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Race, History and the Internet: The use of the Internet in White Supremacist Propaganda in the late 1990's, with particular reference to South Africa

Inez Mary Stephney

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Wits School of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters Degree.

Abstract

This dissertation aims to investigate the use of History by white supremacist groups in South Africa particularly, to rework their identity on the Internet. The dissertation argues that white supremacist groups use older traditions of history, particularly, in the South African case, the 'sacred saga', as explained by Dunbar Moodie to create a sense of historical continuity with the past and to forge an unbroken link to the present. The South African white supremacists have been influenced by the History written by Van Jaarsveld for example, as will be shown in the chapters analysing the three chosen South African white supremacist groups. The white supremacists in the international arena also use history, mixed with 1930s Nazi propaganda to promote their ideas.

Acknowledgements

There are a few people who must be acknowledged for their assistance during the research and preparation of this dissertation. First and foremost, my supervisor Dr Cynthia Kros for her invaluable advice and assistance- thank you.

I also wish to thank Nina Lewin and Nicole Ulrich for all the encouragement, reading of drafts and all round unconditional love and friendship that has helped me keep it together, when this project seemed to flounder. Katie Mooney for saying I should just realised I am a historian and keep on going.

Daniel Freedman for nursing along the ailing computers and for his advice and assistance with the Internet Chat Relay (IRC) and Internet side of the dissertation.

Thanks is also due to Stephen Levitt for introducing me to LaTeX. His support in finding glitches created by me, has been invaluable in getting the dissertation to its final stages. Thank you!!!

Thank you to Mariki Victor and Mr Sonny Victor for assistance with editing the Afrikaans translations.

I also wish to thank the National Research Foundation (NRF) (formerly CSD) for financial assistance during 1999.

Finally, I extend my gratitude to my family (especially my mom) even when she did not really get what I was doing still supported me. Without their understanding this Masters would not have been possible. Last, but by no means least, I thank everyone who assisted me, (via reading of drafts and comments) although you are not mentioned by name, you have not been forgotten. You all know who you are - Thank you, thank you, thank you!!!

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the Masters Degree in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any other degree in any other university.

Date: _____

_____

Inez Mary Stephney

Glossary

Chat Room - A server-controlled network created where people can have discussions in real-time, almost like a video conference; a textual version of it.

E-mail or Electronic mail - a means of communicating digitally (via a computer network) to a person or group, locally and internationally, quickly and cheaply.

Home Page - The first page of an Internet site, similar to a book cover, which gives the title and general information of the organisation, group or individual the web-site represents.

Internet Cafè - A place where people who do not have access to a computer or the Internet are able to access these and other computer-related facilities to 'surf' the Internet, use computers for business or receive and send e-mails.

Internet Service Providers (ISPs) - Companies that provide access to the Internet to various individuals and organisations. These include e-mail, access to the world-wide web, network related facilities and data-transfer systems. Some Internet Service Providers include AOL, World Online, and Mweb.

Web-site - The space on a server allocated to an organisation, where pages (html documents) are placed, and accessed via the world-wide web.

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Introduction

This dissertation is based on a textual analysis of selected excerpts from relevant web-sites. These white supremacist web-sites include *Stormfront*, *National Alliance* and the *World Church of the Creator*, internationally, and *Vryheid 2000 (Freedom 2000)*, *Boere Seperatiste (Boer Separatists)* and the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweeging (AWB)* in South Africa (to be analysed in Chapters 4 to 6).[1] The study falls within the tradition of Franz Auerbach, Leonard Thompson and Dunbar Moodie, in particular, whose works, although not focused on electronic texts, as are those that form the object of analysis in this dissertation, are primarily engaged with versions of South African history that have been evolved to support ideologies broadly categorised as Afrikaner Nationalist.[2] Each of the authors cited has written important books on the way in which Afrikaner nationalist ideologies across a spectrum have been developed and presented in Public History and media, ranging from school textbooks to the re-enactment of historical events such as the Great Trek.

Although the general argument is that such media contributed to the success of the National Party in 1948 and its consolidation thereafter, none of these authors was concerned to demonstrate the impact of the texts they analysed. Auerbach's research on textbooks for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), for example, did not in any way show what concrete outcomes the textbooks had. His work dealt with the way in which history textbooks used South African history to justify the policies of the National Party government then in power, but there was no attempt to demonstrate how many readers believed the kind of history that appeared in the textbooks, or how it affected later voting preferences.

[1] Some time has passed since the Higher Degrees Committee approved the current title, which dates the project. A better title would be: **Race, History and the Internet: The use of the Internet in White Supremacist Propaganda, with particular reference to South Africa**

[2] Auerbach, F.E. *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education: An Enquiry into History Textbooks and Syllabuses in the Transvaal High Schools of South Africa*, Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1965. Thompson, L, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1985. Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980.

Similarly, this dissertation is concerned not with the impact of text, but rather the way in which particular groups or individuals use the Internet to portray a certain version of History that is supposed to legitimise their claims, in particular those dealing with the rights of the so-called white race. The term 'race' is used advisedly since the author of this dissertation presumes that it is a socially constructed category with no inherent genetic rationale.

The emphasis of the dissertation is on how mythology, as well as a particular use of evidence, historical narrative, rhetoric and images are employed to play a major role in the reinvention of identity and heritage by those who will be identified as white supremacists. These white supremacists also draw on the authority of History as a recognised discipline with certain legitimating procedures. It will be seen how these white supremacists, like their predecessors, whose work has been analysed by the scholars mentioned above, make use of various techniques to demonstrate the 'truth' or scientific status of their version of the past. The dissertation will demonstrate, by means of textual analysis of selected web-sites, how white supremacist groups promote their ideas via the Internet, without attempting to assess the extent of their influence or make predictions about the ultimate success of white supremacist ideology.

Furthermore, this dissertation does not make any judgements about the truth of various assertions and portrayals of History made on these Internet web-sites. Instead, as with Dunbar Moodie, I am interested in tracing the evolution of major ideas and concepts, which are intended to bolster a particular political viewpoint or viewpoints. Nevertheless it should be noted that a fundamental assumption in Moodie's study is that the various versions of Afrikaner history under investigation are distorted to magnify Afrikaner suffering. In a similar way, Auerbach's study, by focusing on stereotyping, shows how the images of particular peoples' history have been distorted or caricatured. For a detailed discussion, Thompson's study of 'mythology' goes to some lengths (see below p.51) to show why certain central episodes of Afrikaner historiography, such as the so-called Slagtersnek massacre, do not correspond to what really happened as far as it can be ascertained.

Another important contributor to the discussion on the influence of History on some of the South African white supremacist web-sites[3] is Professor Floors Van Jaarsveld, a historian and textbook author of the 1950s and 1970s (to be discussed in Chapter 3). The textual analysis of articles on history, and History textbooks by Van

[3]See Chapters 4 to 6 for a discussion on the South African web-sites which include the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweeging* (AWB), the *Boere Seperatiste* (Boer Separatists) and *Vryheid 2000* (Freedom 2000).

Jaarsveld in this study, is to emphasise how closely influenced some of the web authors of the South African web-sites have been by his work. The concerns expressed on the South African web-sites, it will be shown use the Afrikaner nationalist history as a touchstone with which they can legitimate their position and current stance as the defenders of 'Afrikaners' rights, history and claims to language, land and heritage. All things that are currently viewed as being under threat in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

It is a basic contention of this dissertation that many similarities exist between the way in which pre-cyber Afrikaner nationalists used History to mobilise support, and the current practices of white supremacists. However a fundamental question that arises is how the availability of web-technology has altered the presentation of History.

0.1 Defining White Supremacy

It is appropriate at this point to define what is meant by 'white supremacist' and similar related terms. The use of the term 'white supremacist' or 'right wing' is based on the affinity of the groups and individuals under discussion with certain recognised white supremacist groups and ideologies, and with their expressed antipathy to black people, as well as their adaptation of a recognised form of neo-Nazi discourse. This discourse has become globalised with features that link it to the historical Nazi Party - anti democratically elected governments, advocating a doctrine of racial supremacy which objectifies one or several 'others', employing virulent hate speech (such as will be demonstrated later in the dissertation when analysing the selected web-sites of local and international variations) and are generally anti-Semitic. The description of 'Afrikaner' is based on the subjects' explicit identification with Afrikaner history and identity, as it has been characterised in the literature that comprises South African historiography.[4]

It is problematic to attempt to locate white supremacists precisely within the broader Afrikaner nationalist movement as it currently exists, especially because these supremacists have reverted to an earlier understanding of nationalism, more typical of the period before the Second World War.[5] As with their counterparts in the United States

[4]Saunders, C. *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class*, Cape Town: David Philip, 1988.

[5]Saul Dubow argues that World War II forced a shift in the racist ideology of Afrikaner nationalism in the National Party away from an overt focus on race to more subtle arguments about the essential differences between 'cultures' and the need for territorial segregation. Dubow, S. *Scientific*

of America, Germany and Canada, these right wing groups emphasise a radically exclusive sense of nationhood pertaining to identity, language, and a geographically specific area of land.

0.2 Anti-racist web-sites

A particular series of web-sites was analysed in the period 1995 to 2003 and they include both local and international sites.[6] The web-sites chosen for analysis are all recognised white supremacist sites on the basis of content and ideology, as well as the results of studies of these web-sites conducted by anti-racist groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the Nizkor Project.

The inclusion of these anti-racist web-sites below, which have been listed with a brief explanation of their aims and principles, is to highlight the fact that there are various groups on the Internet that monitor the racist activities of white supremacist web-sites. These organisations monitor the extreme right's activities, lobby against the extension of their influence and messages on the Internet, as well as organising rallies, conferences, and discussions around the growing numbers of white supremacist groups on the Internet. Again, it is not the intention of this dissertation to tackle the issue of impact, but to indicate an awareness of the existence of this aspect to these web-sites.

The Southern Poverty Law Center[7] began as a small civil rights law firm in 1971. The Center is located in Montgomery, Alabama and was founded by Morris Dees and Joe Levin, "two local lawyers who shared a commitment to racial equality".[8] The Southern Poverty Law Center is a non-profit organisation. According to its mission statement, the Center "is an organization that combats hate, intolerance and discrimination through education and litigation".[9]

The Anti-Defamation League[10] has been fighting anti-Semitism, bigotry and extremism since 1913. The mission of the ADL today is, "as it has been in the past,

Racism in Modern South Africa, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1995.

[6] The local sites are the *AWB*, the *Boere Seperatiste* and *Freedom 2000*, and the international ones include *Stormfront*, *National Alliance* and the *World Church of the Creator*.

[7] http://www.splcenter.org

[8] *The Southern Poverty Law Center*, http://www.splcenter.org, accessed August 1999.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] http://www.adl.org

to expose and combat the purveyors of hatred in our midst, responding to whatever new challenges may arise".[11] The ADL describes the work it has done in the past and the challenges facing it in the future: "Where once we protested admissions quotas at leading graduate schools, today we expose Internet sites devoted to Holocaust denial and white-supremacist propaganda. In the past, we challenged the anti-Semitic ranting of demagogues like Father Coughlin; in the present, we are no less vocal in opposition to Louis Farrakhan".[12] The National Chair of the ADL is Howard P. Berkowitz and the National Director Abraham H. Foxman.

The Jewish Defense League[13] was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane. Its current head is Matthew Fineberg, replacing Bill Maniaci, who is stepping down due to ill health.[14] The organisation is based in Los Angeles. The Jewish Defense League is somewhat controversial. It has been criticised by other groups for being too militant and has been classified by the American FBI as a right-wing terrorist group. The mission of the JDL is to actively fight against anti-Semitism. The organisation believes that hate speech, bigotry and anti-Semitism should be confronted to ensure that the Holocaust is not repeated. Their motto is: "Never Again", and the organisation believes that direct confrontation, instead of passive acceptance is the key to making certain that the events of the Second World War, which resulted in the Holocaust are not repeated. The JDL believe in five principles which guide their actions.[15] These principles include: 'Love of Jewry', 'Dignity and Pride', 'Iron', 'Discipline and Unity' and 'Faith in the Indestructibility of the Jewish People'. The main focus is to assist other Jewish people, and to confront anti-Semitism, neo-Nazis and white supremacists, by means of counter demonstrations.

The Museum of Tolerance (MOT) is based in Los Angeles.[16] The MOT delivers guided tours on the Holocaust as well as other subjects related to tolerance. The museum also has an extensive film, photographic and paper archive. Its research department publishes material related to the Holocaust in film and documentary forms via its Moriah Films division, as well as books via the Simon Wiesenthal

[11] *The Anti-Defamation League*, http://www.adl.org/ADLHistory/intro.html, accessed October 1999.

[12] *Ibid.* Louis Farrakhan is the current leader of the Nation of Islam in the United States of America, taking over the leadership from Elijah Mohammed. Some well-known members of the Nation of Islam include Malcolm X and Cassius Clay, or Mohammed Ali as he became know, after joining the organisation.

[13] http://www.jdl.org

[14] The previous Director of the JDL Irv Rubin died in detention in 2001. The official story is that he committed suicide. Many members of the JDL believe that he was murdered, after waiting for a year in prison for his case to come up.

[15] See Appendix 1 for a statement of their principles.

[16] http://www.wiesenthal.com

Center. An example of the documentaries released is *The Long Way Home*, narrated by Morgan Freeman,which deals with what happened to the Jewish people after they were liberated from concentration camps where they were held while negotiations for the State of Israel were finalised in 1948. The research also focuses on tracking anti-Semitism and white supremacist groups on the Internet.

Observers of extremist groups on the Internet, such as the Anti-Defamation League, *HateWatch*, and the *Nizkor Project* have pointed out that Internet extremist groups are on the increase. These observers argue that extremist groups are finding it much easier to disseminate their ideas, because they are able to reach a large, already established global audience. The Internet also allows these extremist groups greater anonymity in the distribution of their messages, as well as in the recruitment of young people.

While it is argued that many white supremacist groups have suffered a backlash because of their extreme violence, (such as the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing in which 167 people were killed, the murder by three white supremacists of James Byrd Jr, an African-American, in Jasper, Texas in 1998)[17] these groups have managed to grow internationally.

Greg Roberts, in an article entitled 'Net spreads KKK hate in Australia',[18] argues that the Klan has managed to recruit people through its web-site: "The KKK's Internet web-site, which has been instrumental in attracting Australian members, publishes a letter from a "17-year-old female".[19] Jessica, of Pennsylvania, who refers to African-American students at her school "as a group of primates".[20] She says: "Like so many high schools all over the country, mine is being overrun with these animals".[21] The Southern Poverty Law Center in the US suggests that the KKK is expanding internationally, evidently thanks to the Internet. The Center says that in the United Kingdom a Klan revival is under way and could gather strength "with KKK recruitment drives under way in London, the Midlands and Scotland, and an

[17] John William King went on trial in 1999. King is a Klu Klux Klan member, (who is accused along with 2 other white supremacists, Lawrence Russell Brewer and Sean Berry) of chaining James Byrd Jr. to the back of their pickup truck and dragging him to his death in June 1998. While in prison King had joined *Aryan Brotherhood*, a white supremacist prison gang. It is argued that the motivation for the murder, as stated in the racist literature and writings by King, was to gain publicity to start a new white supremacist organisation, "The Texas Rebel Soldiers Division of the Confederate Knights of America".

[18] See *The AGE*, http://www.theage.com.au/daily990602/news/news2.html accessed 2nd June 1999, pp. 1-2.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

estimated active British membership of 200".[22]

As has been noted before the tracking of these web-sites by anti-racist ones is to ensure that white supremacists web-sites do not spread unchecked on the Internet. The intent is to also provide a counter to the hate-filled messages these web-sites spread (albeit couched in the language of a legitimate differing point of view) which they view as an inalienable right.

0.3 Methodology

The studies mentioned above (Auerbach, Moodie and Thompson) while not focused on the Internet or web-sites, are important in highlighting the ideological dimensions of Afrikaner nationalism as well as the important role allotted to History in the analysis of the chosen web-sites. The dissertation's focus will be on a textual analysis of History textbooks by Van Jaarsveld (see Chapter 3) and specific web-sites (See Chapters 4-6 below).

Discourse analysis is employed as an analytical tool in this dissertation because of the emphasis placed on textual analysis. The textual analysis of the web-sites will allow for a richer, in-depth look at the selected material on the web-sites, following in the footsteps of the analyses found in Moodie, Thompson, Auerbach as well as Isabel Hofmeyr,[23] all of whom have looked at how images, use of language, stereotyping and the use of literary forms, (for example, the epic), were intended to evoke a particular conception of the Afrikaner nation.

Newer approaches, as represented in a work such as John A. Dixon's essay 'Discourse and Racial Partition in the "New" South Africa',[24] offer another interpretation, however, in looking at how space was set aside and divided along racial lines during apartheid, Dixon examines spatial conceptions and discourse around race.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 2. In a recent article published by the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper in 2004 the role played by Arthur Kemp in the revival and promotion of the British National Party (an extremist party based in Britain) was highlighted. Arthur Kemp is a South African white supremacist who worked for the English liberal newspaper, *The Citizen*. Before he went to Britain, he was involved in white supremacist circles in South Africa and also wrote an apologia book for the *Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) (a South African white supremacist organisation which will be discussed in more detail later in the dissertation).

[23] Hofmeyr, I. 'Popularising History: The Case of Gustav Preller', in Clingman, S. (ed.), *Regions and Repertoires: Topic in South African Politics and Culture*, Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1991.

[24] Dixon, J. A. Discourse and Racial Partition in the 'New' South Africa, in Levett, A. et al. (eds.). *Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1997, pp. 17-18.

For Dixon, it is the contemporary press that supplies the examples of the discourse he analyses. In the case of this dissertation, the discourse is presented in an electronic form, which is able to use a variety of technological resources and is, based on an assumption of immediacy and interactivity that is even greater than is true of newspapers. It is, however, important to take account of the unique features of the medium being discussed, insofar as it affects the nature and the impact of the text.

Martin Hall in his paper entitled 'Blackbirds and Black Butterflies',[25] addresses the issue of the Internet and its effect on scholarship. Hall argues that the Internet gives the illusion of reality, "the concept that the digital world is firmly rooted in contemporary fantasy".[26] He goes on to argue that the Internet as a medium of communication allows people of diverse backgrounds to come together and form "virtual communities".[27] The above two points are important for this dissertation, as they confirm observations made about the representations on the Internet during the course of the present research. The authors of such representations operate on the assumption that their truth claims are enhanced by the medium.

In pursuing ideas about impressions of reality, truth and so on, Hall points out that prior to the use of the Internet as an archival source, the ordinary archive was a 'sanitised' space where death had been distanced. He uses the examples of exhibitions in the British Museum where artefacts from the conquest of Africa, South America and the East are displayed and "the accessions of the great archives of empire were sanitised of the blood and violence that was often inseparable from their acquisitions".[28] He argues that the Internet has inverted this sanitising process because time and distance have been diminished. Much of the material that appears on the Internet is either raw data, or material that depicts events that are minutes, hours or days old, without the benefit of intervening years or miles. He argues that distance in time allows for the development of objectivity, which the Internet often cancels out, while allowing for the appearance of objectivity. So, while the Internet gives the appearance of objectivity because it is an electronic medium through which death, for example, can be viewed from a distance, it paradoxically brings death to the fore in the forms of "ethnic violence, racism and hate politics across Europe and North America",[29] which are depicted on the Internet. The dissertation will

[25] Hall, M. 'Blackbirds and Black Butterflies', Re-figuring the Archives Seminar Series, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 25th August 1998. This paper has since been published as part of a collection of essays in Hamilton, C. Harris, V. Taylor, J. Pickover, M. Reid, G. & Saleh, R. (eds) *Refiguring the Archive*, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2002.

[26] *Ibid.* p. 3.

[27] *Ibid.* p. 3.

[28] *Ibid.* p. 3.

[29] *Ibid.* p. 4.

attempt to pay attention to the way in which ethnic violence is portrayed on the web-sites under discussion.

One of the most important aspects of Hall's article is his argument regarding the way in which the Internet is implicated in the construction of identity. Hall highlights the way in which issues of identity and place are, in a sense, reinvented by what he calls the "[t]ransnational media" that "feed into the complex construction of local identities, and are linked in turn with large scale movements of people".[30] These "competing claims for possession of the material evidence of history"[31] are very important to this dissertation, as will be shown later.

Hall uses the phrase, "the political manipulation of the past" in explaining how Hindu history was used by the Bharatiya Janata Party for its own aims, and how it was also associated with the assertion of ethnic identities. This is of particular interest for this dissertation, as it will subsequently be argued that similar methods are used by white supremacist groups on the Internet.[32] Hall's central point is that the Internet allows for the 'essentialisation of ethnic identities'.[33] Compare this with the idea of constructed identity advanced by Dunbar Moodie, Hofmeyr and O'Meara.[34];[35];[36] The essentialisation of ethnic identities makes it harder to see them as responses to political and economic circumstances and gives them an *a priori* validity.

Hall argues that the global media can be used for the "mobilization of identity", while the archive assists in "localised claims to land and its history".[37] Hall does, however, cast some doubt on the quality of the virtual experience of place. He studies the use made of the Internet as a means of accessing historical artefacts and archives through the World Wide Web, and argues that this changes the manner in which heritage is represented. Instead of physically going to the place and seeing its treasures, people are able to log onto the Internet and see a virtual representation. While on the one hand, it allows for many people to see these treasures who would not have

[30] *Ibid.* p. 5.

[31] *Ibid.* p. 5.

[32] See for example the exclusive identity advanced by *Stormfront*, the *World Church of the Creator* and the *Boere Seperatiste* to be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

[33] *Ibid.* p. 6.

[34] Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980.

[35] Hofmeyr, I. 'Popularising History: The Case of Gustav Preller', in Clingman, S. (ed.), *Regions and Repertoires: Topic in South African Politics and Culture*, Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1991

[36] O' Meara, D. *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948*, Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1983.

[37] Hall, M. 'Blackbirds and Black Butterflies', Re-figuring the Archives Seminar Series, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 25th August 1998, p. 7.

done so otherwise, it does raise questions about 'the quality of the experience'. The atmosphere of being physically present in the Visoki Decani Monastery in Kosovo cannot be simulated on the Web. Historical events are used to express a "sense of place, history and identity".[38] Despite its shortcomings the Web does, however, succeed in reinforcing the essentialisation (or naturalisation) of identities.

It is interesting to note that with the advent of the Internet, some white supremacist groups in South Africa have come to utilise it as a forum to promote their museums on a virtual level. These virtual museums include physical spaces, such as the museum dedicated to the Verwoerd family, which is featured as a virtual one via the *Orania* web-site. Orania is an actual place located in the Karoo, as well as a virtual one on the Internet. Another virtual tour on offer is of the Voortrekker Monument and can be accessed via the *AWB* web-site (to be discussed in Chapter 6). The virtual tour is extensive and allows for a tour of all the main areas of interests related to the Monument (including the friezes of the Vow taking, and the cenotaph).

Hall notes that the power of "the tangible archive makes the claims of history seem everywhere in their evidence, and incontrovertible in their logic".[39] He points out that this is one of the ways in which identity is related to the real fabric of the land, which seems to encompass all that was, is, and perhaps will be. He also points out that, for many, the archive allows for the idea that one can restore everything to purity and truth. This idea holds great attraction for white supremacist groups because they believe that only by remaining 'separate' can they restore their own strength, which they see as having been sapped by what they term 'racial mixing'.

0.4 Conclusion

Above, I have entered some of the theoretical foundations of the study. As has been said, the dissertation takes as its departure point the well known studies of Auerbach, Thompson, Moodie, and Hofmeyr, that examine the construction of historical discourses, which, it is argued, were fundamentally important in the mobilisation and ultimate success of Afrikaner nationalism. Despite this last claim, however, none of the authors examines the subsequent impact of Afrikaner nationalism in any detail. Their focus is on the imagery, rhetoric, use of Afrikaans, and the selection of particular historical episodes thought to resonate with Afrikaners. This

[38] *Ibid.* p. 11.
[39] *Ibid.* p. 13.

dissertation, will, similarly, engage with these elements in Afrikaner discourse and no attempt will be made to demonstrate the link between Afrikaner ethnic nationalism and the ultimate success of Afrikaner nationalism. In addition to this, following the methodological lead offered by the authors mentioned above, the dissertation will refer to Hall's main points about how the Internet as medium affects the portrayal of History, and in particular, how it 'essentialises identities'.

The inclusion of the texts by Van Jaarsveld (to be discussed in Chapter 3) anchors the main point of the dissertation which emphasises the central role of History used by white supremacists internationally and in South Africa. As has been noted History allows the white supremacist web-authors a sense of legitimacy, and an entre to gain the attention of their targeted audiences. For many white supremacist groups, the appearance at least of a legitimate point of view, makes it easier for them to attempt to recruit new members, especially younger ones. This use of History will allow for a historical continuity in terms of their sources and message that have and are being used by white supremacists. It also could prove to be a potentially powerful lure that allows for a transnational interaction between like-minded individuals (see for example the discussion in Chapter 6 on the prophesies of Siener Van Rensburg).[40]

The brief discussion of the work of the anti-racist web-sites was included at this juncture because the rise of international white supremacist groups on the Internet is seen as a dangerous phenomenon that needs to be monitored and countered. Constant awareness of the numbers and reach of these web-sites that disseminate hate literature or music is required to make people aware that there are alternative sources of information. The shifting interest of the white supremacist groups (from mainly recruiting adults) to include children into their recruitment strategy is seen as another important reason to have a viable alternative available to children and teenagers that may assist them when encountering hate speech or white power literature and music on the Internet.

[40] Chapter 6 will illustrate how South African and international white supremacists are brought together in discussion on issues that are of mutual concern. The close interaction between these different groups, especially the *AWB*, *Stormfront* and *National Alliance* will be discussed.

Chapter 1

Representations of White Supremacy: Past and Present

1.1 Introduction

History has always been used by politicians to gain support and legitimize political parties and movements. Using visual, audio and text-based resources, the Internet provides a new, powerful medium for such movements to represent their version of the past. Even though the technology of persuasion may be quite new, white supremacists still draw on older nationalist ideologies about blood and soil and related notions of biological and cultural superiority. This chapter sets out the aim of the dissertation and elaborates on some of the points that have been made about the Internet (see Introduction) as the first part of a literature review.

1.2 Aim of the Dissertation

In South Africa there is a well-established tradition in historiography showing that History has been used as a vehicle for political ideologies in various media, with the exception of the Internet, however. The aim of this dissertation is to examine how historical symbols, historical references and the rewriting of History itself is used on specific sites on the Internet to disseminate political messages, against the background of the literature on the nature and uses of History. The focus will be on the extreme right wing (defined below) in South Africa. The fact that the Internet is an unregulated medium of communication, as well as its relative ease of access, makes it an ideal instrument for the dissemination of ideas that might be rejected or censured within mainstream society. It is also a fluid and interactive medium.

By 'white supremacist' this dissertation makes reference to the ideology of the far right wing that espouses the ideas of constituting the 'white race' as a nation, of 'white nationalism', 'race', 'purity' and the defence of 'white rights'. The emphasis here is on the idea of the 'nation' and 'ethnic solidarity' being constructed in some ways that change over time.[1] The dissertation focuses on South Africa, but because of the nature of the medium it will be necessary to discuss some of the global connections.

The role of the Internet has become crucial, particularly with regard to the question of how ideas become immediately available as they jump continents. The dissertation is set against the resurgence of virulent racism, expressed as white supremacist ideology, particularly in Germany, France, Canada and the United States of America.[2] The nature of the Internet means that South African web-sites are open to influences and ideas from these countries in much more immediate ways than was possible in the past.[3]. In South Africa, for example, extremist groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweeging (AWB) use the web-site of *Stormfront*, located in the United States of America, as a host and have posted their messages and literature on this site. Literature on the site includes *Victory or Violence: The Story of the AWB*, and 'The Boers Strike Back!: The True Story of Boer Resistance to the ANC Takeover in South Africa'. The AWB also conducts discussions and engages in chats via *Stormfront's* Internet Relay Chats (IRCs).[4] Another web-site dedicated to the concerns of 'Afrikaners' is called Vryheid 2000 or (Freedom 2000). This will be the subject of detailed analysis (see Chapter 4).

In the course of the research undertaken for this dissertation it has become clear

[1]Hyslop's excellent discussion of the fallacy of the 'ethnic dynamic' in Afrikaner nationalism can be found in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, Sept. 1996.

[2]The resurgence of virulent racism refers to a marked rise in neo-Nazi activity in the countries mentioned and should not be mistaken as saying that racism was absent before, as was clearly not the case in South Africa.

[3]While the dissertation overall is concerned with the use of the Internet, the texts are hosted on web-sites. As indicated, a web-site is 'a collection of Web pages, images, videos or other digital assets that is hosted on one or more web servers, usually accessible via the Internet'. For more information on how web-site interact to create the Internet and the persistence of web-sites as important functioning building blocks, see Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Websites, accessed 22 December 2008

[4]Internet Relay Chat (IRC) started in Finland in 1988 and was originally written by Jarkko Oikarinen. It is used in over 60 countries around the world. IRC is a multi-user chat system, where people meet on channels (rooms, virtual places), usually with a certain topic of conversation (to talk in groups or privately). There is no restriction to the number of people that can participate in a given discussion, or the number of channels that can be formed on IRC. Oikarinen, J. *IRC Intro-Introduction to IRC for people using Windows.* accessed 4th January 1998, p. 1.

that white supremacist groups such as the AWB[5] and its overseas counterparts, use history as the most important vehicle to promote their causes, for example, their use of the concept of 'Aryan' and the swastika as identity references and symbols. They also use more extensive historical texts, which the dissertation analyses in some detail.

In recognition of the important role played by History in white supremacist propaganda, the dissertation builds on the literature that shows how the past has been used for political motives. It will seek to show why ideas that relate to the past are appealing and why they draw people to using them on the Internet. It is argued that the AWB is building on its tradition of using South African history for the purpose of proving historical continuity and drawing legitimacy from such an historical lineage. This has been manifested, not only in the speeches and public displays of Eugène Terre'Blanche (the leader of the AWB) or pageants that recreate 'Boer' history, but also in the image of Terre'Blanche on horseback, which evokes associations with the Boer commandos. The Anglo-Boer War is probably the most important reference point used by the AWB, especially in its paraphernalia and symbols (the uniforms, weapons and paramilitary aspects). But on the Internet, the ideologues of the AWB are changing its version of South African history and this is worthy of analytical treatment.

It will be shown that the AWB still retains the Anglo-Boer War as a central point of legitimacy and definition (especially its symbols of the sufferings of women and children at the hands of British imperialists). But there are new emphases and even a new vision that includes making a link to the Holocaust, whereby the Boers now identify with the Jewish genocide of the Second World War. The AWB also rejects and reinterprets other aspects of South African history. It is very much concerned with new definitions of nation, land and language, and the dissertation will discuss these aspects.

The AWB also has 'archives' posted on its Home Page,[6] which indicates how important History is to it and how seriously it is taken, and also attempts to imbue it with a certain scientific credibility (see the summary of Hall's argument above, p.15). It is obvious that the authors of the web-sites are reacting to the African National Congress's (ANC) 1994 electoral victory, and what is of interest to the researcher

[5]The AWB also has its own Home Page at `http://awb.co.za`.

[6]Discussions conducted on the AWB's own web-site, in either English or Afrikaans, expresses concerns about their safety. *Beware the kaffirs want to kill all whites*, runs one of the topics discussed via IRC, in May 1998. It also has a site for an electronic newspaper in Afrikaans, which is the designated paper for the *Volkstaat* (literally People's State).

is how they appropriate the language of the ANC as well as that of Zionism, as far as the latter opposes the Palestinian bid for repatriation. As has been mentioned above the AWB has not developed its strategies in isolation (see p.18). Here it is useful to refer briefly to parallel developments elsewhere in order to illuminate the AWB's change of strategy. The white supremacists in the United States of America are also taking the same route, in that they are appropriating the language of multiculturalism to advance their cause, while on the other hand also rejecting it as a discourse. As will be seen, the liberal discourse of multiculturalism is similar in some respects to the ANC's discourse of 'nation building'.

It appears that a strong case can be made for saying that History is vital to establishing the position of these right-wing groups. Firstly, it appears to vindicate groups who assert *a priori* rights to the land. Secondly, it appears to provide proof for those who wish to maintain that they have suffered and are suffering from 'racial domination' (these beliefs will be elaborated on during the course of the dissertation). These kinds of claims have always been important to the right wing and have long been made on the basis of particular versions of History. It is clear, however, that the terms of reference have changed and require investigation.

Obviously, there are certain paradoxes in characterising the AWB as backward-looking, isolationist and desiring to return to the 'golden age' of apartheid, while at the same time it uses the Internet, which is at the frontier of modern global technology. By using the Internet, the AWB is able to attempt to strengthen its claims, with a greater appeal to science, and the potential to disseminate its views to a wider audience. These paradoxes will be explored in the dissertation.

It may be objected that the use of the Internet is limited in South Africa. The role of information technology in History has not yet become a significant area of investigation, except for the work of Martin Hall[7] and a few others. There is nevertheless a fairly extensive use of and access to the Internet, especially among whites. The fact that the Internet is unregulated and potentially anonymous means that it is a powerful tool for the dissemination and distribution of information.

In his paper, 'Mixed Messages', Martin Hall points out the contradictions inherent in the Internet. He notes that not only does the Internet offer an opportunity for mass participation, but it is also a medium that excludes and is exclusive. One of the more important features of the Internet noted by Hall is its central feature of

[7]Hall, M. 'Mixed Messages', paper delivered at the International Symposium on Globalization and Social Sciences in Africa, 14-18 September 1998, University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

collapsing both time and distance (see also p. 13). This means that not only are messages exchanged and sent with greater speed than in most conventional media, but they are also not impeded by borders or distances (see discussion p. 13).

Hall also points out that although Africa has the least developed information infrastructure in the world, South Africa is an exception. He notes that in 1998 South Africa had 95% of the continent's hosts and Egypt a further 2%. Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe (one of the fastest growing sectors on the continent) share a further 1% of hosts, while the remaining 2% is shared between nineteen countries, all with less than 500 hosts each.[8] The contrast is great when comparing South Africa to the rest of the continent.

The fact that people are now able (with a computer and a modem) to access, send, receive and communicate with each other via electronic mail (e-mail) and Internet Relay Chat (IRC)[9] on a global scale in real time and at relatively low cost, justifies the description of the Internet as the 'information super highway'. The fact that Internet access is readily available to millions of people at schools, universities, Internet cafés, companies, and in homes, suggests many possibilities.[10]

I am not examining the use of the Internet in the dissemination of white supremacist ideology or seeking to prove or disprove Hall's predictions of the future of the Internet. But so far as it is unregulated, the dissertation argues that the Internet is an ideal tool for extremist groups, as the information which is placed on the Internet cannot be censored or regulated,[11] nor controlled by mechanisms (such as publisher, editor and owners) which constrain conventional media.

While being wary of making exaggerated claims, there are suggestions that extremist

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Oikarinen, J. *IRC Intro - Introduction to IRC for people using Windows.* http://www.mirc.co.za.ircintro.html. 4th January 1988. p. 1.

[10] Coetzer, J. 'South Africa, awake to the internet!' *Sawubona.* South African Airways, accessed February 2002, pp. 83-88. The article points out that in 2001 an estimated 2 million people had access to the Internet in South Africa, and that the figures might be higher because these statistics did not include access from home.

[11] The American Congress has made several attempts to regulate the Internet. An example of these attempts is 'the 1996 Communications Decency Act, which the Supreme Court overturned last year as unconstitutional. It sought to ban anyone, not just commercial sites on the World Wide Web, from sending "obscene or indecent material to minors". Bridis, T. *House Moves Ahead on Internet Bills*, cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS, 1998/10/08, p. 1. In 1998 the American Congress once again attempted to regulate the Internet with regard to the matter of the easy access to pornography on the Internet. Congress attempted to limit online pornography and to impose landmark privacy protections for children surfing the Internet, despite assertions by high-tech companies and the White House that the government generally isn't needed in cyberspace. *Ibid.*, p.1.

activists have been influenced by what they have seen on the Internet. In the United States of America, there is evidence that Timothy McVeigh, the white supremacist responsible for the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma, was influenced by the violent novel, *The Turner Diaries*, which is freely available on the Internet and was written by the leader of *National Alliance*, William Pierce (to be discussed in Chapter 6). The other incident worth mentioning in this regard is the one that took place on 20th April 1999 (the birthday of Adolf Hitler)[12] in which two students, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, went on a shooting spree inside their school.[13] It was later discovered that the two teenagers had a web-site devoted to their group called the 'Trench Coat Mafia'. The two belonged to a group of teenagers who felt alienated and mistreated and had targeted athletes whom they accused of having bullied them. Their web-site represented an alternative culture to the one that they saw as being protected and rewarded at school (see discussion by Hall on the Internet and its role in creating alternative identities).

As in the latter case, extreme right wing groups often use the symbols and anniversaries of the Third Reich. The favoured date is Hitler's birthday, which is used by groups such as *National Alliance* and *Aryan Nations*. Brief reference will be made to some of the international white supremacists groups that first appeared on the Internet in the mid 1990s. These groups (*Stormfront*, *National Alliance* and *The World Church of the Creator*) are of importance because they allowed for the South African white supremacist sites to be hosted on their sites as well as communicating with each other (See Chapter 6).

1.3 Literature Review

For the sake of manageability, the literature review has been split over two chapters. The literary background required is quite diverse and wide-ranging. This chapter will focus on the literature that deals with the Internet, scholarly literature on the resurgence of extreme right wing groups and a category of literature designated as 'confessional', while the subsequent chapter will review literature on uses of History, with particular attention to South Africa.

[12] Adolf Hitler was born on the 20th April 1889, in Braunau-on-the-Inn, Austria and died on April 30th 1945 in Berlin, Germany.

[13] Eric Harris, 18 and Dylan Klebold, 17 killed 12 students and a teacher and wounded 23 before killing themselves at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado.

1.3.1 Literature related to the Internet

The rapid growth of the Internet in the 1990s makes it appear as if the medium materialised in the mid-1990s. This is not so. The Internet was started in 1969 and "was designed to provide a communications network that would work even if some of the sites were destroyed by nuclear attack". This assertion that the Internet could withstand a nuclear attack was to prove to be a myth which was more an indication of paranoia than actual fact.[14] The purpose of the Internet was also limited to research, education and American government use, and not commercial use, because it was initially funded by the American government. Many different people worked on the Internet, once it came on-line during the 1970s and 1980s, to improve it and to make it more user-friendly. In 1992, Delphi "was the first national commercial on-line service to offer Internet access to its subscribers".[15] Delphi also opened up an e-mail connection and full Internet service in July and November 1992, respectively. By May 1995 the limit on commercial use fell away and AOL, Prodigy and CompuServe came on-line. So, although some form of control was exercised in the beginning by the National Science Foundation (NSF), this fell away in 1995 when the foundation ended its sponsorship of the Internet backbone.

