2000s reflect the changed social-political context and also the significantly changed scholarly context, with new information regarding the participation of Black people in the SAW. In particular, these more recent films acknowledge that the twin evils of the scorched-earth policy and concentration camps also affected Blacks. The claim that the SAW was entirely a White man’s war has also been discarded. Films and series of the 1990s to 2000s were the first to really show how Black people experienced the SAW, which previous films did not do. For example, *Fees van die Ogenooïdes* and *Donkerland* tell the audience that Black women suffered in these Black camps.

For Afrikaners who participated in the war or lived through it, the SAW was a stark reality. Film producers’ interest in the SAW as a focus rose in the 1930s as both film technology and Afrikaner nationalism matured, and nationalism became a political force to reckon with. Historical factors such as the Second Language Movement are also important contributing factors to consider. Therefore, it has been argued that *Sarie Marais* (1931) is part of the Second Language Movement, which sought to promote Afrikaans as part of the Afrikaner cultural identity and cultural nationalism. This was the first film in Afrikaans, and it focused on the SAW, showing Afrikaners, who were facing the effects of the Great Depression and the poor White problem, that if their forebears could overcome their difficulties, then so can they.

Afrikaners’ interest in the SAW started to decline by the early 1960s. As seen in Chapter 4, there were three reasons for this. First, when the NP came to power Afrikaners could afford to be less reliant on events like the SAW as rallying points for ethnic mobilisation; second, Afrikaners were enjoying an economic boom, from which they benefited the most, and, third, the memory of the SAW had started to fade as the survivors began to pass away. Then, on 31 May 1961, South Africa became a republic. For many Afrikaners, this meant that they had finally achieved their goal of independence from Britain. Having reached their goal, interest

surged up again, with numerous films made on the SAW in the 1960s. Some of these films are *Voor Sononder*, *Die Kavaliers* and *Krugermiljoene*. Jansen van Vuuren dubs the 1960s the “decade of mythical Boer hero”.¹⁵³² For this reason, all three films portray the SAW in a positive light to show Afrikaners that the war was indeed a time for heroes, and they can celebrate those who sacrificed their lives for the volk.¹⁵³³ As Jansen van Vuuren notes, this made the audience positive about war, as long as there are brave heroes like the Kavalier Chris Botha.¹⁵³⁴

As seen in Chapter 5, most Afrikaners’ interest in the SAW increased even further during the 1980s, as many believed that they were experiencing the same feelings their forebears experienced after the SAW – a sense of being “marginalized in their own country; [as] they would have to give up their material culture, forfeit their political power and status, sacrifice their ‘own’ schools and lose their own cultural identity to face an uncertain future”.¹⁵³⁵ This was because of various local and international protests and sanctions in the wake of Sharpeville and the Soweto Uprisings. By the 1980s, more countries opposed apartheid. As a result, the country was isolated, which had a negative impact on the country’s financial climate, and it was the last nail in the coffin for the NP, which realised that it was losing its grip on the country. In that context, some films made during this period, such as *Gideon Scheepers*, *Danie Theron*, and *Torn Allegiance* recall the bitter and traumatic past of the SAW. They were a reminder and a metaphor of hardship, but ultimate survival. Two of these films, *Gideon Scheepers* and *Danie Theron*, also showed Afrikaners the kind of hero they needed, in the form of Danie Theron and Gideon Scheepers. Some Afrikaners believed that the NP could not defend the *volk* because it could not end the violence in the country. Therefore, it was argued that Afrikaners who watched these films needed to see that people were willing to fight for them, which boosted morale.

Even though most Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s were not very interested in the SAW, as it took place a hundred years before they were born, it still played an important role for surprisingly many, especially youths. This was shown in Chapters 2 and 6, which mention the “De la Rey generation”. This “De la Rey generation” emerged because many Afrikaner youths felt adrift, and responded to the idea of a hero who could lead them out of their current situation. Some felt that the NP had betrayed them by “surrendering” to the ANC. Therefore, it was

¹⁵³² Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 130.

¹⁵³³ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 69.

¹⁵³⁴ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 53-54.

¹⁵³⁵ Grundlingh, “The War in twentieth-century Afrikaner consciousness”, 30.

argued that for some Afrikaners it must have felt like all the sacrifices their forebears made for their cause were in vain, as they were back where their forebears were after the SAW – politically vulnerable. Therefore, the films and series made during the 1990s and 2000s discussed in the thesis portrayed the SAW in such a way that it encourages Afrikaners not to give up hope, as Afrikaners at the time of the SAW also dealt with hardships, but survived, adapted and displayed resilience. For example, Morkel in *Modder end Bloed* initially loses his will to live when he loses his family, but he still rises from the ashes by defeating Swannel at his own game, rugby. Another example is where Klein Piet in *Donkerland* says to Bongani that they will rebuild the farm with their own hands after the war.