The advent of the Internet and its wider use by society has been viewed in different ways. On the one hand it was regarded as a positive asset and on the other a dangerous medium that could potentially cause great harm. Gray Young notes that in the 1990s the Internet was "proclaimed by many to signal a renaissance in which free flowing information will bring more equality and freedom to the world".[16] The Internet was thus viewed as a tool that would enhance society and improve people's lives. The influence of the Internet was regarded as limitless in that it would be able to "stimulate economies to new levels, improve health care through better access to information, enlighten people through never-before-available contact with people from different cultures, and maybe even alleviate loneliness through myriad new means of socialising on-line".[17] However, the Internet is not a panacea for all the problems in society and cannot simply magically put to rights what has gone wrong. While it may be true that the Internet has great potential, in itself it is neither inherently good nor bad, since it is not autonomous, nor does it exist in

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 3. In 1969 a contract by the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) connected four major computers at the universities of UCLA, Stanford Research Institute, UCSB and the University of Utah, in the south-western United States.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[16] Young, G. (ed.), *The Internet, The Reference Shelf*, Volume 70, No. 5, New York; Dublin: H.W. Wilson Company, 1998, p. vii.

[17] *Ibid.*,p. vii.

isolation. The generation of material on the Internet ought to be looked at with an understanding that it is in a state of constant flux caused by the perpetual circulation of texts.

Young points out that some people argue that the Internet "will corrupt children through a bombardment of pornography, obliterate any semblance of privacy as businesses and governments track our on-line movement, tarnish journalism by letting anyone post a so-called news site that may be filled with misinformation, destroy the economy by taking away copy-right protections, and physically endanger us by allowing criminals and terrorists to easily and confidently communicate regardless of their physical proximity".[18]

The Internet is a vast, unregulated source of information, as well as a medium through which information and ideas are disseminated. The fact that the Internet is unregulated, does not have any set norms and standards that guide its use, as well as its accessibility have raised concern. The different uses that can, and are, made of the Internet, raise fear as well as awe. The use of the Internet to gain information, communicate with people over vast distances via chat rooms or e-mail, as well as post information on it, may both enhance people's knowledge or may be abused. The fact that the Internet is so vast and is able to reach such a large global audience does raise concern.

What is especially significant in terms of this dissertation is that the Internet allows people to reinvent themselves, to omit a part of themselves, or even to erase their identities, replacing them with a fictional creation. It also allows people who share similar interests to connect without fear or embarrassment. The Internet allows people to probe for and disclose information they would not, or could not, easily discuss in a public setting. The Internet is anonymous and safe, in a way that a public gathering such as a rally, might not be. It also allows one to participate in a safe environment, to explore ideas without the exposure and danger that might come from participating in a rally. This aspect is especially useful to extremist groups. This distant form of participation is different from that advocated by the Jewish Defence League, for example. The JDL believes in direct confrontation as well as participation via the Internet.[19] The JDL argues that anti-Semitism and other forms of hate speech must not be passively accepted and that direct action is

[18] *Ibid.*.

[19] This combative stance is in answer to the experiences of the Jewish people during the Second World War. According to the JDL web-site, never again will a people be passively led to their deaths, without fighting. This determination comes from hind-sight especially after the atrocities of the concentration camps were brought to light at the end of the Second World War.

one of the most effective tools with which to counter these.

At this juncture it is necessary to turn to the relevant literature, showing where this dissertation is located. An analysis of the relationship between History, historians and the electronic information technology is at the frontier of the social sciences. One is conscious of how social scientists have to grapple with the Internet. Roy Rosenzweig tackles this question in his article, 'So, What's Next for Clio?: CD-ROM and Historians'.[20] Rosenzweig delivers an interesting critique of how History is represented on CD-ROM's. Rosenzweig shows that, despite the aura of scientific objectivity inherent in the CD-ROM's technical composition, much of the information on existing programmes is incomplete or superficial. It is the power of the medium, which gives it credence rather than any form of evidential substantiation. While Martin Hall's work assesses the impact of the Internet (see above pp. 5-7) by monitoring selected sites, Rosenzweig's emphasises the power of the medium. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to tackle issues of access and impact of the Internet, as Hall does, but to direct attention at the sorts of issues that Rosenzweig raises concerning the aura of objectivity and scientific credibility manufactured by electronic texts.

For the purposes of this dissertation the pages on the Internet will be treated as a type of text. Much of the literature written on the Internet and History is from the perspective of how it is, or could be, incorporated in teaching History. Not much in-depth analysis has been done so far. See the papers by Combrink and Steyn, Deacon, Tankard, and Hall who look at the use of the Internet and how it can assist lecturers in the teaching of history.[21]

Many books written on the Internet are concerned with issues of regulation (or governance)[22] and how marginalised groups can gain access, for example.[23] Some of the books that deal with the Internet either study its technical application or

[20]Rosenzweig, R."'So What's Next for Clio?" CD-ROM and Historians', *The Journal of American History*, 1995, pp. 1621-1640.

[21]Combrink, N. & Steyn, P. 'Oor Geskiedenis en Digitale Lugknikke in die Kubberruimte', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, May 1998, pp. 34 - 54. Deacon, H. 'Using Computer Technology in History Teaching', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, May 1998, pp. 3-19. Tankard, K. 'History, the Internet and South Africa', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, May 1998, pp. 20-33. Hall, M. 'The Virtual University: Education for All, or a Segregated Highway?', *South African Journal of Science*, 1994.

[22]Barrett, N. *The State of the Cybernation*, London: Kogan Page Ltd., 1997. Loader, B.D. (ed.).*The Governance of Cyberspace: Technology and Global Restructuring*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997.

[23]Star, S. L.(ed.). *The Cultures of Computing*, Great Britain: Blackwell Publishers, 1995.

how the Internet is used in different countries.[24] The books also focus on issues of privacy.[25] Note that while these books are of importance, they are not central to this dissertation and will not be analysed in any detail.

There is however, some interesting new literature on the use of symbols and metaphors in general on the Internet, for example, Margaret Morse's *Virtualities*.[26] Morse's book deals with 'metaphor' and symbols, and how people interact through symbols. This is very useful in suggesting guidelines to an analysis of material on the Internet since a great deal of the material makes use of metaphors and symbols.

The books listed below look at issues of deception on the Internet, the formation of identity and the use of the Internet by extremist groups. They also attempt to explain the relationship between power and the computer networks. All these issues are of interest to the dissertation.

Peter Kollock and Marc Smith, in *Communities in Cyberspace*, note that: "since 1993, computer networks have grabbed enormous public attention".[27] They point out that, while there is still some difficulty in clearly pinning down the right term to use for computer networks, "it is clear that computer networks allow people to create a range of new social spaces in which to meet and interact with one another".[28]

Kollock and Smith point out that the social spaces created by people with networks are viewed in two different ways. One view "highlights the positive effects of networks and their benefits for democracy and prosperity".[29] This positive view of the Internet is seen as one that will benefit all people, because it will enable them to be educated, entertained, preserve democracy and save lives. Note that the Internet has been used in the past for some or all of these aspects. This has been made possible by e-mail and discussion lists, which allow people to communicate over great distances. As Kollock and Smith point out: "[e]mail and discussion lists are the oldest most popular forms of interaction on the Internet".[30]

But the second view of the Internet is not positive. Kollock and Smith point out that "[c]ritics see a darker outcome in which individuals are trapped and ensnared

[24] Harcourt, W. (ed.). *Women @ Internet: Creating New Cultures in Cyberspace*, United Kingdom: Zed Books Ltd, 1999.

[25] Gelman, R. B. (et al.). *Protecting Yourself Online: The Definitive Resource on Safety, Freedom and Privacy in Cyberspace*, New York: HarperCollins, 1998.

[26] Morse, M. *Virtualities*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998.

[27] Smith, M. A. and Kollock, P. (eds.) *Communities in Cyberspace*, London and New York, 1999, p. 3.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

in a "net" that predominantly offers new opportunities for surveillance and social control".[31] Since the early 1990s, scholars, journalists, and anti-racist groups have been concerned with the 'darker side'[32] of the Internet.

Judith Donath, in her paper,[33] looks at identity in virtual communities. She argues that in face-to-face communication people are able to understand and evaluate an interaction because they know the identity of those with whom they are communicating. It is different in the virtual community because in "the disembodied world of the virtual community, identity is also ambiguous".[34]

Donath points out how fluid and disembodied a person's identity can become on the Internet and warns of the possible divestment of responsibility. Donath notes that people can claim to be virtually anyone online. "A man creates a female identity, a high school student claims to be an expert on viruses. Other explorers of virtual space develop relationships with the ostensible female, relationships based on deep-seated assumptions about gender and their own sexuality.".[35]

Tim Jordan, in his book *Cyberpower: The Culture and Politics of Cyberspace and the Internet*,[36] studies the Internet in greater detail. He looks at the relationship between power and cyberspace. Jordan studies the influence the advent of the Internet has had on people's lives, as well as their reaction to it. Jordan notes that: "Cyberspace now touches all lives. For some it has become as essential as the telephone or the letter. For others it is still a fearful whisper of technological promise".[37] Jordan attempts to explain how power and cyberspace interact and he studies different theorists' concepts of power. He also picks up on the inherent paradox of the Internet: "The power and paradox of cyberspace is its ability to liberate and dominate simultaneously".[38] The Internet allows people the illusion of freedom and control. This is a similar argument to that made by Martin Hall (see p.13).

Jordan looks at how the Internet allows people to reinvent their identity, in a similar manner to Judith Donath (see above). Jordan goes further though, studying the

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Donath, J. 'Identity and deception in the virtual community', in Smith, M. A. and Kollock, P. (eds.). *Communities in Cyberspace*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[36] Jordan, T. *Cyberpower: The Culture and Politics of Cyberspace and the Internet*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

myths created about and around the Internet, which have endowed the Internet with a kind of potency (for example, the well-known myth that it was created to withstand a nuclear attack), and reflect Cold War paranoia about the vulnerability of information.

1.3.2 White supremacists and the Internet

Most importantly, for the purposes of this dissertation, Susan Zickmund discusses the growth of cyberhate in the 1990s and traces its historical development.[39] According to Zickmund, in 1990 the estimated membership of neo-Nazi organisations was "approximately 20 000 to 100 000 persons".[40] She asks why there has been such a resurgence? Zickmund looks at the development of other extreme right wing groups for an answer. She refers to the birth of extreme right wing groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, for an explanation of the rise of extreme groups. She notes that the Klan itself began in the American South during the 1860s in reaction to the turmoil caused by the Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction. Formed as a social club for bored Confederate soldiers, its members wore bed-sheets in order to frighten emancipated slaves".[41] From these early beginnings the Klan gained momentum and its membership steadily increased. She notes that even film had an influence on the rise in membership of the Klan. In the 1920s for example, the Klan "reached the peak of its membership after D.W. Griffith's pro-Klan film, *Birth of a Nation*, was released".[42]

The people targeted by the Klan in the 1920s were predominantly black and or Catholic. It is interesting to note that the Klan members "considered themselves upholders of the law, structures of order, and Protestant Christian virtues".[43] Yet at the same time they acted with brutality and cruelty towards black people who were murdered and lynched at will without any consideration for virtues or the law. Katz, in a study of early twentieth century Klan membership, found that the "two most prominent professions in the organisation were religious ministers and police officers".[44] This analogy could be extended to South Africa where the members

[39] Zickmund, S. 'Approaching the Radical Other: Discursive Culture of Cyberhate', in Jones, Steven G. (ed.) *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, London: Sage Publications, 1997.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 186-7.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[44] Katz, W.L. *The Invisible Empire: The Ku Klux Klan Impact on History*, Seattle: Open Hand Publishing, 1987.

of the extreme right wing were strongly represented in these two professions (see Dunbar Moodie and literature on the *Broederbond*).

Having looked at the history of the extreme right wing in the 1860s and 1920s, Zickmund turns to the contemporary extremist right in America and argues that today's extremist "generally descends from the early Klan organisations as well as the American Nazi movement".[45] She claims that the contemporary extreme right wing groups in America have a basic affinity with the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi movement. She argues that: "they share strident racial sentiments, often augmented by a religious or semi-cosmological view of creation and humanity".[46] Similarly, the belief in the divinely-ordained mission of the 'white race' was also a belief held by Afrikaners who sought to explain the suffering of the Afrikaner *volk* (people) in a way that would be understandable to ordinary people (see Chapter 2).

Zickmund provides examples of different groups in America from "the religiously oriented Christian Identity sect to the secular, California-based organization White Aryan Resistance (WAR)".[47] Her brief description of what Christian Identity members believe, highlights the religiously oriented focus of their message. Their beliefs are also influenced by the ideas of the Third Reich in Nazi Germany and point to the anti-Semitic and anti-black stance of the organisation: "Christian Identity members believe that Aryans are the real chosen people of the Bible, that the Jews have actually descended from Satan, and that all non-whites are 'mud-people', the offspring of a rejected creature made before Adam".[48] The ideas held by the members of Christian Identity indicate their attempt to distance themselves from other people who are not white.[49] They go so far as to attempt to explain who is a real human being and who is not. According to Christian Identity, whites are the only true humans because they "have the capacity to blush or have 'blood in the face'".[50]

On the other hand WAR, is a white supremacist organisation based in San Diego, California, which was founded by television repairman, Tom Metzger. WAR is headed currently by former Ku Klux Klan leader, Tom Metzger and his son, John. "Metzger ran a talk show entitled *Race and Reason*, on a cable-access channel in San Diego throughout much of the 1980's".[51]

[45] Zickmund, S. 'Approaching the Radical Other: Discursive Culture of Cyberhate', in Jones, Steven G. (ed.) *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, London: Sage Publications, 1997, p. 187.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[49] The Christian Identity group will be discussed at length in Chapter 6.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Zickmund also looks at how the 'other' is portrayed as conspirator - here it is 'Jews' who are mostly characterised as powerful, wealthy and in control.[52] She also alludes to the rhetoric of *National Alliance*, where the 'other' is represented as contaminant a direct legacy of Nazi anti-Semitism.

Zickmund's study includes news-groups, and studies the kinds of topics covered by people who log on. Although some of her insights are useful as they support conclusions I had already reached in my own research, she only touches on the white supremacist sites, notably the *National Alliance* web-site (see Chapter 6).

She also overlooks cases in which the 'other' is portrayed as 'race traitor'. In my study I found that this category is reserved for whites who do not accept the white supremacist creed and have integrated and accepted black people as part of society. It is also used for people who have rejected their former ties to white supremacist groups. It is important to note however that extreme right wing groups across national boundaries share a similar ideology and philosophy. The Internet, in a manner of speaking, acts as a vehicle or medium that facilitates the linkages forged between these groups in different areas and different continents.

As has been seen, the books discussed above look at the growth and impact of computer networks in America especially, as well as other countries. They also discuss the formation of identities on the Internet and how people interact with each other without physically meeting. Martin Hall picks up similar issues, but from a South African perspective.

1.3.3 A South African Perspective

A return to Hall at this juncture might appear out of place, but it should be acknowledged that Hall has been influential in directing the thinking in this dissertation with regard to the place of the Internet in South Africa. This is one aspect of Hall's contribution. Also, see the above pages for the contributions that Hall has made to the thinking about the relationship between the Internet and identity.

Hall, in his paper entitled 'Digital S.A.',[53] looks at the impact the growth of the Internet has had over the last decade in South Africa. He attempts to study to what extent the rise of the Internet has allowed for the growth of democracy. He analyses the utopian view held of the Internet that it might allow for the narrowing of the

[52] *"Issues of power, wealth and control predominate".* Ibid., p. 195.

[53] Hall, M. 'Digital S. A.' in Nuttall, S. and Michael, C. A. *Senses and Culture: South African Cultural Studies*, Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 2000.

gap between the rich and the poor, as well as between richer and poorer countries. He notes that many policy makers both within South Africa and elsewhere view the "digital world as the key to Africa's renaissance, an opportunity to leapfrog the barriers of underdevelopment and claim a place in a post-industrial information economy".[54] Note Hall also discusses the limitations of ANC and other sites in South Africa, particularly in that they lack interactivity.

In common with some of the other writers cited above, Hall notes that the current trends on the Internet appear not to break down barriers but to reinforce constraints: "Studies of the use of the Internet, and of 'virtual communities', are beginning to show how they tend to be characterised by monolingualism and homogeneity, reversing trends towards multiculturalism and desegregation".[55] This is an important point as will be shown in the discussion of the international white supremacist web-sites (see Chapter 4). He also notes the 'rediscovery' of ethnic identities is a particularly powerful image: "Cyberpunk's guarded communities engaging only with their own kind while fighting back the teeming masses beyond the barricade".[56] This is especially true of the international web-sites and the *Boere Seperatiste* group, to be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Hall mentions the rise of white supremacist web-sites in different countries. In the section on South African web-sites Hall notes that at the time of his study the sites were primitive compared to the international ones, in that they lacked many features and were basically one-dimensional with minimal interactivity. But, as this study will show that with time, the web-sites are ever changing and that the South African ones became more sophisticated, and less one-dimensional, because they are continually evolving. Hatewatch[57] listed details of thirty-four major white supremacist web sites, predominantly in the USA, but including Canada, Australia, Sweden and South Africa".[58] As was noted before, the Internet is hosting more white-supremacist groups, and each year more are added, while the existing one continually refine their web-sites, by updating their content and images as well as refining their links and means of communication.[59]

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 468.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 468.
[57] http://hatewatch.org
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 469.
[59] The white supremacist groups are continually searching for better and faster means of disseminating their messages. They keep abreast of the changes in technology, which could assist them in their task and utilize, the Internet, newsgroups, as well as video games and white power music, for example, which they disseminate via the Internet to reach their audience.

1.3.4 Confessional Literature

The books that follow fall into the category of confessional autobiography or biography. These texts are earlier versions of popular literature dealing with neo-Nazis and white supremacists. They give some background to how white supremacists interacted with each other via printed literature, prior to using the Internet. These texts are often accessible and popular. They are frequently sensational and sometimes not scholarly, but provide more texture on white supremacist ideas and in the forging of international links between white supremacists. They reveal how certain ideas have been shaped through supranational and 'historical' interactions. It is clear that certain basic texts have frequently provided a departure point for the evolution of white supremacist ideology. These texts are invariably 'historical'. They point to how some of these members of narrow-minded 'gated communities' became disillusioned with their ideology. It is clear that hate-groups are on the rise and that they are recruiting members, especially young people, into their ranks.

Schmidt in *The New Reich: Penetrating the Secrets of Today's neo-Nazi Networks*[60] traces the rise of extremist groups in Germany in 1989. He notes that the trend in Germany is for many young people to join extreme groups because they are anxious and wish for job security. The anti-immigrant rhetoric, which is packaged in a logical, reasoned manner, is appealing. He argues that the people who promote these extreme ideas cannot be regarded as lunatics or crackpots who can therefore be easily dismissed. He points out that a neo-Nazi, such as Michael Kuhnen, is dangerous because he used his wit, even during his trial, for spreading hatred and violence, to gain a platform and to embarrass the authorities. Hasselbach[61] mentions that Michael Kuhnen of the German Alternative (DA) was his mentor in the extreme right wing movement.[62]

Ingo Hasselbach, in his memoirs, *Führer-Ex: Memoirs of a Former neo-Nazi*, explains how he was attracted to and came to join the East German neo-Nazi Movement. He recalls how and when he began to learn about right wing ideology: "I began developing right wing extremist ideas in 1987, when I was nineteen years old and sitting in an East German prison for shouting "the wall must come down!" in a public place".[63]

[60] Schmidt, M.S. *The New Reich: Penetrating the Secrets of Today's neo-Nazi Networks*, London: Hutchinson, 1993.

[61] Hasselbach, I. *Führer-Ex: Memoirs of a Former neo-Nazi*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1996.

[62] Michael Kuhnen was very prominent in the German neo-Nazi movement of the 1980s, he died in 1991.

[63] Hasselbach, I. *Führer-Ex: Memoirs of a Former neo-Nazi*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1996, p. vii.

Hasselbach founded the first neo-Nazi political party in the former East Germany. He explains that the extreme right wing groups in Germany shared a similar philosophy and ideology as those in America: "Like the extremists in America, the common attitude we shared was a hatred for the government (especially federal government agents), a belief that our freedoms and traditions as white men (or as we said, Aryans) were being infringed on by multicultural society, and a general anti-Semitism that held that Jews ran a conspiracy that emanated from New York and Washington".[64]

He claims that the neo-Nazis in Germany had links with extremist groups in the United States of America, pointing out that while it was assumed that the extreme right wing groups in Germany got their literature in Germany itself, this was not the case: "Virtually all of our propaganda and training manuals came from right wing extremist groups in Nebraska and California".[65] This is an early link with other white-supremacist groups, which the advent of the Internet would allow to strengthen, by allowing more immediate ties and access to each others thoughts and ideology via access to their web-sites (to be discussed in Chapter 6). He points out that he and other members of the extreme right wing groups recruited youths into the movement. As has been noted before, the dissertation will not assess issues of impact, but the point made about white supremacist groups' interest in adding to their ranks via the recruitment of children should be noted. Once these neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups begin to use the Internet they launch an aggressive campaign to recruit young people (hence most of the groups have web-links on their sites specifically for children).[66]

Later Hasselbach repudiated the organisation he had joined and the party he had founded. From then on, his life was in danger[67] because he had been regarded as a hero by his comrades as well as the ideal of an 'Aryan male' - tall, blond-haired and blue-eyed. Once he renounced his former beliefs and colleagues he decided to write his memoir - as both a warning and a way of making a final break with his former life.[68]

[64] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

[66] See *Stormfront* and the *World Church of the Creator* web-sites, for examples, especially *Stormfront for Kids* and *Creativity for Kids*. These sites are filled with puzzles, games and video games for children. One of the games is called *Ethnic Cleansing*, and another shows how a black person is hung, in imitation of the lynching that took place in the American South.

[67] A powerful bomb was sent to his mother's home, had it exploded it would have levelled the house.

[68] Hasselbach now works as a journalist in Germany, writing on social issues. He also founded the organisation, *Exit*, to assist other neo-Nazis when they leave the movement, either by relocating them, or through re-education.

Warren Kinsella, in his book *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*,[69] studies the rise of extremist right wing groups in Canada. He found that the groups' ideology consisted of holocaust denial, anti-Semitism and the promotion of white power and rights. He discovered during his interviews that David Irving, the infamous holocaust denier and discredited amateur British historian of the Third Reich, was well-known in Canada's right wing circles.[70] What is of interest with regard to the Irving case is that he has written several books on the Third Reich that were well received by mainstream reviewers. These books include *Hitler's War* and *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*. In these books, although he had done meticulous research, Irving slanted the evidence. For example, he argued that Hitler was not aware of the Final Solution because there was no explicit documentary proof that he gave the order for the extermination of the Jews. He goes further to argue that while the actions of the Third Reich were singled out for censure, the actions of the allied forces (for example, the bombing of Dresden) could equally be viewed in a negative light, but are not. It was only with his lawsuit against Professor Lipstadt and her publishers Penguin Books that his work was discredited. The case of Irving is an illustration of the way in which historical evidence can be manipulated and used by white supremacists. Since the loss of his case Irving has become a martyr in white supremacist circles, and extracts of his works are used and cited online.

Martin Lee's *The Beast Reawakens*[71] studies the origins of the neo-Nazis and looks at the history of their ideology that draws on ideas of the Third Reich. He looks at the different movements that arose in America, Germany and France and at how the American Nazi Party, founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1958, influenced people such as William Pierce who founded the *National Alliance* after Rockwell was assassinated in 1967. According to Simonelli, between 1958 and 1967 "George Lincoln Rockwell was the most widely publicized anti-Semitic and racist political figure in America".[72] Rockwell believed that to bring across his message he had to be as blatant as possible, and even in his writings he expressed his admiration for the Nazi propaganda of the Second World War. Rockwell's writings, speeches and video clips can be found on the *Stormfront*[73] web-site.

[69]Kinsella, W. *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network*, Canada: HarperPerennial, 1995.

[70]In 2000 David Irving brought a lawsuit against Professor Lipstadt, because she accused him of holocaust denial in her book *Denying the Holocaust: The Assault on Truth and Memory*:United States of America: The Free Press, 1993.

[71]Lee, M. *The Beast Reawakens: The chilling story of the rise of the neo-Nazi movement*, Great Britain and United States: Little, Brown and Company, 1997.

[72]Simonelli, F. J. *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999, p. 2.

[73]http://www.av.stormfront.org.

Although Lee studies the interaction of white supremacists he does not mention the Internet. Lee explains how *Aryan Nations*, founded by Richard Butler, is influenced by the ideas of Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich. Lee points out that some of the members of these extremist groups, in an attempt to gain legitimate support, try to distance themselves from more virulent forms of anti-Semitism. He notes that David Duke, a former Klansman and Joerg Haider, the leader of the right wing Freedom Party (FPO) in Austria, both moved away from their extreme positions and went for public office.[74]

David Duke[75] is a self-confessed 'racialist' - the term used by the extreme right - who announced in December 1991 that he would run for the presidency of the United States of America. Duke is the one-time National Information Director and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People. He is a member of *Stormfront* and has published a book in which he explains how he was awakened to the ideology and position he now espouses. The book is available on the *Stormfront* web-site and is entitled *My Awakening.*[76] In his book he describes his journey towards racial 'understanding'. He attacks figures such as Dr Martin Luther King Jr., by questioning the latter's morality, character and ideals. David Duke is a leader, like Pierce (to be discussed in Chapter 6), who views the mainstream media as a threat to the dissemination of his message. He sees the advent of the Internet, as the medium that will change this and allow him a space to disseminate his views.

While, the above literature dealt with the white supremacist popular literature and the early white supremacists' communicating with each other via the print media, the book below shows how white supremacists also came to use the Internet directly as a means of communication and connection.

1.3.5 The Militia Movement and the Internet

Kenneth Stern, in his book *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, published a year after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995,[77] studies the emergence and growth of the militia movement in the United

[74] According to the Anti-Defamation League, Haider is labelled by his critics as a "'yuppie fascist' and the 'Austrian David Duke'".http://www.adl/backgrounders/joerg-haider.html, accessed 18th February 2000.

[75] Bridges, T. *The Rise of David Duke*, United States of America: University Press of Mississippi, 1994.

[76] David Duke also has his own web-site that has links to *Stormfront* articles and other white supremacist groups. His web-site can be found at http://www.davidduke.org.

[77] Stern, K. S. *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996, p. 64. McVeigh blamed the FBI for the deaths at Waco,

States of America. He argues that the bombing by Timothy McVeigh of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on 19th April 1995, was retaliation for the action of the Federal Bureau Agents at Waco.[78] Stern explains that the American militia movement emerged in the 1990's, but has its roots in the American past, especially the Ku Klux Klan. He points out that the Militia movement was influenced by the Christian Identity religion of *Aryan Nations* (see Chapter 6).

Stern's work is significant in that, unlike the scholars discussed above, he points out that the militia movement utilised the Internet from its birth in 1994.[79] Stern argues that the far-right in America had already been using computer-based communications for more than a decade: "Louis Beam operated a computer network for Aryan Nations in the mid-1980's".[80] He also points out that the American militia movement used the Internet to download manuals to make bombs, for example. Vindicating Martin Hall's powerful images of 'gated communities' defending their territory, Stern observes about computers: "they can do so much more; they can hook you up with like-minded people around the globe through bulletin boards and newsgroups on the Internet".[81] Stern's book on the Malitia Movement, emphasizes the changing nature of the extremist groups and how they have broadened their reach by using technology, in the form of e-mails and later the Internet to reach their audience.

1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter a number of issues have been raised: The Internet's role in the creation of identity and in building exclusive networks, the resurgence of white supremacism internationally and the nature of racial 'othering' that occurs in white supremacist ideology. The ideas that have been highlighted above form the basis for some of the questions that are posed in relation to the web-sites in Chapters 4 to 6.

This chapter has discussed the relevant literature which deals with the Internet and its uses. The literature available on the Internet and the use of the Internet by white supremacist groups is sparse, but does demonstrate the increased growth and use

Texas. When he was arrested, the police found the video, *Waco: the Big Lie* in the car.

[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-64. Waco, Texas, is where the Branch Davidians, with their leader David Koresh (formerly Vernon Howell) were in a stand-off with the FBI. On the 19th April 1993, the FBI decided to end the stand-off but in the attack a fire broke out and 80 people, including children, were killed.

[79] See discussion of international web-sites in Chapter 6. *Stormfront*, for example, appears on the Internet in 1995 and allows other sites (such as the AWB) to be hosted on its web-site.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

of the Internet by white supremacist groups for the purposes of disseminating their ideas as well as political mobilisation. The possibilities inherent in the Internet as a tool have been suggested by the literature discussed above.

But, it should be noted that the dissertation, while raising the issue of the potential of the Internet for recruitment and mobilisation, will not pursue questions related to its impact on users. Nor will it seek to demonstrate the validity of the assertions made on the Internet materials published by white supremacist groups on their web-sites. The following chapters will attempt to demonstrate the different ways in which the Internet is used by white supremacists to disseminate their ideas and philosophies. Importantly, it will make the point that white supremacists use versions of History, and what appears to be its disciplinary procedures concerning the production and interpretation of evidence, as part of their legitimating enterprise.

Unlike history textbooks, which are read under conditions of coercion, these confessionals are attractive, written in the form of s journey towards self-understanding that appeals to many people. Yet, they also use history, and combine the power of history with popular genre. As Thelen has noted, people who never open history textbooks, open confessional literature.[82] The use of confessional literature in this dissertation was studied for two reasons: it gives a picture of the nature and origins of white supremacist groups, and popular history in the form of documentaries, historical novels or film, as well as confessional literature, is illustrative of how history and popular genre can be used.

The following chapter is an extension of the literature review focussing on Afrikaner historiography and how it was used for political mobilisation. It looks at the symbols used by Afrikaner historians in establishing a recognisable past for the Afrikaners as well as giving them a history with which to establish a legitimate hold on the land.

[82]Thelen, D. (ed.) *Memory and American History*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Chapter 2

History and Nationalist Movements

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on South African historiography and Afrikaner nationalists' use of history and the way it is mobilised. The chapter attempts to outline the different ways in which History has been used in the past and is still being used in the present to disseminate Afrikaner nationalist ideas. A distinction is made here between Afrikaner nationalists' use of history more broadly, and 'Afrikaners' who have embraced a more exclusive identity as espoused by the ideology of white supremacist groups to be discussed. The use of History here is looked at in terms of the academic discipline of History as well as the accepted notion that History maintains some kind of truth if the rules of the discipline are followed.

The bulk of the chapter will deal with the way in which the events of the past have been used for political mobilisation with particular episodes in History having been isolated by Afrikaner nationalists. Dunbar Moodie is the first person to have isolated these episodes. Various other scholars have elaborated on his ideas, with Thompson making a distinction between what he describes as Afrikaner 'mythology' and Afrikaner history.

The argument as it unfolds, will demonstrate that the white supremacist groups use History and events from the past to disseminate their ideas by using the tropes of the convention. They are also making claims on the power and legitimacy of the discipline to further their political aims. White supremacist groups use academic discourse, as well as reaching into journalistic discourse (about balance, fairness and rationality) in an attempt to move themselves out of the illegitimate and fringe position that they currently occupy (see Dubow below).

2.2 Uses made of History

Despite the relative scarcity of information on History and the Internet, there is a vast local and international literature that deals with the uses of History and other media. Examples of these include Isabel Hofmeyr's 'Popularising History: The Case of Gustav Preller', in [1] as well as Luli Callinicos's review 'Popularising History in South Africa'[2] and Paul Forsyth's 'The Past in the Service of the Present: The Political use of History by Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi 1951-1991'.[3]

As David Thelen, an important American writer on popular history and editor of the *Journal of American History*, and others point out there has been a failure of formal History in the United States of America to attract and educate, but history in the form of family histories, museums, hobbies and novels has become increasingly popular. It seems that this is true elsewhere (in South Africa, where the process of reclaiming the past has been spearheaded by the use of oral history since the 1970s as a tool that allows for the inclusion of absent narratives, such as that of Black people's role in the Anglo-Boer War, for example, or the history of labour and the struggle). He argues that there is a need to study alternatives: film, popular re-enactments and visual representations. As he points out, people find that films, for example, make the past more convincing and meaningful, than what is learned in formal History classrooms.[4]

Thelen looks at why these appeals to the past work, which is very important for the arguments of this dissertation. He argues that they work because individual and collective pasts have much in common, as attested by analogies frequently drawn between personal life histories and national chronicles,[5] where people find a place for themselves and it makes them feel secure. His surveys show that many Americans

[1] Clingman, S. (ed.), *Regions and Repertoires: Topic in South African Politics and Culture*, Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1991.

[2] Callinicos, L. 'Popularising History in a Changing South Africa' *South African Historical Journal*, 25, 1991, p.22-37.

[3] Forsyth, P. 'The Past in the Service of the Present: The Political use of History by Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi 1951-1991', *South African Historical Journal*, 26, 1992, p.74-92.

[4] See for example the docu-dramas such as *Cry Freedom* or *Long Walk To Freedom*, that deal with issues of the struggle where the experiences of leaders such as Steve Biko (leader of the Black Consciousness Movement killed in detention in 1977) and Nelson Mandela (member of the ANC imprisoned for 27 years, released in 1990, and President of South Africa in 1994) are portrayed, or the films made from novels such as Alan Paton's *Cry The Beloved Country* or Andrè Brink's *A Dry White Season* which attempt to portray the experiences of South Africans during the segregationist and apartheid periods.

[5] Thelen, D. (ed.) *Memory and American History*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990, p. 134.

feel that they are more connected to the past when they construct family histories, visit museums or historical sites or go to historical films, than they are when they are studying History formally. They feel continuity with the past, particularly through themes of national assertion and the recasting of the great nation. In the United States of America both Presidents Reagan and Bush Senior made use of this. It was Ronald Reagan's central credo that Americans are now, as always, God's chosen people, and George Bush saddled the Founding Fathers with a Pledge of Allegiance that was in fact invented a century after their time.[6]

In Britain the Tories have similarly used English history to show continuity in the present with the past,[7] this suggests that even leaders of the so-called great nations need particular versions of the past to create or strengthen a sense of national identity, which serve both as an election strategy and, subsequently to support the policies that they want to implement. Knowledge of these phenomena is useful and assists one to look for parallels with South Africa. But whereas Thelen's work does look at how various adherents receive popular history, this dissertation as has been noted above, is not concerned with reception.

Some of the international literature that deals with the uses of History, with particular reference to political mobilisation, include articles in the *Journal of American History*, as well as books such as, *Memory and American History*,[8] *Mythical Past, Elusive Future*[9] and *Packaging the Past?*.[10]

2.3 Uses of historical symbols and metaphors

Historians in South Africa have long been interested in the use of historical symbols and metaphors for political purposes. Recently, Carolyn Hamilton has taken up the idea of the image of Shaka in her book based on her doctoral thesis, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention.*[11] Leslie Witz has explored the intentions behind the 1952 tercentennial festival of Van Riebeeck's

[6] Rosenzweig, R. & Thelen, D. *Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, United States of America: Columbia University Press, 1998, p. 136.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[8] Thelen, D. (ed.) *Memory and American History*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.

[9] Furedi, F. *Mythical Past, Elusive Future: History and Society in an Anxious Age*, United States of America: Pluto Press, 1992.

[10] Rickard, J. & Spearritt, P. (eds.), *Packaging the Past?: Public Histories*, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1991.

[11] Hamilton, C. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 1998.

arrival at the Cape,[12] used he argues to make a relatively new Afrikaner Nationalist idea of the 'white nation' appealing to a broad white constituency, including English-speakers. The symbols of civilisation 'being carried into darkest Africa' were present in the festival and it pageants.

Both Hamilton and Witz show that popular ways of recalling history can be linked to particular political interests at the time of their use for the purposes of rallying groups of people to a common cause, attempting to unify them under a single banner by means of recalling their 'proud and glorious' past. Hamilton and Witz also argue that History can be used as part of an attempt to control 'subject' groups. Hamilton shows that various images of Shaka composed both by white settlers and Africans were used at different times by white traders seeking British protection, by romantic novelists, and by British governors attempting to 'control' the Zulu. Witz argues that the Van Riebeeck symbol has been used to support the claims of a minority government to be operating in the tradition of bringing civilisation and enlightenment to the 'benighted natives'.

Both authors show the ways that historical symbols can change over time. Thus, for example, Theophilus Shepstone used a different image of Shaka at Chetswayo's (Shaka's nephew) coronation in the 1870s, from William Faure's in the 1986 film series *Shaka Zulu*. Her argument is that the images changed according to different requirements. *Shakaland*, the theme park, developed in the 1980s, was for example, needed to prepare white South Africans to feel comfortable with different 'cultures'[13] and the political federation conceived by the 'Reform' Nationalists. Furthermore, Hamilton and Wright[14] argue that Zulu historians collaborated in creating or promoting particular images of Shaka. In the early 1970s, the Zulu cultural organisation, *Inkatha*, had succeeded in getting September 24 proclaimed as Shaka Day, and proceeded to make the figure of Shaka the centrepiece of an ideological campaign

[12] Witz, L. *Commemorations and Conflicts in the Production of South Africa's National Pasts: The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival*, University of Cape Town: PhD Thesis, 1997. Witz, L. *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003.

[13] Hamilton, C. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 1998, p.1.

[14] Wright, J. "Making and Remaking Zuluist and Settlerist Histories in Shaka's Once-Upon-a-Time Kingdom". Paper presented at the Memory and History: Remembering, Forgetting and Forgiving in the Life of the Nation and the Community Conference, University of Cape Town, August 2000. The point still stands that contemporaries and later historians and politicians used the basics of the Shaka reign - such as they were known - to push their own perspectives and in some cases to exercise their own power. John Wright looks at how 'Zuluist' history and settlerist history have influenced and been used in different periods by different people to promote their particular ideologies.

promoting Zulu nationalism. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of *Inkatha*, found a royal connection with Shaka, and Zulu culture with the Shaka legacy writ large, was made to look attractive and accessible instead of tyrannical and exotic. Hamilton provides a good model of how versatile and useful historical symbols can be when they are linked to a history which audiences accepted as real and with which many people can identify.

As suggested above, Hamilton's work is one of the more recent examples of a broader literature that shows that History has had a central role in disseminating political ideologies. Works that deal with South African history textbooks or major historical images reproduced in the classroom, for example, J. Cobbing,[15] M. Cornevin[16] and F.E. Auerbach[17] are useful because they show how the Mfecane and the Great Trek were used by Afrikaner writers to justify the 'homeland' policies of the National Party, (in Cobbing's case, British imperialism as well). The dissertation will later examine the different presentations (if any) of what has become the central episodes of Afrikaner historiography with regard to the Great Trek.

The Great Trek has traditionally served to show Afrikaners as united in the face of hardship. Dan O'Meara has argued persuasively in his 1983 work, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948* that twentieth century Afrikaner nationalism was not a legacy of the nineteenth century but had to be manufactured, to bring Afrikaners together over what were considerable class divisions.

2.4 The 'Sacred Saga'

However, long before the works discussed above, Dunbar Moodie had looked at how History was used to promote the idea of the chosen race and ideas that God had ordained the Afrikaner nation.[18] It was really he who drew attention to elements of the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War which showed Afrikaners as heroes who had resisted the might of the British Empire as well as braving the 'uncivilised wilds' of Africa. These elements he then argued, were selectively employed to rally Afrikaner

[15] Cobbing, J. 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', *Journal of African History* 29,3, 1988, pp. 487-519.

[16] Cornevin, M. *Apartheid: Power and Historical Falsification*, Paris: UNESCO, 1980.

[17] Auerbach, F.E. *ABC of Race*, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970. Auerbach, F.E. *Racism, Youth and the Future Africa*, Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1983.

[18] Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980.

nationalists in the twentieth century. Other writers have, in many ways, followed Dunbar Moodie's arguments, with O'Meara adding some refinements on the issue of class divisions among Afrikaners.

The detail and subtlety of Moodie's analysis are central and have, by and large, not received sufficient credit from those who followed him. Dunbar Moodie's, book *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, coined the phrase "Afrikaner civil religion"[19] to describe the Afrikaners' belief that God directed their nation. In Dunbar Moodie's work, the invented history of God's involvement with the nation is the "'sacred saga' of Afrikanerdom".[20] According to Dunbar Moodie, authors of the 'sacred saga' chose the period between 1806 and 1914, which constitutes the time from the British occupation of the Cape to the execution of the protesters against the First World War in 1914. Moodie calls this "the period of revelation".[21] In the 'sacred saga' it appears as if the history before 1806 is not important and that by this time, the Afrikaners were already a nation, which is highly debatable.

Dunbar Moodie embarks upon a description of the litany of 'wrongs' supposedly endured by the Afrikaners and how they overcame them, which appeared in the 'sacred saga'. He mentions the Battle of Blood River between trekkers and Dingane's regiments in the late 1830's and the covenant that the trekkers supposedly made with God in return for victory over the Zulu. In 1877 the annexation of the Transvaal Republic led to conflict between Boer and Briton and the Boers' victory at Majuba in the 'first Anglo-Boer War' and another covenant at Paardekraal in 1880 also became part of the 'sacred saga'. The Jameson Raid and the subsequent Second Anglo-Boer War were regarded as instances of British evil. Jameson and his raiders in the famous incident shortly before the Second Anglo-Boer War, were regarded as nasty opportunists and robbers and were held to exemplify Afrikaner leniency, because the Afrikaner governments could have sentenced them to death, and instead handed them over to the British for trial. The importance of the Anglo-Boer War for the 'sacred saga' is seen in that it brought Afrikaners from the Afrikaner Republics and the Cape Colony together.

Dunbar Moodie indicates some of the difficulties in sustaining the 'sacred saga' as evidence of God's special favour, elaborating on the consequences of the Second Anglo-Boer War, such as the concentration camps in which women and children were killed, and homesteads and farms were destroyed, so that it seemed as if God

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

had abandoned them. The Boers it has been said, only surrendered at Vereeniging because their women and children were suffering and they regarded this as the "time of greatest despair".[22] Later, with the outbreak of the First World War, the Afrikaners were expected to fight on the side of their enemy, Great Britain, but some Afrikaners rebelled against this, and these rebels were easily defeated, becoming time honoured martyrs. How is this explained by the tellers of the 'sacred saga'?, Dunbar Moodie asks. How can such a tale of relentless suffering and defeat be reconciled with an idea that God looked favourably on the 'Afrikaner nation'? It is an important observation, which, as we will see, Dunbar Moodie attempts to flesh out.

He argues that the "outlines of this sacred history remained essentially unchanged"[23] in the twentieth century but that there were different interpretations given to it. Different kinds of emphases, features and symbols were highlighted according to the time and which particular faction was embracing them. To understand how the theme of suffering was used productively, Dunbar Moodie argues that particular Calvinist influences must be investigated and he does this in great detail. Suffering and apparent defeat must be seen in their Calvinist context. In terms of Calvinist theology, " righteous suffering may be taken as assurance of God's favour".[24] Dunbar Moodie quotes the Afrikaner ideologues who used Calvin's theology to say that suffering was to show God's honour for Afrikaners. Here he is trying to explain how affliction was made to seem appealing because it had a long-term objective. Suffering, following the story of the resurrection, has future rewards, so the Afrikaner ideologues believed that there was some great cause for which they had to suffer and "[t]he [Boer] republics, like Christ, had come and were yet to come".[25]

Dunbar Moodie's study is one of the most significant contributions in the field because of his meticulous attention to the detail of Afrikaner historical mythology in the context of twentieth century politics. He also attempts to trace how these ideas were transmitted and how aspects of Afrikaner ideology came to penetrate the ideas of ordinary people. According to Dunbar Moodie, for Afrikaner ideologues, the chief forms of evil were "imperialism, capitalism and egalitarian - liberalism".[26] He points out that Afrikaner writers and artists used caricatures to portray these so-called evils, so that, although most ordinary Afrikaners did not understand the complexities of the civil faith (the 'sacred saga'), their "comprehension was sufficiently coherent on the conceptual and emotive levels for them to respond with

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

outrage to such civil-religious symbols as Slagtersnek, Blaauwkrantz or the concentration camps".[27] This is a very important point. Although Dunbar Moodie did no research on this aspect, it suggests how it may have been possible for this ideology to make contact with ordinary people, a point which has been neglected by other scholars in this area, as will be pointed out below.

Dunbar Moodie argues that 'emotion-laden symbols' made the sacred history seem personal, especially in the context of "reunions, assemblies and meetings", visiting monuments (Voortrekker Monument), speeches and songs. He quotes many examples and claims that by 1938 "the ordinary Afrikaner had made the main theme of the civil religion part of his own emotional identity".[28]

There was also a special place for Afrikaner women in the sacred history; women were strong, moral and courageous and God gave them a special task, namely the bearing and raising of Afrikaner children. The Afrikaner woman in her faith and purity can equate certain of her attributes to that of the Virgin Mary.[29] Elsabè Brink was later to develop these ideas in her work on the *Volksmoeder*.[30]

Dunbar Moodie argues that from the 1920's onwards a major cultural appeal (note the role he ascribes to the *Broederbond*) was made to pan-Afrikanerdom, and here he describes the growth of the language movement at the end of the nineteenth century, and explains how the suffering of the Afrikaners had become the subject of great lyrical poetry by the early twentieth century, and how this literature began to articulate the "national grief" which helped "to formulate a clear consciousness of national identity".[31] So language and literature also came to play a part in mobilising ordinary Afrikaners and shaping their identity.

Another important contribution made by Dunbar Moodie (and later to be refined and explained in Marxist terms by O'Meara)is his argument that in the first part of the twentieth century, Afrikaners were not homogeneous and there were constant threats to the idea of a united Afrikaner nation. In the 1930s the threat came in the shape of 'Fusion'. The Afrikaner Nationalist Press was very vocal against the Fusion of the South African Party (SAP) and the National Party (NP). Malan defended the idea of the Republic, whereas Hertzog seemed to have given up on the idea.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[30] Brink, E. 'Man made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the volksmoeder', in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, C. Walker, (ed.), Cape Town and London: David Philip and James Currey, 1990.
[31] Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980, pp. 42-3.

Dunbar Moodie argues that Malan consciously drew on the 'sacred' history, turning the defeats of the last 100 years into successes because they had not compromised the soul of Afrikanerdom. Malan had been a *dominee* (church minister) before he went into politics, and Dunbar Moodie jokes that he resigned to go to work for God in Parliament.[32]

Malan and his group were also worried that the Fusion Government would favour the financiers and mine-owners on the Rand at the expense of the poor Afrikaners and that "this would tragically divide the Afrikaner people".[33] Negotiations between Hertzog and Malan broke down ultimately when Smuts made a speech in which he said South Africa was firmly tied to the Empire, "since no legal bonds now existed, but only ties of affection".[34]

The Cape and Transvaal National Parties became more united over issues that were of mutual concern: a republic, separate mother-tongue instruction for whites, strict political separation between the races and concern for the poor whites. Henceforth, Dunbar Moodie writes, the destiny of the National Party and civil religion would be inextricably bound together.

Dunbar Moodie then comes to consider the impact of National Socialism on Afrikaner ideology and makes an important point about how some aspects came from below rather than above. Hendrik Verwoerd, the future Prime Minister, who at this stage was a journalist, expressed anti-Semitic ideas in *Die Burger*.[35] But what Dunbar Moodie notes is that anti-Semitic ideas came from grassroots pressure. In this sense, Dunbar Moodie acknowledges that Afrikaner Nationalist ideology was also shaped from below. According to Dunbar Moodie, Malan at first tried to discourage anti-Semitism but eventually gave in to popular pressure. There was an upsurge in anti-Semitism because of poverty and hardship among rural Afrikaners who saw individual Jewish traders as better off than they were. This is an important element for the dissertation that follows. Stellenbosch professors addressed anti-Semitic protests and in 1937 eventually made Malan agree that all Jewish immigration from Nazi Germany had to stop. This was defeated by the United Party, but it was agreed that all immigrants had to be screened first.

Dunbar Moodie's study does not only deal with the 'sacred saga' that came to be the basis of the ideology associated with the National Party, but also discusses how the 'sacred saga' was modified by various breakaway groups of the 1930s and 1940s,

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[34] *Ibid.*, p.137.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

particularly one led by Dr Steyn Vorster which represented an openly National Socialist view of the state. They were anti-parliamentary and wanted 'a "unitary state"(*Eenheidstaat*)'.[36] This Vorster-led group controlled *Die Republikein*, a newspaper that rejected the party system. The English and the Jews were called the parasites and *uitlanders* (foreigners) and had to prove their worth to the state. This group openly expressed their admiration for Hitler and Nazi Germany.

Dunbar Moodie notes these were not the only movements to express admiration for Hitler and that there were others such as the Christian-Republican movement, begun and led by Professor C.J.H. de Wet after he left the National Party in 1936. The Christian-Republican movement drew support from student republicans, such as N.G.S. van der Walt, who volunteered their support in *Die Republikein* to Professor de Wet: "Let us as young Afrikaners stand together to take the straightest and shortest way to our ideal, even as Hitler came out openly for that which he struggled, thereby winning the trust of his whole People".[37]

In 1937 a National Republican Unity Front under the leadership of S.P.E. Jacobs was formed, according to *Die Republikein*. The purpose of the Front 'was to establish in South Africa an independent state on a Christian National basis, in which there would be no place for the evils of the "present British-Jewish imperialist capitalist system"'.[38] Dunbar Moodie points out that the above movements only had support in the western and northern Transvaal but did not gain any widespread support among the rest of the Afrikaners. When *Die Republikein* went out of publication in 1938, the various extremist groups on the republican fringe of Afrikaner life went underground. Dunbar Moodie stresses that this did not mean that they completely disappeared, but rather that they resurfaced after the declaration of war in 1939. He argues: "their members [remained] zealous for republican independence along National Socialist lines and act[ed] as a yeast in the ranks of Afrikanerdom".[39]

Another quasi-fascist group was the New Order. The formation of the New Order study group with the new H.N.P. of Malan from 1940, was formed by O. Pirow, ex-member of Hertzog's cabinet.[40] Pirow wanted a strongly-centred white South African state and the New Order's objective was to make propaganda. It was very much influenced by ideas of National Socialism. This led to conflict with people in the National Party, centred on the question of Afrikaner Nationalist identity. The New Order did not concentrate on the Afrikaner nature of the state. Pirow was

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

expelled from the National Party caucus "during the next parliament however, which effectively ended his political career".[41] But Dunbar Moodie argues that this did not mean the end of commitment to National Socialism in Afrikanerdom, and one can see this in the number of Afrikaners who were attracted to the paramilitary organisation, the *Ossewa Brandwag* (O.B.). The O.B. organisation leaders openly admired Hitler, especially J.F. van Rensberg, who wrote a novel called *Sonder Gewere* (*Without Guns*), on its founding as a paramilitary organisation.

There also arose problems between the Party and the O.B. In April 1940 the Transvaal O.B. published... "a draft republican constitution which was definitely National Socialist in Spirit".[42] It had a very strong executive parliament, including control of key industries, the press, civil service, the defence force and municipal councils, and addressed the so-called Jewish question, which would be "settled without delay".[43] The conditions for citizenship to the Republic would only be permitted to those of "pure white descent" as well as ethnic affiliation to Afrikaners.

Malan felt threatened by the O.B., but Verwoerd in 1941 felt that it was definitely part of the power of Afrikaners. Malan kept trying to assert the civil religion as pertinent to Afrikaner life. Eventually there was a split between the Party and the O.B. Dunbar Moodie says it was because each of them wanted the total allegiance of the Afrikaners. Some of Malan's supporters helped break the O.B. by accusing them of being Nazis. As Dunbar Moodie observes, the publications of the O.B. did indeed embrace a Nazi tone and message; for example, ideology about the soil of the fatherland, conceptions of the state which emphasised the whole rather than individuals, strengthening the state, giving more authority to the state in the name of the people and "[a] people who most fully realised these ideals, concluded the pamphlet, was Nazi Germany".[44] The leader of the O.B., van Rensberg went so far as to state that: "only a German victory could bring the Republic".[45]

What had happened to the 'sacred saga' in the case of these breakaways? Dunbar Moodie argues that the O.B. began to reinterpret the sacred history and found that all the "old emphasis on suffering and resurrection at God's hand seemed somehow inadequate to contain the new militant *volksbeweeging* (*people movement*) ideology".[46] The Party continued with the suffering theme, but the O.B. "began to retell the whole of the 'sacred saga' as a series of heroic uprisings against British

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

rule".[47] Slagtersnek and the Great Trek were both interpreted as acts of "rebellion rather than as acts of redemptive suffering".[48] The central episode in the "People's history became for the O.B. the crowning glory of Majuba"[49] - the battle which the Boers *won*. The exploits of the Boer guerrillas [in the Anglo-Boer War] were exalted far above the afflictions of women and children in the concentration camps".[50] The greatest hero for the O.B. was Jopie Fourie [a rebel in 1914] who came to symbolise the struggle for self-determination of the Boer 'nation'. Different anniversaries were celebrated, namely, Paardekraal and Majuba, rather than Bloukrans and Blood River.

After the 1943 elections it became clear that Hitler was losing the World War and the O.B. tried to adjust to this idea and thought about becoming a parliamentary organisation or a labour organisation. By 1944 members of the O.B. were still calling for National Socialist reform. But by the end of the war they had to play down their extremist image and channelled their energies into mother-tongue education and the moral justification of apartheid. In the campaign for mother-tongue education there was a heavy stress placed on History, because "History carried the key to the Afrikaner heritage".[51] Such a History it was believed "could not be taught in a mixed-language school".[52] It should be about the years of struggle against the British and the suppression of the Dutch/Afrikaans language and cultural rights. Dunbar Moodie argues that this campaign was not only about mother-tongue education, but also about the way in which children should be socialised.

Dunbar Moodie insists that the issues of the 1948 general election had their roots in the civil religion theme. Appeals were made to the memory of the Voortrekkers as preservers of Christian civilisation - hence the importance of the Great Trek centenary 10 years before. Fear of communism was also a strong strand of National Party ideology because Communists advocated racial equality. Trade Unionism and Communism had made inroads into the Afrikaner working-class and the National Party combated this with the 'sacred saga'. Dunbar Moodie points out that although the O.B. had fallen apart as an organisation, its members were elected to parliament or were responsible for helping certain members win, for example, Dr Diedericks. Dunbar Moodie's central argument then is that the victory of the NP in 1948 owed much to the civil religion, which took several turns, as has been seen in the course of the twentieth century.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[52] *Ibid.*, p.240.

Dunbar Moodie's book only goes up to 1948 but there is some attempt to sketch the period afterwards, to the 1970s. He argues that Apartheid was not simple racism, but a set of complex and changing ideas about ethnic identities, which was then extended to other people, and later on developed into the 'Bantustan' idea. Ideas of nation developed after 1948 still owed much to Calvinist ideas about God's plan as well as old nineteenth century Romantic ideas about nations. The 'sacred saga' then in Dunbar Moodie's view mobilised political support, healed divisions among Afrikaners and justified white supremacy.

During the 1958 Blood River celebrations, Verwoerd used all the old symbols of the civil religion, such as, the Great Trek and the victory at Blood River, for the purpose of saying that Afrikaners had survived against incredible odds and that whites should be the protectors of civilisation. There had been a shift from 'Afrikaners' to 'whites' in general, and the Republic received support in the 1960 'whites only' republic referendum. The success of the 1960 republic referendum was celebrated at the Voortrekker Monument; Verwoerd said "it [was] a day of answered prayer".[53]Dunbar Moodie then mentions the rise of Afrikaner entrepreneurs and talks about the split between *verligtes* (enlightened) and *verkramptes* (conservative). When he ends his study B.J. Vorster is still Prime Minister.

Dunbar Moodie's complex and convoluted account is difficult to read because of its structure and it is my contention that it has been neglected as a result. Many later authors simply repeated some of his basic arguments and completely ignored others. But we should not be dismissive of his very rich account of the 'sacred saga' and particularly its attention to the different ways in which South African history was exploited to 'prove' that God's plan for the Afrikaner nation was unfolding. The 'sacred saga' gave Afrikaner ideologues - at different times and in different circumstances - particular kinds of moral justifications, explanations for defeat and suffering and hope in hard times. The 'sacred saga' also gave them a sense of nation when they felt dislocated, displaced, fragmented, and weak. Dunbar Moodie suggests how the transmission of the 'sacred saga' may have taken place, and why people may have been inclined to believe it and could relate to it. Importantly, he explains how the 'sacred saga' could be adapted and its emphases changed. This is of fundamental importance for this dissertation.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

2.5 'Political Mythology'

Another extremely important foundational text is by Leonard Thompson in *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, which deals with "political mythology" - first in a general sense as what he sees as "a cluster of myths that reinforce one another and jointly constitute the historical element in the ideology of the regime".[54] What he points to, like some of the authors mentioned above, is the use of history in many different circumstances. While he has no doubt that these myths are mostly untrue, he sees them as fulfilling a "necessary function"[55] in society. He argues that some myths cannot be adapted and must die out. Ironically he chooses the Aryan myth as his example.

After this introduction, his book then becomes one of the most thorough treatments of the details of Afrikaner historiography. It details how Afrikaner Nationalists over the course of the twentieth century have used historical ideology, symbols and historical events (for example the Slagtersnek massacre) to promote their ideas. His book is more concerned with textbooks and official histories than with the broader political and theological discourses that interest Dunbar Moodie, although there are several points of overlap. Thompson notes that, in their terms, the Afrikaners are presented as the victims of the British, which helped the drive for independence within the Republican movement. Thompson also describes how towards the end of the Apartheid era, the Reform Afrikaners such as F. Van Jaarsveld,[56] contested the Afrikaner Nationalist version of South African history, particularly by questioning divine intervention in the Battle of Blood River, and thereby questioning the whole doctrine of Afrikaners as the chosen race, which got them into serious trouble with their more conservative brethren. This shows how seriously History was taken in Afrikaner Nationalist circles.

Thompson also addresses the concept of race, anticipating some of Dubow's arguments. Thompson says that it was harder to articulate ideas of biological racism in the later twentieth century, after the Second World War, and the exposure of

[54] Thompson, L, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1985, p. 1.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[56] Van Jaarsveld, was one of the primary textbook authors of the apartheid era. Examples of the history textbooks written by Van Jaarsveld to be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, include the following: Van Jaarsveld, F. A., Van Der Walt, J.J. and Behr, D. *History for Standard VI: Covering the New T.E.D. Syllabus for Differentiated Secondary Education*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1958. Van Jaarsveld, F. A., Dreyer, N., van der Merwe, B.J., *New Illustrated History Std. 6*, Doornfontein, Johannesburg: Perskor Publishers, 1974.

Nazi atrocities. This necessitated changes in official Afrikaner mythology. However, Thompson maintains that racial prejudices among ordinary people were not fundamentally changed. He argues that for many white people in Europe, America and South Africa, "the old racist paradigm is still an extremely attractive way of explaining the world and justifying white power and privilege".[57] Thompson never really explains though why mythology is indispensable to society. He takes prejudices as given and unchanging, which contradicts some of his other arguments. He does not address what is 'attractive' about what he vaguely calls the 'old racist paradigm'. Perhaps because he was writing in the 1980s, at a time when racism seemed intransigent, he simply assumed that a 'racist paradigm' was attractive. He never examines the *elements* that made it attractive and powerful, especially for the period in which, as he acknowledges, the religious element which made apartheid seem morally defensible, was much weaker than it had been. Thompson appears to view the history of the 'Afrikaners' from an Anglo point of view, including a hidden assumption that 'Afrikaners' are not very sophisticated.

What is valuable about Thompson's work is that he discusses the early development of Afrikaner historiography, in which he singles out the work of men such as Preller, who was "largely responsible for making the Great Trek the centrepiece of Afrikaner historiography".[58] This idea is echoed in a lot of the other literature in this field, arguing that the idea of the 'Great Trek' is largely invented. But there is still a gap in Thompson's account, which makes it unclear why people responded with such enthusiasm to Preller's version. One of the preludes to the Great Trek that came to be highlighted, was the Slagtersnek 'uprising' which involved a group of Boer rebels. The British Government was depicted as the great oppressor and the rebels as the heroes. (Interestingly, the Slagtersnek episode is still covered in school history, with the Bezhuidenhout brothers who fomented the rebellion being presented as heroes.)[59] Once British imperialism seemed to be weakened, according to Thompson, the racial (black-white) elements of Afrikaner mythology became stronger. This was intensified by the growing militancy of African Nationalism and the influence of ideas brought from abroad to South Africa by young Afrikaner intellectuals.[60]

[57] Thompson, L, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1985, p. 17.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[59] This assertion is based on conversations with student teachers who had been in the field in the course of 2001, notably Ms Freida Ratema who did her teaching practice in that year at Sir Pierre van Ryneveld High School in Kempton Park, Johannesburg.

[60] Thompson, L, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1985, p. 42.

Afrikaner Nationalist mythology was spread through what Thompson calls "an elaborate network of religious, educational, and communications institutions"[61] and he sees this as having had a profound effect on the minds of many South Africans. Thompson, unlike some of the other authors surveyed in this literature review, points to the importance of education, which the *Broederbond* itself prioritised.[62] He refers to the emphasis given to history in different school syllabuses and points to the Afrikaans origin of most of the textbooks.[63] He quotes from the Transvaal Education Department history syllabus from 1958, which listed as one of its aims that the teaching of history should show "how a Divine plan with a nation is carried out".[64] Thompson notes the presentation of the Afrikaners as an ultra-religious community to strengthen the idea that Afrikaners were God's own people, and an important demonstration of this was the Covenant supposedly made before the Battle of Blood River.

Thompson then shows how early Afrikaner historiography made its way into history textbooks; for example, the idea that the Cape slave-owners were more benevolent than any others in the world. Thompson cites F.E. Auerbach's study of textbooks published in 1965, which showed that nineteenth century historiography was being used to discredit 'liberal' arguments against racism and to encourage readers to see Africans as dishonest, hostile and savage.[65] He noted that this reading of Africans was particularly pronounced in Afrikaans textbooks.

This is supported in Franz Auerbach's,[66] study of history textbooks in secondary schools, which compares the textbooks written for children both in English and Afrikaans. He notes that all the history textbooks were written in Afrikaans first and then translated into English, supposedly because there was a bigger Afrikaans-speaking market.

A more important reason for history textbooks being translated from Afrikaans into English was that the materials chosen were different. Auerbach argues that the history textbooks were being used to divide English- and Afrikaans-speaking children. The content of the Afrikaans textbooks was explicitly hostile to non-Afrikaners, especially the British who were portrayed as '*uitlanders*' (literally outsiders, but commonly translated as foreigners) and the enemy. However, when the books were

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[62] *Ibid.*This can be seen in pages 49 and following up to page 54.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[66] Auerbach, F.E. *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education: An Enquiry into History Textbooks and Syllabuses in the Transvaal High Schools of South Africa*, Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1965.

translated from Afrikaans into English, a different picture emerged, and the portrayal of the British was softened. The Afrikaans textbooks also had a specific message directed at building the 'Afrikaans' nation. The episodes that were central to this nation-building were the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War. In 1958, Professor F. A. van Jaarsveld himself "suggested that the Afrikaners' concept of history was limited by the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War".[67]

It may be noted here that Thompson also pays attention to the textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s, which justified the pass laws, furthered the myth of the empty land and emphasised that white people were the bearers of civilisation. Even later textbooks by C.J. Joubert had as their central theme "the rise of Afrikaner culture and political nationalism"[68] and discussed in some detail the ten supposed African 'nations', in the context of the segregated education system.

Interestingly, for the purposes of this dissertation, Thompson also analyses how these textbooks looked at Nazism and how they glorified Hitler and played down the persecution of the Jewish people and the concentration camps. Thompson cites the UNESCO study of 1981, which concluded that the textbooks were "designed to cultivate attitudes favourable to the system of white supremacy".[69]

Thompson argues that races were seen as pure and that it was assumed by well-respected academics in the first part of the twentieth century that Hellites [or Europeans] were responsible for every major achievement in Africa. These ideas persisted well into the 1930s, and it is important to note that they have come back again in the mid-1990s on the Internet, as this dissertation will show.[70]

Thompson believes that the Afrikaner mythology he describes has been weakened by meticulous research, new data and new analyses of events, but also argues that some of the myths were no longer needed and were, in fact, a hindrance, for example, Afrikaners in the 1980s needed the co-operation of English-speakers and so had to drop the virulent anti-imperialist myths. He also describes the religious crisis in the 1980s which spilled over into a fight over whether or not God had made a Covenant with the Boers at Blood River.[71]

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 4. Van Jaarsveld is an interesting case, see the discussion in the following chapter.

[68] Thompson, L, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1985, p. 60.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[70] See Chapters 3 and 6, notably the *World Church of the Creator's* unequivocal stance that 'whites' or Aryans as they prefer, were the greatest inventors and contributors to the accumulation of knowledge and hence the advancement of civilization.

[71] To be discussed in Chapters 3 and 6.

Thus, according to Thompson, the Reform National Party politicians had to separate hatred and prejudice from being good Afrikaners, and had to reinterpret events such as the victory at Blood River, which led to further alienation of right wing Afrikaners, and confrontations between them and reformers. Basically, according to Thompson, Afrikaner Nationalist mythology lost its power in the 1980s because it was exposed as untrue, the racial paradigm was no longer credible, and the National Party needed to find new allies, not only among English-speaking whites, but also among Coloureds and Asians, and so was content to drop its mythology.

Thompson seems to believe that the details of historical events are not of interest to modern so-called white Africans, and that they do not depend on detailed knowledge of history any more for their beliefs.[72] But, he does not consider that history might be used in other media. By empirically demonstrating the distinction between history and mythology, history will take care of getting rid of racial prejudice and its supporting mythologies. But then most people are not going to follow his argument because it is too difficult.

A warning note is perhaps sounded in Albert Grundlingh's article on Afrikaner historiography.[73] Auerbach and Thompson present the authors of Afrikaner nationalist history somewhat simplistically as if they were simply liars. Grundlingh makes it more complicated by arguing that historians of the Afrikaner school were actually concerned with what they thought of as the pursuit of the truth, especially to counter the 'biased' historical accounts by the British imperialist school. Grundlingh argues that Afrikaner historians and the textbooks they wrote were written within a scientific paradigm, making use of recognised historical procedures and concepts such as evidence. It was this approach that made the history they wrote seem so irreproachable, as it appeared scientific and objective. Grundlingh draws our attention to Van Jaarsveld, who was at first considered something of a rebel by Afrikaner historians in the academy, when he returned from his studies in the Netherlands. Grundligh's observations about Van Jaarsveld's thoughts with regard to how history was to be written are important (as will be shown in the following chapter), because Van Jaarsveld attacked populist historians for taking too many liberties with historical sources, but at the same time he wanted to make history appealing to lay people. Van Jaarsveld's ideas about 'scientific history' are quite complex and it will be argued may have had a profound influence on some of the web authors here (see chapters 3 and 6.)

[72]Thompson, L, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 1985.

[73]Grundlingh, A. 'Politics, Principles and Problems of a Profession: Afrikaner Historians and their Discipline, c. 1920 - c. 1965', *Perspectives in Education*, 12(1), 1990/91, pp. 1-19.

In Van Jaarsveld's own book of essays[74] in the chapter on *History and History Teaching* he acknowledges how difficult it is for the historian to reach the truth, and berates Preller (a popular historian whom Hofmeyr has argued was responsible for making people identify emotionally with the Voortrekkers) for not using his sources critically. This is ironical, given that Van Jaarsveld is generally remembered for having written what is considered to be political Afrikaner nationalist history. In the next chapter Van Jaarsveld's ideas on how History should be written and taught will be explored on the basis that many South African web-sites have been influenced by him. It appears that his approach to history was highly effective because of his evident influence on the web authors of the South African web-sites (to be analysed below).

2.6 'Volkskapitalisme'

D. O'Meara,[75] I. Hofmeyr,[76] A. M. Grundlingh[77] and H. J. Sapire[78] all explore ideas of Afrikaner history that united Afrikaners as a political strategy, and which helped the National Party to win the 1948 elections. O'Meara's book made an impact because of its appearance as a Marxist intervention in the debate about the origins of apartheid, although it actually said many of the same things as Dunbar Moodie. Dan O' Meara, in *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948*,[79] argues that the ideas of Afrikaner nationalism were not just the fantasies of simple-minded, ordinary people, as Thompson and others such as I. D. MacCrone in the famous frontier thesis suggest, but were carefully constructed by Afrikaner Nationalist ideologues to revive the spirits of people who felt downtrodden and powerless in the 1930s because of economic depression and discrimination in South Africa.[80] These ideas were consciously mobilised to unite

[74]Van Jaarsveld, F.A. *The Afrikaner's Interpretation of South African History*, Cape Town: Simodium Publishers (Pty.) Ltd., 1964.

[75]O' Meara, D. *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948*, Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1983.

[76]Hofmeyr, I. 'Popularising History: The Case of Gustav Preller', in Clingman, S. (ed.), *Regions and Repertoires: Topic in South African Politics and Culture*, Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1991

[77]Grundlingh, A. M. *Fighting their Own War: South African Blacks and the First World War*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987.

[78]Sapire, H. J. and Grundlingh, A.M. 'From Feverish Festival to Repetitive Ritual? The Changing Fortunes of Great Trek Mythology in an Industrialising South Africa, 1938-1988', Wits, Johannesburg: Social Transformation Seminar, 17 March 1989.

[79]O' Meara, D. *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948*, Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1983.

[80]MacCrone, I.D. *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, Oxford, 1937.

Afrikaans-speakers in pursuit of national, political and economic goals in, for example, the re-enactment of the Great Trek in 1938. Dan O'Meara and other scholars showed how symbols that recalled the past brought Afrikaners together over divisions of class, for example. The ideas of a Golden Age, the pioneer spirit embodied in the Great Trek (with its symbols of the ox-wagon, Voortrekker kappie [bonnet], Blood River and divine intervention) - all recalled a halcyon period that could be recaptured through political unity.

2.7 'Scientific Racism'

Another but slightly different kind of work on the role of ideas in political mobilisation is that of Saul Dubow. Dubow's work, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*[81] is different in that it looks at how racial ideas and theories, for example eugenics, were developed in academic and professional circles and how they then worked their way into mainstream policies. Dubow is particularly interested in the early twentieth century traditions of Physical Anthropology as well as I.Q. testing. Dubow shows how, in the early twentieth century, 'race' as a social construct became a guiding principle of policy, but argues that in the later twentieth century there was a change to an emphasis on 'culture'. In the early apartheid period, 'culture' became a justification for racial segregation when 'race' was no longer morally acceptable to the world after the Nazis. Dubow's work is suggestive because he makes one think of how the *AWB* (and other movements) are switching their tactics by using the rhetoric of multiculturalism to become more acceptable and to appear non-threatening. It allows the *AWB* and others to use the idea of the affirmation of race 'rights' while protecting their exclusivity from charges of racism.

Dubow's book is regarded as a seminal work, because it explores racial theories. Dubow argues that racial theories have been neglected until recently. He talks about how race as an issue has been downplayed by South African historians in trying to understand South African society because they do not want to give it any credence as an idea. But, he believes that there is a need to study ideas of race and nation much more closely to understand "race consciousness".[82] To some extent he builds on Thompson's work in the *Political Mythology of Apartheid* (see p.52).

Dubow describes the international academic connections between German and Dutch

[81] Dubow, S. *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1995.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

universities that were established by academics in South African universities in the early part of the twentieth century. He shows that ideas about race, for example from Physical Anthropology, were not the monopoly of Afrikaners. Dubow points to how ideas regarding race were adapted to the South African situation. He reminds us that, as of the early twentieth century, the use of the terms race and nation were interchangeable. In the later part of the twentieth century, this close association was challenged. However, the idea persisted in South Africa. Today extremist groups still use race and nation together, i.e. the term "the white race" or "Aryan nation" are used interchangeably, therefore making us aware of a precedent for intellectual global connections, such as in the promotion of racial ideologies on the Internet.

This dissertation will challenge Thompson and Dubow's impression that particular ideas have died out. Like Thompson, Dubow addresses the question of historiography but to a limited extent. He points out that historians such as George McCall Theal popularised a lot of ideas and were influential over a number of years by historians who followed. Theal subscribed to the idea of a "racial hierarchy"[83] which persisted. Dubow notes that even the relatively enlightened Olive Schreiner, the famous novelist, also "used Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantu, Boer and Briton as fundamental categories".[84] S.M. Molema, a black writer, tended to adopt this racial hierarchy too. Images of the 'Bantu' as savages that occur in [history] school textbooks are mentioned by Dubow. But he does not analyse any of these texts in any detail, except for the sections on the physical descriptions of the 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots'. He also does not mention any of these textbooks by name.[85] This is because he is much more interested in looking at the German tradition of linguistics and the influences of Physical Anthropology, which saw language as an expression of nationhood, arguing that this also influenced early twentieth century academics in South Africa.

Dubow poses the question of how a *volk* was defined, pointing to the importance of the argument of "the communality in land, blood, culture, religion and language".[86] One of the most interesting and valuable points of Dubow's work is his discussion of how the central concepts of Afrikaner Nationalism, especially *volk*, were fiercely contested amongst its proponents, as they argued about what they meant. This resulted in "a series of contradictions, fudges and contortions".[87]

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[85] Van Jaarsveld as one of the pre-eminent writers of history textbooks between the 1950s and 1970s is one of the examples that will be discussed in the following chapter.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 280.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

Dubow emphasises the role of intellectuals in developing apartheid. Young Afrikaner intellectuals who began to address the issue of race and nationality in *Koers*[88] (the organisation of the Calvinist Student Association, intellectuals from the *South African Bond vir Rassestudie*[89] and work of the *Broederbond*) began to flesh out primitive versions of the homeland idea. Note that Dubow's top-down approach and assumption that intellectuals conceived of the ideas first and then influenced ordinary people is open to question. Dubow downplays the role of Calvinist ideology, although noting that the Dutch Reformed Church was racist and basically in support of racism, which hardened over the course of the 1930s. The Dutch Reformed Church gave sanction to the idea of Afrikaner nationalism. The *Broederbond* exercised a lot of influence through the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereenigings (FAK)*[90] and Dubow emphasises the contribution of young Afrikaner intellectuals such as Geoff Cronje and H.F. Verwoerd. During World War II Afrikaners attempted to gain political power by means of the National Party as well as the paramilitary O.B. Some Afrikaners felt sympathy for the Germans and this was manifested in a "general receptiveness towards Nazi ideology".[91] Dubow argues that Afrikaner ideology was to a significant extent associated with and encouraged by Nazi ideas, as well as the eugenist literature from the English-speaking world. Note, in this context, he discusses theorists such as Gerrie Eloff, a geneticist who was interested in defining the unique qualities of the *Boerevolk*.

But one of Dubow's central arguments is that the racially explicit language favoured by Eloff and Cronje did not wear well in the post-war era, because of an emerging democratic spirit and the "revelations of the [Nazi] extermination camps [which] forced the world to rethink drastically the concept of race".[92] According to Dubow this caused the National Party to try to distance itself from the Nazi discourse and to present apartheid as having beneficial effects for Africans.

Dubow following Thompson, stresses the importance of the "mythological past",[93] arguing that it helped Afrikaner Nationalists to imagine that the present was a continuation of the past (see p.51). Various theorists also used "historical experience" to argue for the wisdom of racial segregation. Dubow mentions the Great Trek and Blood River, but again, he does not explain why these were the symbols chosen and why they were considered appropriate for the twentieth century. Besides brief

[88] *Koers* is from the Afrikaans and means Direction.

[89] Association for Racial Studies.

[90] Federation for Afrikaans Cultural Societies, the English translation of the FAK.

[91] Dubow, S. *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1995, p. 256.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

quotes from Preller, he does not look at any other text or other media. Dubow, it appears, is more interested in the influence of scientific theory on racism, than he is in History. He looks for the origin of racist ideas in science, as if the power of racism lies in science only.

Dubow tends to focus on individual intellectuals and does not take into account the impact of class differences among Afrikaner whites. The impression given is that Afrikaner Nationalist ideology simply emanated from academics and theologians. Dubow sees them as having been "sensitive to political realities", but he does not relate the contradictions he has described to anything other than the individual thoughts of particular intellectuals. He concentrates on the external criticisms of apartheid rather than the challenges posed by the heterogeneity of Afrikaners. He concludes that "a belief in the moral rectitude of apartheid was crucial to the relative cohesiveness of Afrikanerdom during the 1950s and 1960s".[94] But he has not demonstrated why it worked and this is probably because Dubow conceives of his work primarily as an "intellectual history".[95]

2.8 Conclusion

A review of the literature above has enabled us to identify central elements of what Dunbar Moodie has called 'the sacred saga' which he (and O'Meara) argue was important in mobilising Afrikaner nationalist sentiment in the first part of the twentieth century. We have seen that the 'sacred saga' drew largely on what Thompson thinks of as a 'mythologized' version of Afrikaner history, that has been infused with particular interpretations of Calvinist pre-destination theology, as well as strands of Nazi racial thinking.

The extensive analysis devoted to Moodie, Thompson and Dubow in this chapter highlights the contribution they have made to the study of the evolving nature of Afrikaners. It also allows for a springboard into the further textual analysis of History textbooks that were used in English and Afrikaans-speaking schools in chapter 3, as well as the web-sites to be discussed in chapters 4-6.

The central episodes of the Great Trek, Blood River, the Anglo-Boer War and the concentration camps, and the role of women in the formation and strengthening of the Afrikaner nation has also been highlighted. The analysis has also shown the importance placed on the formation of the Afrikaner nation, and the place that

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 283.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

divine will played in this creation. Finally, the role of History, and the belief that it had influenced the creation of the Afrikaner nation (as pointed out by Moodie), is of importance and will be studied further in the subsequent chapters.[96]

[96] It is impossible to prove direct influence from Van Jaarsveld with regard to the conceptualisation of the central episodes. But it has been shown that this representation of History was widely used at schools and in popular discourse when the authors of these sites might have been expected to encounter them.