In terms of the reception of these films, most of the audiences for these films and series were Afrikaners. The main reason is that they are in the Afrikaans language, which restricts the audiences to those who speak and/or understand Afrikaans. The language choice was probably strongly influenced by the fact that most of the films and series were sponsored by Afrikaners or organisations aimed at Afrikaners (for example, *Donkerland*, which was sponsored by the Afrikaans channel Kyknet). Most of the directors were Afrikaners, for example, for *Sarie Marais* (1949), *Voor Sononder*, *Krugermiljoene*, *Gideon Scheepers*, *Danie Theron*, *Torn Allegiance*, *Arende*, *Verraaiers*, *Modder en Bloed*, *Fees van die Ongenooies*, and *Donkerland*. The films also focused on Afrikaner ideals (for example, *Donkerland*), they were made for or shown on TV1 (for example, *Gideon Scheepers* and *Danie Theron*), or dealt with an important Afrikaner historical event, the SAW.

Afrikaners of the 1930s to 1940s dealt with the Great Depression and the poor White situation. The economy was in trouble, and many lost their jobs. Just as the economy began to improve, World War II began. Some Afrikaners, as with World War I, objected to having to fight for Britain, their enemy in the SAW. One form of nostalgia to counter their sense of alienation was the desire to go back to the simplicity of a time when it was just a Boer and his farm. This was exactly what both *Sarie Marais* films (1931 and 1949) catered for, showing charming film shots of South Africa (*Sarie Marais* 1931) and including well-known songs such as “*Sarie Marais*”, which speaks to that longing. Both films also focused on the SAW, portraying heroes who are willing to fight for the *volk*. Many needed these timeless reminders of perseverance and survival, as seen with the *bittereinders* Jan in *Sarie Marais* (1931) and Oom Hendrik in *Sarie Marais* (1949), urging them too not to give up. For one reviewer of the 1949 film, this was exactly what the audiences needed; the reviewer remarked that “it is a sincere effort on

their part to bring to the screen something of the country's history and beauty".¹⁵³⁶ However, not all the reviewers felt this way, as some believe that both films trivialise such an important Afrikaner historical event as the SAW. For example, Rompel calls *Sarie Marais* (1931) a piece of trash because it trivialises the SAW by over-exaggerated acting and make-up.¹⁵³⁷ Rompel is not the only one who feels this way. After watching *Sarie Marais* (1949), one 1949 reviewer objected to the dramatic sensationalist effect, as the film shows death, blindness, and brutality.¹⁵³⁸ These viewers may have been weary of war as a topic, in the aftermath of the SAW, World War I and World War II.

Afrikaans-language films of the 1960s were shown at the cinemas for longer periods, provided that they offered light entertainment and dealt with Afrikaner reality and beliefs. Given the financial stability of Afrikaners in the 1960s, there was a stable market for Afrikaans-language cinema.¹⁵³⁹ The films of the 1960s, such as *Voor Sononder*, *Die Kavaliers*, and *Krugermiljoene* provided light entertainment, with light lyrics such as those in "Trotse Kavaliers is wat die Kakies bang maak" (*Die Kavaliers*), "Die beesvellied" (*Krugermiljoene*), and "My hart verlang na die Boland" (*Krugermiljoene*). For one reviewer this was just what was needed, noting that films such as *Die Kavaliers* portrayed the war as an ideological war with a light-heartedness and a zest for life that never makes the horrors of war get too uncomfortably close to one's skin.¹⁵⁴⁰ But some critics were not pleased that films of the 1960s portrayed the SAW in a light-hearted way, including willing Boer heroes such as Chris Botha who could do the virtually impossible, which does not match reality.

Bothma argues that by the 1980s, "it seems as if Afrikaner appeal towards Afrikaner nationalism had entered a period that was less concerned with establishing power and privilege and more with maintaining it".¹⁵⁴¹ The films of the 1980s presented Afrikaner heroes such as Gideon Scheepers and Danie Theron, who retain interest even in the 2000s. One viewer of *Gideon Scheepers* on YouTube in 2015 noted that he had been looking for these hero films for ages.¹⁵⁴² One viewer in 2017 even called for Danie Theron in *Danie Theron* to lead Afrikaners out of their current situation, now that they no longer could rely on the NP. Furthermore, these films continued to show Afrikaners that the generations before them also went through difficult

¹⁵³⁶ Anon., "Premiere of Sarie Marais", 9.

¹⁵³⁷ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 32.

¹⁵³⁸ Anon., "Premiere of Sarie Marais," 9.