Chapter 3

Historians and Textbooks

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the extent of historian and History textbook writer Floors Van Jaarsveld's influence, which it is argued, extends into the rhetoric and imagery used on the South African web-sites under discussion.[1] The way in which Van Jaarsveld interpreted and conveyed the 'sacred saga' has been deeply engrained in the minds of those behind the white supremacist web-sites. Therefore it is necessary to examine Van Jaarsveld's techniques and beliefs. For instance, he appears to have contributed significantly to the creation of particular icons (the Voortrekker monument, the image of Blood River Vow, the Voortrekker leaders and so on) in textual and visual forms that have proved enduring. Although he had some reservations about Preller's use of the archives, he saw himself as refining Preller's work, especially because he believed that his work was more rigorous and scholarly. His writings on the Afrikaner interpretation of South African history show us that Van Jaarsveld thought that he was being very scrupulous about the ways in which he used the sources. It is this 'scientific' approach to History that Grundlingh has captured in his work on elements of Afrikaner historiography.[2] This sense that the archive supports what Afrikaner historians say has been passed on to the generation of white supremacist web-site creators.[3]

[1] Professor Floors Van Jaarsveld was one of the pre-eminent history writers of the 1950s to the 1970s.

[2] Grundlingh, A. 'Politics, Principles and Problems of a Profession: Afrikaner Historians and their Discipline, c.1920-c.1965', *Perspectives in Education*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 1990/91, pp. 1-19.

[3] The textual similarities are striking (See Dunbar Moodie in Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980.) for a study that does not prove direct connections between generations of authors of the 'sacred saga', but points to textual continuities or ruptures, as does this study.

However, Van Jaarsveld also realized the need for history to make a visual and narrative impact on its audience, if its lessons were to be learnt. This is an aspect that has been ignored by those scholars who have described the kind of history developed by Afrikaner historians. So, for example, Thompson's *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*, treats Afrikaner historiography purely as an intellectual construct, or series of constructs - which he dismisses as empirically false. Dunbar Moodie on the other hand recognises some of the emotional content of Afrikaner historiography, but mostly neglects to examine its authors' sense of how it should be presented to its audience, and their ideas about how the audience would receive it. In both Thompson and Dunbar Moodie's analyses (also O'Meara) the audience (in so far as it is imagined at all) is thought to be passive - accepting the 'sacred saga', automatically responding to it - almost predisposed to accepting it. But, Van Jaarsveld's own reflections and instructions to History teachers show that he spent a great deal of time thinking about how to package the history he was writing, to make it as appealing as possible. In a sense Van Jaarsveld had a vision of how History could be visualised, but ultimately, the technology of his day failed him.[4]

Before embarking on a close textual analysis of some of the history textbooks authored by Van Jaarsveld, I will turn to some of the questions that were raised by the previous chapter. Through a survey of literature that examines uses of popular History, and the development of Afrikaner nationalism, with specific reference to the role of History, I argue that it has raised a number of questions which should be posed in our examination of the current chapter on History textbooks as well as the web-sites to be studied in chapters 4 to 6. These questions are reflected below in the order in which they were raised in the preceding chapter.

3.1.1 Questions

- How do authors attempt to connect audiences with the past and with the nation?
- What is the principal imagery and symbolism employed by the authors (and how do they resonate with the traditions of what we will call here conventional Afrikaner historiography) especially around the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)?
- How conscious do the authors appear to be of possible divisions among Afrikaners

[4]See Appendix 2 and 3 for examples of images used by Van Jaarsveld in his textbooks, and images used on the *AWB* and *Boere Separatiste* web-sites of the same images. The differences between the charcoal drawing of Sarel Cilliers taking the vow, a relief on the Voortrekker Monument, and the black and white copy of the coat of arms of the ZAR, is indicative of the potential of the technology available in the present, which Van Jaarsveld did not have in the 1950s to 1970s.

that ought to be surmounted?
- Is Divine intervention still a theme of the web-histories? Is the theme of Afrikaner suffering still prominent - especially as a sign of God's long term plan?
- What is the attitude to the British Empire and imperialist traditions (relating to capitalism and anti-Semitic perceptions)?
- Does the *volksmoeder* make her appearance? Is there a new image of the Afrikaner woman?
- How is the Afrikaans language employed or mobilised on the web-sites?
- What has happened to the idea of the Republic? - How are ideas of race presented and legitimated? (for example, through recourse to ideas of racial intelligence, physical anthropology or cultural differentiation?). Are there any new legitimating ideologies?
- Do these authors follow in the footsteps of older Afrikaner historians by adopting the scientific approach as it is described by Grundlingh?
- Are there points of contention between authors?
- What has happened to the idea of civilisation as opposed to the idea of darkest Africa?

Orienting the analyses in an attempt to answer these questions will help to determine whether or not we are justified in thinking of these web-sites as heirs to the older traditions of Afrikaner historiography and popular history described and analysed by the scholars discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, we need to consider how much of an impact the medium (that is the Internet) has on the message. Here we will consider:
- Evidence that authors are aware of the Internet's ability to create 'gated communities'.
- Use of the Internet's particular resources to portray 'ethnic violence' graphically.
- Evidence that authors are aware of the audience as immediate and potentially interactive.
- How the Internet's potential to appear scientific and up to date affects access to archives.
- Evidence of manipulation of the Internet's ephemeral qualities (that is,the ability to change content and form of web-sites, as well as names and addresses).

3.2 Van Jaarsveld

What has become apparent through a comparison of Van Jaarsveld's text and the web-sites under discussion[5] is that the white supremacist web-site creators often took the same images as Van Jaarsveld, but through digitalisation were able to add the perspective, tangibility, colour and depth, of which he could only have dreamt. His reflections on the teaching of History show that Van Jaarsveld wanted his readers to be able to enter into the history he wrote. The current web-site technology available almost makes this possible. First this chapter turns to a discussion of three of the History texts authored by Van Jaarsveld.

3.3 History textbooks

The books analysed below are two textbooks written by Van Jaarsveld in 1958 and 1974 respectively. They are history textbooks that set out the ideas he held about the nature of History, what it should impart and how it should be taught. This is followed by a book, that contains a series of articles written by Van Jaarsveld over the years with regard to the nature of History and the Afrikaners' interpretation of it. The texts are of importance for this dissertation because they demonstrate that there is continuity between the web-sites and the dominant History that was taught in schools between the 1950s and 1970s, while at the same time highlighting the differences between the ideas held in the earlier period and those disseminated on the Internet. Note that the medium of the Internet allows for greater freedom in choosing information, as well as the depth in which it is dealt with. For example, a particular episode such as the Great Trek can be shown from a number of aspects on the Internet on one particular site, but this is not necessarily the case in a textbook. It must also be noted that the number of images as well as the quality that is used in the textbooks as opposed to the web-sites is also very different.[6]

At this point, an attempt will be made to answer the questions that were asked at the beginning of this chapter. The analysis will attempt to answer the questions raised with regard to the views expressed in the textbooks concerning ideas of civilisation, the *volksmoeder*, the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War, anti-Semitism, the Republic, as well as attitudes towards the British Empire.

[5] The *AWB* and the *Boere Seperatiste*.

[6] See Appendix 2 and 3 for examples of images that were used in the 1974 history textbook by Van Jaarsveld and the same images currently used on the *AWB* and *Boere Separatiste* web-sites.

3.4 History for Standard 6

In the foreword to the textbook, the authors set out the goals that the textbook was intended to achieve.[7] The history textbook deals with the new syllabus prescribed for Transvaal high schools. The interest of the authors is outwardly focused and they discourage a closer examination of the chapter that deals with "the native races of South Africa [which they say] need not be dealt with in detail". The content of the textbook is divided into two sections, General History and South African History 1652-1795. Thus, it has already been signaled to the reader that the history of the 'native races' is not significant nor does it have anything in common with the history of the 'whites'. The chronology, beginning in 1652 reflects the author's belief that nothing of historical significance predated van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape.

It is important to note the coexistence of a 'scientific' approach to History with the more popular approach pioneered by the *volk* historians, the most influential of whom was Gustav Preller. In common with earlier *volk* historians the authors of these History textbooks attempt to connect audiences with the past, by engaging with their imagination. The expected outcomes of the textbook, are to give children a visual aid as well as an appreciation of history 'as a story', as well as to emphasise the "importance of the sequence and the principle of continuity in the study of history as the drama of human events".[8]It may be noted that this approach is not held to be contradictory by Van Jaarsveld and he sees it as illustrative of the scientific approach as explained by Grundlingh.[9]

3.4.1 Explaining Civilization

The textbook, having dismissed the history of the 'native races', attempts to locate 'real' history within the broad framework of western 'Civilisation' and 'culture'. The concept of civilisation is prominent in the textbook, and appears both in the Introduction as well as the first chapter entitled, "The Cradle of Western Civilisation". The authors also point out that: "The history of Greece and Rome has been dealt with in fair detail since the civilisations of these countries played such an important role in our Western Culture". "We inherited our civilisation from the Romans, the

[7]Van Jaarsveld, F. A., Van Der Walt, J.J. and Behr, D. *History for Standard VI: Covering the new T.E.D. Syllabus for Differentiated Secondary Education*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1958.

[8]*Ibid.*,Foreword.

[9]Grundlingh, A. 'Politics, Principles and problems of a Profession: Afrikaner Historians and their Discipline, c.1920 - c.1965', *Perspectives in Edication*, vol. 12, 1, 1990/91,1-19.

Greeks, the Mesopotamians and the Egyptians. They [the Egyptians] laid the foundations of our Western civilisation".[10] The importance of the idea of civilisation is denoted by the first chapter in the textbook, namely, The Cradle of Civilisation, which begins with a history of Egypt.[11] The authors situate 'white South Africa' in a line of decent from Europeans, civilized Asians, and the Egyptians (probably not thought of as Africans).

The idea of civilised and uncivilised people is explained. Civilisation is denoted by the ability to write and leave a historical record, whereas uncivilised people were illiterate.[12] The image of the 'Tree of Civilization is uses (see Appendix 9) and the Roman Empire is denoted as the trunk of the tree of civilisation from which the roots (Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Phoenicians, Jews, Greece) and the branches (France, America, England, Australia, Germany, South Africa, Holland) all sprang.[13] In discussing the tree of civilisation, the Jewish people are depicted as a race.[14] The place of religion is then discussed and the Phoenicians and Hebrews are described as responsible for the Judeo foundations of Christianity.[15] The first chapter is ambiguous about the Judeo foundations of Christianity and takes in a very large time frame.

The chapter also mentions the physical features of the Hebrews whom it explains were Semites. They are described as having "long beards, and aquiline noses".[16] The chapter ends with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. This is an allusion to the Afrikaners' own concerns with the issue of self-determination and finding their own place or land, since we are told: "And now large numbers of Jews are returning to their homeland".[17] But the attitudes to Jews are ambivalent, as will be explained below.

In Chapter 2 Greece and Rome are dealt with in great detail. Van Jaarsveld does not mind skipping over a vast period of time between the previous chapter, which dealt with Egypt and this section. And this again: after discussing the fall of the

[10] Van Jaarsveld, F. A., Van Der Walt, J.J. and Behr, D. *History for Standard VI: Covering the new T.E.D. Syllabus for Differentiated Secondary Education*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1958, p. 7.

[11] Ibid., p. 13.

[12] Ibid., p.7.

[13] It is of interest to note that in the depicting of the origins of South Africa, a direct link is made with Holland and Germany, and not England, (see Appendix 9). This affinity with Holland and Germany, was also expressed in academia, when many Afrikaners went to complete their higher qualification in these 2 countries, as explained by Dubow in the previous chapter.

[14] *Ibid.*, p.8.

[15] *Ibid.*, p.25.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Roman Empire, he moves straight on to the Middle Ages. The author makes the point that: "Western civilisation was inherited from the Greeks".[18]

3.4.2 Christianity to Voyages of Discovery

In this chapter the idea of anti-Semitism is made explicit in terms of the birth of Christ and the events surrounding his ministry and death. "The Jews could not believe that he was the Messiah and they had Him crucified".[19] This is the accusation that has been carried down the ages and reappears on white supremacist web-sites. The 'deicide' for which Jewish people have been held responsible by Christians for over 2000 years, has been used in the past to justify their persecution. The author makes it clear though that, although Christianity had its setback in the beginning in terms of persecutions, for example, the Roman Empire eventually furthered the spread of Christianity, once Christianity became the state religion in the Roman Empire, it could be said that "Christ had conquered the world".[20]

The next chapter looks at the Middle Ages, followed by the chapters on the Renaissance, and the Voyages of Discovery. Then Van Jaarsveld moves on to the hostile dispossession of the indigenous peoples, meaning here that they trace the first engagement with the indigenous people with the event where Dias was apparently responsible for the first blood being shed between whites and blacks in South Africa when he shot one of the 'natives' when "these native tribes attacked them with stones".[21] However Van Jaarsveld also suggests the inevitability of conflict, and danger of making the wrong move with regard to 'natives'.[22]

3.4.3 Dutch arrival at the Cape

Chapter VI explores the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape and the use of St Helena as a victual station. The Dutch are described as "the first nation to colonise the Cape of Good Hope".[23] Here the author makes a claim that South Africans of Dutch descent have a historical right to the land based on early occupation, and subsequently the settlement of land that appeared to be empty of other inhabitants.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[19] *Ibid*,. p. 47.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[21] *Ibid.*, p.80.
[22] In his conclusions Van Jaarsveld was reflecting the prevailing intellectual climate of his time. However, it is the textual analysis and use of History as a justifying narrative that is the focus of this critique.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Afrikaners are connected to the early Dutch settlers through language, as explained by Isabel Hofmeyr.[24] "Afrikaans is derived from the Netherlands, the language of the Dutch".[25] The claim to the land and a derivative of the language of the first settlers are all used as markers of a legitimate claim to South Africa.

The idea of the Republic, which it will be recalled is one of the most important themes of the 'sacred saga', is taken up when the Dutch are portrayed as a people who opposed any form of political or religious oppression, when an attempt was made by Spain to suppress the practice of Calvinism. The Dutch are described as "a freedom loving people".[26] A people who refused to give up their religious belief and instead rebelled against any form of coercion being imposed on them. The argument that white Afrikaners have legitimate claims to the land through historical continuity of occupation from the time of Van Riebeeck resonates strongly on the web-sites. The chapter ends with the establishment of the Cape as a victual station, by Jan Van Riebeeck,[27] and it should be noted that the bridge between General and South African History in this textbook is denoted by the figure of Jan Van Riebeeck.

3.4.4 South African History

As noted, the textbook is divided into two sections whereby General History and South African History are separated. Chapter VII then is the beginning of the the second part of the textbook, entitled "South African History".[28] This chapter begins with Jan Van Riebeeck and gives a brief history of his background and family. He is described as the "founder of the Dutch settlement in South Africa", with Divine sanction.[29]

"The Bible too, was not forgotten, for Jan Van Riebeeck brought the religion of the Dutch Reformed Church to South Africa. He [Van Riebeeck] read a prayer and the land became the possession of the Netherlands".[30] Here God's role in the gaining of

[24] Hofmeyr, I. 'Popularising History: The Case of Gustav Preller', in Clingman, S. (ed.). *Regions and Repertoires: Topics in South African Politics and Culture*, Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1991.

[25] Van Jaarsveld, F. A., Van Der Walt, J.J. and Behr, D. *History for Standard VI: Covering the new T.E.D. Syllabus for Differentiated Secondary Education*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1958, p. 85.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[30] ***Ibid.***, p. 96.

the land is made explicit without any qualifications. As will be shown later in the chapter, the role played by God in the lives of the Afrikaner *volk* is believed to be central by the Afrikaner white supremacists. As has been noted by Moodie in the previous chapter, in his analysis of what he termed the 'sacred saga', the belief was very widely held by Afrikaners that God had a special role for his chosen people, the Afrikaners, as shown in his deliverance of them from the Zulu at the Battle of Blood River.

Van Riebeeck's 'servants' and slaves are presented as part of the difficulties with which he had to contend, on a par with natural disasters such as "storms, droughts, floods and plant diseases".[31] But the issue of race presents the author with a dilemma, the author points out that "the people were not as colour conscious as we are today, and so van Riebeeck, for example, encouraged marriages between Europeans and Hottentot women".[32] The period of segregation and later apartheid is dealt with more as an aside than as a period that had far reaching consequences for South Africa. The chapter ends with van Riebeeck being described as "a worthy and capable founder of white civilization in South Africa".[33] While, taking note of the apparent fluid nature of race relations at this earlier stage of South African history, Van Jaarsveld, does however lay claim to Van Riebeeck as the founder of white civilization.

3.4.5 Dealing with difference

Chapter VIII is entitled "The native races of South Africa: Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantu".[34] This was the chapter Van Jaarsveld had stated in the Foreword that, "need not be dealt with in detail".[35] But the theme of different races is further explored. In this chapter the theme of "white" civilization is raised as well as that of the "non-white inhabitants" of the country and the interaction between the different groups.[36] There are grades of civilization assigned to the different peoples, with the Bushmen described as "exceedingly primitive".and the 'Hottentots' described as "slightly more civilized than the Bushmen"."The Bantu cultivated the land and

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[34] *Ibid.* It should be noted that the terms 'Bushman', 'Bantu' and 'Hottentots', which occur frequently in this section are quoted from the textbooks of Van Jaarsveld. That these terms are present in his work is illustrative that they were acceptable scientific or classification terms during Van Jaarsveld's time.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*

were more highly civilized than the Bushmen or the Hottentots".[37] The chapter goes further to explain South Africa as having been empty because "[a]ll these non-white people were nomads who trekked from the interior of the continent to the southern part of Africa".[38] The author then goes on to give a brief history of the origins of the Bushmen. This excerpt has been extracted from a larger section of Van Jaarsveld to illustrate the preoccupation with Anthropological characteristics. It has been suggested that: "Some historians maintain that they came from Spain, Arabia it is known that the Bushmen are relics of the Stone Age and that they lived at one time in Central Africa and then wandered undisturbed all over Southern Africa".[39] Van Jaarsveld also gives a brief description of their physical appearance. "The Bushman is a small, sallow person, with a short slender body and his hands and feet are very tiny.His face is flat and triangular in shape with a small chin ... nose is broad and flat ... The head is covered with peppercorn tufts of hair ... Bushmen have protuberant stomachs and the buttocks, especially in the case of women, are huge and stick our behind their bodies".[40] A similar brief history is given of the 'Hottentots' and the 'Bantu'. The 'Hottentots' are said to have come from "Abyssinia and they gradually moved to the south".[41] Their appearance is described as: "The skin was yellow their lips were thick and the shape of their faces was triangular. Their hair was woolly, short and frizzy".[42] The Bantu "came originally from the regions of the Great Lakes in Central Africa and East Africa".[43] The Bantu's skin colour is described as "dark brown ... Their eyes are dark; their hair is short, black and frizzy; the nostrils are broad and the lips comparatively thick".[44] The detail given here of the origins of what the author describes as the non-white people is given in support of the empty land theory as well as to emphasise the undisputed claim made by Afrikaners to the land.

In the previous chapter the author laid claim to a linguistic ancestry as proof of first ownership. What is of interest here with regard to language, is that the authors acknowledge that many of the words used in Afrikaans as well as some used in English, were taken from the 'Hottentot' language for example, "abba, dagga, kwagga, arrie, aitsa, eina, and karos ...kaross, dagga, quagga, and many others".[45] The chapter concludes with a description that the Bantu make handicrafts and are keen musicians. There is also a summary given of the three groups, which includes

[37] *Ibid.*, p.101.
[38] *Ibid.*, p.101.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
[40] *Ibid.*, p.103.
[41] *Ibid.*, p.107.
[42] *Ibid.*, p.107.
[43] *Ibid.*, p.109.
[44] *Ibid.*, p.110.
[45] *Ibid.*, p.107.

their origins, appearance, language, dwellings, livelihood, music, weapons, religion, burial and words in Afrikaans.[46] But essentially, the portrayal of these 'other' groups is ahistorical.

Chapter IX is entitled "The Free Burghers". It gives a brief explanation of who the Free Burghers were and explains some of the conditions under which they were allowed to farm. There is also a subsection that deals with the importation of slaves from 1658 and the conditions under which they were transported so that many died during these voyages. The chapter ends with a section on the war with the 'Hottentots' and how they as a consequence became detribalised and were no longer regarded as a threat to the settlers.[47]

The final few chapters deal with the expansion of the Cape Settlement as well as Simon van der Stel's twenty-year tenure as Commander of the Cape and governor.[48] Then there is a brief chapter on the French Huguenots, giving their reasons for emigrating to South Africa. There is also a map of France entitled, "did your ancestors come from France?" with the different French names that have survived within the Afrikaner community.[49] The chapter ends with the influence that the Huguenots had on the Afrikaners both in terms of surnames and words. They are described as having "contributed towards the development of the South African nation".[50]

The final chapter ends with the First 'Kaffir' War of 1793, as a prelude to the Great Trek.[51] It must be noted here that the ending of the textbook at this juncture is of importance as it alludes to one of the central episodes of the Afrikaners, namely the Great Trek. The place of the Great Trek is one of the historical episodes that is of importance to both the *AWB* and the *Boere Separatiste*. This aspect will be discussed later in the dissertation.

The themes of the textbook discussed above range from the legitimizing claims to the land, the location of whites within western civilization, the hierarchy of racial categories, the assumptions about social divisions (for example between van Riebeeck and his 'servants'), as well as the suggestions of Divine intervention in Afrikaner history, the importance of Afrikaans as proof of legitimate ownership claims, beginnings of the Republic theme - all are done with the intent to a 'volkish' appeal -

[46] *Ibid.*, p.113.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp.114-118.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp.119-128.
[49] *Ibid.*, p.130. See Appendix 10 for a copy of this map of France showing the different places in France denoting the origins of some of the South African surnames.
[50] *Ibid.*, p.132.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-6.

especially in the drama of the fight by the settlers for their own identity, language and land.

3.5 New Illustrated History

In the *New Illustrated History for Standard 6*, published in 1974 influenced by the *volk* history idea - the narrative again is strong and imagery is provided. But, once again, at the same time, teachers are instructed to train their pupils in the acquisition of historical skills - thus the volkish and scientific themes are combined. 'Scientific' includes the recognition that 'truth' may be elusive and may contain possible contradictions and paradoxes.

At the beginning of the textbook the authors give a brief note to the teacher and explain the aims of the textbook.[52] They point out that it is very difficult to present a concise presentation of a wide syllabus, so pupils have to use this current text to "discern, select and elaborate the essentials". They point out that the textbook is "intended to be read, which is why it is in story form".[53] Emphasis is placed on the importance of the image and maps and illustrations have been included to assist with the visual education of the pupils. The content of the textbook has been presented in such a manner as to stimulate discussion and interest in History in the pupils, as well as to facilitate the process of having pupils embark on research projects. The authors place their emphasis on quality, rather than quantity. They intend that the pupils should learn to become accustomed to the technical aspects involved in research, such as using historical sources, citing secondary sources - and to avoid having pupils "appropriate the contents of the text book for the reference projects".[54] Finally the authors make the important point that the textbook "is proffered with the awareness that the truth concerning that past has many aspects and that various interpretations, corresponding to different (and conflicting) views of life and the world are possible".[55]

This textbook is also divided into two sections, General History and South African History. The first part begins with the Renaissance and then the Reformation. Significantly, the result of the Reformation is described as: "The Christian religion

[52] Van Jaarsveld, F. A., Dreyer, N., van der Merwe, B.J., *New Illustrated History Std. 6*, Doornfontein, Johannesburg: Perskor Publishers, 1974.
[53] *Ibid.*, Preface.
[54] *Ibid.*, Preface.
[55] *Ibid.*

was purified ... Protestants were able to read and understand the Bible for themselves, and understand what they believed".[56] Thus, Protestantism is associated with independence - and thus, indirectly, with Afrikaner/Calvinist history.

3.6 Explaining change and progress

In the section on General History, the theme of independence is sustained and linked to that of nationalism and liberalism. Ironically perhaps, episodes such as the French Revolution had great attraction for Afrikaner historians - again suggestive of an attempt to locate Afrikaners within a wider history of a struggle for rights.

The Industrial Revolution and the American War of Independence follows. The American War of Independence is described as "the first time that colonies had declared themselves independent of an imperial power. This may rightfully be regarded as the first manifestation of anti-colonialism. The Great Trek was of a similar nature".[57] From Independence the chapter then deals with the American Civil War, the role of Lincoln and the question of slaves. The chapter concludes with the end of the Civil War and the effects this had on the South. The establishment of secret societies such as the Ku Klux Klan is explained as having been initially benevolent. They were established "to terrify 'Negroes', the intention being to prevent their support of the "carpet bag" regimes (explained as unscrupulous white fortune hunters who exploited the ignorance of emancipated slaves with regard to government matters and used them for political power).[58]

The section on the French Revolution gives an overview of the meaning of the word revolution, the causes of the revolution as well as the consequences. The authors then make the point that the French Revolution, "brought modern nationalism into being".[59] That nationalism did not remain confined to France, but spread, "to reach all Europe, and then the Middle East, Asia and Africa".[60] The Revolution also introduced another factor into politics, which has remained visible to the present, namely the people. The section continues and examines the career of Napoleon and concludes that his contribution to France and the world should not be overlooked. The authors acknowledge the negative and positive influences of Napoleon's role but opt to emphasise his positive contribution. Of these the acceptance of the

[56] *Ibid.*, p.77.
[57] *Ibid.*, p.107.
[58] *Ibid.*, p.116.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

"principle of national sovereignty" is important. "Democracy had come to stay, as had Napoleon's reforms and improved institutions, such as a more efficient national administration and legal code".[61]

3.6.1 More South African History

Part II of the Textbook deals with South African History. The illustrations used are: a picture of the Union Buildings; a relief from the Voortrekker Monument depicting the clash between the Boers and the Zulu;[62] and an etching representing the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape. The selected images that are used in the textbook at this juncture are all pointing to the central importance placed on the creation of the Afrikaner nation in South Africa. The image of the clash between the Boers and the Zulu emphasises that this right to a place in South Africa was one that the Boers fought for and with victory granted them by God, as they believe, means that they have been given a legitimate right to the land. This concern with a legitimate place in Africa for whites in the South African context, is one that is also of concern to white supremacists as will be shown in the subsequent chapters below.

The first section deals with the First and Second British Occupations of the Cape and the Batavian period in between. The strategic importance of the Cape is emphasised especially in the war waged against Napoleon. The discontent of the Dutch with the occupation is touched upon, as well as the outbreak of the Third Frontier War in 1799 to 1902. This war came about because the Xhosa "took advantage of the quarrels among the whites and crossed the frontier to plunder and destroy".[63] Discussion of the Batavian period includes a brief note on the policy with regard to Coloureds and Africans. In an effort to stop slavery a policy was to be instituted that declared children born to slaves free, and that blacks and whites were to be segregated by a boundary along the eastern frontier, but the policy failed. In the section dealing with the Second British Occupation, brief descriptions are given of the different peoples who were present at the Cape and their contributions, namely, the Afrikaners, 'Hottentots', Slaves, Africans, and missionaries and philanthropists.

The Vow taken at Blood River after the defeat of the Zulu is first rendered in Dutch in this English version of the textbook, then translated. "*Dat ons alhier onder mekaar besluit het, om die dag van ons oorwinning onder ons ganse geslag bekend*

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[62] The place of the Voortrekker Monument as a symbol of Afrikaner victory and unity is highlighted in the recurring emphasis placed on the image. See Appendix 6 for examples of the use of the Voortrekker Monument on the *AWB* web-site at different stages.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

te laat word, en dat ons dit aan die Heer toeway, en vier met dankseggine".[64] "*We have here decided, to make the day of our victory known to our entire generation, to dedicate it to the Lord, and to celebrate it gratefully".* It is important to note that Van Jaarsveld appears to make the point that the vow must be rendered in Afrikaans as its particular subtlety can only be conveyed in the original Afrikaans, whereas the English is too neutral and unable to convey the nuances inherent in the lyricism of the Afrikaans language. The emphasis of the Vow is to re-iterate the central role of God in the victory at Blood River. What is of interest in this 1974 version of the textbook is that Van Jaarsveld would later offer a paper in which he questions this accepted premise. The *AWB* would tar and feather him in protest and to silence him from attempting to question what for them appears to be an immutable fact.[65]

The extensive analysis devoted to the two History textbooks of Van Jaarsveld will be employed in an attempt to illustrate the influence that their portrayal of certain historical episodes, such as the Anglo-Boer War, the Great Trek and the arrival of the Dutch and the Huguenots in South Africa, had on the ideas and ideology of the Afrikaners. The uses made of these episodes on Afrikaner white supremacist web-sites will be followed up in the dissertation. It is not only that many of the episodes and images are reproduced on the web-sites, but also that the philosophy of history espoused by Van Jaarsveld has left enduring traces on the web-sites. The focus now switches to Van Jaarsveld's philosophy of History, as explained in his book, *The Afrikaner's Interpretation of South African History.* [66]

Here Van Jaarsveld is explicit that the idea of civilisation is associated with literacy and history, and being able to leave behind written records. Van Jaarsveld elaborates here on the many themes already extracted in the discussion above - for example, the way that white South Africans stand in relation to the Ancient Civilisations, the nature of the Afrikaner *volk* committed to the idea of the Republic and nation. Many of these themes can be recognised as the building blocks of the 'sacred saga'. But he also elaborates on the idea that history is a scientific discipline which has established procedures for investigating sources etc.

[64] *Ibid.*, p.205.

[65] See Chapter 6 where the tarring and feathering of Van Jaarsveld is mentioned and explained.

[66] Van Jaarsveld, F.A. *The Afrikaner's Interpretation of South African History*, Cape Town: Simodium Publishers (Pty.) Ltd., 1964.

3.7 Interpretations of South African History

He explains that the studies "are intended to show the role of history in formulating the philosophy of life and outlook of a people - how it influenced a people's thoughts and thus became a determinant in political and human relationships".[67] He goes further to explain that "[t]he origin and development of the Afrikaner's conception of his history is traced and the growth of his image of history delineated, also the parallelism between the historical experiences of a people, its vision of the past, and the form taken in historical writings".[68]

The first paper is entitled, "The ideas of the Afrikaner on his Calling and Mission". In this chapter Van Jaarsveld looks at the idea of "a select destiny as a chosen people".[69] He argues that these claims of a destiny are not recent but "lie deep-rooted in South African history; they have links with the spiritual, social, political and economic circumstances that contributed to the evolution of the Afrikaner people and they are pointers to past, present, and future". And that the idea of divine election has ties with the process of self-assertion of the Afrikaner and with his nationalism.[70] The point made here is of importance for the dissertation especially when discussing the Afrikaner web-sites [71] as they are all concerned with the ideas of nations, self-determination and rights to the land.

3.7.1 Explaining civilization again

Van Jaarsveld discusses the different views held on who was civilised and uncivilised. He looks at how in the 18th century the idea of civilised became associated with whites and uncivilised with coloureds. He then looks at how the ideas held about 'Hottentots' as the descendants of Ham, and therefore condemned by the Almighty to subservience and abuse, persisted. He notes that the ideas persisted in the 1960s even after "a commission of learned theologians of the *Gereformeerde* Church reported in 1958 that there was no biblical grounds for the assumption that the Bantu were the descendants of Ham or that any sort of curse attached to them".[72] B.A.P. Naudé reported in *Die Transvaaler* both in 1958 and again in 1960: "The older generation among the Afrikaner still believe, as did their forefathers, that the descendants of Ham are the black and that they migrated to Africa. They believe that

[67] *Ibid.*, Preface.
[68] *Ibid*, Preface.
[69] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[70] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[71] The *AWB*, *Boere Separatiste*, and *Freedom 2000*
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

it stands recorded in the old Dutch "State" Bible. However, no one has been able to trace this authority!"[73] Notice how Van Jaarsveld sidesteps the issue of empirically demonstrable racial inferiority. He points out that the notion held about black people as being inferior persisted within certain farming communities as far back as 1892. He continues and points out that another persistent idea was the assumptions of its partial link to the Old Testament namely, "the Afrikaners' rejections of admixture of blood and acquisition".[74] Van Jaarsveld notes that in the nineteenth century the Afrikaners in the interior of the country increasingly interpreted the Old Testament literally and they therefore identified the 'non-white South Africans with the children of Ham, but also with the Canaanites of the Promised Land; they were referred to by the Boers as 'Naatsies' (The nation without the law)".[75] The belief therefore, persisted about the existence of superior and inferior races, and that research on the issue did not easily dispel these beliefs.

3.7.2 The Great Trek

Van Jaarsveld then moves on to explain: the place of God and Divine guidance for the Afrikaners,[76], the two Boer Wars,[77], God's will that the Afrikaners survive as a separate nation.[78] Again the importance of the role of God in the lives of Afrikaners is emphasised. "We have a Divine right to be Afrikaners. Our history is the highest work of art of the Architect of the centuries".[79] As has been noted before, the divine claim to the land is of great importance to the Afrikaners, as it assists in their claim of having a legitimate right to the land. Now, the creation of the Afrikaner nation and its History is also imbued with divine sanction. By placing the mantle of divine approval over the creation of the Afrikaner nation, their history and the occupation of South Africa, lends the claims a legitimacy that cannot be questioned.

At this juncture Van Jaarsveld attempts to explain the racial unease which prompted the Great Trek and the Divine intervention.[80] In this instance history figures as part of a Divine plan - how is this compatible with the scientific claims? Apparently for Van Jaarsveld there is no problem - God and Science are not incompatible. Both

[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid*, p. 7.
[76] Ibid., p.13.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[80] Some reasons given for the Great Trek were the belief that the Afrikaners refused to have "the equalisation (of the non-whites) with "the Christians" which was regarded as being "in conflict with the laws of God and with the natural distinctions of origins and beliefs".[81]

are needed to authenticate the Afrikaner point of view.

3.7.3 National Party ideology and policies

From there he moves on to explain the political ideology and policies of the National Party: "apartheid is not only a purpose but also a calling".[82] Notice the religious connotations ascribed to the policy of apartheid by the use of the word 'calling'. The missionary fervour of the Afrikaners with regard to their place in South Africa is emphasised again and again in terms of the spreading of "the light of the Gospel in Darkest Africa".[83]He quotes H.F. Verwoerd who held the idea that South Africa should become a "Christian civilisation in Africa ... It must become the firm base for the white man when he has his back to the wall from which he can advance again".[84] Here again, as in the History textbooks analysed above, the notion of 'civilization' is raised in relation to the Afrikaners and how they were responsible for bringing civilization to South Africa. But, Van Jaarsveld also cautions the ready acceptance of the notion of a calling or a mission because having a calling "involves responsibility and sacrifice".[85] White South Africa is described as the bastion of civilisation "to secure the continued existence of the white".[86] This phrase is of interest because it is one that is often cited in many international white supremacist circles. An example of this is the well-known 14 Words by David Lane: **We Must Secure The Existence of our Race and a Future for White Children**.[87] The theme of a divinely sanctioned right to South Africa, is extended to include the apartheid policies of the National Party, which are view, along with the place itself, as allowing for the continued existence of whites - a haven that has been secure for them by God.

3.7.4 Afrikaners and History

The second chapter is entitled: "The awakening of the Afrikaners' to an awareness of his History".[88] Van Jaarsveld argues that Afrikaners have always been keenly

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[83] *Ibid* p. 25.
[84] *Ibid.*,p. 25.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[87] David Lane is an imprisoned member of *The Order*. He is a convicted felon serving a 190-year sentence in a high security prison. According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Lane's "writings, including pieces from his monthly Focus Fourteen newsletter can reach millions through the Internet".Anti-Defamation League, http://ADL.org, accessed September 1999.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

interested in their own history. He notes that Afrikaners before the Great Trek had "unconscious ties of blood, language, and religion".[89] Again the issue of ties is emphasised and the tangible 'ties of blood' which other white supremacist groups use, and has been a feature of the Third Reich as well, is of interest. Following on from this, Van Jaarsveld then goes on to examine more closely the influence the past has had on Afrikaners, in chapter three, entitled "The Afrikaner's Image of his Past".[90]

3.7.5 The leaders' contribution

The contribution made by the heroic leader is then examined in the fourth chapter entitled: "Biographies of Voortrekker Leaders".[91] The biographical mode, recognised by Van Jaarsveld as one that people liked, is similar to the confessional literature noted above in the literature review section of this dissertation. In this chapter Van Jaarsveld studies a range of biographies and books that were written about the Voortrekker leaders between 1884 and 1956. These books and biographies were written by a range of individuals, both amateurs as well as professional historians. The explanation below with regard to the place of the leader in Afrikaner history is also a feature of the white supremacist groups on the Internet, particularly the *AWB* in South Africa, and the international white supremacist groups, including *National Alliance*, *Stormfront*, and the *World Church of the Creator* (as will be seen in Chapter 6).

What is of interest here in Van Jaarsveld's evaluation, is that these written sources dealt solely with perceived leaders of the Afrikaner nation and came out of a perceived vacuum within Afrikaner intellectual circles. He notes that the two significant events that are dealt with in this period of writing are the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War. Of importance for Van Jaarsveld is the role played by Gustav Preller in creating a romantic image of the Afrikaners and the Great Trek, because it was these images of Preller's that have come to represent how many Afrikaners perceived this particular episode of their history.[92] Van Jaarsveld admired the romantic writings of Preller, but he had reservations about the way in which he used sources, because he tended to supplement and use sources uncritically. For Van Jaarsveld the main failing of Preller's 'historical' efforts is that he does not provide an image and there is a lack of balance in his work. Van Jaarsveld, unlike Preller, is striving to be a

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[91] *Ibid.*, p 71.
[92] Preller "gave the Great Trek a place in our hearts". *Ibid.*, p. 84.

more scholarly historian, and the difference therefore for Van Jaarsveld between an amateur and a professional historian; is measured by the scientific use of material, which he viewed as the "logical analysis of material" and the "narrative tone".[93] From the above explanations the kind of History he wished to produce and disseminate is highlighted. He therefore found Preller's approach to history and his use of the sources worrisome because it could destroy Afrikaner claims to authenticity. Even though Van Jaarsveld has scruples about misusing the archive - he uses the Voortrekker Monument as an anachronistic record - that is a record of events that happened during the Great Trek, which took place more than a hundred years *before* the monument was built. But, the imagery is very effective. As will be shown on the web-sites of the *AWB*, for example, the place of the Voortrekker Monument, with its solidity and presence leaves an unassailable mark and presence on the landscape that can be pointed to. This physical presence is re-enforced on the web-sites, here the image of Monument is used as a background on the entire site and is constantly referred to as an important marker of the presence of the Afrikaners or Boers in South Africa and their triumph at Blood River because of the Divine intervention allowed them by God.

3.8 Conclusion

The issues that have been raised by Van Jaarsveld are of interest because they touch on many of the concerns that are being raised on the white supremacist web-sites as will be shown in the following chapters. At this juncture, following on from Chapter 2 one can say that many of the points made by Dunbar Moodie with regard to the Afrikaners and the role of the 'sacred saga' were already explained by Van Jaarsveld. What is of significance is that Van Jaarsveld's work which insists on the importance of the image as well as the narrative "which should give one a picture of the characters involved", is being harnessed successfully on the Internet. It appears as if Van Jaarsveld was ahead of his time when he insisted that the story was one of the most important elements in the teaching of history and not merely the recitation of "dates and facts". His argument that the use of sources is important and that they should be used accurately is also of importance for the discussion, because it removes his work from mere propaganda into the real of scholarship. What is important here is to note that this insistence on the integrity of the sources as well telling the story makes the history textbooks written by Van Jaarsveld very accessible and compelling.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

I will show in chapter 6 how Van Jaarsveld apparently influenced the way the *AWB* presents its information on their web-site. Note that the central place of Van Jaarsveld as a prominent Afrikaner historian is acknowledged on the web-site as well as his subsequent fall from grace. The tarring and feathering episode of Van Jaarsveld by members of the *AWB* highlights his former influence as well as the central role in the dissemination of episodes related to the Great Trek and Blood River. The tarring and feathering came about because Van Jaarsveld wished to question the central role of God in the Blood River episode, for this reason he was attacked by the *AWB*, to silence his views, which were not in line with their own.[94] Van Jaarsveld was also the one who proved by means of archival research that the tenets held about the biblical granted sanction that black people were supposed to be servants, had no real basis.[95]

This chapter has studied two of Van Jaarsveld's textbooks as well as his philosophical text on History and History teaching, and I argue that the evidence is suggestive that the content of these texts influenced generations of school children and have in some ways been reproduced on the fringe of extremist white supremacist groups, via their web-sites. This will be further illustrated in the chapters on the *AWB* and the *Boere Separatiste* where the images from Van Jaarsveld's textbooks and the central episodes of the Great Trek and the Battle of Blood River have been reproduced.

Answers to some of the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter, including issues related to the how civilization was viewed, the place and role of the leader, how the forging of the nation was viewed and interpreted, and so forth, have been touched on. The strong thread of how History via Van Jaarsveld's textbooks was disseminated to Afrikaner school children between the 1950s and 1970s has also been raised. The rest of the questions raised will be tackled below in chapters 4 to 6 of the dissertation.

The importance of History as being able to authenticate claims about Afrikaner nationhood has also been emphasised in this chapter. Many scholars have written about how History was used to transmit political ideas and have pinpointed particular icons (such as van Riebeeck).[96] The detailed analysis of the two History

[94]It is of interest to note the apparent contradiction inherent in the *AWB's* drawing on Van Jaarsveld's work for their web-site, while at the same time attacking him for his questioning of the 'divine' intervention at the Battle of Blood River. This use of Van Jaarsveld's work, even after attacking him means that his is the only paradigm that the *AWB* can draw on and work with.

[95]The belief that black people were the children of Ham and therefore were destined to remain servants had no foundation.

[96]Witz, L. 'Beyond van Riebeeck' in Nuttall, S. & Michael C.A.(eds) *Senses and Culture: South African Cultural Studies*, Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, pp. 318-339. Witz,

textbooks and philosophical text by Van Jaarsveld show how narratives, philosophy of history and use of images have been appropriated by contemporary white supremacists (as will be shown in chapters 4 to 6). As has been noted by Witz, History textbooks do not just reflect "social and political circumstances [they produce] specific forms of of historical knowledge".[97] Witz's point is very powerful, and can be seen as a more overt articulation of Dunbar Moodie's ground-breaking thesis about the political role played by the 'sacred saga'. The 'sacred saga' (as explained by Moodie) was forged and reforged to meet new political challenges and was not a static reflection of a single political ideology.

L. *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (African Systems of Thought), Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

[97] Ibid., p. 319.

Chapter 4

'Afrikaners' and Freedom 2000

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss a particular web-site called *Freedom 2000* or *Vryheid 2000*, and analyse it with reference to the preceding arguments articulated particularly by Hall, Dunbar Moodie, Thompson and Witz. As has been previously mentioned, the influence of authors such as Van Jaarsveld can be inferred, but not proven on this site.

It should also be noted that the concerns about language, land and identity, as identified in the writings of Van Jaarsveld also feature strongly as concerns on the web-site as will be shown below. The concern with preserving the language, while at the same time communicating on a large scale with a global audience is also a tension that is present on the site. While, it could also be argued that there is a belief held by the web-site authors that English does not convey the same lyricism as Afrikaans would, or the clear communication necessary, for the intended audience. It is important to note that the impact of the Anglo-Boer War echoes on the web-sites as seen below. It appears that as noted previously in this dissertation that as early as 1958 Professor Van Jaarsveld suggested that Afrikaner history was limited to knowledge of the Voortrekker Monument and the Anglo-Boer War. These episodes were important in the past and have since also become central features on the white supremacist web-sites.

As noted Van Jaarsveld believed that history should be reported accurately, but that it should have visual impact. It could be argued that the web-authors have taken his instructions to heart and have attempted to create an animated, visual web-site which might draw the lay person in. The AWB attempts to do the same on its web-site. (See Appendix 6).

Freedom 2000 or *Vryheid 2000* is a bilingual web-site specifically aimed at 'Afrikaners', who uphold the aspirations of the Boer *Volk*.[1] The web-site was set up in March 1998, with the aim of gaining the awareness of Afrikaners who held the same views, as well as to cultivate the attention of other people overseas. The authors of the web-site state clearly in their organisation's aim that it was set up to protect themselves from, and to provide an alternative to, the other organisations which had 'betrayed' the Boer *Volk*. These 'traitors' include the National Party, the Freedom Front and the Conservative Party. These aforementioned organisations and their leaders have been accused of splitting the Afrikaner *Volk* and of having sold their freedom to the 'Communist' / ANC alliance-led government. *Freedom 2000* is reacting to changes in South Africa, in the post 1994 period.

But the web-site was also set up with the aim of rewriting the History of the 'Afrikaner' *Volk*. This echoes the older exercises of Afrikaners in the 1930's, 1940's and even later.[2] The main objective of this exercise is to reveal 'the truth' about the 'Afrikaners': who they are, their history, their suffering and their continued struggle. In this way, by means of utilising the Internet, the group believes that, not only can it set the record straight, but that it will be able to defend and preserve the culture and heritage of the *Boer Volk*. This is a broadening of the traditional way in which History is formally used, namely through books, photographs, films and diaries, where the suffering and accomplishments of the *Boer Volk* are articulated.

However, an important and distinctive aspect of the *Freedom 2000* web-site (which is shared by the *AWB* and the *Boere Separatiste* to be discussed in the following two chapters) is that unlike previously when the 'Afrikaners' operated within an exclusivist and isolationist paradigm, they now utilise a technology which connects them to different peoples and countries. This seems to entail some modification of the argument made by Martin Hall about the tightening of 'ethnic' boundaries on the Internet (see p.14), but the overall point holds, in that a new kind of 'ethnic' identity is being shaped and new borders drawn, made possible by the electronic capabilities of the Internet.

[1] It is important to note that there is a distinction made between 'Afrikaner' and 'Boer'. The term Afrikaners refers to all Afrikaans speakers, whereas Boer refers to whites who speak Afrikaans and uphold the ideas espoused by Freedom 2000.

[2] Benedict Anderson and others have explored the idea of how a nation is constituted. Anderson in *Imagined Communities* explores the idea of History's role in making a nation. This notion has deep roots, and has not lost its appeal or power, even today. Note the current use of History by the present regime to bring about unity. An example of this is President Thabo Mbeki's speeches in which he makes numerous references to the past. In his "I am an African" speech he said 'I am the child of Nongquawuse'. He makes according to Pereis, through Nongquawuse specific link to the person who prophesied during the Xhosa Cattle Killings of the 1856-7.

While the main focus of the web-site is to highlight the aspirations of the *Boer Volk*, it also looks at other events, which have no strict bearing on 'Afrikaner' matters. The outward interest is driven by technology and the new politics of globalism, and is important as it is indicative of the organisation's realisation that it cannot survive or be a real influence if it remains a locally-based group. The measure of this realisation is shown in its use of English as an instrument of communication. So although its aim is the preservation and protection of the 'Afrikaner's' culture and heritage, and more specifically the language of the *Volk*, it nevertheless utilises an internationally recognised language, English.

The web-site intends to be used as a vehicle for like-minded people and organisations to have a forum where they are able to meet, discuss and exchange ideas. For the purposes of this dissertation a detailed textual analyses of *Freedom 2000's* web pages from their web-sites over the period of August 1999 will be undertaken. The purpose of this analysis is to show how the authors of the web-site have set up *Freedom 2000* as a vehicle for the dissemination of their nationalist agenda. The web-site includes a detailed map of the organisation's ideology and purpose. These web pages include the organisation's aim and mission statements as well as their news archives. The Mission statement is the only one in that is pasted on their web-site solely in Afrikaans.

4.2 Vryheid 2000 - Freedom 2000

Freedom 2000 is a web-site which belongs to a group that is promoting specifically defined 'Afrikaner' interests. The web-site's address has been changed for security reasons, according to the site web-master. 'We have moved to a new address for security reasons, click here to enter site' is the message that flashes on when the old address is punched in. Upon entering the site, one finds the organisation's Aim, Mission, News and Archives, all of which, except for the Mission,[3] which is only in Afrikaans, are posted on the site in both Afrikaans and English. In the following pages select transcripts of passages on the web-site will be analysed.

[3]It should be noted that the Mission is in Afrikaans. Perhaps the belief is that the only people who would find it of interest are other Afrikaans-speakers with similar interests.

4.3 Die Doel Van Vryheid 2000 - The Aim of Freedom 2000

The Afrikanerbond/Broederbond, Conservative Party, National Party, Freedom Front and other AFRIKANER organisations who intend participating in the ANC/COMMUNIST elections in 1999, intend forming a shadow Afrikaner Cabinet later this year. We believe that it is necessary to point out that certain of these organisations are multi-racial. They intend participating in the 1999 elections with the purpose of getting as many of their leaders as is possible on the Mandela gravy train.

In its Aim, *Freedom 2000* sets up a distinction between Afrikaners and the Boervolk.[4] It sets out its condemnation of Afrikaner organisations who have 'sold out' to the African National Congress (ANC) and to Communism when it points out the ANC/ SACP alliance. The word Afrikaner is written in capital letters, making it clear that there is a distinction between these groups and Freedom 2000. It is also an accusation, set out in the form of a banner headline in a newspaper.

The link of the ANC/ SACP written in capitals suggests a shocking collusion between the two and reasserts the paranoia about communism. The suggestion that the ANC and the other Afrikaner organisations intend to form a *'shadow Afrikaner cabinet'* suggests sinister connotations. The reference also alludes to the history of the *Broederbond*, which had acted in that capacity to the former National Party. The concern about organisations being *'multi-racial'* attempts to strike terror into the readers' hearts. It makes use of the old fear that was used in apartheid years propaganda, namely the *Swart Gevaar*, literally, Black Terror. The link of Mandela with the *'gravy train'* a very recent idea of the mid-1990's, alludes to the corruption that had been uncovered. The direct translation in Afrikaans is *'soustrein'*. Gravy is very much a part of traditional English cuisine and thus there is an implicit suggestion of foreign, for example, *'uitlander'* elements at work.

The participation of the mixed race secret Afrikanerbond (Broederbond) and the treacherous National Party is especially significant. It was the sinister Broederbond, in an obvious alliance with the National Party and the ANC/SACP, that orchestrated the sell-out of the unsuspecting Whites to the Communist dominated African National Congress.

The whole negotiated settlement is swept aside as an act of betrayal and secret

[4]Boervolk, a literal translation means farmer people.

alliance between the ANC/SACP and the National Party. The De Klerk referendum (which was held in 1992), for which he needed a two-thirds majority from the white electorate to support the Nationalist Party's reforms, is not acknowledged and neither are the 1994 elections. The referendum further was an acknowledgement by most white voters that a settlement had to be reached. Equally, the Armed Struggle, which was one of the factors which forced the National Party-led Government to negotiate, is forgotten in this simplistic explanation. Instead, the stealth and undiscovered 'betrayals' on the part of Afrikaners are blamed for the change in government. Note how the Broederbond is described as '*the mixed race secret Afrikanerbond (Broederbond)*' - meaning that they are not 'White' or part of the Boervolk, because their participation along with the National Party in the negotiated settlement, can only be explained as the actions of people who are not part of the Boervolk. Furthermore, the change is described as a 'sell-out of the unsuspecting Whites' as if the whole process had happened in secret. While behind-the-scenes negotiations occurred in the beginning stages of the negotiations, they later moved into the open, with the negotiations at the World Trade Centre. The argument of the above piece seems to be that the *'unsuspecting Whites'* were not consulted or informed of the negotiated settlement. Indeed, that they were duped into supporting actions which are now clearly regarded as having been not in their best interest.

The Conservative Party, which is now colluding with these organisations, has distanced itself from one of our important Boervolk organisations. Their leader standing next to Nelson Mandela on Television news, agreed to Mandela making the announcement of this important policy shift on behalf of the Conservative Party. We can only speculate on what other agreements exist between the ANC/SACP and the Conservative Party leadership.

The Conservative Party, under the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht from 1982, used to be the official opposition under the Apartheid Government. The subsequent role of the Conservative Party is viewed as one of collusion with the ANC/SACP. The leader of the Conservative Party is portrayed as powerless and almost totally under the sway of Nelson Mandela. It is as if the leader of the Conservative Party is a puppet and Mandela is the puppet master, the one who controls everything. The speculation about other secret agreements between the Conservative Party and the ANC/SACP implies that these might be even more damaging to the *Boervolk*. The spectre is also raised of a closer partnership between the Conservative Party and the Communist ANC, another indication of how the Afrikaners are being attacked and weakened from within.

The Freedom Front, through its leader, General Constand Viljoen, was instrumental in dividing the White Electorate, which prevented resistance to the Communist takeover of our country. General Viljoen recently stated that a partnership with the Communist ANC is something for the future.

The Freedom Front is accused of dividing the 'White' electorate. The inference is that the white electorate was a unified entity in the beginning; this is part of an enduring mythology (see Moodie, O'Meara, Thompson). The white electorate is portrayed as a powerful united force which could have prevented the change in Government and brought about a different 1994 election result. Yet, what is swept aside is that the white electorate was not a unified force at that time and was also a minority, as opposed to the 'Black majority'. The argument that it could possibly have swayed the vote in favour of the then National Party is ludicrous. Despite the National Party's victory in the Cape in 1994, the ANC was a clear victor. Besides, the Government of National Unity, which had been agreed upon during the negotiations, would have ensured that power was shared in the unlikely event that the National Party won the 1994 elections. The dividing of the white electorate is also viewed as resulting in the inability of this group to effectively resist a *'Communist takeover'*. This highlights the fears of Communism. This fear had been used most effectively by the apartheid Government to mobilise support for its policies and actions. The use of the *Rooi Gevaar*, (the Red Danger) during the 1950s and 1960s was useful to the National Party-led Government during the time. Now however, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the idea may be inappropriate for the 1990s.

It is unfortunate that no Boervolk organisation warned against this unholy alliance of Afrikaner organisations. Fred Rundle went public and recorded his grave concern and condemned this dangerous alliance. It also made him realise that the different Boervolk organisations will have to speak in unity on matters of common concern, if they want to survive this onslaught against them from within their own Afrikaans speaking ranks.

The use of the words *'unholy alliance of Afrikaner organisations'* suggests that it was somehow unwholesome and even ungodly. The alliance was viewed as some kind of total attack upon the Boer organisations from within their own ranks. The suggestion is also that Afrikaners all have a common purpose, as if they all speak in concert and think the same thoughts. As Dan O'Meara in *Volkskapitalisme* argues, the idea of the Afrikaner volk was constructed over the course of the 1930s and 1940s, and Dunbar Moodie, in *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, makes a similar point and

explains how the 'sacred saga' was used by Afrikaner ideologues to unify the *volk*.[5]

Freedom 2000 was formed to correct this imbalance. Boervolk organisations are free to determine their own policies. Freedom 2000 will be the mouthpiece and vehicle for matters of common concern to the Boervolk and all Whites who identify with their cause. Freedom 2000 will not interfere with the Christian religious convictions of the different organisations and individual affiliates.

Freedom 2000 takes on the role of being the organisation to redress what its leaders view as an *'imbalance'*, perhaps even an injustice. The needs of the *Boervolk* are viewed as concerns, which are common to *'all Whites who identify with their cause'*. It is assumed that all Whites are Afrikaner and espouse the cause of the *Boervolk*. Another assumption is that all the organisations have some Christian basis. Language, land and religion, it has been demonstrated by the scholars cited in Chapter 2, have long been major factors in the formation of the identity of the Afrikaner. Moodie, particularly, has shown how a variety of Calvinist interpretations gave Afrikaner nationalism an important impetus. The NG Church with its doctrine of Calvinism was one of the mainstays of the former Apartheid regime in upholding and justifying the Apartheid state and the Afrikaners' pre-eminent position in the State.[6]

To affiliate with Freedom 2000 will initially be free of charge. All our officials operate on a voluntary basis and without salaries. As soon as we can prove our accomplishments, a small affiliation fee will be charged by consensus to cover the expenses and to attain our goals for the Boervolk.

Note that the accomplishments and goals are not mentioned in detail. Indeed, it is more a vague promise of what the organisation intends and cannot be gauged. How will it be measured whether the actions were sufficient or had any impact? What kinds of actions will be taken to prove the organisation's worthiness to act as leader and mouthpiece for the other *Boervolk*?

Freedom 2000 will also offer a free consultancy and advisory service to any affiliated organisations requesting assistance with media releases and interviews for their organisations.

The organisation intends to use any media available to disseminate its views. *Freedom 2000* realises the potential inherent in the medium. It equally appreciates the

[5]See Chapter 2.
[6]See Chapter 2.

power and force the media has as a vehicle to influence people, and either to direct or change their views and opinions. The power of the media as a vehicle for disseminating ideas or propaganda should not be underestimated.

Subject to the availability of space, Freedom 2000 will place, free of charge, approved press releases and articles of affiliated organisations and members on this web site.

While the organisation attempt to appear free and accessible, there are restrictions. Note that the use of the phrase *'approved press releases and articles'* means that only vetted material will find its way onto *Freedom 2000's* web-site.

On behalf of the Freedom 2000 Executive Council.

4.4 Die Missie Van Vryheid 2000 - The Mission of Freedom 2000

The Mission of Freedom 2000 is posted on the web-site entirely in Afrikaans (a calculated choice similar to the one made by the Boere Separatiste in the previous chapter) because of its intimacy and its ability to convey empathy, as I will show in the analysis that follows. It is a document that sets out the organisation's mission and its reasons. It tackles the issues of *Boervolk* identity, language, land and history. It also sets out its accomplishments in contrast to other organisations, notably the Freedom Front.

Daar was 'n behoefte by die verskillende Boervolk-organisasies wat na volksvryheid streef, om 'n bindende liggaam vir hulle organisasies te he. Dit is duidelik dat Vryheid 2000 aan hierdie behoefte voldoen het.

There was a need among the different Boervolk-organisations that strive for volk freedom, to have a binding/unified body for their organisations. It is clear that Freedom 2000 provided for this need.

The organisation sees one of its missions as fulfilling a need of the *Boervolk* organisations. It seeks to provide a platform for these organisations. These organisations who strive for freedom, *'wat na volksvryheid streef'* resonate with the history of suffering that forged a nation.[7] Remember this is also happening on the eve of the Anglo-Boer War centenary. The ANC's message is that the Anglo-Boer War is everyone's war and they go so far as to have it officially renamed the 'Anglo-Boer

[7]See Moodie and Thompson on this aspect, Chapter 2.

South African War' to convey an inclusive concept. The word *'volksvryheid'* is an untranslatable concept, literally it means freedom for the people, but *'volk'* has very particular historical connotations.[8]

Vir die eerste keer hierdie eeu, het Vryheid 2000 dit reggekry om die wereld se aandag te vestig op die slagting van die Boervolk deur die Engelse, aan die begin van hierdie eeu. Ons het roerende argief-fotos op ons Web-blad van die kindertjies en die Engelse konsentrasiekampe.

For the first time this century, Freedom 2000 succeeded in centring[9] the world's attention on the slaughter of the Boervolk by the English, at the beginning of this century. We have moving archive photos on our Web-site of the Children and the English concentration camps.

The emphasis that for the first time this century the *Boervolk*[10] have been able to gain the world's attention, attempts to evoke a sense of awe for its antiquity, a 100 years. It describes the Anglo-Boer War in terms of the *slaughter* (my emphasis) of the *Boervolk* by the English. The use of the word *Boervolk*, once again resonates with those historical and political connotations referred to above. However, the 'English' here are indicted as a people, and are not recognised as a 'nation'. There is also a reference to moving archive photographs of children in the English concentration camps. The English are charged as a whole with responsibility for the concentration camps, and not the people who gave the orders for the policy, namely Kitchener and Roberts, the commanders of the British armed forces. The word used for 'children' in Afrikaans is the diminutive form, not available in English. The closest approximation is 'little children', and it does not convey the true meaning of the word, as it is a term of affection as well as indicating a diminutive. There is a word in Afrikaans for children, *'kinders'*, but by adding the diminutive *'tjies'* the sense is changed. It emphasises their vulnerability and an emotional intimacy. Other languages such as Russian have this same method of expressing affection by using the diminutive of the name, for example, Ivan becomes *Vanya*. *Dousha* becomes *Doushenka*, my Soul and my Little Soul. While the use of the word, *'konsentrasiekampe'* links these

[8] See Chapter 2 on meaning of *'volk'*.

[9] The translation for the English sections were obtained from the Freedom 2000 web-site.

[10] The use of the words 'Boer' and *'volk'* combined as a single word is interesting as it conveys the changes the words have undergone. The etymology of 'Boer' is used in two ways, with both a capital and small letter b. The use of the capital B indicates a nation, and the small letter b indicates the profession of the person, namely, farmer. The word 'volk' had its origins in both Germanic anthropology and Romantic literature. It was taken up in the Nazi era, hence Volkswagen, the people's car. The use of the word volk on the web-site is used to mean people, hence Boervolk, Farmer people.

camps to the Holocaust of the Second World War, since that for most people is a visible and known fact about what a concentration camp is, despite 'the English' setting the first precedent.

Daar is daaglik briewe vanuit die buiteland van mense wat se dat hulle het nooit geweet dat die Engelse ons Boervolk so wreed behandel het nie, Met dit alleen, het ons n reuse taak vervul in belang van ons geliefde Boervolk.

There are letters daily from overseas from people who say that they never knew that the English treated the Boervolk so brutally. With this alone, we accomplished a huge task in the interest of our beloved Boervolk.

Freedom 2000 once again makes use of the South African War or the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. It likens the events to that of the Holocaust. It uses the word slaughter, *'slagting'*, not in the context of war in which the British Army was attempting to contain a fierce guerrilla offensive from the Boers, but as if it were a deliberate extermination of the *Boervolk*. The emphasis on children in the concentration camps suggests a genocide of the *Boervolk*.[11] It acknowledges that it has accomplished much in garnering sympathy from the overseas community, through its archives of photographs of the children and concentration camps. The use of the word *'buiteland'* when translated means 'outside the land' and there is thus an appeal made to the outside world, but also an evocation of complex associations about the land, the country and insiders and outsiders. Interestingly, and perhaps incongruously, there is also a specific emphasis on the English; that the English mistreated the *Boervolk* in a very brutal manner - *'die Engelse ons Boervolk so wreed behandel het'*. The word *'wreed'* has quite a wide spread of meanings (such as barbaric and cruel) and is therefore a very well-chosen word.

Ons beleid is om die Boervolk en diegene wat met ons identifiseer, in te lig, oor die Boervolk se identiteit en ons eie geskiedenis. Ons probeer, die Afrikaners oorreed sodat hulle nie mislei word deur die politici om vir hulle te stem nie. Hierdie salaristrekkende politici se enigste doel is om hulself te verryk ten koste van die verarmde Blankes.

Our aim is to inform the Boervolk and all those who identify with us. We are trying to convice the Afrikaners not to be misled by politicians to vote for them. These paid politicians' only aim is to enrich themselves at the expense of impoverished Whites.

[11] A similar argument is made by the Boere Separatiste in Chapter 5.

Their aim is to inform the *Boervolk* and those who identify with them, about the Boer identity and their own history. Here there is an emphasis on 'our own' *'ons eie geskiedenis'*. They are asserting their ownership of the past, of which the War is a key element; under threat of dispossession by politically-led initiatives to discover the extent of black participation in the Anglo-Boer War, and by the changes taking place in school curricula since the advent of *Curriculum 2005* in 1997. This is likely to downplay the key moments of the 'sacred saga', by focusing more attention on the conquest of African kingdoms and subsequent dispossession.[12]

They also wish to convince 'Afrikaners' that they should not be misled by the politicians to vote for them. The politicians are described as people who receive salaries and their only aim is to enrich themselves at the expense of the impoverished Whites. The ideas which were used by the National Party in the 1930s to consolidate its power, namely the 'poor white' issue is once again being used. The idea of the *'verarmde Blankes'*, 'impoverished Whites' is being used as an instrument to invoke fear and note the connotation: those who have been made poor.

Hulle het en sal, allerlei foefies gebruik, soos die doodgewone Volkstaatraad, om die blankes te mislei terwyl hul enigste doel is, om the kan smoor in die sous van Mandela se soustrein.

They have and will, use every trick such as the unremarkable Town Council, to mislead the Whites, while their only goal is to suffocate[13] ***in the gravy of Mandela's Gravy train.***

The politicians are regarded as manipulators on a grand scale, who would use any tricks necessary to mislead whites. The image of the gravy train is directly linked to Mandela. Here he is regarded as the leader responsible for corruption. Instead of being regarded as a respected leader, above mismanagement and corruption, he is clearly identified as leading the downward spiral. The view of Mandela stems from old ideas of the bogeyman. He is still regarded by the *Boervolk* as a terrorist and not a person who struggled to free people from Apartheid, and links into older suspicions of politicians, for example, Hertzog who turned his back on Republican sentiments in the 1930s and 1940s.

Die politici het nog niks uitgerig nie, en sal in die toekoms ook niks uitgerig kry nie. Menige van die Afrikaners wat hierdie stemmende politici steaun, is eintlik Boere, maar hulle besef dit net nie. Hulle is oor die jare al so gebreinspoel deur die liberale

[12] See the so-called streamlined version of *Curriculum 2005* released for comment in June 2001 by the Department of Education under Kader Asmal's supervision.

[13] A variant translation of the word 'smoor' is smothered or possibly simmered.

politici en die nou bont Broederbond (Afrikanerbond), dat hulle Afrikaners is, dat sommige van hulle dit selfs glo.

The politicians have accomplished nothing and will in future also accomplish nothing. Many of the Afrikaners who support these voted politicians, are actually Boers, but they do not realise it. They have been brainwashed over the years by the liberal politicians and the now coloured Broederbond (Afrikanerbond), that they are now Afrikaners, and that some of them now even believe it.

The politicians are viewed as persons who are unable to perform or to accomplish anything. It speaks of broken promises and failed endeavours such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR). The Afrikaners who support the Government are viewed as Boers who do not realise the nature of their real identity, and note that prominent Afrikaners, such as D. Hanekom and K. Niehaus were members of the Government of National Unity (GNU) cabinet. Indeed, they are regarded as unsuspecting victims of liberal politicians and the *Broederbond*, who have brainwashed them into thinking of themselves as bring 'Afrikaners' and not 'Boers'. This is a view shared by *National Alliance*, a white supremacy group headed by William Pierce and based in the United States of America.[14] The argument is that whites who support governments that operate without an exclusive white paradigm, have been misled and need to discover their 'white identity'. This can only be done once the support for the multi-racial government is rejected.

Die Afrikaners het nou anderskleurigers in hulle midde toegelaat. As hulle toegelaat word om Afrikaners the wees, dan laat jy hulle toe om ook onder die Afrikaners in te teel. Dit beteken dat die Afrikanervolk dekades later net maar nog 'n bastervolk gaan wees wat 'n soort Afrikaans gaan praat.

The Afrikaners have now allowed people of colour into their midst. If you allow them to be Afrikaners, then you also allow them to inbreed with Afrikaners. That means that the Afrikaner nation decades hence will be just another bastard nation that speaks a type of Afrikaans.

The acceptance of people who are not white is regarded as a willing action of racial suicide. The fact that people living together is seen as a dilution of the 'pure

[14]See Chapter 6. It is also a view held by another South African white supremacist group, the *Boere Separatiste* (see Chapter 5).

Afrikaner nation' is ironic since linguistic adaptation, borrowing and extensive miscegenation are the very roots of Afrikaans. By allowing them to *'inteel onder die Afrikaners'*, 'to inbreed with Afrikaners', a bastardised nation with a language that is no longer Afrikaans would result. The use of the word *'inteel'* suggests something monstrous and unnatural. The suggestion is that Afrikaans was a pure language that was not influenced by other languages. Indeed, it is regarded as an integral part of the Afrikaner identity, and must therefore be preserved from external influences. This direct link of Afrikaans with Afrikaner identity, ignores the fact that the language is a derivative of Dutch and incorporates German and some words from African languages in its make-up (see Chapter 2).[15]

As voorbeeld kan ons verwys na die geskiedenis van die eens magtige Griekse Volk. Nadat hulle 'n aantal negerinne (swartes) in hulle midde toegelaat het, het hulle begin agteruit gaan tot vandag toe waar hulle die armste volk in Europa is.

As an example, we can point to the history of the once mighty Greek Nation. After they allowed a number of Negresses (blacks) into their midst, they began to deteriorate so that today they are one of the poorest nations in Europe.

Greece is used as an example, because it is acknowledged as the centre from which western civilisation originated.[16] The decline of Greece is not attributed to the disintegration of Alexander the Great's empire after his death, or the shift in power with the rise of the Roman Empire. Neither is the decline seen in modern times in terms of the effect of the Second World War and the civil war over Cyprus. Instead, it is attributed to blacks, and females at that. It somehow goes to the argument that by allowing their men to marry black women, the race had weakened itself internally and was therefore bound to deteriorate and fall. This is a comment on where South Africa is likely to be heading in the decades to come.

Die Afrikaner volk sal dus uiteindelik dieselfde paadie volg deur 'n bont volk te word. Die klemverskywing is van volkstaat na ***Afrikaanses****. Die skrywer AHM Scholtz is een van die Afrikaner liberale voorbankers wat met meening die saamvoeg van alle Afrikaanses propageer.*

[15] Van Jaarsveld acknowledges the different influences that have made up the Afrikaans language (see Chapter 3).

[16] See Chapter 3 for examples in which Van Jaarsveld in his History textbooks also looked to Greece and Rome as the centres of civilisation. Also See Appendix 9 for an image used by Van Jaarsveld in his History textbook for Standard 6, called the Tree of Civilisation which attempts to visually set out how present civilizations evolved from the Egyptian, Greek and Roman Empires.

The Afrikaner nation will thus also walk the same path by becoming a coloured nation. The emphasis is shifted from a nationstate to Afrikanses. The writer AHM Scholtz is one of the liberal Afrikaners in the forefront that is passionately promoting the mixing of all Afrikanses.

A prediction is made that the Afrikaner 'nation' is heading towards a type of genocide, that will be accomplished through miscegenation. The use of the diminutive form for road, *'paadjie'* meaning a short road, suggests that it is also a fate that is not long in coming. Afrikaners such as Scholtz, who promote the idea of integration, are regarded as liberal Afrikaners who are undermining the call for a *'volkstaat'*. The idea of nationalism which is put to the fore here is that the Afrikaners can only be regarded as a 'nation' if they have a distinct language, history and land. Without these, the 'Afrikaner' identity is non-existent; this, as I have noted, is a motif that has persisted for the last century.

Hoe lank sal die Afrikaanses saamleef voordat die euwel van misdagigheid and morele verval weereens die volk verlam. Nee, duisend maal nee, die antwoord kan nooit eenvoudiger wees as n suiwer Blanke Boere Volkstaat nie.

How long will the Afrikaanses live together before the evil of criminality and moral decay once again paralyses the volk. No, a thousand times no, the answer can never be more simple than a pure White Farmer People state.

Here the English translation fails to capture the rhythms and lyricism of the kind of Afrikaans poetry epic spoken by Eugene Terre'Blanche at AWB rallies in the 1980s. It works on several different levels, emotional, aesthetic and rhetorical. Note Dunbar Moodie's reference to this genre of lyrical poetry (see p.45). He notes that a consequence of the Anglo-Boer War was the birth of lyrical poetry that was a form of coping with the grief and anguish caused by the devastation produced by the war. As van Wyk put it: "the task of these writers was the spiritual transformation of the war, so that it would become meaningful and not remain a brute material happening for us. So that [we] could again become men, with human values and evaluations".[17] Integration is viewed as inevitably leading to crime and moral decay. The solution to avoiding such an eventuality is to have a White Boer state. The enormity of the tragedy is balanced with the apparent simplicity of the solution.

Om al die Afrikaanses saam te gooi, is om vir die tweede keer integrasie op onskuldige

[17]Moodie, D. T. The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, Berkley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980.

mense af te dwing. Dit het nerens in die wereld nog gewerk nie, waarom sou did hier werk?

To throw all the Afrikaanses together, is to force integration a second time upon an innocent people. It has not yet worked anywhere in the world, why should it work here?

In tune with the predictions of Afrikaner nationalists from the 1920s onwards, integration is regarded as a policy that would inevitably fail. It is presented as a form of injustice, because innocent people will be forced to adhere to it. The United States of America is indirectly alluded to, with the comment about the failure of integration elsewhere in the world, as in Yugoslavia. The break-up of Yugoslavia and its deterioration into civil war and 'ethnic cleansing' on such a grand scale is used by *Freedom 2000* as an example of what integration could mean to other countries that attempt it.

Die Boervolk wil nie weer met integrasie probleme opgeskeep sit nie. Die Boervolk is 'n volk in eie reg. Hy wil homself binne sy eie volksgebied regeer en dis die einde van die storie.

The Farmer people does not want to be saddled with integration problems. The Farmer people are a people in their own right. He wants to rule himself within his own place (but note untranslatable 'volksgebied') and that is the end of the story.

The call for a separate land is reminiscent of the argument made for self-determination by Woodrow Wilson after the end of the First World War. Ironically, because of the haphazard manner in which the policy was applied, the result was Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia's disintegration. Ethnic nationalism of the kind which the Boers are calling for, played a role in the disintegration of both in the 1990s.

Die Boervolk het die ou Transvaalse en Vrystaatse Republieke besit. Dit was erken deur die ganse wereld, todat die Engelse die Boervolk uitgemoor het met die draai van die vorige eeu. As ons gaan stem in Mandela se verkiesings, dan verbeur ons alle reg om ons grond terug te eis in terme van die Internationale Reg.

The Farmer people owned the old Transvaal and Freestate Republics. This was acknowledged throughout the world, until the English murdered the Farmer people at the turn of the previous century. If we are going to vote in Mandela's elections, then we forsake all rights to demand our land back in terms of International Law.

The whole colonisation of South Africa is ignored. The fact that *Freedom 2000* regards the Boers as the former owners of the 'Transvaal' and the Free State, ignores the dispossession of the African people on which the Trekker Republics were founded and whose survival was often threatened by powerful African polities determined to wrest their land back (see Delius[18] and Cope[19]). The substantial aid which the British gave the ZAR[20] Boers in the 1870's for example, which prevented the latter's almost certain demise or incorporation into another African kingdom, is ignored. The 'genocide of the Boers by the English' during the Anglo-Boer War is blamed for the Boers' loss of the two republics.[21] The organisation regards the 'Boers' as having a case, which would stand in an international court. In this way, the impression is given that it is not simply the fantasy of a few people, but an acknowledged and provable fact under international law.

Die rede waarom ons hiedie bewering maak, is dat as ons gaan stem, aanvaar ons Mandela se eenheidstaat. Ons kan nie in 'n eenheidstaat stem en agterna sê dat ons nie dit aanvaar nie en dan ons grond will terugeis ingevolge die Internationale Reg.

The reason we are taking this stance, is because if we go and vote, we accept Mandela's unified state. We cannot vote in a unified state and then later say that we do not accept it, and then demand our land back in terms of International Law.

The organisation makes its call for a *volkstaat* appear reasonable and within the law. Yet, the mere fact that it has laid claim to two parts of the country upon historical grounds, which are not accurately represented, makes it appear as if they have a case. The organisation makes it appear as if the Boers were dispossessed of their land by the English after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 and that they now can demand their land back under International law.

Ons will nie vassteek by die geskiedenis nie, maar diegene wat die verlede vergeet, het geen toekoms nie. Daar is moderne tegnologie beskikbaar wat ons tenvolle gaan benut om die Boervolk in te lig en praat te kry vir die omvermydelike stryd wat voorle op ons mars na vryheid.

We do not want to get stuck in history, but those who forget history,

[18] Delius, P. *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal*, Johannesburg: Heinemann, 1996.

[19] Cope, R. L. *Ploughshare of War: The Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1999.

[20] Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek.

[21] The two Boer Republics are also important to the *Boere Separatiste*, because they too view it as belonging to the *Boervolk* and hanker for their return to these two republics.

have no future. There is modern technology available, that we will use to the fullest to inform the Boervolk and to get them to talk about the unavoidable struggle that lies ahead in our march to freedom.

Interestingly, here we see a specific appeal to History. The emphasis on history is to strengthen their previous argument about the *Boervolk's* claim to the land on historical grounds, an implicit reference to the land restitution procedure. There is the interesting juxtaposition between history and technology. The organisation acknowledges its dependence upon history, and argues for historical continuity, while at the same time stressing its willingness to utilise technology for its benefit. The Internet is seen as a vehicle of communication, which the organisation is willing to utilise. It is a play on the title of Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*.[22]

Hier is enkele van ons beleidsbeginsels:

Here are some of our principles: *1) Ons sal veg vir ons Volk se reg op 'n eie soewereine grondgebied. 'n Volk sonder grond is geen volk nie.*

1) We will fight for our Volk's right to a own sovereign place. A Volk without land is not a volk.

Here again the importance of land as indicative of a people's identity is emphasised. The argument is made that a people who do not have their own land, cannot be regarded as a people or nation. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the issue of land, and language are of central importance to these groups, as shown in the above and below excerpts. Their sense of being a nation, and their identity as a people, is viewed as stemming from the possession of land, hence the continual return to the theme of the loss of the two Boer Republics.

2) Ons sal veg vir Afrikaans asook die reg van ons meelewende engelssprekendes en om hulle te respekteer.

2) We will fight for Afrikaans as well as the right of our co-habiting English-speakers and to respect them.

They will fight to retain their language and they also immediately concede that they will not infringe the rights of English-speakers. There is an immediate assumption that all English-speakers will of necessity be white.

[22]Mandela, N. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Randburg: Macdonald Purnell, 1994.

3) Ons sal veg vir ons Christelike geloof en vir 'n Christelike Staat met Christelike waardes en maatstaf. Ons kinders en ons nageslagte moet vry wees in hulle eie vaderland en moet regeer word deur hulle eie volksgenote.

3) We will fight for our Christian religion and for a Christian State with Christian values and standards. Our children and our descendants must be free in their own fatherland and must be ruled by their own volk associates.

Another important marker for these groups is their adherence to their Christian religion and values. A reminder of the enduring nature of the 'sacred saga' as explained by Dunbar Moodie (see Chapter 2) is articulated in the above paragraph. They are also returning to a time when Christianity was the dominant religion in South Africa. This is different from the new dispensation that has as its central philosophy the inclusion of different peoples, religions, and languages. The literal translation of *'nageslagtes'* is the coming generations but more practically 'those generations that follow' - thereby laying claim to a future historical continuity.