¹⁵³⁹ Botha, *South African cinema*, 51.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Van Nierop, *Daar doer in die fliiek*, 142.

¹⁵⁴¹ Bothma, "Hemel of die platteland", 50.

¹⁵⁴² "Marc Gardiner", 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bxms7v2kcEc&t=5s>, accessed 7 October 2022.

times and still came out the other side. Films of the 1980s used the SAW to provoke patriotic feelings among the audiences. It has been argued that the effect of these films can be explained using the Hypodermic Syringe Theory, as they appear to play with the audiences' feelings. However, the effect was not uniform – some Afrikaners were tired of war films, as they or family members were involved in the Border War, and they were dealing with increasing anti-apartheid sentiments and escalating violence. There were thus people who asked whether it was necessary to make more films on the SAW.

Some films of the 1980s, such as *Torn Allegiance*, move away from the typical image of the Boer hero, as someone who is cheerfully ready to fight for his country. There was room for films that portrayed the SAW not as glamorous and heroic, but in a more realistic manner. A 2016 viewer of *Torn Allegiance* on YouTube notes sarcastically: “Carrying on like a family picnic, hours after the British have made contact. Real fighters, my foot.”¹⁵⁴³ Some audience members also wanted films in the 1980s such as *Gideon Scheepers* to move away from promoting the Afrikaans language (as the SAW films made in the 1960s did). Another viewer sniped in 2015, “I didn’t know that Afrikaans was the standard language of communication within the British Army at the time”.¹⁵⁴⁴

Some Afrikaners who watched *Arende*, *Verraaiers*, *Modder en Bloed*, *Fees van die Ongenooides*, and *Donkerland* in the 1990s and 2000s were experiencing a crisis of identity. Afrikaners no longer had political power. Nor could the NP’s apartheid legislation safeguard them and keep the *volk* “pure”. This made many feel vulnerable and unwelcome, despite the efforts the new government made to make them part of the “new” South Africa, for example, by keeping the national rugby team’s name (Springbokke), dismissing calls for a name change. Although many Afrikaners still enjoyed the economic benefits they had reaped under apartheid, some Afrikaners left the country not only because they are tired of being reminded of apartheid, but also for better economic and employment prospects. Like the 1980s, these films were also made to boost these Afrikaners’ morale as it showed them that even though people went through a difficult time in the SAW, they still overcame the hardships and survived. For example, the De Witt family in *Donkerland* rises from the ashes when Klein Piet says that they

¹⁵⁴³ “Kevin Waters”, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mKQcnPFusU&t=869s>, accessed 7 October 2022.

¹⁵⁴⁴ “Arkuis”, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bxms7v2kcEc&t=5s>, accessed 7 October 2022.

will rebuild Donkerland, stone for stone. One 2016 viewer was inspired to exclaim, “Staan op Suid-Afrika” [Stand up South Africa].¹⁵⁴⁵

However, the study also shows that many Afrikaners of the 1990s to 2000s wanted films and series on the SAW to move away from the conservative portrayals of the war in the 1960s to 1980s. For example, one reviewer was disappointed that *Donkerland* was so conservative in the way the characters speak, which is different from the way Afrikaners speak after 1994. Nevertheless, some viewers still wanted a heroic protagonist, one who still fought for the *volk*, not someone like Van Aswegen in *Verraaiers*, who surrenders when his *volk* needs him the most. The absence of such a hero may be one reason for the film’s poor box office performance. Post-1994 Afrikaners want a hero who can offer leadership in their current situation. They watched films and series with such heroes to boost their morale, enjoying seeing heroes such as Sloet Steenkamp in *Arende*, Morkel in *Modder en Bloed*, and Klein Piet in *Donkerland*.

Films are a powerful medium of ideological communication, especially when they serve as propaganda. The films that have been discussed in this research have multiple elements of propaganda, informed by the shifting historical contexts of production. A key element is Afrikaner nationalism, which is represented in a number of ways, through songs, the idealised and romantic framing of Afrikaner heroes and the *platteland*, as well as the *volksmoeder* trope. Hendrik P. van Coller and Anthea van Jaarsveld state that “Within the South African context, Afrikaans films unabashedly and predominantly served Afrikaner nationalism”.¹⁵⁴⁶ This was especially the case during the 1930s to 1940s, as seen in Chapters 2 and 3. By that time most Afrikaners were still feeling the effects of the SAW, which left many homeless and unemployed.¹⁵⁴⁷ Some Afrikaners objected to fighting in World War I along with Britain, adding to Afrikaners’ bitterness.¹⁵⁴⁸ Another challenge that they faced included the need for “economic empowerment, cultivation of their own culture and language and, in particular, the quest for a modern Afrikaner identity”.¹⁵⁴⁹ Thus, many films made during that period were used to promote Afrikaner nationalism and to capture aspects of White Afrikaner ideology.¹⁵⁵⁰

¹⁵⁴⁵ “Afrikaanse Boer”, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vxw8IeqY3IM&lc=Ugi7ftT8AujtWngCoAEC>, accessed 14 March 2022.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld, “The indigenous Afrikaans film”, 1.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld, “The indigenous Afrikaans film”, 2.