4) Ons wil veg sodat ons deel van ons Volkgeskiedenis-in-wording is. In geval daar net twee oor is wat vir ons Boervolk veg, sal ons met die Genade Van Die Here, sorg dat ons een van hulle is.

4) We want to fight so that we can be a part of our people-history-in-the-making. In the event that there are only two left who are fighting for our Boervolk, we will ensure with the Grace of God that we are one of them.

The stress again is placed on the making of their History. It is a play on the way that historians at universities such as Wits in the 1970s, (through the History Workshop), and UCT endeavoured to allow ordinary people's history to be written and recorded. This was known as history from below. There was also a movement initiated that argued for the writing of a people's history. The intentional play on '*Volksgeskiedenis-in-wording*' is in answer to a perceived threat possed to the continued pre-eminence held in schools of Afrikaner history. Now, the Boervolk, like other South Africans who were previously written out of the History textbooks, for example, now feel compelled to fight for the continued existence of their History.

5) Ons onderneem om nooit op Mandela se soustrein the klim deur te gaan stem in veelrassige verkiesings nie.

5) We undertake never to climb onto Mandela's gravy train by going to vote in the multi-racial elections.

Voting in the elections is equated with joining Mandela's gravy train. This, the organisation vows, it will never do. So, again they are disassociating themselves from participating in the democratic election process or the new dispensation.

6) Ons sal veg vir ons kinders se reg om opgevoed the word in ons Christelike geloof met gratis onderways sodat hulle hulself tot die beste van hulle vermoens kan kwalifiseer vir die lewe.

6) We will fight for our children's right to be educated in our Christian religion with free education so that they can qualify themselves to the best of their abilities for life.

The organisation vows that it will fight for the rights of their children to receive a Christian education. This education no doubt will be based on Christian National Education, the education system initiated in 1952, whereby schools were separated on language lines, and is also an attack on education reform, which has integrated the education departments and promoted a radically different curriculum.

7) Ons strewe is dat geen Volkskind ooit weer honger sal ly nie en dat elke volksgenoot wat wil werk, die nodige werk sal kry.

7) Our struggle is that no Volks child must never go hungry and that every associate of the people that wants to work, will find the necessary work.

This is a comment on Affirmative Action. It is expressing a fear that the Afrikaner people, and more broadly whites, will lose their jobs or will not get the jobs of their choice, because of Affirmative Action. This is now viewed as a form of reverse discrimination. The fact that there used to be a system of job reservation for whites is simply ignored as one of the consequences which has now resulted in some kind of equity and balance being established.

8) Ons strewe is dat ons oues van dae wat hulle lewens vir hul kinders opgeoffer het, goed versorg sal word op staatskoste.

8) Our struggle is to ensure that our elders, who sacrificed their lives for the sake of their children, will be well looked after at the expense of the state.

This is a comment on the envisaged privatisation of the homes for the aged. The previous generation is seen as having made sacrifices for the sake of their children.

The theme of sacrifice runs through the web-site as a constant reminder of the Anglo-Boer War (see Moodie). At particular moments it is thought to be expedient to play up the suffering elements of the 'sacred saga'. As the *Boere Separatiste* have also done in the previous chapter, when explaining how the Boervolk had also experienced a Holocaust whereby their women, but more especially, their children had been killed in a concerted effort to destroy the Boervolk.

9) Daar mag nooit monopolie geduld word nie en kartelle sal opgebreek word.

9) Monopolies must never be tolerated and cartels will be dismantled.

Large businesses owned by few people must not be tolerated. Cartels remind one of drug cartels. The view on monopolies is negative and they must be destroyed and prevented at all costs. It could also be viewed as a comment on Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which is an attempt to have people who were previously denied opportunities to access capital to own businesses.

10) Ons sal sorg dat die natuurlike bates van ons land in volkshande bly en ontwikkel word ten bate van die volk. Die vryemark stelsel onder die Boervolk sal aangemoedig word.

10) We will see to it that the natural assets of our land remain in the people's hands and be developed for the benefit of the people. The free market system under the Boervolk will be encouraged.

Is this a comment on the Mpumalanga Parks Board issue in which land was used as collateral and to speculate?

11) Daar mag nooit belasting op voorskrif-medisyne wees nie, want mense belas nie siermense nie, Daar mag ook nooit belasting op kos wees nie. Ander belastings sal tot 'n minimum beperk word.

11) There must never be any tax on prescription medicines, because people do not tax ill people. There must also never be any tax on food. Other taxation will be restricted to a minimum.

The above paragraph makes it clear that the organisation intends to see to the basic needs of people, namely good health and access to affordable medicine and food is regarded as key elements to maintaining this. There is also a almost utopian idea that people will receive services on the basis of a minimal taxation system. An appealing vision, but perhaps an unrealistic one.

12) Geheime organisasies sal onwettig wees. Ons volk is reeds in hierdie benarde posisie as gevolg van die gekonkel agter geslote deure van die geheime Broederbond. Die leiers is daar om die volk te dien, nie hulle eie belange nie. Die volk is nie daar om misbruik te word met leiers wat geheime agendas het nie.

12) Secret organisations will be illegal. Our people are already in this distressing position because of the intriguing, behind closed doors of the secret Broederbond. The leaders are there to serve the people, not their own interests. The volk is not there to be mistreated by leaders with secret agendas.

Secret organisations are outlawed because they are regarded as unreliable and the cause of the people's woes. The *'Broederbond'*, literally the Brotherhood, is viewed as an example of what a secret organisation can accomplish when it works for its own interest (and not the people's) and also botches the attempt. There is a great deal of animosity directed at secret organisations, which it indicts as having betrayed the people. This is a return to the theme which it began with, whereby it viewed the organisations who took part in the negotiated settlement as having acted on their own behalf and not in the interest of the people.

13) Ons sal nooit doelbewus enige ander Volksorganisasie wat nie by ons affilieer, aanval nie. Die voorwaarde is egter dat hulle nie moet gaan stem nie.

13) We will never knowingly attack any other Volks organisation which does not affiliate with us. The condition is however that they do not go and vote.

The way this sentence is phrased holds a threat. Other organisations which are not aligned to *Freedom 2000* will not be attacked on condition that they do not vote.

14) Vryheid 2000 is bereid om met ander organisasies oor strategie te onderhandel, maar ons sal nie oor beginsels onderhandel nie.

14) Freedom 2000 is prepared to negotiate about strategy with other organisations, but we will not negotiate our principles.

The comment on the organisation's willingness to negotiate over strategy with other organisations, is laced with a comment on South Africa's negotiated settlement. There is an indictment of the process, especially when *Freedom 2000* makes it clear that it is unwilling to negotiate on matters of principle. This is an implicit accusation that the negotiated settlement was only reached when principles were compromised.

Al hoe meer lede van die Boervolk verenig onder die Vryheid 2000 sambreel. Hier praat ons uit een mond. Hier is ons eendragtig bymekaar. Hier stap ons saam die toekoms in soos ou vriende. As u nog nie ingeskakel het nie, doen dit nou.

More members of the Boervolk are uniting under the Freedom 2000 umbrella. Here we speak with one mouth. Here we are together unanimously. Here we step into the future together as old friends. If you have not called in yet, do it now.

Here the impression is given that the Boervolk under the leadership of Freedom 2000 is a unified force, that will speak on behalf of the people, with one message. That this unified force consists of old friends who believe in a similar future.

Alle Boere-organisasies affilieer by Vryheid 2000. Hulle word nie lid nie. Hulle betaal ook nie lidmaatskapgelde nie. Deurdat hulle bloot affilieer, beteken dit dat elke organisasie outonoom bly en voortgaan met sy werkssaamhede. Vryheid 2000 meng dus nie in, in die huishoudelike sake van sy geaffilieerdes nie.

All Boer-organisations affiliate with Freedom 2000. They do not become members. They also do not pay any membership fees. Because they merely affiliate, means that each organisation remains autonomous and continues with its work undisturbed. Freedom 2000 therefore will not interfere in the domestic affairs of the affiliated.

Freedom 2000 is presented as an organisation that allows people to freely associate, and that this affiliation is by choice. There is also a promise made that there will be no interference in the internal affairs of these associates. But, *Freedom 2000* does retain the right to influence the ideas and actions of these organisations who have chosen to associate with it. As was indicated above, they would discourage their members from taking part in the elections.

Alhoewel die Boervolk fundamentele verskille het met sommige van hierdie organisasies, het hulle ook die vryheid van die blankes ten doel. Daar is dus meer sake waaroor ons saamstem met hulle as sake waaroor ons verskil.

Although the Boervolk has fundamental differences with some of these organisations, they also have the freedom of the whites as their aim. There are thus more matters with which we agree, as opposed to matters we disagree on.

The main interest that *Freedom 2000* aims to promote is - '*die vryheid van die*

blankes'. Their interest is to work on behalf of 'whites' so again there is a very exclusive agenda that is being promoted.

Affilieer dadelik en kom stap saam die vryheidspad die toekoms in!

Affiliate immediately and come and walk the road to freedom together into the future!

The 'I am an African'[23] speech made by then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at the Constitutional Assembly in Cape Town in 1996, is uncanny in its resemblance to the one on *Freedom 2000's* web-site. Most of the issues raised are similar but with a different emphasis placed upon them. Land, language are all mentioned, but in a totally different context. Here the emphasis is on bringing diverse people together, and to heal the divisions of the past. There is a call to work together, to celebrate, and to achieve. The oppression of the past should be combated and all South Africans should take 'their place in society as equals'. There is a move away from an exclusive view towards an inclusive one, where the rest of Africa is embraced, as well as people of European descent. The speech concludes with the now famous phrase, emphasising a new beginning and hoped for unity: "Today, it feels good to be an African".

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that elements of the 'sacred saga' are still intact. It was argued in Chapter 2 that Dunbar Moodie's sensitivity to both the complexity and the flexibility over time of the 'sacred saga' have been overlooked by subsequent scholars. But, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, Dunbar Moodie's account is very subtle and documents in great detail how the 'sacred saga' has taken on specific political challenges at various points of its history.

This chapter demonstrates that the 'sacred saga' lives on - with its essential features not very much diminished by time, but giving emphasis to the parts that tell of suffering and endurance, and with various forays into the contemporary political world. This chapter has also noted the importance of the language and lyricism with which the 'sacred saga' is told. In some cases, telling the 'sacred saga' on the Internet, although it promises a greater audience and important networking

[23]Mbeki, T. 'Statement made by the Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, on behalf of the African National Congress, on the occasion of the adoption of the Constitutional Assembly of "The Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill 1996"', Cape Town, 8 May 1996.

connections, involves a necessary compromise in this area because the language of the Internet is English - ironically the language of the Boers' traditional enemy. But the recasting of the saga for the Internet also allows for more 'networking' with other stories of suffering and battles for national survival that might create a broader audience for the 'sacred saga' than was possible in the days when it was restricted to national boundaries by virtue of its media.

Chapter 5

Boere Separatiste

5.1 Introduction

The Boer Separatists (*Boere Separatiste*)[1] is another white supremacist group that has been active on the Internet since 1998. The web-site was first accessed in 1999 and was still under construction and did not have a clear page of aims or objectives. The information available at the time consisted of a brief introduction that indicated who had set up the group, its history, historical documents related to the *Sand River* and *Bloemfontein Conventions*, the *Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, as well as information on what it claims was a *Boer Holocaust*. The *Boere Separatiste* web-site is far more basic than that of the *AWB*. The web-site does not have a great many images, except for the symbols of the former Boer republics,[2] as well as images from the concentration camps of children's graves.

When I accessed the web-site in 2003, the web-site had last been updated in August 2002 and the information available was still not accessible in English. The information on the web-site has over time been expanded to include: the group's history, its aims and objectives, news related to the group, as well as information clarifying the groups identity and the issue of the Anglo-Boer War. All the information available on the web-site at present is still only available in Afrikaans.

This chapter will analyse the document which points out who the Boer Separatists say they are as well as their aims and objectives. The document has been translated from the Afrikaans into English while retaining the Afrikaans parts within the chapter. A second document related to what the group claims was a Boere Holocaust will also be examined. Here the word Holocaust has been appropriated to apply to

[1] http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/4831

[2] See Appendix 3 for the Coat of Arms of the Z.A.R. downloaded from the web-site.

the Anglo-Boer War. These two documents set out the core ideas of the Boer Separatists, which they see as explaining how inextricably linked they are as a group to their place in South African history, as well as their stated objective for the future.

Once again the role of history is invoked to assist in the formation, or more accurately in this case, the re-evaluation of a group's identity. In this instance the archive and its contents are invoked as a means of infallible proof on the side of the *Boere Separatiste*. But, there is a certain paradox at play here, because this is the same archive that has been used by Afrikaners, (a group we will see below with which they have severed ties) after a clash of ideologies.

The Boer Separatists (*Boere Separatiste*) wish to set the 'historical record' straight by means of engaging with 'historical documents' which pertain to their history. The group wishes to engage and challenge the existing archive, by creating a 'new archive' devoted to the history, place and role played by the *Boere Separatiste*. But, the archive is not 'new' but more a reinterpretation of the sources, as will be shown below.

It should be emphasised however, that as their name indicates, the *Boere Separatiste* view themselves as the guardians of a purer tradition, which they believe the so-called 'Afrikaners' have betrayed. But, they do see themselves following in the footsteps of Van Jaarsveld, who despite some reservations, also saw himself as picking-up where Preller had left off. It should be noted that the desire by the *Boere Sparatiste* to correct the 'historical record' echoes the stated aim of Van Jaarsveld in writing 'scientific history' where he believed that the archive should be used accurately and that while history should be made accessible to the lay person it should also contain rigour.

The importance of the archive in the formation of people's identity and their sense of self is pointed out by Carolyn Hamilton who notes that "the archive provides the materials that are used in the making of identities and a sense of self".[3]The *Boere Separatiste* invoke this power in the service of the formation, or more importantly, confirmation of their identity. Note that Martin Hall also made an important point about the role of the archive. See introduction p.14 for an explanation of the role of the archive in a digital world.

The *Boere Separatiste* believe that with a re-evaluation of the existing archive, their obscured and diminished status can be restored. As Derrida noted about the archive,

[3]Hamilton, C. 'Advanced archival module', *S.A. Archival Journal*, vol 40,1998, 137-136.

"there is no political power without control of the archive".[4]

The *Boere Separatiste* are different from the *AWB* because they do not adhere to the identity of 'Afrikaners'. They have rejected the identity and believe that it is an appellation that should be reserved for a group of people that have betrayed the Boere. The *Boere Separatiste* did not immediately come to this conclusion to separate themselves from other 'Afrikaners', instead they believe that they were forced to it. See the explanation below from their web-site.

5.2 Wie is die Boere Separatiste?

Die Boere Separatiste[BS] is hoofsaaklik 'n denkgroep, bestaande uit lede van die Boervolk. Die Boere Separatiste het oorspronklik einde 1989 tot stand gekom, nadat die AWB leier, die Transvaalse Separatiste [TS] gevra het vir leiding met sy beplande ontmoeting met De Klerk in Pretoria. Die samesprekings tussen die AWB leier en die TS was te Sasolburg gehou. Die TS het op daardie tydstip 'n Boervolk Identiteits Dokument beplan, en dit saam met 'n oplossing voorgestel, daarmee saam die gespreks riglyne wat gevolg moes word met De Klerk. Ook was daar kommer uitgespreek oor die Afrikaner teenwoordigheid, nie alleen in die naam van die AWB, maar ook in die binne kringe van die beweging, wat die Boervolk identiteit, dus ook die noemnaam "Boervolk", glad nie goedgesind was (en steeds is) nie. Hierna is die Boerestaat Party ook genooi om deel te neem, en verskeie samesprekings het tussen die drie groepe te Pretoria plaasgevind. Daar was toe besluit om die voorstelle en Boervolk ID boek van die TS te aanvaar en om die ID boek te laat uitreik deur die Boere Separatiste, dus die drie groepe saam.

5.2.1 Who Are the Boer Separatists?

The Boer Separatists is mainly a think tank made up of members of the Boer nation. The Boer Separatists originally came into existence at the end of 1989, after the AWB leader, asked the Transvaal Separatists (TS) advice regarding its planned meeting with De Klerk in Pretoria. The discussions between the leader of the AWB and the TS took place in Sasolburg. The TS at that time had planned a Boer nation Identity Document, as well as a proposal for a solution. They also drew up an

[4]Derrida, J. quoted in *Refuguring the Archive*, p.15. Hamilton, C. Harris, V. Taylor, J. Pickover, M. Reid, G. & Saleh, R. (eds) *Refiguring the Archive*, South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 2002.

outline that the talks had to follow with De Klerk. Concern was raised about the Afrikaner representation, not only in the name of the AWB, but also in the inner circles of the movement, who did not accept the Boer people's identity, as well as the name Boer nation, which some are still not accepting. After this the Boer State Party was also invited to participate, and several talks took place in Pretoria between the three groups. There it was jointly decided to accept the suggestions of the TS and the Boer nation ID book and to distribute the Boer nation ID via the Boer Separatists.

The Boer Separatists describe themselves as a group that emerged mainly as a advisory group, consisting of members of the 'Boervolk' (Boer people or Boer nation). It described its origin as coming into being at the end of 1989 after a request from the *AWB* leader, who asked for advice before its planned meeting with De Klerk in Pretoria. The role of the Boer Separatists was to formulate some guidelines and a possible solution for the talks with De Klerk. The group clearly states that as early as 1989 they planned to formalise their identity as separate from that of the Afrikaners, hence the planned Boervolk Identity Document.

The concern with a separate identity highlights the divisions within 'Afrikaner' circles, a point which was pointed out by O'Meara.[5] What is of importance here is that the 'Boere' are distancing themselves from the decision of the negotiated settlement made between the people who took part in the negotiations at the World Trade Centre, which culminated in the 1994 democratic elections.

5.3 Boere Identiteit Boek

Op die jaareinde vergadering van die AWB, te Klerksdorp, is die Boervolk ID boek en die voorstelle bekend gemaak, en is toe juigend begroet met "Boervolk, Boervolk". Ongelukkig was ons nie opgewasse teen die Afrikaner teenwoordigheid, en na minder as 'n jaar was dinge nie pluis, en het die TS onttrek, so ook die Boerestaat Party, en die het toe hul eie ID boek begin uitreik, nadat die TS het (sic) geweier het om die BS ID boek te oorhandig. In 1990 het 'n groep Boerevolksgenote van die Vrystaat die TS genader en besluit om ook 'n Vrystaatse Separatiste groep op die been te bring, en ook besluit om onbekend te werk te gaan.

[5] O' Meara, D. *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital, and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948*, Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1983.

5.3.1 Boer Identity Book

At the end of year meeting of the AWB in Klerksdorp, the Boervolk ID of the Boer nation was jubilantly received by chanting of "Boervolk, Boervolk". Unfortunately we were not on guard against the presence of Afrikaners, and after less than a year things were no longer fine, and the TS (Transvaal Separatists) withdrew, as well as the Boer State Party, and these began to distribute their own Boer ID book, after the TS refused to hand over the BS ID book. In 1990 a group of Boer nation associates from the Free State approached the TS, and decided to also establish a Free State Separatiste group, and decided to quietly go to work.

The three parties, the *Boere Separatiste*, *AWB*, and the *Boerestaat Party* would work together and be known collectively as the 'Boervolk', 'Boer nation'. But, the Boer Separatists believe that the unity they had forged was being undermined by the presence of the Afrikaners in the group. The group decided to go to work, without attracting any attention to itself or its work. While the attempted unity that the group tried to forge as a *Boervolk* falls apart within a year, the TS do manage to recruit other members in the Free State. Note that the historical link is being made here with the old Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Free State. By invoking these two sites, the *Boere Separatiste* wish to establish claim to a physical locale, the land which for many Boere would mean tangible evidence of a legitimate claim. As has been pointed out by Hall in the introduction, the establishment of an identity rests on the fact that groups compete for "possession of the material evidence of history".[6]

5.4 Die Onstaan van die Boere Separatiste

Die huidige Boere Separatiste het sy oorsprong uit samewerking bereik tussen die Transvaalse Separatiste (1983) en die Vrystaatse Separatiste(1990) na die 1994 Brits/Amerikaans/Afrikaner/ANC verkiesings komplot, nadat meer en meer Boerevolksgenote begin besef het dat daar 'n alternatiewe plan gemaak moet word. Maar gesien teen die agtergrond van Afrikaner dominansie oor die Boervolk, wat teen die tyd reeds meer as 90 jaar geduur het, en die wete dat die Afrikaner Broederbond (Afrikanerbond) met sy magtige geldmag en seekat arms steeds 'n houvas, invloed en beheer uitoefen oor meeste partye, groepe, organisasies en die ekonomie, nie alleen aan die liberale

[6] Hall, M. 'Blackbirds and Black Butterflies', Re-figuring the Archives Seminar Series, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 25th August 1998, p. 5.

kant, maar ook aan die konserwatiewe kant, vanaf die KP, HNP, tot die AWB en kleiner volks groepe, asook tragies genoeg selfs radio Pretoria, nie eens gepraat van die kerke, kultuur groepe, onderwys en ander instansies, het die Boere Separatiste stilweg met sy werk aangegaan.

5.4.1 The origin of the Boer Separatists

The current Boer Separatists originated from cooperation between the Transvaal Separatists (1983) and the Free State Separatists (1990) after the 1994 British/American/Afrikaner/ANC elections plot, after more and more Boer nation associates began to understand that an alternative plan would have to be made. But seen against the background of Afrikaner domination over the Boer nation, which had already by this time lasted more than 90 years, and the knowledge that the Afrikaner Brotherhood with its vast monetary might and octopus tentacles still retained a hold, and exercised influence and control over many parties, groups, organisations and the economy, not only on the liberal side but also on the conservative side, from the CP, HNP, to the AWB and smaller national groups. Tragically enough even radio Pretoria, not to mention churches, cultural groups, teaching, and other institutions, except for the Boer Separatists, who continued quietly with its work.

The *Boere Separatiste* in this section elaborate further on their origin and make the point that the *Tranvaal Separatiste* came into being in 1983. This is a significant date because it is also the year in which the Tri-Cameral Parliament came into being.[7] The Free State Separatiste come into being in 1990, another significant date, because it is the year in which F.W. de Klerk released Nelson Mandela and un-banned the ANC, PAC and others, as a prelude to entering into negotiations. The 1994 elections are described as an elaborate plot by the British and Americans (external forces who could be said to have imperialist ambitions), Afrikaners and the ANC who are regarded as working for their own self-interest, against that of the *Boervolk*. The concerns raised by the Boere Separatiste stemmed from the changing circumstances in which they found themselves. They had to contend with a fluid situation, whereby they were no longer undisputed rulers in power, but would soon be a minority, amongst a Black majority, once the negotiated settlement was concluded.

[7]The Tri-Cameral Parliament, gave separate representation to three of the four designated groups, namely whites, Indians and Coloureds. Black people did not have a place as they had been stripped of their South African citizenship, with the creation of the Bantustans.

The section goes further to explain how the *Boere Separatiste* are disassociating themselves from other groups, especially the Afrikaners, which they view as having subjugated them for more than 90 years. They point out that while some groups have managed to shrug off the mirage of a unified people working towards a similar goal, still much work has to be done to make the dream of a separate nation a reality. This move was seen as the only solution, to the other untenable one, where they would simply be a minority group in the broader South African context ruled over by a majority. The difficulties attendant upon the creation of a separate state are highlighted by the fact that the *Boere Separatiste* do not control key bodies such as parties, groups, organisations and the economy, for example. They also note that other institutions such as churches, cultural groups, teaching and other institutions (all of which, as Moodie[8] and Grundlingh[9] noted, assisted the Afrikaner Nationalists to power in the 1948 elections and helped them maintain it over almost four decades) are currently not committed to their cause. Despite this lack of support, the *Boere Separatiste* still continue to go about their business of trying to recruit support and to bring about a *Boere Separatiste* Republic.

Teen die agtergrond, en met die wete dat die Afrikaner nog glad nie klaar afgereken het met die Boervolk, en ook dat die Afrikaner homself eers sal moet openbaar, direk of indirek, het die Boere Separatiste besluit om stilweg aan te gaan met sy werk, en nie aandag op sy werksaamhede te vestig nie. denkrigting dink aan oplossings vir die dilema waarin die Boervolk hom bevind, en het die Hierdie (sic) persone, wie hulself lede van die BoerVolk noem, en wie hierdie Web blad opgestel het, is uit die Transvaal en Vrystaatse Separatiste denk groepe opgemaak, ook is daar ander Boere hierby betrokke wie nie meer kans sien vir hul gewese groepe, bewegings of partye.

Against this background, and with the knowledge that the Afrikaner had not finished with the Boer nation, and also that the Afrikaner had first to expose itself, directly or indirectly, the Boer Separatists had decided to quietly continue with its work, and not to draw attention to its efforts. Think tanks contemplated solutions for the dilemma that the Boer nation found itself to be in, called on people who regarded themselves as members of the Boer nation, who set up this Web page, who established think

[8]Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980.

[9]Grundlingh, A. 'Politics, Principles and Problems of a Profession: Afrikaner Historians and their Discipline, c.1920-c.1965', *Perspectives in Education*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 1990/91, pp. 1-19. Here Grundlingh spoke of the Afrikanerisation of university institutions, and how some such as Stellenbosch, for example did not require it, as it already taught volksgeskiedenis. Note that by 1930, no subjects were taught in English at Stellenbosch as Afrikaans was the main medium of instruction.

tank groups from the Transvaal and Free State Separatists. There are also other Boers involved who no longer support their former groups, movements or parties.

5.4.2 Die Doel van die Boere Separatiste - The Aim of the Boere Separatiste

Hulle doel met hierdie Webblad is soos volg:-
Their aim with this webpage is as follows:

Ons doel is nie om hierdie beweging te beheer en manipuleer nie.
Our aim is not to control or manipulate this movement.

Ons soek eendrag onder die Boervolk, nie eenheid nie.
We seek union within the Boer people, not unity.

Ons verlang soveel insette as moontlik van mede Boerevolksgenote.
We desire as much imput as possible from fellow Boerevolk associates.

Ons voel dat dit die Boervolk self moet wees wat dit beheer en besit.
We feel that the Boer people should be the ones to control and own it.

Ons het wel sekere vaste beginsels rakende die Boere Separatiste Web blad en sal daarby bly staan totdat ons oorweldigend verkeerd bewys word, en dan ook alleen deur lede van die Boervolk en nie van volksvreemdes nie. Ook nie van akademici wie met kolonialistiese volksvreemde idees kom.

We do have certain set principles, concerning the Boer Separatist Web page and will stand by them until we are proven to be wrong, but only by members of the Boer nation and not foreigners or academics with their foreign colonial ideas.

Ons beginsels wat ons nastreef, kan op hierdie Web blaaie gevind word. Ons doel is om idees daar te stel, sowel as inligting rakende die Boervolk, wat gebruik kan word in die Vryheidstryd deur ons mede Boerevolksgenote om dus hul taak makliker te maak.

'n Verdere doel is om te help waak teen die gevare van die verlede, sodat ons nie weer gevang word in 'n wip soos vantevore nie. (sien ook Boeke blad, Wie is die Skuldiges.) Ons sal dus ook baie punte en redenasies hierin noem wat onbekend is

tot vandag toe en wat ook deur baie van die sogenaamde leiersfigure net eenvoudig nie genoem word en selfs geignoreer word, andersom word die redenasies met sieklike politieke antwoorde afgemaak en verkleineer sodat die Boervolk nie by die waarheid kan uitkom nie, als ter wille van die stembus kruisies.

The principles that we follow can be found on this web page. Our aim is to place ideas there as well as information concerning the Boer nation, that can be used in the freedom struggle by members of the Boervolk to make theirs an easier task. A further objective is to guard against the dangers or threats of the past. In order that we may not be caught in a similar trap. (See also Book Page - "Who are the guilty ones?"). We will therefore reveal many issues and arguments that have been unknown to this date and have been concealed or ignored by many of the so-called leaders. Conversely arguments are simply demolished by way of political rhetoric and belittled. The result being that the Boervolk are denied the truth for the sake of electorate votes.

One of the people who are accused of having betrayed the *Boervolk*, is Jan Smuts. He is disowned as a member of the volk and is accused of having Jewish ancestry. In their list of traitors -'verraaiers' he is written of as follows: *'Jannie Smuts was nie 'n Boer, hy was a vreemdeling, soos die Afrikaners wat na die Transvaal gestroom het om die Boervolk se rykdom te kom opraap, verder was Smuts ook 'n Jood gewees'*.[10] Smuts's name is used in the diminutive form, but here, there is no affection shown by that form of address, instead there is a great deal of contempt and dismissal. He is accused of not being a Boer, but a stranger. He is accused of simply being interested in gaining control over the wealth of the *Boervolk*, and as a concluding condemnation, he is further accused of being Jewish. The coupling of Smuts as Jewish and his so-called interest in wealth - echoes an older accusation levelled at Jewish people by white supremacists, who accused them of simply enriching themselves at the expense of other people.

Nie vir die Boervolk maar wel vir die doel om AfrikanerDOM (sic) te bevorder.
Not for the Boer nation but with the aim to promote Afrikanerdom.

Dus:
Thus:

Inligting daar te stel vir hulle wie nie meer weet hul is eintlik lede van die Boervolk

[10] ***Jannie Smuts was not a Boer, he was a stranger, like the Afrikaners who streamed to the Transvaal to gain control of the Boer people's wealth, and Smuts was also a Jew.***

en dus nie deel van die Afrikanernasie nie.
Information will be placed for those who are not aware that they are actually members of the Boer nation and are therefore not part of the Afrikaner nation.

Om sodoende die herontwaking van Boere-identiteit aan te wakker. Om die Boervolk te laat besef dat hy nog altyd as Boere kon saamstaan, soos ander volke, maar nooit met volksvreemdes nie.
Daarom is die ou siek gesegte van " Ag man, ons Boere kan tog nie saamstaan nie", vals en verleidelik. Ons die Boervolk, kan saamstaan en sal weer !!.

By so doing, to re-awaken the Boer identity. To allow the Boer people to come to the realisation that they can always stand together as Boers, like other nations, but never with foreigners.
That is why the old saying: 'Well, we Boers can not stand together', is false and misleading. We the Boer nation can stand together and will do so again.

Sodat die Boervolk weer self, soos van ouds (soos met Paardekraal) hom kan beywer vir sy eie Boere onafhanklikheid.
Om die Boervolk in te lig oor die gevare en dubbelagendas van die party-politieke klug rakende die Volkstaat ideologie en gedagtes.

So that the Boer nation will itself again, as in olden times. (like with Paardenkraal) work for their own Boer independence.
To inform the Boer nation about the dangers and double agendas of the party political farce related to the Nation/People's State's ideology and ideas.

This final section of the web page emphasises the main points of the Boere Separatiste. They are determined to forge a separate union away from both the Afrikaners and the New South Africa. They feel that they have their own manifest destiny which they will fulfil by reaffirming their separate identity. They move away from the language of multiculturism, whereby unity is found in difference and the bringing together of diverse groups and interests. For the Boere Separatiste, the only union they wish to forge is with people who share the same language, but also the same skin colour, and particular vision.

5.5 The Boer Holocaust

The Boer Holocaust can be said to be an example of a portrayal of ethnic violence on the Internet, as explained by Martin Hall (See introduction p.14). But what makes this different from Hall's case studies is that the ethnic violence that is depicted and mentioned happened long before the advent of the Internet. The case studies Martin Hall examined related to the ethnic cleansing of places such as India and Bosnia in the 1990s when the Internet was becoming more accessible to wider audiences as well as ordinary people. Indeed, long before what became the iconic image of what a holocaust entails (namely the internment and extermination of six million Jews, as well as gypsies, mentally ill people and others in the Second World War) the British had created concentration camps where Boer women and children were interned during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

5.5.1 Boere Holocaust

!! BOERVOLK !!HOLOCAUST

50% van die Boervolk se Kinders is vermoor in die kosentrasiekampe. Daar is ook 3,000 Vroue dood, maar ons grootste verlies bly steeds die Boere Kinders !!!.

Hoekom word die BOERVOLK se KINDERS geredigeer tot 'n nul ?

Die Boervolk (alleen) se bevolkings getalle sou vandag (1997) sowat 5,000,000 gewees het, dit beteken dat die totale (sogenaamde) blanke getalle van Suidelike Afrika vandag om en by 8,800,000 en nie 4,800,000 soos die geval is.

Die Boervolk sou ook die meerderheid blankes gewees het en lankal sy Republieke in ere herstel het. Monumente is ook verkrag oor die laaste jare - getuienis verwyder vir kamtige eenheid tussen Boer en Engelsman, maar ook het dit betrekking op die Cape-Dutch.
Hoekom nog nooit 'n Boere Kinder monument nie ??
Hoekom die Vroue monument en NIE BoereKINDER monument ??

5.5.2 Boervolk Holocaust

This section describes the Boere Separatiste's interpretation of the events surrounding the internment of women and children by the British in the concentration camps

of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902.

!! BOER PEOPLE !! HOLOCAUST

50% of the Boere people's children were murdered in the concentration camps.
- There are also 3,000 women who died, but our greatest loss remains the Boer children!!!
- Why are the BOER PEOPLE'S CHILDREN edited out to nothing? The Boer people's numbers (alone) would today (1997) be approximately 5,000,000, this means that the total so-called White numbers of Southern Africa today would be around 8,800,000 and not 4,800,000 as is currently the case.
- The Boer people would have been the majority whites and would have long since realised the founding of its own Republic.

Monuments have also been desecrated over the last few years - evidence removed of so-called unity between Boers and Englishmen, but it is also relevant for the Cape-Dutch.

Why not a Boer Children Monument??

Why the Women's monument, and NOT Boer CHILDREN Monument??

The above section seems to suggest that there had been a calculated plan in the placing of women and children into the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War. The accusation of a Boer Holocaust appears to propose that the consequence which they view as the decimation of the Boer nation, by means of the deaths of Boer children in the concentration camps, had far reaching effects on the Boer people up to the present day. Not only has their sacrifice been eradicated (whereby Afrikaners have been replaced as the central protagonists and victims in the Anglo-Boer War and hence the suffering of Afrikaner women and children), but the significance of the suffering has also been eradicated. Whereas, the building of the Women's Monument was erected to commemorate the suffering of women, the *Boere Separatiste* argue that it should have been dedicated to children. Hermann Giliomee pointed out that the number of children and women who died in concentration camps were "a total of 4,177 Boer women and 22,074 Boer children".[11] Their reasoning for such a shift is to emphasise what they see as the greater sacrifice suffered by the Boers, namely the death of children.

The *Boere Separatiste* go so far as to challenge the accepted version of events which

[11] Giliomee, H. *The Afrikaners: Biography of A People*, South Africa: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd., 2003, p. 256.

states that 27,000 women and 3,000 children perished in the British concentration camps. The *Boere Separatiste* contend that it was the other way around and that the greater figure indicates the number of children who died. The outcome of the loss of these children is projected into the future as meaning that the whites in South Africa therefore lost their rightful assurance of their own place, by means of strength of numbers. The four million people, who would have assisted the Boers to a position of being a majority white group in South Africa, is therefore denied them.

The ethnic violence practised upon the Boere is therefore seen as having been deliberate and calculated. Indeed, not only is this physical eradication (the loss of people) the only form of erasure suffered, but it is etched in stone, by means of the Women's Monument. The note goes so far as to propose that there had been co-operation between the Afrikaners and the British during the Anglo-Boer War, and that it was the Boere who had opposed the British and suffered for it. In this instance, there is an attempt to set the archival record straight and to contend that a whole 'history' had been appropriated from a people and ascribed to another. That it was 'Boere' and not 'Afrikaners' who fought the British. The suffering of the Boere is an old theme that has been sensationalised and popularised over time.

5.6 Conclusion

The *Boere Separatiste* believe that if they stand together, they will be strong. The motto, "Eendrag maak Mag",(the old Boer Republic motto) "Union is Strength", or more accurately, is Power, feature very prominently on the web-site.[12] The unity they are advocating however, does not encompass all Afrikaans speaking whites, but Afrikaans speakers who adhere to the principles of the *Boere Separatiste*. It is of interest to note that the Boer Republic's motto's acknowledgement of power as one of the central features of unity is important because for this group, strength lies in numbers, as well as access to property, especially land.

The choice of using Afrikaans only on the web-site instead of English and Afrikaans is a calculated move on the part of the web master. The type of Afrikaans used on the web-site is an older form of Afrikaans different from the standard Afrikaans used

[12]They also use the old Transvaal emblem with this motto on their web-site. For them it reflects a time when the Boere volk, as they call themselves, were strong and united. See Appendix 3 for a copy of this motto, as well as a copy of the same image used by Van Jaarsveld in his textbook. Again the place of History and the influence of Van Jaarsveld resonates on the *Boere Separatiste* web-site, as it does on the *AWB* one.

in the present. This use of an older from of Afrikaans can be said to be strategic because it allows for what one can argue is a claim to an 'older richer historical lineage' - separate from that of other Afrikaners and other white supremacist groups such as the *AWB*. As Hermann Giliomee pointed out the institution of Afrikaans as a spoken and written language had a long history in South Africa. The concern with establishing Afrikaans as the *volkstaal* was already under way as early as 1905. Afrikaans was seen as a language that could be used by Afrikaners, instead of the more complex Dutch, or English, which people usually switched to when they found it difficult to express themselves in Dutch. Giliomee points out that Preller began to advocate the use of Afrikaans as a written language as a means of developing a distinctive nationality. "To produce a national literature was, in his view, not so much the task of the church, the school and the learned people, as of all Afrikaners".[13] Another important figure who promoted the use of Afrikaans as a written and spoken language was D.F. Malan, who had been influenced by the work of Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Arthur Schopenhauer. "German romantic nationalism attracted him because it gave such a central place to language, state and nation".[14] The *Boere Separatiste* are therefore continuing in the footsteps of people such as Preller and Malan, who believed that language, and specifically Afrikaans, was of vital importance in preserving the people's heritage and identity. They are isolating themselves from English influence, in a similar manner as was done in the past. As Giliomee noted in relation to Malan whom he pointed out, believed that "[t]he best defense against anglicization was the realization that they had their own heritage, based on their nationality, language, religion and character".[15]

While it is argued that the *Boere Separatiste* are following in the footsteps of predecessors such as H.F. Malherbe, Gustav Preller and D.F. Malan, it is acknowledged as was pointed out by Moodie and O'Meara, that the formation of the Afrikaner and Boer identities was ever changing. There was no homogenous identity for both groups. And as I have argued in a paper that studied Afrikaner identity and their use of electronic media in the twenty-first century, the use of the Internet by Afrikaners is a means of reworking their identity.[16] This means that they have chosen the medium of the Internet to not only communicate with a wider audience, but also to alter their own image.

[13]Giliomee, H. *The Afrikaners: Biography of A People*, South Africa: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd., 2003, p. 365.

[14]Ibid., p. 366.

[15]Ibid., p. 366.

[16]Stephney, I. "Technology Beyond History: Re-workings of Afrikaner Identity on the Internet", in *Ethnologies*, *Le Web*, Special Edition, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2000.

Chapter 6

Afrikaner Resistance Movement

6.1 Introduction

This chapter shows how closely on the one hand the South African white supremacists utilise Van Jaarsveld's textbook History and on the other the aspects of the inherited 'saga' that they have re-invented. This chapter also studies selected international web-sites to highlight some of the differences between their approach in disseminating their ideas and that of the South African web-sites.

The international web-sites in many instances use recycled Nazi material, which includes mixing history and other genres, for example 'novels' and biographies. Much of it is informed by crude racial theories dating from the Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. The web-sites appear to also be influenced by eugenics (especially the notions related to racial purity, the evils of miscegenation, as well as the racial disposition to evil). Some of the ideas are frequently built around a central tale of martyrdom, of an individual seeing the light - finding the Truth or the real religion.

As early as 1998, white supremacist groups in the United States of America had made contact with the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). Stormfront* hosted the *AWB* on its main site and *National Alliance* wrote articles on behalf of the 'Afrikaners' and published them on its main site. This led to this research being focused on the groups based overseas as well as the ones based in South Africa. As the research progressed I realised that these white supremacist groups were not only using the web-sites to mobilise, but were using them more powerfully to disseminate their ideas and ideology. A closer examination of the web-sites indicated that they used History to effect the dissemination of their ideas. But, while both groups use History, the way they use it and the philosophy they espouse on their web-sites are very different.

6.1.1 Hyslop on the AWB

J. Hyslop[1] analyses the right wing opposition to desegregation at the end of the apartheid era. He describes different factions in the right wing and shows how they balanced economic self-interest and racism in a case study set in the mid-1980's. Hyslop shows how racist ideology was used pragmatically to address issues of immediate concern, such as crime. He effectively critiques ideas of Afrikaners being a homogeneous ethnic group. In the case study he suggests reasons for Terre'Blanche's ideological appeal in a certain period and for the waning of his power when his supporters realised that his racist solutions were suicidal. Hyslop mentions that the *AWB's* use of the swastika-like symbol became a sore point, which Terre'Blanche dismissed.

Hyslop argues that the actual danger to the transition might have been posed by the "construction of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) under the leadership of Constand Viljoen in May 1993, and lasted until Viljoen split the right wing to enter the election campaign in March 1994".[2] This is an interesting point and highlights the fragmentary nature of the apparent unity among Afrikaners. The issue of Afrikaner unity has been noted by scholars such as Dunbar Moodie and especially O'Meara. What is of importance for this dissertation is the apparent changing nature of Afrikaner identity. This theme was explored in the previous chapter when analysing the *Boere Separatiste* web-site.

Hyslop's references to the *AWB's* manipulation of symbols are suggestive and could be developed much further. He also takes it for granted that Constand Viljoen, leader of the Freedom Front, could simply appropriate Terre'Blanche's support base. He seems to infer that the supporters of the Freedom Front dismissed racial ideology when they transferred their loyalty to Viljoen. The whole concept of the *Volkstaat* and its ideological ramifications is in need of examination.[3]

I am however, concerned here to trace the textual family tree of Van Jaarsveld as it were, to try and indicate some of the possible fruits that it might have borne. So

[1] Hyslop, J. "Why was the White Right unable to stop South Africa's democratic transition?" in Alexander, P. F. (et al. eds.) *Africa Today: A Multi-Disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in 1995*, Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, 1996.

[2] Ibid.,p.146.

[3] This is beyond the scope of this dissertation. But it should be mentioned that *Orania* has a web-site on the Internet dedicated to dissemination of the possibilities and opportunities available to white Afrikaner South Africans interested in living in an 'all white environment'. *Orania* is the last bastion for 'Afrikaners' who feel threatened by the changes of the post-apartheid South Africa. The web-site is http://wwww.orania.co.za.

this section briefly looks at some of the more prominent and influential international white supremacist web-sites and then does a more detailed textual analysis of the *AWB*, to be discussed later in this chapter.

6.2 International web-sites

We can identify neo-Nazi elements on the web-sites of the international web-sites which include (Stormfront, Aryan Nations, National Alliance, and the World Church of the Creator). These international web-sites are all concerned with these identified aspects in one form or another:
- they see themselves as the true chosen race
- they are blatant about their anti-Semitism
- they want to prove that the Holocaust never happened
- they are concerned to prove that the American government and media is controlled by Jewish people
- they see themselves as being engaged in a war (a racial holy war)
- and they are convinced that they need to protect the place of the 'white race' before it is swept aside by a misguided government.

6.3 Stormfront

Stormfront was one of the first white supremacist groups to utilise the Internet to spread its message. It first appeared on the Internet in 1995. Since then it has grown and has established links with other white supremacist groups, including the ones based in South Africa. *Stormfront* also has mirror sites in German, French and Spanish.

Another important feature of the *Stormfront* site is that it has a web-page specifically for children.[4] *Stormfront* also has a web page devoted to women, entitled *Aryan Women* and a page for single men and women, called *White Singles*. The concern of the women's web page is with Kosher food.[5] The web-site proclaims that it is not a

[4]The web-page is entitled Stormfront For Kids.org. *Stormfront* is not the only web-site which has a link specifically for children, another group, which will be discussed below is the *World Church of the Creator* and the web-site is called *Creativity for Kids*.

[5]The web-page lists pages of foodstuff that have the emblem on it to say that the food is Kosher. The web-page makes it appear as if supermarkets all over the world are inundated with foodstuff that bears the Kosher label. Not only is this label emphasised but a further complaint is added that the Kosher label requires that a separate tax is levied on the goods. The concern is here with

'feminist site', but a site of 'pride for *Aryan Women*'. The site promotes traditional values for women and argues that women should be concerned with raising a family that strengthens the Aryan race. This promotion of women as mothers is also a feature of how Afrikaner women were viewed, as explained by Elsabé Brink's article on the *Volksmoeder*, to be discussed below. This is also a view that was held in Nazi Germany in the 1930s and has been revived and promoted by white supremacist groups in the present.

The United States of America elections in November 2000 provided more fodder for the anti-Semitic views espoused by the white supremacists on the *Stormfront* site. The fact that Al Gore asked Joseph Lieberman, a Jew, to be his running mate for vice President in the Presidential elections was used by the white supremacists as confirmation of their conspiracy theories.[6]

The message of a world controlled by Jewish people, and what it might be like if they are no longer present is further emphasised in the revised *Imagine*, by John Lennon, to be discussed below. *Imagine* was the anthem for the pacifists of the 1960s, and has been inverted and used by white supremacists as as theme song opposed to a peaceful, multi-cultural society. The words for the original song as well as the adapted version can be found in Appendix 7.

6.3.1 Imagine Revised

The song by John Lennon has been revised and pasted on the *Stormfront* website. The original message contained in the *Imagine* written by Lennon, where a coming together of different people was hoped for, has been erased to accommodate a single exclusive view of the possibilities and a future solely envisioned for white supremacists.

The lyrics in the revised version of *Imagine* express the views of the white supremacists where no black people - referred to in the revised text as 'Niggers' will exist. These black people are charged with being responsible for crime, and therefore, once they are no longer present, this will disappear along with fear.[7]

an 'unfair tax' that benefits Jewish people only, while non-Jews are 'forced' to also contribute to something from which they do not receive any benefit.

[6]Note that these conspiracy theories have historical continuity and rely on the discredited tract written by Chamberlain in 1913 entitled *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The argument of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is that there is a world conspiracy to dominate the world and that Jewish people are behind this.

[7]Many of the white supremacist groups both locally and internationally are concerned with the

The first paragraph therefore disposes of the white supremacist groups' first enemy, black people. From there the second paragraph moves on to a second enemy, the Jewish people. Again, reference is made to an imagined world where Jewish people do not exist. The Jewish people are indicted as being responsible for abortion and pornography. These two acts are attributed as being practiced only by Jewish people, and the belief is thus, once there are no more Jewish people, that the world would be free of abortion and pornography.

From Black and Jewish people the third stanza moves on to homosexuals described as 'faggots' in the song. As a group gay people are indicted as being abnormal and posing a danger to children, who currently require protection. Heterosexuality is promoted as normal and a sign of an acceptable form of brotherhood.

The song ends with the final stanza which parodies the final line of the original *Imagine*, which acknowledges the near impossibility of this vision. But whereas the original ending spoke of a joining together of different peoples, cultures, beliefs and ideas, in this current version, the unity espoused is very exclusive and exclusionary. Only white people, and in this instance, white supremacists will be allowed to share in this dream; where a very exclusive ideology consisting of racial purity, similar exclusionary beliefs and practices will be accepted into the fold. Any difference of race, colour or sexual orientation will be rejected, and if they could, they would utterly destroy any existence of them.

The stance held by *Stormfront* with regard to what is normal and acceptable behaviour, as well as people, is set out in the adapted lyrics of the original *Imagine*. Any difference which is not sanctioned by the group is therefore made to appear unhealthy, criminal and to be eradicated if at all possible.The original *Imagine* was opposed to borders, nationalism, and religion which were viewed as destructive forces that often led to wars, whereas the revised one is the creation of an extreme virtual community that was divinely ordained.

6.3.2 Discussion Forums

Stormfront like *National Alliance* to be discussed below allows for interaction on its web-site by other white supremacists from different countries. There is a South African Discussion Forum on the web-site which was accessed in 2004.[8] The South

perceived violence perpetrated by black people on whites. See Appendix 5 the *World Church of the Creator*, for headlines in their magazine, *The Struggle*.

[8]The address of the forum is http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=125689.

African Forum falls under the *Stormfront* web-site and at the top, the logo "WHITE PRIDE WORLD WIDE" in white letters surrounds a white celtic-type cross, on a predominantly black background. Stormfront.org appears in red letters at the top, with a background suggestive of storm clouds.

The topic of discussion related to the prophecies of Siener Van Rensburg, and whether they are in the process of being fulfilled. A member, called Crimson Jihad wishes to have some clarification about Van Rensburg's prophecies - "Seeking the words of Siener Van Rensburg". Crimson Jihad had gotten his information from reading extracts of Adriaan Snyman's book, *The Voice of A Prophet*, and wants more information. A discussion is entered into by Crimson Jihad, California20, Vegter, Meisiekind2 and Afrikaner777.

The discussion revolved around the April 2004 elections and was concerned with the prophecy that said that a 'black leader would die and be mourned for seven days' - the leader here is regarded as either former President Nelson Mandela or the current President Thabo Mbeki. The concern here is with what happens afterwards. The prophecy seemed to indicate that Black people would turn on white people and wipe them out - especially in the two main centres, Johannesburg and Pretoria.

Crimson Jihad relates a part of the prophecy which indicates that a sign of the coming fulfilment of the prophecy will be when there is conflict in eastern Europe: *"As the coming world war develops, with Russia sweeping through southern Europe, and with America intervening to stop her with 'terrible new weapons' the boers are in dire straits, but the black king hasnt (sic) yet died. When he does die, the racial war in SA breaks out, the Boers gather, and because of a change in leadership in Germany (German nationalists) Germany intervenes on the side of the Boers. Thats how I read the prophecy, but as I said I'm not sure I got the entire picture clear enough.. I'll buy you a lager if he does kick the bucket though".*

The discussion reveals a great deal of anxiety about the future of the *Boere volk*. The build up to the elections and President Thabo Mbeki's campaign tactic of speaking to ordinary people is regarded as ploys by Vegter of a more sinister nature. Vegter believes that: *"Mbeki has also gone on a country wide rally where he drums up blacks against whites by blaming all there(sic) current problems on "apartheid". Apartheid has not existed for 10 years yet they still blame their CURRENT problems on our white children. White girls 15 and younger are becoming the black mans(sic) favoured rape victim so they can spread AIDS amongst us. We are at a war which has not been declared".*

From anxiety about the outcome of the April 2004 elections, the discussion suddenly shifts to fears for personal safety, especially of their family members. The campaign strategy used by Mbeki is viewed by Vegter and Afrikaner777 as a deliberate attempt to pit Black people against white people. The legacy of apartheid is viewed as a thing of the past which is conveniently being used to explain the problems still being faced by the country, such as unemployment, lack of adequate housing, schooling and medical facilities, and a high rate of adult illiteracy, for example. The AIDS pandemic is also brought in, almost as a reprise of the Anglo-Boer War concentration camps. Here children are seen as being deliberately targeted by Black men to spread HIV/AIDS, just as the incarceration of women and children in the concentration camps was viewed later as a deliberate attempt by the British to destroy the Afrikaners.[9]

The South African reaction to HIV/AIDS in its initial phases parallels those of the United States of America around the same time when the disease first manifested. Gay white men were first blamed.[10] In the late 1980s blame was then assigned to Africans, once the disease became common among heterosexuals. In 1989 both prejudice and misconception regarding the transmission of the disease was highlighted when calls were made to have black domestic workers tested regularly to safeguard white families from being infected. In 1990 a decision was also taken by the director of the Highveld Blood Transfusion Service to refuse blood from African and Coloured donors because they were believed to be HIV positive[11]

A further example of the kinds of discussions that are engaged in on the South African Forum of *Stormfront* can be found in Appendix 4. The two issues - the prophecies of Siener Van Rensburg and the consequences of the AIDS pandemic on South Africa and Africa are discussed. There is great anticipation that Van Rensburg's prophecies are in the process of being fulfilled and this is seen as the beginning of the rise of the *Boere volk*. The links between the prophecies of Siener Van Rensburg and the South African white supremacist web-sites will be discussed below. From the above, I turn to study another white supremacist group, *National Alliance*.

[9] See Chapter 5 The *Boere Separatiste* where this issue is discussed.

[10] Phillips, H. 'AIDS in the context of South Africa's Epidemic History : Preliminary historical thoughts',*South African Historical Journal*, vol. 45, 2001, p. 14.

[11] *Ibid.*, p.15.

6.4 National Alliance

National Alliance was founded in the United States of America by Dr William L. Pierce in February 1974. The main goals of *National Alliance* as stated on their website are to form a 'white living space', an 'Aryan society', 'responsible government' and a 'new education system'.[12] The organisation's goals are mirrored by other groups such as *Stormfront* and the *World Church of the Creator* (see below). Pierce sets out his stated goals in different ways: by means of the *National Alliance* website, his radio broadcasts, the magazines *National Vanguard* and *Free Speech*, and novels such as *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*(see below).

6.4.1 The Turner Diaries

In 1978 Pierce wrote the racist novel entitled *The Turner Diaries*.[13] The novel described a series of events in the life of Earl Turner and his comrades, who attack federal government property and begin a racial war, which they eventually win. The novel is anti-gays, anti-integration, anti-multiculturalism (a mixed-marriage couple is attacked and killed), anti-affirmative action and anti-gun control (it is portrayed in the novel as disarming the white race so that they will be easily controlled). The novel portrays the government as untrustworthy and against them (i.e. the white supremacists). The government and its employees are regarded as enemies who have to be destroyed in the novel. Earl Turner and his comrades have to protect themselves from the law enforcement agencies and agents who are seen as puppets who are ready to disarm their 'white brethren' and to betray their own 'race' because they did not know any better.

The Turner Diaries attracted controversy after the Oklahoma bombings in 1995 when it was revealed that Timothy McVeigh, one of the accused, had read the book and had used tracts from it to execute his attack on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building.[14] *The Turner Diaries*, from page 18-24, sets out the plan of when and how the attack on a law enforcement building should be carried out. Explosives were

[12]National Alliance Goals, http://www.natall.com/what-is-na/na2.html, accessed, 16 August 1999.

[13] *The Turner Diaries* were written by Pierce under the pseudonym "Andrew Macdonald". *The Nizkor Project*, 'Paranoia as Patriotism: Far-Right Influences on the Militia Movement', http://www.nizkor.org/hwenoia-as-patriotism/william-pierce.html, p.1, accessed 11th May 2001. *The Turner Diaries* is also available in German.

[14]On April 19, 1995, a truck bomb went off in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing at least 167 people. Stern, S. K. *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

placed in a delivery truck that was parked in the FBI building's freight-receiving area. Once the bomb exploded, the estimated death toll was 700 people.

A complete copy of *The Turner Diaries* can be downloaded from the Internet from the *Aryan Nations* and *Aryan Network*[15] web-sites. This novel and other books such as *The International Jew* by Henry Ford, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle* and *Hitler's Wars* by David Irving, *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler are regarded as white power literature and are all available in their entirety from these white supremacist web-sites.

6.4.2 White supremacists and Africa

National Alliance is concerned with raising what the organisation perceives as pertinent issues that are relevant to the 'white race'. Note that an important feature of *National Alliance*, (as well as *Stormfront*, as will be shown) is that the organisation is concerned with issues that affect Africa. This is shown in the articles written for its magazine 'Vanguard'. Articles appeared relating to the killing of white farmers in South Africa, as well as in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It is significant to note that they cling to Zimbabwe's former colonial name and do not use the country's current one.

It must be made clear that this concern is for whites who share similar views or who are perceived as sharing similar views. The concern with South Africa and (Rhodesia) Zimbabwe is that they are former colonies that were dominated by white rule: in the case of Zimbabwe until it gained independence in 1980, and South Africa, up until the transition to a multi-party democracy in 1994.

In the case of South Africa and Zimbabwe, the other concern raised on the web-site is in regard to white farmers. Their fate is of importance to the white supremacists and this is highlighted by the fact that the leader of *National Alliance*, William Pierce wrote an article entitled 'The Lesson of Africa'.[16] The article is a long list of 'crimes' committed against white people. The article also emphasises that all these attacks were perpetrated by "Blacks".[17] The article emphasises that the attacks on farmers is solely racially motivated - "A note left at the scene identified the murderers as members of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan

[15] www.AryanNetwork.com

[16] Pierce, W. Dr. 'The Lesson of Africa', http://home.global.co.za/ rundle/rundle/lesson1.html, accessed, 16 August 1999, pp. 1-7.

[17] Ibid., p. 1.

Africanist Congress".[18] The article goes further and makes a blanket case for the benevolence of all white farmers towards their black workers. The argument is that the farmers have contributed to the prosperity of South Africa; indeed that they are still needed because they are the sole ones who "produce all of South Africa's food and much of its foreign exchange".[19]

The article goes further and attacks former president Nelson Mandela and argues that his government is not interested in stopping the farm killings, even though they need the farmers. Pierce then adds the standard rhetoric of white supremacists and argues that white people gave up power in South Africa when they "folded up under the pressure of being called bad names by the Jewish media and being told by their preachers that Jesus was angry at them because of apartheid".[20]

The article written by Pierce and pasted on the *Freedom 2000* web-site is of interest because, they use certain events which can gain sympathy and possible new recruits for their cause (such as the murder of farmers in their homes). The texts rely on verbal and visual imagery which portray white supremacists as a group under attack who need to be constantly vigilant and on the defensive, both verbally, on their web-site or in an actual physical space (such as their homes). The issues are presented in the articles to make it appear as if white people are in danger from black people. Other articles, written by Fred Rundle or the members of *Freedom 2000*, are all written in a similar vein.

It is important to note that *National Alliance* also makes an effort to recruit young people. The organisation prints racist comic books targeted at school children.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 1. It is of interest to note that the PAC's military wing APLA is singled out here. It appears to stem more from the well publicised events of 1993 when APLA ordered and carried out attacks on people while negotiations were still taking place. The two most well known events were the Tafelberg Bar attack in 1993 in which 4 people were killed and the attack on St James's Anglican Church in Kenilworth on 26 July 1993, in which 11 people were killed and 50 injured. APLA was the group that was responsible for focusing on racially specific targets (here mainly whites) in their campaigns. The goals and aims of the PAC are interpreted in a similar way as the former Apartheid government interpreted them. Because the PAC's philosophy mentioned that Africa was for the Africans, the phrase was taken to mean that it is solely concerned with 'Black' people's rights to Africa. The historical continuity of the arguments made by Pierce are of importance and run through the rest of the article, as shown above with the insistence on using Zimbabwe's colonial name denoting a time when whites were in power.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 2. The historical context for why the majority of farmers are white is ignored.

[20] Ibid., p. 2. Note the accusation that the media is controlled by Jewish people is consistent with the belief espoused by white supremacists in the United States of America. Pierce picks up on the verdict that Apartheid was evil and not consistent with the teachings of the church, as articulated by Dr Beyers Naudé a preacher in the Dutch Reformed Church who was barred in the 1980s for raising the view (at the Dutch Reformed Church's Synod) that apartheid was evil.

It also developed and distributed a computer game called *Ethnic Cleansing*. The group also distributes racist music or 'white power music', via Resistance Records.[21] This use of comics, music and colourful web pages specifically for young people is a strategy shared by the other white supremacist groups, who make a concerted effort to target young children. Following on from this we look at another white supremacist group on the Internet, the *World Church of the Creator*, which also employs strategies to attract both young and older members to its web-site.

6.5 The World Church of the Creator

The inclusion of the World Church of the Creator at this junction, is used as an example of an organisation that relies on the strength of its leader for survival. While the organisation does not communicate directly with the South African web-sites, as do those of Stormfront and National Alliance, the World Church of the Creator exhibits a similar philosophy to that of the *AWB* in that it relied on the central figure of Matt Hale as the unifying force of the organisation, just as Terre'blanche is for the *AWB* (to be discussed below).

The World Church of the Creator sees itself as a model of what an ideal 'Aryan' or white supremacist organisation can be. Here a cultured, educated elite is promoted as the ideal model for a white supremacist utopia.

According to the Anti-Defamation League, the *World Church of the Creator* has 35 post-office box addresses across the United States and two overseas. *The World Church of the Creator* in 2000 operated "22 Web sites, including a site designed specifically to teach 'racialist thinking' to young children and another geared towards recruiting women".[22] *The World Church of the Creator's* web-page specifically for children is entitled 'Creativity for Children'.The updated web-site of the World Church of the Creator also offers a place for teenagers.[23]

The World Church of the Creator, like *Stormfront*, has found the choice of Joseph Lieberman for vice president by the Democratic Party very useful. They have even gone so far as to welcome the move, because it confirms what they have been saying all long. As they see it, this finally confirms and brings out into the open what they have always believed, namely that the United States of America was controlled

[21] In 2001 Resistance Records (Which is owned by Pierce) made a million dollars in profit for *National Alliance*.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 1

[23] The web-site for teenagers was accessed in 2002.

by Jewish people, as has been noted above. It also makes it clear that the media according to them is also controlled by Jewish people, because people are led to believe, because of what they read and see, that multiculturalism, a Jewish vice president, gays, inter-racial marriages, affirmative action and integrated schooling, for example, are all good for Americans.[24] The stated aim of the *World Church of the Creator* is to ensure a future for white people specifically. The organisation uses the trappings of Christianity by stating that it is the 'Church of the Creator'. In this manner it hides its aims and stated beliefs as a white supremacist organisation that promotes anti-Semitism and a 'racially pure' world, that is, a place for whites.

The *World Church of the Creator* is headed by Matt Hale, a lawyer. A complete account of Hale's conversion to the ideas of the *World Church of the Creator* as well as his education and contribution to the growth of the group can be found on their web-site.[25]

A brief extract from the on-line biography of Matt Hale is quoted below as it illustrates how he became convinced that he was right to think of different races (especially blacks) as inferior to whites. History provided Hale with evidence for his beliefs that the races were unequal.

At an early age, he showed intense interest in history and politics, finding that the White Race had contributed disproportionately to the progress of the world. Prior to this, he had simply believed what he had been taught in school: that the races were all "equal." By the age of eleven, though, he seriously began to doubt the claim that "all men are created equal," realizing that if they were equal, the races would have contributed equally.[26]

The paragraph points out that Hale's interest in politics and history led him to investigate issues related to equal rights and equal contributions made by the different

[24] See Appendix 5 for examples of a headline in *The Struggle* magazine which re-enforces their ideas that there is a conspiracy against 'Aryans'. The magazine is a monthly publication and promotes the goals and philosophy of the *World Church of the Creator*. Like *Stormfront*, it is: 'Dedicated to the Survival, Expansion and Advancement of the White Race'. 'Facts! That the Government and media don't want you to know', 'Jews constitute the majority in the Clinton Administration!', 'The screaming numbers of black on white crime'. They also want people to believe that there is a deliberate policy to destroy them. The use of red font indicates the great sense of panic and urgency, the organisation wishes members to have, to be aware that they are in a constant battle for survival.

[25] World Church of the Creator, *Matt Hale - A Short Biography*, http://www.creator.org/biography.html, accessed 13 February 2003, p. 1-2.

[26] World Church of the Creator, *Matt Hale - A Short Biography*, http://www.creator.org/biography.html, accessed 13 February 2003, p. 1.

races. Hale questions the phrase 'all men are created equal under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all', on the basis of each race's contribution one would assume to 'civilisation'. If this is the case, then it is an argument often brought out by white supremacists who insist that every contribution made over time, from Egypt, Greece to Rome, was made by white people. The argument is that so-called other races barely contributed but were quick to lay claim to Egyptian civilisation.

The entire biography re-enforces the ideology espoused by other white supremacist groups, where a virulent hatred of Jewish people and 'race traitors' is expressed, as well as a hope for the creation of an exclusive white society. The inclusion of the *World Church of the Creator* in this study might appear unrelated to the rest of the dissertation, but is of importance because it highlights the similarities in the origin, orginisation and leadership structures between it and the *AWB* (to be discussed below).[27].

Having studied the *Boere Separatiste* and *Freedom 2000* in the preceding two chapters, the section following below will study another South African white supremacist web-site, namely the *AWB*.

6.6 South African Web-sites

The South African white supremacists groups (*Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging*, *Boere Separatiste* and *Freedom 2000*) use History in more distinctive ways. They are operating within an older Afrikaner historical narrative tradition as related by Van Jaarsveld and later expanded on by Dunbar Moodie, an intellectual commentator of the 'sacred saga'. This means that they are more concerned with relating a particularly 'Afrikaner' history, which is concerned with God's role in the lives of the Afrikaner people, the suffering endured by the 'Boers', and their place in South Africa. The authors on the web-sites are concerned with putting the case of the 'Boere' across to a domestic audience and then to the rest of the world. The narrative on the South African web-sites is concerned with clarifying the identity and place of the Boerevolk, as opposed to the 'Afrikaners':
- they believe that the Boerevolk are the chosen people
- that the Boerevolk have and continue to endure injustice, suffering, and persecution
- that the Boerevolk were betrayed by the 'Afrikaners'

[27]The strong leader figure in the form of Matt Hale, his interest at an early age in the wellfare of his people (here white people or Aryans and for Terre'blanche Afrikaners) and influence as leader of the *World Church of the Creator*

- that there was a 'Boere Holocaust'
- and that the great episodes of the Boere nation (The Great Trek, Slagtersnek and Blood River for example) are evidence of the tenacity of the Boere nation and their determination to remain a nation and to survive.

The above themes are important because they highlight the current concerns in Afrikaner history, especially trying to explain the difference between Afrikaners and Boere or *Boerevolk*. These older identities have been revived to assist in the making of the *Boerevolk*. The split can be viewed as reflecting a real dilemma faced by Afrikaners in the post 1994 period. Some Afrikaners, who have welcomed the changes brought about by the democratic dispensation, have had to reposition themselves and attempt to formulate a new identity. But some groups have rejected the changes or refused to engage with them, and hope to retain their former identity in a changing world.

6.7 South Africa after 1994

Before embarking on a textual analysis of the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (*AWB*) it is important to briefly sketch the context out of which such a group emerged. In order to reconstruct the context of post 1994 South Africa I have made use of the insights of some scholars, but I discuss their works as the introduction to this section of the chapter as a way of setting the scene for what is to follow.

It is necessary first to sketch the conditions of post 1994 South Africa as a context for the appearance of the web-sites discussed below and in the subsequent 2 chapters. The transition of South Africa from Apartheid to a non-racial country by means of negotiations and elections, is a remarkable achievement. Indeed, for South Africa, the period 1989 to 1994 was a watershed in that it was not only the period of transition, but also the birth of what the world has come to regard as the New South Africa. A.H. Sparks in his book, *Tomorrow is Another Country*,[28] captures this remarkable period. He points out that this was the period in which the unity within the Afrikaner community began to crack. As the transition process advanced, the Afrikaner community, which for nearly half a century had been one of the most solid political monoliths to be found anywhere, suddenly began breaking up like some polar ice cap after a long winter.[29]

[28]Sparks, A.H. *Tomorrow is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*, South Africa: Struik Book distributors, 1994.
[29]*Ibid.*, p. 240.

T.R.H. Davenport, in *The Birth of a New South Africa*,[30] examines the transition process in South Africa and outlines the difficulties and compromises that resulted in the emergence of the New South Africa. Davenport also mentions the role played by the AWB, especially with regard to their attempts to overthrow the negotiation process. He argues that the actions of the AWB fragmented a hitherto unified Afrikaner right wing community (just as de Klerk's actions re-evaluated the National Party's stance with regard to Apartheid). Davenport notes that when the AWB stormed the World Trade Centre on the 25th of June 1993 in an attempt to put an end to negotiations they overreached themselves. An indirect consequence was that the right wing leadership fell into the hands of a man of strong feelings but good logistical sense and at least a touch of political realism. This was General Constand Viljoen.[31]

6.8 South African White Supremacist Groups and Siener Van Rensburg

This section deals with one of the white supremacist groups based in South Africa, namely the *AWB*. Before moving onto an analysis of the *AWB*, brief mention will be made of some of the other white supremacist groups in South Africa, as well as some of the influences that appear to be common to them. While the dissertation deals with three of the most prominent groups namely, the *AWB*, the *Boere Separatiste*, and *Freedom 2000*, there are also *Orania* (the *Volkstaat* in the Karoo), *Israel Vision* and the *Boeremag* (currently on trial for treason and conspiracy to overthrow the government, after setting off eight bombs in Soweto on 30 October 2002).[32] The groups are all present on the Internet and have similar concerns. The visions of Nikolaas 'Siener' Van Rensburg[33] appear to have played a significant role in the actions of the *Boeremag*.[34] Van Rensburg is credited with having foreseen the changes in South Africa, including the change in government, and the election of a black person as president.

[30] T.R.H. Davenport, *The Birth of a New South Africa*, Canada: Toronto University Press, 1998.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[32] Seven of the bombs destroyed railway lines running through the township, (inconveniencing more than 200,000 commuters), and the eighth occurred at a mosque, causing parts of the building to collapse.

[33] Nikolaas Pieter Johannes Janse Van Rensburg was born on August 3, 1864, on the family farm, Rietkuil near Wolmaransstad. He learned to read from his mother who read to him from the Bible. According to Snyman, the Bible was the only book which 'Siener' or Seer Van Rensburg ever read.

[34] According to a *Mail & Guardian* report, members of the *Boeremag* have been linked to *Israel Vision* through a letter distributed to the media at the end of 2002.

The visions of Van Rensburg appeared in the form of symbols which have been interpreted by later readers of his works, such as Adriaan Snyman.[35] He found the manuscripts of Van Rensburg's visions which had been written down by his daughter Anna. Snyman notes that there were 700 visions written down and he believes that they relate to events from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Snyman has interpreted these visions and believes that they could relate to events in the recent past. The visions were published in 1995, as *Boodskappe van God* or *Messages from God* and are believed to be immensely popular in Afrikaans circles. Snyman himself has also translated the work into English, entitled *Voice of a Prophet*.[36]

Snyman believes that the most accurate visions of Van Rensburg occurred between 1899, the start of the Anglo-Boer War, and his death in 1926. These visions include, the outbreak of the Boer War - victory for the British Empire - the Great Flu Epidemic of 1918, England's later loss of all her colonies, independence for Ireland and the atomic disaster at Chernobyl on April 26, 1986. He also believes that Van Rensburg predicted the assassination of Verwoerd, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. What is of importance to note with regard to these visions, is that they are being interpreted with hind-sight by Snyman. While this is the case, it appears as if they have influenced some people to believe their assertions. The visions of Van Rensburg are being used almost as a treasure trove, where events of the past as well as the future can be used as signposts for the *Boere Volk*. The prophecy of Van Rensburg that might have inspired the *Boeremag*, for example, is the one which predicted that Afrikaners would once again regain power. The accuracy of this prediction will only be known in the future were it to happen.

Another group which believes that the visions of Siener Van Rensburg have a role to play in the lives of the Afrikaner volk, is *Israel Vision*. *Israel Vision* has a community 20 km from Pretoria on the road to the Hartebeespoort dam, who have settled on agricultural holdings of Wesmoot. In 2004, Yolandi Groenewald of the *Mail & Guardian* interviewed some of the elders of the group to gain an impression of their beliefs and current hopes. Israelites, as the *Israel Vision* members call themselves, "believe Adam is the father of the white race only and that the 10 lost tribes of Israel, who are all white, are the true inheritors of God's kingdom. All other races are considered to be the seed of Satan, including the Jews".[37] Johan Van Heerden is an elder of Israel Vision and holds that Black and Jewish people are not welcome in his home. He believes that the time for the ascendance of the Afrikaner volk is

[35] Adriaan Snyman is a former journalist who worked for the *Hoofstad* in Pretoria and the *Burger* in Cape Town.

[36] Snyman, A. *Voice of a Prophet*, Mossel Bay: Vaandel Publishers, 1999.

[37] Groenewald, Y. 'Chosen to hate', Mail & Guardian, January 1-8, 2004, p. 4.

close at hand. He sees this time as one of hardship which the Afrikaner volk must endure. This view is one which Dunbar Moodie has explained in terms of the 'sacred saga' (see chapter 2). "If you read the Bible, listen to the prophecies of Siener [Van Rensburg] - it says we will rise against our oppressors. The signs of the times are there for all to see. The Israelites' time has come".[38] Van Heerden makes plain his stance in the following manner: "If I eat a zebra's biltong, I will only eat the white stripes' meat".[39] An explanation is given of how he came to embrace the teachings of the group, as well as his links with members of the AWB. 'He explored the Great Trek route on horseback, together with *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* friends of his in the late Eighties. It was during this time that he came to realise his role in life, that he is "part of the Boere volk, the apartheid volk and ultimately the Israel volk"'.[40] The above paragraph makes plain the group's stance with regard to the place of Black and Jewish people. A similar view held by other white supremacist groups such as *Aryan Nations*.

Following on from Hall's arguments about the importance of the archive, an investigation of these groups extends the argument made by Hall to include the museum. As will be shown briefly (as it is beyond the scope of this current dissertation) the archive and by extension the museum is of importance for these groups. The concern with the preservation of their history is echoed not only in the use of history to convey their ideology, but also in the setting up of both a virtual and a physical museum to a people's History. Both the *AWB* and the *Volkstaat*, *Orania* make extensive reference to the museum as referent of a tangible history and past of the *volk*. What is of importance here is the acknowledgement of a physical locale for the virtual message that they transmit via their web-sites. *Orania* is both a physical and virtual site. It also has both a physical museum dedicated to Hendrik Verwoerd, as well as a virtual one. The museum contains photographs, papers and memorabilia of Verwoerd, his wife and family. One of the items on display is the suit he wore when he was stabbed by Tsafendas. It is displayed with numbered markers reflecting all the stab-wounds he received on the 6th of September 1966 when he was assassinated in parliament. Equally, the *Boere Separatiste* refers to the museum on their web-site. In this instance the museum is regarded as a physical reminder of a deception played on the Boer 'volk' that is only now becoming apparent (See chapter 5).

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

6.9 The AWB web-site

The red, white and black theme, the main colours of the *AWB*, persists on the revised 2003 web-site, but the background has been simplified. When the site was first accessed in 1998 and again in 2001, the Voortrekker Monument featured very prominently (See Appendix 6). The place of the Voortrekker Monument has not been diminished, it has merely been shifted to a link which gives a person a virtual tour of the Monument. This tour includes pictures of the site and the monument, from the interior and exterior. Key areas are visited and explanations are given of the symbolic meanings of these sites.[41] The Voortrekker Monument was a potent symbol for Afrikaners during the 1930s and as was shown in Chapter 3 which was suggestive that the textbooks of Van Jaarsveld also re-enforced the symbolism inherent in the Monument for some Afrikaners (see p. 81).

I will do a close textual analysis of the *AWB* and the ideas that they disseminate about themselves, both on their own web-site as well as that of others, such as *Stormfront* and *National Alliance*. The *AWB* uses an old fashioned form of white supremacy to explain the failure of the former superior place held by 'Afrikaners'. The insistence on the use of the term 'Boer' harks back to an earlier identity for 'Afrikaners' and ties in with one of the more recognised events for Afrikaners, namely the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902. But the pertinent event that forms part of this war is the incarceration of women and children into concentration camps by the British and the subsequent loss of life and suffering experienced by the 'Boers'. This suffering has been expressed most powerfully in poetry (See Moodie p.45). The power of rhetoric has been exploited by Terre'blanche both in his speeches at *AWB* gatherings, as well as in his writings. The use of poetry to express suffering as well as patriotism and passionate conviction to a cause has also been used by Eugène Terre'blanche with powerful effect on the *AWB* web-site.

The *AWB* is concerned with consolidating its identity, rewriting its history on the Internet to fit with its altered circumstances, while at the same time holding on to its white supremacist rhetoric that formed part of the apartheid era discourse. What is of importance here, as I will show, is that apparently the *AWB* has been influenced by the writings (especially the history textbooks) of F.A. Van Jaarsveld.

The revised web-site consists of a fuller history of the *AWB* leader, an origin history, speeches made by Terre'Blanche, poetry written by Terre'Blanche and other

[41] For a detailed analysis of the construction of the Voortrekker Monument as well as its perceived symbolic importance, see Elizabeth Delmont's paper. Delmont, E. 'The Voortrekker Monument: Monolith or Myth', *South African Historical Journal*, 29, Nov. 1993, pp. 76-101.

members, the hymn of the *AWB*, the symbols and the emblems of the *AWB*, the Vows (taken at different periods of the Afrikaners history), news relating to the *AWB* and Terre'Blanche, letters written to the *AWB* by other white supremacists, and a synopsis of the aims and demands of the 'Boer nation' entitled "Boere Nation Aggrieve".

In the revised web-site of the *AWB* accessed in 2003, the main page has a verse from the Bible in Afrikaans, English, French, German, and Italian.[42] The dependence on God and God's will is expressed from the beginning on the web-site, as emphasised by the quoted verse. This is followed by links to the Vow taken at Blood River, Paardekraal, and Van Riebeeck's vow. What is of importance to note is that the picture used for the Blood River vow on the *AWB* web-site is the same one used in the 1974 History textbook of Van Jaarsveld (see Appendix 2).[43]Central to the 'sacred saga' is the visual impact to which the *AWB* web-site faithfully adheres.

The biography of the *AWB* leader appears in both English and Afrikaans. The English version is brief and does not contain the nuances of the Afrikaans version. I have chosen to analyse the Afrikaans version in terms of the questions generated from the works by Moodie, O'Meara and Thompson, as it links very closely to my argument of how Afrikaner History has played a role in the construction of Afrikaner identity on the Internet. What is different in this revised biography is that there is a fuller account given of Terre'blanche's birth, ancestry and the history of the birth of his organisation as well as the role played by Eugène over the years in the *AWB*. The previous account of the biography of Eugène in Afrikaans is consistent with the current English version on the web-site.