¹⁵⁴⁸ A. van Jaarsveld, “Die Afrikaanse filmgeskiedenis binne ’n groter Suid-Afrikaanse konteks in heroënskou: Eksklusiwiteit in die weg na inklusiwiteit,” *Southern Journal for Contemporary History* 43 no. 2 (2018), 36.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld, “The indigenous Afrikaans film”, 2.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Jansen van Vuuren, “Van Kavalier tot verraaier”, 130.

The films analysed in this research have been the primary source for understanding how popular media shaped popular Afrikaner conceptions of Afrikaner nationalism through the deployment of the SAW as a narrative device. As Rosenstone notes, “[o]ur sense of the past is shaped and limited by the possibilities and practices of the medium in which that past is conveyed, be it the printed page, the spoken word, the painting, the photograph, or the moving image”.¹⁵⁵¹ In this case, the films and series provoked nostalgia for a distant past because some people think that it is “nice that certain people kept the flag of hope alive”.¹⁵⁵² However, this is not always good, as films can portray the past inaccurately. Films may distort the past – they may fictionalise, trivialise, or romanticise people, events, and movements.¹⁵⁵³ For example, in *Die Kavaliers*, the Kavaliers can do the impossible, for example, herd some wild cattle. Films also falsify historical events.¹⁵⁵⁴ For example, commandos would have had Black people accompanying them, which the *Die Kavaliers* and *Krugermiljoene* do not show.

Anirudh Deshpande notes that despite the inaccuracies and distortions of the past, films are important to historians, as they have the ability “to show history as an integrated process to a curious audience”; they can bring history to “life” with sounds and visualisations, something written sources cannot do.¹⁵⁵⁵ As discussed in Chapter 1, Rosenstone agrees that films go

beyond (as theorists argue all historians do) *constituting* its facts, that is, creating facts by picking out certain traces of the past (people, events, moments) and highlighting them as important and worthy of inclusion in a narrative, and instead indulges in *inventing-facts*, that is, making up traces of the past which are then highlighted as important and worthy of inclusion.¹⁵⁵⁶

The way Afrikaners remembered the war differed to some degree from the 1930s to the 2000s. During the 1930s to 1940s, films such as *Sarie Marais* (1931 and 1949) show only some aspects of the war, because they do not include visuals of the camps and the scorched-earth policy, which played a vital role in the larger public Afrikaner discourses of the 1930s to 1940s. These details were relived repeatedly in the public imagination, helping to shape Afrikaner nationalism into what it would become in later years. However, it is implied that Sarie in the 1949 film experiences these hardships. By the 1960s fewer Afrikaners remembered the SAW,

¹⁵⁵¹ R.A. Rosenstone, “The historical film: Looking at the past in a postliterate age,” in *The historical film: History and memory in media*, ed. M. Landy (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 59.

¹⁵⁵² Rosenstone, “The historical film”, 55.

¹⁵⁵³ Rosenstone, “The historical film”, 50.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Rosenstone, “The historical film”, 50.

¹⁵⁵⁵ A. Deshpande, “Films as historical sources or alternative history”, *Economic and Political Weekly* 39 no. 40, (2004), 4458.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Rosenstone, *History on film*, 8.

but public interest was reignited when South Africa became a republic, which, for many Afrikaners, symbolised a truer independence from British overlordship. Nostalgia for the SAW grew in the 1980s and light films about the SAW became a form of escapism, away from the political turbulence engulfing the country, and there was an appetite for Afrikaner heroes. By the 1990s to 2000s, fewer Afrikaners wanted to see material on the SAW, as more pressing matters engaged them, especially how to survive as political subjects in a new dispensation. The centenary of the SAW in 1999-2002 was not widely celebrated, which also signals a shift in its continued importance to Afrikaner cultural nationalism.

There have been some significant limitations to this study. One of the most significant limitations is the sparse information on audience reception for many of the earlier films. While there are some reviews for the later films, these were not available for many of the earlier films. Likewise, while it was possible to draw on YouTube comments for some films, this was not possible for many others. Another limitation is the absence of filmmaker voices which could have been sourced through interviews. In this respect only Sean Else (*Modder en Bloed*) responded to queries for interviews and it was possible to conduct a virtual interview and email correspondence with him.

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Interview

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