6.10 Biography of the AWB Leader - Eugène Ney Terre'Blanche

6.10.1 Ancestry and schooling

Sy voorsate kom uit Frankryk. Sy oupa, Etienne Terre'Blanche, was 'n Kaapse Rebel, wat uit die Kaapkolonie onder Britse bewind aan Boere-kant gaan veg het. Sy pa De

[42]Ezekiel 33:7 & 8 7: So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me. 8: When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand.

[43]Van Jaarsveld, F. A., et. al. *New Illustrated History Std. 6*, Doornfontein, Johannesburg: Perskor Publishers, 1974, p. 206.

Villebois-Mareuil Terre'Blanche was 'n Kommandant in die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag (SAW) en was bevelvoerder van die Weermag in sy distrik. Sy moeder, Anna Francina Terre'Blanche, gebore Lourens, was 'n stil vrou wat haar man bygestaan het in alles wat hy aangepak het.[44]

His ancestors came from France. His grandfather, Etienne Terre'Blanche was a Cape Rebel, who left the Cape Colony then under British rule to fight on the side of the Boers. His father De Villebois-Mareuil Terre'Blanche was a Commandant in the South African Army (SAA) and was commander of the Army in his district. His mother, Anna Francina Terre'Blanche, born Lourens, was a quiet woman who stood by her husband in all his endeavours.

Eugène Ney Terre'Blanche is gebore op Maandag, 31 Januarie 1944 in Ventersdorp, Transvaal. Hy word vernoem na Michel Ney (1769 - 1815) wat deur die geskiedkundiges beskryf is as Napoleon se beroemdste veldheer (hy is deur Napoleon beskryf as die dapperste van almal.) Mnr. Eugène Terre'Blanche het sy skoolopleiding in die Ventersdorp Laerskool en die Hoërvolkskool, Potchefstroom voltooi waar hy in 1962 gematrikuleer het. Op Hoërskool was hy die voorsitter van die debatgeselskap en kaptein van die Eerste rugbyspan. Hy het ook Wes-Transvaal kleure verwerf. Terwyl hy steeds op die skool was, stig hy 'n jeug kultuurorganisasie genaamd Jong Afrikanerharte, wat hulle daarvoor beywer het om die Boerekultuur en waardes uit te leef.[45]

Eugène Nye Terre'Blanche was born on Monday 31 January 1944 in Ventersdorp, Transvaal. He is named after Michel Nye (1769 - 1815) who was described by historians as Napoleon's famous general (he was described by Napoleon as the bravest of everyone). Mr. Eugène Terre'Blanche completed his schooling at the Ventersdorp Primary School and Potchefstroom High School where he matriculated in 1962. At high school he was the chairperson of the debating society and captain of the First rugby team. He also earned Western Transvaal colours. While still at school, he formed a youth cultural organization, called Young Afrikaner hearts, who pledged to embody the Boer culture and values.

In the first two paragraphs, Eugène's French ancestry is emphasized on the web-site in terms of his grandfather's, father's and own names. Note the parallels with the

[44] AWB, Biographie van Eugéne Terre'Blanche, http://www.awb.co.za, accessed 14 January 2003, p. 1.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

History textbooks written by Van Jaarsveld, especially the section on the Huguenots and their influence on Afrikaner surnames (see Appendix 10). [46]The emphasis placed on Eugène's French ancestry is also indicative of France being viewed as a place where his forbearers came from, a place associated with civlization, but also where they were persecuted and therefore had to flee to South Africa for safety. The anti-imperialist stance is made apparent early on, with the emphasis on his grandfather's leaving of the Cape and going to fight on the side of the Boers. An implicit reference is made here to the Anglo-Boer War, with his grandfather being described as a Cape Rebel who left the Cape Colony, which was under British rule at the time to join the Boer cause.[47] The emphasis on military prowess is established with his father's rank in the army. His mother is mentioned at the end and is described in one sentence as the '*volksmoeder*' ideal. She is described as a quiet wife "'n stil vrou" who supported her husband. His mother is represented as the ideal of an Afrikaner, or here more accurately Boer, wife and mother. We know nothing of her schooling, or work except for what is regarded as the most important role for a woman, namely being a wife and mother. Note that the paternal side of Eugène's family is emphasised and his mother is only mentioned in the context of the ideal *volksmoeder*(see below).

6.10.2 The role of women

Elsabè Brink's[48] chapter on the *volksmoeder*[49] ideal highlights the ideas espoused by Afrikaner society with regard to what constituted ideal womanhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The patriarchal society uses the concept of ideal womanhood as a means of controlling women. Brink argues that this control of women is exercised "by giving them [women] a well-defined but circumscribed position within society, to which some status, honour and respectability are attached".[50] Brink clarifies that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the notion of *volksmoeder* or 'mother of the nation' was the role that was ascribed by society

[46]Van Jaarsveld, F.A., et. al., History for Standard VI: Covering the new T.E.D. Syllabus for Differentiated Secondary Education, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1958, p.130.

[47]Cape Rebels left the Cape around 1899 to 1902 and fought on the side of the Boers during the Anglo-Boer War.

[48]Brink, E. 'Man made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the volksmoeder', in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, C. Walker, (ed.), Cape Town & London: David Philip & James Currey, 1990.

[49]'Volksmoeder' is from the Afrikaans and means 'mother of the nation'.

[50]Brink, E. 'Man made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the volksmoeder', in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, C. Walker, (ed.), Cape Town & London: David Philip & James Currey, 1990.

to Afrikaner women. The *volksmoeder* meant that "the Afrikaner woman was depicted not only as the cornerstone of the household but also as a central unifying force within Afrikanerdom and, as such, was expected to fulfil a political role as well".[51] The value of Brink's work is in how she clarifies and explains how the ideal of womanhood was central to the nation-building exercise.

It is important to note that the ideas encapsulated in the concept of ideal womanhood as depicted by the definition of the '*volksmoeder*' above are also utilised by white supremacist groups on the Internet. But, it must be pointed out that the term has a special history and context in the case of Afrikaners.

Note the links on the *Stormfront* site to the *White Singles* site, for example, and the *Aryan Womanhood* site.[52] See also the words of the reworked *Imagine*, a song originally written by John Lennon.[53]

The view of an exclusive white world is emphasised in the cartoon of the ideal family.[54] The cartoon portrays the picture of a 'perfect' family, which consists of a beautiful mother, handsome father and perfect baby. The words that accompany the cartoon make clear that this is an Aryan family. "It is simply reality that. To be born WHITE is an honour and a privilege.". Women are given a special place within the pantheon of the nation and are reminded that they are the future of the race. Without women to provide the heirs that the white race requires, the race stands in danger of extinction. As has been pointed out, the view held about women's place and role within the nation is shared by Afrikaners and white supremacists.

Brink explains that the notion of idealised Afrikaner womanhood had its origins in the nineteenth century via apologetic Dutch-South African historiography. She points out that it is also "remarkable for its continuity until at least the mid-twentieth century".[55] Thus one can emphasise from the above, that the concept of idealised womanhood has continued into the twenty-first century, where it has been reinvented by the extreme right wing.

These ideas, Brink argues, were not so different from those espoused by other

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 273

[52] There is also a site dedicated specifically to women on the *World Church of the Creator*. The director is Sister Lisa Turner and the site is dedicated to "Aryan women" (see Appendix 5 for a picture of ideal Aryan womanhood.

[53] Appendix 7.

[54] Appendix 8.

[55] Brink, E. 'Man made women: Gender, class and the ideology of the volksmoeder', in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, C. Walker, (ed.), Cape Town & London: David Philip & James Currey, 1990.

societies, such as nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain, America, France and Canada. Brink points out that "the popular image of women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Quebec, for example, contains particularly striking similarities with that of idealised Afrikaner womanhood".[56]

Eugène's own history is described in terms of his birth and especially his second name Ney, which is used as almost a synonym to indicate his own bravery. What is of interest here is that the dominance of the male in events is shown. The history of Eugène is also focused on the efforts of a single leader who from an early age showed real potential in leadership. It also highlights the fact that even at school Eugène had a concern with the Boer nation's identity. This is shown in the formation of the youth group Young Afrikaner Hearts '*Jong Afrikanerharte*' and by the aims that they espoused, namely the preservation of Afrikaner culture and values - '*kultuur en waardes*'. Note the similarities between Eugène's actions here and those of Matt Hale, albeit from a different ideological stance.[57]

6.10.3 Eugène's activities after leaving school

Na sy skoolopleiding sluit Eugène by die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie (SAP) aan en dien as vrywilliger in Suid-Wes Afrika (SWA) waar hy vinnig vorder tot die rang van Adjudant-Offisier (AO). Hy word in die berede eenheid aangewend om die grens te patrolleer. Later word hy uit ongeveer 20 000 man gekies om die Staatspresident en Eerste Minister van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika (RSA), John Vorster, te beveilig. Hy is egter teleurgesteld in John Vorster aangesien laasgenoemde te liberaal geword het.[58]

After his schooling Eugène joined the South African Police (SAP) and served as a volunteer in South West Africa where he rapidly progressed to the rank of Adjuctant-Officer. He is appointed to the mounted police unit to patrol the border. Later he is chosen from approximately 20,000 men to protect the State President and First Minister of the Republic of South Africa John Vorster. He is disappointed in John Vorster because the latter became too liberal.

Eugène is portrayed as a person who does his duty to protect people, first in the South African Police service and later on the border. His competence is highlighted

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[57] See the complete biography of Matt Hale online at World Church of the Creator, *Matt Hale - A Short Biography*, http://www.creator.org/biography.html, accessed 13 February 2003, pp. 1-2.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

by means of his rapid promotion, as well as being chosen from 20,000 candidates to protect the State President, Vorster. But, he is also portrayed as a person of strong opinions who would step away from a leader who no longer held his confidence or shared his beliefs, as happened when Vorster according to him, became too liberal.

6.10.4 Eugène in politics

Na vier en 'n halwe jaar diens bedank hy uit die SAP en begin boer. Hy raak aktief betrokke in die Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) en staan as kandidaat (Parlementêr en Provinsiaal) in die kiesafdeling Heidelberg.

After four and a half years of service he resigns from the SAP [South African Police] and begins to farm. He becomes actively involved in the Reformed National Party and stands as candidate (Parliamentary and Provincial) in the Heidelberg constituency.

Eugène leaves the police service and returns to what might be regarded as an occupation with historical significance for Afrikaners namely, farming. He also makes a foray into the political arena by becoming involved in the HNP and putting his name forward as a candidate in Heidelberg.

6.10.5 Eugène's conclusions about political systems

Nadat hy verskeie politieke stelsels en metodes van regerings bestudeer het, kom hy tot die gevolgtrekking dat die Westminister stelsel ernstige tekortkominge het. Hy glo ook dat die stigting van verskeie politieke partye die blaam te dra het vir tweespalt tussen Afrikaners en die grootste hindernis is om die Boerevolk te verenig. Hy glo en is oortuig dat 'n Boerevolkstaat, gebaseer op die stelsel wat geheers het tydens die Boererepublieke die enigste moontlike oplossing vir die Boerevolk is om te oorleef.

After he studied various political systems and methods of government, he comes to the conclusion that the Westminster system has serious shortcomings. He also believes that the formation of different political parties must carry the blame for the division between Afrikaners and forms the greatest hinderance to uniting the Boer nation. He believes and is convinced that a Boer nation state, based on the system that was present during the time of the Boer republics is the only possible solution for the Boer nation's survival.

Eugène is shown in the above paragraph as a reasoned and considered leader. His stance and opposition to the new dispensation is explained as having come about after careful consideration of the merits of different political systems. He is therefore not simply reacting, but deciding what the best course of action is to bring about unity within the Boer nation. He then returns to an older form of governance as if it had no flaws, namely the system used by the Boer Republics. Again, a link to the past is made and the historical continuity is established with a system that was used by the Boers - and is regraded as a solution for the Boer nation's survival. He adopts the 19th century definition of nationhood, whereby the nation is grounded in History.

6.10.6 The formation of the AWB

Hy stig die Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) op 7 Julie 1973 met slegs ses geesgenote. Die AWB sou egter nie betrokke raak in partypolitiek nie aangesien dit die Boerevolk net verder sou verdeel. Die doel van die AWB is om die Boerevolk te vereniging deur die stigting van 'n weerstands- en bevrydingsbeweging om 'n partylose Volkstaat daar te stel. In so staat sal die President deur die volk alleen verkies word en die regering sal saamgestel wees uit spesialis verteenwoordigers uit verskeie beroeps- en professionele groeperings. Die AWB maak voorsiening vir elke volk om sy eie grondgebied te besit en oor sy spesifieke volk alleen seggenskap te hê in 'n soewereine staat.

He forms the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) with only six other soulmates on 7 July 1973. The AWB would however not become involved in party politics as this would only serve to further divide the Boer nation. The aim of the AWB is to unite the Boer nation through the formation of a resistance and freedom movement to form a partyless Peoples' state. In such a state the President will be chosen by the people only and the government will be formed from specialist representatives from different professions and professional groupings. The AWB makes provision for all peoples to posses their own land and to posses authority over their own specific people/nation in a sovereign state.

The *AWB* (as with *Inkatha*) has opted to be an ethnic-based party (see p.42). This means that the *AWB* has opted to be an exclusively white Afrikaner-based group that acts for the interests of 'Afrikaners'. The *AWB* has rejected compromise and total integration, hence the development of an Afrikaner *Volkstaat*. This background is important for my examination of this web-site as well as the other South African

based white supremacist web-sites.

The above paragraph which explains the formation of the AWB gives several clues to the eventual myth that became part of the AWB web-site. This myth was extended to its symbols, especially the flag adopted by the organisation. The swastika-like flag, a red flag with three interlinked sevens on a white background echoes the importance placed on the number seven.[59] On the web-site itself, there is an explanation given of the meaning of the flag, and the triple sevens are explained as being Christian symbols from the Bible in direct opposition to the triple six of Satanic forces. The concern with the Bible and the place of God is introduced right at the beginning of the web-site's main page.

6.10.7 Activities of the AWB

Op 28 Maart 1979 teer en veer mnr. Terre'Blanche en nog twaalf AWB-lede die bekende geskiedkundige akademikus verbonde aan die Universiteit van Pretoria, professor Floors van Jaarsveld. Van Jaarsveld sou 'n lesing hou oor die afdwingbaarheid van die Sondagklousule by Geloftedag, by die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika (UNISA). Daarin wou van Jaarsveld verder die ingryping van God in die slag en die afdwingbaarheid van die herdenking van Geloftedag op die nageslag bevraagteken. Eugne Terre'Blanche en die AWB se ingryping het die professor in sy spore gestop en verhoed dat hy mense verder mislei. Terre'Blanche en tien ander lede is skuldig bevind aan crimen injuria en kwaadwillige saakbeskadiging. In 2000 kry Terre'Blanche amnestie vir hierdie daad.

On 28 March 1979, Mr. Terre'Blanch and twelve other AWB members tarred and feathered the well-know history academic from the University of Pretoria Professor Floors Van Jaarsveld. Van Jaarsveld was supposed to give a seminar at the University of South Africa (UNISA) on the importance of the Sunday clause of the Day of the Vow. Van Jaarsveld wanted to question the role of God and the perpetual expectation of the continued remembrance of the Day of the Vow by coming generations. The actions of Eugene Terre'Blanche and the AWB stopped the professor in his tracks and prevented him from further misleading people. Terre'Blanche and ten other members were found guilty of crimen injuria and malicious damage to property. In 2000 Terre'Blanche received amnesty for this deed.

[59] See Appendix 6 for an example of the AWB flag that is featured on the AWB web-site.

The importance placed on History, especially Afrikaner history pertaining to the Great Trek and the Battle at Blood River is emphasised by the actions of the *AWB* when they tarred and feathered Professor Van Jaarsveld. Van Jaarveld, was the pre-eminent Afrikaner historian and textbook author, was a very influential person within Afrikaner academia. (As has been pointed out in Chapter 3). That he was the one who decided to question what is probably regarded as almost the sacred and mystical place of the Day of the Vow in the pantheon of South African history, was therefore seen by the *AWB* as a huge betrayal. See Appendix 2 for the same images of Vow Taking from Van Jaarsveld's textbook as well as from the *AWB* web-site which are suggestive of the power of the imagery of the Voortrekker Monument. The attack on Van Jaarsveld by the *AWB* is indicative that to them his place as the high priest of History, for the *AWB* had to remain unassailable.

Kort na hierdie gebeurtenis sou die media en die wat hom as bedreiging sien, begin om hom en die AWB as Hitler, Nazi's en neo-Nazi's te skel. Hierdie woorde het dan ook die skelwoorde uit die monde van die twintigste-eeuse liberaliste geword.

Soon after this incident the media and those who regarded him as a threat began to accuse him and the AWB of being similar to Hitler, Nazi's and neo-Nazi's. These words have also become the accusations out of the mouths of twentieth century liberals.

Note the disdain for the media expressed in the above paragraph. The author takes the initiative and immediately goes on the offensive to defend the actions of Terre'blanche. His apparent status as public enemy is brought forth as an explanation for what is regarded as his unjust persecution.

In Desember 1982 word hy en nog agt AWB-lede gearresteer na 'n klopjag deur die polisie waarin wapenopslagplekke op die plaas van sy broer, Andries Terre'Blanche gevind is. In Julie 1983 word hy en drie kamerade aangekla vir handelinge in stryd met die Wet op Terrorisme, terroriste bedrywighede en alternatiewe klagtes met betrekking tot die besit van wapentuig. In Oktober 1983 word hy skuldig bevind en tot twee jaar gevangenisstraf, opgeskort vir vyf jaar, gevonnis. In 2000 kry Terre'Blanche amnestie vir die daad.

In December 1982 he and eight other AWB members are arrested after a police chase in which weapons caches were found on the farm of his brother, Andries. In 1983 he and three comrades are accused of contravening the Terrorism Act because of terrorist activities and other

alternative accusations with regard to the possession of weapons. In October 1983 he is found guilty and sentenced to two years imprisonment, suspended for five years. In 2000 Terre'Blanche received amnesty for this deed.

Vroeg in 1986 aanvaar hy die destydse minister van Buitelandse Sake, Pik Botha se uitdaging om 'n politieke vergadering van die Nasionale Party in Pietersburg op te breek. Mnr. Terre'Blanche kondig aan: "Pik gaan nie op Pietersburg praat nie; ek gaan!". Die Nasionale Party vlieg dan 'n groot groep boksers, stoeiers en lede van die Springbok karate span aan om die AWB te verhoed om toegang tot die saal te kry. Tallose AWB lede daag op 22 Mei 1986 by die massiewe Jack Botes saal op en laat die liberaal bedwelmde NP lede soos mis voor die son verdwyn. Pik Botha het nie eers die moed gehad om by die vergadering op te daag nie en was te lafhartig om by sy eie uitdaging te hou. 'n Engelstalige koerant stel dit as volg: "The AWB farmboys simply rolled over them."

In early 1986 he accepts Pik Botha, the then former minister for Foreign Affairs's challenge to disrupt a political meeting of the National Party in Pietersburg. Mr. Terre'Blanche announces: "Pik will not speak in Pietersburg, I shall". The National Party then flew in a large group of boxers, wrestlers and members of the Springbok karate team to prevent the AWB from gaining entry to the hall. A large number of AWB members arrived at the massive Jack Botes hall on 22 May 1986 and made the liberally drugged NP members disappear like mist before the sun. Pik Botha did not even have the courage to make an appearance at the meeting, and was too cowardly to even meet his own challenge. An English-speaking newspaper commented as follows: "The AWB farmboys simply rolled over them."

It is of interest that the comment of the incident is taken from an English-speaking newspaper, almost as if this is proof that the AWB has had an impact not only in its own community but the rest of South Africa as well, and perhaps even the world. Eugène is presented as a courageous leader who is willing to confront any challenge put to him. The apparent cowardice of Pik Botha is related with glee, in contrast to the heroism of Terre'blanche. This image of the leader is in keeping with the presentation of the leaders of the Great Trek for example, as shown in History textbooks of Van Jaarsveld of the 1950s to the 1970s (See Chapter 3).

In nog 'n opspraakwekkende gebeurtenis lei Terre'Blanche sy beweging tot binne in

die Wêreld Handelsentrum in Johannesburg op 25 Junie 1993. Liberaliste en kommuniste skarrel om uit die pad van die Boere te kom toe die AWB's deur die ruite van die voorportaal bars. Hierdie gebeurtenis weergalm tot aan die uithoeke van die wreld om te wys dat die Boerevolk nie genoe neem met die oorgee van mag aan die kommuniste nie.

In another momentous happening Terre'Blanche leads his movement into the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg on 25 June 1993. Liberals and communists scurried to move out of the way of the Boers when the AWB stormed through the glass panes of the front entrance. This event resounded to the far ends of the world and showed that the Boer nation were not in agreement with the handing over of power to the communists.

This episode relates the events following the negotiations of CODESA at Kempton Park. The *AWB* wished to disrupt the process by their actions, but even this did not prevent the 1994 elections. The insistence at the beginning that the negotiators were only liberals and communists '*liberale* and *komminuste*' and that they were the only ones pushing for change, is an attempt to present a picture of a united Afrikaner front that resisted the negotiated settlement.

Terre'Blanche het verder geglo dat die destydse Nasionale Party (NP) beleid die Boerevolk verder sal verkneg en uiteindelik sal uitloop op 'n rassistiese meerderheidsregering. Sy waarskuwings is deur die vyandiggesinde media en ander liberaliste afgemaak as die opjaag van emosies. Hy glo ook dat die nuut gevonde demokrasie later tot 'n bloedige konfrontasie tussen die verskillende etniese groepe sal lei.

Terre'Blanche further believed that the then National Party policy would further oppress the Boer nation and would eventually lead to a racist majority government. His warnings are dismissed by the hostile media and other liberals as deliberate provocation. He also believes that the newly established democracy would later lead to a bloody confrontation between the different ethnic groups.

Op 8 Februarie 1995 spreek Terre'Blanche die Parlement in die Kaapstadse Raadsaal toe en vra dat die amnestie afsnydatum vir politieke dade vanaf 27 April na 10 Mei 1994 verskuif word. Sy goeie en akkurate argumente waarom die datum verskuif moet word het die hele Parlement aangegryp en die goedkeuring van al die partye teenwoordig weggedra. Die nuwe bewind wou egter nie die indruk skep dat hulle die afsnydatum op Terre'Blanche se versoek verskuif nie en het voorgegee dat die datum verskuif is op versoek van Constand Viljoen. Was dit egter nie vir Eugne

Terre'Blanche nie sou die datum heel waarskynlik nie gewysig word nie.

On 8 February 1995 Terre'Blanche addresses Parliament in the Cape Assembly and asks that the amnesty cut off date for political acts be moved from 27 April 1994 to 10 May 1994.[60] ***His good and accurate arguments for why the date should be shifted convinced the whole Parliament and received the agreement of all the parties present. However the new regime did not want to foster the belief that they moved the cut off date on Terre'Blanche's request and gave out that the date was shifted because of a request from Costand Viljoen. If it was not for Eugène Terre'Blanche however the date would most probably not have been moved.***

Here Terre'blanche's contribution to the amnesty process, which he is not acknowledged for, is emphasised as another injustice perpetrated against him in favour of a more benevolent leader in the person of Constand Viljoen. While Viljoen is presented as a more acceptable candidate, Hyslop in his paper argues that he might in fact have been the real danger to the transition instead of the obvious candidates such as the AWB and Terre'blanche. Hyslop explains that the danger that existed did not stem from the obvious sources, notably the perceived reluctance of F. W. de Klerk and the National Party (NP) to have the transition succeed, the South African Defence Force (SADF) that could be a threat if it decided on mutiny against the transition, or the far right (the *AWB* and the Conservative Party [CP]) staging a successful coup. Hyslop sees the above scenarios as unlikely. He points out that the NP and the SADF were too much a part of the transition process in the beginning of the 1990s to pull back. He also points out that even if the *AWB* and the CP wished to stage a take-over, they did not have the supporters with the capacity to make it possible.

6.10.8 Eugène as martyr

Die ANC bewind besef dat Eugène Terre'Blanche in die pad van die nuwe "demokrasie" in Suid-Afrika staan en daarom moet hy uit die samelewing verwyder word. Hulle besef dat indien hulle hom vir politieke dade en/of uitsprake vonnis sou hulle van hom 'n martelaar maak en daarom moes kriminele gronde gevind word om hom te

[60] The two dates mentioned are of significance as they are, the day on which all South Africans for the first time went to cast their vote for a new democratic dispensation, and the other is the day on which Mr. Nelson Mandela was sworn in as the first Black person to be elected President of South Africa.

vonnis. Sodoende sou hy nie martelaar status verwerf nie, maar as krimineel gebrandmerk wees. Politieke inmenging in sy verhoor het dit egter duidelik gemaak dat sy eie, en die Boerevolk se vyande hom as die grootste bedreiging vir hulle een wêreld- regering sien. Die skandalige klagtes wat teen hom gemaak is, is vals.

The ANC regime began to realise that Eugène Terre'Blanche stood in the way of new "democracy" in South Africa and therefore had to be removed from society. They realise that if they sentenced him for political acts and or speeches, that they would make him a martyr and therefore they had to find grounds to sentence him and brand him as a criminal. By doing this they would prevent him from gaining the status of a martyr, and instead be marked as a criminal. Political interference in his trial made it clear however, that his own and the Boer nation's enemies saw him as the biggest threat to their one world government. The scandalous accusations made against him are false.

Eugéne Terre'Blanche is portrayed as a potent threat to the continued existence of the newly established democratic dispensation. His trial and imprisonment is seen as a deliberate plot to remove him from society. It is ironic to note that there are parallels here with the beliefs that were held by the former National Party in the 1960s, about Nelson Mandela (and other members of the liberation movements), when he was sentenced to life in prison on Robben Island in 1964. Terre'Blanche's imprisonment by the democratic government is viewed as an unjust act, as well as one of desperation. This desperation is explained by the *AWB* followers as an indication of how the new leadership viewed him as a significant threat if he was left free, to make speeches and rally his followers. He therefore, could not simply be removed (presumably be killed, as Steve Biko[61] was in 1977 by the security police and Chris Hani[62] in 1993 by Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus), as this would simply make him a martyr. Instead he had to be discredited and branded a criminal.

As Godvresende Christen gelowige, het hy die owerheid verstom toe hy hom tydens gevangesetting aan hulle gesag onderwerp. Dit was dan ook nie vreemd dat hy na opname as gerehabiliteerd beskou is nie en dit dien as bewys dat die misdadige neiging wat hom ten onregte toegedien is, ongegrond was uit die staanspoor.

As a God fearing Christian believer, he astonished the authorities during

[61] Biko was the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement

[62] Hani was the Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe(MK), the military wing of the African national Congress. In 1991 he stepped down from his ANC responsibilities and became Secretary General of the South African Communist Party.

his imprisonment when he submitted to their authority. It was also not then strange that having served his sentence he was regarded as rehabilitated and this serves as proof that the criminal tendency that has been unfairly attached to him was without merit from the beginning.

Terre'Blanche submits to the prison authorities and this is explained as stemming from his Christian beliefs. His submission is also viewed as proof of his innocence, and a further indication of the injustice perpetrated on him.

Eugène Terre'Blanche se leiding en heldersiendheid van die toekoms het van hom 'n leier enig in sy soort gemaak. Sonder hom is die Boerevolk leierloos en besef mense daagliks dat hy altyd die rigtingaanwyser vir sy volk was. Dit is met afwagting dat ons sy terugkeer afwag.

Eugène Terre'Blanche's leadership and clear eyed vision of the future has made him a unique leader and one of a kind. Without him the Boer Nation is leaderless and people are daily coming to realise that he was always the trendsetter for his nation. It is with anticipation that we await his return.

Now the almost Messianic-like image of Eugène, as a falsely imprisoned martyr who has been removed from leading his people to a promised future, is put forth. He is regarded as almost a saviour of the Boer Nation and without his almost irreplaceable leadership, the Boer Nation (*Boervolk*) is left without direction and pining for his return. His return is described almost in terms of a second coming, and the anticipation of the '*volk*' is emphasised by the phrase: "*Dit is met afwagting dat ons sy terugkeur afwag*".

Note here the return to mystical, mission-like role of the leader and the 'suffering people'who will endure and await God's 'divine intervention' as explained by Moodie in terms of the 'sacred saga'. These episodes (notably the image of the Great Trek and the and the taking of the Vow) were made accessible by Preller and refined by Van Jaarsveld in his History textbooks as shown in Chapter 3. It can be argued that the power of the images chosen by Van Jaarsveld resonated and succeeded in fulfilling his aim of drawing people in, beyond mere dates and facts.

6.11 Conclusion

The International and South African white supremacist web-site share some similarities, but many differences. The similarities are more in terms of the creation of a myth surrounding the coming to power of a leader and the formation of that leader's organisation. There are some remarkable similarities in the biographies of Matt Hall and Eugène Terre'blanche, especially the way in which they are both perceived as saviour figures who appeared in time to save their people who had been without direction and in need of a true leader.

The three international web-sites[63] discussed above are all blatant in their antipathy towards Jewish people. They regard Jewish people as being responsible for many of the ills in American society. They see Jewish people as a powerful group, or lobby, who use their influence to their own benefit. They also believe that Jewish people use their influence to promote multi-culturalism, which white supremacists regard as a direct attack on their own beliefs, heritage and visions of a 'pure' race and society. They also believe that Jewish people have entered into a conspiracy, whereby they force their world view onto the rest of America, by means of their control of the media, and the government. David Duke for example, believes that the mainstream media deliberately blocks him (and others who hold similar ideas) from expressing his views or distorts them. Interestingly, in 1998 he saw the advent of the Internet as tool that allowed him to break free of this restrictive environment. "....the alien anti-White media has been my unrelenting enemy ... Up until now, unless someone has met me personally, or read my material, the only way they could judge me is by what the liberal-biased media says. .... When egalitarians say that no mainstream scientists believe in inherent differences, instantly, they are refuted by lucid and fascinating articles on my page by leading psychologists, biologists, geneticists, historians, archaeologists, anthoropologists, and educators of the world. Right now I have dozens of articles from our point of view on my Internet site".[64]

The white supremacist groups have a long history of attacking Black and Jewish people, as well as homosexuals, whom they regard as not forming part of their ideal society. This chapter has shown how the use of a central figure is promoted as leader for both international and local web-sites. It has also outlined the similarities of the international and local groups in terms of their views about women, how they should behave and the expectations held about them.

[63] *Stormfront*, *National Alliance*, and the *World Church of the Creator*.

[64] Duke, D. 'The coming white revolution: born on the Internet', *David Duke Online Report*, 1998, http://www.duke.org/data/internet.htm, accessed 24 August 1999.

The influence of the 1930s ideas which have been recycled by the international white supremacist groups is clear from the concerns expressed on the web-sites. The influence of the 'sacred saga' (as explained by Dunbar Moodie see chapter 2) has re-emerged on the South African web-sites is also of importance. The place of leaders, the emotional content of the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War, especially as exemplified in the incarceration of women and children in the concentration camps by the British have proven to be enduring images of suffering for Afrikaners (as was shown in Chapter 5).

The influence of Siener Van Rensburg on the South African white supremacists is of importance because his prophesies are regarded as written signs specifically for the *Boere volk*. As has been noted above, Siener Van Rensburg also appears on the *Stormfront* forum, where white supremacists share their ideas, ask for clarification and give information about topics which are posted on the site.[65]

The extensive analysis of the content of the international and local white supremacist web-sites entered into in this chapter, illustrates the connections that these white-supremacists have forged via their links on the Internet. The Internet made it possible for them to connect, and communicate about shared concerns, issues, and beliefs. While, this aspect of the use of the Internet is noted, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to prove its efficacy. But this chapter has also illustrated the extensive use made of History by the international and local white supremacist groups in the formation of their digital identities. There are many continuities. We see the 'sacred saga' reappearing, for instance, as Dunbar Moodie[66] has shown it is very malleable. In this case it is mixed with elements of History beyond South Africa. For the local and the international white supremacists, History offers both justification for their ideology and beliefs, as well as continuity for their re-invented identities on the Internet. History is a powerful weapon that can be used in the service of many differing causes as Hamilton and Witz illustrated, with regard to the use made of Shaka Zulu and Van Riebeeck respectively (see Chapter 2).

[65] See Appendix 4 for excerpts of the discussions as analysed in this chapter.

[66] Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Berkeley, (1978) 1980.

Conclusion

The dissertation has studied white supremacist sites internationally and locally, and has analysed how ideologies of race and identity have been recycled and recast. In the globalised discourse, elements of multi-culturalism have been appropriated from liberal discourses, and victims (always central to the 'sacred saga' which emphasised the ordeals through which the Afrikaner nation had to pass) have been recast. Ironically, the Jewish victims of the Nazi period, despite the virulent anti-Semitism of many white supremacist web-sites, now become the measure of true suffering. The concentration camp victims of the Anglo-Boer War are now often compared with those of the Holocaust, deliberately invoked for its emotional impact.

This dissertation has examined the 'sacred saga' as described by Moodie up to the 1970s and has also examined the embodiment of the 'sacred saga' in Van Jaarsveld's textbooks. This is not insignificant given, the exposure of generations of school children to Van Jaarsveld's textbooks. To illustrate the way in which the saga has been embodied I have analysed Van Jaarsveld in terms of narratives, images and icons, especially the central role assigned to the Battle of Blood River and the Voortrekker Monument in the History textbooks since these are central to the saga, and since my argument is, in part, that they re-occur on South African whites supremacist web-sites. This suggests an interesting continuity between the old mainstream Afrikaner nationalist historical narrative and iconography, and the discourse of the web-sites. Van Jaarsveld's influence on the authors of the web-sites is suggested by the tarring and feathering of Van Jaarsveld by the *AWB* on 28 March 1979. It might be deduced that, because they had looked up to him as historian of the nation they were greatly disturbed when he appeared to turn against the sacred Blood River narrative.[67] It should be noted that the AWB's subsequent testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission regarding this event indicates the political

[67]The tarring and feathering incident is not mentioned in order to open up a discussion of Van Jaarsveld's apparent repudiation of some of his work, or his subsequent treatment. Instead, this is a graphic illustration of the powerful place that some aspects of History hold in white supremacist politics.

nature of this event.[68]

The dissertation has been concerned to examine how the 'sacred saga' has been revived in an age in which there is a democratically elected government in South Africa. It has also explored the strong global influences, notably of neo-Nazism, transmitted by the Internet. Although there are strong elements of continuity with the old 'sacred saga', which have been identified, there are aspects of it which have been modified to meet the changing circumstances of post apartheid South Africa, and in response to global events and ideological shifts.

It is not only a question of accidental influence, as the dissertation has shown. The interaction between the international and South African web-sites studied indicates the interconnectedness these groups have forged on the Internet. For example, The South African web-sites (*AWB*, *Boere Seperatiste* and *Freedom 2000*) use South African history elements strongly. But they mix neo-Nazi ideas in with the 'sacred saga' on the web-sites. Thus we see the typical History of the 'Boers' as integral to the 'sacred saga' showing how their sufferings were divinely ordained and brings them to the realisation of their true nationhood.

The medium of the Internet has also been considered in the course of the dissertation. Several aspects of it have been explored, including its scientific aura. This too has connections with older forms of representing history. Grundlingh has argued persuasively that Van Jaarsveld and other historians thought of themselves as writing 'scientific history'. Their commitment to a rigorous study of the archive and belief that they were striving to write objective (that is true) history managed to co-exist with the 'sacred saga'. It might be argued that the Internet lends credence to the belief in objective history because it appears scientific, especially because it allows for better imagery, different images and an interactivity with the user that is difficult to achieve via ordinary textbooks, for example. This is not to say that Van Jaarsveld has made a direct impact on the formatting of the web-sites themselves, but rather to do with continuities of discourse.

Hall has described the way in which the archive is created and presented on the Internet. He has also argued, that the Internet allows for cultural exchange, and the creation of a virtual community. One could argue that the old textbooks tried to do this too through their direct appeal to the reader. Van Jaarsveld, for example, sometimes addresses the reader directly particularly around questions relating to ancestry and identity. It is clear that his imaginary audience is bound together by

[68] See the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report on Holding Right-Wing Groups Accountable, 2003, p. 723.

certain ties of kinship and loyalty to the 'nation'. Importantly this is often phrased in terms of the non-English ancestry of Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans. The Internet is able to enhance the effect of a virtual community because of its capacity to connect users immediately through e-mail and chat sites. The reader is referred to Hall's analogy with exclusive gated communities (see p.13). Hall argues that the Internet makes identity appear essentialised.

One feature of the 'sacred saga' to which I have drawn particular attention in the course of this dissertation is the combative distinction that is made on some of the white supremacist sites between 'Afrikaners' (sell-outs) and 'Boers' (those who have retained their original loyalty to the *volk* and have not betrayed the republican ideals). The Separatists have insisted on using only Afrikaans on their web-sites, unlike, for example, the *AWB* and the *Freedom 2000* sites. This apparently self-defeatist strategy of using a language that is unknown outside of South Africa on a global medium is meant to emphasise the betrayal perpetrated by the 'Afrikaners' on the *Boere Seperatiste*, (who were too naive to realise it) and easily allowed their history to be appropriated. The Separatists are making the point that they are restoring the archive. They are seeking a return to 'pure' republican history, made manifest through their adoption of the old republican symbols and the old ZAR motto, but also through their claiming of the historical term 'Boer', which ironically is also used with negative connotations by their opponents (as in synonyms for the police and for die-hard, racist conservatives). The Separatists have constructed a more radical account, in some ways, than the mainstream Afrikaner version of the mid twentieth century did, of the concentration camps of the Anglo Boer War, describing the deaths of women and children as deliberately engineered (and thus a holocaust). 'Boers' therefore see themselves as heirs to the martyrs of the Anglo-Boer War.[69]

Essentially, the dissertation has analysed the different ways in which the 'sacred saga' has been incorporated and remoulded in the post apartheid period for the purposes of white supremacists. The medium (that is the Internet) is significant in the potential it possesses both for more dramatic portrayals of the saga, and for making immediate contact with like minded users on a global scale. The connections between the local and international white supremacist web-sites is indicative of the

[69]However, the actions of the *Boeremag* in 2002 reminds us that there are other people around who wish to return to the former status quo and would go to any lengths to achieve it. The *Boeremag* are also influenced by the past, especially the visions of Siener Van Resnburg.

Internet allowing for the forging of transnational communities.[70] But the dissertation has refrained from making any judgments on the impact of these web-sites and their likely contribution to escalating incidents of neo-Nazi violence in many countries.

[70]See especially the interconnectedness between South African web-sites, for example as noted before *Stormfront* hosted the *AWB* on its web-site,(before it managed to build its own web-site). These international sites also communicate with the South African ones, and are interested in South African issues. Notably, as discussed in Chapter 6 *National Alliance* and *Stormfront* discuss issues related to farm killings and the prophecies of Siener Van Rensburg. Among the international members of these white supremacist groups, there is a special interest and hope that South Africa becomes a bastion for white supremacists.